

Kōfukuji and the Mountains of Yamato

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(Received 28 February 1989, revised manuscript April 1989)

Shugendō has long been divided into two main streams: Honzan, associated with Tendai Buddhism and Tōzan, associated with Shingon. According to most scholarship on shugendō, and to the Tōzan tradition itself, Tōzan shugendō was founded by Shōbō in the ninth century; and its headquarters was always Sanbōin at Daigoji near Kyōto. However, certain anomalous documents link Tōzan shugendō, at least in the late Heian and Kamakura periods, with Kōfukuji in Nara.

This paper examines the role of Kōfukuji in shugendō history, stressing the relationship between Kōfukuji and Kinpusen, but discussing also the Katsuragi range and the practices done by Kōfukuji monks in Kasuga-yama. Much of the evidence is circumstantial, given the fragmentary nature of the available clues. However, the conclusion is clear. It is thoroughly plausible that Kōfukuji should have played a major part in early Tōzan shugendō, and surviving documents suggest that it did indeed do so.

Keywords: SHUGENDŌ (修験道), KŌFUKUJI (興福寺), KINPUSEN (金峯山), SANGAKU SHINKŌ (山岳信仰).

INTRODUCTION

Some years ago, while working on the text of *Kasuga Gongen genki* (Tyler, 1990), I found a record that Shin'en (1153~1224), a superintendent (*bettō*) of Kōfukuji and younger brother of Kujō Kanezane, had served as head monk (*kengyō*) of Kinpusen (*Kōfukuji bettō shidai*, "Shin'en"). This surprised and intrigued me. Kōfukuji in Nara, the oldest of the Fujiwara clan temples, was a thoroughly aristocratic institution proud of its Hossō tradition. On the other hand Kinpusen (or Ōmine) was a shugendō center, that is, a center for mountain practices deeply colored by estoteric Buddhism and linked, in most modern treatments of the subject, with folk religion. What had Shin'en been doing as the "head monk" of such a place?

When I looked into the matter further, I came across a document in *Nihon daizōkyō* entitled *Ōmine tōzan honji Kōfukuji tōkondō sendatsu kiroku* ("The Record of the Sendatsu of the East Kondō of Kōfukuji, the Head Temple of the Tōzan [Shugendō] of Ōmine"), datable to 1359. *Sendatsu* ("guide") is a title borne by senior shugendō practitioners. The document seemed completely anomalous, since standard shugendō histories accord Kōfukuji no such role. In fact, only the most recent histories of shugendō mention Kōfukuji at all. Tōzan shugendō, one of the two major branches of Japanese mountain asceticism, is well known to have been dominated by Shingon temples; while Honzan shugendō, the other major branch, was dominated by Tendai. The head of Tōzan shugendō has always been understood, especially in the Tōzan tradition itself, to have been Daigoji near Kyōto. So what was one to think of *Sendatsu kiroku*?

In recent years, the shugendō scholar Miyake Hitoshi has cited various reasons, including *Ōmine tōzan honji Kōfukuji tōkondō sendatsu kiroku*, to believe that Kōfukuji did indeed play a rôle in early Tōzan shugendō. (See, for example, Miyake, 1985: 8) Still, Miyake's main interest lying elsewhere and being after all far broader, he has not pursued the topic as far as possible.

I, on the other hand, thanks to my work on the Kasuga cult, have been less concerned with shugendō at large than with the religious world of the Kasuga Shrine and Kōfukuji in medieval times. I have therefore followed up on my initial curiosity by trying to find whatever scattered clues may help one to reconstruct the relations between Kōfukuji and Kinpusen, especially in the Heian and Kamakura periods. I have included in my research such related matters as the tie between Kōfukuji and the Katsuragi mountains, and the shugendō of the Kasuga hills (Kasuga-yama) themselves.

The paper below is thus intended to be an exhaustive presentation of what might well seem a small and certainly a poorly documented topic. No doubt it is not really exhaustive, since more scraps of information are certainly there—somewhere—to be found. On the other hand, the paper is quite long. Its length is due precisely to the fact that so little information on the topic seems to have survived. If relevant records were fuller, it would not have been necessary to cite every clue, and to squeeze as much out of each clue as possible.

The following subjects will be discussed: (1) The history and organization of Kōfukuji, with some attention to the Kasuga Shrine; (2) Shingon esotericism at Kōfukuji; (3) the significance of "mountain and forest practice" (*sanrin shugyō*) at Kōfukuji; (4) an introduction to the cult of Kinpusen; (5) the history of the *kengyō* of Kinpusen; (6) *Ōmine tōzan honji Kōfukuji tōkondō sendatsu kiroku*; (7) models of Kinpusen among the dependencies (*matsuji*) of Kōfukuji; and (8) Kōfukuji and the Kasuga hills. A conclusion will draw together further remarks on the significance of these issues.

The significance of the topic

It is not of merely antiquarian interest that Kōfukuji should have had ties to Kinpusen, and that certain monks of Kōfukuji should have engaged in mountain practices. The matter is significant in both religious and historical (or political) terms. Kōfukuji, a Fujiwara institution from the start, was indeed dedicated to upholding Hossō Buddhism. Its scholar-monks began their studies, even before their formal ordination, with the *Yuishiki sanjūron* of Mujaku (Skt. Asanga), as translated by Genjō (Hsüan-tsang, 600~664); then they went on to master the other fundamental texts of the Hossō tradition. How, then, did the temple come to take part in highly non-canonical activities associated with esoteric Buddhism and to appoint one of its own monks, moreover of exalted rank, as the head of Kinpusenji, then the main temple in the area of Yoshino?

To answer these questions is first of all to evoke the overwhelming importance of esotericism (*mikkyō*) in Heian Buddhism and the rise of Kōfukuji itself as the supreme power in Yamato province. Beyond that, however, the matter touches also on the fundamental nature of the "old Buddhism" (*kyū bukkkyō*) which reached its classic form in perhaps the late twelfth century, and out of which so many divergent trends arose in the Kamakura period and after. No doubt the best way to begin is to give a survey account of Kōfukuji and the Kasuga Shrine.

KŌFUKUJI AND THE KASUGA SHRINE

Early Kōfukuji

What is left now of Kōfukuji stands in Nara Park, near the Kintetsu railroad station. The casual visitor might not realize that these mute buildings are an active temple at all, for the space is no longer really theirs: it belongs to the park with its broad, graveled avenues, and to the tourists and tame deer who roam there. Only two of the Kōfukuji buildings are normally open: the Nan'endō and the museum. Being one of the "Thirty-Three Kannon [Temples] of the Kansai," the Nan'endō is often busy with pilgrims; while the museum, which houses a superb collection of Buddhist sculpture, is crowded with sightseers. Surely few among either group think of Kōfukuji or what it once was.

Kōfukuji, like the Fujiwara clan, began with Kamatari (614~669). (The following relies in part on Nagashima, 1959 and Miyai, 1978.) *Fusō ryakki* (cited by Ueda, 1985: 250) states that Kamatari built a chapel in his residence in 657, though *Kōfukuji ryūki* has a somewhat later date associated with Kamatari's death in 669. This was the seed from which Kōfukuji grew. Kamatari's son Fuhito (659~720) moved the chapel to Asuka, where it was called Umayazaka-dera. Then, with the founding of Nara, he built a proper temple which he called Kōfukuji. The name appears to come from a passage in the *Yuima-gyō*, a text which meant a great deal to Kamatari. (Ueda, 1985: 272-273) However, since Kamatari had lived in Yamashina, southeast of what later

became Kyōto, the temple continued to be referred to often as Yamashina-dera.

Kōfukuji ruki claims that Fuhito founded Kōfukuji in 710, the year the court moved to Nara, but modern research suggests that the real date may be closer to 720. By about 740 the temple was largely complete. The Hokuendō (721) is a memorial to Fuhito. The East Kondō (726) was built by Emperor Shōmu to pray for the recovery from illness of former Empress Genshō; and the five-storey pagoda (730) was commissioned by Shōmu's consort Kōmyō (Fuhito's daughter), with the participation of Fusasaki (681~737), Fuhito's son and the founder of the dominant "northern branch" of the Fujiwara. The Nan'endō, dedicated in 813, was a late addition. None of these buildings survive in their original form, since Kōfukuji burned down several times in the course of the centuries.

No Nara temple was confined to a single "sect." It was in principle possible to study any Buddhist school then current at any of them. However, they naturally tended to specialize. Just as Tōdaiji (founded in 745) was particularly strong in Sanron and Kegon studies, Kōfukuji prided itself upon its Hossō tradition.

Hossō Buddhism first reached Japan in the mid-7th c. through Dōshō (629~700), who had studied in China with Hsüan-tsang (Jap. Genjō, 600~664), the great pilgrim and translator. On returning to Japan, Dōshō settled at Gangōji (founded in 588, moved to Nara in 718). Then other Gangōji monks went to study with Hsüan-tsang. Later Gien (d. 728), also of Gangōji, learned Hossō from a Korean master who had studied in China under Chih-chou, a grand-disciple of Hsüan-tsang's great student K'uei-chi (Jap. Kiki, 632~682). Finally, Gien's disciple Genbō (d. 746) likewise went to study with Chih-chou, returning in 735 with a large collection of texts (including many esoteric ones) which was stored at Kōfukuji. In this way, Kōfukuji acquired its own Hossō transmission. K'uei-chi, known by his formal title as Jion Daishi, has been honored there ever since.

Hossō was a vital school of Buddhism in China and Japan when Kōfukuji was new. The temple's pride in it can be seen in the tradition that the Kasuga deity came from Kashima expressly to protect the Hossō teaching (for example, *Kasuga Gongen genki* 1). It is also visible in the intensity of Kōfukuji's early rivalry with Gangōji over which temple should have pride of place as the center of Hossō studies—a contest which Kōfukuji won. Jikun (d. 777), the first superintendent of Kōfukuji, was a grand-disciple of Gien.

The Kasuga Shrine

It is impossible to discuss medieval Kōfukuji without referring also to the Kasuga Shrine. The shrine's various deities were most often subsumed, in pre-modern times, under the name Kasuga no Daimyōjin ("The Kasuga deity"); and Kasuga no Daimyōjin was, in an important sense, the cornerstone of Kōfukuji's power. To speak of one was then to speak of the other. The Kasuga cult, fostered in part by the Fujiwara nobles in Kyōto, but much more massively

and directly by the Kōfukuji monks themselves, was by the late Heian period a model of *honji-suijaku* faith. Kōfukuji's gradual seizure of control over the Kasuga Shrine parallels—indeed, was to some extent a precondition for—its complete domination of Yamato as a whole.

The Kasuga Shrine stands about one kilometer east of Kōfukuji at the foot of Mikasa-yama (283 m), a hill in the range along the eastern edge of the Yamato plain. A broad path links the two, and has done so since at least the Heian period. Mikasa-yama is clearly an ancient *kamunabi*: a sacred hill linked with the cult of ancestral spirits and powers such as mountain and water deities. Behind it rise the Kasuga hills (Kasuga-yama), where there are still many traces of ideas and practices associated with the spirits of the dead. Regular in form, and somewhat detached from its neighbors, Mikasa-yama seen from the west against the higher peaks beyond it looks rather like a deity in a medieval painting, seated before a folding screen.

The shrine below Mikasa-yama consists of a main sanctuary complex, a much smaller complex for the Wakamiya, and many secondary shrines (*sessha* and *massha*). Though the shrine has been rebuilt at intervals over the centuries, it has looked as it does now since the late twelfth century. Most of the present buildings date physically from the nineteenth century, although they reproduce the older ones.

There are four sanctuaries in the main shrine compound, lined up next to each other. The first, on the east end of the row, closest to Mikasa-yama, is Takemikazuchi who, according to shrine tradition, came to Kasuga from Kashima in 768. This is the seat of honor, so to speak, for Takemikazuchi has always been the ranking presence at Kasuga. The second is Futsunushi from Katori and the third is Amenokoyane from Hiraoka. These three are male, and all are associated with the ancestors of the Fujiwara clan. Himegami, of the fourth sanctuary, occupies the western end of the row and hence the lowest place. She is female. Although recent authorities connect her exclusively with Hiraoka (and hence Amenokoyane), she was understood in late Heian or Kamakura times to be an emanation of the Ise Shrine. About one hundred meters south-southwest of the main complex is the Wakamiya. This deity is supposed to be the child of Amenokoyane and Himegami.

No modern scholar believes the traditional date, 768, for the founding of the shrine. Some sort of divine presence must have been honored in association with Mikasa-yama before Takemikazuchi and the others came, and in any case, certain clues suggest that the main Kasuga deities were celebrated in Nara, perhaps at the same spot as now, before 768. It is tempting to believe that the Kasuga Shrine too was founded, in some form, by Fuhito; and although no direct evidence supports this conclusion, some scholars have found the idea compelling (Miyaji Naokazu, cited by Nishida, 1978: 41–44). Nishida himself (1978: 41) suggested that although the shrine must have been founded by Fuhito, the first permanent sanctuary building must have been erected in 768.

The Rise of Kōfukuji

The court's departure from Nara in the late eighth century did not greatly disturb Kōfukuji. As the formal (*ritsuryō*) government lost control of crown lands, the clans, and especially the Fujiwara, extended their holdings. Profiting from this trend, Kōfukuji acquired more and more estates (*shōen*) in Yamato. The more it gained, the more it needed armed troops to protect its property, and the better able it became to support such troops. Like any thriving organism, the temple tended naturally to take over its territory.

In the tenth century Kōfukuji even took over a tract of land from the Kasuga Shrine (Nagashima, 1959: 8), and Kōfukuji monks began to perform rites at the shrine. The temple continued to make gains during the eleventh century, in a see-saw battle with the Fujiwara of the court over control of Yamato. Moreover, the Fujiwara clan and its senior clan temple were rivals not only over Yamato, but over the clan shrine. Nagashima (1959: 9) put the matter as bluntly as possible: "Kōfukuji believed that by controlling the Kasuga Shrine, it could exclude the Fujiwara clan and make Yamato its own." On one occasion in 1093 Kōfukuji insisted that "Kasuga no Myōjin protects Kōfukuji and Kōfukuji assists Kasuga no Myōjin. Temple and Shrine are one and the same. The Shrine's afflictions are the Temple's afflictions" (Nagashima, 1959: 9, citing *Fusō ryak-ki*). The occasion was an early *shinboku dōza* ("moving of the god-tree") expedition during which the sacred *sakaki* of Kasuga was taken to Kyoto, accompanied by thousands of well-armed monks, and installed at the Kanga-kuin, the Fujiwara "academy" just south of the imperial palace compound. Sometimes during a *shinboku dōza* event the court sent troops to stop the monks, generally at Uji; but on the whole the divine reproach was difficult to oppose. The Kōfukuji-Kinpusen wars of 1093 and 1145, described below, should be viewed in the context of this spread of Kōfukuji's power.

The Kasuga Wakamiya had been honored at the shrine since 1003. The building of an independent sanctuary for the deity in 1135 appears to have been a major success for Kōfukuji. Nagashima (1959: 9) went so far as to state flatly that Kōfukuji established the Wakamiya in order to strengthen its hold on the Kasuga Shrine. Though devoted to Kasuga, Kōfukuji monks had no access to the regular Kasuga Festival which honored the four main deities, for on this occasion monks were classed with persons in mourning and pregnant women, and obliged to keep their distance (Miyai, 1978: 90-91). It is significant that the elaborate Onmatsuri festival was first performed in honor of the Wakamiya already in 1136, under the leadership of Kōfukuji. The festival had given Kōfukuji a major Kasuga festival of its own, and their temple's power turned it into the great annual festival of Yamato province. Moreover, once Kōfukuji had managed, through the Wakamiya and its festival, to seize definitive control of the Kasuga Shrine, it was able to gain the final allegiance of the local landowners (*myōshu*) on estates throughout Yamato (Nagashima, 1959: 10). Kōfukuji was now almost uncontested in its domain. It could even impose a superintendent on another of the other major Nara temples (Nagashima, 1944:

162). Minamoto Yoritomo, the founder of the Kamakura shogunate, was sensible enough to recognize Kōfukuji's power. Although he placed a constable (*shugo*) in each province, he left Kōfukuji and Yamato alone.

During the thirteenth century Kōfukuji continued as prosperously as before, vexed only by the inevitable conflicts with other institutions which encroached (as Kōfukuji saw it) on Kōfukuji interests; by conflicts with Kamakura (often the consequences of the quarrels just mentioned), and by the *akutō* ("bandits") who came to threaten the temple both as an estate owner and as the holder of police power in Yamato province.

In the fourteenth century, political and military turmoil came to Kōfukuji itself. In the summer of 1351 (in the midst of a seesaw military conflict between the two courts, involving Kyōto itself), all-out war erupted between rival parts of the temple, and the temple's greatest annual ceremony, the Yuima-e, had to be cancelled (*Saisai yōki nukigaki* for Kan'ō 2, *Sanne Jōikki*). Calm was restored the following year, but the Yuima-e nonetheless lapsed repeatedly, for up to a decade at a time, between 1353 and 1391. It was during this period of trouble and decline, from which Kōfukuji was never fully to recover, that a monk-yamabushi of the East Kondō wrote down *Ōmine tōzan honji Kōfukuji tōkondō sendatsu kiroku*. Perhaps he felt the need to write an account of these matters before Kōfukuji's shugendō role should have lapsed entirely, and they should be forgotten.

The takeover of Kōfukuji by the sons of the Fujiwara

Nothing demonstrates the aristocratic character of Kōfukuji better than the role played there by the sons of the Fujiwara nobles. Ultimate responsibility for Kōfukuji as for the Kasuga Shrine lay, of course, with the head of the Fujiwara clan, whose duties included oversight of the clan's ancestral shrines and temples. This gentleman appointed the chief priest (*shō-no-azukari*) of Kasuga, and played a similar role (see "The organization of Kōfukuji," below) with respect to the Kōfukuji superintendent. Originally, however, the Fujiwara were only patrons of Kōfukuji. In Nara and early Heian times, Kōfukuji monks were not usually of Fujiwara birth. Later, however, the enormous prestige of Buddhism, combined with the pressing need to dispose of excess sons, made the great temples more and more attractive to powerful families. For one who uses *Sōgō bunin* or *Sanne jōikki* to investigate the careers of Kōfukuji monks, the gradual but thorough takeover of Kōfukuji by sons of the Fujiwara, and especially by the sons of senior nobles (*kugyō*), is impossible to miss.

An easy test to apply in the matter is to examine the parentage of monks who served as lecturer (*kōji*) for the all-important Yuima-e. Between 859 and 999 (140 years), fifty-five Kōfukuji monks acted as lecturer and only seven were Fujiwaras. Between 1000 and 1180 (180 years), however, 138 lecturers were from Kōfukuji, and eighty-four of them (well over half) were of Fujiwara extraction (Miyai, 1978: 197). After 1180, *Sanne jōikki* (the register of lecturers) reveals a still higher percentage of Fujiwaras, who moreover served at a younger and

younger age. In fact, after the mid-Heian period, a non-Fujiwara monk was unlikely to be appointed lecturer at all.

The trend is equally obvious with respect to ecclesiastical (*sōgō*) rank. Over the centuries, a sort of inflation steadily reduced the value of a given rank, and one cause of this inflation was undoubtedly the need to promote Fujiwara sons more and more reliably, higher and higher. In the Nara period, the rank of minor prelate (*shōsōzu*) was ample for the superintendent of Kōfukuji. By the late twelfth century, a superintendent was normally a grand prelate (*sōjō*) or senior grand prelate (*daisōjō*). In the Kamakura period and after, the trend became almost comical.

This Fujiwara invasion of Kōfukuji fostered the development of private sub-temples, known as *inke*, which sheltered noble sons from temple life and upheld the dignity of their houses. These *inke* had their origins in a time before the Fujiwara began seriously to move in, but they were quickly taken over and expanded by the great court families. The two key *inke*, Ichijōin and Daijōin, came to be known as *monzeki*. By the end of the Heian period they dominated Kōfukuji and usually supplied the superintendent. Later, superintendents from elsewhere at Kōfukuji became rare, and after the Muromachi period the office simply alternated between the two.

The Yuima-e

It is worth giving a short account of the Yuima-e, given its critical importance at Kōfukuji and its unique significance in the career of a Kōfukuji monk. The ceremony will be mentioned repeatedly below, for example in connection with the appointees to the post of kengyō of Kinpsen. As already suggested above, a good deal can often be conjectured about a monk depending on whether or not he served as lecturer, and how old he was when he did so.

For those whose destiny it was to aspire to the highest ranks at Kōfukuji, the key step in their careers—a sort of graduation, or coming of age ceremony—was to serve as lecturer for the Yuima-e. This seven-day rite was the most prestigious in the annual round of ceremonies associated with the Nara temples. Two other, analogous rites were associated with it as the “three imperial rites of Nara”: the Saishō-e of Yakushiji and the Gosai-e held in the Daigokuden of the Imperial Palace. The Yuima-e lecturer was appointed by the emperor on the recommendation of the head of the Fujiwara clan, and the ceremony was attended by an imperial envoy (*chokushi*), usually a middle captain. Having passed through the Yuima-e, the lecturer normally went on to serve likewise at the Gosai-e and finally at the Saishō-e. That is why the title of the register of lectures for the Yuima-e *Sanne jōikki*, means something like “the three assemblies in one.” Once finished, he was normally appointed to the first of the sōjō ranks, that of *risshi* (“master of discipline”).

A complex doctrinal debate, the Yuima-e began annually on the 10th day of the 10th month and ended on the 16th. A detailed picture of the scene it presented can be seen in the eleventh scroll of *Kasuga Gongen genki*. Before the

Kōdō altar, presided over by an Amida triad, stood two roofed daises for the debating pair. On the viewer's left of the altar was a statue of Yuima Koji, facing, on the right, a statue of Monju. These two images evoked the real debate, of which the annual one was only a reminder: that between Yuima Koji and Monju in the *Yuima-gyō*.

The origins of the Yuima-e are inseparable from those of Kōfukuji itself (Ueda, 1985: 265). In 656, when Kamatari was ill at his Yamashina residence, he had a Paekche nun expound for him the fifth chapter of the *Yuima-gyō*. This is the chapter in which the layman Yuima Koji, on his sickbed, receives countless enlightened beings, particularly Monju. Kamatari's condition immediately improved. The later ancestral cult rendered to Kamatari at Tōnomine made the parallel between him and Vimalakīrti as plain as possible: it identified him with Yuima Koji (Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1964: 78-81).

According to *Fusō ryakki* for 657 (cited by Ueda, 1985: 250), Kamatari not only built a chapel in his home that year, but instituted there a "vegetarian assembly" (*saie*) which *Fusō ryakki* identifies as the origin of the Yuima-e. Whether or not the rite was performed regularly during the second half of the seventh century, Fuhito reinstituted it, in his father's honor, once the court had moved to Nara. At last, in Shōwa 6 (839) the Yuima-e of Kōfukuji was established forever by imperial decree. In this early period the rite, although held at Kōfukuji, was not monopolized by it. Monks from other Nara temples had equal access to nomination as lecturer, and in time lecturers came even from Enryakuji. However, as Kōfukuji grew more and more markedly into a private Fujiwara institution, access to the Yuima-e became generally restricted to Kōfukuji and to Fujiwara monks, as has been described above.

