

TRANSLATION

Narrating the Spread of Shinto and Shugendō in the Eighteenth Century: An Introduction to and Translation of the *Shugen Ichijitsu Reisō Shintō mikki*

Caleb CARTER*

The *Shugen Ichijitsu Reisō Shintō mikki* is an origin account for a religious lineage constructed at Mount Togakushi (present-day Nagano Prefecture) in the early eighteenth century. In addition to providing a fascinating glimpse into thought, practice, and politics at this site at the time, the account offers a lucid example of four contingent features of religious culture in early modern Japan. The first, and well-known among scholars, is the hybrid nature of religious life before the Meiji era, evident in the text's indulgent synthesis of Shinto, Shugendō, and Buddhism. At a time when nativist (*kokugaku*) doctrines were on the rise, this work reveals that combinatory discourse remained alive and well. Second is the rapid growth of Shinto and Shugendō into new regions during the Edo period—a geographical development that belies modern, nation-centered assumptions about either. Third, this spread was enabled through site-based narratives that wove imported trends into local histories, thereby legitimizing their presence at these new places. Finally, such narratives reflect a growing appetite among the lay public to visit and mingle with the intoxicating mix of gods, mythological imprints, and legendary figures reported in them.

Keywords: Japanese religions, Shugendō, Shinto, Tendai Buddhism, Edo period, Tokugawa Ieyasu, sacred mountains

The *Shugen Ichijitsu Reisō Shintō mikki* 修驗一實靈宗神道密記 (Secret Record of *Shugen* Single-Reality Numinous Shinto, hereafter *Secret Record*) is an origin account of a lineage constructed in the early eighteenth century by the Tendai 天台 Buddhist priest Jōin 乗因 (1682–1739). Tendai Buddhism was established in the Sui dynasty (where it was pronounced Tiantai) by Zhiyi 智顛 (538–597) and flourished in Japan after its transmission by Saichō 最澄 (767–822). As suggested by the name, however, *Shugen Ichijitsu Reisō Shintō* was an amalgamation of multiple religious systems that included two forms of Shinto, Shugendō,

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Buddhist thought, and even a shade of Daoist ritual. The account lays out a history—albeit fictive—that deftly weaves these strands together into a single lineage that drew from Jōin’s elite ecclesiastical background as well as the religious culture of Mount Togakushi 戸隠山, where he served as chief administrator (*bettō* 別當) from 1727 to 1738.

Jōin is a fascinating, if not enigmatic, figure. In the final years of his tenure at Togakushi, he initiated policies that radically deviated from the norms of his time. His efforts at reform provoked heated opposition from his fellow clerics, and led to his ousting from Togakushi by the shogunate’s Commissioner of Temples and Shrines (*jisha bugyō* 寺社奉行), and subsequent exile to a remote island south of Edo. The end of Jōin’s tenure also signaled the rejection of his reforms, and meant his efforts at synthesis were destined to be short-lived, rather than the beginnings of a new religious system.

Jōin’s thought, as revealed by the *Secret Record* and subsequent reforms he implemented at Mount Togakushi, is indicative of the religious hybridity—popular and elite—characteristic of the Edo period. Much of this hybridity was constructed through narrative. Amid a sustained rise in travel, pilgrimage, and religious confraternities (*kō* 講), the most successful religious figures of Jōin’s time were storytellers, retelling the origins (*engi* 縁起) of their temples through a matrix of powerful deities, extraordinary events, and patriarchs from the past. In elite settings, the construction of theologies through the medium of historical narrative was not unusual at the time. Jōin’s Tendai predecessor Tenkai 天海 (1536–1643) had done so a century earlier when he invented a Shinto lineage that apotheosized Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1543–1616), and Jōin took direct inspiration from Tenkai in this matter. Similarly, Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583–1657) wrote origin accounts of religious sites around the country that reinterpreted them through a Shinto paradigm.¹ Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730–1801) and other nativist scholars (*kokugakusha* 国学者) would later imagine an ancient past that provided a foundational mythohistory in the service of Japan’s divine status.

This list of religious storytellers grows exponentially when we bring in clerics who constructed new lineages (divine and human) tailored to their own temples and shrines. One could argue that storytelling was the principal act of religion-making, whether practitioners were expanding their own sites or creating new systems. The *Secret Record* offers a case in point.

Overview of the *Secret Record*

The majority of this article consists of an annotated translation of the *Secret Record*.² In this introduction, I will summarize several key elements in Jōin’s text before highlighting two interlocking features of religion in the Edo period: the rapid spread of Shinto and Shugendō, and the key role of narrative in that process.

The primary purpose of the *Secret Record* was to establish a stable lineage for Jōin’s new school of Shugen Ichijitsu Reisō Shintō, and to situate it within Mount Togakushi’s

1 In the *Honchō jinja kō* 本朝神社考 (around 1640).

2 This discussion and the annotated translation of the *Secret Record* complements an earlier article detailing the text’s unification of disparate religious strands as well as its role in a common mode of early modern place-making; see Carter 2017. Other studies on Jōin’s life and thought include Bodiford 2006; and Sonehara 2017 (which collects several decades of articles about Jōin into a single monograph). I further explore Jōin’s treatment of Shugendō in Carter 2022, chapter 10.

religious culture. Jōin's construction of a lineage performed two tasks. First, it shifted the cult of the Tōshō Daigongen away from the early modern centers of the Tendai institution (Nikkō 日光 and Kan'eiji 寛永寺) and relocated it to Togakushi. During the medieval period, the Tendai temples at Mount Hiei 比叡山 unified the deities of the mountain with translocal buddhas into a combinatory cultic system known as Sannō Shintō 山王神道 (divine way of the mountain kings).³ Shortly after the death of Tokugawa Ieyasu, the high priest Tenkai, architect of the early modern Tendai institution and close advisor to Ieyasu, appropriated this system from Hiei and moved it to Kan'eiji, a temple complex he erected in Ueno (on the northeastern outskirts of Edo) to serve as the new administrative center of the Tendai institution. Tenkai added ichijitsu, or "single reality," a term he most likely drew from medieval Tendai discourse, but in this new context served as an allusion to the true nature (ichijitsu) of the mountain deities as manifestations of buddhas.⁴ In the early seventeenth century, Tenkai would formulate an origin account entitled the Tōshō daigongen engi 東照大権現縁起, which deified Ieyasu as the Tōshō Daigongen (Great Avatar of Eastern Radiance), placed the Daigongen at the center of a new divine pantheon, and enshrined him at Nikkō. Popular worship of the Daigongen spread throughout the country, but the cult's *raison d'être* was to preserve the rule of the Tokugawa shoguns. Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō was maintained by an elite line of initiated Tendai priests, which eventually included Jōin.

Second, Jōin developed a historical narrative that merged Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō with the religious culture of Togakushi. Two of these components are evident in the title: Shugendō and Reisō Shintō. Shugendō was most likely transmitted to the site in the 1520s by a scholarly ascetic known as Akyūbō Sokuden 阿吸房即傳, a prolific writer and producer of Shugendō ritual texts based at Mount Hiko 英彦山 in northern Kyushu. Despite the relatively recent transmission of Shugendō to Togakushi, Jōin sought to strengthen the tradition's place in the mountain's origins. His insertion of Shugendō's semi-legendary seventh-century founder En no Gyōja 役行者 and other Shugendō references into the *Secret Record's* narrative are evidence of this vision.

Jōin also incorporated a recent form of Shinto known as Reisō 靈宗 (numinous) into his lineage. Reisō Shintō emerged in the mid-seventeenth century at Izawanomiya 伊雜宮, an auxiliary shrine of the Inner Shrine of Ise. The school was expounded in a text known as the *Sendai kuji hongī taisei kyō* 先代舊事本紀大成經 (hereafter, *Taisei kyō*), purportedly a lost version of the ancient *Sendai kuji hongī*. Although the government deemed the *Taisei kyō* apocryphal and banned it just two years after its appearance in 1679 (Enpō 延宝 7), Reisō Shintō continued to circulate. It gained traction at Togakushi when one of the *Taisei kyō's* authors, Chōon Dōkai 潮音道海 (1628–1695), visited the site in 1686 (Jōkyō 貞享 3) to venerate two of Japan's mythological *kami* there: Omoikane no Mikoto and Omoikane's divine son Tajikarao no Mikoto. Records of these deities at Togakushi are scant prior to this time, suggesting that their veneration may have been a recent accretion to the mountain's ritual culture.

3 This pairing is indicative of *bonji suijaku* 本地垂迹 logic, whereby a local deity was thought to be a "trace manifestation" (*suijaku*) of Buddhist "origins" (*bonji*), typically a buddha or bodhisattva. This doctrine prevailed through most of Japan's medieval and early modern history before its suppression by the modern Meiji government.

