

WORLDLY ASCETICS: MANAGING FAMILY, STATUS
AND TERRITORY IN EARLY MODERN SHUGENDŌ

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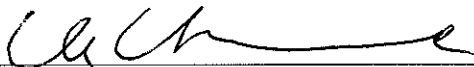
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ABSTRACT

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Linda H. Chance

Definitions of Japan's Shugendō tradition often emphasize how its adherents, known as *yamabushi* or *shugenja*, took as their primary goal the acquisition of supernatural power and enlightenment via ascetic practice in the mountains. While mountain austerities were central to the tradition, settled, spouse-keeping *yamabushi* organized into households constituted the majority of its members in the late medieval and early modern periods; the study of their economic, political, and social activities have been neglected. The Shugendō organization headquartered at Mt. Haguro, one of the Dewa Sanzan triad of sacred mountains within present-day Yamagata prefecture, administered *yamabushi* and *miko* priestesses based in communities throughout northern Japan. Using the Sanada Shichirōzaemon and Sanada Shikibu households, elite *yamabushi* families based in Tōge at the foot of Mt. Haguro, this study investigates the lives and activities of spouse-keeping *shugenja* within the Shugendō tradition during Japan's early modern period (1600-1867).

Existing in a liminal space between the seeming dichotomies of worldly and ascetic, lay and monastic, and folk and elite, the Sanadas and their peers navigated a complicated web of relationships to preserve their positions and fortunes. Working with

documents from the previously unread Sanada Gyokuzōbō archive, this study argues for the centrality of the household unit within Japanese religious traditions. The privileges and obligations of the Sanada households, as well as their relationships with superiors and subordinates, both at Mt. Haguro and in its parishes, were based on the household rather than the individual, and were passed on from house head to house head. As local elites, the Sanada households enjoyed a hereditary place of honor within Haguro's social, ritual, and political hierarchies. Documentation was a necessary strategy to maintain their customary privileges and duties both at the organization's headquarters at Mt. Haguro and within its parishes across northern Japan. Networks that linked the Sanada families with superiors on Haguro's summit and subordinates in parishes, as well as their lay patrons, the Nanbu family of daimyo, were defined and defended by documents exchanged within these networks.

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Introduction

Down Off the Mountain:

Complicating the Image of the Early Modern *yamabushi*

A Shugendō Ghost Story

In the second month of 1620, at the castle town of Sannohe, then the capital of the northern Japanese domain of Nanbu and seat of its lord Nanbu Toshinao (1576-1632), a mountain ascetic, or *yamabushi*, committed suicide without warning, leaving both his traveling companions and the castle's retainers baffled. The *yamabushi* was Seikyō, head of the elite Sanada Shikibu household, which was based at the sacred mountain of Mt. Haguro, located to the southwest of Nanbu domain. Mt. Haguro, one of the Dewa Sanzan triad of holy mountains, was the headquarters of a powerful regional organization within the religious tradition of Shugendō, whose members, called *shugenja* or *yamabushi*, engaged in ascetic practice within mountains to obtain supernormal power and enlightenment. One of Seikyō's ancestors had supposedly used his supernatural abilities, derived from his connection to the sacred mountain, to help a former Nanbu lord break the siege of a castle held by a rebellious vassal, establishing a patronage relationship between the two families that had survived across subsequent generations. The rationale for Seikyō's suicide remained unknown despite inquiries to the other Haguro *yamabushi* who had accompanied him, but Nanbu Toshinao's retainers sent a letter to Seikyō's

surviving sons explaining the situation, and guaranteeing that they would properly inherit the household's parish territory, which lay within the borders of Nanbu domain.¹

The *Ushū Haguro-san chūkō oboegaki* (*Memorandum on the restorers of Mt. Haguro in Ushū*), a major historical chronicle compiled in the late seventeenth century by the Haguro *yamabushi* Kyōdōin Seikai (? – 1724), himself a relative of Seikyō, elaborates on the consequences of this suicide in far more detail. Seikai's account claims that following Seikyō's suicide, the apparitions of fifty to sixty white-clad *yamabushi* appeared within the castle, causing it to shake. He cites this as the reason why the Nanbu lords moved their domainal seat from Sannohe, haunted by Seikyō's specter, to their new capital of Morioka. In order to pacify the wrathful spirit, they enshrined Seikyō as an 'angry deity,' or *aragami*, a technique with an established precedent in Japanese history.² Surviving letters show that the Nanbu family also confirmed the household's parish holdings within the domain to Seikyō's sons and the *Memorandum* claims that Nanbu Toshinao also began to make yearly donations of gold and horses to Mt. Haguro, as well as commissioning proxy pilgrimages.³ Though not all details of this story match the historical record (the transfer of the family seat from Sannohe to Morioka was already underway at the time of Seikyō's suicide), there is indeed a shrine to Seikyō's angry spirit that survives to this day, and even has its own Facebook page.⁴

¹ Togawa Anshō, ed., *Shintō taikei jinja-hen 32: Dewa Sanzan* (Tokyo: Shintō taikei hensankai, 1982), 531-532.

² *Ibid.*, 133-134.

³ *Ibid.*, 133-134, 531-532.

⁴ Asagishi Yakushi jinja's *Facebook* page, accessed July 28, 2016, <https://ja-jp.facebook.com/浅岸薬師神社-249219445209365/>.

This story raises several questions about the figure at its center, the *yamabushi* Sanada Shikibu Seikyō. He wants his children to inherit his parish holdings, so he clearly is not celibate, and the continuance of his family is a major priority. His relationship with the domain's ruler is close enough that he expects a regular audience with the lord, and displeasure at the denial of this audience was likely what prompted his suicide. He is furthermore in possession of formidable spiritual abilities, derived from his mountain austerities, which first benefit and then threaten his daimyo patron. His ancestor wielded these eldritch powers to help the Nanbu win an important battle, and Seikyō himself is puissant enough to work his will from beyond the grave, forcing the Nanbu lord to enshrine him as deity and in one version, even move his castle to flee his spirit's baleful influence. The qualities of Sanada Shikibu Seikyō, both the verifiable and the legendary, illustrate the complications inherent in the figure of the *yamabushi* and the religious tradition of Shugendō to which he belonged.

Rich and Poor Among the *yamabushi*

In 1727, nearly a century after Seikyō committed suicide in Sannohe and supposedly returned from the dead as a revenant bent on revenge, the account of the German physician and naturalist Engelbert Kaempfer's (1651-1716) time spent in Japan, originally spanning 1690 to 1692, was published posthumously in London. Kaempfer had had the chance to observe *yamabushi* while in Japan and dedicated a chapter of his work to them. His description of *yamabushi*, which highlights the economic inequality found within their ranks, illuminates the depth and diversity of the early Shugendō tradition.