The organization of Kōfukuji

Many uncertainties remain regarding the organization of Kōfukuji, and in any case, the functioning of the temple must have changed in many ways, despite all the weight of precedent, between Nara and Muromachi times. The rise of Ichijōin and Daijōin, with their tendency to dominate Kōfukuji as a whole, is one obvious example. The best single source for information on how the temple actually worked is no doubt the fifteenth-century *Daijōin jisha zōjiki*. The following account will rely above all on the work of Nagashima Fukutarō (Nagashima, 1944: 40-49, 1959: 14-17), and applies roughly to the late Heian period and after.

The head of Kōfukuji was the superintendent (*bettō*), the first of whom, Jikun, was appointed in 757. A superintendent was named by the emperor on the recommendation of the head of the Fujiwara clan, although a document of appointment issued by the head of the clan was sometimes considered enough. After 869, the superintendent was assisted by a deputy (*gon-bettō*). He also had a private secretary known as *shusse bugyō*.

Between the superintendent and the temple council (*sangō*) came the "five masters" (*goshi*), described in connection with Tōdaiji by Joan R. Piggott

(1982: 61). The senior among them was the *bechie goshi*, appointed for a one-year term. This group bore the real responsibility for running the temple.

The temple council managed the daily affairs of the temple (as distinguished from the *inke*, especially the *monzeki*). It was headed by a *jōza* and composed besides of two *jishu*, four *gon-jishu*, three *tsuina*, and sometimes a *gon-tsuina*. The council originated in 971 under Jōshō of Ichijōin. Appointments to it were generally made from among the monks of the *monzeki*.

Three monks from the temple council, and one from outside it, were selected as directors (*mokudai*). The odd man in the group was the director of repairs (*shuri no mokudai*) who took care of temple buildings, grounds and supplies. The others were the director of assemblies (*esho no mokudai*) who made all arrangements for the Yuima-e and other rites, and oversaw the estates which provided the income to support them; the archivist (*kumon no mokudai*), and the director of offerings (*tsū no mokudai*) who oversaw offerings for the seven halls of Kōfukuji.

The lower officials under the superintendent were most commonly called *geshoshi*. These included the monks in charge of the forest in the Kasuga hills and the sacred deer; the master of liturgical chanting (*shōmyō*); and musicians, dancers, painters, sculptors and other craftsmen.

There was also a monk, called *daigyōji-sō* or *daidōshi*, in charge of each one of the seven halls of the temple: the Main Kondō, the East Kondō, the West Kondō, the Kōdō, the Five-Storey Pagoda, the Hokuendō and the Nan'endō. The temple even employed a yin-yang diviner (*onmyōji*).

These single officers or small governing bodies did not have decisive power in all matters. General assemblies of the monks could make decisions, initiate temple actions, or resolutely oppose the superintendent and his colleagues. Early in the temple's history, the assembly of the monks at large was called *kōshu*. However, as the temple grew and evolved, differences in status and function made it difficult to sustain the idea of a single group. Class distinctions appeared. By the late twelfth century, the upper stratum (*jōrō*) had separated out as the "scholars" (*gakuryō*), and the middle stratum (*chūrō*) as the "six directions" (*roppōshu*). The general service class (*zōnin*) was simply called *gerō*.

The *roppōshu* got their name from the way the territory under the temple's sway (including the temple grounds proper and the various dependencies) was divided into six "directions." They included both younger scholars (who could rise into the *gakuryō*) and non-scholars. The two sub-groups (scholars and others) were distinguished from one another, but both could bear arms. Some even served as guards (*hokumen*) for the *monzeki*. The *roppōshu* had investigative and other powers, and played the key role in mobilizing all the forces available to the temple in time of emergency. They could be compared to officers in the military sense, while the *gerō* were the temple's regular troops.

It is not entirely clear whether all three classes, or only the upper two, constituted the *daishu*, a term common in the documents of the time. No doubt the word was elastic. *Daishu* decisions (such as one to undertake a full-scale

military expedition, or *hakkō*) were surely reached by the *gakuryō* and *roppō-shu*. However when the whole *daishu* set forth (as suggested by *Nanto daishu nyūroku ki*, an account of a *shinboku dōza* expedition of 1139), they obviously included the *shuto* as well.

Shuto too seems to be a variable term. On the face of it, it appears very like *daishu*. The word occurs for example in *Kasuga Gongen genki*, scroll 14, where the *shuto* violently expel a superintendent from the temple. Are the *shuto* so engaged different from the *daishu* on their way to torment the Kyōto nobles? Kuroda Toshio (1980: 29), referring particularly to Mt. Hiei, wrote that the two terms mean the same thing. On the other hand Hiraoka Jōkai (1981: 398) declared that their meanings are different; and Nagashima too (1944: 44-45), writing about, Kōfukuji, distinguished sharply between them.

The *shuto* as distinguished from the *daishu* were men who normally lived not at the temple, but scattered throughout Yamato. Some 2,000 at a time, called *kanpu* ("imperially commissioned") *shuto*, were appointed to reside at Kōfukuji for a "four-year," i.e. three full year term. They guarded the temple and the shrine, and exercised the police power of Kōfukuji throughout Nara and Yamato province. The executive body of the *shuto* was called the *satashu*; and the first *shuto* council meeting of the year (on the 16th day of the 1st month) was known as *hōki-hajime*. *Hōki* ("the swarming of the bees") also designated the *ad hoc* councils at which the *shuto* decided they wished to swarm forth and chastise a miscreant—for instance Mt. Hiei or its dependency in Yamato, Tōnomine. Hiraoka (1981: 398-399) pointed out for Tōdaiji that the *daishu* (in the narrower sense) could start such an action, take charge of one threatening or already under way, or try to stop the hot-tempered *shuto*. The same was probably true for Kōfukuji. At any rate, on military campaigns the *shuto* also led the *kokumin* attached to the Kasuga Shrine.

There remain to be discussed the *dōshu* ("those of the halls"), who were attached particularly to the East and West Kondō. These practitioner monks were sometimes known also as *zenshu*, or "meditators." They figure in the discussion, below, of the *tōgyō* practice done in the Kasuga hills; and the *dōshu* of the East Kondō appear in *Ōmine tōzan honji Kōfukuji tōkondō sendatsu kiroku*. They, and not the Kasuga Shrine, took care of the Kasuga *massha* in the Kasuga hills (Ōhigashi, 1980). Although theoretically of a standing equal to that of the *gakuryō*, they were in fact looked at askance. The *dōshu* could bear arms, and early in the temple's history constituted its military strength, although later they were overshadowed in this respect by the groups just described.

ESOTERIC BUDDHISM AT KŌFUKUJI

Pervasive in Heian Japan, esoteric Buddhism (*mikkyō*) penetrated Kōfukuji early, thanks to Kūkai (774~835), the Shingon founder, himself. Throughout the Heian period and after, the relationship between Kōfukuji and Mt. Hiei was

one of intense rivalry. Contact with the Shingon establishment, however, seems to have been easy and at times intimate.

Certain esoteric rites were practiced in Japan even before Heian times: for example, the *Kokūzō gumonji no hō* studied by Sonoda Kōyū and the rite of Kujaku Myōō practiced by the shugendō founder En no Gyōja (d. ca. 700). Genbō brought back from China many esoteric texts which were stored at Kōfukuji, and there is considerable evidence that these texts were studied at Kōfukuji before Kūkai (Miyai, 1978: 241–242). But *mikkyō* really took hold after the return of Kūkai from China in 806. Kūkai's teacher had been Gonsō, a monk of Daianji. Kūkai had been ordained at Tōdaiji, and even served as superintendent of Tōdaiji. His attitude toward the Buddhism of the Nara temples was one of accommodation, and thanks in particular to the sympathy of his teachers, he successfully implanted Shingon in Nara. At times, Kūkai could even advocate combined study of *mikkyō*, Sanron and Hossō.

At Kōfukuji, Kūkai was personally associated especially with the Nan'endō, the family sanctuary of the "Northern House" (Hokke), the most powerful branch of the Fujiwara clan. Like the Sangatsudō of Tōdaiji, the Nan'endō of Kōfukuji enshrines Fukūkenjaku Kannon. The Sangatsudō image is certainly older than Kūkai and the Nan'endō image may well be too, for one source states that it was made in 746–747 after the death of the wife of Fujiwara no Fusasaki, the founder of the "Northern House" (Miyai, 1978: 177–178). It is interesting, too, to note that Gonsō is recorded as having placed a sutra text on a peak of Kinpusen then known as "Fukūkenjaku Bosatsu no Mine" (*Shozan engi*: 93).

The earliest section of *Kōfukuji engi*, dated Shōtai 3 (900), describes the Nan'endo without mentioning Kūkai, but *Kōfukuji ruki*, a composite text, attributes to Kūkai an important rôle. He is said there to have consecrated the base upon which the holy image was to rest, and to have placed beneath it a golden tortoise. This gesture (whether historical or legendary) has to do with the base being a model of Fudaraku, Kannon's island-mountain paradise. *Shun'ya shinki*, a Muromachi-period Kasuga text, insists that the whole building is a model of Fudaraku.

Kōfukuji ruki states that Kūkai took part in the founding of the Nan'endō "for the sake of the flourishing of the Fujiwara clan," a proposition which one may take with a grain of salt; and it definitely slips when it claims that Fusasaki himself had the Fukūkenjaku made at Kūkai's suggestion, this being chronologically impossible. But even if Kūkai actually had nothing to do with the Nan'endō, his association with it shows how much he and his teaching meant at Kōfukuji.

A story about Zōri (836–928) shows *mikkyō* taking root at Kōfukuji. Zōri was a Kōfukuji monk who also mastered *mikkyō* at Daianji. In the face of opposition to his dual practice of Shingon and Hossō, Zōri stressed the value of both and declared that he would give up one or the other only if he received a divine command to do so. In order to invite this command he set up, at either

end of the principal monk's residence hall of Kōfukuji, rooms equipped for Shingon and for Hossō practice. That night, Zōri dreamed that a supernatural being entered the residence hall and pointedly displayed deep reverence toward both Shingon and Hossō. The sign was convincing, and Zōri's dual practice was approved by higher authority. Zōri remained an eminent monk in Kōfukuji history and was known particularly as the first *tandai* ("examiner") for the Yuima-e (*Honchō kōsōden* 8, *Kasuga Gongen genki* 8, *Nihon kōsōden yōmonshō* 3, *Sanne jōikki*).

The career of Jōshō, the founder of Ichijōin (of which the *honzon* was the esoteric buddha Dainichi), leaves no doubt about the importance of *mikkyō* at Kōfukuji. According to *Kōfukuji bettō shidai*, Jōshō "combined the Hossō and Shingon schools" and served as head monk both of Kōfukuji and of Tōji, Kūkai's great Shingon temple in Kyoto. His biography dwells on his mastery of Shingon and recounts various wonders about him. Jōshō's death is particularly striking. As death approached, he purified himself, put on a new robe, then took a five-pronged vajra in his right hand and the Lotus Sutra in his left. He then performed *mitsuin* ("esoteric mudra"), recited *darani* and went on to recite the Lotus Sutra. Some way into the sutra he died, whereupon Amida and his retinue surrounded his dwelling and he proceeded to the Land of Bliss (*anraku sekai*). One can hardly imagine a more doctrinally confusing passing.

It was during Jōshō's lifetime that Godaiin was established at Kōfukuji. This hall enshrined the *mikkyō* deities Fudō Myōō and his four attendants, directional guardians. These Godaiin ("Five Great Lords") were the *honzon* of an important and elaborate esoteric rite which was performed even in the imperial palace. The Godaiin are also important in shugendō. Godaiin was built by Fujiwara no Morosuke (908~960) in about 950 and remained under the particular care of the descendants of Morosuke's son Kaneie (929~990). Land to support it was donated by Retired Emperor Reizei.

PRACTICE IN THE MOUNTAINS AND FORESTS

The Buddhism of the great Nara temples is reputed to have been remote and academic. Nonetheless, though constrained by many ties and obligations as well as by commonplace ambition, Kōfukuji monks sometimes withdrew from the dust of the world. They might seek boons for themselves or others, or power to shine more brightly in their own estimation and in that of their contemporaries. Some sought only the freedom to practice in solitude.

Hori Ichirō (1953: 2~58) stressed this aspect of the Nara monk's life when he wrote:

However, the social function expected of the scholar-monks of such temples had to do with the mantic power they had gained from the profundity of their scholarly endeavors; and it was believed that great masters of logic (*inmyō*) and

of Hossō could call down bountiful harvests and peace for all the land by means of their recitation and expounding [of canonical texts].

This attitude lay behind court sponsorship of Buddhism. As for the monks themselves, it will be useful to review some of what can be said about this aspect of their lives, by way of background for the main theme of this paper.

One monk who spent time in the mountains was Gomyō (750~834) who, although not of Kōfukuji, was a distinguished Hossō monk of Gangōji. Gomyō "spent the first half of the month out in the mountains, practicing the rite of Kokūzō, and the second half at his home temple, studying the teaching of his school" (*Shoku nihongi* quoted by Sonoda, 1956: 47). Gomyō was an exemplary scholar, but he had also practiced in Kinpusen and had placed holy images on certain peaks (*Shoku nihongi* as just cited; *Shūi ōjōden*, "Gomyō"; *Kinpusen zakki*).

According to Sonoda Kōyū, the place where Gomyō spent half of each month must have been Hisosanji, a temple in the mountains north of the Yoshino River and the village of Yoshino. It was a gathering-place for a confraternity of scholar-practitioners known in contemporary writings as the Jinenchi shū, the "school of spontaneous knowledge." The Jinenchi-shū had been started by the T'ang monk Shen-jui (Jap. Shin'ei) at the very beginning of the eighth century. Shen-jui's biography links him directly both with *jinenchi* and with Hisosanji (*Shoku nihongi* for Tenpyō 16.10).

Sonoda Kōyū stressed that the members of the *jinenchi* brotherhood were among the elite of Nara Buddhism, and showed that the Jinenchi-shū's central practice was the same *Kokūzō gumonji no hō* made famous by Kūkai. *Jinenchi* meant above all the spontaneous intelligence to understand and remember everything one reads — a power which the practice itself promised and which scholar-monks certainly needed. It is therefore no wonder that Gomyō and others like him practiced the *Kokūzō gumonji no hō* in the quiet and solitude which the rite required, and that the practice should have come through an orthodox line of Sanron (Daianji) and Hossō (Gangōji) monks. Kūkai himself probably received it through the Sanron line.

Sonoda concluded that *sanrin shugyō* ("practice in the mountains and forests") was integral to respectable monastic life in Nara times, and he specified that the well-known Nara-period proscriptions against practitioners going off into the mountains on their own cannot have applied to properly established monks whose practice was entirely *nyohō*: "in accordance with the teaching." (These proscriptions are described, for example, by Murayama, 1970: 64-65 or Hori, 1953: 60-61.) In any case, various Nara-period monks traveled to remote areas of Japan and "opened" sacred mountains there.

Sonoda also showed that there was sometimes a special relationship between a great temple in Nara and a certain temple in the mountains. For the Kokūzō practice, Hisosanji was clearly associated with Gangōji; Hōrinji in then remote Saga was linked with Kōryūji; and Dōsen of Hōryūji, one of the *jinenchi* line,

rebuilt Fukkiji in the hills behind Hōryūji. There was an analogous tie between Kōfukuji and Murōji.

The “*oku-no-in* of Kasuga”

Murōji, still famous for its beauty today, is situated deep in the mountains southwest of Nara. Its development is unmistakably associated with the nearby Ryūketsu Jinja (“Dragon Cave Shrine”), for which it may originally have been a *jingūji*, or “shrine temple.” The temple is still nicknamed “Onna Kōya” (“The Women’s Kōya”) because it became in time an esoteric holy place open to women, as Mt. Kōya itself was not until the late nineteenth century.

The most sacred spot at Murōji is a small, regular hill called Nyoisan (“Wishing Jewel Mountain”), upon which, even today, no one may intrude. Nyoisan is said to contain at its summit, under a stone stūpa, a *nyoishu* (“wishing jewel”) buried there by Kūkai. The five Buddhist deities enshrined in the Kondō of Murōji are the same as the *honji* buddhas and bodhisattvas of the five sanctuaries of Kasuga, and this is one reason why, in modern times, Murōji has sometimes been referred to as the “*oku-no-in* (‘inner shrine’) of Kasuga” (Mochizuki, 1963: 10–11).

Actually, until the Genroku period (1688–1704), Murōji was a *matsuji* of Kōfukuji. In fact, the temple was founded by two Kōfukuji monks, Kenkei (714–793) and Shūen (771–835). In a document dated 937, Murōji is described as a *betsuin* (“annex”) of Kōfukuji (*Murōzan nenbun dosha sōjō*, cited by Inokuma, 1963: 17).

Kenkei, a student of Genbō and Ryōbin, was one of those ordained by Ganjin in 755, in the first full-scale ordination ceremony ever held in Japan. Both as a scholar and as a practitioner, he was widely known and respected. He appears to have been linked particularly with the West Kondō of Kōfukuji.

Whether or not Kenkei actually built a temple at Murō has been a topic of debate. However, the just-mentioned document of 937 speaks of the temple having been founded in 781 by Kenkei, at the emperor’s wish. Kenkei, like Gonsō and like his own disciple Shūen, had a close relationship with Emperor Kanmu (r. 781–806), and Kanmu must have been the emperor in question (Inokuma, 1963: 19).

Shūen was so deeply connected with Murōji that he came to be called “Murō no Zenji.” Though a celebrated scholar, he was enough of a practitioner to be known as a manifestation (*keshin*) of Daiitoku, one of the wrathful associates of Fudō Myōō. Shūen seems to have lived long at Murōji, but he also served as superintendent of Kōfukuji for ten years, starting in 812 or 822 (*Kōfukuji bettō shidai*, “Shūen”).

Thus Shūen was a *mikkyō* adept as well as a Hossō scholar. He received initiation from Kūkai in 812, and there is other evidence that the relationship between him and Kūkai, and between his successors and Shingon, was close (Inokuma, 1963: 27–28). Nagashima (1944: 436–438) cited a wide variety of paintings, sculptures and implements at Murōji which were associated with

Kūkai. One of these was an image of Kokūzō, described in an early Edo list of Murōji objects associated with Kūkai as having been for the *Kokūzō gumonji no hō*. Another was a copy of a painting of the dragon Zennyo Ryūō, of which the original was said to have been done by Kūkai.

Dragons have power over rain, and prayers for rain were undoubtedly made at the Murō "Dragon Cave" at the latest in Heian times, both by monks resident at Murōji and by monks of Kōfukuji. During the Kenpō era (1213~1219) the court ordered scholar-monks (*gakuryō*) of Kōfukuji to pray for rain at Murō. When their prayers succeeded, Kōfukuji received "the manor of Murō" (*Murō no shō*) to endow prayers for rain there each summer, from the 14th day of the 4th month to the 14th day of the 7th month, by monks of Kōfukuji (Nagashima, 1944: 438).

Thus the connection between Kōfukuji and Murōji existed from the beginning of Murōji's history, and was doubtless reaffirmed often enough until Murōji finally separated itself from the declining Kōfukuji. For example, the famous Miroku incised on a rock face near Murōji was made at the order of the Kōfukuji superintendent Gaen (1138~1223), at a location associated with Shūen's memory. Moreover, Nagashima (1944: 438) stated that the Ryūketsu Shrine at Murō was a sort of dependency of the Kasuga Shrine, and quoted an unidentified document as follows: "The Zennyo Ryūō of Murō-zan and Kasuga no Daimyōjin are one in substance although different in name." In fact, there was by the Ryūketsu Shrine a Mizuya Shrine, the counterpart of the shrine of the same name at Kasuga itself; and both these Murō sanctuaries were maintained by Kasuga. Finally, in the precincts of the Ki-no-sha, a *massha* of Kasuga, there are two stones said to mark the spot at which to worship Murō from afar (*yōhai*).

Monks who retired from Kōfukuji

One may glean from medieval writings a good many stories about Kōfukuji monks who moved away from their temple into the wilderness. No doubt most lived on modestly, though a few remained surrounded by ease. Flight or retirement from Kōfukuji seem not to have been uncommon.

Some Kōfukuji monks preferred a quieter life after having achieved success at their temple. *Senjūshō* (5/1 and 5/9) tells of two such examples. One was a certain Yōgen who attained the office of deputy superintendent (*gon-bettō*), but who one day simply left for the mountains of Shinano and devoted himself there to a life of solitary practice. Another was Shinpan (986~1054), who became superintendent of Kōfukuji in 1044 but withdrew at the end of his life to a spot in Ōmi. When the local villagers began bowing to him he fled as far as Echigo, but at last returned to Yamato and lodged at the foot of Mt. Miwa, where he died facing east and calling upon the Kasuga deity.

The example of Ichiwa (890~970) suggests that the life of the solitary wanderer was always a possible refuge. Ichiwa was the lecturer for the Yuima-e of 949. He had expected to be appointed in 948, however, and when he was not,

he simply left Kōfukuji to take up the life of a wandering ascetic. At the Atsuta Shrine, the Kasuga deity told him through a medium that he was to serve as lecturer the following year. Ichiwa hurried back to his temple, and sure enough, the deity was right (*Kasuga Gongen genki* 8). Later on Ichiwa retired for good, this time to the village of Tobi near modern Sakurai, south of Kōfukuji.

Kakuei (1117?~1157) followed through in earnest upon the impulse to flee. He was a son of the regent Fujiwara no Motomichi, and hence a younger brother of the regent Tadazane. Kakuei became the head monk of Ichijōin at about the age of twenty (*Shomonzeki fu*) and then, before even serving as lecturer for the Yuima-e, simply vanished. He ended up in distant Mutsu province where he built a hut, begged his living and devoted himself to the solitary religious life. Shortly after he died, the poet Saigyō sought out his dwelling (*Senjūshō* 9/11). Saigyō found the hut in ruins and saw inscribed on a post the identity of the former resident together with a verse:

Once I was a Hossō scholar in the Southern Capital
And sat in the dharma-assemblies of the Great [Fujiwara] House;
Now I am a beggar wandering the provinces,
And meet my end at Kuzu-no-matsubara.

On the other hand, another Kōfukuji monk withdrew splendidly. Shin'en was superintendent of Kōfukuji during the long rebuilding which followed the burning of Nara by the Taira in 1180. I have already mentioned him as a kengyō of Kinpusen. Late in his life, Shin'en completely rebuilt Shōryakuji, a temple in the mountains a short distance from Nara, and retired there in state. Shōryakuji was and remained a Shingon temple, and it is worth noting that two of its sub-temples (*in*) were among the *sendatsu* of early Tōzan shugendō (*Kōfukuji bettō shidai*, "Shin'en," *Jūnikoin sendatsu*).