4 Sugahara 1996, pp. 65–69; Bodiford 2006, pp. 234–235.

In fact, it is in the *Taisei kyō* where we find the first explicit mention of their enshrinement at Togakushi. The divine connection is explained in the text through an embellishment to the famous cave myth of Amaterasu: when Tajikarao throws the boulder blocking the sun goddess's cave, it lands in the world and—novelly—creates the mountain of Togakushi.⁵ Jōin repeats this detail in the opening lines of the *Secret Record*, a move that reaffirms the existence of the myth's *kami* at the site and inspires subsequent variations of the account, visual iconography, and worship. In addition to Tajikarao's pivotal boulder toss, Omoikane was relevant to Dōkai for several reasons. First, it was Omoikane who summoned the deities to effectively draw out Amaterasu from the cave in which she had secluded herself. Second, Omoikane established Reisō Shintō, according to the *Taisei kyō*. Finally, Omoikane seems to have been enshrined at Togakushi around this time (Jōin elaborates on this reason in the *Secret Record*). Given these connections, the journey to Togakushi would have been highly meaningful for Dōkai.

Beyond Shugendō and Reisō Shintō, three additional elements are noteworthy in the *Secret Record*. First is the Buddhist doctrine of the *cakravartin* (*tenrin jōō* 轉輪聖王). This Sanskrit term refers to the ideal of a “sage king who turns the wheel” of the dharma, in other words, a universal ruler who abides by the teachings of the Buddha. In the *Secret Record*, Jōin goes to great lengths to argue that *cakravartin* rule has been historically central to Japan and infers that Ieyasu accords with *cakravartin* principles in his posthumous apotheosis. Jōin must have known the case was weak. That Ieyasu was a military leader (shogun) and not a “sovereign who rules all under heaven” (*tennō*) is a technicality Jōin looks past. To bolster his argument, he recalls the Ming court's designation of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義満 (1358–1408)—a powerful shogun like Ieyasu—as king, thus suggesting a precedent for shoguns to operate as kings. Yet here too Jōin glosses over the historical reality of the subservient position of kings within the Chinese tributary system.⁶

The second additional element in Shugen Ichijitsu Reisō Shintō is Daoism, evident in scattered references to rituals and scriptures throughout the *Secret Record*. No evidence of Daoism has appeared in connection with Togakushi or within Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō, making its origins in Jōin's thought unclear. Nevertheless, his references to Daoist literature and rituals point to a textual influence. References to early Daoist history also appear in another origin account he authored titled the *Togakushisan daigongen engi* 戸隠山大権現縁起 (Origin account of the great avatar of Mount Togakushi, ca. 1736), with the *daigongen* here being a reference to the mountain's central deity, the nine-headed dragon Kuzuryū 九頭龍. In that work, Jōin correlates Shugendō with the earliest form of institutionalized Daoism, Tianshi dao 天師道 (Way of Celestial Masters), through a series of connections he develops between the two—these include an early Daoist patriarch becoming a “shugen practitioner” (*shugen no gyōja* 修験の行者) and the conflation of a prominent Daoist temple with a shrine at Togakushi.⁷

Finally, Jōin brings in Togakushi's medieval etiology, relying on the *Togakushisan Kenkōji ruki* 戸隠山顯光寺流記 (1458). The *Kenkōji ruki* was the site's authoritative

5 *Jingi hongī* chapter (下), *Taisei kyō*. See <https://miko.org/~uraki/kuon/furu/text/sendaiukuji/taisei.htm> (Accessed 11 November 2021).

6 Chinese emperors (*huangdi* 皇帝) granted the title king (*wang* 王) to the heads of states who paid tribute to the court.

7 *Togakushisan daigongen engi*, ZST 24, *Jinja hen*, *Togakushi* 1, pp. 213, 228; Carter 2022, pp. 159–161.

origin account (an earlier account also appears in the thirteenth-century Tendai ritual compendium *Asaba shō* 阿婆縛抄).⁸ To this history, he adds more recent events where useful to his narrative, for instance, emphasizing Ieyasu's role in rebuilding the site's temples and conferring estates after its destruction in warfare. The restoration was, in fact, initiated by other warlords in the mid-1590s and later completed by Ieyasu in 1611.⁹ Yet for Jōin, it was Ieyasu's stewardship that prefigured the subsequent unification between the shogun's posthumous form, the Tōshō Daigongen, and Mount Togakushi.

In the final pages of the *Secret Record*, Jōin abruptly digresses into a stern defense of the position of chief administrator, perhaps a reflection of internal resistance at Togakushi that ultimately led to the successful repudiation of his administration. In a formal letter of complaint sent to the Commissioner of Temples and Shrines on 1738.9.19 (Genbun 元文 3), a majority of the mountain's clerics would accuse Jōin of radically departing from the customs and conventions of the site and replacing them with a framework of Shugendō. While some clerics and *yamabushi* 山伏 (mountain ascetics) found the new structure appealing, as evidenced by Jōin's following of about half a dozen disciples, such a seismic shift went against the institutional interests of most of the mountain's Tendai clergy.¹⁰ After investigating, the commissioner rendered a decision in favor of the clerics. Jōin was stripped of his position in the first month of 1739 (Genbun 4) and was subsequently exiled to an island south of Edo in the ninth month of that same year.¹¹ Kan'eiji, moreover, ordered the complete removal of his policies, writings, and even material traces (including stone inscriptions of his name) from the site.¹² Given this unyielding response, it is a wonder Jōin's works from Togakushi (at least eight) survived at all.

Jōin's downfall had broader implications for the Tendai institution and the Tokugawa shoguns. With his exile, Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō was tarnished and its transmission irreparably damaged. This is evident from later attempts by Tendai clerics to restore it, several of whom directly pinned the blame for its discontinuation on Jōin. An elite cleric named Jitō 慈等 (d. 1819), for instance, faulted Jōin's heretical (*itan* 異端) teachings as the cause of its demise.¹³ Toward the end of the Edo period, another cleric named Kengyō 賢曉 cited a letter (non-extant) from the abbot of Kan'eiji addressed to Jōin during the latter's tenure at Togakushi. The letter laments Jōin's failure to transmit Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō to a successor.¹⁴

Jōin's dismissal, nevertheless, leaves us with a puzzle regarding the *Secret Record*: for whom was it intended? The title may provide one clue: a "secret record" (*mikki*) would

8 The account from the *Asaba shō*, titled *Togakushiji ryakki* 戸隠寺略記, is reprinted in ST 59, *Jinja hen* 24, pp. 372–374.

9 Furukawa 1997, pp. 53–59.

10 Sonehara 2017, chapter 4.

11 Separate sources mention both Miyakejima 三宅島 and Hachijōjima 八丈島 (Sonehara 2010, pp. 33, 41).

12 Kobayashi 1934a, p. 222.

13 Hazama 1969, p. 262.

14 *Wakō saiki* 和光再暉, 427a. Kengyō lived into the Meiji period, although his exact dates are unknown (Hazama 1969, p. 262; Carter 2017, pp. 309–310). Relevant texts for further investigation into the demise of Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō and attempts to restore it include Jitō's *Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō gen* 山王一實神道原 (Origins of Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō), *Saiten kafuku shō* 祭典開覆章 (Essay on restoring the rituals and doctrines, 1806), and Kengyō's *Wakō saiki* (Restoring the softened light, late Edo period)—all of which are reprinted in TZ, vol. 12—and Jihon's 慈本 (1795–1868) four-fascicle *Ichijitsu Shintō ki* 一實神道記 (ca. 1820; published by the Tendai central office in 1900).

suggest exclusive transmission, not unwarranted given Jōin's repositioning of the Tōshō Daigongen toward Togakushi and away from Nikkō and the orthodox line of Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō he had received. The consequences of this change were grave, and as indicated above, Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō never recovered. At the same time, the title may have simply been a rhetorical nod to medieval esoteric *mikki* as a way to elevate its own mystique and historical authority. To this effect, references to the past—textual, historical, and mythohistorical—are replete throughout the work as modes of legitimation.

Most telling, however, is how Jōin's *Secret Record* reads in complementary fashion with his *Togakushisan daigongen engi*. Indicative of early modern origin accounts (*engi*), the latter was most likely intended for confraternities and potential visitors to the site, or at least to serve as a narrative template for *yamabushi* promoting Togakushi. In contrast, Jōin probably composed the *Secret Record* for internal purposes. The work situated the religious community's mountain at the center of Shugen Ichijitsu Reisō Shintō, a placement its members would have enjoyed had the lineage been successful. It also elevated the stature of the chief administrator—Jōin at the time—by directly linking the position to the lineage. Most revealing, its final pages sent a stern warning to respect his authority as chief administrator of the site.

