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The Fall Peak, Professional Culture, and Document Production in Early Modern Haguro Shugendo

This article investigates the significance of Fall Peak austerities in Haguro Shugendo to the professional culture of early modern Haguro *shugenja* with an emphasis on the centrality of document production. The family archives of the elite Sanada Shichirōzaemon household and those of the village *shugenja* they administered reveal that, while all Haguro *shugenja* relied on the Fall Peak to achieve membership in Haguro Shugendo, the experience and requirements of the Fall Peak varied greatly based on the status of the participant's household. I argue that these stratified experiences were based in a professional culture of document production and preservation that helped to construct and maintain the hierarchies of Haguro's community and organization. In light of the documentary activities of the Sanada and their village *shugenja* subordinates, the social and professional aspects of the early modern Fall Peak should be regarded as just as significant as its ritual and doctrinal elements.

KEYWORDS: Shugendo—Haguro—certification status—Fall Peak (Akinomine)—*sato shugen*

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IN THE SEVENTH month of 1689, Hisatake 久武 (d. 1729), the seventeen-year-old heir to the Sanada Shichirōzaemon 真田七郎左衛門 household, took part in the Fall Peak (Akinomine 秋の峰) austerities of Mt. Haguro 羽黒 for the first time. Participants in the two-week regime of austerities symbolically traversed the ten worlds of the Buddhist cosmos with the ultimate aim of achieving buddhahood in their corporeal bodies and replenishing their reservoirs of supernatural power. For young Hisatake, the Fall Peak had a more immediate and practical value. The Sanada Shichirōzaemon household, known by the *shugenja* 修験者 title Gyokuzōbō 玉蔵坊, was the most prestigious of the over three hundred *shugenja* families residing within the village of Tōge 手向 at the foot of Mt. Haguro, and an heir's eligibility to inherit headship of a household depended on the completion of three requirements, the second of which was the Fall Peak. Hisatake's pedigree guaranteed him several unique privileges as he progressed to full membership in the community of Tōge *shugenja*. During his first Fall Peak he was entitled to wear the garments of a second-year participant and sit ahead of all actual second-year participants, regardless of their accomplishments. He also enjoyed greater proximity to the major ritualists who organized and supervised the austerities, sitting or standing close to them during major segments of the austerities. After his first Fall Peak, he would complete a shorter period of service at the main shrine on Haguro's summit than other Tōge heirs, fulfilling the third and final requirement for inheritance.¹

Not all Haguro-affiliated *shugenja* could expect such treatment. Twenty-two years later, in 1711, five *shugenja* traveled from the Sendai and Nanbu domains to Mt. Haguro in order to complete their own Fall Peaks and receive the accompanying certifications from the Tōge *shugenja* who had jurisdiction over their home regions. For these country *shugenja*, that meant Hisatake, now an experienced member of the Haguro organization. Haguro *shugenja* who lived apart from the organization's headquarters, scattered in the villages and towns of northern and

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1. Technically, Hisatake had already succeeded to headship three years earlier in 1686, two years after his father had retired from official duties due to illness, but he was nonetheless expected to follow procedure even after the fact.

eastern Japan, were also required to complete the Fall Peak in order to achieve full membership status, but they did not enjoy the same perquisites as the scion of an elite central lineage. Their seating position, garments, and access to the main ritualists were all based on actual records of participation, not their family name. At the end of the austerities, village *shugenja* were expected to pay a set fee for participation and documentary certification to the central household who held jurisdiction over them, as well as for lodging in the household's residence. The aforementioned village *shugenja* from Nanbu and Sendai were under the jurisdiction of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household, who collected their participation, certification, and lodging fees. The disparity in treatment between central and local *shugenja* extended to financial matters as well. A Sanada Shichirōzaemon heir paid only three hundred *hiki* 匁 in gold for participation and certification, roughly 21 percent of the fourteen hundred *hiki* fee demanded of regional *shugenja*, a good portion of which went to the coffers of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household (SGM 1-61-1, 2; 5-439).² Thus, while the Fall Peak was common to members of Haguro *shugenja* households, their experience of it differed significantly based on their place in the organization's hierarchy. Even within the supposedly otherworldly space of the mountains, bureaucratic and social gradations were in play.

The Fall Peak as Professional Culture

In this article I argue that the professional aspects of Haguro's Fall Peak austerities were just as, if not more, significant than their doctrinal or ritual elements and that these professional aspects created and maintained the social and organizational hierarchies of Haguro Shugendo via documentary culture. The Fall Peak's doctrinal and procedural elements have been thoroughly described by early modern Haguro *shugenja* and analyzed by contemporary Japanese and Western scholars (EARHART 1970; TOGAWA 1972; 1986; 1993; 2005; SEKIMORI 2005; 2011; SUZUKI 2015), but the Fall Peak's social and professional functions have not been adequately examined. Recent scholarship on the early modern religious culture of Japan has emphasized the centrality of professional status groups that placed a high value on certification as both a verification of group membership and an indicator of one's position within the group hierarchy.

2. The main source for the history of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household is its document archive, referred to as the *Sanada Gyokuzōbō monjo* (SGM). This archive consists of 716 documents of various types, including letters, certificates, memorandums, daily records, and maps, among others, with the majority dating from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries. The archive is held by the Local Materials Room of the Tsuruoka Municipal Library. The documents themselves have not been published, except for some transcriptions in MATSUO (2005; 2010). Individual documents will henceforth be cited with the abbreviation SGM followed by the document number assigned in the catalog.

These patterns occurred among most religious professionals, including *shugenja*, *onmyōji* 陰陽師, shrine priests, and others (HAYASHI 2013; TAKANO 1989; EHLERS 2018). As David Howell notes,

Being a member of a particular status group therefore implicated individuals at two levels simultaneously: it was a universal category that situated one within the Japanese population in general... at the same time, status was highly particularistic, for it carried specific obligations and a place within a community unique to that individual (or his household). (HOWELL 2005, 28–30, 36)

It is thus necessary to reconsider the Fall Peak of Mt. Haguro in the light of this new scholarly orientation. What was the professional significance of the participation in the Haguro Fall Peak? Did all participants derive the same value from it, or was it based on internal hierarchies? What did a Haguro *shugenja* gain from his participation, whether in material results or in prestige/authority?

Considering Fall Peak participation as professional certification raises the linked questions of who issued the certification and who received it. Not all Haguro *shugenja* engaged with documentary culture in the same way; they were organized into a clear hierarchy that benefited some more than others. Certification rights in early modern Haguro Shugendō were limited to two groups who resided at the organization's Mt. Haguro headquarters: the celibate clerics (*seisō* 清僧) of the mountaintop temples and an elite stratum of the spouse-keeping *shugenja* living in the village of Tōge at the foot of the mountain, later called the *onbun* 恩分. The term *onbun*, translated as “favored” or “indebted,” refers to the privileged status they enjoyed due to their close ties with the office of the chief administrator (*bettō* 別当), Haguro's highest authority as well as the obligations that came with that relationship (MIYAKE 2000, 81–82). Clerical temple lineages and elite *shugenja* households held the office of *zaichō* 在庁 over defined units of territory called *kasumiba* 霞場 or *dannaba* 檀那場, terms sometimes translated as “parishes” in English-language scholarship, which authorized them to administer Haguro *shugenja* residing apart from the headquarters, issue them certifications, and lodge them and lay pilgrims in their lodges or temples. The complementary office of *oshi* 御師 entitled the holder to distribute charms and talismans to residents of that territory and guide its pilgrims to Mt. Haguro.³ Many of the summit clerics and elite *shugenja* held both offices jointly. Summit clerics often delegated the responsibilities of their *zaichō* and *oshi* offices to rank-and-file *shugenja* households who had no territory of their own, which was the position of the majority of Tōge *shugenja* (TOGAWA 1986, 155–58).

