

Kōfuku-ji and Shugendo

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Introduction

It is puzzling to discover that Shin'en 信円 (1153–1224), a *bettō* 別当 (“superintendent”) of Kōfuku-ji 興福寺 and younger brother of Kujō Kanezane 九条兼実 (1149–1207), had served as *kengyō* 檢校 (head monk) of Kinpusen 金峰山 (*Kōfuku-ji bettō shidai*, “Shin'en”). Kōfuku-ji in Nara, the senior Fujiwara clan temple, was a thoroughly aristocratic institution proud of its Hossō 法相 tradition. Its scholar-monks began their studies, even before their formal ordination, with the *Yuishiki sanjūron* 唯識三十論, then went on to master other basic Hossō texts. What could the temple have had to do with Shugendo, and why did one of the highest-ranking of its monks serve as the head of the main temple in Kinpusen?

Again, *Nihon daizōkyō* includes an item entitled *Ōmine tōzan honji Kōfuku-ji tōkondō sendatsu kiroku* (“The Record of the Sendatsu of the East Kondō of Kōfuku-ji, the Head Temple of the Tōzan [Shugendo] of Ōmine,” 1359–1360). A *sendatsu* 先達 (“guide”) is a senior Shugendo practitioner. This item is anomalous, for few histories of Shugendo mention Kōfuku-ji. Tōzan 当山 Shugendo, one of the two major branches of Japanese mountain asceticism, was dominated by Shingon 真言 temples; while Honzan 本山 Shugendo, the other major branch, was dominated by Tendai 天台. The head of Tōzan Shugendo is understood always to have been Daigo-ji 醍醐寺 near Kyoto. So what can one make of *Sendatsu kiroku*?

This article will review, on the basis of the scattered clues available, the relationship between Kōfuku-ji and the nearby sacred mountains, especially Kinpusen. The issue is significant because it affects one's

view of the early history of Tōzan Shugendo; of the history of a great Nara temple; and of the position held by Shugendo in the religious life of Heian and medieval Japan. It also requires one to appreciate what Kōfuku-ji itself was then: an enormously powerful institution which practiced the *kenmitsu bukkō* 顯密仏教 (“exoteric-esoteric Buddhism”) typical of Heian times.

Kōfuku-ji and Kasuga

Kōfuku-ji, like the Fujiwara clan, began with Kamatari 鎌足 (614–669). It developed from a chapel at Kamatari’s private residence in Yamashina, which is why the temple continued often to be called Yamashina-dera 山階寺. Kamatari’s son Fuhito 不比等 (659–720) moved the chapel to Asuka 飛鳥 and then, with the founding of Nara, built a full-scale temple which he called Kōfuku-ji. The name comes from a passage in the *Yuima-gyō* 維摩經 (UEDA 1985, pp. 272–273). By about 740 the temple was largely complete. The Nan’en-dō 南円堂 (discussed below), dedicated in 813, was a late but important addition. None of the original buildings survive, since Kōfuku-ji burned down several times in the course of the centuries.

Just as Tōdai-ji 東大寺 was particularly strong in Sanron 三論 and Kegon 華嚴 studies, Kōfuku-ji prided itself upon its Hossō tradition. Although Hossō Buddhism was first introduced to Japan in the mid-7th c. by Dōshō 道昭 (629–700) of Gangō-ji 元興寺, Kōfuku-ji acquired its own Hossō transmission thanks to Genbō 玄昉 (d. 746), who brought back to Kōfuku-ji a large and important collection of Buddhist texts. Hossō was a vital school of Buddhism in China and Japan when Kōfuku-ji was new. Its importance to Kōfuku-ji can be seen in the tradition that the Kasuga 春日 deity came from Kashima expressly to protect the Hossō teaching (*Kasuga Gongen genki* 1).

On the other hand, *mikkyō* 密教 (“esoteric Buddhism”) penetrated Kōfuku-ji early. Genbō brought back from China many esoteric texts which may well have been studied at Kōfuku-ji before Kūkai 空海 (774–835) (MIYAI 1978, pp. 241–242). But *mikkyō* really took hold after Kūkai’s return from China in 806. Kūkai was accommodating toward Nara Buddhism, and thanks in particular to the sympathy of his teachers he successfully implanted Shingon in Nara.

At Kōfuku-ji, Kūkai was associated especially with the Nan’en-dō, the family sanctuary of the Fujiwara “Northern House.” Like the Sangatsudō 三月堂 of Tōdai-ji, the Nan’en-dō of Kōfuku-ji enshrines

Fukūkenjaku Kannon. *Kōfuku-ji ruki* claims that Kūkai consecrated the base upon which the Nan'en-dō image was to rest. Whether or not this is historically true, Kūkai's traditional association with the Nan'en-dō shows how much he and his teaching came to mean at Kōfuku-ji. A story about the Kōfuku-ji monk Zōri 増利 (836–928) shows *mikkyō* taking root at the temple (*Kasuga Gongen genki* 8, *Nihon kōsōden yōmonshō* 3, *Sanne jōikki*). Zōri, who practiced both Hossō and Shingon, was pressed to abandon one or the other. He was vindicated by a sacred dream which, in effect, approved the *kenmitsu bukkyō* characteristic of Kōfuku-ji from then on. A vivid example is Jōshō 定昭 (912–983), who “combined the Hossō and Shingon schools” and served as head monk both of Kōfuku-ji and of Tōji (*Kōfuku-ji bettō shidai*, “Jōshō”).

To discuss medieval Kōfuku-ji is to discuss the Kasuga Shrine. The shrine's various deities were commonly subsumed under the name Kasuga no Daimyōjin 大明神; and Kasuga no Daimyōjin was, in an important sense, the cornerstone of Kōfuku-ji's power. The Kasuga cult, fostered in part by the Fujiwara nobles in Kyoto, but much more directly by the Kōfuku-ji monks themselves, was by the late Heian period a model of syncretic (*honji-suijaku* 本地垂迹) faith. Kōfuku-ji's gradual takeover of the Kasuga Shrine parallels—and was to some extent a precondition for—its domination of Yamato as a whole.

The Kasuga Shrine stands about one kilometer east of Kōfuku-ji at the foot of Mikasa-yama 三笠山 (283 m.) It consists of a main sanctuary complex, a much smaller complex for the Wakamiya 若宮, and many secondary shrines. The main deities are those of the Fujiwara 藤原. Kasuga tradition holds that the shrine was founded in 768, when the deity Takemikazuchi 武雷槌 reached Mikasa-yama from Kashima in the Kantō. Modern scholars, however, believe unanimously that the shrine is older. Perhaps it too was founded, in some form, by Fuhito (NISHIDA 1978, pp. 41–44).

The court's departure from Nara in the late eighth century hardly disturbed Kōfuku-ji, which began to collect estates in Yamato. The more it acquired, 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 Kōfuku-ji even took over a tract of land from the Kasuga Shrine (NAGASHIMA 1959, p. 8), and Kōfuku-ji

monks began to perform rites at the shrine. The temple continued to make gains thereafter in a see-saw battle with the court of the Fujiwara over control not only of Yamato but of the Kasuga Shrine itself. Nagashima (1959, p. 9) put the matter bluntly: "Kōfuku-ji believed that by controlling the Kasuga Shrine, it could exclude the Fujiwara clan and make Yamato its own." The Kōfuku-ji/Kinpusen wars of 1093 and 1145, described below, should be seen in the context of Kōfuku-ji's territorial ambitions.

Kōfuku-ji achieved a major success when the Kasuga Wakamiya, honored at Kasuga since 1003, was given an independent sanctuary in 1135. Nagashima (1959, p. 9) stated flatly that Kōfuku-ji engineered the event in order to strengthen its hold on the Kasuga Shrine. The problem was that Kōfuku-ji monks, although devoted to Kasuga, 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, pp. 90-91). The Onmatsuri 御祭 in honor of the Wakamiya was first organized by Kōfuku-ji in 1136. Having thus initiated a major Kasuga festival of its own, Kōfuku-ji turned it into the great annual festival of Yamato province. And once Kōfuku-ji had managed to seize control of the Kasuga Shrine, it gained the final allegiance of the local landowners on estates throughout Yamato (NAGASHIMA 1959, p. 10). The temple was now almost uncontested in its domain. It could even impose a *bettō* on other major Nara temples (NAGASHIMA 1944, p. 162). Minamoto no Yoritomo 源 頼朝 recognized Kōfuku-ji's power, for although he placed a constable (*shugo* 守護) in each province, he left Kōfuku-ji and Yamato alone.

During the thirteenth century Kōfuku-ji flourished as before, vexed only by the inevitable conflicts with other institutions or with Kamakura, and by the *akutō* 悪党 ("troublemakers") who came to threaten the temple both as an estate owner and as the holder of police power in Yamato province. Then, in the fourteenth century, turmoil came to Kōfuku-ji itself. In the summer of 1351 (in the midst of a seesaw military conflict between the two courts), all-out war erupted between rival parts of the temple, and the temple's greatest annual ceremony, the Yuima-e 唯摩会, had to be canceled (*Saisai yōki nukigaki* for Kan'ō 2, *Sanne jōikki*). Calm was restored the following year, but the Yuima-e was still canceled repeatedly between 1353 and 1391. It was during this period of trouble and decline,

from which Kōfuku-ji was never fully to recover, that a monk-yamabushi of the East Kondō 東金堂 wrote *Ōmine tōzan honji Kōfuku-ji tōkondō sendatsu kiroku*.

In the meantime, Kōfuku-ji had been thoroughly taken over by monks from the great Fujiwara houses. Knowledge of this trend, like knowledge of the Kōfuku-ji domination of Yamato, is essential if one is to place the Kōfuku-ji/Kinpusen relationship in its proper setting. *Kinpusen kengyō shūdai* ("The Register of the Kengyō of Kinpusen"), discussed below, is nearly meaningless without it.