The original manuscript (or only known copy) of the *Secret Record* was lost in 1942 when a fire burned down the home of the Hisayama family, descendants of the site's last chief administrator.¹⁵ Its survival in modern print is owed to the prewar Shinto scholar Kobayashi Kenzō 小林健三, who transcribed it while researching Jōin in the 1930s. According to Kobayashi, who probably relied on a colophon, Jōin completed the *Secret Record* on the seventh day of the ninth month of 1731 (Kyōhō 享保 16).¹⁶ Extensive glosses retained in Kobayashi's transcription suggest frequent use at one or more points in its history. Sonehara Satoshi reprinted and introduced the *Secret Record* as part of a two-volume set of works that were either composed by Jōin at Togakushi or influential in his construction of Shugen Ichijitsu Reisō Shintō.¹⁷

Narratives in the Early Modern Spread of Shinto and Shugendō

The *Secret Record* points to a notable trend in the Edo period: the localization of Shugendō and Shinto through regional and site-based origin accounts. These narratives helped fuel the spread of both religious systems. Shugendō, which initially took shape in the late medieval environs of the Kii Peninsula, Kyoto, and Mount Hiko (northern Kyushu), advanced into rural and urban areas alike in the seventeenth century. On an institutional level, it was propelled by the two main branches of Honzan 本山 (Tendai-affiliated) and Tōzan 当山 (Shingon-affiliated). The two gained official recognition under Tokugawa Ieyasu's Shugendō regulations issued in 1613 (Keichō 慶長 18). In addition to the Honzan and Tōzan, Shugendō branches were established at several Tendai-administered mountains: Haguro

15 Similar to many religious mountains at the start of the Meiji period, the Togakushi temples were compelled to eradicate all traces of Buddhism (Tendai) and Shugendō and transform the site into a cluster of Shinto shrines. The last chief administrator Jikei 慈谿, who began his tenure in 1858, would convert to Shinto, take the name Hisayama Ayaosa 久山理安, and oversee the mountain's transition to Shinto as its head priest (*kannushi* 神主).

16 Kobayashi 1934b, p. 25.

17 ZST 24–25, *Jinja hen, Togakushi* 1–2.

羽黒, Hiko, and Togakushi. Regional mountain-based confraternities—either affiliated with or influenced by Shugendō—also emerged in many parts of the country, contributing to a broad-based devotion to sacred mountains during this time.¹⁸

Shinto likewise underwent rapid growth in the Edo period. Systems like Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō and Miwa Shintō 三輪神道—named after the ancient shrine in the Yamato region where it originated—had medieval roots but were given new linguistic and ideological form as Shinto lineages within Buddhist confines.¹⁹ Others were conceived through Neo-Confucian influences by figures such as Yamazaki Ansai 山崎闇斎 (1619–1682) and Hayashi Razan.²⁰ Amid national and domainal regulatory reforms in the 1660s, Shinto gained new legitimacy alongside the traditional Buddhist sects. The immediate beneficiary of these regulations was Yoshida Shintō 吉田神道, which had been separated from Buddhism by Yoshida Kanetomo 吉田兼俱 (1435–1511) centuries earlier.²¹ Nonetheless, official recognition accelerated the growth of Shinto from that point forward. Through political intervention, a number of powerful daimyo also reformulated Buddhist sites in their territories as strictly Shinto.²² These developments would foreshadow nativist trends in the eighteenth century and the eventual disassociation of Shinto from Buddhism (*shinbutsu bunri* 神仏分離) in the Meiji era.

Until recently, much of this expansion in the Edo period was overlooked by scholars.²³ This can be attributed in part to nationalizing efforts in the twentieth century that emphasized a collective past for Shinto and Shugendō rooted in ancient and medieval history. Each tradition has been subjected to modern ideological treatment in slightly different terms: Shugendō as an ancient folk religion that preceded, and then underlay, Buddhist superstructures that were imported and thus presumed non-indigenous; and Shinto as synonymous with national identity, nature worship, imperial worship, and mythology.²⁴ Investigation into the genealogies of early modern lineages and pantheons at regional sites throws these assumptions into doubt. In other words, that which was presumed ancient at many sites may have in fact taken shape much later. At Mount Togakushi, for example, references to Shugendō begin appearing in the mid-sixteenth century—far later than previous scholars assumed.

Early modern figures like Jōin preceded, and arguably fostered, modern processes of nationalization by producing localized stories across the country. The *Secret Record* demonstrates how this was achieved at one site. The mythological deities he invokes in the text's opening pages were recent entities at the site, ushered in with Reisō Shintō. Likewise, an alleged visit to Togakushi by En no Gyōja is introduced here and elsewhere in Jōin's writing. These narrative incisions subsequently played a major role in embedding the new

18 For studies on early modern confraternities, see Ambros 2008 and Miyamoto 2010.

19 For the transformation of medieval Sannō Shintō to early modern Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō, see Sugahara 1996. For the case of Miwa Shintō, see Andreeva 2017.

20 On Yamazaki Ansai, see Ooms 1985, chapters 6–7; on Hayashi Razan, see Boot 1992.

21 On the origins of Yoshida Shintō, see Grapard 1992a; Grapard 1992b; Scheid 2001.

22 Antoni 2016, pp. 74–76; Teeuwen 2021.

23 A robust corner of scholarship on Shinto in the Edo period addresses intellectual history (for an overview, see Antoni 2016, chapter 2), but less has been done on ritual, institution, and popular worship.

24 The view that Shugendō is fundamentally a Japanese folk religion was pursued by prominent Shugendō scholars such as Miyake Hitoshi 宮家準, Gorai Shigeru 五来重, and Hori Ichirō 堀一郎, all of whom were greatly influenced by Yanagita Kunio 柳田國男, forefather of folklore studies (*minzokugaku* 民俗学) in Japan.

gods into Togakushi's pantheon by affirming their ancient history at the site. Despite Jōin's removal, the gods and the patriarch of Shugendō lived on in the narratives, and thus worship, of the site. Jōin was not alone in this work. Religious specialists at temples and shrines across the country devised similar embellishments.²⁵ The result was to populate the country with *kami*, Buddhist deities, and religious founding figures who were previously confined to particular places and regions. Now they were everywhere, and that ubiquity gave their surrounding religions national contours.

At the same time, this mode of storytelling was key to the localization of Shugendō and Shinto in the Edo period. While scholars have made significant advancements in the study of medieval *engi*, less attention has been paid to their impact in later times.²⁶ In the eighteenth century in particular, many of the old *engi* were resuscitated. Beyond simply reiterating former tales, their authors incorporated evolving worship trends. The revamped narratives targeted regional patrons and distant travelers amid a steady growth in confraternities, pilgrimage, and travel. By placing gods and putative founders in the geographically proximate but temporally distant past, these texts grounded their divine actors into the immediate milieu and wedded new systems to old ones. As such, they provide important clues for religious and cultural historians as to when and how Shugendō and Shinto took shape.

A final note can be made on the textual nature of these narratives. Although many undoubtedly flourished through oral transmission, written origin accounts were composed within a vibrant print culture that flourished from the latter half of the seventeenth century. As a result, significant intertextuality occurred across sites, time periods, and genres through these accounts. In total, Jōin cites roughly twenty texts sourced from Shinto, Japanese official histories, temple and shrine records, the Buddhist canon, the Daoist canon, and documents from Togakushi. He quotes passages from Tenkai's *Tōshō daigongen engi*, the *Golden Light Sutra* (*Konkōmyō kyō* 金光明經; Skt. *Suvarṇa-prabhāsōttama-sūtra*), the *Flower Garland Sutra* (*Kegon kyō* 華嚴經; Skt. *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*), and the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* (*Dainichi kyō* 大日經).²⁷ His exposition on the Buddhist concept of *cakravartin* rule alone draws on passages from the *Abhidharmakośa* (*Kusha ron* 俱舍論), Falin's 法琳 (572–640) *Bianzheng lun* 辯正論 (Treatise on Discerning Correctness), the Song-period *Daoist Canon* (*Daozang jing* 道藏經), and the Kamakura-era *Shūgaishō* 拾芥抄 and *Genkō shaku sho* 元亨釋書. Other influences go uncited, and include Yoshida Kanetomo's *Yuiitsu Shintō myōbō yōshū* 唯一神道名法要集, *Kogo shūi* 古語拾遺 (ca. 807), and the apocryphal *Taisei kyō* noted earlier in this Introduction. Throughout the *Secret Record*, Jōin draws upon these works to historically legitimize his school and the presence of new religious systems at Togakushi. In short, the abundance of published works gave priests like Jōin a plethora of

25 For another example, see Miyazaki and Williams 2001 (pp. 405–413) on early eighteenth-century accounts at Mount Osore 恐山 that ushered the bodhisattva Jizō and the Tendai monk Ennin 円仁 (794–864) into the mountain's history; Tsutsumi (2008) likewise writes on temples in Edo that constructed fictive visits by founders such as Hōnen 法然, Shinran 親鸞, and Nichiren 日蓮 in the hopes of attracting more visitors.

26 Scholars working with medieval *engi* include Allan Grapard, Abe Yasurō 阿部泰郎, Kawasaki Tsuyoshi 川崎剛志, and Heather Blair.

27 I forego consistency in the translations of titles (English, Japanese, Chinese, or the original Sanskrit) in favor of scholarly conventions for each text.

cultural reference points with which to embed religious systems like Shugendō and Shinto into their own historically reimagined landscapes.

All it took from that point forward was a bit of narrative flair, which Jōin displayed in abundance.