Gedatsu Shōnin

Perhaps the single most famous monk of Kōfukuji is Gedatsu Shōnin (Jōkei, 1155~1213), whose withdrawal to Kasagi-dera and then to Kaijūsenji deserves prominent mention. Gedatsu Shōnin was a son of Fujiwara no Sadanori who had been exiled to Oki in 1159 in the aftermath of the Heiji Rebellion, and he had several relatives who were monks on Mt. Kōya, Mt. Hiei, at Miidera and at Tōdaiji. One of his uncles was also the Kōfukuji superintendent Kakuen (1131~1212), who was probably also his teacher.

Gedatsu Shōnin was a well-known scholar and deeply devoted to Miroku, Kannon and the Kasuga deity. He vigorously advocated the *Shaka nenbutsu*, in opposition to the *Amida nenbutsu* which was then so popular. It is also worth noting that in 1173 he received the *Kokūzō gumonji no hō* practice from a monk of Daigoji (Hiraoka, 1960: 2-582).

In 1193 Gedatsu Shōnin retired to Kasagi (288 m), a steep, rocky mountain which commands a dramatic view of the Kizu-gawa valley, about twenty

kilometers northeast of Nara. Kasagi is particularly associated with the cult of Miroku, and its character as a sort of stand-in for Kinpusen will be described below. While living on Kasagi, Gedatsu Shōnin went back and forth to Kōfukuji and received various admonishments from the Kasuga deity, who was greatly attached to him; however, he refused to return to Nara (*Kasuga Gongen genki* 8, *Shasekishū* 1/5).

Instead, in 1208 he retired to Kaijūsenji, a temple in the mountains across the river from Kasagi. By then, Gedatsu Shōnin sought refuge in Kannon rather than in the more difficult Miroku (Tomimura, 1976: 21–32) and Kaijūsenji is associated with Kannon's Fudaraku paradise. From Kaijūsenji one can make out far away, in the magnificent panorama that spreads southward from the temple, the Kasuga hills and Mikasa-yama—which, like the Nan'endō of Kōfukuji, was also linked with Fudaraku. There Gedatsu Shōnin died. Kaijūsenji was one of the traditional "Thirty-Six *Sendatsu*" of early Tōzan shugendō (*Tōzan shōsendatsu*).

Tokuitsu and other early monks

The sixteenth scroll of *Kasuga Gongen genki* tells some remarkable stories of Gedatsu Shōnin's contacts with the Kasuga deity. The atmosphere of Kōfukuji was not unrelievedly worldly, however aristocratic the temple may have been, and however ruthless its temporal ambition. Kōfukuji too produced men of intense, devotional faith, or men given to visions and mantic dreams. Nor are tales of wonders and miracles unknown for Kōfukuji monks. In some of these one finds Kōfukuji monks as mountain ascetics.

An early such example is Tokuitsu (749?~824?), whose running debate with Saichō provoked some of Saichō's most important writing. Tokuitsu was a son of Fujiwara no Nakamaro (Emi no Oshikatsu, 706~764), whose revolt against the court in 764 probably resulted in the young Tokuitsu being exiled from Kōfukuji. Tokuitsu moved to eastern Japan where he founded Enichiji on Iwahashi-yama in Dewa, and eventually Chūzenji (Tsukubasanji) on Tsukubayama in Hitachi. Since he "ate coarse food and wore coarse clothing," he must have been a *mokujiki* ("tree eater") ascetic who took no cooked food or grain. When Tokuitsu passed away his body did not decay but remained exactly as though he were alive (Gorai, 1982: 42–46). All these things are known attributes of a powerful ascetic.

Similarly interesting stories about Kōfukuji monks include that of Renjaku (*Konjaku monogatari shū* 13) who, while originally from Kōfukuji, ended up as a magical Lotus Sutra ascetic living in a cave on Mt. Hira; and of Chikō (*Jikkinshō* 5/5, *Konjaku monogatari shū* 15), whose vision of Amida's Pure Land became the so-called *Chikō mandara* known in Pure Land art.

The association of the early Kōfukuji Hossō masters Gien and Gan'an with mountain temples will be discussed below in section 7, under Jubusenji and Jindōji.

Kūsei and his line

An especially curious set of tales is associated with Kūsei (878~957) and his disciples. Of course, there is no need to take them literally. Instead, they suggest the existence at Kōfukuji of a line of adepts whose practices merged with those of shugendō. No stories like this have been preserved about any other lineage at Kōfukuji.

Kūsei was from a local branch of the Fujiwara resident in Nara. In Hossō studies he was a disciple of Enpin (826~at least 895), and in *mikkyō* a student of Shōen (827~901). Kūsei founded the important Kōfukuji sub-temple of Kitain, with which his line was associated. He became superintendent of Kōfukuji in 949 and remained in office until his death (*Kōfukuji bettō shidai*, "Kūsei"; *Honchō kōsōden* 8, "Kūsei", *Kōfukuji ruki*). Kūsei's tie with the Katsuragi mountains, and likewise that of his disciple Shinki (930~1000), will be discussed below.

Shinki, who also served as superintendent (*Kōfukuji bettō shidai*), is recorded as having placed a copy of the Lotus Sutra and an image of Shaka upon a peak in Kinpusen (*Shozan engi*: 96, where Shinki's name appears in a variant form). He is also said to have gone on pilgrimage to the famous Nachi waterfall at Kumano, and to have been detained by the divine presence there until he chanted the Heart Sutra—whereupon the waters of the fall reversed their flow (*Honchō kōsōden* 9, "Shinki"). As related below, two students of Shinki, Jōchō and Fukō, were with Fujiwara no Michinaga in 1007 when Michinaga made the pilgrimage to Kinpusen; and En'en, a student of Fukō, was appointed kengyō of Kinpusen in 1049.

Chūsan (935~976) was another disciple of Kūsei. His chanting the Heart Sutra before the Nachi waterfall produced the same result as Shinki's; and, in addition, the living Senju Kannon appeared at the lip of the fall. According to *Honchō kōsōden* 9, Chūsan was a boy when Kūsei first encountered him at the north gate of Kōfukuji. He had ruddy hair and piercing eyes. Later, during a terrible drought, Chūsan struck the rock of a mountain with his sword and cool water gushed forth "like a waterfall." At last, at the Minoo waterfall near modern Osaka, where En no Gyōja had met Ryūju Bosatsu (Nagarjuna), Chūsan himself turned into Senju Kannon, went straight up through the fall, and vanished forever (*Senjūshō* 7/4).

Chūsan had gone to Kumano with Rin'e (950~1025), a disciple of Shinki and, as a youth, of Kūsei himself (*Senjūshō* 6/3). Rin'e was appointed superintendent of Kōfukuji in 1017 and served until his death (*Kōfukuji bettō shidai*). A story about him in the tenth scroll of *Kasuga Gongen genki* evokes a self-important, humorless scholar-prelate, but there was another side to him. Once Rin'e was on his way up to Kyōto when he stopped at a house near the Kizu-gawa and unconcernedly ate some fresh fish. His host was shocked. However, that night the man's wife, who was dying of a terribly swollen belly, dreamed that eight boys came to her and announced themselves as the familiars (*gohō*) of Rin'e. They then tapped her on the belly, and she watched them expel

all the foulness from it. The next morning she was well. Her husband gave Rin'e more fish (*Jikkishō* 7). This story evokes the adept whose powers allow him to live beyond the ordinary rules.

Kyōe (1001~1093) was a disciple of Rin'e, at least while he remained at Kōfukuji. He first retired to Odawara, a community (*bessho*) of devotees of the *Amida nenbutsu* associated with Kōfukuji, and then to Mt. Kōya. A heroic list of his daily practices, and the marvelous signs of his *ōjō*, are described in his biography in *Shūi ōjōden* or *Kōyasan ōjōden*.

Another figure linked to Rin'e is the famous Dōken (905?~985?), an ascetic who practiced in Kinpusen and whose intricate vision of the hells and paradise of Kinpusen is often cited (*Fusō ryakki* 25 for Tengyō 4.3.9 [941]). In the heaven of Ōmine, Dōken received from Zaō Gongen, the deity of the mountain range, the new name Nichizō. *Konjaku monogatari shū* tells his story, and the compiler added: "These things were related by Rin'e ... of Yamashina-dera [Kōfukuji], who said that he heard them from [his ?] disciple Nichizō." Rin'e cannot really have been Nichizō's teacher, but he may have taken over some sort of responsibility for Nichizō from Shinki or, ultimately, from Kūsei. Nichizō might even have been a student of Kūsei himself.

As for Kūsei, the founder of the line, in the 12th month of 957, he stepped onto a rock in the garden near his Kōfukuji residence and flew off onto the sky (*Honchō kōsōden* 8).

THE COURT AND KINPUSEN

To appreciate what Kinpusen meant to Kōfukuji, one should understand what it meant to the Kyōto aristocracy. According to the monks of Kinpusen itself, in 1091, "This treasure-mountain is the holiest spot in all the realm, and Zaō is a divinely manifested lord (*keshu*) peerless in Japan" (*Go-Nijō Moromichi ki* for Kanji 5.8.17). Other sacred places in Japan no doubt claimed the same sort of distinction, but especially in the Heian period, Kinpusen was certainly important to the court. The pilgrimage made to Kinpusen in 1007 by Fujiwara no Michinaga (966~1027) is particularly famous. At the other end of the eleventh century, in 1092, Fujiwara no Moromichi (1062~1099), who was soon to be regent, noted in his diary, "At the hour of the rat I dreamed of Kinpusen" (*Go-Nijō Moromichi ki* for Kanji 6.11.17). Perhaps it is only mildly unfair to say that since Kyōto honored Kinpusen, Kōfukuji could not help wanting to own it.

Kinpusen

The name "Kinpusen" loosely designates the whole Ōmine range which lies south-southwest of Nara, and which stretches down the Kii peninsula toward Kumano from the village of Yoshino. At times, too, it may apply particularly to the area between Yoshino and Sanjō-ga-take (1719 m), some dozen kilo-

meters to the south. The only temple in the mountains beyond Yoshino is at the top of Sanjō-ga-take. This temple, known as Ōminesanji, had been there in one form or another since the early tenth century. The mountains beyond Sanjō-ga-take are a little higher and very beautiful, and they too are part of the shugendō pilgrimage route (*okugake*) which runs from Yoshino to Kumano.

In Heian Japan, Kinpusen was often called Kane-no-mitake ("Golden Peak"). The "gold" had to do with the legend that in Kinpusen was stored all the gold with which the world was to be made new when Miroku should at last come into the world. The guardian of this treasure was Zaō Gongen, the deity who gave Nichizō his name and showed him the pure land of Kinpusen. Zaō Gongen is said to have declared: "As for the gold of my mountain, the Lord of Compassion [Miroku] shall put it to use when He appears in the world" (*Fusō ryakki*). Thus Kinpusen was associated with the paradise of Miroku, and pilgrims prayed there for a share of this gold, so to speak: for blessings either spiritual, such as enlightenment, or tangible, such as good fortune for oneself or one's descendants.

The cult of Kinpusen surely goes back to the beginnings of Japanese history, and its origins must have had to do with ideas of mountains as the source of water and mineral ores, and as the sacred dwelling place of ancestral spirits. Therefore, one may choose not to believe the characteristically tall shugendō tale that Ōmine (or Mitake or Kinpusen) was originally the southwest corner of Vulture Peak in India, where the Buddha preached the Lotus Sutra; and that it flew to Japan in 538 A.D. (*Shozan engi*: 90). The tale does allude to a significant truth, however, for 538 was the year when Buddhism officially reached Japan, and by the Heian period, Buddhism was as important to Kinpusen as it was to Kōfukuji itself.

The tie between Yoshino and the pre-Nara sovereigns is well attested, although Sanjō-ga-take was not "opened" then, and the Kinpusen of those days was a more restricted part of the range, closer to Yoshino (Gorai, 1975: 35-36). There is reason to believe that even then, men engaged in yogic practices in those mountains, though the practices may not yet have been particularly Buddhist. En no Gyōja, who was probably accepted already in the Nara period as the founder of what came to be called shugendō, practiced the rite of Kujaku Myōō, but seems otherwise to have been an adept more in the Chinese tradition. His most substantial connection was actually with the Katsuragi range, but by the mid-Heian period his rôle with respect to Kinpusen was a canonical truth; and so was the story that it was he who, at the top of Sanjō-ga-take, had called Zaō Gongen into manifestation.

Whatever En no Gyōja's power and accomplishments may have been, he did not actually organize the cult of Kinpusen or the ritual pilgrimages (*nyūbu*, "entry into the peak") which characterized the mature shugendō of Kinpusen in later times. Actual organization probably began in the late ninth century under Shōbō (832~909), a Shingon monk originally from Tōdaiji who lived a generation before Kūsei. The career of Shōbō will be discussed further below.

After En no Gyōja's time, practitioners continued going into Kinpusen, and the Buddhist coloring of the cult must have become more and more pronounced. By the mid-Heian period, Kinpusen was a powerful Buddhist establishment, patronized and visited by the greatest nobles in the land. It is no wonder that by the end of the eleventh century, Kinpusen was claimed by Kōfukuji as a *matsuji*. (For details on Kinpusenji see below, the beginning of section 5.) Kōfukuji could hardly have ignored Kinpusen, and considering its claims in Yamato, it could hardly have been satisfied with less.

Imperial patronage of Kinpusen

Imperial patronage of Kinpusen is clear in the records. Devotion to Kinpusen by Heian-period emperors began in the early ninth century and took three forms: (1) offering texts and images upon specific peaks; (2) enriching the religious institutions of Kinpusen by donating land or by commissioning temples and rites; and (3) actually going on pilgrimage to Kinpusen.

1. *Placing images on peaks.*

Seen from Nara or Kyōto, Kinpusen was always another world, numinous and wild. Above all, it was the peaks which first drew people's attention, and the impulse of civilization was to define them in terms of fittingly distinguished divinities. The visitor to Ōmine today can only be struck by the way nearly all the summits there are named after buddhas and bodhisattvas; but in the past, the peaks and prominences of Kinpusen were named far more meticulously than they are now. *Shozan engi*, which dates roughly from the late Heian period, describes a detailed projection of the Kongōkai and Taizōkai mandalas onto the topography of Kinpusen, although few of the sites mentioned can be readily identified today.

To enter fully into the pantheon, a peak required authoritative recognition. *Shozan engi* describes, for each of the dozens of places it mentions, precise offerings of texts and images by named persons, often noting that these things were buried at the spot. Many of those who made these offerings were monks, apparently acting on their own initiative; but even more were emperors who sent monks as envoys to Kinpusen, to make offerings on their behalf. *Kinpusen zakki* and *Kinpusen sōsōki*, which probably belong to the Kamakura period, include similar information.

Tenchi (r.661~671) is the earliest emperor to appear in these three documents as having thus honored certain peaks of Kinpusen. For the Heian period, the list includes Heizei (r.806~809), Saga (r.809~823), Ninmyō (r.833~850), Montoku (r.850~858), Seiwa (r.858~877), Uda (r.887~897), Daigo (r.897~930), Murakami (r.946~967), and Toba (r.1107~1123). Heizei, for example, made a copy of the Lotus Sutra and had it placed on "Kanjizai Bosatsu no Mine," a peak which Tenchi had already acknowledged; Ninmyō had the *Rishu-kyō* (an important *mikkyō* text) and a small image of Aizen Myō placed upon "Birikuchi bosatsu no Mine" in order to pray for the birth of an heir; and Murakami sent his own image of Nyoirin Kannon with one Shinkū Shōnin to

be placed on "Kongōken Bosatsu no Mine," together with three precious relic grains and a copy he had made of the Lotus Sutra (*Shozan engi*: 94-95). Except for Toba, who appears only in *Shozan engi*, the three sources agree that this sort of offering ceased after Murakami, although they do not speculate why.

Although many of the envoys who can be identified are Tendai or Shingon monks, some are from Nara and two are from Kōfukuji. Zenshu (723~797), an important Hossō scholar, went to Kinpusen for an unnamed emperor; and so did Chōkun (774~855), who was the lecturer for the Yuima-e of 833 (*Shozan engi*: 92 and 95).

2. *Enriching the temples of Kinpusen.*

Offerings of images and texts on certain peaks seem to have been replaced gradually by gifts to the religious institutions of Kinpusen, although these gifts too could include the burial of sutras (*maikyō*) and images. Perhaps this trend became more pronounced as these religious institutions became better and better established, and the Kinpusen cult more concertedly organized. Such gestures are listed in *Kinpusen zakki* and *Kinpusen sōsōki*.

In 900, Uda gave Kinpusen 500 *chō* of tax-exempt land, its first such acquisition. Suzaku (r.930~946) endowed a rite upon Kinpusen in 944, and so did Murakami in 949. Reizei (r.967~969), Ichijō (r.986~1011) and Go-Ichijō (r.1016~1036) all made donations. Shirakawa (r.1072~1086) was particularly active. In 1076, for example, he commissioned the building of Hōtōin, a sub-temple of Kinpusenji. He also played an important part in the development of shugendō based at Kumano. Toba commissioned several buildings and rites, as did Go-Shirakawa (r.1155~1158). Go-Toba (r.1183~1198) made donations and offered an *Ōmine engi*, now lost. The latest mention of a donation is the rebuilding of the Zaō-dō in Yoshino by Go-Saga (r.1242~1246).

3. *Pilgrimages to Kinpusen.*

The pilgrimage to Kinpusen was quite popular among the mid and late-Heian aristocracy. Wakamori Tarō (1972: 77) stressed it particularly, writing that for a time, the pilgrimage to Kinpusen must have been something that almost every courtier felt obliged to do at least once. Perhaps the thought of the pilgrimage for a courtier can be summed up by the following dream, noted down by Fujiwara no Yukinari (972~1027) in 1001: "Last night I dreamed I went to Kinpusen and received a golden sword. This is a happy omen" (*Gonki* for Chōhō 3.4.24).

The pilgrimages noted here will be those of emperors and of nobles who were or who later became regent or chancellor (*dajōdaijin*). Unless otherwise specified, the pilgrimages are mentioned both in *Kinpusen sōsōki* and in *Kinpusen zakki*.

The first imperial pilgrimage to Kinpusen in the Heian period was that of Uda in 900. Uda had a close connection with Shōbō. In 905 he seems to have gone again (Miyake, 1973: 33, *Hyakurenshō* for Kanji 6.7). Reizei went in 969 (*Kinpusen sōsōki* only). Fujiwara no Michikane (961~995), who became regent seven days before his death, went to Kinpusen in 986 (*Kinpusen zakki* only).

The next pilgrimage to be mentioned was that of the great regent Fujiwara no Michinaga, in 1007; he was the minister of the left at the time. Michinaga's pilgrimage is noteworthy for the objects he buried on Sanjō-ga-take, which have been dug up in modern times. He left a detailed account of the trip in his diary, *Midō Kanpaku ki*. His offerings for the occasion were lavish, and he was accompanied by distinguished monks who included Kakuun (953~1007) of Enryakuji; Jōchō (935~1015), since 1000 superintendent of Kōfukuji; and Fukō (966~1035) who was to become the Kōfukuji superintendent in 1025, after the death of Rin'e. It is interesting that Jōchō was a student of Kūsei and Shinki, and that Fukō was a student of Shinki. Apparently, Kūsei's line continued to combine official distinction with mountain practice.

With Michinaga on his pilgrimage was Fujiwara no Yorimichi (990~1074), then very young. Yorimichi went again in 1014 and once more, as regent, in 1052, the year he built the famous Byōdōin at Uji.

Fujiwara no Moromichi (1062~1099) went on pilgrimage to Kinpusen in 1088 and again in 1090; he became regent in 1094. Moromichi's diary for 1088 does not record the name of any monk from outside Kinpusen, but in 1090 he mentioned one Saijin as having played an important part in the ceremonies conducted on the mountain (*Go-Nijō Moromichi ki* for Kanji 4.8.10). Saijin (1029~1095) was a Kōfukuji monk and a Fujiwara. He served as lecturer for the Yuima-e in 1066 (*Sōgō bunin, Kōfukuji bettō shidai*).

Soon after Moromichi came Retired Emperor Shirakawa, who went to Kinpusen in 1092. His pilgrimage is noted in many records, but the only monk mentioned from outside Kinpusen is Ryūmyō (1021~1104) of Miidera. According to the first and second scrolls of *Kasuga Gongen genki*, the Kasuga deity became angry with Shirakawa in connection with this pilgrimage, because Shirakawa had not visited Kasuga or Kōfukuji on the way. Shirakawa had allegedly to make amends by visiting Kasuga specially and by donating to the shrine a set of the Buddhist Canon, together with the building to house it and land to provide for its support.

One of the gentlemen with Shirakawa in 1092 was Minamoto no Masazane (1059~1127) who, although a Minamoto, rose in 1122 to the post of chancellor. According to the two Kinpusen sources, Masazane had already been to Kinpusen in 1088 and 1106.

After Masazane, pilgrimages by the members of the highest aristocracy seem to have dwindled. It appears that from the late Heian into the Kamakura period, the interest of the court shifted away from Kinpusen and toward Kumano. In this connection, it is significant that Shirakawa should have been accompanied in 1092 by a Miidera monk, for in 1090 Shirakawa had named Zōyo (1032~1116), then the chief monk of Miidera, as the first kengyō of Kumano. The appointment was an important one in shugendō history. After that, the day-to-day support of Kinpusen came gradually to be picked up by warriors and by wealthy Yamato landowners. However, Kōfukuji interest in Kinpusen was by then thoroughly established, and it was from Kōfukuji that

the kengyō of Kinpusen were appointed.

THE KENGYŌ OF KINPUSEN

The kengyō of Kinpusen lived at Kinpusenji. There were a good many shrines and temples in Kinpusen in late Heian times, but Kinpusenji was the main one. It was also called Sekizōji, since like many other temples it had two names of which one referred to its location. It was situated above Yoshino, a little below the spot now known as Aizen. It has not survived.

According to shugendō tradition the first temple at Yoshino goes back to Gyōki (668~749), who is said to have enshrined Zaō Gongen there. As for Kinpusenji itself, it may have begun in the second half of the eighth century, and was probably well established by the beginning of the Heian period (Murakami, 1978: 75). By the late Heian it was a complex establishment which included Hōtōin; a Kannon-dō which was the Kinpusen headquarters of the Tōzan shugendō of Ōmine; Sakuramoto-bō, one of the "Thirty-Six Sendatsu" of early Tōzan shugendō and known in the Edo period as the Yoshino head of that line; and Yoshimizuin, the single most powerful component of Kinpusenji (*Kinpusen sōsōki*, *Tōzan shōdaiendatsu*).

In 1092 Shirakawa appointed two monks of the hokkyō rank to Kinpusenji (*Kinpusen zakki*), and Miyake Hitoshi (1973: 54-55) has presented this and other evidence to show that the Kinpusenji of middle and late Heian times was rather like a government-sponsored temple (*kanji*). The residents of the temple were divided into *gakuryō* (resembling the Kōfukuji *daishū*), *mandō* (the counterpart of the Kōfukuji *dōshū*) and other, lesser classes which also had equivalents at Kōfukuji and elsewhere.