Yamabushi means (but the character does not clearly indicate this meaning) a mountain soldier, because,

according to the founding rules of the order, they must fight for the gods and lands of their ancestors if required. In reality they are religious and hermits who disdain worldly pleasures to reach the everlasting and are committed to castigating their bodies by climbing sacred mountains and frequently washing in cold water. Those who are rich live in their own houses. The poor wander around the roads begging...Others agree to serve at a *miya* [shrine], but these are usually so poorly endowed that they can hardly support a person.⁵

The figure of the *yamabushi*, commonly translated as “mountain ascetic,” appears on the surface to be paradoxical. Definitions of *yamabushi* and their religious tradition Shugendō, literally the “Way of Cultivating Supernatural Power,” consistently emphasize devotion to the practice of mountain asceticism, which was believed to imbue *yamabushi* with religious insight and sacred power beyond that of regular human beings. *Yamabushi* would then wield their supernatural abilities on behalf of their lay patrons, curing illnesses, making oracular pronouncements, and praying for victory in battle, among many other services. However, in seeming contradiction to their world-denying qualities, most *yamabushi* were also permitted worldly indulgences beyond those of typical Buddhist monastics, especially the right to marry, father children, and maintain a household in the manner of laypeople. They existed at the intersection of the Buddhist religious professional and the lay householder. Anne Bouchy writes that “Shugendō is also generally well known as having a dual image...These multifaceted and contrasting elements are the visible signs of an immense *ensemble* of complex phenomena that, apparently antinomic, are nevertheless founding elements of Shugendō and its

⁵ Engelbert Kaempfer, *Kaempfer's Japan: Tokugawa Culture Observed*, edited, translated, and annotated by Beatrice M. Bodart-Bailey (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 122.

legitimacy.”⁶ Similarly, Fabio Rambelli asserts that “the particular form of ontological ambivalence present in *yamabushi* normative self-understanding paralleled an existential ambiguity, which justified the *yamabushi*’s liminal position within a number of social categories.”⁷ Engelbert Kaempfer’s description of *yamabushi* illustrates this joint worldly and sacred character and also calls attention to the considerable economic disparities among the *yamabushi* he observed in Tokugawa Japan, though he is mistaken in his overemphasis on their martial character.⁸ They ranged from wealthy home-owners to poor itinerant beggars and stewards of small shrines living in privation. The experience of the more financially secure *yamabushi* would naturally differ significantly from those who struggled to make ends meet.

In this study, I use the Shugendō tradition associated with Mt. Haguro, located in the northeastern region of Japan’s main island of Honshū, and in particular a family known as the Sanadas, to examine the various factors that determined a *yamabushi*’s place in this system. These included place of residence, monastic commitment, status group affiliation, and others. I argue that rather than being cut off from worldly concerns, *yamabushi* lineages actively negotiated systems of status, rank, and privilege to maintain the prosperity of both the individual household and the Haguro Shugendō organization as a whole and that this was the accepted mainstream of the tradition, not a compromise or degeneration as some would have it.

⁶ Anne Bouchy, “Transformation, Rupture and Continuity: Issues and Options in Contemporary Shugendō,” *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie* 18 (2009), 18.

⁷ Fabio Rambelli, “‘Dog-men,’ Craftspeople or Living Buddhas? The Status of Yamabushi in Pre-modern Japanese Society,” *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie* 18 (2009), 124.

⁸ *bushi*, the second character in the term *yamabushi*, means ‘to lie down,’ as in the mountains, not ‘warrior’; *yamabushi* did participate in the military conflicts of premodern Japan, but this was not the defining characteristic Kaempfer imagined it to be.

This study will complicate received images of *yamabushi* and Shugendō. The umbrella term Shugendō refers to a heterogeneous group of religious professionals with a range of lifestyles and functions. The term *yamabushi* encompassed celibate monastics with close ties to major Buddhist schools, spouse-keeping adepts based at holy mountains, and spouse-keeping adepts living in villages across Japan. In certain regions, the priestesses known as *miko* obtained membership in large Shugendō organizations. Even within these subgroups of monastics, adepts, and priestesses, elites enjoyed social and economic privileges denied to those lower in the hierarchy.

I foreground the social divisions that ordered Shugendō organizations and communities. The community and organization overlapped considerably in Haguro Shugendō, though the two were not identical. I generally use the term community to refer to the residents of Haguro and its surrounding villages and the term organization to refer to the broad territory throughout Japan over which Haguro held religious authority. Celibate summit clerics, spouse-keeping adepts, and a small number of other religious professionals (priestesses, special ascetics observing lifelong confinement within the mountain's precincts) resided in Haguro's immediate communities and comprised the administrative core of its organization. Branch *yamabushi* and priestesses were part of the Haguro Shugendō organization, but not a part of its central community, only visiting the mountain itself on limited occasions for ascetic practice and certification. These branch religionists were first and foremost members of their own local communities, but I will consider them primarily in relation to the central headquarters of Mt. Haguro. The exclusive right of centrally based religious professionals to administrate parish territory

distinguished Haguro from the two other major Shugendō groups in early modern Japan, the Honzan-ha and Tōzan-ha, which allowed local officials more authority. I present Haguro Shugendō as a corporate organization, composed of constituent households and temple lineages, a pattern that resembles the religious organizations based at other holy sites around early modern Japan.

The Centrality of the Household (*ie*) to Early Modern Shugendō

This study emphasizes the importance of the *ie*, or household, to the spouse-keeping *yamabushi* of Haguro and, by extension, to marrying *yamabushi* associated with the various Shugendō organizations spread across the archipelago. As figures that combined the qualities of the monk and the householder, *shugenja* were a part of the household system that came to define early modern Japan. Chie Nakane states that “The *ie*, or household, was the basic unit of social organization in the village, as it was in samurai and merchant communities. Indeed, the same unit was found in all kinds of occupational groups throughout Japan.”⁹ This extended to the occupational category of professional religionists such as *yamabushi* and *miko*, as well as the innkeepers (*oshi*) and shrine priests of other shrine-temple complexes of the realm. The household constituted the central social unit of Tōge, the village of *yamabushi* located at the foot of Mt. Haguro where the Sanada families, who are the subject of this dissertation, were based. The celibate monastics of the mountain’s slopes and summit were grouped by temple lineages, which transmitted the position of chief priest from monk to monk, though both village

⁹ Chie Nakane, “Chapter Nine: Tokugawa Society,” in *Tokugawa Japan: The Social and Economic Antecedents of Modern Japan*, edited by Chie Nakane and Shinzaburō Ōishi, translation edited by Conrad Totman (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1990), 216.

households and temple lineages handed down property and titles via succession. In Haguro's parish territories, branch *yamabushi* and *miko* were also organized by household, though as a minority element within communities based primarily on agriculture, fishing, or some other profession.