3. The characters 御師 are usually read as *oshi*, but were pronounced *onshi* at Haguro (TOGAWA 2005, 403).

To clarify the nature of occupational certification and hierarchical expression within Haguro Shugendo, I will analyze the documentary and certificatory activities of Tōge's elite Sanada Shichirōzaemon household, whose privileged social and professional position was grounded in the reception, production, and preservation of a variety of forms of documentation, including an invaluable 1602 charter of privileges issued by Haguro's chief administrator Yūgen 宥源 (d. 1617) (SGM 1-3-1, 2). The family also held administrative authority over Haguro-affiliated religious professionals living in southeastern Mutsu Province, territory that corresponded to the southeastern section of the Nanbu domain and the northeastern section of the Sendai domain during the late medieval and Tokugawa periods. This authority was based primarily on the family's right to issue regional subordinates professional certifications granting names, ranks, and the use of occupational garments and paraphernalia. Both parties carefully recorded these transactions in order to document and safeguard their positions within Haguro Shugendo. Consequently, the document archives of both the Sanada family and the local *shugenja* households within their jurisdiction show how early modern *shugenja* operated within a documentary culture based on professionalization, hierarchy, and household.

This article also follows the ongoing movement to question the image of a degenerate early modern Shugendo (an image often extended to early modern Buddhism as a whole) enshrined by earlier generations of scholars. Luminaries such as Gorai Shigeru often characterized the shift from itinerant, decentralized medieval Shugendo to a settled, centralized early modern Shugendo as a corruption of the tradition's original ideals, but many recent scholars have challenged this narrative (FUJITA 1996; MATSUNO 2018; SEKIGUCHI 2009; TAKANO 1989; TOKIEDA et al. 2013; SUZUKI 2015). The significance of ascetic "practice" looms large within this debate over the tradition's history. Scholars initially characterized Shugendo as emphasizing the physical realities of ascetic practice over abstract doctrinal study and connected its alleged early modern attenuation with a decreased commitment to ascetic activities by settled *shugenja*. Some early modern *shugenja* officials did lament a supposed loss of dedication among their subordinates, indicating that this was not merely the creation of modern scholars, but this does not delegitimize the Shugendo of that period. The activities of the Sanada and their subordinates demonstrate the continuing importance of regimes of austerities during the early modern era, but they foreground the social and professional value of those austerities, rather than their abstruse doctrinal significance.

The Setting and the Organization of Early Modern Haguro

Haguro Shugendo's culture of household, hierarchy, and certification was rooted in the organizational and social developments of the late sixteenth and seventeenth

centuries. The Sanada Shichirōzaemon household, as well as its sister Sanada Shikibu household, held a significant place in the new order that solidified under the control of the Hōzen'in 宝前院 lineage of chief administrators. As a result of internal power struggles during the late medieval and early Tokugawa period, the head monks of the Hōzen'in lineage secured a monopoly over the office of chief administrator (formerly exchanged between five elite summit temples) and cemented it as the supreme authority on the mountain and in the organization as whole. Chief administrator Ten'yū 天宥 subsequently affiliated the Haguro complex with Kan'eiji 寛永寺 (also known as Tōeizan 東叡山, "the Eastern Mt. Hiei," or Rinnōyjinomiya 輪王寺宮) in Edo, a Tendai *monzeki* 門跡 (imperial cloister) as a branch temple, hoping that Kan'eiji's power and prestige would aid Haguro against rival Shugendo organizations. As a result, following Ten'yū's banishment from Haguro in 1668, all subsequent chief administrators of Haguro were appointed by Kan'eiji from within its own monastic community, beginning with Sonchōin Keikai 尊重院圭海 (d.u.). The appointees generally remained at Kan'eiji, dispatching a subordinate to travel to Haguro and govern as the proxy chief administrator (*bettōdai* 别当代) from 1668 to 1675 (MIYAKE 2000, 67–79). Consequently, while the chief administrator (or his proxy) was the most senior member of the local hierarchy to which the Sanada Shichirōzaemon belonged, they were also linked indirectly to even higher levels of power at the shogun's capital. Members of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family were not isolated provincials; they were sometimes dispatched directly to Edo to consult with Kan'eiji on official Haguro business. In this way they were connected to one of the most powerful religious institutions of Edo Japan.

The hereditary function of the *shugenja* households of Tōge was the lodging, guidance, and administration of affiliates of Haguro Shugendo residing in towns and villages across eastern Japan, whether they were professional *shugenja* seeking certification or simply lay patrons on pilgrimage to the holy mountains. These households were divided into a small group of elite *onbun* families with retainer-style ties to the mountain's chief administrators and the town's more numerous common *shugenja*, called the *hiramonzen* 平門前 (common temple townsfolk). Both varieties of household depended on service activities for their livelihood, so the smooth transmission of headship from one generation to the next was crucial for the survival and prosperity of the household. This was not solely an internal process; the approval of the chief administrator and his officials was required at every stage, at least according to the law codes promulgated by those officials. Households relied on the administrative apparatus of Haguro for their survival (TOGAWA 1993, 37–41).

Elites Among Elites

Members of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household were important figures within the Haguro community and enjoyed a close relationship with the chief administrators who governed it. They regarded themselves as the most elite family among the spouse-keeping *shugenja* of Tōge, and this self-perception was acknowledged in several documents issued by the Haguro leadership over the course of the Tokugawa period. The Sanada Shichirōzaemon family claimed a long and prestigious genealogy at Haguro, tracing their descent from a warrior sent to Haguro by the Kamakura Shogunate during the Jōkyū Disturbance (*Jōkyū no ran* 承久の乱) of 1221 to secure its allegiance. Claiming a warrior or noble from a center of political power as an ancestor has been a common technique to establish a family's prestige throughout Japanese history (PLUTSCHOW 1995, 148, 158). The Sanada's purported ancestry is ultimately unverifiable, but it is vital to understanding how the household saw itself as a centuries-old Haguro institution with clearly-defined and vital responsibilities and privileges. Throughout the Tokugawa period, Sanada household heads were frequently appointed to major administrative posts such as magistrate (*daikan* 代官) and constable (*ōmetsuke* 大目付) with significant authority over Tōge and the other territory ruled directly by Mt. Haguro. At one point, Sanada Shichirōzaemon Noritada 永忠 (d. 1818, Hisatake's grandson) served as the elder (*karō* 家老), the chief administrator's closest attendant. Sanada household heads were also often entrusted with responsibility over construction projects, population surveys, and gun inspections (MATSUO 2010, 121–24).