Ultimate responsibility for Kōfuku-ji as for the Kasuga Shrine lay with the head of the Fujiwara clan, who oversaw the clan's ancestral shrines and temples. He appointed the chief priest (*shō-no-azukari* 正預) of Kasuga and had to recommend the Kōfuku-ji *bettō*. Originally, the Fujiwara were only patrons of Kōfuku-ji. Nara and early Heian monks of Kōfuku-ji were not usually Fujiwaras. In time, however, the prestige of Buddhism, combined with the pressing need to dispose of excess sons, made the great temples more and more attractive to powerful families. Kōfuku-ji came to be dominated by Fujiwara monks, and especially by the sons of senior nobles (*kugyō* 苦行). For example, more and more Kōfuku-ji monks performed the coveted role of lecturer (*kōji* 講師) for the Yuima-e, and of these, more and more were sons of senior nobles. After the mid-Heian period, a non-Fujiwara monk was unlikely to be appointed lecturer at all. Likewise, a sort of inflation steadily reduced the value of a given *sōgō* 僧綱 (ecclesiastical) rank, and one cause of this inflation was undoubtedly the need to promote Fujiwara sons more and more reliably, higher and higher. Moreover, the Fujiwara invasion of Kōfuku-ji fostered the development of private sub-temples, known as *inke* 院家, which sheltered noble sons from temple life and upheld the dignity of their houses. The two major *inke*, Ichijōin 一乗院 and Daijōin 大乘院, came to be known as *monzeki* 門跡. By the end of the Heian period they controlled Kōfuku-ji and usually supplied the *bettō*. Later, *bettō* from elsewhere at Kōfuku-ji became rare, and after the Muromachi period the office simply alternated between the two.

Finally, certain aspects of Kōfuku-ji organization bear on what follows. The information given here relies especially on NAGASHIMA 1944, pp. 40–49 and 1959, pp. 14–17. It applies to the late Heian period and after.

The head of Kōfuku-ji, the *bettō*, was appointed 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. Directly under the *bettō* were the *goshi* 五師 (“five masters”), and under them the *sangō* 三綱 (“temple council”). The *goshi* and *sangō* managed the daily affairs of the temple (as distinguished from the *inke*, especially the *monzeki*). *Sangō* appointments were generally made from among the monks of the *monzeki*. Other, lower-ranking monks were in charge of such things as the forest in the Kasuga hills and the sacred deer; liturgical chanting (*shōmyō* 声明); and musicians, dancers, painters, sculptors and other craftsmen. There was also a monk, called *daigyōji-sō* 大行事僧 or *dai-dōshi* 大導師, in charge of each one of the seven main halls of the temple: the Central Kondō 中金堂, the East Kondō, the West Kondō 西金堂, the Kōdō 講堂, the Five-Storey Pagoda 五重塔, the Hokuen-dō 北円堂 and the Nan'en-dō.

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 *bettō* and his colleagues. These assemblies included especially the *gakuryō* 学侶 (“scholars,” the temples’s upper class) and the *roppōshu* 六方衆 (“six directions”). There was also a general service class (*gerō* 下臈).

The *roppōshu*, named because of the way Kōfuku-ji’s territory was divided into “six directions,” included both younger scholars who could rise into the *gakuryō* and non-scholars. Both scholars and non-scholars could bear arms. The *roppōshu* played the key role in mobilizing the temple forces in time of emergency. They resembled officers in a military sense, while the *gerō* were the temple’s regular troops.

It is uncertain whether all three classes, or only the upper two, made up the *daishu* 大衆, a term common in contemporary documents. *Daishu* decisions were surely reached by the *gakuryō* and *roppōshu*, but when the whole *daishu* took action, it obviously included the *shuto* 衆徒 as well.

Shuto appears sometimes to mean the same thing as *daishu*. At other times, however, the two words definitely designate different groups. The *shuto* as distinguished from the *daishu* were men who normally lived not at the temple but scattered throughout Yamato. However, some 2,000 at a time were appointed to reside at Kōfuku-ji for a “four-year” term. They guarded the temple and the shrine, and exercised the police power of Kōfuku-ji throughout Yamato

province. On military campaigns, the *shuto* also led troops attached to the Kasuga Shrine.

Of special significance were the *dōshu* 堂衆 (“those of the halls”), who were attached to the East and West Kondō. These practitioner monks were also known as *zenshu* 禪衆 (“meditators”). Some of them, at least, were yamabushi. The *dōshu* of the East Kondō appear in *Ōmine tōzan honji Kōfuku-ji tōkondō sendatsu kiroku*, which mentions Shugendo based at the West Kondō as well. The *dōshu* were responsible for the practices in the Kasuga hills, discussed below. They and not the Kasuga Shrine took care of the Kasuga sub-shrines in those hills (ŌHIGASHI n.d.). Although theoretically of a standing equal to that of the *gakuryō*, they were in fact looked at askance. The *dōshu* too could bear arms, and early in the temple’s history had constituted its main military strength.

Practice in the Mountains and Forests

The *dōshu* monks were not necessarily the only ones at Kōfuku-ji who practiced in the “mountains and forests,” especially in Heian times and before. For one thing, Kōfuku-ji monks, like the monks of other Nara temples, 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. For example, Gomyō 護命 (750–834), a Hossō monk of Gangō-ji, spent the first half of each month at Hisosan-ji 比蘇山寺, a temple in the mountains above Yoshino 吉野, practicing the rite of Kokūzō 虚空藏 (SONODA 1957, p. 47). He also placed images on certain Kinpusen peaks (*Kinpusen zakki*).

Sonoda Kōyū, who studied a confraternity of such monks, stressed that they were among the elite of Nara Buddhism. He concluded that such practice was integral to respectable monastic life in Nara times. He also showed that there could be a special relationship between a great temple in Nara and a certain temple in the mountains. Hisosan-ji was associated with Gangō-ji and Fukki-ji 福貴寺 with Hōryū-ji 法隆寺. There was an analogous tie between Kōfuku-ji and Murō-ji 室生寺.

Murō-ji grew up in association with the nearby Ryūketsu Jinja 竜穴神社 (“Dragon Cave Shrine”), for which it may originally have been a *jingūji* 神宮寺 (“shrine temple”). The most sacred spot there

is a small hill called Nyoisan 如意山, said to contain at its summit, under a stone stūpa, a *nyoishu* 如意珠 (“wishing jewel”) buried there by Kūkai.

In 937 Murō-ji was described as a *betsuin* 別院 (“annex”) of Kōfuku-ji (INOKUMA 1963, p. 17), and it remained a *matsuji* 末寺 (“dependency”) of Kōfuku-ji until the Genroku period (1688–1704). In fact, the temple was founded by two Kōfuku-ji monks, Kenkei 賢璟 (714–793) and Shūen 修円 (771–835). Kenkei appears to have been linked particularly with the West Kondō of Kōfuku-ji. Shūen, a disciple of Kenkei who also received initiation from Kūkai, served as *bettō* of Kōfuku-ji too (*Kōfuku-ji bettō shidai*, “Shūen”).

Dragons having power over rain, prayers for rain were undoubtedly made at the Murō “Dragon Cave” at least in Heian times, both by monks resident at Murō-ji and by monks of Kōfuku-ji. During the Kenpō era (1213–1219) the court ordered *gakuryō* monks of Kōfuku-ji to pray for rain at Murō. When their prayers succeeded, Kōfuku-ji received an estate to endow prayers for rain there every summer (NAGASHIMA 1944, p. 438). Thus, the original connection between Kōfuku-ji and Murō-ji was often reaffirmed. For example, the famous Miroku 彌勒 incised on a rock face near Murō-ji was made at the order of the Kōfuku-ji *bettō* Gaen 雅縁 (1138–1223), at a location associated with Shūen’s memory.

Thus Kōfuku-ji participated fully in the Buddhism of Heian times, which included a strong interest in mountain practice or in retirement to the “mountains and forests.” Outstanding among many examples of such retirement is Gedatsu Shōnin 解脱上人 (Jōkei 貞慶, 1155–1213), whose defense of the “old Buddhism” against Hōnen’s 法然 *nenbutsu* 念仏 is particularly well known. In 1193 Gedatsu Shōnin retired to Kasagi 笠置 (288 m.), a mountain associated with the cult of Miroku and with Kinpusen. Then in 1208 he retired to Kaijūsen-ji 海住山寺, a mountain temple associated with Kannon’s Fudaraku 補陀落 paradise. Kaijūsen-ji was, moreover, one of the traditional “Thirty-Six Sendatsu” of early Tōzan Shugendo (*Tōzan shōdai sendatsu*).

A Kōfuku-ji Line of Ranking Shugendo Adepts

By the Kamakura period, when the highest-ranking monks of Kōfuku-ji were almost all sons of senior nobles, the temple’s only practitioners of Shugendo proper were, no doubt, the *dōshu* of the

East and West Kondō. However, there is evidence that in an earlier time the situation had been different. A unique set of stories associated with Kūsei 空晴 (878–957) and his disciples suggests the existence at Kōfuku-ji of a line of high-ranking Shugendo adepts.

Kūsei who, like Zōri or Jōshō, studied both Hossō and *mikkyō*, founded the Kōfuku-ji sub-temple of Kita-in 喜多院 and also served as *bettō* (*Kōfuku-ji bettō shidai*, “Kūsei”; *Kōfuku-ji ruki*). His pilgrimage to Kongōzan 金剛山 in 945, described in *Kongōzan naige ryōin daidai kokon kiroku* (“Record of past and present, generation by generation, of the inner and outer halls of Kongōzan,” 1656) and discussed below under the heading for the Katsuragi 葛城 mountains, marks him as a mountain practitioner. So does that of his disciple Shinki 真喜 (930–1000), described in the same source. Shinki, who also served as *bettō*, can be associated as well with Kinpusen (*Shozan engi*, p. 96) and with the Nachi 那智 waterfall (*Honchō kōsōden* 9, “Shinki”).