Secret Record of *Shugen Ichijitsu Reisō Shintō* (*Shugen Ichijitsu Reisō Shintō mikki* 修験一實靈宗神道密記)²⁸
Jōin 乘因 (1682–1739), 1731

Located in the Minochi 水内 district of Shinano Province, Mount Togakushi exists as the chief site (*bonzan* 本山) of Shugen Ichijitsu Reisō Shintō. In the beginning, when heaven and earth first separated, Amaterasu Ōmikami entered a heavenly cave and blocked the entrance with a boulder. Because of her seclusion, the Central Kingdom of Bountiful Reed Plains descended into utter darkness. The myriad gods gathered to discuss how to remedy the situation. After serious consideration, Ame no Omoikane no Mikoto 天思兼尊, esteemed son of Takami Musubi no Mikoto 高皇產靈尊, devised a plan. Tajikarao no Mikoto 手力雄命, esteemed son [of Omoikane], lay await in the shadows outside of the cave as Ame no Koyane no Mikoto 天兒屋根命 and Ame no Futodama no Mikoto 天太玉命 lit torches and staged a performance. Just as Amaterasu Ōmikami nudged the boulder to have a peek, Tajikarao no Mikoto seized it and hurled it into the sky. The radiance of the sun goddess saturated the cosmos, and that very boulder plummeted downward, forming the mountain of Togakushi. From this event in the Central Kingdom of Bountiful Reed Plains, the divine land of the origin of the sun (*hi no moto no shinkoku* 日ノ本ノ神國) came into existence.

Later, during the reign of Emperor Kōgen, Ame no Omoikane no Mikoto and Tajikarao no Mikoto descended from the sky to the land of Shinano.²⁹ Tajikarao no Mikoto took residence as the great avatar (*daigongen* 大権現) of Okunoin 奥院, overseeing the mountain crags as their guardian. Omoikane no Mikoto, having established the shrine of Achi 阿知, made his abode as the great avatar of Chūin 中院.³⁰ Following the decree of Takami Musubi no Mikoto, Tajikarao no Mikoto's brother, Uwaru no Mikoto 表春命, became the guardian deity of the land of Shinano and the great avatar of Hōkōin 寶光院. Because Takami Musubi no Mikoto is the divine ancestor of the avatars of the three shrines, he became the guardian of Mount Takatsuma 高妻山, the highest of the Togakushi range, and is thus referred to as the luminous deity (*myōjin* 明神) of Takatsuma. Amaterasu Ōmikami, as Dainichi 大日 [Skt. Mahāvairocana] of the two-realm Womb and Diamond [*maṇḍalas*], revealed herself at the peak of Ototsuma 乙妻山. For this reason, Takatsuma and Ototsuma are referred to as the two-realm mountains (*ryōkaizan* 兩界山). The luminous deity Iizuna 飯繩 relies on the benefits of their softened light (*wakō*) and stands atop the peak of Iizuna 飯繩山.³¹ These are the great divine kings of our mountains.

28 Reprinted in ZST 24, *Jinja hen, Togakushi* 1, pp. 91–106. Edited by Sonehara Satoshi.

29 Emperor Kōgen 孝元 (214?–158? BCE).

30 This is more commonly written as Achi 阿智 Shrine and is located in southern Nagano Prefecture. The site played a prominent role in Jōin's formulation, most likely because the *Taisei kyō* refers to it as the site where Omoikane (founding deity of Reisō Shintō and Jōin's lineage) descended from heaven (Kobayashi 1934a, p. 231; Sonehara 2017, p. 59).

31 The term *wakō* alludes to the *honji suijaku* concept of *wakō dōjin* 和光同塵, or those who “soften their radiance to mingle with the dust.” Typically, buddhas or bodhisattvas represent divinities who “soften their radiance” and the kami of the world represent the “dust.” Notably, Jōin extends the former category to mythological *kami*. In the final paragraph, he does so again to the Tōshō Daigongen.

The divine way (*shintō* 神道) of Togakushi is known as Shugen Ichijitsu Reisō Shintō and is one of three types of Shinto in this sacred land.³² The first, Sōgen 宗源 Shintō, was transmitted by Ame no Koyane no Mikoto.³³ It is mentioned in the *Nihon shoki* in the statement, “Ame no Koyane no Mikoto holds the origin (*sōgen*) of divine affairs in his palm.” Hiraoka 平岡 Shrine of Kawachi 河内 serves as its head shrine.³⁴ The second, Saigen 齋元 Shintō, was transmitted by Futodama no Mikoto. Its name refers back to its divine founding by the Inbe 齋部 clan.³⁵ Awa 安房 Shrine is its head shrine.³⁶ The *Kujiki* 舊事紀 [the *Sendai kuji hongī*] reveals that the shrine of Futodama no Mikoto is the Awa Shrine.³⁷ The third, Reisō Shintō, was transmitted by Ame no Omoikane no Mikoto. It is called Reisō [Numinous] because as the *Kujiki* states, “Ame no Omoikane no Mikoto descended from Heaven down to the land of Shinano,” and that “Ame no Omoikane no Mikoto transmitted the Numinous way.”³⁸ Today, Mount Togakushi is the head shrine of Achi Shrine.

In the Hakuho 白鳳 era [673–686], Master En no Gyōja climbed this mountain and restored Reisō Shintō. Master En received the profound and ultimate secrets of both exoteric and esoteric (*kenmitsu* 顯密) affairs from the *taishokkan* 大織冠, Lord Kamatari.³⁹ On this basis, he named it Shugen Ichijitsu Reisō Shintō and transmitted it to Gakumon Gyōja 學門行者.⁴⁰ Gakumon Gyōja received the authorization of the avatars of the three shrines and revived the shrines. This initiated the position of chief administrator of our mountain, which is passed down through blood lineage (*kechimiyaku* 血脈) and represents the uninterrupted transmission of the divine way.

When the agricultural estates of our divine territory were ransacked amid medieval warfare, our divine way hung by a thread. In the year of Keichō 8 [1603], however, the Great God of Eastern Radiance (Tōshō Daijin 東光大神) was appointed as barbarian-expelling-general (*seii-tai-shōgun* 征夷大將軍, or shogun).⁴¹ He donated the divine territory of one thousand *koku* in estates to our mountain, thereby reviving and expanding it beyond its former state.⁴² As the forty-fifth successor to Gakumon Gyōja, the chief administrator

32 This triple classification of Shinto appears in the second preface of the *Taisei kyō*, attributed to the legendary sixth-century Hata no Kawakatsu 秦河勝.

33 This is another name for Yoshida Shintō, used by Yoshida Kanetomo in his *Yuiitsu Shintō myōbō yōshū* 唯一神道名法要集. For a translation, see Grapard 1992b.

34 Kawachi is located in the eastern part of present-day Osaka Prefecture. Hiraoka Shrine, now written as 枚岡, constituted an important shrine of the imperial cult of Yamato and was managed by the Nakatomi 中臣 clan. Ame no Koyane no Mikoto is regarded as one of its four founding deities.

35 The Inbe clan served alongside the Nakatomi clan as ritualists for the Yamato court.

36 Located in present-day Chiba Prefecture. As Jōin states, Awa Shrine was the family shrine of the Inbe clan. Futodama was considered the founding deity of the shrine.

37 *Sendai kuji hongī*, fasc. 7.

38 The first passage appears in the *Sendai kuji hongī*, fasc. 1 (*Jinnō hongī* 神皇本紀) under the seventh generation of gods. The second passage appears in the second preface of the *Taisei kyō*.

39 Fujiwara no Kamatari 藤原鎌足 (614–669). Exoteric (*ken*) and esoteric (*mitsu*) refer to the term *kenmitsu*, the central paradigm of ritual knowledge in premodern Japanese Buddhism: *ken* as exemplified by the teachings of the *Lotus Sutra* and *mitsu* as esoteric Buddhist rituals and lineage transmissions.

40 Gakumon is the legendary founder of the temples of Togakushi.

41 Jōin refers here to Tokugawa Ieyasu by his posthumous apotheosis (more commonly Tōshō Daigongen 東照大権現).

42 One *koku* represented the amount of rice consumed by one man in a year.

Ken'ei 賢榮 received this territory.⁴³ The forty-sixth-generation chief administrator Eison 榮尊 received the [accompanying] vermilion seal in the seventeenth year of that era [1612].⁴⁴ As a result, Togakushi became a site off-limits to the provincial constable and one that would offer prayers for the eternal stability of the realm under heaven. The mountain came under the supervision of chief administrator Eison, who managed the shrine priests (*shasō* 社僧) and shrine families (*shake* 社家). Its divine territory provided income for the temples.

Furthermore, shrine attendants (*bafuribe* 祝部) of Reisō Shintō from Achi have striven to ensure the utmost security of the state (*kokka* 國家) by presenting ritual scrolls every year.⁴⁵ At this time, they declare in reverence, “The gracious merit of the Great God [of Eastern Radiance] extends as high as the mountains and as deep as the sea. Our mountain truly serves as a paragon of the avatar [of Eastern Radiance’s] divine treasure.”