The Sanada family's privileged position extended to the process of securing community membership. Typically, the male offspring of Tōge's *shugenja* households qualified for full membership in the community by completing the *sanyaku* 三役, or three duties. These began with the registration of a son's birth (*taigyō* 太業), continued with his first participation in the Fall Peak around age fifteen, and concluded with a multiyear period of service at the main shrine on Haguro's summit. Having completed these tasks, the eldest son was eligible to inherit family headship upon the retirement or death of his father (TOGAWA 1993, 30, 35–37). As the elite of the elite within Tōge society, Sanada heirs navigated these requirements differently from their peers. They were exempt from birth registration and were guaranteed an abbreviated term of service at the main shrine. Furthermore, Sanada heirs received special treatment during the austerities themselves and sat with the major ritualists at certain meals and functions (SGM 1–61–1, 2). The mountains may have been an otherworldly space for the Haguro ascetics, but the expectations and privileges of the everyday world retained their efficacy.

Sanada Shichirōzaemon authority was not limited to Mt. Haguro but extended even further to the family's parish territory in the Nanbu and Sendai

domains of northeastern Japan. The household's specific jurisdiction was defined and recorded in the five parish deeds it received from the mountain's chief administrators during the early modern era. The earliest dates back to 1673 and the latest was presented in 1816, but the Sanada control over southeastern Mutsu Province can be traced back to at least the late medieval era (STJ 32: 364–65). Some of the earliest surviving documentation of Haguro Shugendo activity in Mutsu concerns Sanada administration of local religious professionals in the Ninohazama 二ノ迫 region of present-day Miyagi Prefecture. Copies of two late medieval documents from 1380 and 1418 survive within the Sanada family's personal archive as well as the Ninohazama area archives in which they were originally discovered (MATSUO 2005; MORI 1986, 67–75).

The early modern parish deeds issued by the Haguro chief administrators specified that the household, under its *shugenja* name of Gyokuzōbō, held combined *oshi* and *zaichō* rights to forty-eight villages within the Nanbu domain's Hei 閉伊 district. Within the Ōshima 大島 region, they held *oshi-zaichō* rights to sixty-six villages in Tōshima 遠島 as far as Ishikochi 石こち and Ishinomori 石之森, and within Kasai 葛西, they held the same rights to thirty-three villages in Oga 小鹿 and forty-eight villages in Ninohazama. They possessed only *zaichō* rights to the regions of Kessen 気仙, Motoyoshi 本吉, Ichinohazama 壺之迫, Sanohazama 三之迫, and Munō 無能, all within Kasai (STJ 32: 364–65). The number of villages should not necessarily be taken literally, as they generally referred to all territory within the region (TOKIEDA 2015, 57).

The Sanada Shichirōzaemon Household Among Their Onbun Peers: Shared and Unique Privileges

Although a group of elite *shugenja* households existed within Tōge for centuries prior, the designation of *onbun* was formalized in 1816 as part of the program of reform overseen by Chief Administrator Kakujun 覚諄 (1762–1847). Sixty-one households received official *onbun* status, and their various privileges and responsibilities were recorded in a detailed registry, the *Sō goonbun aratamesho* (DS 3: 813–39). The office of the chief administrator also issued a code of regulations to the newly minted *onbun* families (DS 1: 737–42). These households enjoyed several special perquisites that could include parish territory, certain tax exemptions, the right to maintain and profit from mountain huts on Gassan, and the responsibility to maintain certain mountains in the vicinity of Tōge and Mt. Haguro called *azukariyama* 預山 (entrusted mountains). Thus, while the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household held many privileges, they were not alone in this. The Sanada household's neighbor in the Kamei 亀井 ward, the Amō Matahei 天羽又兵衛 household, for example, was granted a rice allowance of thirty bales, custodianship of a mountain, and a tax exemption for their dwelling. Another

TABLE 1: Fall Peaks of Sanada Shichirōzaemon household heads.

NAME	FIRST FALL PEAK	AGE AT FIRST	DATE OF DEATH
		FALL PEAK	
Shigekatsu	Unknown	Unknown	1692
Hisatake	1689	17	3/14/1735
Noriaki	1729	16	11/26/1768
Noritada	1765	16	3/10/1818
Noritaka	1801	17	1/28/1839
Noriyoshi	1829	14	3/15/1862
Norioki	Unknown	Unknown	8/25/1903

onbun household, Kichijōin 吉祥院, held parish territory that included thirty-three subordinate *shugenja* temples, the right to levy a one *zeni* 錢 toll at a shrine at Gassan, an entrusted mountain, rice paddies, and tax exemption for their residence (DS 3: 814–16).

The Sanada Shichirōzaemon were only one of several elite households residing in Tōge, but from their point of view, they were the most important, and the *Sō goonbun aratamesho* does corroborate this self-image. The registry's very first entry describes the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household, and that entry's first clause states that it is the head (*jōza shiki* 上座職) of the mountain's *shugenja* in accordance with a document granted by chief administrator Yūgen in 1602. Another clause explains that the household's residence is exempt from taxation in perpetuity despite it possessing no documentary proof for this right, because they are a "special lineage" (*kakubetsu no iegara* 格別之家柄). The same rationale is given for their advanced position in the official seating order, although they similarly lack documentation for this (DS 3: 814). The data recorded in the *Sō goonbun aratamesho* confirms that while the Sanada shared many privileges with other members of the *onbun* class, they were still recognized as an elite within that class, confirming their own lofty self-evaluation.

The privilege of the Sanada household was also expressed materially and spatially through the architecture of their residence and the toponym of its connecting street. The style of gate fronting the residences of Haguro *shugenja* clearly indicated the position of the household within the local hierarchy. Dwellings of the lowest-ranked *shugenja*—those with no parish territory of their own—lacked gates entirely, while the higher-ranked *onbun* generally had crosspiece gates (*nukitōshimon* 貫通門). The Sanadas were permitted the even more prestigious rowhouse gate (*nagayamon* 長屋門), which was usually reserved for elite summit clergy or those spouse-keeping *shugenja* who provided lodgings for them in Tōge (TOGAWA 1993, 37–38). The Sanada Shichirōzaemon's rowhouse gate is depicted

in a map of the residence included in the family's archive, along with the main lodge itself, the storehouse, and the surrounding neighborhood. Significantly, the residence of the neighboring Amō household, also of the *onbun* class, is depicted with a mere crosspiece gate (SGM 7–673). Additionally, the street leading to the Sanada Shichirōzaemon residence was named after the family itself, being called the Shichirōzaemon *kōji* 小路 (alley). This appellation is included on a 1724 map of Tōge (*Tōge mura ezu* 手向村絵図) currently held in the Tsuruoka Municipal Library's Local Materials Room. Between their imposing rowhouse gate and the adjoining eponymous street, the family's quality was on obvious display for their peers to acknowledge.