The *ie* did not function in a static or uniform manner throughout Japanese history; it varied according to time and place. Although the institution of the *ie* predated the advent of the Tokugawa era, the period's economic conditions resulted in all levels of society adopting it as a fundamental constituent.¹⁰ As Nakane succinctly defines it, "The *ie* system existed, in short, to safeguard house and property, perceived as an indivisible unit, through the generations."¹¹ House and property, as well as any hereditary titles or offices, were considered the possessions of the trans-generational household itself, not that of the individual who served as its current head. Only one son could inherit this headship, and he and his wife became the central members of the household upon inheritance. Non-inheriting sons were required to leave the household following the succession of the main heir, whereupon they established their own branch houses or married into other households, among other options. Daughters generally joined the households of their spouses upon marriage, which were usually part of the same village or community. However, when a household lacked an eligible male heir, a daughter's husband was often adopted as its son and heir in order to ensure its survival.¹² The technique of household continuation via the adoption of heirs unrelated by blood

¹⁰ Nakane, "Chapter Nine: Tokugawa Society," in *Tokugawa Japan*, 219.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 219.

¹² *Ibid.*, 216-222.

underscores how “a household’s existence depended not so much on actual kinship as on the principle of succession from one married couple to the next,” leading Nakane to argue that “the *ie* might better be classified as an ongoing enterprise than a family.”¹³

Influenced by Nakane, as well as Chiyo Yonemura and Mary Louise Nagata, I conceive of the *ie* as having the characteristics of both the idea of the kinship-based family and an institution with a commercial or professional identity. Yonemura and Nagata argue that “There is also a need to reconsider the *ie* as having aspects of both family and enterprise instead of one or the other.”¹⁴ I thus use the terms family, household, and lineage roughly interchangeably, as they frequently overlapped in the course the Sanada families’ histories. The household head, always male, would carry out all the major duties associated with the family’s titles and offices. The Sanada Shichirōzaemon family also used the *yamabushi* name Gyokuzōbō in circumstances related to certain *yamabushi* duties, and many of their elite *shugenja* peers also held both a surname and a *yamabushi* name. Both the surname and *yamabushi* name were associated with the institution of the household, which acted as a constituent element of both the village of Tōge and the Mt. Haguro Shugendō organization. The major relationships that defined the history of a *yamabushi* household were hereditary, extending over generations, whether they were with the summit temple lineages who had ultimate authority in Haguro Shugendō, the daimyo households who were their patrons, or the lineages of village *yamabushi* who relied on them for certification of membership

¹³ Ibid., 217.

¹⁴ Chiyo Yonemura and Mary Louise Nagata, “Continuity, Solidarity, Family, and Enterprise: What is an *Ie*?” in *The Stem Family in Eurasian Perspective: Revisiting House Societies, 17th-20th Centuries*, edited by Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux and Emiko Ochiai (Bern: Peter Lang, 2009), 281.

and rank advancement. Households also prioritized the production and preservation of documentary records of their histories and accomplishments to safeguard their position in the organization and community in a similar fashion to other up-and-coming early modern elites such as merchants and wealthy peasants. In addition to the hagiographies of individual ascetics, Shugendō must be studied from the perspective of the households who served as professional *yamabushi* over the generations. The householder *yamabushi* was the accepted mainstream of the tradition in the late medieval and early modern era, and likely had a significant presence even prior to that.

Shugendō Between Two Reorganizations

Two epochal shifts in the history of Shugendō bracket my discussions: the reorganization of the Japanese religious landscape by the Tokugawa Shogunate in the early seventeenth century and the Meiji government's 1868 separation of Shinto and Buddhism along with its 1872 abolition of Shugendō. The changes that resulted from the Tokugawa shogunate's policies constituted a more gradual process than those produced by the Meiji government reorganization. While the archipelago's religious milieu did not change immediately once the Tokugawa Shogunate secured its hegemony at Sekigahara in 1602, over the ensuing decades, the policies of the Edo-based shogunate incrementally established a new order for the realm's religious institutions, building on late medieval developments. Policies such as the temple registration (*tera-uke*), the head-branch system, and a centralized Superintendent of Temples and Shrines in Edo (along with local Superintendents of Temples and Shrines for each domain) drastically changed the situation for religious organizations, though they were not without agency in the

process.¹⁵ At Haguro, three generations of Chief Administrators worked to acclimate the mountain to the new system with elite *yamabushi* households, the Sanadas among them, aiding in their efforts.

The second bracketing event was the Meiji government's policies toward religion, specifically the "Separation of *kami* and Buddhas" (*shinbutsu bunri*) order of 1868, which mandated an ahistorical separation of religious sites and professionals into discrete categories of Shinto and Buddhist, despite the two having been mixed since Japan's earliest recorded history. The 1872 abolition of Shugendō was a natural outgrowth of the Separation order because Shugendō was based on an especially thorough synthesis of Buddhist and Shinto elements. At Haguro, this manifested in a concentrated effort to remove or discontinue Buddhist structures, practices, and paraphernalia in order to reorganize the mountain into a "pure" Shinto shrine complex.¹⁶ Most summit clergy laicized and became Shinto priests in service of the Shrine, though they initially continued many Buddhist practices surreptitiously. Nonetheless, government-appointed Head Priests (*gūji*) aggressively pursued the site's full conversion to a Shinto shrine, doing all they could to suppress or discourage any Buddhist remnants. Marrying adepts remained under the new shrine regime and continued to house and guide pilgrims from their parishes, though these activities were recontextualized in Shinto terms. A dedicated

¹⁵ Helen Hardacre, *Religion and Society in Nineteenth-Century Japan: A Study of the Southern Kantō Region, Using Late Edo and Early Meiji Gazetteers* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Center for Japanese Studies, 2002), 35-56.

¹⁶ For a general discussion of *shinbutsu bunri*, see Allan Grapard, "Japan's Ignored Cultural Revolution: The Separation of Shinto and Buddhist Divinities (*shinbutsu bunri*) in Meiji and a Case Study: Tōnomine," *History of Religions* 23.3 (February 1984), 240-265. For a thorough analysis of the process at Haguro, see Gaynor Sekimori, "Paper Fowl and Wooden Fish: The Separation of Kami and Buddha Worship in Haguro Shugendō, 1869-1875," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 32.2 (2005): 197-234.

cadre of Buddhist loyalists preserved as much of the traditional system as they could, but remained a minority.¹⁷ In my conclusion, I briefly consider how marrying adepts weathered this change, but the majority of my analysis concentrates on the early modern period.