Reisō Shintō is not only revered in our country as the way of our divine land but also by the people of other countries. Luminous rulers and sage kings who have ushered in periods of historic restoration (*chūkō* 中興) have employed this divine way to govern their countries under heaven. This is what is meant by the following passage from the *I jing*: “When the sage employs the divine way (*shendao* 神道) to establish the way, all under heaven submit.”⁴⁶ Because Japan is the land of the gods (*shinkoku* 神國), the ways of China and India resemble leaves and branches, while our divine way constitutes the trunk and roots. This is the ultimate meaning of [Shugen] Ichijitsu [Reisō] Shintō. As such, the *Origin Account of the Great Avatar of Eastern Radiance* states:

It has been transmitted that long ago, three disks of golden light emerged from the waves of dark and stormy seas. As heaven and earth opened and yin and yang separated, the three disks simultaneously transformed into three radiant divine sages. For this reason, [our country] is the land of the gods. Transmitted from the age of the gods through countless emperors who were each selected for his virtue, [it has been governed by] a single lineage of rulers (*setsurishu* 刹利種; Skt. *ksatriya*) that has yet to be overthrown.⁴⁷ Because their supreme rule can be compared to that of Jambudvīpa (Enbu 閻浮), the land of the sun constitutes the trunk and root while India and China are its leaves and branches.⁴⁸

43 Ken'ei was appointed chief administrator in 1567, three years after Takeda Shingen seized the mountain and surrounding territory (following a series of battles between Shingen and Uesugi Kenshin that destroyed the site). Ken'ei resettled with a group of priests in Echigo (Kenshin's territory) before overseeing the reconstruction of the site under the Tokugawa.

44 Eison was appointed chief administrator from 1604–1612. The vermilion seal, bestowed by Tokugawa Ieyasu, effectively removed Togakushi and its landholdings from the oversight of the *shugo* (provincial constable) and placed it on par with the territory of a *daimyō* or *hatamoto* (shogunal vassal).

45 Although this statement appears to refer to the shrine attendants of Achi, Jōin elsewhere refers to his lineage (and even title) as originating from Achi (based on Omoikane's initial descent there).

46 Although the language varies slightly, this quotation appears in the book of *Guan* of the *I jing*. Chinese Text Project, ctext.org/book-of-changes/guan (Accessed 23 September 2021).

47 Sidestepping the reality of imperial (limited) versus military authority (great) for most of Japan's history, Jōin seems to subtly compare the Minamoto 源 clan (unmentioned but later discussed; and from which the Ashikaga 足利 and Tokugawa claimed descent) with the *ksatriya* class of ancient India, who acted as military rulers.

48 *Tōshō daigongen kana engi* 東照大権現假名縁起, p. 35. Jambudvīpa (full transliteration: Enbudai 閻浮提) is the great continent south of Mount Sumeru in Buddhist cosmology and can represent anything from the Indian subcontinent to the entire human world.

This preface on the divine way was composed by the late emperor Gomizunoo.⁴⁹ It signifies that Japan is the land of the gods because every one of its installed emperors, since the bifurcation of heaven and earth, have descended from Amaterasu Ōmikami. Even though the lineage of Fujiwara heads held the ranks of regent and chancellor, which exceeded all other posts, it was the decree of this divine land that they could not rise to the rank of king.

Even if the royal line deviates by multiple generations, the succession of the imperial throne is not interrupted in terms of the way of this divine land. As such, the twenty-seventh emperor Keitai was a sixth-generation descendant of Emperor Ōjin.⁵⁰ Even though ten generations of emperors passed between the two, all between ruled the land virtuously with compassion, benevolence, and filial piety. For this reason, Keitai received the duties of emperor and was installed at the age of fifty-seven. He ascended to heaven at the age of eighty and became the great luminous god (*daimyōjin* 大明神) of Asuwa 足羽 Shrine in Echizen.⁵¹ That being the case, as Emperor Seiwa's twenty-sixth-generation descendant, the ruling Great Avatar of Eastern Radiance must [also] be a descendant of Amaterasu Ōmikami.⁵² For this reason, he serves the great jewel of the emperor, and through his governance of this country, fulfills the following divine proclamation of Amaterasu:

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 jeweled seat [of the emperor], heaven and earth will not suffer.⁵³

This meaning resonates in the following passage from the origin account [of the Great Avatar of Eastern Radiance]:

Among the numerous lineages of the original imperial court, the Minamoto clan, which descended from the fifty-sixth Emperor Mizunoo [Seiwa], have the greatest military strength. For many generations, they protected the ruler and governed the land. Nobly serving the founding deity [Amaterasu] of this remarkable family, the Great God of Eastern Radiance has been highly praised for generations. To expound upon what this means would exhaust the tip of the brush.⁵⁴

Turning to more recent times, the third-generation shogun of the Ashikaga, Yoshimitsu of Rokuon'in 鹿苑院, demonstrated his military authority in Japan and China. For this reason, he achieved illustrious ranks: chief administrator to the two academies of Shōgaku'in 奨學院 and Junna'in 淳和院, leader of the Minamoto clan, barbarian-expelling-general, chancellor of the realm (*daijō daijin* 太政大臣), junior-first rank (*ju ichii* 從一位), *ju sangū* 准三宮,

49 Emperor Gomizunoo 後水尾 (1596–1680, r. 1611–1629).

50 Emperor Keitai 繼體 (early sixth century). Ōjin 應神 is traditionally recognized as the fifteenth emperor of Japan. Here Jōin ascribes to the theory that Keitai was a distant member of the imperial family outside the direct line of emperors.

51 Asuwa Shrine is located today in the city of Fukui.

52 The ninth-century Emperor Seiwa 清和.

53 This famous passage comes from the *Kogo shūi*, pp. 16–17.

54 *Tōshō daigongen kana engi*; TZ 1, p. 35.

kubō 公方, and was presented with the title of dharma emperor (*hōō* 法皇).⁵⁵ As his dying words (*goikun* 御遺訓), this great divine ruler uttered, “A king who balances rank and talent [among his ministers] is one who governs all under heaven.”⁵⁶ Because the two academies of Junna and Shōgaku belonged to Emperor Tenchō, the position [of chief administrator] was appointed by abdicated emperors (*daijō tennō* 太上天皇).⁵⁷ Given these factors, is it not obvious why this descendent of Emperor Seiwa rose to the highest royal post?⁵⁸

It thus goes without saying that after his initiation into Ichijitsu Shintō, the Great Divine Ruler of Eastern Radiance set in place a foundation of sacred bedrock for the security of all under heaven and the prosperity of his descendants. For this reason, [Ieyasu’s site of enshrinement, Tōshōgū] received the imperial designation of *miya* (*gūgō* 宮號) after Ieyasu’s death. The *sansai* 散齋 and *chisai* 致齋 ceremonies were performed there in strict fashion, and the decree for the messenger to bring offerings (*reiheishi* 例幣使) equaled the ceremony at the great divine shrines of Ise.⁵⁹ This proves that [the Great Avatar of Eastern Radiance] will be venerated as a ruling king of this divine land for countless generations to come. As such, the origin account [of the Great Avatar of Eastern Radiance] states:

Our court is comprised of Amaterasu Ōmikami’s descendants. From the time that the imperial child [Ninigi no Mikoto] descended [to earth] to the imperial family’s protection by countless gods to the time when the twenty-two shrines were propitiated, nothing was revered more by the court than the great shrines [of Ise].⁶⁰ Nowadays, the equivalent site is that of the three great avatars of Eastern Radiance.⁶¹

That being the case, long ago when Amaterasu Ōmikami hid in the cave in heaven, Tajikarao no Mikoto opened the cave door to save the Central Kingdom of Bountiful Reed Plains. 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

55 Shōgaku’in and Junna’in were the two principal educational facilities for court nobility. The post of chief administrator to the academies historically carried symbolic value for heads of the Minamoto clan (Varley 1980, p. 2). Ashikaga Yoshimitsu retired as shogun in 1394 and appointed himself *daijō daijin* (Great Minister of the Council of State). This new title implied authority over both military and nobility. The rank of *ju ichii* was the highest level for courtiers. It was awarded to Yoshimitsu at the age of twenty-two. The title of *ju sangū* was given to members of the immediate imperial family and officials close to the emperor. *Kubō* was an honorific title reserved for the shogun. Finally, the court granted Yoshimitsu the title, *daijō hōō* 太上天皇, denoting the symbolic status of a retired dharma emperor.

56 Original text: 位ト禄トツリ合ヒタル者ヲ王ト云ハ天下ヲ治ル人。Source unclear.

57 Jōin most likely means Emperor Junna 淳和, whose reign ended in the year of Tenchō 天長 10 (833).

58 For a detailed account of Yoshimitsu’s ascent to sovereignty through ritual performance, see chapter 7 of Conlan 2011. By listing the various titles received by Ashikaga Yoshimitsu that connote sovereign status, Jōin argues that Yoshimitsu should be regarded as a king or emperor. Under this logic, Tokugawa Ieyasu should be regarded in the same capacity. In addition, Jōin makes a subtle comparison between Ieyasu and Yoshimitsu by referring to the latter as a great divine ruler, despite never being deified like Ieyasu.

59 As described in the tenth-century *Engi shiki* 延喜式, the *sansai* and *chisai* were performed prior to the Daijōsai 大嘗祭. The *sansai* constituted a month-long period of partial abstinence on the part of the new emperor. The *chisai* was carried out in the final three days leading up to and including the day of the Daijōsai, whereupon strict abstinence was performed by everyone participating in the ceremony (Bock 1990, p. 30). Both rituals declined in the fourteenth century but were later revived in the Meiji period.