*The Importance of Fees and Garments
to the Development of Early Modern Shugendo*

To an early modern *shugenja*, the garments he wore, the names and titles he held, and the fees he paid to acquire said garments, names, and titles were central to his profession and livelihood. Many of the interactions between the Sanada and their subordinates concerned the payment of such fees and the subsequent issuing of titles, garments, and paraphernalia. The formal division between early modern Japan's two largest Shugendo organizations, the Honzanha 本山派 and the Tōzanha 当山派, was crystallized by a conflict over fees and garments. According to Sekiguchi Makiko, the Sanbōin 三宝院 only truly assumed leadership over the Tōzanha Shugendo organization in 1602 when it began to grant Tōzanha *shugenja* the right to wear golden brocade surplice (*yuigesa* 結袈裟). Eleven years later in 1613, contested attempts by Honzanha administrators to exact fees from Tōzanha *shugenja* prompted the Shogunate to issue the Shugendō Hatto 修験道法度, a foundational set of regulations governing the *shugenja* and Shugendo organizations of the archipelago. In denying the Honzanha the right to demand fees from Tōzanha, these regulations recognized the Tōzanha and Honzanha as the only two legitimate Shugendo organizations in the realm (SEKIGUCHI 2009, 111–16).

Mt. Haguro and other previously independent Shugendo centers naturally contested this, and conflicts between Honzanha officials and Haguro *shugenja* in the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family's own parish territory in Nanbu domain became the flashpoint for a series of court cases in domanical and shogunal courts. As a result, Haguro established its own system of local administration in Nanbu domain in response to Honzanha aggression. Haguro was even compelled to revise the language it used to denote parish territory, replacing the term *kasumiba*, now Honzanha exclusive, with the related term *dannaba*, a change reflected in the parish deeds issued to the Sanada. Garments also played a part in these struggles. In 1684, Haguro's head temple Tōeizan, following a shogunal

order, mandated that Haguro *shugenja* wear white *yuigesa* with purple crests and discontinue the use of the gold brocade *yuigesa* that was claimed by *shugenja* of the Honzanha.⁴ This was to clearly distinguish between *shugenja* of the two associations and prevent future conflict between the two (MORI 1986, 170–74). In collecting fees from and issuing sect-specific garments to their subordinates, Sanada Shichirōzaemon house heads were participating in practices essential to the careers of *shugenja* of all affiliations.

Documents and garments were the exterior products of participation in the Fall Peak austerities, and the Sanada were the gatekeepers of these exterior products. This does not deny any interior attainments produced via the austerities, but the documentary record focuses on matters of procedure. Furthermore, there is no indication that the Sanada or their parish subordinates saw any contradiction between the interior and exterior aspects of their ascetic practice. They may have experienced personal growth and transformation during their confinement within the Dewa Sanzan mountains, but this would have gone hand in hand with the professional, public function of the Fall Peak.

Sanada as Document Producers and Regional Shugenja as Document Recipients

How did *shugenja* based at Mt. Haguro itself and regional *shugenja* living in communities across northern Japan relate to one another? As stated above, administrative authority in early modern Haguro Shugendo was concentrated in the summit clerics and elite *shugenja* of the mountain, leaving regional *shugenja* in a subordinate position.⁵ Summit clerics and elite *shugenja* who held the offices of *zaichō* (lodge keepers and administrators) and/or *oshi* (pilgrim guides and talisman distributors) had a specific type of authority over their regional subordinates, but how did the relationship between the two parties function?

The location of a *shugenja*'s residence was one of the primary bases for the construction of internal subcategories and the determination of their members' obligations and privileges. Scholarship has frequently emphasized the centrality of spatiality and residence patterns to early modern Shugendo. The scholar Miyamoto Kesao has proposed a typology of *shugenja* that classifies them according to their place of residence (mountains or villages) and level of itinerancy (settled or itinerant), which can be applied to early modern Haguro

4. Although the Sanbōin *monzeki* permitted a Tōzanha *yamabushi* to wear a gold brocade *yuigesa* in 1602, provoking conflict with the Honzanha, the gold brocade *yuigesa* was primarily associated with the Honzanha during the early modern period. The Tōzanha used the five-colored *mashikongesa* 磨紫金袈裟 instead (MIYAKE 1986, 91, 359).

5. Haguro did eventually establish a network of local administrators known as *tokin gashira* 頭巾頭 in Nanbu domain with Kōshōji 高勝寺 in Morioka, the capital, as their head, but their authority was confined to the domain itself and subordinate to the organization headquarters at Haguro (MORI 1986, 151–89).

Shugendo. The Sanada Shichirōzaemon household and its peers fall under the category as *oshi*-type (innkeepers who are settled and based at mountain headquarters) *shugenja*, while their regional subordinates correspond with the category of *sato shugen* 里修験 *shugenja* (also settled, but in villages and towns apart from mountains) (MIYAMOTO 1984, 17–52). Similarly, the geographer Iwahana Michiaki has mapped Haguro Shugendo's area of influence into three concentric zones, with sacrality and authority increasing the closer a *shugenja*'s residence was to the center at Mt. Haguro (IWAHANA 2003, 29–59). The Sanada family was not in the innermost circle of authority, reserved for the summit clerics, but its position in the middle orbit of Tōge itself gave the household authority over the regional *shugenja* in the outermost zone.

Scholars have also highlighted the presence of economic hierarchies among early modern *shugenja*. Fujita Sadaoki has contrasted the residences of wealthy and humble *shugenja*, noting that the residences of the former resembled those of the samurai, while the residences of the latter resembled those of farmers (FUJITA 1996, 456–78). We must pay attention to the heterogeneous character of Shugendo organizations, the interactions between these subgroups, and the hierarchies they constructed and/or contested. Members of Haguro Shugendo included celibate clerics, spouse-keeping *shugenja* residing at the headquarters who were themselves divided into an elite upper stratum and a rank-and-file lower stratum, and regional spouse-keeping *shugenja* based in cities and towns across northern Japan, as well as the *miko* who often collaborated with them or acted independently. Up until the early Tokugawa period, Haguro also issued certifications of affiliation to career shrine priests (*shanin* 社人), and it was only with the imposition of Tokugawa religious policy that they were removed from Haguro's jurisdiction.⁶

Luckily, in the case of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family, we have surviving records from both sides of the relationship that clarify how the two parties interacted. The detailed certification logbook maintained by two generations of Sanada household heads, Hisatake and Noriaki 永秋 (d. 1768), is an especially informative resource, while regional *shugenja* of the Miyako coastal region of Nanbu domain preserved many of those certification documents within their family archives.⁷ In many cases entries in the Sanada logbook correlate with surviving documents from the family archives. Hisatake began the certification logbook, titled *Sendai Nanbu miko yamabushi kan'i chō* (A log of the offices and ranks of the *miko* and *yamabushi* of Sendai and Nanbu, SGM 4–339), in 1711

6. The *Shūkaishū*, a late medieval compendium of Haguro history and procedure, includes certification guidelines for *shugenja*, *miko*, and *shanin* (STJ 32: 29–30).

7. For an analysis of the origins, development, and activities of Miyako area village Haguro *shugenja*, see MIYAKE (2000, 137–63). For a comparison of early modern Haguro and Honzanha village *shugenja* from the Miyako area, see YOSHITANI (2018, 189–239).

and maintained it until his death in 1729, after which his son Noriaki updated it until 1767, a year prior to his own death. If Noriaki's son Noritada began a new logbook, it has not survived within the family archive (SGM 4–339). The earliest record of a certification issued by Hisatake to a regional *shugenja* dates back to 1694, five years after he completed his first Fall Peak, and seventeen years prior to beginning the logbook (SEK 12: 88).⁸ Thus, the logbook does not record the entirety of his certification activities, and there is no reason to think that the 1694 certification was the first he had presented. It is fortunate that we have the records we do.