Within the early history of Shugendō studies there was a tendency to characterize the tradition as containing a core of primordial Japanese spirituality over which Daoist and Esoteric Buddhist ideas and practices were then layered. Scholars also emphasized Shugendō's otherworldly and practice-oriented nature, denigrating settled and intellectual manifestations of the tradition. Gorai Shigeru, one of the most influential postwar scholars of the tradition, as summarized by Gaynor Sekimori and D. Max Moerman, "saw Shugendō as a religion of practice rather than theory, and one of miracles and faith. It was only after it had lost its spiritual power to work miracles that it acquired theory and doctrine, he stated."¹⁸ Moerman and Sekimori also cite the work of the historian Wakamori Tarō, "whose analysis, that Shugendō was essentially a mountain-based ascetic practice undertaken by individuals, which had been corrupted by growing institutionalization, particularly in the Edo period, has retained a grip on scholarly interpretation down to the present."¹⁹ More recently, scholars such as Hiroki Kikuchi have criticized this view and worked to replace it with a more historicized and nuanced approach.²⁰ My research continues in this direction, and I conceive of Shugendō as a particular form of Esoteric Buddhism that fits organically within the field of Buddhist

¹⁷ Gaynor Sekimori, "Paper Fowl and Wooden Fish: The Separation of Kami and Buddha Worship in Haguro Shugendō, 1869-1875," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 32.2 (2005): 197-234.

¹⁸ Gaynor Sekimori and D. Max Moerman, "Introduction," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 18 (2009), 5.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.

²⁰ Kikuchi Hiroki, *Chūsei Bukkyō no genkei to tenkai* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2007).

Studies. Shugendō can be contextualized within broader patterns of religious synthesis within Buddhism. Furthermore, religious professionals such as *yamabushi* who combined lay and religious characteristics have many analogues in other Buddhist cultures of Asia. At Tibetan monastic complexes, Buddhist clerics and Bon practitioners worked together symbiotically, as did mixed groups of religious professionals in northeast Indian Buddhist and Saivite sacred sites.²¹

Recently scholars have also critiqued the tendency to reify Shugendō as possessing a static, unchanging essence that manifests itself in all times and places. Allan Grapard argues that Shugendō should be regarded as “a set of specific modalities of the relations of a given population to its geographical and historical conditions” rather than as a “single phenomenon thought to have remained the same throughout Japan’s history and space.”²² Following this injunction, I ground Haguro Shugendō within a particular social, economic, and political contexts.

Definitions of Shugendō generally invoke mountain austerities for the purposes of enlightenment and supernormal power as the tradition’s defining practice, and the terms *yamabushi* (lit. “one who lies down in the mountains”) and *shugenja* (“Obtainer of supernatural power”) are often translated as “mountain ascetics.” A natural assumption from these definitions and translations is that with communities of *yamabushi*, one’s position would derive from ascetic attainments, with the most devoted ascetics receiving the most respect and authority. Furthermore, calling *yamabushi* ascetics suggests that

²¹ Paul Kocot Nietupski, *Labrang Monastery: A Tibetan Buddhist Community on the Inner Asian Borderlands, 1709-1958* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2011).; Indrani Chatterjee, *Forgotten Friends: Monks, Marriage, and Memories of Northeast India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

²² Allan G. Grapard, *Mountain Mandalas: Shugendō in Kyushu* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 4.

they were somehow removed from secular concerns such as money, property, status, and family. As I will show, these assumptions bear little resemblance to the actual lives and careers of early modern Haguro *yamabushi*. A *yamabushi*'s place in the social and organizational hierarchies of Haguro derived from his status group and birth order. Summit clergy were always ranked higher than marrying adepts, even if the two shared the same monastic title. Within the marrying adepts, one's rank derived from birth order within the community, and there was an elite group with hereditary ties to the mountain's leadership. Branch ascetics from the parishes did advance in rank through the completion of mountain austerities, but they were the lowest ranked group in Haguro Shugendō, subordinate to both the summit clergy and marrying adepts of Tōge, the village at the foot of Mt. Haguro. The Shugendō tradition of Mt. Yudono – one of the Dewa Sanzan triad – included the extreme ascetics called self-mummified Buddhas (*sokushinbutsu*) who were honored for the severity of their ascetic practice, which culminated in their own death and later mummification as objects of worship. Though the leaders of Haguro Shugendō claimed authority over the four temples of Yudono, the latter consistently affirmed their independent identity and were only connected to Haguro Shugendō in a limited fashion.

At Home and On the Go

The tension between the settled and itinerant lifestyles of *yamabushi* within Shugendō has had a major influence on the tradition's scholarship, intersecting with the question of the periodization and portrayal of the tradition's development. Scholars such as Wakamori Tarō have presented the itinerant individual *yamabushi* as the ideal form of Shugendō and negatively portrayed settled, organized *yamabushi* as the products of its

degeneration and corruption. This shift from itinerancy to settlement has also been invoked to characterize the transition from medieval to early modern forms of Shugendō. Early modern Buddhism as a whole was once dismissed as corrupt and degenerate in received narratives of Japanese Buddhist history, and scholars have only recently questioned that dismissal and advanced a more nuanced conception of early modern Buddhism. The religious studies scholar Miyamoto Kesao specialized in the study of settled early modern *yamabushi*, a phenomenon he called “village *shugen*” (*sato shugen*), and developed a fourfold taxonomy for *shugenja* based on area of residence (mountain vs. village) and mobility (itinerant vs. settled), which explained the transition from medieval to early modern Shugendō.²³ In contradiction to the accepted narrative, Sekiguchi Makiko identifies institutional changes as the main indicator of the medieval to early modern shift, specifically the formation of the Tōzan-ha group with the Sanbōin temple as its head in response to the increasing dominance of the Honzan-ha group.²⁴

The itinerant medieval ascetics of the medieval era certainly existed and performed major social functions, but they were often the subjects of hagiographies that emphasized their distance from worldly entanglements. Such hagiographical depictions of ascetics pose questions for the study of actual ascetic communities not just in Japan, but in all societies. Robert Ford Campany, in his study of medieval Chinese *xian*, a term for Daoist ascetics that he translates as “transcendents,” criticizes the scholarly tendency “to portray *xian* and those who sought to transform themselves into *xian* as socially

²³ Miyamoto Kesao, *Sato shugen no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Iwata shoin, 1984).

²⁴ Sekiguchi Makiko, *Shugendō kyōdan seiritsushi: Tōzan-ha o tōshite* (Tokyo: Bensei shuppan, 2009).

distant figures, isolated on mountaintops or residing in the heavens.”²⁵ He uses both hagiographical literature and other sources to examine “the communal settings in which adepts moved, the public responses that constituted their reputations, and the salient cultural values and religious institutions to which they presented alternatives.”²⁶ Lotus Sutra devotees, or *jikyōsha*, who engaged in mountain practice during Japan’s Heian period, were one of the antecedents to the organized Shugendō tradition that coalesced in the late Heian and early Kamakura eras. Reflecting on how mountain ascetics who fervently secluded themselves from lay society came to be so well-known, Hiroki Kikuchi notes that “an intermediary practitioner was required between the strict ascetic and the people from both town and country...who sympathized with the ascetic.”²⁷ He concludes that “most ascetics took the thaumaturgical powers they gained in the mountains and returned to society [where they] preached to the masses, explaining how these strict ascetics who were secluded in the mountains and practiced for their own benefit led inexplicably spiritually powerful lives.”²⁸