Chūsan 仲算 (935–976), another disciple of Kūsei, worked miracles at Nachi, at Mino 箕面 and elsewhere (*Senjūshō* 7/4). He went to Kumano 熊野 with Rin’e 林懷 (950–1025), a fellow disciple of Kūsei and then of Shinki (*Senjūshō* 6/3) who also served as *bettō* of Kōfuku-ji (*Kōfuku-ji bettō shidai*). One story about Rin’e (*Jikkishō* 7) identifies him as a healer who controlled guardian spirits. Kyōe 教懷 (1001–1093), a disciple of Rin’e, retired to Odawara, a *bessho* 別所 associated with Kōfuku-ji, and then to Mt. Kōya 高野山 (*Shūi ōjōden*, *Kōyasan ōjōden*). Meanwhile, another figure linked to Rin’e is the ascetic Dōken 道賢 or Nichizō 日藏 (905?–985?), whose intricate vision of the hells and paradise of Kinpusen is often cited (*Fusō ryakki* 25 for Tengyō 4.3.9). *Konjaku monogatari shū* tells his story, and the compiler added: “These things were related by Rin’e . . . of Yamashina-dera who said that he heard them from [his?] disciple Nichizō.” Rin’e cannot really have been Nichizō’s teacher, but perhaps he took over some sort of responsibility for Nichizō from Shinki or from Kūsei. Nichizō could have been a student of Kūsei himself.

Two students of Shinki, Jōchō 定澄 (935–1015) and Fukō 扶公 (966–1035), were with Fujiwara no Michinaga 道長 (966–1027) in 1007 when Michinaga made the pilgrimage to Kinpusen. Jōchō was *bettō* at the time and Fukō became *bettō* in 1025. En’en 円縁 (990–1060), a student of Fukō, was appointed *kengyō* of Kinpusen in 1049, while Jōzen 貞禪 (1042–1095), a Fujiwara trained at Kita-in, is the first monk listed as *kengyō* of Kinpusen in *Sanne jōikki*. No comparable set of stories and associations exists for any other group of Kōfuku-ji

monks. At least in the mid-Heian period, the monks of Kita-in clearly had a special connection with mountain practice, and legends about some of them frankly describe miracle-workers.

Kinpusen and the Court

To appreciate fully what Kinpusen meant to Kōfuku-ji, one should understand what Kinpusen meant to the Kyoto 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 peerless in Japan” (*Go-Nijō Moromichi ki* for Kanji 5.8.17). Michinaga’s pilgrimage to Kinpusen in 1007 is particularly famous. At the other end of the eleventh century, in 1092, Fujiwara no Moromichi 師通 (1062–1099), 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 one could speculate that since Kyoto honored Kinpusen, Kōfuku-ji could not help wanting to own it.¹

The tie between Yoshino and the pre-Nara sovereigns is well attested, and ascetics probably practiced in those mountains even in early times. However, the “founder” of Shugendō is of course the shadowy En no Gyōja 役行者 (d. 700?) who, according to a legend which by the late Heian period was a canonical truth, called the Kinpusen deity Zaō Gongen 蔵王権現 into manifestation at the top of Sanjō-ga-take. Whatever En no Gyōja’s powers and accomplishments may have been, he did not actually organize the cult of Kinpusen or the ritual pilgrimages (*nyūbu* 入峰, “entry into the peak”) which characterized the mature Shugendō of later times. Real organization probably began in the late ninth century under Shōbō 聖宝 (832–909), a Shingon monk originally from Tōdai-ji who lived a generation before Kūsei. By the mid-Heian period, Kinpusen was a powerful Buddhist center, patronized and visited by the greatest nobles in the land. It is no wonder that by the end of the eleventh century, Kinpusen-ji 金峰山寺 (above Yoshino) was claimed by

¹ The name “Kinpusen” loosely designates the whole Ōmine 大峰 range which stretches down the Kii 紀伊 peninsula toward Kumano from the village of Yoshino. It may also apply particularly to the area between Yoshino and Sanjō-ga-take 山上ヶ岳 (1719 m.), where Ōminesan-ji 大峰山寺 has stood since the early tenth century. Legend had it that in Kinpusen was stored all the gold with which the world would be made new when Miroku at last came into the world. Kinpusen was therefore 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.

Kōfuku-ji as a *matsuji*.

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.

Seen from Nara or Kyoto, 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 suitably distinguished divinities. *Shozan engi*, which dates roughly from the late Heian period, describes a detailed projection of the Kongōkai 金剛界 and Taizōkai 胎藏界 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 apparently 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 donors 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. The list of emperors includes Tenchi 天智 (r. 661–671), Heizei 平城 (r. 806–809), Saga 嵯峨 (r. 809–823), Ninmyō 仁明 (r. 833–850), Montoku 文德 (r. 850–858), Seiwa 清和 (r. 858–877), Uda 宇多 (r. 887–897), Daigo 醍醐 (r. 897–930), and Murakami 村上 (r. 946–967). Except for Toba 鳥羽 (r. 1107–1123), who appears only in *Shozan engi*, the three sources agree that this sort of offering ceased after Murakami, although they do not speculate why. Kōfuku-ji monks mentioned as imperial envoys to Kinpusen are Zenshu 善珠 (723–797), an important Hossō scholar, and Chōkun 長訓 (774–855).

Such offerings of images and texts were replaced gradually by gifts to the religious institutions of Kinpusen, although these gifts too could include the burial of sutras and images. Perhaps this trend became more pronounced as the religious institutions became better established and the Kinpusen cult more concertedly organized. Such offerings are listed in *Kinpusen zakki* and *Kinpusen sōsōki*. They include gifts by Uda, Suzaku 朱雀 (r. 930–946), Murakami, Reizei 冷泉 (r. 967–969), Ichijō 一条 (r. 986–1011), Go-Ichijō 後一条 (r. 1016–1036) and Shirakawa 白河 (r. 1072–1086), who also played an important

part in the development of Shugendo based at Kumano. Toba commissioned several buildings and rites, as did Go-Shirakawa 後白河 (r. 1155-1158). Go-Toba 後鳥羽 (r. 1183-1198) made donations and offered an *Ōmine engi* 大峰縁起, now lost. The latest such gift mentioned is that of Go-Saga 後嵯峨 (r. 1242-1246). The pilgrimage to Kinpusen was popular among the mid- and late-Heian aristocracy. WAKAMORI Tarō (1972, p. 77) wrote 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 行成 (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).

Pilgrimages mentioned in *Kinpusen sōsōki* and in *Kinpusen zakki* include those of Uda (900 and 905), who had a close connection with Shōbō, and of Reizei (969). Fujiwara no Michikane 道兼 (961-995) went in 986. He was followed in 1007 by Michinaga, among whose entourage were the Kōfuku-ji monks Jōchō and Fukō, already discussed.

Other distinguished pilgrims were Fujiwara no Yorimichi 頼通 (990-1074) in 1007, 1014 and 1052; and Fujiwara no Moromichi 師通 (1062-1099) in 1088 and 1090. Moromichi's diary for 1090 mentions Saijin 濟尋 (1029-1095), a Kōfuku-ji monk, as having played an important part in the ceremonies conducted on the mountain (*Go-Nijō Moromichi ki* for Kanji 4.8.10). Then came Retired Emperor Shirakawa in 1092. With him was Minamoto no Masazane 雅実 (1059-1127), a future chancellor who had already been to Kinpusen in 1088 and 1106.

After Masazane, pilgrimages by the members of the highest aristocracy seem to have dwindled. From the late Heian into the Kamakura period, the interest of the court shifted away from Kinpusen and toward Kumano. The day-to-day support of Kinpusen then came gradually to be picked up by warriors and by wealthy Yamato landowners. However, Kōfuku-ji interest in Kinpusen was by then thoroughly established, and it was from Kōfuku-ji that the *kengyō* of Kinpusen were appointed.

The Kengyō of Kinpusen

The *kengyō* of Kinpusen was the head monk of Kinpusen-ji (also

known as Sekizō-ji 石蔵寺), situated above Yoshino near the spot now known as Aizen 愛染. Kinpusen-ji has not survived. It may have been founded in the second half of the eighth century and was probably well established by the beginning of the Heian period (MURAKAMI 1978, p. 75). By the late Heian, it was a complex establishment which included Hōtō-in 宝塔院; a Kannon-dō 観音堂 which was the Kinpusen headquarters of the Tōzan Shugendo of Ōmine; Sakuramoto-bō 桜本坊, one of the "Thirty-Six Sendatsu" of early Tōzan Shugendo; and Yoshimizu-in 吉水院, the single most powerful component of Kinpusen-ji (*Kinpusen sōsōki*, *Tōzan shōdai sendatsu*).

In 1092, Shirakawa appointed two monks of *hokkyō* 法橋 rank to Kinpusen-ji (*Kinpusen zakki*). MIYAKE Hitoshi (1973, pp. 54–55) presented this and other evidence to show that the Kinpusen-ji of middle and late Heian times was rather like a government-sponsored temple (*kanji* 官寺). The principal residents of the temple were divided into *gakuryō* and *mandō* 満堂, the counterpart of the Kōfuku-ji *dōshu*. While most of the *gakuryō* were Tendai men, the *mandō* were Shingon (MIYAKE 1973, p. 55). Analogously complicated situations seem to have existed at other mountain temples. These conflicting affiliations must often have caused friction, but with respect to Kōfuku-ji, at least, Kinpusen was surely united. Kinpusen clearly did its best to resist coming under even the nominal authority of Kōfuku-ji. This authority was vested above all in the person of the *kengyō*.