The 246 total entries in Hisatake and Noriaki's logbook indicate the nature and distribution of the household's certification activities in the period recorded. *Shugenja* and *miko* from Nanbu domain account for 77.41 percent of the entries, with the remaining 22.59 percent hailing from Sendai. Descriptions of the issuance of *miko* names and certificates make up 27.20 percent, with the rest pertaining to the issuance of names and certifications to male *shugenja*. Minority names (*bōgō* 坊号) account for 14.22 percent of these entries, and the remainder are connected to the completion of the Fall Peak and the accompanying certifications. In some cases, this involved the replacement of previously issued certificates that had been lost or destroyed, or the reissue of preexisting certificates with a newly granted name. The name(s) and home village of recipients are recorded, as is the nature and date of the certifications themselves. Entries sometimes describe familial relations between *shugenja* and *miko*, noting when one *shugenja* is the son or student of another, or when a *miko* is the wife, daughter, or student of a *shugenja* (SGM 4–339).

Based on both this logbook and the archives of village *shugenja* households, regional *shugenja* depended on the Sanada for two primary forms of certification. The first was names and the second was garments and paraphernalia. For the latter category, regional *shugenja* also relied on elite summit clerics for certification to wear the distinctive purple and white surplice of Haguro Shugendo. Although organizational regulations permitted Tōge *shugenja* to issue certifications for the surplice's white tassels, the privilege and profit of certifying the surplice itself was reserved for the Sendatsu temples of the summit and the chief administrator (STJ 32: 471). Accordingly, the Sanada logbook lacks entries related to surplice certification, and the surviving surplice certifications within local *shugenja* archives are all from the chief priests of the Sendatsu temples or chief administrators (SEK 12: 89–92).

In the course of their careers, *shugenja* received both personal names and the permission to use their household's transgenerational name. Personal names were unique to the individual, while the household name generally remained

8. He granted the *bōgō* of Hōgakubō 宝覚坊 to a member of the Mirokuin 弥勒院 household.

constant over time (though even household names could change). The name certifications granted to regional *shugenja* by their central superiors can be divided into two main types, *bōgō* and *ingō* 院号. *Bōgō* were issued to a *shugenja* during his minority and bestowed a personal *shugenja* name ending in the character 坊, usually pronounced *bō*. This name would be unique to the individual and distinct from the household's *shugenja* name, which could end in either *bō* or *in*. Upon the successful completion of his first Fall Peak, a village *shugenja* heir would receive a personal *ingō* ending with the character 院, though he would use the family *shugenja* name upon inheriting headship. Female religious specialists known as *miko* also received name certifications from central Haguro administrators, but the Fall Peak austerities were barred to them. *Miko* names were usually drawn from a set group of terms such as Yosegi 寄木, Hidari 左, or Sennichi 千日, with multiple *miko* in an area sharing the same name. Kanda Yoriko has shown that the *miko* of the Nanbu domain participated in the organizational life of Haguro and other major Shugendo mountains while simultaneously maintaining their own parallel systems of local authority and organization (KANDA 2001, 387–430).

A *shugenja*'s completion of his first Fall Peak and the subsequent bestowal of an *ingō* also qualified him to wear certain garments and paraphernalia unique to the Haguro organization, most notably the *yuigesa* surplice. These garments were of major concern for *shugenja* since they clearly indicated one's membership in a particular Shugendo organization and rank within its internal hierarchies. In describing the frequent public processions of *shugenja*, Anne Bouchy notes that

in every parade the status and role of each participant—for the mountain entry or for associated events—were shown openly and signified through the costume (type and color of the clothing, the color of pompoms or their stole), the wearing or absence of hair, the presence of ritual implements (conch, axe, halberd, *oi* 笈 [portable altar-box]), the place in the procession, and the means of locomotion (on foot, horse, or in a palanquin). (BOUCHY 2009, 31)

This practice was not unique to *shugenja* or even to Japanese Buddhists.

For Haguro *shugenja*, the completion of one Fall Peak qualified them to wear a belt cord, white *hakama* 袴 trousers, and most importantly, the purple-crested white *yuigesa* that served as the distinctive costume of their organization. During the Fall Peak, first time participants could be distinguished by their white *yuigesa* with white twill and dark blue crests (STJ 32: 472–73).⁹ The purple-crested white *yuigesa* was reserved for full *shugenja*. The purple-crested *yuigesa*, trousers, and belt cord all demonstrated that a *shugenja* had completed the basic membership

9. Earlier records indicate that first-time participants formerly wore white *yuigesa* with light yellow crests, but this changed sometime in the late seventeenth century (STJ 32: 476–78).

requirements for Haguro Shugendo and was distinct from the *shugenja* of other organizations. Access to these garments and paraphernalia was essential to the careers of their subordinate *shugenja*, so naturally the mountain's summit clergy and elite spouse-keeping *shugenja* monopolized the right to issue them.

Certifications for names and garments were extremely valuable. Recipients were generally careful to preserve the original document and issuers often kept a record of the certifications they issued. There was a documentary drive for both parties involved in the transaction. The Mirokuin 弥勒院 *shugenja* household of Iwaizumi 岩泉 village, Hei district in Nanbu domain, provides an example of the intersection of the documentation practices of central and local *shugenja* households.¹⁰ According to an eighteenth-century survey of religious professionals within the Nanbu domain compiled by its domanical government, Mirokuin was the steward of a Haguro Hall, a structure that enshrined the divinities associated with the mountain (NSK 1: 48).¹¹ The Mirokuin was a prestigious household, eventually being appointed as a local administrative official within the system Haguro Shugendo established in the Nanbu domain. Despite such local prestige, the *shugenja* of the Mirokuin household still relied on the Sanada and Haguro summit clergy for their certification services as recorded in the document archives of both families.

The Mirokuin family archive confirms the career pattern of first receiving a *bōgō* name during minority, then completing the Fall Peak austerities at Haguro and acquiring *ingō*, the rank *gon daisōzu* 権大僧都, and the accompanying garments and garment licenses. Records kept by Sanada Shichirōzaemon Hisatake and Noriaki often corroborate Mirokuin family documents, emphasizing how both families prioritized the establishment of a reliable paper trail. According to Mirokuin archive documents, a family heir received his childhood personal name of Hōgakubō 宝覚坊 in 1694 from Sanada Shichirōzaemon Hisatake at a time when the family's general title was Daigakuin 大覚院. The certification does not specify his age, but it was at some point before he entered his first round of the Fall Peak austerities. The certification is dated to the twenty-fourth day of the fifth month, so it was not issued after the completion of the Fall Peak, which always took place in the seventh and eighth months (SEK 12: 88). The Sanada logbook kept by Hisatake and his son Noriaki records that Hōgakubō/Daigakuin participated in the 1733 Fall Peak austerities, but this is the only entry in which his name appears (SGM 4-339). This is borne out by two documents in the Mirokuin

10. Mirokuin was the *shugenja* name the household ultimately adopted and the name under which its documents were transcribed and published, but earlier members had previously used several other names.