The *yamabushi* who are the subject of this study were settled, living in a community populated almost exclusively by *yamabushi*, and organized according to households whose privileges and duties passed from generation to generation. The emphasis was on the lineage or household, not the individual *shugenja* who acted as its head, and these households were part of a developed, far-reaching organizational

²⁵ Robert Ford Campany, *Making Transcendents: Ascetics and Social Memory in Early Medieval China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i, 2009), 3.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

²⁷ Kikuchi Hiroki, “*Ōjōden*, the *Hokke genki*, and Mountain Practices of Devotees of the *Sutra*,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 41/1 (2014), 74.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 77.

apparatus. Furthermore, the ascetic practices Haguro *yamabushi* undertook were generally communal, not solitary, and were closely connected to their social, economic, and political circumstances. From the perspective of the traditional historical narrative of Shugendō, Haguro's settled *yamabushi* could be regarded as corrupt and unrepresentative of the true ideals of the tradition. My research rejects such a simplistic view, arguing that their lifestyles and practices were a rich, fully legitimate iteration of Shugendō. In fact, while ascetic practice was central to their self-image, it was not the only element in their lives, and their other activities deserve just as much consideration by scholars.

Additionally, even that ascetic practice itself cannot be looked at in a vacuum, and must be considered in connection to the social circumstances of its participants. The *yamabushi* household, a generational institution typified by the Sanadas, is a necessary concept for the study of late medieval and early modern Shugendō. The political struggles, economic activities, and social hierarchies of *yamabushi* were not some corruption of a once pure ideal of solitary mountain asceticism, but were instead the accepted mainstream of the tradition. They did not contradict or delegitimize the tradition's rich doctrinal, ritual, and ascetic facets, but rather came together with them in a complex, cohesive whole that gave meaning to both the *yamabushi* and their patrons.

The Setting of the Dewa Sanzan

During the Tokugawa era (1600-1867), the term Dewa Sanzan, or the Three Mountains of Dewa Province, referred to Mt. Haguro (419 m.), Mt. Gassan (1980 m.), and Mt. Yudono (1504 m.). Previously Mt. Hayama (1462 m.) had occupied Yudono's place in the triad, and Yudono had been revered apart from the three as their collective

‘holy of holies’ (*oku-no-in*), but in the late Sengoku (or Warring States, 1467-1600) era, Yudono officially replaced Hayama as the grouping’s third mountain. Each mountain was associated with a particular Buddhist holy being and a corresponding division of time. Haguro, with the lowest elevation of the three, was the dwelling of the *bodhisattva* Kannon and the mountain of the past, while Gassan, the main peak of the range and eighth highest mountain in the Tōhoku region, was the dwelling of the *bodhisattva* (and future Buddha) Miroku and the mountain of the future. Finally Yudono was the mountain of the present and dwelling of the cosmic Buddha Dainichi.²⁹ Pilgrims followed two major routes on their visits to the mountains, each associated with a local *shugen* organization and its affiliated Buddhist school. The most common order in which pilgrims visited, judging from early modern travel diaries, was Haguro-Gassan-Yudono, the so-called ‘front’ (*omote*) order, based in the Tendai-affiliated Haguro *shugen* organization and the main subject of this study. Though less common, some travelers used the ‘back’ (*ura*) order of Yudono-Gassan-Haguro, based in the Shingon-affiliated Yudono *shugen* organization. These same travel diaries further indicate that most, though not all, pilgrims made the circuit of all three mountains during their trip.³⁰

Status and *yamabushi*

The history of the Sanada families at Haguro also foregrounds the centrality of status to early modern Japanese society. As marrying *yamabushi*, the Sanadas and their peers were in a liminal space between Buddhist monastics and such lay professionals as urban merchants and wealthy rural cultivators. On the one hand, the marrying adepts of

²⁹ Togawa Anshō, *Shinpan Dewa Sanzan Shugendō no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kōsei shuppan, 1986), 23-53.

³⁰ Iwahana Michiaki, *Dewa Sanzan shinkō no kenkōzō* (Tokyo: Iwata shoin, 2003), 163-168.

Tōge were major functionaries in the workings of a powerful regional Buddhist organization, which granted the adepts official monastic ranks and titles. On the other hand, these adepts were householders who passed on a surname, profession, and certain associated privileges from generation to generation. They engaged with questions of income, property, and succession. These issues were not unknown to the temple lineages of Haguro's celibate summit monastics, but Tōge's *yamabushi* experienced them in a manner similar to other laypeople. Spouse-keeping adepts may be compared to the *upasaka*, or devoted laywomen and laymen, of the traditional fourfold division of the Sangha, but they also received monastic titles and performed major Buddhist rituals, complicating the distinction between lay and monastic. This blurring of status group identification occurred in the case of other religious professionals associated with sacred sites, such as the innkeepers, or *oshi*, of Ōyama, who mixed characteristics of peasant cultivators and shrine priests.

The elite *yamabushi* of Tōge, elevated to high status because of their service to the Chief Administrator, occupied a multivalent place in the status system of Tokugawa Japan. Their activities shared significant commonalities with those of samurai, high-status rural cultivators, urban merchants, and the Buddhist clergy, underscoring how the ideal form of Tokugawa class structure was far more prescriptive than descriptive. Citizens of the Tokugawa state were supposed to fit within the fourfold system of warrior,

farmer, artisan, and merchant (*shi-nō-kō-shō*), but elite Haguro *yamabushi* did not easily correspond to the system, and even combined the characteristics of multiple groups.³¹

In a larger sense, this connects to questions about the distinctions between lay and monastic in Buddhism. Intermediary groups like *yamabushi* existed at the intersection of the lay and monastic spheres and performed important functions in Buddhist communities and organizations. One could have a career commitment to a local Buddhist group, but not exist as a full monastic. For many of the lay patrons of Haguro Shugendō, the primary engagement with the tradition was with the marrying adepts of Tōge, who ran the temple lodges where lay believers stayed on pilgrimage, or with the village *shugenja* who performed religious services with various applications. Yet the elite of Tōge enjoyed close relationships with the clergy who had the most authority in the organization, acting as the Chief Administrator's hereditary retainers, much like those of a daimyo warlord. Just as warlords had formerly (prior to the Tokugawa era relocation of daimyo retainers to castle towns) rewarded their followers with gifts of land, the Chief Administrator confirmed the territorial rights of elites, though it seems likely that the *yamabushi* themselves were the ones who initially established the relationships with patrons in those regions. Access to the Chief Administrator and increased proximity to him in the seating order at official gatherings were another area in which they resembled the warrior class. At the same time, the issuing of certifications and licenses also resonates with professional lineages who taught the martial arts or literary traditions such as poetry.

³¹ David L. Howell, *Geographies of Identity in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 1-19.