It is remarkable that while most of the *gakuryō* were Tendai men, the *mandō* were Shingon (Miyake, 1973: 55). Analogously complicated situations seem to have existed at other mountain temples too. These conflicting affiliations must often have caused friction, but with respect to Kōfukuji, at least, Kinpusen was surely united. There is no doubt that Kinpusen did its best to resist coming under even the nominal authority of Kōfukuji. This authority was vested above all in the person of the kengyō.

The office of kengyō

Scattered mentions of the early kengyō of Kinpusen suggest that they were appointed from outside, although little about them or their function is clear. The title "kengyō" itself was in general use, and designated an officer who had overall supervisory responsibility for a temple complex. Therefore, the kengyō of Kinpusen must have had that sort of authority, at least in theory.

The title of bettō (which, for Kōfukuji, I translate "superintendent") also appears in connection with the early kengyō of Kinpusen, and one has the impression that in the tenth and early eleventh centuries the two titles may have

been almost synonymous. The early kengyō seem to have been appointed sporadically, as the occasion prompted, but there must always have been a chief monk of Kinpusenji (Sekizōji). Since this monk would normally have been called a bettō, the kengyō title may simply have been conferred at times on the regular bettō.

Miyake Hitoshi (1973: 40), in writing of Kinpusen in the Kamakura period, described the kengyō as having jurisdiction over Kinpusen as a whole, and stated that the actual administration was entrusted to the kengyō's subordinate, the *shigyō*. However, "*shigyō*" does not appear in the Heian-period documents which refer to the kengyō of Kinpusen, nor does "bettō" appear in post-Heian records. At any rate, by Kamakura times the kengyō was definitely appointed from Kōfukuji, and probably had been at least from the late eleventh century on. That is to say, the appointee was a Kōfukuji monk. Judging from two entries in *Inokuma kanpaku ki* (for Jōgen 2.8.28 and 2.9.3), dated 1208, the appointing authority was the head of the Fujiwara clan.

What the kengyō of Kinpusen actually did, even in the time of Kōfukuji's greatest ascendancy over Kinpusen, remains unclear. There is not even any concrete record of a kengyō of the late Heian or Kamakura periods having resided at Kinpusen at all. Perhaps the kengyō of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries really did spend some of their time at Kinpusenji, but after that, one easily imagines the office as strictly honorary. On the other hand, the *shuto* of Kōfukuji were perennially ready to enforce their temple's claim that Kinpusenji was a *matsuji* of Kōfukuji, and this threat remained powerful into Muromachi times.

The earliest known kengyō or bettō of Kinpusen

A chronological account of the kengyō of Kinpusen makes poor reading, but one wonders how else to treat the subject completely. Information on these men being scarce, I will simply give an article for each kengyō and make such other remarks as the materials allow. This approach will at least help to highlight the rise of Kōfukuji influence over Kinpusen; the transformation of the post of kengyō into what was probably a sinecure for the highest ranking monks of Kōfukuji; and the collapse of this kengyō lineage in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when Kōfukuji's fortunes were seriously waning.

1. Joken.

Kinpusen sōsōki describes as the first kengyō of Kinpusen one Joken, who was appointed by Emperor Uda at the time of his pilgrimage to Kinpusen in 900. Joken may have been associated with Shōbō, for Uda himself was close to Shōbō, and Joken appears as the fifth name after Shōbō in *Tōzan shugen dentō kechimyaku*, a Tōzan shugendō lineage. Chronology makes it implausible that the two should have been the same, but one list or the other may be out of order. Thus, Joken may have been a Shingon monk.

2. Zōsan.

The next known kengyō is Zōsan. *Kinpusen sōsōki* mentions that "the kengyō

Zōsan" was commissioned by Emperor Ichijō in 997 to perform a certain rite, and that he was given the rank of ajari. Zōsan is the sixth name after Shōbō in the lineage just cited.

3. Kinshō.

Several times in his account of his pilgrimage to Kinpusen in 1007 (*Midō Kanpaku ki* for Kankō 4.8.10, 8.11, 8.12), Fujiwara no Michinaga mentioned one Kinshō whom he described as bettō of Kinpusen. However, *Sōgō bunin* records that Kinshō was appointed bettō of Kinpusen in 1017; and that in 1019 Kinshō, the kengyō of Kinpusen, died (*Sōgō bunin*, *uragaki* to *kan* 3). Whatever the truth of the dates may be, bettō and kengyō seem to have been at the time hard to distinguish. No school affiliation for Kinshō may be conjectured.

4. Genjo.

The next known kengyō is Genjo, the seventh name in the Tōzan lineage cited above. *Nihon kiriyaku* for Chōgen 2.5.19 (1029) mentions him being summoned for questioning together with the "resident monks" (*jūsō*) of Kinpusen. He is the subject of an intriguing entry in *Sakeiki* for Chōgen 5.6.20 (1032); "On the night of the 18th, Genjo, the kengyō of Kinpusen, was killed by the Totsugawa villagers." No hint of the reason is given, but the gravity of the incident may have had something to do with the unusual distinction of the next kengyō.

Early appointees from Kōfukuji

With the next kengyō, En'en (990~1060), Kōfukuji appears unequivocally and will remain in the foreground henceforth.

5. En'en.

En'en was a scholar-monk of Kōfukuji and served as lecturer for the Yuima-e of 1031. He was appointed kengyō of Kinpusen in 1049, and in 1055 became superintendent of Kōfukuji. One would like to know the circumstances of his appointment, since no one of quite such high standing was named to the office again for about a century. It is noteworthy that En'en was a student of the Fukō who accompanied Michinaga to Kinpusen, and thus a spiritual descendant of Kūsei and Shinki. He also studied with Saishin of Ninnaji (*Sanne Jōikki*, *Sōgō bunin*, *Kōfukuji bettō shidai*).

6. Eshin.

Eshin (1008?~1094) was also from Kōfukuji. He was appointed to the rank of hokkyō in 1071, then in 1080 was promoted to hōgen and named bettō of Kinpusen (*Sōgō bunin* for 1071 and 1080). However, *Sōgō bunin* for 1092 describes him as "the kengyō Eshin," and again one feels that the two offices may not have been far apart.

7. Kōsan.

The confusion over "kengyō" and "bettō" is compounded by Kōsan (d.1096), who appears several times in the diary of Fujiwara no Moromichi. According to *Sōgō bunin* (*uragaki* to *kan* 5), Kōsan was appointed hokkyō in 1092, on the occasion of Shirakawa's pilgrimage, and was bettō at the time. His position

as bettō is confirmed by *Chūyūki*, cited immediately below. Perhaps Eshin had after all been named kengyō from within the residents of Kinpusen, and replaced by Kōsan. If so, then Eshin was the last kengyō of this kind to be appointed. Henceforth, the kengyō of Kinpusen were appointed by Kōfukuji from outside. Apparently, this was a result of the Kōfukuji-Kinpusen war of 1093.

The Kōfukuji-Kinpusen war of 1093

Kōfukuji's claim to dominion over Yamato extended to Kinpusen, and by 1092 was embodied in monks appointed from Kōfukuji to oversee the religious establishment there. But Kinpusen itself was strong, remote in its mountain fastness, and jealous of its own prerogatives. One easily imagines quarrels between the two, and in fact these occurred.

The most diligent research might not produce a complete list of the clashes between Kōfukuji and Kinpusen, but the one in 1093, just a year after Shirakawa's pilgrimage, left its mark. Kujō Kanezane (1149~1207), writing eighty-six years later in his diary, noted the disruption it had caused (*Gyokuyō* for Jishō 3.11.27 [1179]). If the source of the trouble is unclear, at least the progress of the affair was summarily recorded.

On Kanji 7.9.14 (1093), the *daishū* of Kōfukuji informed the head of the Fujiwara clan, Moromichi, that they had clashed with Kinpusen while securing the roads in the area, and were furious (*Go-Nijō Moromichi ki* for that date). Then on the 21st, "The evil monks [*akusō*] of the Southern Capital set out for Kinpusen to fight" (*Hyakurenshō* for that date).

According to *Chūyūki*, when they reached Kinpusen, the Kōsan just discussed submitted a letter of apology and the Kōfukuji side withdrew. However, some elements among the Kōfukuji monks were still spoiling for a fight because "Kinpusen was a *matsuji* of Kōfukuji." Therefore the court (perhaps the regent Morozane, since Moromichi's diary does not mention the matter) appointed one Jōzen as kengyō, no doubt largely to placate Kōfukuji. Kinpusen, however, refused to accept Jōzen, with the result that Kōfukuji attacked after all and two battles ensued (*Chūyūki* for Kanji 8.3.6 [1094]). *Chūyūki* does not mention that on 7.22, the day after Kōfukuji "set out for Kinpusen to fight," the "main hall (*hōden*) of Kinpusen" burned down. Moromichi, who noted the event, called it "a disaster for the realm." He wrote that he did not know yet whether the fire had been accidental or intentionally set (*Go-Nijō Moromichi ki* for Kanji 7.9.22, 7.9.24). However, given the ruthless behavior of the Kōfukuji forces on many other occasions, there is no reason whatever not to suspect them of having burned the building down on purpose.

On Kanji 7.11.4, Moromichi heard from Kakushin, the Kōfukuji superintendent, that the Kōfukuji forces had set off for the Yoshino river (*Go-Nijō Moromichi ki* for that date). On the 13th, according to *Chūyūki*, they were fighting at "Kinpusen no shimoyama" near Kinpusenji, and on the 17th the conflict forced cancellation of an important ceremony. In fact, on the night of

the 17th, "The Kasuga Shrine rumbled and emitted repeated flashes of light, and the imperial tomb on Fukakusa-yama groaned" (*Chūyūki* for that day).

On the 23rd of the same month, Moromichi heard that Kōfukuji had marched directly against Kinpusen and noted that the temple had to be stopped. Two days later, he wrote that he had sent several *chōjasen* (orders issued by the head of the Fujiwara clan) to the ranking monks of Kōfukuji, though without result. He observed, moreover, that the weather continued to be extremely cold with constant snow (*Go-Nijō Moromichi ki* for Kanji 7.11.23, 25). Kōfukuji had not picked a comfortable season for the fight.

With this, the records of the conflict fade out. However, in the 6th and 7th months of Eichō 1 (1096), Moromichi noted discussing the court's contribution to the rebuilding of Kinpusen. (There is no indication of whether the destruction had been confined to the *hōden*, or whether it was more widespread.) The dedication was to be held on Eichō 1.7.15. Three months later, Moromichi dreamed that he went to Kinpusen, where the deity said to him, "I am immeasurably distressed by the affair with Kōfukuji. That is why I have shown you the Kinpusen deity" (*Go-Nijō Moromichi ki* for Kanji 1.6.27, 7.2, 7.8, 10.11). This dream-reproach from the deity (perhaps, but not necessarily, Zaō Gongen) conveys the bitterness and gravity of the affair.

In the end, there is no doubt that Kōfukuji won the fight and succeeded after all in imposing Jōzen upon the recalcitrant Kinpusen.

8. Jōzen.

Jōzen (1042~1095) was appointed on Kanji 7.10.27 (1093), according to *Chūyūki* for that day. A Fujiwara, he had been trained at Kitain of Kōfukuji, the sub-temple founded by Kūsei and inhabited by his successors. Jōzen had been lecturer for the Yuima-e in 1071, and is the first monk listed as kengyō of Kinpusen in *Sanne jōikki*. Considering how young he was when he served as lecturer, he must have been of fairly distinguished birth.

Between two wars

Concerning the kengyō who followed Jōzen, there is no information on the periods of their tenure, and the office may not have been filled continuously. In 1145, however, a second war broke out and changed once again the character of the kengyō and of the relationship between Kōfukuji and Kinpusen.

Sanne jōikki describes three monks as kengyō during this period, and in the absence of indications to the contrary, it seems safest to list them in order of their service as lecturer for the Yuima-e.

9. Gyōshun.

By this standard, the first was Gyōshun (1052~?), a Fujiwara of the provincial governor class who was lecturer in 1097 and rose to the rank of *gon-shōsōzu*.

10. Raijitsu.

Raijitsu (1050~at least 1142), a Nakahara, was lecturer in 1098, and also rose to *gon-shōsōzu*.

11. Zennin.

Zennin (1062~1130) was lecturer in 1118 and rose to *gon-daisōzu*. *Chūyūki* mentions him in 1130 not as kengyō but as bettō of Kinpusen, but the other sources are clear. Fujiwara no Munetada, the *Chūyūki* diarist, wrote that Zennin had just died, and noted that “for the last two or three years he had been in retirement at Kōfukuji” (*Chūyūki* for Daiji 5.5.18). This suggests that such kengyō actually lived at Kinpusen. There is a break at least from the date of Zennin’s death to 1145, when the next kengyō was appointed.

In addition, at least two Kōfukuji monks held high rank on Kinpusen during this period, and one was bettō. The *Fusō ryakki* entry for Shirakawa’s pilgrimage of 1092 mentions Kōsan’s promotion to hokkyō, and notes that the same rank was conferred also upon “a disciple of Bettō Hōgen Eshin.” The disciple in question must be Kyōshō (1050~1141), a man of generally higher station than Kōsan. *Sōgō bunin* does not list Kōsan in any main entry, even the one for 1092, but the 1092 entry lists Kyōshō under the “hokkyō” rank; notes that he was appointed on the occasion of Shirakawa’s pilgrimage to Kinpusen; and specifies that the hokkyō position he filled was left vacant by “the kengyō Eshin.” Kyōshō was promoted to hōgen in 1101, filling the vacancy left by Eshin’s death, and at last in 1121, at the age of seventy-one, served as lecturer for the Yuima-e. *Sōgō bunin* and *Sanne jōikki* both describe him unequivocally as a Kōfukuji monk, and the latter source for 1099 shows that he was a Fujiwara of the provincial governor class.

Enkaku (1075~at least 1142), a bettō of Kinpusen, was lecturer for the Yuima-e in 1125. He must have been of higher standing than Kyōshō, as his age in 1125 shows. In fact, he was a son of Gon-Chūnagon Fujiwara no Suenaka. He first appears as bettō of Kinpusen in 1139 and the post is reaffirmed in 1142.

The Kōfukuji-Kinpusen war of 1145

Tension between Kōfukuji and Kinpusen must have remained high. In the third month of 1114, the *daishu* of Kōfukuji sallied forth against Kinpusen “over the affair of the bettō.” (Perhaps this bettō was one of the monks mentioned above.) Then in 1139, a monk of Kōfukuji was killed in a quarrel with Hōtōin of Kinpusen, and this became a factor in the attack of the Kōfukuji *daishu* on Ryūkaku (1074~1158, a Koga Genji) who had just been appointed superintendent of Kōfukuji (*Denreki* for Eikyū 2.3.29; *Nanto daishu nyūroku ki*; *Kōfukuji bettō shidai*, “Ryūkaku”). Then in 1145, war broke out again.

The matter first appears in *Daiki*, the diary of the powerful Fujiwara no Yōrinaga (1120~1156), in 1145. According to the entry for Ten’yō 2.6.8, word having reached Kyōto that Kōfukuji meant to set off to war against Kinpusen, Fujiwara no Tadazane (Yōrinaga’s father and the *Denreki* diarist) sent a messenger to stop them. Unfortunately, Tadamichi (Yōrinaga’s brother, and the current regent and head of the clan) declined to do the same. Thus, the Kōfukuji *shuto* set out on 7.12, led by one Shinjitsu. On 7.26, however, they were soundly defeated and had to withdraw.

Then on 9.13 they marched forth again under the same commander, and this time they prevailed. *Kōfukuji ruki* contains an account of the warrior Minamoto no Tameyoshi (1096~1156) giving advice to the retired emperor (Toba) concerning the war, and gives the conclusion of the affair.

The Retired Emperor sent supplies to the Kōfukuji side and asked Tameyoshi: "Many learned monks of the head temple have died in this conflict with their *matsuji*. Why?"

Tameyoshi replied: "The fortress of Kinpusen is not to be attacked rashly. In my view, one should press it cautiously."

The Retired Emperor objected: "But then, the besieged would kill many of the scholars in their sallies."

"But the fortress would fall," answered Tameyoshi. "When they had exhausted all their resources, they would surrender."

Sure enough, Nin'e's [the bettō's?] servant soon came forth with a message of surrender. After that, the *honji-matsuji* relationship between Kōfukuji and Kinpusen was sealed forever.

The register of the kengyō of Kinpusen

What happened once the relationship of Kinpusen to Kōfukuji was sealed can be gathered from two items. The first is a copious account in *Inokuma kanpaku ki* for 1208 (Jōgen 2.1. to 2.9) of a quarrel between Kinpusen and the hapless Tendai outpost of Tōnomine, in which Kōfukuji became involved on behalf of its "*matsuji*." The two temples may well have been in league with one another. It is curious to read of Tōnomine being destroyed by Kinpusen, since the place was demolished much more often by Kōfukuji itself. Certainly, it is unlikely that the Kōfukuji *daishu* were displeased, although unfortunately the sacred image of Fujiwara no Kamatari, housed at Tōnomine, was lost on this occasion to fire.

The second item is a short document included in *Nihon daizōkyō*. It is called *Kinpusen kengyō shidai*, and is simply a list of twenty names. All but the first and last are the names of superintendents of Kōfukuji. Only the initial five are given with approximate dates of appointment. Among them, the first is Ejitsu with the note, "[in] the Kanji period [1087~1094]." There is no trace of an Ejitsu in other records, and the name is surely an error for the Eshin described above.

One cannot tell why "Ejitsu" should appear when Jōzen and his successors do not, but in any case, the list proper begins with the second name, Jinpan. Information on Jinpan and his successors will be drawn from *Sanne jōikki*, *Sōgō bunin* and *Kōfukuji bettō shidai*. Mentions of such appointments in *Shomonzeki fu* will be noted, and a shorter list of "Yoshino kengyō," recorded by the Kōfukuji superintendent Jinson in *Daijōin jisha zōjiki*, will be taken into account.

12. Jinpan.

Jinpan (1100~1174) was a son of the regent Fujiwara no Morozane, and was the head monk of Daijōin. He served as lecturer for the Yuima-e in 1126 and was named superintendent in 1164. *Kinpusen kengyō shidai* states that he became kengyō in 1145, and the appointment is mentioned too in *Shomonzeki fu*. Jinson's own list starts with Jinpan. No monk of such distinction had ever been kengyō of Kinpusen before, and the meaning of the appointment is clear. Kōfukuji and the Fujiwara considered Kinpusen an essential adornment to Kōfukuji's power and prestige, and after the war of 1145 they intended to make this point as clearly as possible. After Jinpan, the post of kengyō was given only to a head monk of either Daijōin or Ichijōin—that is, to sons of the highest-ranking nobles at court. The father of each such kengyō served however briefly as regent, and every one of these kengyō rose to the highest possible *sōgō* rank.

13. Eshin.

Eshin (1114~1171) was a son of Fujiwara no Tadamichi and belonged to Ichijōin. He was lecturer in 1135, became superintendent in 1157, and died in exile because of a fierce quarrel with the Kōfukuji *daishu*. He became kengyō in 1156.

14. Shin'en.

Shin'en (1153~1224), a younger brother of Eshin, was head both of Daijōin and of Ichijōin; was the first Kōfukuji monk ever to be appointed shōsōzu before serving as lecturer for the Yuima-e; and was named superintendent in 1181. According to *Kinpusen bettō shidai* he became kengyō in 1174, and the *uji-no-chōja* Fujiwara no Iezane relieved him of the post in 1208 (*Inokuma kanpaku ki* for Jōgen 2. Jun 4.22). Shin'en is the second name given by Jinson, who did not list Eshin.

15. Jisson.

Jisson (1180~1236) was a son of Fujiwara no Motofusa and belonged to Daijōin. Lecturer in 1199, he became superintendent in 1226. Iezane appointed him kengyō in 1208, four months after dismissing Shin'en (*Inokuma kanpaku ki* for Jōgen 2.8.28 and 2.9.3).

16. Enjitsu.

At this point, *Kinpusen kengyō shidai* mentions Enjitsu (1214~at least 1264), who was markedly junior to the Jisshin who follows him. Jinson's list helps to explain the discrepancy, for according to his note, Jisshin "held the office in Enjitsu's stead while Enjitsu was a youth." Thoughts of child shoguns and child emperors come to mind. Jinson wrote that Enjitsu then assumed the office himself but was replaced in due course by the same Jisshin, and finally replaced Jisshin once more. Enjitsu was a son of Kujō Michiie and head of Daijōin. He was lecturer in 1231 and received the first of his two appointments as superintendent in 1235.

17. Jisshin.

Jisshin (1199~1256) was a son of Konoe Motomichi, and like Shin'en was head monk both of Daijōin and of Ichijōin. He became kengyō in his own right after serving as a sort of "regent" for the young Enjitsu. Jisshin was lecturer in

1219 and received the first of his five appointments as superintendent in 1230.
 18. *Enjitsu* (second appointment).

Kinpusen kengyō shidai mentions Enjitsu here, although with the puzzling notation "Kagen." "Kagen" is the year-period 1303~1306 and is clearly an error. However, Jinson's list confirms this second appointment.

This tedious list becomes no more thrilling hereafter. These monks took over Daijōin or Ichijōin at a minimum age, as necessary; served as lecturer as expeditiously as possible; could still be young when they became superintendent; and invariably achieved the highest possible rank. They often resigned the office of superintendent quickly, and then were reappointed for short periods during the rest of their career. (Perhaps they did not care to shoulder so great a burden for too long.) Their entries in *Kōfukuji bettō shidai* are sketchy, as though they did not really carry much practical weight. However, they continued to hold the kengyō title.

19. *Sonshin*.

The next kengyō in *Kinpusen kengyō shidai* is Shinshō, followed by Sonshin. Jinson, however, has the reverse order, and given Sonshin's dates, this makes better sense. Sonshin (1126/8~1183) was a son of Kujō Norizane and headed Daijōin.

20. *Shinshō*.

Shinshō (1247~1286), a son of Konoe Kanetsune, headed Ichijōin. According to Jinson, Shinshō followed Jishin, below. Here, however, the order in *Kinpusen kengyō shidai* seems preferable.

21. *Jishin*.

Jishin (1257~1325) was a son of Ichijō Sanetsune and headed Daijōin.

Shinshō, who follows Jishin in Jinson's list, is the last kengyō given by Jinson. Jinson was in as good a position as anyone to know who had served as kengyō of Kinpusen, and his failure to mention the men who follow casts doubt on the genuineness, and certainly on the significance, of their appointment. On the other hand, Jinson was of Daijōin, while every one of the kengyō listed hereafter was from Ichijōin. Up to this point Daijōin and Ichijōin had shared an approximately equal interest in the office. Since by this time the office must have been purely ceremonial (as the example of Jinkaku, below, makes particularly clear), Jinson might have neither known nor cared about the kengyō who came after Shinshō. Nonetheless, the lingering existence of the title recalls the high importance of Kinpusen to Kōfukuji as part of what was, by then, Kōfukuji's own hallowed tradition.

22. *Kakushō*.

Kakushō (1265~1329), of Ichijōin, was a son of Konoe Motohira.

23. *Ryōshin*.