11. The Haguro Hall's date of original construction was unknown, but there were construction records indicating it had been rebuilt in 1423. It was 2 *ken* (3.636 meters) on all four sides with a shingle roof of horse chestnut (NSK 1: 48).

archive dated to that year, one granting the honorary rank of *gon daisōzu* and the other certifying that Daigakuin was permitted to wear a white waist cord, white tassels on his surplice, and white *hakama* trousers (SEK 12: 88–89). Both the Sanada logbook and a document from the Mirokuin archive agree that in 1742 Noriaki bestowed the name Daisenbō 大仙坊 on a member of the household, presumably Daigakuin's heir (SGM 4–339).¹² Again, the logbook lists no peak entries for a member of the household between the two dates. Noriaki ceased updating the logbook in 1767 and passed away in 1768, but Mirokuin documents show that in the year of his death, Noriaki issued certifications for the personal name Daigakuin and the household name Mirokuin to a household *shugenja*, likely Daisenbō, as well as certifications for the office of *gon daisōzu*, white tassels, and a white waist cord and *hakama*. At the same time, Daisenbō received the certification to wear Haguro's distinct white surplice with purple crests from the summit cleric Shōon'in 勝恩院, who served as *daisendatsu* 大先達, the highest-ranking ritual position, for that year's round of austerities. Summit clerics restricted the right to issue these surplices to themselves alone, denying the lower-ranking spouse-keeping *shugenja* of Tōge. Later successors would receive the assemblage of certifications from the Sanada family and the mountain's chief administrator in 1789, 1833, and 1861, but no documents granting a *bō* name before then survive, raising the possibility that it came to be seen as unnecessary (SEK 12: 89–94).

The Mirokuin family's consistent efforts to acquire the necessary Haguro *shugenja* certification testify to the value they ascribed to the process. However, an examination of the dates of those certifications suggests that the timeline for acquiring them could be flexible, a luxury that was foreign to the experience of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family. There was a thirty-nine-year gap between Hōgakubō receiving his *bō* name and first participating in the Fall Peak, while twenty-six years passed between Daisenbō's acquisition of his *bō* name and his first Fall Peak. This suggests that for regional *shugenja* like Mirokuin, while it was expected that they would eventually complete the Fall Peak austerities and receive the accompanying certifications, the timetable was somewhat fluid. Both Hōgakubō and Daisenbō would have reached their majorities prior to their first Fall Peaks and would presumably have been carrying out local *shugenja* activities before then. While they were capable of fulfilling their local function as *shugenja* before their Fall Peak, they still felt obligated to eventually complete it, with all the required time, travel, and expenses. According to regulations circulated by headquarters in 1750, a copy of which remains within the Mirokuin family archive, Haguro *shugenja* wore a white twill surplice with blue crests prior

12. It was common for names within households to share characters, and both Daisenbō and Daigakuin begin with 大, the character for “large.”

to their first Fall Peak and were only permitted the purple crested white surplice after they had engaged in it (SEK 12: 85). The year a Mirokuin *shugenja* was certified was the year of their first (and apparently only) experience of the Fall Peak. The gap between *bōgō* and peak entry did not have to be so long, however. According to the Sanada logbook, Fudōbō 不動坊 of Asanai 浅内 village received his *bō* name in 1711 and completed a Fall Peak in 1718, achieving the personal name Fukumotoin 福本院, leaving an interval of only seven years (SGM 4–339).

This contrasts with the experiences of the Sanada family, who were required to complete their first peak entering in their teens in order to qualify as a full member of the community of spouse-holding *shugenja*. Regional *shugenja* may have been able to take their time in finally completing the Fall Peak, but Sanada heirs had to attend to it as soon as possible. Of course, as noted above, Sanada heirs could expect far better treatment and lower participation fees than their subordinates.

In the early modern era, document production was essential to the legitimization of one's general identity of a *shugenja* and one's specific identity as an affiliate of a particular *shugenja* organization. Furthermore, this became a source of profit for the issuers of these certifications and a necessary expenditure for those who had to obtain them. These aspects of participation in the Fall Peak and its accompanying certifications were just as important as any doctrinal or interior experiential elements.

The Sanada and the Production of Family Documents

The production and exchange of documents within Haguro Shugendo was not just between the headquarters and the parishes. The office of the chief administrator, temple lineages, and *shugenja* households (among other local parties) all produced documents for both internal and external use. The Sanada Shichirōzaemon family was no exception. Documentation was one of the primary strategies they employed to define and safeguard their privileged status. Hisatake, discussed above, was very concerned about the longevity of his household and produced many documents recording its traditional privileges which future generations could (and did) cite if they were ever questioned or challenged. The most detailed of these documents was a multipage memorandum in a bound notebook composed in 1722 for his son and future heirs. Hisatake was seriously ill at the time and anticipated his imminent demise, but his son, Noriaki, was still too young to learn and preserve the information about his family. Hisatake thus wrote a family genealogy, transcribed important family documents, and recorded his own experiences as household head, including interactions with the highest echelons of Haguro leadership (SGM 4–350).

The Sanada participated in a culture of family document production that marked Tokugawa period elites across all status groups. As Moriyama Takeshi states in his analysis of documents produced by the elite commoner Suzuki Bokushi 鈴木牧之 (1770–1842),

Commoners' growing acceptance of the notion of "the household" and the orthodox values centering on it is evident in the production of a great many family documents by members of the rural elite, who followed earlier practice by aristocrats, samurai and wealthy merchants in the city in this respect.

(MORIYAMA 2013, 91)

Family histories and family trees were a particularly significant genre among this welter of document production, and they often involved tracing a household's origins back to a prestigious ancestor such as a well-known warrior or noble, even if that connection had to be fabricated (MORIYAMA 2013, 92–93). The Sanada Shichirōzaemon household conformed to this trend through their aforementioned claim of descent from a thirteenth-century warrior from Kamakura. While impossible to confirm or deny, this claim remained central to the household's self-image throughout the Tokugawa period, reoccurring frequently in documents the Sanada prepared both for themselves and others, including Hisatake's 1722 family history (SGM 4–350).

Hisatake was a prolific writer of household documents and had a great concern for the long-term prosperity of his family. Many of the documents composed by Hisatake and his descendants were intended to specify the family's accomplishments as well as its traditional privileges and responsibilities at Mt. Haguro. Documents were composed with a future audience of descendants and organization officials in mind, and Hisatake's 1722 family history was the most explicit and detailed of these documents. After recording a genealogy, recounting family history, and transcribing important family documents, he exhorted his descendants to value this document as a family treasure to be preserved across the generations (SGM 4–350).¹³ The certification logbook analyzed above was also begun by Hisatake and continued by his son and heir Noriaki. Hisatake was conscious of the household as an ongoing institution and used documentation as a technique to ensure its future welfare.

Recognizing the importance of the Fall Peak to Tōge *shugenja* households, Hisatake also began a logbook that recorded information related to the Fall Peaks of Sanada Shichirōzaemon heirs. His descendants would continue to update this logbook, the *Nyūbu shidai oboe* (Memorandum on Peak-Entering Procedures, SGM 5–460), until the end of the Tokugawa period. Entries document the year

13. The original was transcribed by the local historian Hoshino Masahiro, and I thank him for allowing me the use of his transcription.

of participation, the identities of the major ritualists for the year's Fall Peak, and the age of the participant. Some even include a list of the family's Fall Peak-related privileges and transcriptions of official documents they sent or received concerning the experience of a particular heir. Hisatake started the logbook in the eighth month of 1729, the same year his son and heir Noriaki completed his first Fall Peak, though he also recorded his own first Fall Peak in 1689. Hisatake's descendants maintained the logbook up until the first Fall Peak of Noriyoshi 永良 (d. 1862) in 1829. Noriyoshi's entry confirms that he continued to enjoy the family's traditional Fall Peak privileges (SGM 5-460).