The Issue of Women in Early Modern Haguro Shugendō

In spite of this study's emphasis on the family/household as a fundamental component of Haguro Shugendō, the nature of the surviving historical record means that it is weighted toward the male half of the household. The women of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon/Gyokuzōbō household are conspicuously absent within the family's document archive as well as in other primary sources of early modern Haguro, and it seems likely that this was the case for other local *yamabushi* households. Concerning the production of family documents by elite households during the early modern era, Takeshi Moriyama writes that "The majority of known family documents, however, consist of a single voice, offering no perspective other than that of the author, who was usually the head of the household."³² It is possible that some documents within the archive were in fact written by wives and daughters of the family under the names of male relatives, but none explicitly indicate this. Ironically, the activities of women were crucial to Haguro Shugendō, specifically in regard to the operation of Tōge's temple lodges (*shukubō*), albeit in a highly gendered fashion. Women were expected to perform most duties related to the accommodation of visiting pilgrims and branch religionists, including food preparation, laundry, and maintenance of sleeping areas. Additionally, wives acted as trusted stewards for the lodge when male household heads were away on parish rounds for long stretches of time.³³

³²Takeshi Moriyama, *Crossing Boundaries in Tokugawa Society: Suzuki Bokushi, a Rural Elite Commoner* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 111.

³³ Togawa Anshō, "Haguro-san no saitai shūto no tsuma," *Sangaku shugen* 12 (Nov. 1993): 1-12.

Nonetheless, the vast contribution to the functioning of the household by women appears to have been considered too commonplace and unremarkable to warrant documentary preservation. For many of the female members of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household, the family archive records only their posthumous names (*kaimyō*), ignoring the personal names they used in life. Ironically, the presence of a spouse distinguished the *yamabushi* of Haguro's base from the celibate clergy of its summit, but very little can be known about the spouses themselves, despite their centrality to the very category of marrying adepts. The presence of women defined the existence of the Sanadas and their peers, but their absence marks the historical records they left behind.

Women did play a role in Haguro Shugendō as religious professionals in their own right. Female religious specialists called *miko*, a term translated as “shamaness,” “medium,” or “priestess,” were recognized as members of the Haguro Shugendō organization, and the territory overseen by the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family within the Nambu and Sendai domains was home to a high number of them. I consider the term “priestess” the most appropriate translation of *miko*, as it is the most neutral in connotation compared to “shamaness” (which is based on the contested term “shaman”) and “medium” (which indicates only one of many religious services *miko* performed for their patrons). I use *miko* and priestess interchangeably in this study. Mt. Haguro itself was home to four special lineages of *miko*, and internal records often refer to them. There is far more material on the lives and activities of parish *miko* than on the women of Haguro-based *yamabushi* households, and the *miko* tradition in northeastern Japan has

continued to the twenty-first century in attenuated form. In the early modern period, *miko* were often the spouses of male *yamabushi*, and the two sometimes worked in tandem during rituals, especially for oracular or exorcistic purposes. In their capacity as parish administrators, conferred by the office of *zaichō*, the Sanada family issued *miko* with official certifications, just as they did their male branch *yamabushi*, and *miko* traveled to Haguro, presumably staying at the Gyokuzōbō temple lodge. Owing to the limitations of the source materials, women are comparatively rare in this dissertation's first three chapters, which focus on the organization's headquarters at Mt. Haguro and the community that existed around it. Chapter four, analyzing the patron-client relationship between the Sanadas and the daimyo rulers of the Nambu domain, is similarly male-focused, owing to the aforementioned problem of family documents generally being written from a singular, patriarchal voice. Chapter five's discussion of parish administration does include a substantial discussion of the Sanada family's interactions with the *miko* residing in their parishes.

The Sanada Gyokuzōbō Documents

In this study, I make extensive use of a set of documents presently designated the *Sanada Gyokuzōbō monjo*, which I translate as the Sanada Gyokuzōbō Archive or the Sanada Gyokuzōbō Documents. This collection is the cumulative document archive of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household of spouse-keeping *yamabushi*, who also used the religious name Gyokuzōbō, literally “Jewel/ball Storehouse Priest.” The marrying ascetic households of Tōge all had religious names ending in the character *bō* (坊), which designated a Buddhist priest and/or his residence. In contrast, the celibate temple lineages

of the summit (and two based within Tōge) passed down religious names ending in the character *in* (院), another term designating a Buddhist priest and his residential temple. The term Sanada Gyokuzōbō combines the family's surname and religious name.

These documents are currently stored in the Local Materials Room (*kyōdo shiryō-shitsu*) of the Tsuruoka Municipal Library, located in Tsuruoka, Yamagata Prefecture, the major city closest to the Dewa Sanzan Mountains. Altogether, they include 706 items, the majority of which were written during the era referred to as Japan's Tokugawa, Edo, or early modern period, which began when Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616) secured hegemony over the Japanese archipelago and established the Tokugawa Shogunate and ended with the Meiji Restoration that dismantled the shogunate, replacing it with the modern Japanese state. Two documents are early modern copies of originals that supposedly date to the late medieval years of 1380 and 1418, while eleven date from the Meiji (1868-1912) and Taishō periods (1912-1926). The archive consists of a wide variety of document types, including maps, ritual manuals, family histories, registers of subordinate ascetics, and deeds guaranteeing control over territory, to name a few. Several documents are family copies of originals submitted to the Mt. Haguro leadership or the domainal governments of daimyo.

The Sanada Gyokuzōbō Archive was catalogued through the efforts of Dr. Matsuo Kenji of Yamagata University, the students of his seminar group, the employees of the Local Materials Room, and the local historian Hoshino Masahiro. Dr. Matsuo introduced the documents and published their catalogue through the *Yamagata daigaku jinbun-gakubu kenkyū-nenpō*, or the *Annual Report of Research by the Yamagata*

University Humanities Department.³⁴ It was Dr. Matsuo who made me aware of the documents and encouraged me to incorporate them into my dissertation research. He also taught me both the grammar and orthography of handwritten materials. This dissertation would not have been possible without his generous assistance and patience.

I supplement the *Sanada Gyokuzōbō monjo* with primary source materials that have been typeset, edited, and published by scholars of Dewa Sanzan Shugendō, including the three volume set of materials published by the Dewa Sanzan Shrine and the volume of the *Shintō taikai (Compendium of Shinto)* on the Dewa Sanzan that was edited by Togawa Anshō.³⁵ These are especially useful for the study of the Sanada Shikibu family, the sister lineage to the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household who shared certain hereditary privileges at Mt. Haguro. They are often mentioned within the Sanada Gyokuzōbō Documents, but I am currently unaware of the location of their own family archive, should it still survive intact to the present day.

A Plurality of Names and Lineages

Names are a potentially confusing aspect of the study of the Sanada families at Mt. Haguro. For convenience and clarity, I broadly refer to the two Sanada families as the Sanada Shichirōzaemon and Sanada Shikibu households, but they used alternate names during certain periods, especially the latter household. During the later medieval era, the ancestors of the former used the household name Sanada Shirōzaemon, but the designation Sanada Shichirōzaemon had standardized by the end of the medieval period.