Ryōshin (1276/7~1329), of Ichijōin, was a son of Konoe (Takatsukasa) Mototada. He took part in making the final copy of *Kasuga Gongen genki*.

24. *Ryōkaku*.

According to *Kinpusen kengyō shidai*, the next kengyō after Ryōshin was

Ryōkaku (1291~1332). *Shomonzeki fu*, on the other hand, mentions Jinkaku (1282~1318) of Daijōin, who could therefore be inserted here. It seems preferable not to do so, however, for in truth *Shomonzeki fu* sometimes exaggerates so as to enhance the luster of those whom it mentions. For example, it lists every head of Daijōin or Ichijōin as superintendent, even though for some the claim is untrue. Jinkaku's father, Ichijō Ietsune, was regent for only one day, and it is possible that a desirable adornment for a regent with a son at Daijōin or Ichijōin was to have that son fill the office of kengyō of Kinpusen. Therefore, Jinkaku may be discounted. Ryōkaku, of Ichijōin, was a son of Konoe Iemoto.

25. *Kakujitsu*.

Kakujitsu (1306~1351), of Ichijōin, was a son of Konoe Iehira.

26. *Jitsugen*.

Jitsugen (d. after 1370) was a son of Konoe Tsunetada and was brought to Ichijōin suddenly as a replacement for Kakujitsu. He is the Ichijōin lineage in *Shomonzeki fu*, but appears in *Sanne jōikki* only as a *ryūgi* (a secondary role, short of lecturer) for the Yuima-e of 1370. A record concerning him shows how things could go at Ichijōin in the fourteenth century (*Saisai yōki nukigaki* for Kannō 2.5.18 and Bun'wa 2.12.18). Near dawn on Kannō 2.5.18 (1351), Kakujitsu suddenly became gravely ill. Soon a messenger was despatched to Kyōto to ask that Konoe Tsunetada's son come down immediately to Kōfukuji. The young man arrived on the 20th and took his vows (*shukke*) that night under the name Jitchū; he changed the name to Jitsugen two and a half years later.

27. *Ryōshō*.

Ryōshō (1363~1402), of Ichijōin, was a son of Konoe Michitsugu.

28. *Ryōken*.

Ryōken (1373?~1409), of Ichijōin, was a son of Konoe Kanetsugu.

29. *Shōen*.

After a gap in this obviously faltering record, the last identifiable kengyō is Shōen (1407/8~1437), a head of Ichijōin. A son of the "Takatsukasa former minister of the right," he was adopted by Konoe Tadatsugu.

30. *Yūgen*.

The last kengyō mentioned in *Kinpusen kengyō shidai* is one Yūgen who cannot be identified at all.

Kinpusen itself was weakened at this time, but so was Kōfukuji; and the two parted. In 1457 the Kōfukuji *shuto* sallied forth for what may have been their last attack on Kinpusen, but suffered many losses and hastily withdrew (*Daijōin jisha zōjiki* for Chōroku 1.11.12). Henceforth, the role of Kōfukuji in the history of Kinpusen and of Shugendō was to be almost entirely forgotten.

THE RECORD OF THE SENDATSU

But before Kōfukuji lost Kinpusen, a sendatsu from the East Kondō of

Kōfukuji wrote an account which wonderfully complements *Kinpusen kengyō shidai*. Sendatsu ("guide") is a shugendō title which designates one qualified and empowered to lead a *nyūbu*, or ritual "entry into the mountain." In other words, a sendatsu is a senior yamabushi. The writer may conceivably have been the anonymous author of *Saisai yōki nukigaki*; who, in turn, may possibly have been one Jikkai, two of whose letters to the *matsuji* of Kōfukuji are recorded in *Saisai yōki nukigaki* for Kannō 2.5.27 and 7.28 (1351).

The account is called *Ōmine tōzan honji Kōfukuji tōkondō sendatsu kiroku*: "Record of the Sendatsu of the East Kondō of Kōfukuji, the Head temple of the Tōzan [Shugendō] of Ōmine." It shows that at least in Kamakura times, Kōfukuji took an active part in the shugendō of Kinpusen. The document is undated, but it must have been written late in 1359 or early in 1360, for it contains a particular account of the *nyūbu* of 1359. The writer saw in the procedure followed many violations of established practice, and noted his desire to pass on the correct tradition to coming generations.

Perhaps he saw too the disarray reflected even in the register of the kengyō. Kōfukuji declined rapidly in actual power after the early fourteenth century. The temple had been disastrously divided by the split between the Northern and Southern Courts, and 1351 and 1352 it was in a state of civil war. Ichijōin and Daijōin were fortified, and the forces of each clashed frequently in bloody battles. Moreover, *Sanne Jōikki* reveals for the second half of the fourteenth century a sad record of cancellation, for up to ten years in a row, of the vital Yuima-e.

The Tōzan Tradition: Shōbō

Shugendō has been divided for many centuries into two broad divisions: Tōzan and Honzan. Honzan shugendō is connected with Tendai, especially with Miidera and with Shōgoin, which is still its senior temple. Its origins are not obscure. They are linked with the Miidera monk named Zōyo who founded Shōgoin, and whom Shirakawa appointed the first kengyō of Kumano (see for ex. Miyake, 1973: 95-100).

Tōzan shugendō, on the other hand, is linked with Shingon, and its head temple has for centuries been the famous Sanbōin of Daigoji. Daigoji was founded by Shōbō (832~909), and the Tōzan tradition is not only that Tōzan shugendō was begun by Shōbō, but that from the beginning the line was presided over by Shōbō's successors at Daigoji. Shōbō's historical role has recently been reevaluated, as will appear below, but a discussion of Tōzan shugendō naturally begins with him. Such a discussion is essential to the background of *Sendatsu kiroku*. Moreover, despite the later emphasis on Daigoji to the exclusion of all else, Shōbō's life illustrates the place of Nara monks in early shugendō history.

Though En no Gyōja may have heightened an existing interest in Kinpusen, he did not actually organize shugendō activity there. This point seems to be made by a persistent legend that shortly after his time, access to Kinpusen was

cut off by a terrible serpent which appeared there. Such a serpent figures also in the legend of Shōbō. One reads that in 885 a huge serpent appeared in Kinpusen and caused devastating floods which laid waste the fields below. Pilgrimages into Ōmine cease until Shōbō quelled the menace at the behest of Emperor Uda (r.887~897)(*Gokujinpi hōkechi*).

Although alleged to be a descendant of Emperor Kōnin (r.770~781), Shōbō was from Sanuki on Shikoku. He first studied Sanron at Gangōji and Hossō at Tōdaiji, and in 869 he was a *ryūgi* for the Yuima-e. In 871 he received a Shingon esoteric transmission, and in 874 he founded Daigoji, southeast of Kyōto, as a place for *mikkyō* practice. The next year, however, he founded Tōnan-in, an important sub-temple at Tōdaiji, as a center of Sanron studies. In 877 Shōbō received another Shingon transmission on Mt. Koya, and others followed at Tōji. In 890 he became “kengyō of the Seven Great Temples” of Nara, and in 906 became superintendent of Tōdaiji. He appears to have died at Daigoji.

Shōbō spent much time in the “mountains and forests.” In the Jōgan period (859~877) he apparently built a *gyōja-dō* (“practitioners’ hall”) on Sanjō-ga-take; during Kanpyō (889~898) he was chief monk of Genkōji (Hisosanji); and in 899, according to some sources, he was at Yoshino, giving initiation (*denbō kanjō*) to clerics and laymen. He is also recorded as having set up a ferry service to bring pilgrims across the Yoshino River to Kinpusen. (The above summary is based on Murakami, 1978: 94-95.) In sum, he was a scholar, practitioner and organizer who played an important part in the continued spread of shugendō and of *mikkyō*. His general reputation in shugendō history, even beyond the Tōzan line, is that of “restorer” (*chūkō*) of the shugendō of Kinpusen.

Early Tōzan shugendō

Few writings on shugendō history dispute the Tōzan tradition, although they may note that the origins of Tōzan shugendō are unclear. However, in 1967 Suzuki Shōei published an incomplete article which proposed a different understanding of the subject; and in the early 1970’s he followed this up with an article based on the rich collection of Tōzan shugendō documents discovered at Matsuo-dera (Suzuki, 1975). In these studies, Suzuki contended that Shōbō had little directly to do with the early history of Tōzan shugendō, and Daigoji nothing at all.

Suzuki did not question that Shōbō was active at Yoshino and in the mountains beyond. However, he suggested that Shōbō’s reputation as the “restorer” of Ōmine shugendō is an exaggeration, and that a Tōzan tradition of “Thirty-Six Sendatsu” accompanying him into Ōmine in 895 is simply a later fiction (Suzuki, 1975: 78). Moreover, he stressed that since the *jike-gata* (fully-ordained monks) of Kinpusenji seem to have been Tendai, while only the *mandō* (*dōshu*, practitioners) were Shingon, Shōbō cannot have had a decisive impact on the organization of Kinpusen, whatever he may have done to draw pilgrims there (Suzuki, 1975: 79).

With regard to the kengyō, Suzuki recognized in both his articles the rôle of Kōfukuji. He observed that although the Tōzan tradition claims a lineage of Ōmine kengyō parallel to the Honzan kengyō of Kumano, most of these kengyō are simply the lineage of Sanbōin under another title, and can have had little if any authority at Kinpusen (Suzuki, 1975: 79). Indeed, he showed that in Kamakura and Muromachi times, Daigoji actually disapproved of shugendō as a mode of practice worthy of a high-ranking monk, on the grounds that it was not "pure *mikkyō*." Suzuki found no reliable record of Sanbōin standing at the head of Tōzan shugendō earlier than 1602. He also noted that Sanbōin's leadership seems not to have been fully confirmed until it was recognized by Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1613 (Suzuki, 1975: 80).

The Tōzan tradition makes much of "Thirty-six Sendatsu" who (allegedly under Shōbō and his successors) are the chief officers of Tōzan shugendō. In practice these "sendatsu" are not men so much as temples: the temples where the thirty-six sendatsu lineages resided. When the *Sendatsu kiroku* of Kōfukuji states that "The East Kondō of Kōfukuji is the head temple of Tōzan [shugendō]," it means that the East Kondō presides over the Thirty-Six Sendatsu; in fact the text adds, "and one or two men from Kōfukuji accompany every *nyūbu* [from the sendatsu temples]."

During most of the history of Tōzan shugendō, the number thirty-six has been a bit theoretical. Thirty-six is an ideal figure, being for example the number of an important assemblage of minions (*dōji*) of Fudō Myōō; and the full count of the sendatsu may never have been entirely real. Certainly, by the early Edo period the active ones had dwindled into the twenties and continued to fall (Suzuki, 1975: 82-84).

As Suzuki noted, the Thirty-Six Sendatsu were all in central Japan and obviously concentrated in Yamato. In this respect, the Tōzan shugendō centers (normally Shingon) differed entirely from the Honzan ones (normally Tendai), which were far more widely distributed. In fact, Tōzan shugendō was a sort of regional shugendō association and most of its sendatsu were within the domain of Kōfukuji. It is no wonder therefore that most of them were actually *matsuji* of Kōfukuji. These include none other than the celebrated Hōryūji, as well as Jōruriji ("Nishi Odawara"), Matsuo-dera, Kaijūsenji, Shōryakuji, and Kokawa-dera or Shigi-san which are so well known for their medieval *engi emaki*. An exception was Tōnomine (Tendai), the site of the ancestral shrine to Fujiwara Kamatari, but ironically a *matsuji* of Enryakuji.

According to Suzuki, Tōzan shugendō was run by these sendatsu before Sanbōin at last took it over. The sendatsu worked by mutual consultation, though of course there was a hierarchy among them (Suzuki, 1975: 80-88). In his second article Suzuki never mentioned *Sendatsu kiroku* at all, and so never discussed the validity of the claim of the East Kondō of Kōfukuji to leadership over the Thirty-six Sendatsu. Yet considering what this study has shown so far, it is plausible that the East Kondō should have made this claim in earnest, whether or not the company of sendatsu was entirely swayed by its authority.

The record of the sendatsu

Suzuki Shōei acknowledged *Ōmine tōzan honji Kōfukuji tōkondō sendatsu kiroku* in his 1967 article, and stressed its genuineness and its significance. Miyake Hitoshi too apparently acknowledged it (although he did not mention or cite it) when he wrote that in the Kamakura period it was the East Kondō of Kōfukuji which controlled the sendatsu of the Yamato region (Suzuki, 1967: 696-697, Miyake, 1973: 95).

Sendatsu kiroku begins with praise of Ōmine in a manner typical of other shugendō records:

The mountains of Ōmine are the noblest in all the three Lands [India, China and Japan]. They are the holy place where the Former Buddhas achieved liberation, and where the Future Buddha will attain the Way.

Therefore, one who enters these mountains once will destroy heavy sins without beginning and remove the suffering of [karmic] impediments without end.

The text then goes on to recount the mythical history of Ōmine and of shugendō. The emphasis is upon the exploits of En no Gyōja.

In this introductory section, the text states that the first sendatsu of the East Kondō of Kōfukuji was Ryūchō who became sendatsu in 726, the year when the East Kondō was built. Elsewhere, however, the text repeatedly identifies the founder as Keikai, in 730. (Neither can be identified further.) There follows an account of how the pilgrimage from Kōfukuji to Kinpusen lapsed, eleven sendatsu later, because the current sendatsu was killed in the Ōmine mountains by a poisonous serpent.

At last, Shōbō revived the pilgrimage in 895. *Sendatsu kiroku* states that he prepared for this *nyūbu* by praying in the East Kondō before an image of the protector Kubira carved by Kūkai, and inside which Kūkai had placed a "three-foot sword." He then spent seven days in retreat at Bodaiin (an important Kōfukuji sub-temple, originally the residence of Genbō) and Myōjōin, "in accordance with Kūkai's promise," practicing the rite of Kujaku Myōō. Finally, he did a twenty-one day retreat in the East Kondō. During this time he abstained from grain and prayed unceasingly before the "Great General" (Kubira). On the last night of the retreat he received a miraculous sign.

Once in the mountains of Kinpusen, he successfully quelled the great serpent and offered one of its teeth, and other relics of his pilgrimage, to the East Kondō. The next year he went again, quelled a lesser serpent, and offered relics of this pilgrimage to Tōnan'in, the sub-temple he had founded at Tōdaiji.

It is here that *Sendatsu kiroku*, having affirmed the roots of its tradition, states: "Thus the East Kondō of Kōfukuji is the head temple (*honji*) of Tōzan [shugendō], and one or two men from Kōfukuji accompany every *nyūbu*."

The record then gives a series of discreet items on various matters. Their content is as follows. (Although the items are clearly separated in the original, they lack consecutive numbering.)

1. *The letter appointing a new sendatsu.*

This item gives the proper format for the letter to Kyōto announcing the appointment of a new sendatsu of the East Kondō, together with the proper form for the reply, which is to come from the *benkan*, or “controllers” of left and right.

2.-4. *The installation of the new sendatsu.*

The procedures for the installation of the new sendatsu center on a feast given by those of the East and West Kondō who have been on a *nyūbu*. Item 4 gives the form for the letter in which the *kugyōsha* (“ascetics”) among the *shuto* of the East and West Kondō invite the Tōzan sendatsu of the other temples to attend this feast. The letter warns, “Non-attendance is forbidden.” This admonition is consistent with Suzuki Shōei’s findings about how other events were run by the sendatsu of Tōzan shugendō (Suzuki, 1975: 87-8/99).

5. *The announcement of a nyūbu.*

This item gives the form for the announcement of a *nyūbu* to Ōmine, and the procedures to be followed when preparing for the *nyūbu*. This relatively long passage states among other things that early in the morning of the departure day, a *saitō goma* (fire) rite was performed at three places. The senior sendatsu presided over a *saitō goma* “south of the *naijin* (“inner sanctum”)” of the Nan’endō. The text says, “This has been done since Kōbō [Kūkai].” Simultaneously, the second-ranking sendatsu did the same at Kōzen, and the third-ranking sendatsu at Nagao. These two Kasuga-yama sites will be discussed in section 9, below. These three fires would have formed roughly an isosceles triangle, with the Nanen’dō at the apex of the two longer sides.

This passage includes a diagram of the seating arrangement of the assembled yamabushi and dignitaries for the final departure ceremony at the Nandaimon (“Great South Gate”) of Kōfukuji. The superintendent himself was present. Further, the passage specifies that the practitioners on the *nyūbu* entered Yoshino on the penultimate day of the 6th month and reached Sanjō-ga-take on the last day. On the first day of the 7th month they reached Ozasa, a key spot on the pilgrimage. They returned to Kōfukuji on the 13th or the 15th of the 9th month.

This *nyūbu* corresponds to the one described by Suzuki Shōei as *gyakubu* (“reverse pilgrimage”) or *aki-mine* (“autumn peak”), the most important *nyūbu* in Tōzan shugendō. Suzuki cited documents from Tōdaiji to show that practitioners from the Hokkedō there were performing this pilgrimage in the mid-fifteenth century. Moreover, there appear in the material he quoted three men from the West Kondō of Kōfukuji, who left for the *gyakubu* on Chōroku 4.7. 6 (1460) and returned on 9.1 (Suzuki, 1975: 99-101).

6. *Announcement of a sendatsu appointment.*

This item describes the proper way to announce the appointment of a new sendatsu to the other Tōzan shugendō temples.

7.-8. *The Hana-ku no mine.*

These prescriptions cover the *hana-ku no mine*, the pilgrimage to make

flower offerings (*hana-ku*) at the mountain shrines of Kinpusen in the 4th month. The pilgrimage began late in the 4th month and the practitioners returned in the middle of the 5th month. The route may have started at Dorogawa, below Sanjō-ga-take to the west. At any rate, the text says that it ended at Mikasane-no-taki (presently Fudō-no-taki), an impressive triple waterfall below Zenki. This spot is still a standard exit point from a *nyūbu*.

Suzuki cited from Tōdaiji records two practitioners from the West Kondō of Kōfukuji who went on the *hana-ku* pilgrimage in 1460. They left on 4.29 and returned on 5.11 (Suzuki, 1975: 99).

9.-10. *The Yoshino-iri.*

This passage covers the *Yoshino-iri* ("entry into Yoshino") of the 6th month. This is probably the *nyūbu* which began at the end of the 6th month. The one for the year 1359 is described in item 16, below. *Kinpusen sōsōki* states that this is the period for "*nyūbu* by the yamabushi of the various provinces."

11. *A historical synopsis.*

The first sentence of this item reads, "The heads of Honzan [shugendō] are Miidera and Shōgoin. The heads of Tōzan [shugendō] are the East and West Kondō of Kōfukuji." The text then comments on the West Kondō as follows: "The founders of [the shugendō of] the West Kondō are Kakujitsu, Jōgen and Shinshun in 920." The passage also declares that while "the Honzan practice goes from Kumano to Yoshino, the Tōzan practice goes from Yoshino to Kumano to Kongōzan to Futagami-ga-take." These last two mountains being in the Katsuragi range, this statement will be discussed further in section 8, below.

12. *A remark on the nyūbu.*

This passage states that for practitioners of the head temple (Kōfukuji), the first *nyūbu* counted as the third. This had certain ritual consequences.

13. *The East Kondō lineage.*

This lineage of the sendatsu of the East Kondō gives fifty names, of which the first is En no Gyōja and the second is Keikai. Only a very few can be corroborated, for such men do not appear in the available registers. The eleventh name after Keikai is Shōbō. Then comes one Seikū, with the notation, "The senior sendatsu of this hall." Item 11, above, states that "Seikū Daitoku performed the *nyūbu* in Kanpyō 8 (896)." In other words, Seikū probably went with Shōbō on Shōbō's second pilgrimage described in the introduction to *Sendatsu kiroku*.

The sixteenth name after Seikū is Shun'yū. A Shun'yū was a hokkyō at Yoshino in 1185 (*Sōgō bunin zanketsu*).

The eighteenth name after Seikū is Yōsen, who is followed by Jitsujō and the last name on the list, Zenjitsu. These three are described in item 16, below, as having taken part in the *nyūbu* of 1359.

(a) Among them, Yōsen is mentioned three times in the contemporary *Saisai yōki nukigaki*, and in particular is described as the monk who administered the precepts to the son of Konoe Tsunetada when he was suddenly transformed into

a monk. The diary also has him as the *tōshi* ("reader," a relatively minor rôle) for the Yuima-e of 1352. His rank is given as *wajō*, a title for a high-ranking *dōshu* monk. Item 16 specifies that he had been on twelve *nyūbu*.

(b) Jitsujō is described by *Saisai yōki nukigaki* as the *tōshi* for the Yuima-e of 1366. His rank appears as *wajō*, and he is listed as being "of the *dōshu*." Other entries in the diary (Jōji 5.1.13 and Eiwa 1.4.14) describe him as a *jishu* (a rank appropriate for a member of the "temple council" described above in section 1) and as belonging to the East Kondō. On the other hand, *Sanne jōikki* lists a Jitsujō as a *jūgishi* ("assistant master of discipline") who was the *chūki* ("recording secretary") for the Yuima-e of 1366, 1375 and 1382—practically the only Yuima-e held during those years. It is unclear whether this is the same Jitsujō as in *Sendatsu kiroku*, for the name was common and keeps recurring in the records. Item 16, below, specifies that Jitsujō had been on two *nyūbu*.

(c) *Saisai yōki nukigaki* for Bun'wa 4.11.29 (1355) mentions Zenjitsu and refers to a conversation between him and Jitsugen, the head of Ichijōin. This entry makes it clear that Zenjitsu and Jitsugen were different people, but the entry for Bun'wa 2.12.8 (1353) states that Jitsugen had changed his own name to Zenjitsu. It would be a pleasure to discover that a head of Ichijōin had somehow become a sendatsu, but unfortunately, despite this entry, Jitsugen remains Jitsugen in all subsequent records. Item 16 specifies that Zenjitsu had been on two *nyūbu*.

14.-15. The summer retreat.

These items briefly describe the summer retreat (*ango*). Item 14 distinguishes between practitioners who practice mantra (*shingon gyōja*) and those who do not. Both kinds were apparently present at the East Kondō.

16. The *nyūbu* of 1359.

This account of the *nyūbu* of Enbun 4 lists twenty-two men as having taken part. Of these, eight are mentioned in *Saisai yōki nukigaki*. Apart from the three sendatsu discussed above, they are as follows.

(a) Shōshun-bō, described in the entry for Ōan 8.9.17 (1375) as one of the two *dengaku-gashira* ("directors of the dengaku") for the Onmatsuri of that year, in honor of the Kasuga Wakamiya.

(b) Zenkaku-bō, described by the *Saisai yōki nukigaki* writer as having accompanied him to Kyoto on Jōji 5.8.10 (1366).

(c) Shinkaku-bō, described in the entry for Ōan 4.2.3 (1371) as having played a part in the late-night Shushō-e observance of that year.

(d) Jōkei Ajari, described as the *tōshi* for the Yuima-e of 1387.

(e) Jitsujō Ajari, described as the *tōshi* for the Yuima-e of 1370.