Scattered mentions of the early *kengyō* of Kinpusen suggest that they were appointed from outside, although little about them or their practical functioning is clear. However, they presumably lived at Kinpusen-ji, unlike the later *kengyō* from Kōfuku-ji. The title of *bettō* also appears in connection with the early *kengyō* of Kinpusen, for in the tenth and early eleventh centuries the two titles were apparently very similar. However, the *kengyō* title may have been higher. There must always have been a *bettō* of Kinpusen-ji, but the early *kengyō* seem to have been appointed sporadically, as the occasion prompted. Therefore the *kengyō* title may often have been conferred on the regular *bettō*.

Joken 助憲, the earliest known *kengyō* of Kinpusen, was appointed in 900 by Emperor Uda (*Kinpusen sōsōki*). His name and that of the next known *kengyō*, Zōsan 蔵算, are associated by *Tōzan shugen dentō kechimiyaku* with Shōbō's lineage. Therefore, they probably had no particular connection with Kōfuku-ji.

Kōfuku-ji influence appears first in 1017 with Kinshō 金照 (d.

1019), whom Michinaga described repeatedly in *Midō kanpaku ki* (Kanji 4.8.10,11,12) as *bettō* of Kinpusen. In *Sōgō bunin* (Kannin 1 and 3), Kinshō appears not as *bettō* but as *kengyō* of Kinpusen. His presence in this record, which is especially sensitive to Kōfuku-ji affairs, suggests that whether or not he himself was from Kōfuku-ji, Kōfuku-ji at this time considered Kinpusen to be within its domain. However Genjo 元助, the next known *kengyō*, is once again associated, like Joken and Zōsan, with the lineage of Shōbō. *Nihon kiriyaku* for Chōhen 2.5.19 (1029) mentions him being summoned for questioning together with the resident monks of Kinpusen, and 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 motive is given, but the gravity of the incident may have helped to prompt the choice of an unusually distinguished monk as the next *kengyō*.

The earliest *kengyō* unequivocally from Kōfuku-ji is En'en, a future Kōfuku-ji *bettō* (1055), whose appointment in 1049 (*Sōgō bunin*, *Kōfuku-ji bettō shidai*) may have been intended to assert Kōfuku-ji authority after a challenge by Kinpusen. As a student of Fukō, En'en belonged to the lineage of Kūsei and Shinki.

At this stage, the appointment of someone of En'en's rank was still unusual, and surviving records mention no replacement for him. Apparently, *kengyō* were still being appointed only as needed. Kaishin 懷真 (1008?-1094), the next one, was named *bettō* in 1080 (*Sōgō bunin*), having risen from *hokkyō* to *hōgen* 法眼 rank, but is mentioned as *kengyō* in 1092. He may have been a resident monk of Kinpusen-ji itself, like Kōsan 高算 (d. 1096) who was *bettō* in 1092 and 1094 (*Sōgō bunin*, *uragaki* to kan 5; *Chūyūki* for Kanji 7.9.22). After Kaishin, however, all *kengyō* were unequivocally from Kōfuku-ji. This was probably a result of the Kōfuku-ji/Kinpusen war of 1093.

The Kōfuku-ji/Kinpusen War of 1093

By 1092, Kōfuku-ji's claim to dominion over Kinpusen was embodied in monks appointed from Kōfuku-ji to oversee the religious establishment there. But Kinpusen itself was both strong and remote, and jealous of its own prerogatives. The two often quarreled.

The war they fought in 1093, a year after Shirakawa's pilgrimage, left its mark. Many decades later, Kujō Kanezane noted the disruption it had caused (*Gyokuyō* for Jishō 3.11.27).

On Kanji 7.9.14 (1093), the outraged *daishu* of Kōfuku-ji informed the head of the Fujiwara clan, Moromichi, that they had clashed with Kinpusen while securing the roads in the area (*Go-Nijō Moromichi ki* for that date). Then, on the 21st, “The evil monks 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 Kōfuku-ji side withdrew. However, some elements among the Kōfuku-ji monks were still spoiling for a fight because “Kinpusen was a *matsuji* of Kōfuku-ji.” Therefore the court (probably the regent Morozane 師実, since Moromichi’s diary does not mention the matter) appointed Jōzen 貞禪 (1042–1095) as *kengyō*, no doubt largely to placate Kōfuku-ji (*Chūyūki* for Kanji 7.10.17). Jōzen had been trained at the Kita-in founded by Kūsei. He appears to have been of fairly distinguished Fujiwara birth.

When Kinpusen refused to accept Jōzen, Kōfuku-ji attacked and two battles ensued (*Chūyūki* for Kanji 8.3.6). *Chūyūki* does not mention that on 7.22, the day after Kōfuku-ji set out for Kinpusen to fight, the main hall (*hōden* 宝殿) 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 or not the fire had been set intentionally (*Go-Nijō Moromichi ki* for Kanji 7.9.22 and 7.9.24). However, given the ruthless behavior of the Kōfuku-ji forces on many other occasions, they had probably set fire to the building on purpose.

On Kanji 7.11.4, Moromichi heard from the Kōfuku-ji *bettō* that the Kōfuku-ji forces had set off for the Yoshino river (*Go-Nijō Moromichi ki* for that date). On the 13th, according to *Chūyūki*, they were fighting near Kinpusen-ji, 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 Kōfuku-ji had marched directly against Kinpusen and noted that the temple had to be stopped. Two days later, he wrote that he had sent several proclamations (*chōja sen* 長者宣) to Kōfuku-ji, although without effect. He observed, moreover, that the weather continued to be extremely cold with constant snow (*Go-Nijō Moromichi ki* for Kanji

7.11.23 and 25). Kōfuku-ji had not picked a comfortable season for the fight.

With this, the records of the conflict fade out. However, in the sixth and seventh months of Eichō 1 (1096), Moromichi wrote of discussing the court's contribution to the rebuilding of Kinpusen. 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 Kōfuku-ji. 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 conveys the gravity of the affair.

The Kōfuku-ji/Kinpusen War of 1145

Sanne jōikki records three *kengyō* between 1095 (the date of Jōzen's death) and 1130, although it is unclear whether the office was filled continuously during that period. All three were Kōfuku-ji scholar-monks who had served as lecturer for the Yuima-e. In the order of this service as lecturer (which suggests an order of seniority among them) they are Gyōshun 行俊 (b. 1052), Raijitsu 頼実 (1050-ca. 1142) and Zennin 禪仁 (1062-1130). Regarding Zennin, the *Chūyūki* diarist called him not the *kengyō* but the *bettō* of Kinpusen when he noted his death and observed that "for the last two or three years he had been in retirement at Kōfuku-ji" (Daiji 5.5.18). Apparently Zennin, at least, had actually lived at Kinpusen. In addition, at least three Kōfuku-ji monks held high rank on Kinpusen during this period. The *Fusō ryakki* entry for Shirakawa's pilgrimage of 1092, mentioning Kōsan's promotion to *hokkyō*, notes that the same rank was given also to "a disciple of Bettō Hōgen Kaishin." This must be Kyōshō 經昭 (1050-1141), who in 1092 filled the *hokkyō* position vacated by "the *kengyō* Kaishin" (*Sōgō bunin*). Kyōshō was promoted to *hōgen* in 1101, filling the vacancy left by Kaishin's death, and at last, in 1121, served as lecturer for the Yuima-e. He was a Kōfuku-ji monk and a Fujiwara (*Sōgō bunin*, *Sanne jōikki* for Kōwa 1). Finally, Enkaku 延覚 (1075-at least 1142) is also mentioned in 1139 and 1142 as a *bettō* of Kinpusen. Enkaku, who had served as lecturer too, was the son of a Fujiwara Middle Counselor.

Tension between Kōfuku-ji and Kinpusen continued. In 1114, the daishu of Kōfuku-ji sallied forth against Kinpusen "over the affair of the *bettō*, " whatever that may have been. Then, in 1139, a monk

of Kōfuku-ji was killed in a quarrel with Hōtō-in of Kinpusen, and this incident became one motive for the attack of the Kōfuku-ji *daishu* on Ryūkaku 隆覚 (1074–1158), a Minamoto who had just been appointed—to the *Chūyūki* diarist's dismay—*bettō* of Kōfuku-ji (*Denreki* for Eikyū 2.3.29; *Nanto daishu nyūroku ki*; *Kōfuku-ji bettō shidai*, “Ryūkaku”). In 1145, war broke out again.

The matter first appears in *Daiki*, the diary of Fujiwara no Yori-naga 頼長 (1120–56), in 1145. According to the entry for Ten'yō 2.6.8, word having reached Kyoto that Kōfuku-ji meant to go to war against Kinpusen, Fujiwara no Tadazane 忠実 (Yorinaga's father and the *Denreki* diarist) sent a messenger to stop them. Unfortunately, Tadamichi 忠通 (Yorinaga's brother, the current regent and head of the clan) declined to do the same. Thus, the Kōfuku-ji *shuto* set out on 7.12. On 7.26, they were soundly defeated and had to withdraw.

On 9.13, however, they marched forth again and this time prevailed. *Kōfuku-ji ruki* shows the warrior Minamoto no Tameyoshi 為義 (1096–1156) giving tactical advice to the retired emperor (Toba) concerning the war and describes the end of the affair:

The Retired Emperor sent supplies to the Kōfuku-ji 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. “Once they had exhausted all their resources, they would surrender.”

Sure enough, Nin'e's 仁恵 [the *bettō*'s?] servant soon came forth with a message of surrender. After that, the *honji-matsuji* 本寺末寺 tie between Kōfuku-ji and Kinpusen was sealed forever.

The Register of the Kengyō of Kinpusen

What happened once the relationship of Kinpusen to Kōfuku-ji 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 多武峰, in which Kōfuku-ji became involved on behalf of its “*matsuji*.” It is curious to read of Kinpusen destroying Tōnomine, since Kōfuku-ji usually did so itself.