³⁴ Matsuo Kenji, “Sanada Gyokuzōbō monjo to dōmonjo mokuroku,” *Yamagata daigaku jinbun-gakubu kenkyū-nenpō* 7 (March 2010): 121-170.

³⁵ Umezu Keihō, ed., *Dewa Sanzan shiryōshū, vol.1-3: Jōkan chūkan, gekan* (Yamagata-ken: Dewa Sanzan Jinja Shamusho, 1994-2000.; Togawa Anshō, ed., *Shintō taikai jinja-hen 32: Dewa Sanzan* (Tokyo: Shintō Taikai Hensankai, 1982).

Following that, the household generally retained the double surname of Sanada Shichirōzaemon and the religious name of Gyokuzōbō throughout the early modern period. Two generations of household heads in addition to the regular family name temporarily used the double surname Sanada Geki, which appears to have been granted as an additional honor, Geki being a title in the traditional system of court bureaucracy.

Descendants of the Sanada Shikibu lineage changed their household name several times for unknown reasons during the early modern period. The main house generally used the surname Sanada Shikibu until its members were temporarily banished from Mt. Haguro in 1668 because of their close relationship with the exiled Chief Administrator Ten'yū (1606-1674). Records indicate that the Sanada Shikibu descendants who returned from banishment began using the household name Sanada Shihei, followed later by Sanada Wahei, and after that Sanada Samon. Throughout this period, they retained their traditional place of residence in the Sakura-kōji (“Cherry Blossom Road”) area of Tōge. Furthermore, even after returning to Mt. Haguro, they did not reacquire their parish rights as *yamabushi* until almost a century later. Records from the nineteenth century list Daigobō as the religious name the family used in their parish activities, but it is unclear when they first began using it. It does not occur in any pre-1668 records that I am aware of.

Both main Sanada families also appear to have produced branch lineages during the Edo period. The Sanada Kōuemon household derived from Sanada Shichirōzaemon roots and both had their residences in the Kamei-chō ward of Tōge. On the Sanada Shikibu side, the Sanada Giuemon household was related in some capacity to the Sanada

Shihei lineage, though the specifics of the connection remain unclear. According to the records of the Tōge mortuary temple Kongōjuin, the two existed simultaneously for several generations. These branch lineages play a relatively minor role in the histories of their main houses, but will be mentioned when relevant.

State of Scholarship in Japan

Scholarship on Dewa Sanzan Shugendō traditions has been dominated by Togawa Anshō, the doyen of the field. Togawa had familial connections to the “temple style” (*teragata*) of Haguro Shugendō, which retains Buddhist elements eliminated from the “shrine style” (*jinjagata*) during the mountain’s early Meiji conversion to a State Shinto shrine. He established a close relationship between academic researchers and the “temple style” Haguro-san Shugen Honshū organization, founded after the end of the Pacific War. Trained in the Folklore Studies (*minzokugaku*) of Yanagita Kunio, Togawa produced a truly voluminous amount of material on the history and culture of Dewa Sanzan Shugendō. His most well-known work is the 1973 *Dewa Sanzan Shugendō no kenkyū*, which won the thirteenth Yanagita Kunio prize and was reissued in 1986, but he has published volumes on practically every aspect of the Dewa Sanzan, including local legends, cultic amulets and talismans, and the folkways of Yamagata prefecture.³⁶ He also worked to make primary sources associated with the tradition more accessible, editing the *Shintō taikai* volume on the Dewa Sanzan and producing an annotated edition

³⁶ Togawa Anshō, *Shinpan Dewa Sanzan Shugendō no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kōsei shuppan, 1986).

of Kyōdōin Seikai's seventeenth century history of Mt. Haguro, *Ushū Haguro-san chūkō oboegaki* (*Memorandum on the Restorers of Mt. Haguro in Ūshū*).³⁷

Togawa's folklore-based work took a broad approach to the Dewa Sanzan, but more recent scholarship has focused on specific aspects of Haguro or Dewa Sanzan Shugendō. The geographer Iwahana Michiaki has examined the spatial and geographical aspects of the Dewa Sanzan cult and its pilgrimage culture through sources such as maps, travel diaries, and confraternity (*kō*) records, while the historian Mori Tsuyoshi has concentrated his efforts on the parish systems of Haguro Shugendō and its rival *shugen* groups, using territorial conflicts between the two organizations to understand early modern forms of Shugendō.³⁸ Kanda Yoriko's studies on the village priestesses known as *miko* pay particular attention to their affiliation with the headquarters of Haguro Shugendō, while the ethnomusicologist Ōuchi Fumi has analyzed the liturgy of the Fall Peak austerities and its relationship to related Tendai liturgies.³⁹

Structure of the Study

Haguro Shugendō's sphere of influence can roughly be divided between its headquarters at Mt. Haguro and the parishes in which its branch *yamabushi* and *miko* resided. The Chief Administrator and his functionaries exercised direct control over the mountain itself and the town of Tōge at its foot (and were entitled to yearly taxes from

³⁷ Togawa Anshō, ed., *Shintō taikai jinja-hen 32: Dewa Sanzan* (Tokyo: Shintō Taikai Hensankai, 1982).; Kyōdōin Seikai, *Ushū Haguro-san chūkō oboegaki*, edited and annotated by Togawa Anshō (Yamagata-ken, Tōge-mura: Haguro-san-shi Kenkyūkai, 1941).

³⁸ Iwahana Michiaki, *Dewa Sanzan shinkō no kenkōzō* (Tokyo: Iwata shoin, 2003).; Mori Tsuyoshi, *Shugendō kasumi-shiki no shiteki-kenkyū* (Tokyo: Meicho shuppan, 1989).

³⁹ Kanda Yoriko, *Miko to shugen no shūkyō minzoku-teki kenkyū* (Tokyo: Iwata shoin, 2001).; Ōuchi Fumi, "The Lotus Repentance Liturgy of Shugendō: Identification from Vocal Arts," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 18 (2009), 169-193.

fourteen nearby villages), but their authority over parish territories was more limited. The spouse-keeping ascetics of Tōge, including both Sanada families, were crucial facilitators of the networks of exchange that linked the mountain headquarters and its parishes. The first half of this dissertation addresses the place of the Sanada households within the “internal” sphere of Mt. Haguro Tōge, while chapters four and five shift focus to the “external” sphere and examine the relationships the families maintained with the daimyo rulers of the Nanbu domain and Haguro-affiliated religious professionals residing in Sanada-managed parishes. The mediating activities of the Sanada families connected the internal and external zones of the Mt. Haguro cult, intermingling the two in many respects. The families’ proximity to the cultic headquarters and their long history of service positioned them as trusted subordinates of the Chief Administrator-headed leadership, though the households had their own priorities and expectations. Thus, while I focus on families of centrally-based elite marrying ascetics of Tōge, all strata of the Haguro Shugendō hierarchy figure into the discussion.