In 1765 Noriaki would go to prepare a list of the special privileges that Sanada Shichirōzaemon heirs were entitled to during their first Fall Peak, which he had approved and affixed with the seal of the deputy chief administrator, the official then responsible for the actual, on-the-ground management of Haguro. A copy of the document he submitted remains within the family archive. This list repeats material already included in the Fall Peak logbook begun by Noriaki's father Hisatake, and Noriaki states that since both he and his father enjoyed these privileges, he wants to ensure his son Noritada and future generations do as well. The provisions, an expanded version of those first enumerated in the 1602 charter of household privileges to be discussed below, include the right to garments and seating positions in advance of an heir's actual accomplishments. At several stages of the Fall Peak austerities, a Sanada Shichirōzaemon heir should have the privilege of close proximity to the major ritualists who organized the austerities, whether on processions to the shrines, temples, and holy places of the mountain, or during various rites and even meals (SGM 1-61-1, 2). A samurai retainer's access to audiences with his lord and an advanced place in the seating order reflected his status in the hierarchy, and the same patterns extended to *shugenja* during their ascetic retreats (IKEGAMI 1995, 270-73). Noriaki requests that the many provisions be observed for future generations. In submitting this list, he was seeking official recognition of documentation his family had created and preserved. The section of the Fall Peak logbook pertaining to Noriyoshi's first Fall Peak notes that he was granted the household's traditional privileges, so it appears that Hisatake and Noriaki were successful in establishing a reliable foundation for their household's future (SGM 5-460).

For household heads like Hisatake, document production was a necessary technique for ensuring the continued elite status of his household at Haguro. The Sanada Shichirōzaemon family was conscious of itself as an elite lineage with a position of leadership and privilege within their community. Documenting the origins and manifestations of that position was therefore necessary. This reinforces how we should consider the documentary aspects of Shugendo, as well as how the internal hierarchies of communities and organizations were constructed and maintained.

The Sanada as Document Recipients

The Sanada were prolific producers of documents for both themselves and their subordinates, but they were also frequent recipients of documents, especially from their superiors, the summit temple lineages that ranked above them in the mountain's hierarchy. They were especially diligent in preserving received documents that supported their household's privileges, including privileges related to the Fall Peak, and their self-image as an exceptional family among the community of Haguro *shugenja*. The household's very authority to issue documentary certifications to their underlings came to be predicated on the parish deeds that they themselves received from their organizational leaders. Documents they guarded were cited in memorandums and law codes prepared by Haguro administrative officials, proving that the family's efforts were successful.

Just as the village *shugenja* of Nanbu and Sendai domains safeguarded the official documentation they received from the Sanada, the Sanada safeguarded official documentation they received from the chief administrator and other summit clerics. The most valuable document in the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family archive was a charter of hereditary privileges issued to the household in 1602 by chief administrator Yūgen. This is the earliest surviving document to describe the household's unique rights and responsibilities at Haguro. The office of chief administrator had recently become the highest authority on the mountain and would continue within Yūgen's temple lineage of Hōzen'in until the end of the Tokugawa period.¹⁴ The charter is addressed to the collective household of Gyokuzōbō Sanada Shichirōzaemon, not a particular house head, but other family documents indicate that Sanada Shichirōzaemon Noriyori 永順 (active early seventeenth century) was in charge of the household at this time (SGM 1–43). The charter lists the major privileges the household had supposedly enjoyed for many generations before and confirms that they should continue to enjoy them for generations to come. There are no surviving documents that can corroborate the historical claims of the 1602 charter, which raises the possibility that some or (less likely) all of these privileges were of recent origin and were being cemented via a falsified history. Nevertheless, it seems likely that there was at least some tradition backing up the claims, given the considerable social prestige enjoyed by the family at the time (SGM 1–3–1, 2).

The charter of privileges describes three major ways in which the Sanada Shichirōzaemon was extraordinary within the community of Mt. Haguro. The first was the family responsibility to serve an emergency ceremonial role during the mountain's New Year's ceremonies. Normally the two most senior *shugenja* of the mountain were appointed as *matsu hijiri* 松聖 and commissioned to complete a

14. Yūgen's temple is called Hōzenbō 宝善坊 (later changed to Hōzen'in 宝前院) in the document itself. The suffixes *-bō* and *-in* are sometimes used interchangeably in Haguro documents.

hundred-day period of intense austerities culminating in a grand New Year's Eve ceremony. If one of these two *matsu hijiri* became unable to fulfill their duties due to illness or death, the current Sanada household head was expected to take their place as *matsu hijiri* and complete the remaining austerities and ceremonies. Sanada heirs were thus also exempt from the birth registration required of other *shugenja* households, since one of the ostensible purposes of birth registration was to choose *matsu hijiri* in the conventional fashion. The Sanada were outside the conventional system, so it was unnecessary for them. The second major privilege the family enjoyed was the special treatment during the first Fall Peak analyzed above, and the third was the aforementioned reduced term of service at the main shrine on the mountain's summit (SGM 1-3-1, 2).

The Sanada family regarded this 1602 charter as a family treasure that could not be allowed to fall into the wrong hands, in other words, any hands but their own. Nearly half a century after the charter's issuance, a household head fled the mountain to avoid such an eventuality. Family records state that Noriyori's second son, Sanada Kanejūrō 金十郎 (d.u.), encountered unspecified difficulties during the tenure of Chief Administrator Ten'yū, either with Ten'yū himself or his subordinates.¹⁵ Hisatake, in his 1722 family history, writes that Kanejūrō refused several orders to give up the document (presumably from Ten'yū or one of his officials) and eventually had no choice but to leave Tōge sometime during the Meireki 明暦 era (1655-1658) for a village in the nearby Kushibiki 榑引 region. He took the 1602 document with him and he lived out the rest of his life in Kushibiki. In his absence, Ten'yū appointed one of his supporters, Sone Hayato 曾根隼人 (d.u.), to the family's duties, and Hayato changed his surname to Sanada. Hisatake states that this was necessary because Kanejūrō's son Shigekatsu 重勝 was too young to inherit at the time (SGM 4-350). Nonetheless, the efforts to acquire the 1602 document, the fact that Kanejūrō never held significant office (unusual for such an elite family), and Kanejūrō's flight from Haguro, combined with later accusations toward Ten'yū of favoritism and corruption, raise the possibility that Ten'yū may have had designs on the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household. If that was the case, then the 1602 charter of family privileges may have been a potential roadblock, having been issued by a prior chief administrator from Ten'yū's own temple lineage of Hōzen'in.