The second item is a bare list of twenty names, entitled *Kinpusen kengyō shidai*. Ejitsu 懷実, the first name, accompanied as it is by the note “[in] the Kanji era [1087-1094],” is surely an error for the Eshin described above. (It is unclear why “Ejitsu” should appear when Jōzen and his successors do not.) All the names which follow belong to Kōfuku-ji monks of the most exalted rank, that is, sons of Fujiwara regents.

Thus, the list proper begins with the second name, Jinpan 尋範 (1100-1174, appointed in 1145), and records a continuous lineage of highly aristocratic *kengyō* which died out only in the early fifteenth century. Information on these men can be found in *Kōfuku-ji bettō shidai*, *Sōgō bunin* and *Sanne jōikki*; and since all were head either of Daijōin or of Ichijōin, their appointment to the post of *kengyō* of Kinpusen also appears often in the appropriate lineage in *Shomonzeki fu*. A shorter list of *kengyō*, recorded by Jinson (1430-1508) in *Daijōin jisha zōjiki*, can also provide confirmation. As already noted, *Inokuma kanpaku ki* for Jōgen 2.8.28 and 2.9.3 shows in the case of the *kengyō* Jisson 実尊 (1180-1236) that they were dismissed or appointed by the current head of the Fujiwara clan. Kōfuku-ji had asserted definitive control over Kinbusen. There is no need to discuss these *kengyō* at length. The first seven were in order as follows: Jinpan (son of Fujiwara no Morozane); Eshin 慧信 (1114-1174; appointed in 1156; son of Fujiwara no Tadamichi); Shin'en (1152-1224; appointed 1181; son of Tadamichi); Jisson (appointed in 1208; son of Fujiwara no Motofusa 基房); Enjitsu 円実 (1214-at least 1264; son of Kujō Michiie 九条道家); Jisshin 実信 (1199-1256; appointed after serving as “regent” for Enjitsu in Enjitsu's youth; son of Konoe Motomichi 近衛基通); Enjitsu (reappointed).

Although men like Jinpan, Enjitsu or Shin'en were substantial figures, the careers of their successors visibly became more and more perfunctory. Such monks took over Daijō-in or Ichijō-in at a minimum age, as necessary; served as lecturer for the Yuima-e as expeditiously as possible; could still be young when they became *bettō*; and invariably achieved the highest rank, that of *daisōjō* 大僧正. Often they often resigned as *bettō* quickly, then were reappointed for short periods during the rest of their career. Perhaps they did not care to shoulder so great burden for too long at a time. The fact that such men were still appointed *kengyō* shows how routine Kōfuku-ji's claim to Kinpusen had become.

The first two of these *kengyō* probably served in the order indicated

by Jinson rather than by *Kinpusen kengyō shidai*: Sonshin 尊信 (1226/8–1283); Shinshō 信昭 (1247–1286, who ends Jinson's list); Jishin 慈信 (1257–1325); Kakushō 覚昭 1265–1329); Ryōshin 良信 (1276/7–1329, who took part in making *Kasuga Gongen genki*); Ryōkaku 良覚 (1291–1332); Kakujitsu 覚実 (1306–1351); and Jitsugen 実玄 (d. after 1370, ordained suddenly and irregularly to succeed Kakujitsu as head of Ichijōin); Ryōshō 良昭 (1363–1402); and Ryōken 良兼 (1373?–1409). After a gap in this faltering list, the last identifiable *kengyō* is Shōen 昭円 (1407/8–1437). Yūgen 雄玄, the last *kengyō* mentioned in *Kinpusen kengyō shidai*, is unknown.

Thus the weakened Kōfuku-ji and Kinpusen parted. In 1457, the Kōfuku-ji *shuto* sallied forth for what may have been their last attack on Kinpusen, but withdrew hastily after suffering many losses (*Daijōin jisha zōjiki* for Chōroku 1.11.12). Henceforth, the role of Kōfuku-ji in the history of Kinpusen was to be almost entirely forgotten.

Kōfuku-ji and Tōzan Shugendo

But in the mid-fourteenth century, before Kōfuku-ji lost its last vestige of a claim to Kinpusen, a *sendatsu* from the East Kondō wrote an account which nicely complements *Kinpusen kengyō shidai*. The writer may have been the anonymous author of *Saisai yōki nukigaki*; who, in turn, may have been one Jikkai 実快, two of whose letters to the *matsuji* of Kōfuku-ji were recorded (*Saisai yōki nukugaki* for Kannō 2.5.27, 7.28).

Ōmine Tōzan honji Kōfuku-ji tōkondō sendatsu kiroku shows that at least in Kamakura times, Kōfuku-ji took an active part in the Shugendo of Kinpusen. Though undated, the document must have been written late in 1359 or early in 1360, for it contains an account of the *nyūbu* of 1359. The writer observed many violations of established practice and noted his desire to pass on the correct tradition to coming generations. He certainly saw, too, the chaos brought to Kōfuku-ji by the split between the Northern and Southern Courts.

To evaluate the significance of *Sendatsu kiroku*, one must consider the early history of Tōzan Shugendo. As already stated, Honzan Shugendo is connected with Tendai, especially with Miidera and Shōgoin, and its origins are clear. They are linked with Zōyo of Miidera, who founded Shōgoin and whom Shirakawa appointed the first *kengyō* of Kumano.

Tōzan Shugendo, on the other hand, is linked with Shingon, and

its head temple has long been Sanbō-in 三宝院 of Daigo-ji. Daigo-ji was founded by Shōbō, who is honored as the “restorer” of Shugendo after En no Gyōja. The Tōzan tradition holds that Tōzan Shugendo was begun by Shōbō and that from the beginning the line was presided over by Shōbō’s successors at Daigo-ji. Few accounts of Shugendo history dispute this tradition, although they may note that the origins of Tōzan Shugendo are unclear. However, SUZUKI Shōei (1967, 1975) contended that Shōbō’s role in the early history of Tōzan Shugendo has been exaggerated and that Daigo-ji had nothing to do with it at all.

SUZUKI suggested (1975, p. 78) that a Tōzan tradition of “Thirty-Six Sendatsu” accompanying Shōbō into Ōmine in 895 is a later fiction. Moreover, he stressed (1975, p.79) that since the *gakuryō* of Kinpusen-ji seem to have been Tendai, while only the *mandō* were Shingon, Shōbō cannot have had a decisive impact on the organization of Kinpusen, whatever he may have done to draw pilgrims there.

With regard to the *kengyō*, SUZUKI recognized the role of Kōfuku-ji. He observed (1975, p. 79) that although the Tōzan tradition claims a lineage of Ōmine *kengyō* parallel to the Honzan *kengyō* of Kumano, most of these (like the early *kengyō* Joken or Zōsan, discussed above) are simply the Sanbō-in lineage under another title and can have had little impact at Kinpusen. SUZUKI found no reliable record of Sanbōin standing at the head of Tōzan Shugendo earlier than 1602. He also noted (1975, p. 80) that Sanbō-in’s leadership seems not to have been fully confirmed until it was recognized by Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1613.

The Tōzan tradition makes much of “Thirty-six Sendatsu” who (allegedly under Shōbō and his successors) are the chief officers of Tōzan Shugendo. These are not men so much as the temples where the sendatsu lineages resided. When the *Sendatsu kiroku* of Kōfuku-ji states that “The East Kondō of Kōfuku-ji is the head temple of Tōzan [Shugendo],” it means that the East Kondō presides over the Thirty-Six Sendatsu [Temples]. The text adds, “and one or two men from Kōfuku-ji accompany every *nyūbu* [from these temples].”

During most of the history of Tōzan Shugendo, the number thirty-six has been an ideal rather than an actual figure, 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, pp. 2-4). At any rate, the “Thirty-Six Sendatsu” were all in central Japan and obviously

concentrated in Yamato. In this respect, the Tōzan Shugendo centers (normally Shingon) differed from the Honzan ones (normally Tendai), which were far more widely distributed. Tōzan Shugendo was in fact a sort of regional Shugendo association. Most of its temples were *matsuji* of Kōfuku-ji, including such well-known temples as Hōryū-ji, Jōruri-ji 浄瑠璃寺, Matsuo-dera 松尾寺, Kaijūsen-ji, Kokawa-dera 粉河寺 and Shigi-san 信貴山. SUZUKI held that Tōzan Shugendo was run by these temples before Sanbō-in took it over. He proposed that the temples worked by mutual consultation, though of course there was a hierarchy among them (1975, pp. 80 and 88).

In his 1967 article (pp. 696–697), SUZUKI recognized *Sendatsu kiroku* as genuine and significant. Miyake Hitoshi too apparently acknowledged it (without mentioning it) when he wrote (1973, p. 95) that in the Kamakura period it was the East Kondō of Kōfuku-ji which controlled the sendatsu of the Yamato region. On the other hand, in 1975 Suzuki passed it over in silence. MIYAKE's most recent work (1988) does not mention it either. Still, it surely is plausible that the East Kondō of Kōfuku-ji should have claimed in earnest to head Tōzan Shugendo, whether or not the company of sendatsu temples consistently acknowledged its authority. Although obviously highly partisan in its use of such material as the Shōbō legend, *Sendatsu kiroku* is not necessarily more so than comparable, later documents associated with Sanbōin. Moreover *Shōbō sōjō den* (937), the earliest biography of Shōbō, agrees with *Sendatsu kiroku* that Shōbō was indeed active at Kōfuku-ji. Odd though it may be among Shugendo documents, *Sendatsu kiroku* makes good sense in the context of this study.

The Record of the Sendatsu

Sendatsu kiroku begins with praise of Ōmine, then recounts the mythical history of Ōmine and of Shugendo. It first states that the earliest sendatsu of the East Kondō was Ryūchō 竜澄, who became sendatsu in 726, the year when the East Kondō was built. Elsewhere, however, it repeatedly identifies the founder as Keikai 璟海, in 730. Neither can be identified further. The text then tells how the pilgrimage from Kōfuku-ji to Kinpusen lapsed, eleven sendatsu later, because the current sendatsu was killed in the Ōmine mountains by a poisonous serpent. This serpent is a standard feature of the Shōbō legend.