60 For background on the imperial cult of the twenty-two shrines, see Grapard 1988.

61 *Tōshō daigongen kana engi*, p. 35. The three avatars (*gongen*) refer to the Tōshō Daigongen, Sannō Daigongen 山王大権現, and Matarajin 摩多羅神 at Nikkō.

divine land. Even if one were to suggest that this differs from other ages, the authority and virtue of this numinous deity (*reijin* 靈神) unites all past and present affairs under heaven.

A transcription of the Vermillion Seal (*goshuin* 御朱印):

The Divine Territory of Mount Togakushi

Kurita Mura 栗田村, Nijō 二條, and Kamikusugawa 上楠川 of the Minochi district in the land of Shinano—a combined stipend of 200 *koku*—have been previously gifted. Ueno Mura 上野村, Shimokusugawa 下楠川 of Tochiyama Mura 栃原村, Uwahara 宇和原, Narao 奈良尾—a combined 800 *koku*—are further advanced. Under a total allotment of 1,000 *koku*, the chief administrator will receive 500 *koku*, the shrine priests will receive 300 *koku*, and the shrine families will receive 200 *koku*. All temples, shrines and received territory outside of the temple gates shall not be entered by the *shugo* and is permanently off-limits to unaffiliated persons.

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

Regulations for Mount Togakushi:

Item 1: Priests of the three temples of Kenkōji 顯光寺 who have not received initiation (*kanjō* 灌頂) will not be granted permission to reside in the sub-temples. As an exception, those 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 sub-temple 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 sub-temple by another is forbidden altogether.

Item 4: Repairs to a temple's ritual implements or temple grounds requires permission from the main temple [of the chief administrator].

Item 5: Rogue priests who form alliances or factions that establish unauthorized protocol will be immediately expelled.

The above articles are to be observed in strict accordance.

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

Turning to another subject, the transmission of initiation at Kenkōji of the great Mount Togakushi has been passed from master to student for generations of chief administrators, dating back to En no Gyōja. All annual festivals have been practiced on the basis of the Dharma. Our divine hall (*shinden* 神殿) holds the single-scrolled *Transmitted Account* (*Ruki* 流記) of Gakumon Gyōja, the single-scrolled *Regulations [for rituals] in the Mountains* (*Buchū hōssoku* 峯中法則), and the *Secret Teachings of the Thirty-Three Transmissions* (*Sanjūsan tsūki no hiketsu* 三十三通記之秘訣). All are treated as sacred treasures.⁶² Inside is [also] the following certificate of

62 The first text refers to the *Togakushisan Kenkōji ruki*, which describes the origins of Togakushi. The second text is another name for the *Sanbu sājō hōsoku mikki* 三峰相承法則密記, compiled by Akyūbō Sokuden. The third text was compiled by Akyūbō's predecessors at Mount Hiko. According to Jōin's *Togakushisan shinryō ki* (ST 59, *Jinja ben* 24, p. 402), Akyūbō transmitted the two latter texts to Togakushi's head clerics in 1524 (Daiei 大永 4).

transmission [of rituals conducted] in the two-realm mountains (*ryōkaizan buchū injin* 兩界山峯中印信), which verifies our dharma lineage.⁶³

Certificate for Peak Entry (*nyūbu inshō jō* 入峯印證狀)⁶⁴

Kenkōji, Mount Togakushi, Land of Shinano

The twofold Womb and Diamond pure land and the ten-realm *maṇḍalas* coexist on this mountain. At this time, Gizōbō Eikei 義藏房榮快 has entrusted himself to the *daisendatsu* 大先達 Akyūbō in undertaking the rituals of peak entry (*nyūbu shugyō* 入峯修行).⁶⁵ They entail the movement from seed to fruit, from fruit to seed, and that of neither fruit nor seed, among other initiatory rites.⁶⁶ These rituals trace back to our lofty founder En the Layman (En *ubasoku* 役優婆塞; Skt. En *upāsaka*) and have been transmitted through [esoteric] initiations in the mountains (*buchū kanjō* 峯中灌頂) through *mudrā* and *mantra* from teacher to student. They are now received in their entirety. Truly, this [transmission] is based on the mystical virtue of the bodhisattva Nāgārjuna and is the reward of En no Gyōja's vow. Moreover, the peak entries of successive generations of *sendatsu* will confirm this certification.

Daiei 4 [1524], third month, day of birth.⁶⁷

Received by Eikei, forty-third chief administrator of Mount Togakushi.

This confirms the luminous transmission from the *daisendatsu* Akyūbō of the numinous mountain of Hiko. Seal [of Akyūbō].

Now, the regulations for initiation at this mountain were established by En no Gyōja. They are based on the worldly laws of the wheel-turning sage kings (*tenrin jōō*; Skt. *cakravartin*), as exemplified in scriptures such as the *Flower Garland Sutra* and the *Golden Light Sutra*. These esoteric teachings have been transmitted by *mudrā* and *mantra* through the successive generations of *sendatsu* 先達 who have relied on them. The section on Correct Reasoning (*Shōron hin* 正論品) of the *Golden Light Sutra* states:

In the past there was a king named Rikison Sō 力尊相 who had a son he named Shinsō 信相. It was not long before [the son] was to receive initiation, which would allow him to rule the country. At that time, his father the king said to Prince Shinsō, “In the world, there is correct reasoning, by which one effectively governs the country. When I was prince, it was not long before I too succeeded my father as king. At that time, my father, who grasped this correct reasoning, explained it to me. On the basis of this

63 The term *injin* refers to *mudrā*, hand signs (*in* 印), and *mantra*, true words (*shin* 信), secretly transmitted through esoteric Buddhist rituals. By extension, it refers to a certificate recording the transmission of this esoteric knowledge, verifying the passage of a dharma lineage from master to student. As such, Jōin claims here the existence of a document proving that Shugendō peak entry rituals were transmitted from Mount Hiko to Togakushi and performed there in the mountains of Takatsuma and Ototsuma.

64 The blank form for this document appears in Akyūbō's *Shugen shūyō hiketsu* (p. 397b). Jōin was familiar with this work, suggesting a possible source for him.

65 A *daisendatsu*, roughly meaning “great mountain guide,” is a high-ranking position in Shugendō.

66 These three movements refer to the three seasonal peak entries at Mount Hiko: spring (seed to fruit: symbolic of the path to awakening), autumn (fruit to seed: the reverse direction by which bodhisattvas descend into the world to help others), and summer (neither seed nor fruit: symbolic of the nonduality between either direction).

67 The completion of these rituals and this transmission symbolized Eikei's birth into this lineage.

reasoning, I have [established] effective governance of the country for the next twenty thousand years.”⁶⁸

The *Flower Garland Sutra* states:

The crown prince, born from a wheel-turning sage king, has as his mother the proper empress, and his body is in complete form. The wheel-turning king orders the prince to mount the white elephant on a saddle made of jewels and marvelous gold, hang great curtains, raise a great dharma banner (*hōban* 法幡), burn incense and scatter flowers, have various forms of music played, take the water of the four great seas and put them in a golden vase. The king takes the vase and pours it over the prince’s head. At this moment, he receives the rank and duty of king, and his name is counted among the [class of] consecrated rulers. His abilities are complete, he practices the ten good ways, and moreover, he is referred to as a wheel-turning sage king.⁶⁹

One can see from these passages that the transmission of initiation originally sanctioned the succession of wheel-turning sage kings who would govern the state under heaven. Thus, it must be that this ceremony was conducted in Japan since the age of the gods.

The [Fujiwara] family of regents has stated that the great affair of worshipping the heavenly gods and earthly deities in the Great Feast of Enthronement (*Daijōe* 大嘗會) and the great affair of the enthronement initiation (*sokui no kanjō* 即位の灌頂) have been transmitted since the age of the gods. This explanation from the family of ritual specialists is to be truly trusted.

The *Abhidharmakośa* refers to the Celestial Worthy (Tenson 天尊) as a wheel-turning king.⁷⁰ Among the scriptures of the other country [China], the *Lingbao zhutian lingshu duming miaojing* 靈寶諸天靈書度命妙經 states:

The Celestial Worthy said, “Those who can serve him will have seven generations of ancestors [re-]born in heaven, and the wheel-turning sage kings will, generation upon generation, never cease.”⁷¹

Does this not make the seven generations of heavenly gods and five generations of earth gods [of Japanese antiquity]—all of whom are celestial worthies (*ama no mikoto*

68 *Konkōmyō kyō*, T 16, no. 663, p. 346, c24–29.

69 *Kegon kyō*, T 10, no. 279, p. 206, a20–25.

70 The *Abhidharmakośa* uses the term *tenson* in the following context:

The golden-wheel [king] greets all kings of small countries who make this request: “Our lands are broad, rich and fertile. They are peaceful and pleasant with multitudes of people. We ask [you,] Heaven-honored one, to foster and command us. We all call on the support of [you,] Heaven-honored one.” (T 29, no. 1558, p. 65, a27–29)

71 The passage is actually taken from the *Bianzheng lun* 辯正論 (*Benshōron*, T 52, no. 2110, p. 543, a22–23), a text by Falin 法琳 (572–640) that rebuts a Daoist attack against Buddhism. In it, Falin quotes from the *Lingbao zhutian lingshu duming miaojing*, no longer extant.