The document remained in Ōtori 大鳥 village, Kushibiki, until 1715 when Hisatake traveled to retrieve it and other important documents Kanejūrō had taken with him, reflecting his concern for the household's prosperity and the

15. Kanejūrō's grandson does not specifically condemn Ten'yū, but he does report that the problems occurred during Ten'yū's administration. Writers from later generations speak specifically of discord between Ten'yū and Kanejūrō, though this may be embellishment (SGM 4-350; SGM 6-538).

preservation and production of documents that would support it. He reports that he immediately had it copied and presented to the chief administrator. He also included a transcription of the document in the detailed family history he compiled in 1722 for the sake of his descendants. The document was a keystone to the family's privileged spot at Haguro, and it had to be preserved and reproduced to ensure its safety (SGM 4–350).

The Sanada were not the only ones to acknowledge their unique rights and privileges. The provisions of this deed were recognized and respected by other Haguro *shugenja*. A 1726 memorandum written by the summit cleric Kitanoin 北之院 and copied by the spouse-keeping *shugenja* Sankōbō 三光坊 repeats the contents of the 1602 charter and notes that “Sanada Shichirōzaemon possesses a deed of Yūgen *shugyō* 執行.” The memorandum further notes that clerics of the Three Sendatsu summit temples enjoy the same Fall Peak and main shrine service privileges as the Sanada (STJ 32: 471–72).

Two authoritative documents issued as part of Chief Administrator Kakujun's 1816 reorganization of Haguro Shugendo further referenced the 1602 charter of privileges as justification for the continued prominence of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family. As discussed above, the 1816 registry of families recognized as *onbun* begins with an entry on the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household. The entry's first item states, “Concerning [this family's] position as head (*jōza* 上座) of the *shugen[ja]*, there should certainly be no deviation from the contents of the document given by the former *shugyō* Yūgen in 1602” (DS 3: 813–14). The Sanada Shichirōzaemon family archive preserves a copy of the documentation the household submitted during the compilation of the 1816 *onbun* registry that, among other pieces of information concerning the family's residences, parish territory, and so on, includes a complete transcription of the 1602 deed and an addendum noting that it was later reissued (SGM 4–388). Furthermore, the 1816 law code issued to the *onbun* during Kakujun's reforms repeats that the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household should be regarded as the head of the *shugenja* of the foot of the mountain in accordance with the deed of old customs issued by Yūgen in 1602 (DS 3: 738). Thus, the 1602 charter was an effective tool for defending the family's leadership role over the other *shugenja* of Tōge and its exceptional treatment during the careers of its heirs. Its contents were not only recognized by the family itself, but by their peers and administrative superiors. The preservation and presentation of documents such as these were vital for the prosperity of elite households like the Sanada.

The culture of document production and preservation was shared between the *shugenja* of Haguro itself and their provincial subordinates. *Shugenja* under Sanada jurisdiction did not just receive documents from their superiors, they produced them as well. In many cases, this was at the behest of those superiors or for local officials of other Shugendo organizations. Regional Haguro *shugenja*,

especially those who held local administrative offices (*tokin gashira*, *kumi gashira* 組頭), replicated its document culture. Thus, hierarchically arranged *shugenja* households interacted through the production and exchange of documents even at the local level. This document production was not limited to members of their own organization, and they sometimes were required to compose documents for administrative officials of the Honzanha organization. They were enmeshed in the document cultures of multiple religious organizations, as well as that of their village and domain. In 1744, for example, the *shugenja* Hōrinbō 法林坊 (or Hōrin'in 法林院) of Wainai 和井内 village, in his capacity as the village association head (*kumi gashira*), submitted a registry of village *shugenja* to the local Honzanha administrator (*nen gyōji* 年行事) of the Sannohei 三閉伊 region, Jushōin. Two years later, Hōrinbō submitted a similar registry of local Haguro *shugenja* to Mt. Haguro officials as part of their efforts to catalogue all of the organization's branch religious professionals (MS 9-1: 366–71). This pattern of document production underscored both their subordination to higher-ranked *shugen* officials, both within their affiliated organization and without it, as well as their authority as regional elites over rank-and-file local *shugenja*, a replication of the activities of the Sanada in Tōge.

Conclusion

During their first Fall Peak, Sanada Shichirōzaemon heirs could expect recognition beyond their actual attainments, but in the later Tokugawa period, it appears that some village *shugenja* could as well. Two generations of Mirokuin heirs, Kaien 解円 (Fall Peak 1833) and Kaikō 解光 (1861), received certifications on their first (and only) Fall Peaks that exceeded their actual accomplishments. The Mirokuin family archive preserves certifications given to Kaien for second and third time Fall Peak completion issued alongside certifications that accompanied first time completion. Likewise, Kaikō received a second time completion certificate on what was apparently his first Fall Peak (SEK 12: 91–94). The Mirokuin household heads served as local officials (*tokin gashira*) for Haguro Shugendo's administrative network within Nanbu domain, and the conferral of multiple advanced certifications on an heir's first Fall Peak may be related to that privilege. Another *shugenja* from Hei district, Hōrin'in Kanryū 寛隆 of the abovementioned Hōrinbō/Hōrin'in family received certifications from Sanada Norioki 永起 (d. 1903) for his second and third Fall Peaks on his first Fall Peak in 1865, along with the even higher rank of *itsusōgi* 一僧祇 (MS 9-1: 379–82).¹⁶ The Hōrin'in household served as the head (*kumi gashira*) for a local administrative unit of Haguro *shugenja*, again raising the

16. The rank of *itsusōgi* was usually earned through the completion of nine Fall Peaks (TOGAWA 2005, 400).

possibility that high status village *shugenja* could acquire several advanced certifications at their first Fall Peak due to their rank, financial resources, or both. Regardless, it is clear that some village Haguro *shugenja* were able to acquire documentary certifications that exceeded the number of Fall Peaks they had physically completed.

There are many potential explanations for this. Possibly the time and financial requirements of traveling to Haguro for multiple Fall Peaks were too demanding, so a *shugenja* would acquire as many certifications as possible in one trip, perhaps bolstered by his household's privileged administrative position and/or wealth. The Sanada Shichirōzaemon family presumably charged separate fees for each certification, so they would have benefited financially from this practice. The Fall Peak has been called the promotion peak, but for some *shugenja*, promotion did not correlate exactly with participation. Both pedigree and money could potentially supersede the regulations that structured the Fall Peak on paper, echoing the special treatment that Sanada Shichirōzaemon heirs could expect on their own initial Fall Peaks.

The social and professional value of austerities such as the Fall Peak have been underappreciated and understudied. However, Haguro's Fall Peak is an excellent test case for discussing the importance of certification, documentation, and professional identity in early modern Shugendō. The material and practical attainments of the Fall Peak were just as important as any interior attainments, as were the financial benefits to those who certified those attainments in documentary form. The accompanying financial burdens on those seeking the certifications should also not be ignored. As the experiences of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon heirs and those of Hei district's elite *shugenja* households show, social privilege did not disappear when *shugenja* entered the mountains for their austerities. *Shugenja* participating in Haguro's Fall Peak were not escaping from the demands and inequalities of a stratified society into a sacred realm of pure religious practice. Instead, to their own benefit, they knowingly engaged with a system that served to create, display, and maintain the hierarchies that structured early Haguro Shugendō.

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- Shūkaishū* 拾塊集. Author unknown. STJ 32: 20–40.
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