At last, Shōbō revived the pilgrimage in 895. According to *Sendatsu kiroku*, he prepared for this *nyūbu* by praying in the East Kondō before a protector image carved by Kūkai. Shōbō then spent seven days in retreat at Bodai-in 菩提院 (an important Kōfuku-ji sub-temple, originally the residence of Genbō) and Myōjō-in 明星院, practicing the rite of Kujaku Myōō 孔雀明王. Finally, he did a twenty-one day retreat in the East Kondō, and on the last night received a miraculous sign. In the mountains of Kinpusen, Shōbō successfully quelled the great serpent and offered one of its teeth, among other relics, to the East Kondō. The next year he went again, quelled a lesser serpent, and offered relics of this pilgrimage to Tōnan-in 東南院, the sub-temple he had founded at Tōdai-ji.

The record then gives a series of comments on various matters, including how to prepare the letter appointing a new sendatsu, how to install the new sendatsu and how to announce the appointment. The procedures center on a feast given by the *yamabushi* (*kugyōsha* 苦行者) of the East and West Kondō for the sendatsu of the other temples. The invitation letter warns, "Non-attendance is forbidden," an admonition which is consistent with Suzuki Shōei's findings (1975, pp. 87-88/99) about how other Tōzan Shugendo events were run.

Sendatsu kiroku also gives the form for the announcing a *nyūbu* to Ōmine and the procedures to be followed when preparing for it. Early in the morning of the departure day, a *saitō goma* 採灯護摩 rite was performed at three places. The senior sendatsu presided over a *saitō goma* "south of the *naijin* 内陣 ("inner sanctum")" of the Nan'en-dō. (The text says, "This has been done since Kōbō 弘法 [Kūkai].") Simultaneously, the second-ranking sendatsu did the same at Kōzen 香山, and the third-ranking sendatsu at Nagao 長尾. Kōzen, especially, will be discussed below. A diagram of the seating arrangement for the final departure ceremony at the Nandaimon 南大門 ("Great South Gate") of Kōfuku-ji shows that the *bettō* himself was present. The *nyūbu* practitioners entered Yoshino on the penultimate day of the sixth month, returning in the middle of the ninth month.

This *nyūbu* corresponds to the one described by Suzuki Shōei as *gyakubu* 逆峰 ("reverse pilgrimage") or *aki-mine* 秋峰 ("autumn peak"), the most important *nyūbu* in Tōzan Shugendo. Suzuki (1975, pp. 99-101) cited documents from Tōdai-ji to show that practitioners from the Hokke-dō 法華堂 there were performing this pilgrimage in the mid-fifteenth century. Moreover, three men from the West Kondō

of Kōfuku-ji appear in the material he quoted. They left for the *gyakubu* on Chōroku 4.7.6 (1460) and returned on 9.1.

Next come prescriptions for the *hana-ku no mine* 花供の峰, the pilgrimage to make flower offerings at the mountain shrines of Kinpusen in the fourth month. The practitioners returned in the middle of the fifth month. The route may have started at Dorogawa 洞川, below Sanjō-ga-take to the west. At any rate, the text says that it ended at Mikasane-no-taki 三重滝 (presently Fudō-no-taki 不動滝, below Zenki 前鬼). This spot is still a standard exit point from a *nyūbu*. Suzuki (1975, p. 99) cited from Tōdai-ji records two practitioners from the West Kondō of Kōfuku-ji who went on the *hana-ku* pilgrimage in 1460.

A historical synopsis now states, “The founders of [the Shugendo of] the West Kondō in 920 are Kakujitsu 覚実, Jōgen 常玄 and Shinshun 信俊.” It 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 二上嶽.”

Next comes a lineage of the sendatsu of the East Kondō: fifty names, starting with that of En no Gyōja. The twelfth name is Shōbō. Then comes one Seikū 誓空, with the notation, “The senior sendatsu of this hall.” Earlier, *Sendatsu kiroku* stated that “Seikū Daitoku 大徳 performed the *nyūbu* in Kanpyō 8 (896).” In other words, Seikū probably went with Shōbō on Shōbō’s second pilgrimage. The sixteenth name after Seikū is Shun’yū 春有: perhaps the Shun’yū who was a *hokkyō* at Yoshino in 1185 (*Sōgō bunin zanketsu*).

The eighteenth name after Seikū is Yōsen 永専, followed by Jitsujō 実乗 and the last name on the list, Zenjitsu 禅実. These three took part in the *nyūbu* of 1359. Among them, Yōsen was the *tōshi* 読師 (“reader,” a relatively minor role) for the Yuima-e of 1352 (*Saisai yōki nukugaki* for Bun’wa 1). Jitsujō, who belonged to the East Kondō, was the *tōshi* for the Yuima-e of 1366 and held the rank of *jishu* 寺主, appropriate for a member of the *sangō* (*Saisai yōki nukugaki* for Jōji 5). As for Zenjitsu, there survives a record of a conversation between him and Jitsugen, the head of Ichijōin (*Saisai yōki nukugaki* for Bun’wa 4.11.29).

The *nyūbu* of 1359, described in *Sendatsu kiroku*, corresponds to the Yoshino-iri 吉野入 (“entry into Yoshino”) in the 6th month, the period for “*nyūbu* by the yamabushi of the various provinces” (*Kinpusen sōsōki*). *Sendatsu kiroku* lists twenty-two men as having taken part. Of these, eight are mentioned in *Saisai yōki nukigaki*. Apart

from the three sendatsu just discussed, they are Shōshun-bō 聖舜房 (Ōan 8.9.17), one of the two *dengaku-gashira* 田楽頭 (“directors of the dengaku”) for the Onmatsuri of that year; Zenkaku-bō 善覚房 (Jōji 5.8.10); Shinkaku-bō 真覚房 (Ōan 4.2.3), who took part in the late-night Shushō-e 修正会 observance of that year; Jōkei Ajari 乗慶阿闍梨, the *tōshi* for the Yuima-e of 1387; and Jitsujō Ajari (apparently different from the Jitsujō just mentioned), the *tōshi* for the Yuima-e of 1370.

Models of Kinpusen Elsewhere in Kōfuku-ji's Domain

Thus the Kōfuku-ji of Heian and later times was fully engaged in a religious world where mountain practice was a normal aspect of a major temple's activity. In this context, the temporally ambitious Kōfuku-ji was inspired to assert control over Kinpusen and over the Shugendo confraternity in Yamato. Elsewhere in the Kōfuku-ji domain, the same interest in Shugendo inspired the assimilation of certain lesser sacred mountains to Kinpusen. Four such temples appear among the *matsuji* of Kōfuku-ji in *Kōfuku-ji kanmu chōsho* (“Register of Temples in the Fujiwara Domain under Kōfuku-ji,” 1441), which does not include Kinpusen itself. These are (1) Kinpusen-ji in Ōmi 近江, founded in 906, allegedly but implausibly by Nichizō; (2) Jubusen-ji 鷲峯山寺 in Yamashiro 山城, founded in 675 by En no Gyōja, rebuilt by Taichō 泰澄 (682-767) and restored in 807 by the Kōfuku-ji monk Gan'an 願安; (3) Jindōji 神童寺 in Yamashiro, founded in 682 by Gien 義淵, a Hossō master active at Kōfuku-ji and Gangō-ji, and rebuilt in 1399 by “the four houses of the Fujiwara”; and (4) Kasagi, to which Gedatsu Shōnin retired (*Jindō-ji engi*; TOYOSHIMA 1978).

Kinpusen was also brought into the Kōfuku-ji-Kasuga complex itself as the divine presence in a sub-shrine named Sanjūhassho-sha 三十八所社 (“Shrine of the Thirty-Eight Deities”), near the Kasuga Wakamiya. *Kinpusen himitsu ki* states that “a certain practitioner brought to Jinzen 深仙 [a key sacred spot in Kinpusen] thirty-eight great deities from all over Japan,” and mentions particularly Hachiman 八幡, Kamo 賀茂, Kasuga and Kumano (SATŌ 1957, p. 43). Later, the same source gives the “secret explanation” that the deities are principally the Sanjūbanjin 三十番神 (“Thirty Guardian Deities”) who protect the Lotus Sutra, plus eight others who, except for Suku-nabikona 少彦名, are all of Kinpusen. On the other hand, *Yoshino*

kyūki identifies the deity of the Sanjūhassho Jinja simply as the ubiquitous Sukunabikona (SATŌ 1957, p. 43). The Sanjūhassho shrine appears in Fujiwara no Michinaga's account of his pilgrimage to Kinpusen in 1007 (*Midō Kanpaku ki* for Kankō 4.8.11). Moromichi visited it during his second pilgrimage to Kinpusen in 1090 (*Go-Nijō Moromichi ki* for Kanji 4.8.11). Another pilgrim to the shrine was Egyō 恵暁 (1085–1164) of Kōfuku-ji who, in 1129, was exiled to Shoshazan 書写山 in connection with a murder. During his exile, Egyō went to Kinpusen and prayed at the Sanjūhassho shrine for reinstatement at Kōfuku-ji (*Kōfuku-ji ruki*). His prayer was eventually granted. The deities of the Sanjūhassho-sha of Kasuga are now Izanagi 伊弉諾 and Izanami 伊弉冉, but in 1485, Jinson defined them as the Nijūhachibu-shu 二十八部衆, the “twenty-eight races” of protectors of the *Lotus Sūtra* (*Daijōin jisha zōjiki* for Bunmei 17.2.29). Meanwhile, an entry in *Kōfuku-ji ranshōki* mentions Izanagi and Izanami, yet defines Izanagi and Izanami respectively as Komori Myōjin 子守明神 and Katsute 勝手 Myōjin, two important Kinpusen deities.