天尊)—wheel-turning sage kings?⁷² Arriving at the age of men, the *Shūgaishō* 拾芥抄 and the *Genkō shakusho* 元亨釋書 among other texts refer to Japan's sovereign as a “golden-wheel sage king.” As such, the divine way of other countries must be based on that of our divine country. In addition, the *Taishang xiangong qingwen jing* 太上仙公請問經 states, “A royal family which produces kings for generation after generation is referred to as a ‘wheel-turning sage king family’ and ultimately enters the path of perfected transcendents (*shinsen* 真仙).”⁷³ The scripture of the other country [China] constitutes 3,957 fascicles. Known as the *Storehouse of the Way* (*Daozang jing* 道藏經), the Song emperor Zhenzong also named it the Comprehensive Register of Precious Literature (*Baowen tonglu* 寶文統錄) in his preface to it.⁷⁴ It has not yet crossed [the seas to our country].

According to the *Flower Garland Sutra*, the treasure of the white elephant is the greatest of the seven treasures of the sage king. Han Feizi 韓子 remarked, “The elephant is the great animal of the south. It is not known in the Central Kingdom, but one can see them in illustrations.”⁷⁵ Even though kings are obviously not born in the Central Kingdom, if a ruler of sagely virtue brings about universal subjugation to the four [surrounding regions of] barbarians and his tribute arrives without impediment across ten thousand leagues of blue sea, is [this tribute] not referred to as the treasure of a wheel[-turning] king?⁷⁶

During the Ōei 応永 period [1394–1428], when black elephants and parrots were received from southern barbarians (*nanban* 南蠻) as tribute, the military virtue of Lord Yoshimitsu permeated widely across Chinese and barbarian (*kai* 華夷) lands.⁷⁷ The great Ming emperor Jianwen referred to him in writing as King Minamoto Michiyoshi 源道義 of the country of Japan.⁷⁸ Yoshimitsu was such a luminous ruler that Emperor Chengzu composed an elegy in which he referred to him posthumously as a reverential tributary king (*kyōken'ō* 恭猷王).⁷⁹ Is this not similar to the Iron-Turning King (*tetsurin'ō* 鐵輪王), who rules all countries of the southern region of the central four continents of Mount Sumeru?⁸⁰

72 Jōin glosses 天尊 in Japanese (*ama no mikoto*) in order to equate Japan's gods with Celestial Worthies (*tianzun* 天尊), a term that typically refers to a trinity of primordial gods in the highest realm of the Daoist pantheon. While the term can be used to refer to the Buddha (lit. as “one honored by devas”), Jōin's usage reflects the Daoist rendering. He equates the two groups of deities because both played cosmogenic roles and perhaps because this conflation places Japan's gods on par with those of the central kingdom of China.

73 This is also taken from the *Bianzheng lun* (T 52, no. 2110, p. 543, b16–18), which credits Laozi as the source of this quote.

74 The *Baowen tonglu* was commissioned by Song emperor Zhenzong 眞宗.

75 Han Feizi was a legalist philosopher of the Chinese Warring States period.

76 Here Jōin acknowledges the distinction between the title of emperor (*huangdi*), designated for the ruler of the Middle Kingdom, and king (*wang*), given to heads of allied or alien foreign states.

77 From the late Muromachi to the Edo periods, *nanban* referred to the area of present-day southeast Asia (*Dejitaru daijisen*, s.v. 南蛮). By extension, the term was applied to Portuguese and Spanish visitors to Japan (coming from the south) in the sixteenth century. It is unclear here to whom Jōin is referring. Exotic animals, including elephants and parrots, were among the items the Portuguese brought in trade, but this activity began in the mid-sixteenth century, long after Yoshimitsu's rule (Joaquim 2017, p. 43).

78 Emperor Jianwen famously addressed Yoshimitsu as “Your subject, Minamoto, King of Japan” in a letter of invitation to commence trade relations as a tributary state of the Ming dynasty, which Yoshimitsu accepted (Hall and Toyoda 1977, pp. 163–165; Conlan 2011, pp. 172–173).

79 Emperor Chengzu 成祖, also known as Yongle, was the third emperor of the Ming dynasty.

80 In Buddhist cosmology, the Iron-Turning King rules over the southern continent of Jambudvīpa, and is one of four wheel-turning kings (the others being gold, silver, and copper).

Turning to another subject, the Vinaya teachings for initiation rites consist of the four grave offenses and the ten good precepts.⁸¹ The *Mahāvairocana Sutra* states:

There are the four grave crimes (*shi harai* 四波羅夷, Skt. *pārājika*) that are crucial to the causes and conditions of one's life. Do not commit these crimes. What are the four? Slandering the Dharma, discarding the aspiration for awakening, possessing greed, and harming living beings. Why? These inclinations are impure and do not maintain the *bodhisattva* precepts.⁸²

The commentary of the heavenly master Yixing states: “As for these four precepts, it is as if after having received them, one is shown an abbreviated form of the [entire] precepts. You must know that these are the four grave offenses in the secret repository [of Mahāvairocana's teachings].”⁸³ The ten good precepts (*jū zenkai* 十善戒) were enacted into law by the kings of India. In Japan, when we call the emperor the “ruler of the ten good” (*jū zen no kimi* 十善ノ君), it refers to this.

Now turning to the office of the chief administrator, the title of chief administrator originally applied to one of four managerial posts. Pronounced in Japanese as *kami*, it was the highest-ranking position [of the four posts] and oversaw the management of all affairs. The *Shokugen* 職原 states: “The orders of the chief administrator constitute government orders. Since ancient times, they have accorded with imperial decrees and thus are respected by all under heaven. A violation of them constitutes a disobedience of an imperial decree.”⁸⁴ This statement means that because the orders of the chief 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 the post of chief administrator with obeisance. An instance that violates his policies is a criminal act and equal to disobedience of an imperial decree. Because there is a chief administrator for the office of criminal affairs (*kebi shi no bettō* 檢非違使ノ別當) for issues of this sort, officials outside [of this office] also advance such [criminal cases]. The gravity of the office of the chief administrator should be understood in terms of this context.

That being the case, the position of chief administrator of temples and shrines has also been appointed since ancient times. All affairs fall under the jurisdiction of the chief administrator, given that the office of the chief administrator is appointed by the imperial court and shogunate. Those fellows who, without appointment, privately call themselves chief administrators are not even worth mention.

The chief administrator of the shrines of state-sponsored temples originally began as a secular position. According to the *Record of Abbots of the Sanmon* [branch of Tendai Buddhism] (*Sanmon no zasu ki* 山門ノ座主記):

81 The four *pārājika* are the most serious offenses a monk or nun can commit and can lead to expulsion from the sangha. The ten good precepts, intended for lay followers of Mahayana, are aimed at promoting wholesome behavior: not to kill, steal, commit adultery, lie, speak harshly, divisively, or idly; not to be greedy, angry, or have wrong views.

82 *Mahāvairocana sūtra*, T 18, no. 848, p. 40, a12–15.

83 Yixing 一行 (684–727). Jōin cites his *Da piluzhena chengfo jing shu* 大毘盧遮那成佛經疏 (T 39, no. 1796, p. 671, a9–10).

84 The *Shokugen shō* 職原抄 is a medieval text that outlines administrative duties for government officials.

On the third day of the third month of Kōnin 弘仁 14 [823], the Fujiwara courtier and Middle Councilor (*chūnagon* 中納言) Mimori and the Middle Controller of the Right (*uchūben* 右中辨) Ōtomo no Sukune Kunimichi were placed as chief administrators of the temple [of Enryakuji] by imperial decree. From that time forward, the Minister of the Left was installed as controller (*kengyō* 檢校) and either the Major Controller of the Left (*sadaiben* 左大辨) or Senior Recorder of the Left (*sadaishi* 左大史) were installed as chief administrators.⁸⁵

The *Isshin kaimon* 一心戒文 also states, “The Fujiwara minister (*daijin* 大臣), Chief Councilor (*dainagon* 大納言) Yoshimine and Imperial Advisor (*sangi* 參議) [Ōtomo no] Sukune appointed the chief administrator of Enryakuji to manage the Buddhist matters at the foot of Mount [Hiei].”⁸⁶ As for the Buddhist affairs at the foot of the mountain, Hiyoshi Shrine carries out dharma assemblies.