Several of the men mentioned in this passage of *Sendatsu kiroku* are attributed a very high monastic rank. They were obviously senior members of the *dōshu*, but their ranks cannot be confirmed in the scanty records available for the time.

17.-21. Economic support and other matters.

These items include a list a land donated to the East Kondō (in answer to a call for contributions) in order to support the *nyūbu*. They also mention a

certain Kayawara estate as providing the fundamental economic support for the sendatsu of the East Kondō. In addition, they mention that responsibility for the annual commemoration of En no Gyōja alternates between the two Kondō.

All in all, *Sendatsu kiroku* sounds serious. One may question whether Shōbō's preparation for his *nyūbu* of 895 gave quite so much weight to the East Kondō, but on the other hand, it is not surprising that the East Kondō should have made that sort of claim. Moreover, according to *Shōbō sōjō den* (937), the earliest biography of Shōbō, Shōbō was indeed active at Kōfukuji. Although anomalous among shugendō documents, *Sendatsu kiroku* makes perfectly good sense in the context of this study.

MODELS OF KINPUSEN IN THE KŌFUKUJI DOMAIN

Models of Kinpusen among *matsuji* of Kōfukuji

Thus the Kōfukuji of Heian and later times was fully engaged in a religious world where *mikkyō* colored nearly everything and where mountain practice was a normal aspect of a major temple's activity. Most of the "Thirty-Six Sendatsu" of Tōzan shugendō were in Yamato, most were *matsuji* of Kōfukuji, and under them in the hierarchy many other temples of the same region took part in shugendō activity. In this way, the religious trends of the time, coupled with the temporal ambition of Kōfukuji, inspired Kōfukuji to assert control over Kinpusen and over the shugendō confraternity in Yamato. Elsewhere in the Kōfukuji domain, the same interest in shugendō inspired the assimilation of certain lesser sacred mountains to Kinpusen.

This sort of phenomenon is common in Japanese religious history. For example, there exist, in many regions of Japan, Atago shrines and hills named Atago. These are places religiously assimilated to the Atago mountain which rises near the northwest corner of Kyōto. It is therefore not extraordinary that four local "Kinpusen" should appear among the *matsuji* of Kōfukuji. They are described in *Kōfukuji kanmu chōsho* ("Register of Temples in the Fujiwara Domain under Kōfukuji," 1441), which gives a capsule history for many of the *matsuji* it lists. (*Kōfukuji kanmu chōsho* does not include Kinpusen itself.)

1. *Kinpusenji*.

The first is Kinpusenji in Ōmi province. According to *Kōfukuji kanmu chōsho* it was founded in 906 by the Nichizō discussed above in section 3. The *honzon* was Zaō Gongen. This Kinpusenji was "restored" (*chūkō*) in 1228 by one Kōkan Hōshi, whose name might well be that of a Kōfukuji monk.

2. *Jubusenji*.

The second is Jubusenji in Yamashiro. According to *Kōfukuji kanmu chōsho*, this temple was founded in 675 by En no Gyōja himself and rebuilt later by Taichō (682~767), better known as the "opener" of Hakusan in the north. It was rebuilt in 807 by the Kōfukuji monk Gan'an. Its *honzon* was and still is Miroku.

Jubusenji is a mountain temple in the extreme south of present Kyōto-fu, not far from Nara, and near the two other temples mentioned below. Its link with shugendō is obvious from the account in *Kōfukuji kanmu chōsho*, and it now belongs to the Daigoji line of Shingon shugendō, just as one would expect (*Kyōto-fu no chimei*). *Jindōji engi* (dated 1522) confirms the information in *Kōfukuji kanmu chōsho* and states that Taichō called the temple “Kita Sanjō” (“the Northern Sanjō-ga-take”). That Taichō himself should have done so is unlikely, but in the Edo period Jubusenji was indeed known as “Kita Ōmine,” and no doubt the nickname was much older (*Kyōto-fu no chimei*). Moreover, *Jindōji engi* notes that after Gan’an rebuilt the temple in 807, it “combined Hossō and Shingon.”

3. *Jindōji*.

The third model of Kinpusen among the *matsuji* of Kōfukuji is Jindōji in Yamashiro. *Kōfukuji kanmu chōsho* describes it as having been founded in 682 by Gien, an early Japanese Hossō master who was active at Kōfukuji and Gangōji, and who founded such other mountain temples as Tsubosaka-dera. Its *honzon* was and still is Zaō Gongen, and it was rebuilt in 1399 by “the four houses of the Fujiwara” (*kanmu shike*).

According to *Jindōji engi*, Jindōji was founded in 595 by Shōtoku Taishi. Later on it was visited by En no Gyōja, who carved its Zaō Gongen from a sacred tree with the help of three *jindō*: “divine boys” who were the three Ōmine deities Katsute, Komori and Kinshō. *Kōfukuji matsuji chō* lists Jindōji as a *matsuji* of Ichijōin, and Jubusenji as a *matsuji* of Kōfukuji proper.

Jindōji engi states that Jindōji was nicknamed by Taichō “Kita Yoshino,” in parallel with the “Kita Sanjō” of Jubusenji. However, according to *Sanshū meiseki shi*, an Edo-period compilation quoted in *Kyōto-fu no chimei*:

One tradition has it that there was a great serpent in the Ōmine of Yamato, and that the yamabushi therefore gave up going there. At that time they assimilated Kasagi-yama to Ōmine and opened this mountain [Jindōji] as an analog for Yoshino.

Jindōji engi notes that Jubusenji and Jindōji were both visited by Genbō and by Kyōen (979–1047), a monk who was trained at Kōfukuji before becoming Tendai Zasu (chief monk of Mt. Hiei) in 1039.

4. *Kasagi*.

The fourth model of Kinpusen is Kasagi, which has already been described in connection with Gedatsu Shōnin. Its summit is formed of great rocky outcrops, upon one of which has been incised, since before Nara times, a large Miroku. The mountain was once known as Ichidai-no-mine. *Ichidai-no-mine engi* (dated 916 and included in *Shozan engi*) states that En no Gyōja first climbed it in 661; goes on to identify En no Gyōja with Hōki Bosatsu of Kongōzan (Katsuragi); then develops the link between Katsuragi and Kinpusen. Kasagi exhibits every physical sign of having once been a shugendō

center, and in fact Kasagi, Kinpusen and Kumano were considered in Heian times a sort of triad. Kasagi and Kinpusen were both sacred to Miroku, and perhaps because Kasagi was so much easier to get at, it flourished greatly in the later Heian period almost as a stand-in for Kinpusen (Toyoshima, 1978: 150-152).

Gedatsu Shōnin's retirement to Kasagi in 1192 must have drawn the mountain into a particularly close relationship with Kōfukuji. That same year, Gedatsu Shōnin built an elaborate shrine to house a copy of the *Daihannya-kyō* which he had started making a decade before, and installed the Kasuga deity as the shrine's protector. In the declaration he wrote for the dedication, Gedatsu Shōnin described how the Kasuga deity has inspired him to undertake the project, and vowed that the shrine should provide offerings of the Teaching (*hosse*) for the benefit of Ise, Hachiman, Kasuga and Zaō Gongen (Fujita, 1976: 97-98).

Kasagi was claimed as a *matsuji* by Daijōin, with which Gedatsu Shōnin was affiliated at Kōfukuji (Nagashima, 1944: 64).

Kinpusen at Kasuga and Kōfukuji

Kinpusen was also incorporated into the Kōfukuji-Kasuga complex as the divine presence in a large, triple, *massha* named Sanjūhassho Jinja, just south of the Kasuga Wakamiya. The Sanjūhassho Jinja is still there, though its association with Kinpusen has been forgotten. Originally, it was a transfer to Kasuga of the Sanjūhassho shrine at the top of Sanjō-ga-take, the main peak of Kinpusen.

The name Sanjūhassho means "thirty-eight sanctuaries" or "thirty-eight deities," but it has no necessary connection with conceptions of the presence enshrined. *Kinpusen himitsu ki* states that "a certain practitioner brought to Jinzen [a key sacred spot in those mountains] thirty-eight great deities from all over Japan," and mentions particularly Hachiman, Kamo, Kasuga and Kumano (Satō, 1957: 43). Later, the same source gives the "secret explanation" that the deities are principally the Sanjūbanjin ("thirty guardian deities") who protect the Lotus Sutra in a tradition associated particularly with Mt. Hiei—there having been added to these deities eight others who, with the exception of Sukunabikona, are all of Yoshino and Kinpusen. On the other hand, *Yoshino kyūki* identifies the deity of the Sanjūhassho Jinja simply as the ubiquitous Sukunabikona (Satō, 1957: 43).

The Sanjūhassho shrine was well established on Kinpusen by the early eleventh century, for it appears in Fujiwara no Michinaga's account of his pilgrimage to Kinpusen in 1007. It was the second shrine he visited, after Komori, on the day of his visit to the summit, and he listed all the offerings he made there (*Midō Kanpaku ki* for Kankō 4.8.11). Fujiwara no Moromichi followed the same procedure during his second pilgrimage to Kinpusen in 1090 (*Go-Nijō Moromichi ki* for Kanji 4.8.11). Another pilgrim to the Sanjūhassho shrine on Kinpusen was the villainous Egyō (1085~1164) of Kōfukuji who, in

1129, instigated an attack on a newly-appointed bettō of Kiyomizu-dera. During his exile at Shoshazan, Egyō went to Kinpusen and prayed at the Sanjūhassho shrine for reinstatement at Kōfukuji. Thereupon Zaō Gongen interceded with the Kasuga deity on Egyō's behalf, and soon Egyō was recalled (*Kōfukuji ruki*).

The deities of the Sanjūhassho Jinja of Kasuga are presently defined as the non-controversial Izanagi and Izanami, but they have a more complicated past. In 1485, Jinson defined them as the Nijūhachibu-shu, the "twenty-eight races" of protectors of the Lotus Sutra (*Daijōin jisha zōjiki* for Bunmei 17.2.29). On the other hand, an entry in *Kōfukuji ranshōki* agrees with the modern understanding, yet alludes to an earlier time by defining Izanagi and Izanami respectively as Komori Myōjin and Katsute Myōjin, two important Kinpusen deities.

Fortunately, enough of the diary of the Kasuga priest Nakatomi no Sukefusa (1078~1152) has been preserved in *Kyūki shōshutsu* that one can still read the entry which records the establishment of the shrine. The Sanjūhassho Jinja of Kasuga was established on Kyūan 2.10.23 (1146), and on 10.28 the deities were installed: Kongō Zaō (i.e. Zaō Gongen), Komori, Katsute and Chūzai Kongō. The link between Kinpusen and the Sanjūhassho Jinja of Kasuga could not be clearer.

The year 1146 was about fifteen years after Egyō's pilgrimage to the shrine on Kinpusen. More importantly, it was the year after the Kōfukuji victory over Kinpusen in the Kōfukuji-Kinpusen war of 1145. The installation of the shrine at Kasuga may well have marked this triumph.

Apart from the Sanjūhassho Jinja, the Komori deity of Yoshino and Sanjō-gake seems to have been present in the Isagawa shrines of the Kasuga-Kōfukuji area. The principal of these, and the only surviving one, is the ancient Isagawa Jinja (now a *massha* of Ōmiwa Jinja) in the present town of Nara, which for centuries has been known as "Komori-sha." Jinson noted in *Daijōin jisha zōjiki* (Bunmei 15.9.21) that the second of the shrine's three sanctuaries was Komori Daimyōjin. Moreover, earlier in the same month, Jinson mentioned a small shrine inside the Nandaimon (Great South Gate) of Kōfukuji. He wrote that this shrine was [the presence of] Yoshino, but added that its name appeared to be Isagawa.

If Zaō Gongen was enshrined in the East and West Kondō of Kōfukuji, no record to that effect has been published. However, one can discern a connection between Kinpusen and the Nan'endō. A *saitō goma* rite was held at the Nan'endō by the senior sendatsu before a *nyūbu* into Ōmine, and *Eishōki* for Ten'-ei 1.6.15 (1110) states:

Tonight I went to the Central Kondō, and offered lamps and read the scriptures there. After that I went on to the Nan'endō and offered lamps as above. On the southern altar I worshiped Kasuga no Daimyōjin. Then I faced the southeast and worshiped Kinpusen and Hachiman Daibosatsu.

It is unclear whether there were images of the deities mentioned in the Nan'endō itself, or whether this was a form of *yōhai*, "worship from afar."

KŌFUKUJI AND THE KATSURAGI MOUNTAINS

The Katsuragi Mountains

The Katsuragi mountains are an ancient site of mountain ascetic practice, and unlike Kinpusen can be seen directly from Kōfukuji. Most of the chain (whose name was formerly pronounced Kazuraki) stretches westward, toward the coast, from the southwest side of the Yamato plain. However, the range is roughly L-shaped, and some of it runs north-south along the west side of southern Yamato. This part of Katsuragi particularly interested Kōfukuji, which did not fail to extend its influence to the principal peaks there.

En no Gyōja was from near these mountains, and by far the most famous story about the range concerns the refusal of Hitokotonushi, the Katsuragi deity, to finish building a bridge for him from Katsuragi to Kinpusen. En no Gyōja imprisoned Hitokotonushi with a curse, but in the end Hitokotonushi accused En no Gyōja of sedition and brought about his exile to Izu, whence En no Gyōja strode over the water every night to practice on the summit of Fuji. More soberly speaking, the Katsuragi mountains were once the locus of a well-defined shugendō pilgrimage which linked together dozens of locally sacred hills into a route which proceeded from holy site to holy site along the ridge line of the range (Gorai, 1978: 12).

At the angle of the Katsuragi "L" is Kongōzan (1112 m), the highest peak in the range, and the highest mountain visible directly from the Yamato. Kongōzan was the seventy-fifth station on the shugendō pilgrimage route of Katsuragi as defined in *Shozan engi*. From there, the mountains run northward until the chain ends in Nijōsan, also called Futagami-ga-take. Both "Nijō" and "Futagami" are written with the same characters and mean "two heads," for the mountain (like Tsukuba-yama) has twin peaks. As at Tsukuba-yama, these peaks are male and female. The higher one, the male, rises to 540 m, while the female one reaches 474 m. Below Nijōsan, in the Yamato side, stands Taima-dera, famous for the legend of Chūjō-hime who wove the *Taima mandara* from lotus fibers.

Gorai Shigeru characterized the shugendō of Katsuragi as principally Tendai (Honzan) in character. However, he also identified a Shingon interest, and Shingon temples, in the Katsuragi range (Gorai, 1978: 12). This Shingon presence especially, in addition to geographical considerations, encourages thoughts of Kōfukuji involvement with Katsuragi. Sure enough, Tenbōrinji on Kongōzan and Taima-dera are both Shingon, and both were once *matsuji* of Kōfukuji (*Kōfukuji matsuji cho*).

Kongōzan

Kongōzan has always been associated with the Hōki Bosatsu of the *Kegon-gyō*. The *Shozan engi* account of Katsuragi cites the forty-fifth chapter of the *Kegon-gyō*, "On the Dwelling Places of the Bodhisattvas," as follows: "In the ocean [toward the northeast] is an island named Kongōzan ... There now dwells there a bodhisattva named Hōki..." (*Shozan engi*: 131). And the Kongōzan document discussed just below starts, "This mountain is the pure land of Hōki Bosatsu, and the holy peak where he manifests himself and preaches the Law." However, *Shozan engi* identifies Hōki Bosatsu with En no Gyōja, and this identification appears also in a Tenbōrinji document of the early Kamakura period. Furthermore, the same document describes the shrine component of this syncretic temple as protecting at once Hossō Buddhism and the imperial capital (Fujita, 1976: 95). This rôle is close to that of the Kasuga deity himself, who (as related below) actually appeared on Kongōzan.

Tenbōrinji is traditionally said to have been founded by En no Gyōja. Its *honzon* is Hōki Bosatsu, but it honors also Zaō Gongen and Fudō Myōō. It and Takama-dera, a nearby *tatchū*, were among the Thirty-Six Sendatsu of Tōzan shugendō (*Tōzan shōdai sendatsu*). The temple was destroyed in early Meiji but was rebuilt recently, and now belongs to the Daigoji line of Shingon (*Nara-ken no chimei*).

The origin of the Kōfukuji-Kongōzan connection is described in *Kongōzan naige ryōin daidai kokon kiroku* ("Record of past and present, generation by generation, of the inner and outer halls of Kongōzan"), a sort of history of Kongōzan dated 1656. It relates that in Tenpyō Hōji 3.10 (759), the Kōfukuji monk Ninsō Shōnin went to Kongōzan to perform certain austerities, and was dismayed to see the ruined condition of whatever temple structure was there at the time. He then conceived the wish to rebuild the temple, and did a twenty-one day retreat to pray for success. On the last day of his retreat, a young boy appeared, introduced himself to Ninsō as the protective deity of the mountain and exhorted Ninsō to fulfill his wish. Deeply impressed, Ninsō returned to Kōfukuji and "solicited support from all the people of Yamato and everyone at Kōfukuji, including the superintendent." The work was completed on Tenpyō Hōji 5.2.10 (761). The superintendent mentioned was Jikun, the first superintendent of Kōfukuji.

Again, the text describes how in 877 the temple burned down, and how the Kōfukuji superintendent Kōchū (815~882) did his best to rebuild it.

In 945 Kūsei ("Kitain no sōzu"), who appeared with his disciples in section 3 above, went on pilgrimage to Kongōzan where he intoned the Heart Sutra for the deity. The deity was so pleased that a boy in blue came forth from the sanctuary and gave Kūsei a "wishing jewel" which Kūsei took back to Kōfukuji. The jewel was then buried in a cylindrical gold box under the altar of the Kondō. (Apparently the Central Kondō is meant.) The jewel's character is underscored by the entry for Kongōzanji (Tenbōrinji) in *Shozan engi*: "In the dragon space [*ryū no niwa*] there is a *hannya* cave. They say there is a

hannya pagoda there, and also a jewel" (*Shozan engi*: 125). In other words, Kūsei's story has to do with incorporating the power of Kongōzan into Kōfukuji itself. The spot chosen for the jewel was the heart of the temple.

An item from the same document evokes worship of Kongōzan from the Kasuga-Kōfukuji complex, just as Murōji must have been worshiped. In 986, Kūsei's disciple Shinki went to Kongōzan and expounded for the deity the basic Hossō scripture, the *Yuishiki ron*. On the last night of his retreat, a noble gentleman came forth from the sanctuary and said, "I am the old man of Kasuga." He then gave Shinki a little history of Ise and Kasuga, and reminded him that "this peak is the most sacred in all the land." At last, he said that even at Kōfukuji, Shinki should face Katsuragi and offer the Teaching.

Apart from this appearance of the Kasuga deity at Kongōzan, it is remarkable that a Hitokotonushi Jinja has been included on every list of Kasuga subshrines since the first surviving one, which dates from 1133. *Kōfukuji ranshōki* states that "this is the sacred presence of Katsuragi in Yamato." The shrine's existence shows that Katsuragi was incorporated directly into Kasuga as well. Moreover, when the Kasuga Wakamiya assumed an independent existence in 1135, there grew up about it a constellation of *massha* which tended to repeat the *massha* already associated with the four main Kasuga sanctuaries. One of these was (and is) the Kazuraki (Katsuragi) Jinja, which according to *Kōfukuji ranshōki* existed as early as 1266.

Nijōsan

The land close to Nijōsan was important to Kōfukuji and Kasuga because the Hirata estate (*shōden*) was located there. It was the single largest estate in Yamato. Therefore, economic and administrative relations between Kōfukuji and this area were especially close — so close, in fact, that trouble too could come from around Nijōsan. The nineteenth scroll of *Kasuga Gongen genki* recounts an outrageous incident of 1301, involving *akutō* ("bandits" or "outlaws") with a fortress on Nijōsan.

Taima-dera, below Nijōsan, started as a chapel by a cave on the south side of the female peak, was built by a younger brother of Shōtoku Taishi. In 673 it was moved to the present site of Taima-dera, whose *honzon* is still the Miroku enshrined at that time. En no Gyōja had practiced at the spot. He donated land of his own to the temple for the occasion, and had his own image of Kujaku Myōō placed inside the Miroku. At least, he did so according to the oldest extant account of the origins of Taima-dera, and if the account is true, the Kujaku Myōō is there still. There is no way to find out without damaging the image (*Kokonchomonjū* 2, no.36).

According to *Shozan engi*, Nijōsan was at the ninetieth stage of the Katsuragi shugendō route, which started on an island just off the coast between Awaji and the mainland. At the eighty-eighth was Nijō-no-iwaya, the cave which had been the site of the original chapel. (No.89 is missing from the list.) Someone with a particular interest in Hossō Buddhism must have been at work there, for

although Nijō-no-iwaya has more recently been known as Amida-kutsu ("Amida cave"), *Shozan engi* states that "Chijo Sennin is at Seshin Bosatsu and Mujaku Bosatsu." The sentence probably means, "The relic of the immortal Chijo [otherwise unknown] is at the twin standing rocks called Seshin Bosatsu and Mujaku Bosatsu." *Shozan engi* lists more clearly many such named rocks and crags in the Katsuragi range, but Seshin and Mujaku do not appear elsewhere. One also finds under the heading for Nijōsan a prominence named Yuishiki-ga-dake, "Yogacara Peak."

Sendatsu kiroku, summarized in section 5, mentions Nijōsan in a most interesting way when it contrasts the Tōzan and the Honzan shugendō pilgrimages: "The Honzan practice goes from Kumano to Yoshino. The Tōzan practice goes from Yoshino to Kumano to Kongōzan to Futagami-ga-dake." This practice corresponds to Suzuki Shōei's description of the *aki-mine*, the most important *nyūbu* of Tōzan shugendō. According to Suzuki the *yamabushi* went through Yoshino and Ozasa, and on down the *okugake* trail toward Kumano. Some left the route at Tamaki-san, a spot some way short of the great shrine of Kumano Hongū. Others, however, continued on all the way to Kongōzan, far back toward the north, and did a *saitō-goma* rite at Hitokotonushi Jinja below Kongōzan on the Yamato side (Suzuki, 1975: 101). Perhaps the pilgrims actually continued on sometimes to Nijōsan, or perhaps this was a custom unique to Kōfukuji. Moreover *Sendatsu kiroku* also states: "Regarding the *yamabushi* fellowship (*yamabushi-shu*), the office of head of Futagami-no-iwaya and of the Great Nembutsu is reassigned by this temple [Kōfukuji] every nine years."

Nijōsan too was incorporated into Kōfukuji, for Futagami Gongen was the protector deity (*chinju*) of Bodaiin, an important sub-temple which started as the residence of Genbō (*Kōfukuji ranshōki*), and one of whose most illustrious monks was the scholar Zōshun (1104~1180). Zōshun's comments on the Bodhisattva of Kongōzan are quoted both in the Kongōzan document just discussed and in *Shozan engi*: 130.

One last little tie between the Nijōsan area and the Kōfukuji-Kasuga complex is that the Wakamiya of Kasuga is present as a *massha* at the Taima no Yamaguchi no Jinja, below Nijōsan near Taima-dera (Shikinaisha Chōsa Kenkyū Kai, 1982: 341).