Fortunately, *Kyūki shōshutsu* (extracts from the diary of the Kasuga priest Nakatomi no Sukefusa 中臣祐房, 1078–1152) contains an entry on the establishment of the shrine. The Sanjūhassho-sha of Kasuga was finished on Kyūan 2.10.23 (1146), and on 10.28 the deities were installed: Kongō Zaō 金剛藏王 (i.e. Zaō Gongen), Komori, Katsute and Chūzai Kongō 忠際金剛. The link with Kinpusen could not be clearer. This was the year after Kōfuku-ji had bested Kinpusen in the war of 1145. The installation of the shrine at Kasuga may well have marked this triumph.

Finally, one can also discern a connection between Kinpusen and the Nan'en-dō. As already noted, a *saitō goma* rite was held at the Nan'en-dō by the senior sendatsu before a *nyūbu* into Ōmine. In addition, *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'en-dō 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 these deities in the Nan'en-dō itself, or whether this was a form of *yōhai* 遙拜, “worship from afar.”

Kōfuku-ji and Katsuragi

Having such a connection with Kinpusen, Kōfuku-ji inevitably had ties also with the Katsuragi Mountains, which had been a site of Shugendo practice ever since the time of En no Gyōja. GORAI Shigeru (1978, p. 12) characterized the Shugendo of Katsuragi as principally Tendai (Honzan) in character. However, he also identified a Shingon presence there. Sure enough, Tenbōrin-ji 転法輪寺 on Kōngōzan and Taima-dera 当麻寺 beneath Futagami-ga-take are both Shingon, and both were once *matsuji* of Kōfuku-ji (*Kōfuku-ji matsuji chō*). Kongōzan is associated with the Hōki Bosatsu 法起菩薩 of the *Kegon-gyō* 華嚴經. *Shozan engi* identifies Hōki Bosatsu with En no Gyōja, in agreement with a Tenbōrinji document of the early Kamakura period (FUJITA 1976, p. 95). The same document describes the shrine component of Tenbōrin-ji as protecting at once Hossō Buddhism and the imperial capital, a role which recalls that of the Kasuga Shrine and which betrays obvious Kōfuku-ji influence. Tenbōrinji and nearby Takama-dera 高天寺 were among the Thirty-Six Sendatsu of Tōzan Shugendo (*Tōzan shōdai sendatsu*).

The origin of the Kōfuku-ji/Kongōzan connection is described in *Kongōzan naige ryōin daidai kokon kiroku*, which relates that in Tenpyō Hōji 3.10 (759), the Kōfuku-ji monk Ninsō Shōnin 仁宗上人 performed austerities on Kongōzan and was dismayed to see the ruined condition of the temple there. Wishing to rebuild the temple, he prayed for success during a twenty-one day retreat. On the last day, 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 Kōfuku-ji and “solicited support from all the people of Yamato and everyone at Kōfuku-ji, including the *bettō*.” The work was completed on Tenpyō Hōji 5.2.10 (761). The *bettō* in question was Jikun 慈訓 (d. 777), the first *bettō* of Kōfuku-ji. When the temple burned down in 877, the Kōfuku-ji *bettō* Kōchū 孝忠 (815–882) helped to rebuild it.

In 945, Kūsei went to Kongōzan on the pilgrimage already referred to. In answer to his presence, a divine boy came forth from the sanctuary and gave him a “wishing jewel” which he took back to Kōfuku-ji and buried in a gold box under the altar of the [Central?] Kondō. Such a jewel is mentioned also in the *Shozan engi* entry (p. 125) for Kongōzanji (Tenbōrinji). This story apparently has to do with incorporating the power of Kongōzan into Kōfuku-ji itself.

Daidai kokon kiroku also evokes worship of Kongōzan from the Kasuga-Kōfuku-ji complex, just as Murō-ji must have been worshiped. In 986, Kūsei's disciple Shinki went to Kongōzan and expounded for the deity there the *Yuishiki ron* 唯識論, a text much favored by the Kasuga deity (*Kasuga Gongen genki* 14). At last, a gentleman came forth from the sanctuary and said, "I am the old man of Kasuga." He then gave Shinki a little history of Ise 伊勢 and Kasuga, and told Shinki that even at Kōfuku-ji, Shinki should face Katsuragi and offer the Teaching (*hosse* 法施). It is noteworthy that a Hitokotonushi 一言主 Jinja, which was explicitly "the sacred presence of Katsuragi in Yamato" (*Kōfuku-ji ranshō-ki*), existed at Kasuga since at least 1133. Moreover, a Kazuraki (Katsuragi) Jinja was associated with the Kasuga Wakamiya as early as 1266 (*Kōfuku-ji ranshū-ki*). Katsuragi, like Kinpusen after 1146, was honored at Kasuga as well.

The ties between Kōfuku-ji and Futagami-ga-take (or Nijō-san 二上山), at the north end of the Katsuragi range, are less clear and less picturesque. The area was important to Kōfuku-ji because its Hirata 平田 estate, the single largest estate in Yamato, was located there. Taima-dera, below Futagami-ga-take, was closely associated with En no Gyōja. *Sendatsu kiroku* makes it clear that for the *nyūbu* known as *aki-mine*, some Kōfuku-ji yamabushi returned from Kinpusen via the Katsuragi mountains. It also shows that Kōfuku-ji claimed the authority to appoint "the head of Futagami-no-iwaya" on Nijō-san. *Shozan engi*, for its part, referring to Futagami-no-iwaya, states that "Chijo Sennin 智助仙人 is at [the twin standing rocks?] Seshin 世親 Bosatsu and Mujaku 無着 Bosatsu." These are the names of the two Hossō founders Vasubandhu and Asanga, who have no business being on Nijō-san unless Kōfuku-ji practitioners put them there. *Shozan engi* also lists, under the heading for Nijō-san, a prominence named Yuishiki-ga-dake, "Yogacara Peak." Finally, Futagami Gongen was the protector (*chinju* 鎮守) of Bodai-in at Kōfuku-ji.

Kōfuku-ji and Kasuga-yama

There is no need to go far from Kōfuku-ji to find traces of Shugendo activity, for Shugendo practices were done in Kasuga-yama as well. "Kasuga-yama" designates the hills, including Mikasa-yama, which rise beside the Kasuga Shrine. The highest point of the long ridge behind Mikasa-yama is Hana-yama 花山 (498 m.). At its southern

end is a prominence called Kōzen, the source of a stream called Noto-gawa 能登川 or Iwai-gawa 岩井川. There are numerous *sekibutsu* 石仏 (buddhas carved or incised on rocks) in these hills, especially around the upper valley of Noto-gawa. This area is known as Jigokudani 地獄谷 ("Hell Valley"), a name which recalls ancient practices of disposal of the dead.

The Kasuga Shrine has not always had charge of its present subshrines high up in Kasuga-yama. These include Hongū 本宮 Jinja on the summit of Mikasa-yama, Naruikazuchi 鳴雷 Jinja at Kōzen, and Kami-Mizuya 上水谷 Jinja at a spot north of Hana-yama named Nagao. The latter two appear in *Sendatsu kiroku* which states, as already noted, that before the departure for a *nyūbu*, the senior sendatsu burned goma by the Nan'en-dō; the second-ranking sendatsu did the same at Kōzen; and the third-ranking sendatsu the same at Nagao. Other Kōfuku-ji documents mention Kōzen in particular quite frequently, but these places are absent from Kasuga records. They were in fact under the care of Kōfuku-ji, specifically of the *dōshu* of the East and West Kondō (ŌHIGASHI n.d.).

There once existed at Kōfuku-ji, as at Tōdai-ji, a regimen of practices which took members of the *dōshu* of each temple regularly into Kasuga-yama. This regimen was called *tōgyō* 当行, which might be translated simply as "our practice." One finds, for example, the following passage (*Saisai yōki nukugaki* for Jōji 5.1.1):

I visited the [Kasuga] Shrine as usual; the sacred tree [the vehicle of the deity] was away in Kyoto. 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 Shugendo, since *tōgyō* was done in the neighboring hills or mountains by yamabushi of most Shugendo centers. At Tōdai-ji it was associated with the Hokke-dō founded in the Nara period by Rōben 良弁 (689-773), and at Kōfuku-ji 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." The text also mentions a *tōgyō* for perpetual flower offerings (*fudan kuge* 不斷

供花), to begin on the 8th day of the 4th month. This refers to “*tōgyō* for flower offerings in the three months of summer” (*ichige kyūjun hana-ku tōgyō* 一夏九旬花供当行) or “flower offerings for the summer retreat” (*ango kuge* 安居供花). The practice began on the 8th day of the 4th month, the Buddha’s birthday in the old calendar.

The material cited here from *Kinpusen sōsōki* evokes *tōgyō* as a nighttime, summer practice, but the passage quoted above concerns *tōgyō* in winter. Actually *tōgyō*, at least at Tōdai-ji, had both summer and winter, and day and night phases. Clues to the *tōgyō* at Kōfuku-ji are scarce, but materials on the Tōdai-ji *tōgyō* have been preserved, and although these date from the Edo period, one may reasonably hope that they preserve the earlier tradition.

A useful summary of the Tōdai-ji *tōgyō* can be found in the brief article entitled “Hokke-dō no tobira ni tsuketaru hashira rakugaki”:

There were two kinds of *tōgyō*, the summer and the winter. These were done in opposite directions, and were called the Kongōkai and Taizōkai (*kontai ryōbu* 金胎兩部). 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” (*fuyugomori* 冬籠), and began in the tenth month.

Thus, the entry just quoted from *Saisai yōki nukigaki*, and other similar ones for the first days of 1381 and 1385, refer to a winter *tōgyō* that was current in the fourteenth century at Kōfuku-ji and had a counterpart at Kinpusen. Moreover, the *tōgyō* of the tenth or eleventh months can also be discerned in *Saisai yōki nukigaki* under the name *Hana-yama junken* 花山順檢, or “inspection tour of Hana-yama.” The entry for Shitoku 3.11 (1386) speaks of the *dōshu* of both Kondō taking part in this practice and gathering, on the way, many loads of pine branches to roof the pavilion for the *ennen* 延年 (entertainment) which followed the Yuima-e.