The *Jingi dō bukki ryō* 神祇道服忌令 lists Hachiman 八幡, Hiyoshi 日吉, Gion 祇園, Kitano 北野, Imamiya 今宮, and Goryō 御靈 as shrines that are managed by temples.⁸⁷ For this reason, we can assume that the position of chief administrator for temple-shrine complexes began with them. Now let us consider some examples of chief administrators of the great shrines. When the retired emperor Shirakawa made his sovereign pilgrimage to Kumano, he asked if the mountain had a chief administrator.⁸⁸ When informed there was not, he was aghast. He called for the appointment of one, summoning the Ui ウイ [宇井] and Suzuki families. When the avatar from the land of Magadha flew over to our country, it was [the ancestors of] them who comprised its two wings.⁸⁹ At that time, the territory of Kumano was managed autonomously without civilized oversight. Right after [the avatar landed], a *yamabushi* in seclusion appeared before it to offer flowers. When Suzuki suggested that he become chief administrator, the *yamabushi* [accepted, though humbly] replying, “My talents are insufficient.” This was the start of the tenure of Kyōshin 教眞 as chief administrator. The position of chief administrator was to be passed down [patrilineally] for generations, so he could no longer remain an itinerant (*hijiri* 聖). He made inquiries regarding a wife. The court lady Tatsutahara タツタハラ [立田腹], daughter of Tameyoshi, was chosen as especially suitable for Kyōshin.⁹⁰ Kyōshin placed his five sons at the five sites of Hongū 本宮, Shingū 新宮, Nachi 那智, Wakata 若田, and Tanabe 田邊. As his last request, Kyōshin stated that the eldest one should succeed him. At that time, Tanzō 湛増 of Tanabe was the eldest, so he became the next chief administrator. Because Kyōshin was a descendant of the lieutenant general (*chūjō* 中將) Sanekata 實方, the executive administrative

85 Jōin is most likely referencing the *Tendai zasu ki* 天台座主記. The two figures mentioned are Fujiwara no Mimori 藤原三守 (785–840) and Ōtomo no Sukune Kunimichi 大伴宿禰國道 (768–828). Together they held the first appointments of “secular chief administrator” (*zoku bettō* 俗別當) to Enryakuji.

86 Yoshimine no Yasuyo 良岑安世 (785–830). Jōin’s source is the *Denjutsu isschin kaimon* 傳述一心戒文, edited by Kōjō 光定 (779–858), 3 fasc.

87 The *Jingi dō bukki ryō* (Administrative code for divine mourning) was enacted by the shogunate in 1684.

88 Emperor Shirakawa 白河 (1053–1129; r. 1072–1086).

89 Magadha was one of the sixteen ancient kingdoms of the Indian subcontinent.

90 Minamoto no Tameyoshi 源為義 (1096–1156).

(*shugyō bettō* 執行別當) [temple] at Nachi was named Jippōin 實方院 [by Tanzō].⁹¹ This is confirmed in its entirety in the *Taiheiki tsurugi no maki*.⁹²

[According to the lineage chart of Iwashimizu Hachimangū 石清水八幡宮] Enjō was the first chief administrator of Hachiman Iwashimizu on Otokoyama.⁹³ His son Ryōjō held the offices of chief ritualist (*kannushi*) and chief administrator.⁹⁴ Ryōjō's son Shōsei held the offices of dharma master (*hōin*), controller (*kengyō*), and chief administrator, where he managed the temple site for eleven years.⁹⁵ He was the first person to be appointed dharma master in our country, and since then, his descendants have flourished.⁹⁶ Now situated at Zenpōji 善法寺, Shin Zenpōji 新善法寺, and Tanaka Zenpōji 田中善法寺, they all advanced to the positions of dharma master and high priest (*daisōzu* 大僧都).⁹⁷ Long ago, the daughter of the Zenpōji dharma master Tsūshō 通清 became the mother of Lord Yoshimitsu of Rokuon'in. Through this marital connection, Tsūshō gained the alliance of the shogunate. This history is all revealed in the great lineage chart [of Iwashimizu Hachimangū].

In the cases of the executive chief administrator (*shugyō bettō* 執行別當) of Gion and Shōbai'in 松梅院 of Kitano, the combined offices of chief administrator and shrine officiant (*jimu* 寺務) have been passed down through the ages. As for Mount Hiko in the district of Buzen 豊前, a single lineage has been transmitted all the way back to En no Gyōja. This dharma lineage is shared by Togakushi and Hiko, having been transmitted at both mountains through rituals of initiation since ancient times.⁹⁸ Allow me to expound on the details surrounding it.

Emperor Go-Fushimi's sixth son Jokō *shinnō* was the first to hold the position of head priest (*zazu* 座主) at Mount Hiko.⁹⁹ He was originally titled Chōjo *shinnō* 長助親王 during his time at Enman'in 圓滿院 of Miidera 三井寺.¹⁰⁰ When he was later appointed head priest of Mount Hiko, he transmitted the dharma teachings of that mountain. His descendants

91 Fujiwara no Sanekata 藤原實方 (d. 998).

92 This extended account, taken from the *Taiheiki tsurugi no maki* (better known simply as *Taiheiki*), contains a number of historical inaccuracies. Shirakawa's visits to Kumano extended from 1090 to 1128. On his first visit, he established the office of controller for the three major shrine-temple complexes of Kumano (*Kumano sanzan kengyō* 熊野三山檢校) (the three sites already had their own respective administrators). This position was held concurrently with the office of chief priest (*chōri* 長吏) of Onjōji. Zōyo 增譽 (1032–1116), Shirakawa's guide to Kumano and the chief priest of Onjōji, was appointed by Shirakawa as the first controller of the Kumano *sanzan*. Furthermore, Lady Tatsutahara (alt. Torii zenni 鳥居禪尼) was married to the nineteenth administrator of Shingū. Kyōshin does not appear in the administrator lineage chart (Miyake 1990).

93 Enjō 延晟 (d. 933). Iwashimizu Hachiman (Jōin writes the name in reverse order) is located in present-day Kyoto. Historically, it was also referred to as Otokoyama Hachiman.

94 Ryōjō 良常 (d. 982). The shrine's lineage chart lists him as the first secular administrator of the shrine. After him, there appear to be offices for both administrator and secular administrator.

95 Shōsei 聖清 (d. 1013). *Hōin*, abbreviated from *hōin daiōshō i* 法印大和尚位, was awarded by the court and was the highest rank for a priest at the time.

96 According to Nakamura 1975 (1496c, s.v. 法印), Shinga 真雅 (801–879), disciple of Kūkai, was the first priest to receive this rank in 864.

97 The Tanaka and Zenpōji branches of the shrine emerged in the late twelfth century as the shrine complex expanded (*Kokushi daijiten*, s.v. 石清水八幡宮).

98 The one recorded instance of this transmission between the two mountains is Sokuden's transmission of the Certificate for Peak Entry to Eikei in 1524, noted by Jōin above.

99 Emperor Go-Fushimi 後伏見 (1288–1336, r. 1298–1301).

100 This is Chōjo *hōshinnō* 長助法親王 (1320–1361). The origins of Jōin's reference to Jokō *shinnō* 助康親王 are unclear.

have the character *yū* 有 in their names, a feature that has continued down to the present.¹⁰¹ In recent times, they have held the position of abbot (*monshu* 門主) of Nikkō. During the Tenshō 天正 years [1573–1592], the head priest Shun'yū 舜有 had daughters but no sons, so he adopted the third son of the chief councilor Lord Terusuke 耀資 of Hino and named him Chūyū 忠有.¹⁰² Chūyū also had only daughters, so he adopted the second son of Lord Iwakura Tomotaka and named him Yūshō 有清.¹⁰³ Yūshō's son was named Ryōyū 亮有. Ryōyū's son was Kōyū 廣有, and Kōyū's son was Sōyū 相有. Over the generations priests ranked as *sōjō* 僧正 and *daisōzu* [have served at Hiko].

As for our mountain of Togakushi, it was originally restored by Gakumon Gyōja during the reign of Emperor Ninmyō.¹⁰⁴ Since he undertook the post of chief administrator, it has been sustained for fifty-five generations, or over 870 years. The order of succession for the position of chief administrator is recorded in the [*Togakushisan*] *Shinryō ki* 神領記 and the lineage chart and thus is omitted here.¹⁰⁵

Ichijitsu Shintō truly constitutes the virtue (*dōtoku* 道德) of the heavenly deities (*tenson* 天尊). In order to govern oneself as well as govern the country, nothing is more essential than petitioning them for eternal stability between heaven and earth. In praying for good fortune, nothing surpasses the benefits of softening their light in order to mingle with the dust (*wakō dōjin*). For this reason, we perform ceremonies and make offerings (*saishō* 齋醮) before the gods and chant the *Daode jing*.¹⁰⁶ In prostration, we solemnly pray for the peace of all under heaven, for the security of the state, for treasures that bring enduring prosperity, for lasting fortune from heaven, for the five grains to reach maturity, for abundance and ease among the people, for harmony between yin and yang, and for continuity between heaven and earth.

Jōin, fifty-fifth chief administrator of Mount Togakushi, shrine official (*shashoku* 社職), and high priest of Kanjuin 勧修院.

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- ST *Shintō taikai* 神道大系. 120 vols. Shintō Taikai Hensankai, 1977–1994.
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101 Chōjo himself was given the dharma name, Joyū 助有 (*Nihon jinmei daijiten*, s.v. 長助法親王).

102 The chief councilor is Hino Terusuke 日野輝資 (1555–1623).

103 This is Iwakura Tomotaka 岩倉具堯 (d. 1633).

104 Emperor Ninmyō 仁明 (808–850, r. 833–850).

105 Both texts were compiled by Jōin. The list of administrators begins with the origin gods of Japan and continues up to the thirty-third administrator, Kanjō 寛清.

106 The term *saishō* (Ch. *zaijiao*) was used in Tang-period Daoist ceremonies (*zai*) that involved the purification of a ritual space and communication with supreme deities, followed by sacrificial offerings (*jiao*) presented to subordinate gods who assisted the priests (Andersen 2008). In this case, Jōin is most likely referring to Japan's pantheon of deities.

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