KŌFUKUJI AND KASUGA-YAMA

Kasuga-yama

Kasuga-yama means the "Kasuga hills" which rise directly east of Nara, close to Kōfukuji and immediately beside the Kasuga Shrine. From a religious standpoint, the key prominence of Kasuga-yama is Mikasa-yama, the sacred hill onto which the Kasuga deities first descended. Mikasa-yama is still closed to all but shrine priests. Its summit is occupied by the small Hongū Jinja, at present

a *sessha* of the Kasuga Shrine, and by an ancient, open ritual space marked off by stones. Broad, stone pathways, ragged now and buried under fallen leaves, go straight down the hill in the four directions. Their use is forgotten, but they must have been more for gods than for men.

Seen from between Kōfukuji and the Kasuga Shrine, the other Kasuga hills rise behind Mikasa-yama roughly like a screen. Shinto deities in medieval religious painting are commonly shown seated before a three-part folding screen, and the setting of Mikasa-yama reminds one this convention. Most *Kasuga mandara* paintings show Mikasa-yama against this screen of darker hills.

The highest point of the long ridge which makes the screen is Hana-yama (498 m). At the southern end of Kasuga-yama is a prominence called Kōzen, below which runs a stream called Noto-gawa or Iwai-gawa. Takamado-yama (462 m), which rises south of Noto-gawa, is not part of Kasuga-yama. North of Mikasa-yama, and distinct from the screen, stands Wakakusa-yama (342 m), highly visible because it is rounded and covered with grass instead of trees. Wakakusa-yama is directly west of Tōdaiji, and the southern end of its pale shape appears in many *Kasuga mandara*.

There are numerous *sekibutsu* (Buddhas carved or incised on rocks) in Kasuga-yama, especially in and around the upper valley of Noto-gawa. This area is still called Jigoku-dani ("Hell Valley"), a name which recalls ancient practices of disposal of the dead. Another Jigoku-dani, whose name has vanished from modern usage, is the deep ravine which runs roughly southward from before the four main Kasuga sanctuaries, and hence west of the Wakamiya and the Sanjūhassho Jinja (Fusen, 1779: *kan* 5). Thus one may find around the Kasuga Shrine many reminders of ideas and practices which have vanished from post-Meiji Shinto, but which had meaning further back in the past.

However, it is still a surprise to discover that the Kasuga Shrine has not always had charge of its present sub-shrines (*sessha* and *massha*) high up in Kasuga-yama, not even of Hongū Jinja, which is missing from pre-modern lists of Kasuga sub-shrines. *Hyakurenshō* for Kanji 7.8.26 (1093), describing a march into Kyōto by the monks of Kōfukuji (two months before they attacked Kinpusen), notes that "Hongū on Mikasa-yama gave forth light." And yet a late-Heian account of the Kasuga Shrine by a Kasuga priest, describing the same events, says nothing about Hongū (*Hyakurenshō* for Kanji 7.8.26, *Koshaki*).

Other such sanctuaries are Naruikazuchi Jinja at Kōzen, and Kami-Mizuya Jinja at a spot north of Hana-yama named Nagao. These appear in *Sendatsu kiroku* under item 5, which states that before the departure for a *nyūbu*, the senior Sendatsu burned *goma* by the Nan'endō, the second-ranking Sendatsu did the same at Kōzen, and the third-ranking Sendatsu the same at Nagao. Other Kōfukuji documents mention Kōzen in particular quite frequently, but these places are absent from Kasuga records. They were in fact under the care of Kōfukuji, specifically of the *dōshu* of the East and West Kondō (Ōhigashi, 1980).

“Our Practice”

There once existed at Kōfukuji, and also at Tōdaiji, a regimen of practices which took members of the *dōshu* of each temple regularly into Kasuga-yama. This regimen was called *tōgyō*, which might be translated simply “our practice.” For instance, *Saisai yōki nukigaki* (Jōji 5.1.1) contains the following passage:

I visited the [Kasuga] Shrine as usual; the sacred tree [*shinboku*, the vehicle of the deity] was away in Kyōto. Both halls [the East and West Kondō] were closed. I spent the night on the *tōgyō*.

Tōgyō had to do with gathering flowers and holy water in the mountains, to be offered in the appropriate hall of the practitioner's temple; and with making offerings of flowers and water at sacred places in those same mountains. The term was in general use in shugendō, and *tōgyō* was done in the neighboring hills or mountains by *yamabushi* of most shugendō centers. At Tōdaiji it was associated with the Hokkedō founded in the Nara period by Rōben (689~773), and at Kōfukuji with the East and West Kondō.

Kinpusen sōsōki mentions a *tōgyō* several times in connection with Ōmine. For example, the heading “Ceremonies on the Mountain” has a subheading for “*tōgyō*” and specifies, “Holy water drawn at the hour of the Ox; prostrations at the hour of the Tiger.” After a summary of ritual acts the passage concludes: “The *tōgyō* as described is done from the 8th day of the 4th moon until the 14th of the 7th moon. The number of participants is set annually.” And regarding the same *tōgyō* the text says, “Fourth month, 8th day: the *tōgyō* for perpetual flower offerings [*fudan kuge*] begins.” The subject here is “*tōgyō* for flower offerings in the three months of summer” (*ichige kyūjun hana-ku tōgyō*) or “flower offerings for the summer retreat” (*anqo kuge*). The practice began on the 8th day of the 4th moon, the Buddha's birthday in the old calendar, and is the best-known aspect of the *tōgyō* (Gorai, 1980: 182–185).

The material cited here from *Kinpusen sōsōki* evokes *tōgyō* as a nighttime, summer practice, but the passage from *Saisai yōki nukigaki* speaks of *tōgyō* in winter. Actually, *tōgyō* had both summer and winter, and day and night phases. At least, it did at Tōdaiji. Material on *tōgyō* at Kōfukuji is very scarce, but records of the Tōdaiji *tōgyō* have been preserved, and although these date from the Edo period, one may reasonably hope that they preserve the earlier tradition. Certainly, they encourage conjectures which could not otherwise be made about the Kōfukuji *tōgyō*.

A useful summary of the Tōdaiji *tōgyō* states:

There were two kinds of *tōgyō*, the summer and the winter. These were done in opposite directions (*jungyaku*), and were called the Kongōkai and Taizōkai (*kontai ryōbu*). The summer *tōgyō* was also called “flower offerings of the summer retreat,” and started in the fourth month. The winter *tōgyō* was also called the “year-end retreat” (*fuyu-gomori*), and began in the tenth month.

(“Hokkedō no tobira ni tsuketaru hashira rakugaki”)

Thus the entry in *Saisai yōki nukigaki*, and other similar ones for the first days of 1381 and 1385, refer to a *fuyu-gomori* that was current in the fourteenth century at Kōfukuji, and that also had a counterpart at Kinpusen. Moreover, the *tōgyō* of the 10th or 11th months can also be discerned in *Saisai yōki nukigaki* under the name *Hana-yama junken*, or “inspection tour of Hana-yama.” An entry for the 11th month of Shitoku 3 (1386) speaks of the *dōshu* of both Kondō taking part in the *Hana-yama junken*, and gathering, on the way, many loads of pine branches to roof the pavillion for the *ennen* which followed the Yuima-e.

Perhaps the *Hana-yama junken* of Kōfukuji was analogous to a form of Tōdaiji *tōgyō* known as *tōyama*, or “far mountain” (“Hokkedō no tobira ...”). This took the practitioners into Hana-yama to gather flowers, whereas usually they went to the vicinity of Tenchiin, of which the Kōfukuji counterpart was Kōzen. These two places, which are discussed in greater detail below, were undoubtedly connected with both the summer and the winter *tōgyō* for flower offerings at Kōfukuji and Tōdaiji respectively. In this regard, it is interesting to note that the Tōdaiji record *Tōgyō mikki*, in a section dated 1616, compares the Tōdaiji usage on a small point of ritual with that of Kōfukuji. If the Kōfukuji *tōgyō* had not been close to that of Tōdaiji, so detailed a matter would not have been cited at all.

The same remark applies also to the information that the Tōdaiji *tōgyō* could be done early in the morning (*asayama*, “morning mountain”); in the middle of the day (*nakayama*, “midday mountain”); and in the early evening (*yūyama*, “evening mountain”). Kōfukuji probably had these practices too. Apart from the question of season, however, by far the most important time for the *tōgyō* was the night, which is attested for Kōfukuji.

Tōgyō mikki stresses the night practice greatly, and attributes to it stirring powers and symbolic values. One passage states that these flowers and water of the deep night increase the radiance of the *honzon* (of the Hokkedō, Fukūkenja ku Kannon); another compares long repetition of the practice to the Buddha’s repeated entries into the world. Still another passage says that doing the practice at night “demonstrates that the long night of birth-and-death is most difficult to illumine.” This is very little different from what the text says of the *tōgyō* as a whole; “The record of the tradition [*denki*] states, ‘The practice of the *tōgyō* is the method by which the Bodhisattva six times practices great compassion, and throughout his life undergoes suffering.’” And elsewhere *Tōgyō mikki* admonishes the practitioner; “The *tōgyō* practitioner must not do any other practice. This is a practice of singleminded *samādhi* [*ikkō sanmai no gyō*].” Thus the *tōgyō* was a serious matter, and at least for some men a full-time occupation.

Kōzen

The *tōgyō* of Tōdaiji took the practitioners into the hills immediately east of the Hokkedō, up to the site of the former Tenchiin. This temple had been founded by Gyōki in 708, near a spring already hallowed by the austerities performed there by Chikō Gyōja, a disciple of En no Gyōja. The temple burned down in 1053, but it was the spring that was vital, not Tenchiin (*Tōgyō mikki*). It was called *aka-i*, “holy water spring”. This spring at the northern end of Kasuga-yama had a counterpart at the southern end; the spring at Kōzen.

Kōzen proper is a relatively flat-topped prominence. The ridge in this vicinity is the watershed between the Noto-gawa which runs through the southern part of Nara, and the Saho-gawa which flows down past the north side of Mikasa-yama, and which is well known in poetry. The famous Tōdaiji map of 756 shows a “Kōzen-dō” at the site, and a Shōsōin document of 762 mentions further building there. By the later Nara period there was a full-scale temple at Kōzen, dedicated to Yakushi. It was known as Kōzenji or Kōzen Yakushiji (Mōri, 1947). Kōzenji was a counterpart to the Tenchiin near Tōdaiji. Today nothing whatever remains of either except a few bits of broken tile. Kōzenji seems to have vanished by the late Heian period. However, its history speaks of the religious significance of the place.

The Kōzen mentioned in medieval documents was some way along the same ridge. One finds there the stone-lined, spring-fed pool that corresponds to the *aka-i* of the Tōdaiji *tōgyō*. About twenty-five meters up a steep slope from the pool, near the crest of the ridge, stands the Naruikazuchi Jinja (“Clap of Thunder Shrine”). In the fourteenth century it was known as the Kōzen Ryūō Sha, or “Dragon King Shrine of Kōzen,” but in the Meiji period it was restored to the name it bears in the *Engi-shiki*.

There is copious evidence that Kōzen was the site of frequent prayers for rain, beginning at the latest in the late Heian period and ending in this century. Medieval records frequently refer to prayers for rain at Kōzen, made by monks from Kōfukuji; and they also mention a regular Buddhist observance at Kōzen known as *Kōzen hakkō*. (See for ex. *Saisai yōki nukigaki* for Shitoku 3.7.16.)

Thus Kōzen was like the Ryūketsu Jinja at Murō, where Kōfukuji monks also offered regular prayers for rain. Moreover, the configuration of Kōzen was in one respect the same as that of Kōfukuji itself. The Nandaimon of Kōfukuji (now gone) stood at the top of a fairly steep slope below which is Sarusawa Pond, and there was a flight of fifty-two stone steps from the pond up to the gate. At Kōzen, meanwhile, stone steps rise out of the pool in the direction of the dragon shrine. For Kōfukuji, the “dragon palace” character of the temple appears in a story about a dragon palace under the central Kondō (*Kōfukuji ruki*). The monk who found the “dragon palace” reached it by entering a hole at the foot of a *tsuki* tree on the slope between the Nandaimon and Sarusawa Pond. Thus, Naruikazuchi Jinja and the Central Kondō of Kōfukuji were similar, since both were a “dragon palace.” This similarity helps to explain a story in *Kojidan* 5, according to which the dragon of Sarusawa Pond passed

from Sarusawa Pond to Kōzen and then to Murō. In a sense, all three were the same place. The *Kōjidan* story has the dragon leaving Sarusawa Pond and Kōzen. However, a dragon was sighted (so to speak) in Sarusawa Pond as recently as 1370 (*Saisai yōki nukigaki* for Ōan 3.8.26).

Below the pool at Kōzen is a huge trough (*iwabune*), carved from a single block of stone, which was placed there in the fourteenth century (at the cost of what labor!) by the monks of the East Kondō of Kōfukuji; and not far away is a similar one placed there by the West Kondō contingent. The two *iwabune*, which are identified by inscriptions, speak of intense rivalry between the two Kondō in the performance of the *tōgyō*, and of the importance to the practice of the Kōzen site. At the *aka-i* of the Tenchiin site, flowers cut on the mountain were left for a time to drink the holy water of the spring before being taken down to the Hokkedō. The Kōfukuji monks may well have left their flowers in the pool at Kōzen, or in the *iwabune*, before taking them down to the East and West Kondō.

Kasuga-yama and Kinpusen

The *dōshu* of the East and West Kondō had a tie with Kinpusen, and the *tōgyō* itself was given authority by its existence on Kinpusen. One may therefore conjecture that the procedure for the *tōgyō* of Kōfukuji may have included a ritual assimilation of Kasuga-yama to Kinpusen. Support for this proposition is to be found in *Tōgyō mikki*.

Whatever may have been the case with Kōfukuji, this Tōdaiji text links the *tōgyō* quite explicitly with Kinpusen. It narrates the mythical origins of Kinpusen and gives an account of En no Gyōja and of Shōbō, just like *Sendatsu kiroku* of Kōfukuji, not to mention other Tōzan shugendō writings. In other respects too, it is unmistakably a shugendō text. The ritual procedure it describes for the *tōgyō* includes prostrations done toward Kinpusen, with repetition of the mantra of Miroku. In fact, there was a small shrine to Zaō Gongen near the *aka-i*. *Tōgyō mikki* says of the vicinity of the *aka-i*; "This area is to be imbued with the sacred power of Ōmine."

It *goma* was burnt at Nagao, Kōzen and the Nan'endō before a departure from Kōfukuji to Ōmine, and if one could worship Ōmine from the Nan'endo, then it seems natural that the *tōgyō* of Kōfukuji should also have acknowledged Ōmine, and that the practitioner should have called the sacred power of Ōmine into Kōzen as well. He may also have invoked Murō, and perhaps Kongōzan and Nijōsan. The Tōdaiji practitioner invoked other powers beside Ōmine (though not the three just named), including Hachiman, the protector of Tōdaiji; Kamo in Kyōto, the protector of the imperial house; and Shigi-san, a mountain across the Yamato plain at the south end of the Ikoma hills. By doing so he infused the *aka-i* site with the powers of a vaster world. Surely the Kōfukuji practitioner, in the time of Kōfukuji's proud dominion over Yamato, did the same.

CONCLUSION

The names of great Nara temples like Tōdaiji and Kōfukuji are familiar enough to anyone who knows Japanese history, but only in connection with an earlier period than this paper has discussed. Being associated with "Nara Buddhism," these temples and their activities seem naturally to have become in some sense obsolete after the capital moved to Heian-kyō, and after the great Shingon and Tendai founders (Kūkai and Saichō), had done their work. Of course, the armed might of the monks of the "Southern Capital" in late Heian or Kamakura times is well enough recognized; and the burning of Nara, particularly Tōdaiji and Kōfukuji, by the Taira forces in 1180 is especially celebrated thanks to the vivid description of it in *Heike monogatari*. However, the nature of religious activity at these temples after the Nara period is not generally well understood.

This paper has not attempted to present a complete picture of religious life at Kōfukuji in those times. That would require a much larger and more complex work. Instead, it has sought to show how Kōfukuji participated in one characteristic aspect of the life of Heian and post-Heian religion: the cult of sacred mountains, and the complex of faith and practice known as shugendō.

Deeply colored as it was by esoteric Buddhism, shugendō appears on the face of it to be as far removed as possible from the concerns of a temple like Kōfukuji. In fact, the implausibility of Kōfukuji's involvement with shugendō has made it difficult for scholars to accept, or to know what to do with, such documents as *Ōmine Tōzan honji Kōfukuji tōkondō sendatsu kiroku* or *Kongōzan naige ryōin daidai kokon kiroku*, discussed above. A major aim of this paper has been to show that Kōfukuji interest in Kinpusen and in shugendō was, on the contrary, entirely natural and even, one might say, quite predictable.

In the religious world of medieval Japan, Kōfukuji came to resemble Mt. Hiei, for example, far more than is generally appreciated. The intense and sometimes destructive rivalry between the two institutions helps, if anything, to prove the point. If Kōfukuji had not participated so fully in medieval religion, and hence shared so many interests with Mt. Hiei, the two might hardly have been rivals at all.

One should not be deceived by the doctrinal differences between the Hossō Buddhism so proudly upheld by Kōfukuji, and the Tendai Buddhism championed by Mt. Hiei. These two certainly have little to do with each other. In reality, however, the two institutions were to some extent rivals in the same field. Both were temporally proud and ambitious, having many and large estates, and claiming a wide network of subordinate temples or dependencies (*matsuji*). As shown above, many *matsuji* of Kōfukuji were Shingon, not Hossō, but this did not bother Kōfukuji at all. Both temples had extensive connections with the court, though both also bullied the court at times, and did their best to reduce the court's influence over what they claimed as their own domain. Their temporal prominence and their aristocratic ties no doubt helped

to ensure that, whatever their formal doctrinal affiliation, their religious life should in practice share a great deal. Thus, the Buddhism of both was deeply influenced by *mikkyō*, nourished a flourishing and elaborate syncretic (*honji-suijaku*) cult; and encouraged the cult of sacred mountains which was then a perfectly normal part not only of "popular" but also of "aristocratic" religious thinking.

The history of the Kasuga-Kōfukuji complex suggests that the mountain practices which became shugendō arose among Buddhist monks and practitioners; gained court patronage and even participation; entrenched themselves in Japanese religion partly thanks to this high recognition; became old-fashioned in their turn; and lived on long past the Heian and Kamakura periods as perennial aspects of folk religion. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, a courtier of the highest possible rank might go on pilgrimage to Kinpusen, accompanied by ranking monks from Kōfukuji or elsewhere. In those times, an esoteric practitioner like Kūsei or Shinki could be the superintendent of Kōfukuji. Later, such pilgrimages ceased and the superintendents (who were the sons of the highest nobles) were no longer mountain practitioners themselves. Instead, they assumed the presumably honorary title of kengyō of Kinpusen, perhaps without ever visiting the mountain. In the meantime, the *dōshu* of the East and West Kondō continued practices which were clearly continuous with the shugendō of much later times. Whatever their theoretical rank or accomplishment, the *dōshu* practitioners did not enjoy the same prestige as the *gakuryō* scholars. The difference in standing between them and the *gakuryō* foreshadows the way shugendō came eventually to be identified as belonging to a "lower" order of religious phenomena. However, the cult of Kinpusen and the practices associated with it were originally encouraged by the highest monastic and lay aristocrats in the land. I hope this examination of Kōfukuji's rôle in the matter will have helped a little to restore some life to this great temple's memory.

GLOSSARY AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aizen	愛染
Aizen Myōō	愛染明王
Ajari	阿闍梨
Aka	闍
Aka-i	闍伽井
Aki-mine	秋峯
Akusō	惡僧
Akutō	惡党
Ame-no-kagu-yama	天の香具山
Amenokoyane	天兒屋根
Amida-kutsu	阿弥陀窟
Amida-nenbutsu	阿弥陀念仏
Ango	安居
Ango-kuge	安居供花
Anraku-sekai	安樂世界
Aone-ga-dake	青根ヶ岳
Asayama	朝山
Asuka	飛鳥
Atago	愛宕
Atsuta	熱田
Awaji	淡路
Awaji-no-kami	淡路守
Baramon Sōjō	婆羅門僧正
Benkan	辨官
Bessho	別所
Betsuin	別院
Bettō	別当
Birikuchi Bosatsu	
no Mine	毗里俱胝菩薩嶺
Bodaiin	菩提院
Bosatsu	菩薩
Bun'wa	文和
Byōdōin	平等院
Chakutō-den	着到殿
Chishū	智周
Chihō	智鳳
Chijo Sennin	智助仙人
Chikō	智光
Chikō Gyōja	智光行者
Chikō-mandara	智光曼荼羅
Chinju	鎮守
Chō	町

Chōja	長者
Chōjasen	長者宣
Chōkun	長訓
Chokushi	勅使
Chōroku	長祿
Chūjō-hime	中將姬
Chūki	注記
Chūkō	中興
Chūrō	中蔭
Chūsan	仲算
Chūyūki	中右記
Chūzai-kongō	忠際金剛
Chūzenji	中禪寺
Daianji	大安寺
Daidōshi	大導師
Daigo	醍醐
Daigoji	醍醐寺
Daigyōji-sō	大行事僧
Daihannya-kyō	大般若經
Daiitoku	大威德
Daijōin	大乗院
Daijōin-jisha-zōjiki	大乗院寺社雜事記
Daiki	台記
Daimyōjin	大明神
Dainichi	大日
Daishu	大衆
Daisōjō	大僧正
Daisōzu	大僧都
Dajōdaijin	太政大臣
Darani	陀羅尼
Denbō-kanjō	伝法灌頂
Dengaku-no-to	田樂頭
Denki	伝記
Denreki	殿曆
Dewa	出羽
Dōji	童子
Dōji	道慈
Dōken	道賢
Dōgawa	洞川
Dōsen	道詮
Dōshō	道昭
Dōshu	堂衆

Echigo 越後
 Edo 江戸
 Egyō 恵暁
 Ejitsu 懷実
 Emi-no-Oshikatsu 惠美押勝
 En'en 円縁
 Engi-emaki 縁起絵巻
 Engi-shiki 延喜式
 Enichiji 恵日寺
 Enjitsu 円実
 Enkaku 延覚
 Ennen 延年
 En-no-Gyōja 役行者
 Enomoto Jinja 榎本神社
 Enpin 延寶
 Enryakuji 延暦寺
 Eshin 懷真
 Eshin 慧信
 Fudan kuge 不断供花
 Fudaraku 補陀落
 Fudō Myōō 不動明王
 Fudō-no-taki 不動滝
 Fuji 富士
 Fujiwara-no-Atsuie 藤原敦家
 Fujiwara-no-Fuhito 藤原不比等
 Fujiwara-no-Fusasaki 藤原房前
 Fujiwara-no-Fuyutsugu 藤原冬嗣
 Fujiwara-no-Kaneie 藤原兼家
 Fujiwara-no-Michikane 藤原道兼
 Fujiwara-no-Michinaga 藤原道長
 Fujiwara-no-Moromichi 藤原師通
 Fujiwara-no-Moronari 藤原師成
 Fujiwara-no-Morosuke 藤原師輔
 Fujiwara-no-Morozane 藤原師実
 Fujiwara-no-Motofusa 藤原基房