Perhaps the *Hana-yama junken* of Kōfuku-ji was analogous to a form of Tōdai-ji *tōgyō* known as *tōyama* 遠山, or “far mountain” (“Hokke-dō no tobira”). This took the practitioners into Hana-yama to gather flowers, whereas usually they went to the vicinity of TENCHIIN 天地院, for which the Kōfuku-ji counterpart was Kōzen. Both places were undoubtedly connected with the summer and the winter *tōgyō* for flower offerings at Kōfuku-ji and Tōdai-ji, respectively. The Tōdai-ji record *Tōgyō mikki*, in a section dated 1616, compares the Tōdai-ji usage on a small point of ritual with that of Kōfuku-ji. If the Kōfuku-ji *tōgyō* had not been close to that of Tōdai-ji, such a

matter would not have been cited at all.

The Tōdai-ji *tōgyō* could be done early in the morning (*asayama* 朝山, “morning mountain”); in the middle of the day (*nakayama* 中山, “midday mountain”); and in the early evening (*yūyama* 夕山, “evening mountain”). Kōfuku-ji probably had these practices too. Apart from the question of season, however, the most important time for the *tōgyō* was the night. The night *tōgyō* is attested for Kōfuku-ji. *Tōgyō mikki* stresses the night practice greatly. One passage states that these flowers and water of the deep night increase the radiance of the *honzon* 本尊 (of the Hokke-dō, Fukūenjaku Kannon); another compares long repetition of the practice to the Buddha’s repeated entries into the world. Elsewhere, *tōgyō mikki* admonishes the practitioner: “The *tōgyō* practitioner must do no other practice. This is a practice of singleminded concentration [*ikkō sanmai no gyō* 一向三昧の行].” Thus the *tōgyō* was a serious matter, and at least for some men a full-time occupation.

The *tōgyō* of Tōdai-ji took its practitioners into the hills immediately east of the Hokke-dō, up to the site of the former Tenchiin, where there was a spring named *aka-i* 闕伽井 (“holy water spring”). This spring at the northern end of Kasuga-yama had a counterpart at the southern end: the spring at Kōzen.

The famous Tōdai-ji map of 756 (*Tōdai-ji sangai shishi zu* 東大寺山堺四至図) shows a “Kōzen-dō” 香山堂 in the vicinity of Kōzen, and a Shōsōin 正倉院 document of 762 mentions further building there (KENZŌBUTSU KENKYŪSHITSU, 1967). By the later Nara period there was a full-scale temple at the spot, dedicated to Yakushi 藥師 (MORI 1947). Kōzenji was a counterpart to the Tenchiin near Tōdai-ji. Today, nothing 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 a spot nearby. The stone-lined, spring-fed pool there corresponds to the spring of the Tōdai-ji *tōgyō*. Above the pool, near the crest of the ridge, stands the Naruikazuchi Jinja (“Clap of Thunder Shrine”), known in the fourteenth century as the Kōzen Ryūō Sha 香山竜王社, or “Dragon King Shrine of Kōzen.” Prayers for rain were often offered at Kōzen, beginning at the latest in the late Heian period and ending in this century. Medieval records frequently refer to these prayers, made by monks from Kōfuku-ji, and they also mention a regular Buddhist observance there known as *Kōzen hakkō* 八講 (for ex., *Saisai yōki*

nukugaki for Shitoku 3.7.16).

Thus Kōzen was like the Ryūketsu Jinja at Murō, where Kōfuku-ji monks also offered regular prayers for rain. Moreover, Kōzen also resembled Kōfuku-ji itself, for both—surprising to tell—were inhabited by dragons. The Nandaimon of Kōfuku-ji, now gone, stood at the top of a steep slope above Sarusawa Pond 猿沢池, with a flight of fifty-two stone steps leading up to it; and at Kōzen, too, stone steps rise out of the pool in the direction of the dragon shrine. Once, a monk entered a hole at the foot of a tree on the slope between the Nandaimon and Sarusawa Pond and came to a “dragon palace” under the Central Kondō (*Kōfuku-ji ruki*). Thus, Naruikazuchi Jinja and the Central Kondō of Kōfuku-ji were both, in terms of this sort of lore, “dragon palaces.” This similarity helps to explain a story in *Kojidan* 5, according to which the dragon of Sarusawa Pond passed from there to Kōzen and then to Murō. In a sense, all three were the same place.

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

Thus the *dōshu* of the East and West Kondō were active both in Kasuga-yama and in Kinpusen, and their *tōgyō* existed in Kinpusen as well. Perhaps the *tōgyō* of Kōfuku-ji included a ritual assimilation of Kasuga-yama to Kinpusen. Indirect support for this proposition is to be found in *Tōgyō mikki*. This Tōdai-ji text links the *tōgyō* explicitly with Kinpusen. It speaks of Kinpusen, En no Gyōja and Shōbō just as *Sendatsu kiroku* and other Tōzan Shugendo writings do. The ritual procedure it describes for the *tōgyō* includes prostrations done toward Kinpusen, with repetition of the mantra of Miroku. Moreover, there was a small shrine to Zaō Gongen near the Tenchiin spring. *Tōgyō mikki* says of the spot: “This area is to be imbued with the sacred power of Ōmine.”

If *goma* was burnt at Nagao, Kōzen and the Nan'en-dō before a departure from Kōfuku-ji to Ōmine, and if one could worship Ōmine from the Nan'en-dō, then it seems natural that the *tōgyō* of Kōfuku-ji 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 the Katsuragi mountains. The Tōdai-ji practitioner invoked other powers beside Ōmine (though not the three just named), including Hachiman, the protector of Tōdai-ji; Kamo in Kyoto, the protector of the imperial house; and Shigi-san. By doing so he infused the spring site with the powers of a vaster world. Perhaps the Kōfuku-ji practitioner, in the time of Kōfuku-ji's proud dominion over Yamato, did the same.

Conclusion

The names of such great Nara temples as Tōdai-ji and Kōfuku-ji, though familiar in Japanese history, evoke in general rather early times. Being associated with "Nara Buddhism," these temples and their activities seem to have become in some sense obsolete after the capital moved to Heian-kyō, and after the great Shingon and Tendai founders had done their work. Of course, the armed might of the monks of the "Southern Capital" in late Heian or Kamakura times is well known; and the burning of Nara, particularly Tōdai-ji and Kōfuku-ji, by the Taira forces in 1180 is especially famous. Still, the Buddhism practiced at these temples after the Nara period is often poorly understood.

This study has sought to show how Kōfuku-ji 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. The evidence is fragmentary, and much of it is indirect or circumstantial. Still, there emerges from it the picture of a great temple which, despite the doctrinal differences between Hossō and Tendai, in many ways and on many levels resembled Mt. Hiei. No wonder the two were such bitter rivals. Both had extensive connections with the court, but also bullied the court at times, striving to reduce the court's influence over what they claimed as their own domain. Their temporal prominence and their aristocratic ties helped to ensure that, whatever their formal doctrinal affiliation, their religious life should actually share a great deal. Both, in fact, embraced esoteric Buddhism and developed model syncretic cults.

While the Shugendo associated with Mt. Hiei is too well known to need further emphasis here, the connection between Kōfuku-ji and Shugendo has been forgotten. Yet this connection, when viewed in the proper context, seems not anomalous but wholly predictable.

The history of Kōfuku-ji suggests that when Shugendo first took shape, in about the time of Shōbō, it gained enthusiastic court patronage; that it then entrenched itself in Japanese religion thanks in part to this high recognition; became old-fashioned in its turn; and lived on long past the middle ages as an aspect of folk religion. In the mid-Heian period a courtier of the highest rank might go on pilgrimage to Kinpusen, accompanied by ranking monks from Kōfuku-ji and elsewhere. In those times, the *bettō* of Kōfuku-ji could be an active mountain practitioner like Kūsei or Shinki. Later, such pilgrimages ceased and the *bettō* (who were the sons of regents) 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 to practice Shugendo. But 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 Shugendo came eventually to be treated as a “lower” order of religious phenomena. I hope this study of Kōfuku-ji’s role in Shugendo history will have helped to illuminate a little-known passage in the evolution of Japanese mountain religion.

ABBREVIATIONS

- BK-DBZ *Dainihon bukkyō zensho* 大日本仏教全書. Bussho Kankōkai, ed. Tokyo: Bussho Kankōkai, 1911–1922.
- SGZ-DBZ *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*. Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, ed. Tokyo: Meicho Fukyūkai, 1979 (reprint).
- GR *Gunsho ruijū* 群書類従. Hanawa Hokiichi 塙保己一, ed. Tokyo: Keizai Shuppansha, 1893–1902.
- NDSS *Nihon daizōkyō, Shugendō shōsho* 日本大藏經修驗道章疏. Nihon Daizōkyō Hensankai, ed. Tokyo: Meicho Shuppan, 1985 (reprint).
- NKBT *Nihon koten bungaku taikai* 日本古典文学大系, 66 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

- NST *Nihon shisō taikai* 日本思想大系, 67 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
- SSKS *Sangaku shūkyō shi kenkyū sōsho* 山岳宗教史研究叢書, 18 vols. Tokyo: Meichō Shuppan, 1975-1983.
- ZGR *Zoku gunsho ruijū* 統群書類従. Hanawa Hokiichi, ed. Tokyo: Naigaishoseki, 1931-1933.

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- Kōfuku-ji matsuji chō* 興福寺末寺帳, SGZ-DBZ vol. 84.
- Kōfuku-ji ranshōki* 興福寺濫觴記, SGZ-DBZ vol. 84.
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