Fujiwara-no-Motoie 藤原基家
 Fujiwara-no-Motosada 藤原基定
 Fujiwara-no-Nakamaro 藤原仲麻呂
 Fujiwara-no-Norimichi 藤原教通
 Fujiwara-no-Sadanori 藤原貞憲
 Fujiwara-no-Shigesuke 藤原重輔
 Fujiwara-no-Suenaka 藤原季仲
 Fujiwara-no-Tadamichi 藤原忠通
 Fujiwara-no-Tadazane 藤原忠実
 Fujiwara-no-Takamitsu 藤原隆光
 Fujiwara-no-Tametaka 藤原為隆
 Fujiwara-no-Uchimaro 藤原内磨
 Fujiwara-no-Yorimichi 藤原頼通
 Fujiwara-no-Yorinaga 藤原頼長
 Fujiwara-no-Yukinari 藤原行成
 Fukakusa-yama 深草山
 Fukkiji 福貴寺
 Fukō 扶公
 Fukūkenjaku Bosatsu-no-Mine 不空絹索菩薩嶺
 Fukūkenjaku Kannon 不空絹索觀音
 Fusō-ryakki 扶桑略記
 Futagami-ga-take 二上嶽
 Futagami Gongen 二上権現
 Futsunushi 経津主
 Fuyu-gomori 冬籠り
 Gaen 雅縁
 Gakuryō 学侶
 Gakusha 学者

Gan'an 願安
 Gangōji 元興寺
 Ganjin 鑑真
 Gedatsu-shōnin 解脱上人
 Gekū 外宮
 Genbō 玄昉
 Gen'en Hosshinnō 玄円法親王
 Genkōji 現光寺
 Genjo 元助
 Genna 元和
 Genroku 元禄
 Genshō 元正
 Gerō 下脇
 Gien 義淵
 Go-Daigo 後醍醐
 Godaiin 五大院
 Godaison 五大尊
 Gohō 護法
 Go-Ichijō 後一条
 Goma 護摩
 Gomyō 護命
 Gon- 権
 Gon-Bettō 権別当
 Gon-Chūnagon 権中納言
 Gon-Dainagon 権大納言
 Gon-Daisōzu 権大僧都
 Gon-Shōsōzu 権少僧都
 Gonsō 勤操
 Gorai Shigeru 五来重
 Go-Saga 後嵯峨
 Go-Sanjō 後三条
 Goshi 五師
 Go-Shirakawa 後白河
 Go-Toba 後鳥羽
 Gyakubu 逆峯
 Gyakuen 逆縁
 Gyōja-dō 行者堂
 Gyōki 行基
 Gyōshun 行俊
 Hachiman 八幡
 Hachiman-Daibosatsu 八幡大菩薩
 Hakusan 白山
 Hanaku-no-mine 花供の峯
 Hana-yama 花山

Hana-yama-junken 花山順検
 Hanazono 花園
 Hannya 般若
 Hanshun 範俊
 Harima 播磨
 Heian 平安
 Heiji-no-ran 平治の乱
 Heike-monogatari 平家物語
 Heizei 平城
 Hiei-zan 比叡山
 Higashiyama 東山
 Himegami 姫神
 Hira 比良
 Hiraoka 平岡
 Hiraoka Jōkai 平岡定海
 Hirata 平田
 Hiso-dera 比蘇寺
 Hisosanji 比蘇山寺
 Hitachi 常陸
 Hitokotonushi 一言主
 Hōden 宝殿
 Hōgen 保元
 Hōin 法印
 Hōki 蜂起
 Hōki Bosatsu 法起菩薩
 Hokke 北家
 Hokkedō 法華堂
 Hokkyō (Shōnin) 法橋 (上人)
 Hokumen 北面
 Honbō 本坊
 Honchō-kōsōden 本朝高僧伝
 Hongū Jinja 本宮神社
 Honchō-shinsenden 本朝神仙伝
 Hōnen 法然
 Honji 本寺
 Honji 本地
 Honji-matsuji 本寺末寺
 Honji-suijaku 本地垂迹
 Honzan 本山
 Honzon 本尊
 Hori Ichirō 堀一郎
 Hōrinji 法輪寺
 Hōryūji 法隆寺

Hossō 法相
 Hōtōin 宝塔院
 Hsüan-tsang (Genjō) 玄奘
 Ichidai-no-mine 一代峯
 Ichige-kyūjun-hana-ku-tōgyō 一夏九旬花供当行
 Ichijō 一条
 Ichijōin 一乘院
 Ichijō Ietsune 一条家経
 Ichijō Sanetsune 一条実経
 Ichiwa 壹和
 Ikkō-sanmai-no-gyō 一向三昧の行
 Ikoma 生駒
 In 院
 Inge 院家
 Inmyō 因明
 Isagawa (Daimyōjin) 率川 (大明神)
 Ise 伊勢
 Iwabune 岩船
 Iwahashi-yama (Bandai-zan) 磐梯山
 Iwai-gawa 岩井川
 Iyo-no-kami 伊予守
 Izanagi 伊弉諾
 Izanami 伊弉冉
 Izu 伊豆
 Jaku 迹
 Jigoku-dani 地獄谷
 Jike-gata 寺家方
 Jikkai 実快
 Jikin 慈訓
 Jindō 神童
 Jindōji 神童寺
 Jindōji engi 神童寺縁起
 Jinenchi-shū 自然智宗
 Jingūji 神宮寺
 Jinkaku 尋覚
 Jinpan 尋範
 Jinson 尋尊
 Jinzen 深仙
 Jion Daishi 慈恩大師
 Jishin 慈信
 Jishu 寺主

Jissei Ajari 実盛阿闍梨
 Jisshin 実信
 Jisson 実尊
 Jitchū 実忠
 Jitsujō 実乗
 Jitsugen 実玄
 Jōchō 定澄
 Jōgan 貞観
 Jōgen 常玄
 Jōgū 上宮
 Jōzen 貞禅
 Jōji 貞治
 Jōjitsu 成実
 Jōkei Ajari 乗慶阿闍梨
 Joken 助憲
 Jomei 舒明
 Jōmyō 浄名
 Jōrō 上臈
 Jōruriji 浄瑠璃寺
 Jōshō 定昭
 Jōza 上座
 Jubusen 鷲峯山
 Jubusenji 鷲峯山寺
 Jūichimen-kannon 十一面観音
 Jūgishi 徒儀師
 Jumbu 順峯
 Jun'en 順縁
 Jungyaku 順逆
 Jūsō 住僧
 Kagu 香具
 Kaijūsenji 海住山寺
 Kakuei 覚英
 Kakujiu 覚実
 Kakuken 覚憲
 Kakushō 覚昭
 Kakuun 覚運
 Kamakura 鎌倉
 Kami-Mizuya-Jinja 上水谷神社
 Kamo 加茂
 Kamo-chō 加茂町
 Kamyō 寛平
 Kan 卷
 Kanayama-Myōjin 金山明神

Kane-no-mitake 金御岳
 Kangen 寛元
 Kanji 寛治
 Kanji 官寺
 Kanjin-shamon 勧進沙門
 Kanjizai Bosatsu-no-Mine 觀自在菩薩峯
 Kanken 觀賢
 Kanmu 桓武
 Kanmu-shike 官務四家
 Kannō 觀応
 Kannon 觀音
 Kannon-dō 觀音堂
 Kasagi 笠置
 Kasagi-dera 笠置寺
 Kasagi-san 笠置山
 Kashima 鹿島
 Kasuga 春日
 Kasuga-no-Daimyōjin 春日大明神
 Kasuga Gongen-genki 春日權現験記
 Kasuga-mandara 春日曼荼羅
 Kasuga-no 春日野
 Kasuga Taisha 春日大社
 Kasuga-yama 春日山
 Katsuragi 葛城
 Katsuragi-no-Futagami-no-Jinja 葛城二上神社
 Katsute 勝手
 Kawachi 河内
 Kayawara-no-shō 茅原庄
 Kagon 華嚴
 Kagon-kyō 華嚴經
 Keikai 堺海
 Kenpo 建保
 Kengyō 檢校
 Kenin 化人
 Kenkei 賢璟
 Keshin 化身
 Kii 紀井
 Kinpu Jinja 金峯神社
 Kinpusen 金峯山
 Kinpusen-himitsuki 金峯山秘密記
 Kinpusenji 金峯山寺

Kinpusen-kengyō-shidai 金峯山檢校次第
 Kinpusen-no-shimoyama 金峯山の下山
 Kinpusen-sōsōki 金峯山創草記
 Kinpusen-zakki 金峯山雜記
 Ki-no-sha 紀社
 Kinshō 金照
 Kinshō Myōjin 金精明神
 Kintetsu 近鉄
 Kitain 喜多院
 Kitain-no-Sōzu 喜多院僧都
 Kita Ōmine 北大峯
 Kita Sanjō 北山上
 Kita Yoshino 北吉野
 Kiyomizu-dera 清水寺
 Kizoku 貴族
 Kizu-gawa 木津川
 Kō 講
 Kōbō 弘法
 Kōchū 孝忠
 Kōdō 講堂
 Kōfukuji 興福寺
 Kōfukuji-engi 興福寺縁起
 Kōfukuji-kanmu-chōsho 興福寺官務牒疏
 Kōfukuji-matsuji-chō 興福寺末寺帳
 Kōfukuji-ranshōki 興福寺濫觴記
 Kōfukuji-ruki 興福寺流記
 Kōfukuji Tōkondō Sendatsu-kiroku 興福寺東金堂先達記錄
 Kōji 講師
 Kojidan 古事談
 Kōjō 康成
 Kōkan Hōshi 康寛法師
 Kokawa-dera 粉河寺
 Koku 石
 Kokumin 国民
 Kokūzō-gumonji-no-hō 虚空藏求聞持法
 Komori (Daimyōjin) 子守 (大明神)
 Kōmyō 光明
 Kondō 金堂
 Kongōkai 金剛界

Kongōken Bosatsu-no Mine	金剛拳菩薩嶺	Kusha	俱舍
Kongōzan	金剛山	Kuzu-no-matsu-bara	くずの松原
Kongōzan-naige-ryōin-daidai-kokon-kiroku	金剛山内外両院 代代古今記録	Kyōe	教懷
Kongō Zaō	金剛藏王	Kyōen	教円
Kōnin	弘仁	Kyōshō	経昭
Konoe	近衛	Kyōto-fu	京都府
Konoe Iehira	近衛家平	Kyūan	久安
Konoe Iemoto	近衛家基	Maikyō	埋経
Konoe Kanetsugu	近衛兼嗣	Mandō	満堂
Konoe Kanetsune	近衛兼経	Massha	末社
Konoe Michitsugu	近衛道嗣	Matsuji	末寺
Konoe Motohira	近衛基平	Matsuri	祭
Konoe Motomichi	近衛基通	Matsuo-dera	松尾寺
Konoe Mototada	近衛基忠	Matsuo-san	松尾山
Konoe Tadatsugu	近衛忠嗣	Meiji	明治
Konoe Tsunetada	近衛経忠	Mii-dera	三井寺
Kontaiji	金胎寺	Mikasane-no-taki	三重滝
Kontai ryōbu	金胎両部	Mikasa-yama	御蓋山
Kōryūji	広隆寺	Mikkyō	密教
Kōsan	高算	Minamoto-no-Masazane	源雅実
Kōya(-san)	高野 (山)	Minamoto-no-Tameyoshi	源為義
Kōzen	香山	Minamoto-no-Yoritomo	源頼朝
Kōzenji	香山寺	Minoo	箕面
Kōzen Ryūō-sha	香山竜王社	Miroku	弥勒
Kōzen Yakushiji	香山薬師寺	Mitake	御岳
Kubira	宮毗羅	Mitake-sōji	御岳精進
K'uei-chi (Kiki)	窺基	Mitsuin	密印
Kuge	公家	Miwa	三輪
Kugyōsha	苦行者	Miyai Yoshio	宮井義雄
Kugyōshu	苦行衆	Miyake Hitoshi	宮家準
Kujaku Myōō	孔雀明王	Mizuya	水谷
Kujō	九条	Mokudai	目代
Kujō Kanezane	九条兼実	Mokujiki	木食
Kujō Michiie	九条道家	Monju	文殊
Kujō Norizane	九条教実	Montoku	文徳
Kūkai	空海	Monzeki	門跡
Kumano	熊野	Mujaku (Bosatsu)	無着 (菩薩)
Kumano Hongū	熊野本宮	Murakami	村上
Kumon-mokudai	公文目代	Murō	室生
Kūsei	空晴	Murōji	室生寺
		Murō-no-nōsho	室生納所
		Murō-no-shō	室生庄

Murô-no-Zenji 檀禪師
 Murô-zan 室生山
 Murô-zan nenbun-dosha-sôjô
 室生山年分度者奏狀
 Muromachi 室町
 Mutsu 陸奥
 Myôjin 明神
 Myôjôin 明星院
 Myôshu 名主
 Nachi 那智
 Nagano-ken 長野県
 Nagao 長尾
 Nagashima Fukutarô
 永島福太郎
 Naijin 内陣
 Nakatomi 中臣
 Nakatomi-no-Kamatari
 中臣鎌足
 Nakatomi-no-Sukefusa
 中臣祐房
 Nakayama 中山
 Nandaimon 南大門
 Nan'endô 南円堂
 Nanto-sôzoku-shiki-fuku-ki
 南都僧俗職服記
 Nara 奈良
 Naruikazuchi Jinja
 鳴雷神社
 Nichizô 日蔵
 Nigatsudô 二月堂
 Nihon daizôkyô 日本大蔵経
 Nijô-no-iwaya 二上石屋
 Nijôsan 二上山
 Nijûhachibu-shu 二十八部衆
 Ninmyô 仁明
 Nimon 二門
 Nin'e 仁恵
 Ninkai 仁海
 Ninnaji 仁和寺
 Ni-no-torii 二の鳥居
 Ninsô Shônin 仁宗上人
 Nishi Odawara 西小田原
 Nomori 野守
 Noto-gawa 能登川
 Nyohô 如法
 Nyoirin Kannon 如意輪観音

Nyoisan 如意山
 Nyoishu 如意珠
 Nyûbu 入峯
 Nyûdô 入道
 Ôan 応安
 Odake 雄岳
 Odawara 小田原
 Ôhigashi Nobukazu
 大東延和
 Ôjô 往生
 Oki 隠岐
 Okina 翁
 Okugake 奥駈
 Ômi 近江
 Ômine 大峯
 Ômine-engi 大峯縁起
 Ôminesanji 大峯山寺
 Ômine Tôzan-honji
 大峯当山本寺
 Onmyôji 陰陽師
 Ônakatomi 大中臣
 Ozasa 小篠
 Raijitsu 頼実
 Reizei 冷泉
 Renge 蓮花
 Renjaku 蓮寂
 Rin'e 林懷
 Rishu-kyô 理趣経
 Risshi 律師
 Rôben 良弁
 Roppôshû 六方衆
 Ryôbin 良敏
 Ryôkaku 良覚
 Ryôken 良兼
 Ryôshin 良信
 Ryôshô 良昭
 Ryûchô 竜澄
 Ryûgi 竖義
 Ryûgon 隆嚴
 Ryûgû 竜宮
 Ryûju Bosatsu 竜樹菩薩
 Ryûkaku 隆覚
 Ryûketsu Jinja 竜穴神社
 Ryûkô 隆光
 Ryûmyô 隆明
 Ryû-no-niwa 竜庭

Ryūzen	隆禪	Shaka-ga-take	釈迦ヶ岳
Sadaijin	左大臣	Shaka nenbutsu	釈迦念仏
Saga	嵯峨	Shan-wu-wei (Zen-mu-i)	善無畏
Saho-gawa	佐保川		神叡
Saichō	最澄	Shen-jui (Shin-ei)	神叡
Saigyō	西行	Shiga-ken	滋賀県
Saijin	済尋	Shigi-san	信貴山
Sainen	西念	Shikimi	櫓
Saisai-yōki-nukigaki	細々要記抜誓	Shigyō	執行
Saishin	済信	Shinboku	神木
Saitō-goma	採灯護摩	Shinboku-dōza	神木動座
Sakaki	榊	Shinbutsu-bunri	神仏分離
Sakurai	桜井	Shinpan	真範
Sakuramoto-bō	桜本坊	Shinano	信濃
Sanbōin	三宝院	Shin'en	信円
Sangatsudō	三月堂	Shingon	真言
Sangō	三綱	Shingon-gyōja	真言行者
Sangyō-gisho	三経義疏	Shinjitsu	信実
Sanjō-ga-take	山上ヶ岳	Shinkaku-bō	真覚房
Sanjūbanshin	三十番神	Shinki (Shingi)	真喜 (真義)
Sanjūhassho Jinja	三十八所神社	Shinshō	信昭
Sanmen-sōbō	三面僧坊	Shinshun	信俊
Sanne-jōikki	三会定一記	Shin'yakushiji	新薬師寺
Sanrin-shugyō	山林修行	Shirakawa	白河
Sanron	三論	Shitoku	至徳
Sanshū-meisekishī	山州名跡志	Shōbō	聖宝
Sanuki	讃岐	Shōen	勝延
Sanze	三世	Shōen	昭円
Sarugaku	猿楽	Shōen	莊園
Sarusawa-no-ike	猿澤池	Shōgoin	聖護院
Satashu	沙汰衆	Shokunihongi	続日本紀
Seikū Daitoku	誓空大徳	Shomonzeki-fu	諸門跡譜
Seiwa	清和	Shōmu	聖武
Sekibutsu	石仏	Shō-no-azukari	正預
Sekizōji	石蔵寺	Shō-no-iwaya	笙の岩屋
Sendatsu	先達	Shōryakuji	正暦寺
Senju Kannon	千手観音	Shoshazan	誓写山
Senjushō	撰集抄	Shōshun-bō	聖舜房
Seshin Bosatsu	世親菩薩	Shōsōin	正倉院
Seshin-no-iwaya	世親岩屋	Shōsōzu	少僧都
Sensonji	世尊寺	Shōtai	昌泰
Sessha	摂社	Shōtoku Taishi	聖徳太子
Shaka	釈迦	Shozan-engi	諸山縁起
		Shūen	修円
		Shugendō	修験道
		Shugo	守護

Shûi-ôjôden	拾遺往生伝
Shun'yû	春有
Shun'yû	春有
Shuri-mokudai	修理目代
Shushô-e	修正会
Shusse-bugyô	出世奉行
Shûto	衆徒
Sôgô	僧綱
Sôgô-bunin	僧綱補任
Sonoda Kôyû	蘭田香融
Sonshin	尊信
Sotoba	卒塔婆
Suijaku	垂迹
Sukunabikona	少彦名
Suô-nô-kami	周防守
Susanoo	素戔鳴
Suzaku	朱雀
Suzuki Shôei	鈴木昭英
Taichô	泰澄
Taika-no-Kaishin	大化改新
Taima-dera	大麻寺
Taima-no-Yamaguchi Jinja	当麻山口神社
Taizôkai	胎藏界
Takamado-yama	高円山
Takama-dera	高天寺
Takatsukasa	鷹司
Takatsukasa Masahira	鷹司政平
Takemikazuchi	武甕槌
Tamaki-san	玉置山
Tandai	探題
Tatchû	頭塔
Tenbôrinji	転宝輪寺
Tenchi	天智
Tenchiin	天地院
Tendai	天台
Tenmu	天武
Ten'yô	天養
Tempyô Hôji	天平宝字
Toba	鳥羽
Tobi	外山
Tôdaiji	東大寺
Tôdaiji-sangai-shiishizu	東大寺山堺四至図
Tôgyô	当行

Tôgyô mikki	当行密記
Tôji	東寺
Tokugawa Ieyasu	徳川家康
Tokuitsu	徳一
Tônan'in	東南院
Tônomine	多武峯
Tôshi	読師
Totsugawa	十津川
Tôyama	遠山
Tôzan	当山
Tôzan-shugen-dentô-ketsumyaku	当山修験伝統血脈
Tsubosaka-dera	壺坂寺
Tsuina	都維那
Tsuki (tree)	槻
Tsukubasanji	筑波山寺
Tsukuba-yama	筑波山
Tsû-mokudai	通目代
Uda	宇多
Udaijin	右大臣
Uji	宇治
Ujidera	氏寺
Uji-no-chôja	氏長者
Umayazaka-dera	厩坂寺
Uragaki	裏書
Wajô	和上
Wakakusa-yama	若草山
Wakamiya	若宮
Wakamori Tarô	和歌森太郎
Wu-tai-shan (Go-tai-san)	五台山
Yakushi	薬師
Yakushiji	薬師寺
Yamabushi	山伏
Yamabushi-shu	山伏衆
Yamashina	山科
Yamashina-dera	山科寺
Yamashiro	山城
Yamato	大和
Yôgen	永眼
Yôhai	遙拜
Yôsen	永専
Yoshimizuin	吉水院
Yoshino	吉野
Yoshino-dera	吉野寺
Yoshino-guchi Jinja	

	吉野口神社	Zenjitsu	禪実
Yoshino-iri	吉野入	Zenkaku-bō	善覚房
Yoshino Kengyō	吉野檢校	Zenki	前鬼
Yoshino-kyūki	吉野旧記	Zennin	禪仁
Yoshino Mikumari Jinja		Zenryo Ryūō	善女竜王
	吉野水分神社	Zenshu	善珠
Yūgen	雄玄	Zenshū	禪衆
Yuima-e	維摩会	Zoku-kojidan	続古事談
Yuima-gyō	維摩經	Zōnin	雑人
Yuishikiron	唯識論	Zōri	増利
Yūyama	夕山	Zōsan	蔵算
Zaō-dō	蔵王堂	Zōshun	蔵俊
Zaō Gongen	蔵王権現	Zōyo	増誉
Zasu	座主		

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興福寺と大和山

ロイヤル・タイラー

要旨：修験道には古来、本山派（天台系）と当山派（真言系）という二つの流派があった。多くの修験道の研究、とりわけ当山修験道の伝統によれば、当山修験道の開祖は平安中期の聖宝であり、その本拠ははじめから醍醐寺の三宝院にあった。ところが、「日本大藏経」に収められている「修験道草疏」の諸文書を見ると、奈良の興福寺は少なくとも平安末期から鎌倉時代にかけて、当山修験道にとってかなり重大な位置を占めていたことが伺える。

この論文は修験道史における興福寺の役割を分析したものであるが、そのうち特に興福寺と金峯山との関係に重点をおいた。そのほかに取り上げられたのは興福寺と葛城山との関係、そして春日山の修験道というテーマである。結論として、興福寺はかなり当山修験道の「本寺」として活躍した可能性が強く、十一世紀の終わりから十四世紀まで金峯山の検校は間違いなく興福寺の僧侶が務めていたと思う。また、興福寺がその当時の山岳信仰の隆盛に大きな役割をはたしていたことも疑う余地はないのである。