Chapter one examines the workings of status (*mibun*) within Haguro Shugendō and describes how the Sanada families characterized and maintained their elite position within the hierarchy. They utilized origin narratives, document preservation and production, and a patron-client relationship with the Chief Administrator to justify their place of honor, which entitled them to privileges concerning land, residences, taxes, and income sources. I contextualize this within a broader description of the development and operation of status groups in early modern Japan, as well as the ways in which up and coming rural and urban elites used documentation and origin narratives to distinguish

themselves from their peers. The activities of elite *yamabushi* did not just relate to other religious professionals, but also overlapped with those of merchants, wealthy peasants, and samurai.

In chapter two I consider the place of the Sanada families within the administrative and institutional history of early modern Haguro Shugendō. High-ranking households such as the Sanadas served as trusted subordinates to the mountain's leadership, especially in the reorganization programs of the seventeenth century Chief Administrator Ten'yū and the nineteenth century Chief Administrator Kakujun. The Sanada Shikibu household was especially close to Ten'yū as he managed Haguro's transition to an early modern religious institution, resulting in severe consequences for the family when Ten'yū was dismissed and banished. Both households helped to implement Kakujun's reforms, being appointed to the most elite administrative offices in the hierarchy. Even apart from the tenures of those two Chief Administrators, Sanada household heads regularly served in community administrative positions, which included many responsibilities and benefits. They also prioritized documenting that service to verify the prestige of the lineage. The unit of the household was an enduring component of the administration of Haguro throughout the early modern period, and elite households like the Sanadas actively worked to maintain their trusted place within the hierarchy.

Chapter three examines how Haguro's yearly ritual calendar reflected the hierarchies of status and rank that structured the organization. I argue that ritual within Shugendō reproduced and reinforced the organization's social hierarchies, contrary to expectations that ascetic attainments would result in a more meritocratic system. Their

ancient pedigree qualified the Sanada families for an exclusive duty to serve as emergency replacements for the main ritualists of the mountain's New Year's ceremony, which considerably enhanced the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family's self-image. Furthermore, the family's hereditary right to a shrine on the slopes of Mt. Gassan conveyed economic benefits as well as ritual responsibilities during a series of summer rituals. Sanada heirs expected and received privileged treatment during that Fall Peak regime of mountain austerities, and also diligently documented both those privileges and their participation in the austerities to preserve the family's place of honor. The experiences of the Sanada families show that lineage was the primary determinant for participation and favored treatment within the ritual calendar of austerities at Mt. Haguro.

Chapter four shifts focus away from Mt. Haguro to concentrate on the patron-client relationship between the Sanada households and the daimyo rulers of Nanbu domain in northeast Honshū. Patronage of *yamabushi* and other religious professionals by commoners may have overtaken patronage by daimyo in importance during the Tokugawa era, but Sanada household heads relied on the Nanbu family for access to parishes and occasional material support. Domain governments supplied the travel passes and post horses used on parish rounds, and the Sanadas worked to preserve good relations across the generations. A member of the Sanada Shikibu family even went so far as to commit suicide in reaction to a perceived snub. Later, Sanada *yamabushi* invoked their shared history with the Nanbu family, corroborated by preserved documents from their archives, to revive the patronage relationship after it had lain fallow for several decades. Haguro *yamabushi* utilized precedent and documentation as effective tools for

maintaining valuable connections to the daimyo rulers of domains during the Tokugawa period.

In chapter five I analyze the Sanada families' management of the branch *yamabushi* and *miko* residing in their parish territory. Haguro's parish system emphasized central control by headquarters-based *yamabushi* families and split parish-related responsibilities between the offices of *zaichō* (lodgekeeper and administrator) and *oshi* (guide and talisman distributor). *Yamabushi* households like the Sanadas served as middle managers who mediated between Mt. Haguro and its parishes. Certification activities were the major responsibilities of the *zaichō* family in charge of parish territory. The procedures, fees, and document formats for those certifications were standardized in manuals circulated among the spouse-keeping adepts of Tōge. The Sanadas also kept registries of branch *yamabushi* and *miko* as well as logbooks that recorded the certifications they had issued to those subordinates. The relationship was generational for both parties, passing from heir to heir, and recorded via documentation that was valued for its corroborative power. Though Shugendō was generally a male-dominated tradition, the female religious specialists known as *miko* played an important role at the parish level, and the certification of these *miko* was a significant aspect of Sanada parish responsibilities. Parish-based *yamabushi* and *miko* were subject to the overlapping administrative networks of the domain government, the Haguro-based administration, and rival Shugendō organizations, but they relied on the Sanadas for the certifications that verified their status as recognized religions professionals. The Sanada families in

turn relied on them for income and prestige, creating the symbiotic networks that sustained early modern Haguro Shugendō.

Chapter One

Yamabushi Elites:

The Sanadas in Local Status Hierarchies

Introduction

In his influential *Folk Religion in Japan: Continuity and Change*, published in English in 1968, the scholar of religion Hori Ichirō explains Shugendō as “a kind of Buddhist asceticism...that consists of magical practices and spiritual and physical training, the object of which is to attain magical power against evil spirits.”¹ This is not an inaccurate statement, but it does exemplify how the study of Shugendō has often privileged the magical and ritual aspects of the practice over the more practical, quotidian necessities of its members. This understanding has made its way into popular culture both in Japan and the West. In settings modeled after East Asia, the popular roleplaying game *Dungeons and Dragons* incorporates the term *shugenja* as a possible profession for players that is the equivalent of the sorcerer or cleric in the Western fantasy context.² Another roleplaying game based on Japanese culture, *Legend of the Five Rings*, allows players to take on the role of a magic-wielding *shugenja*.³ Outside of scholarly discourse, this was perhaps the most frequent use of the term in the West for decades.

In the academic sphere, more recent scholarship, including the work of Suzuki Shōei, Takano Toshihiko, and Sekiguchi Makiko, has increasingly addressed the tradition’s institutional development and financial and social positions of its *yamabushi*,

¹ Hori Ichirō, *Folk Religion in Japan, Continuity and Change* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1968), 74.

² Gary Gygax, David Cook, and Francois Marcela-Froideval, *Oriental Adventures* (Lake Geneva, WI: TSR, 1985).

³ John Wick, *Legend of the Five Rings: Roleplaying in the Emerald Empire* (Ontario: Alderac Entertainment Group, 1997).

especially within the late medieval and early modern periods.⁴ However, these studies have concentrated primarily on the Tōzan-ha and the Honzan-ha, the two major Shugendō organizations initially recognized by the Tokugawa Shogunate in its 1613 law code for Shugendō (*Shugendō hatto*). Regional Shugendō organizations based around local sacred mountains, even if they were technically affiliated with these two groups, remained important to nearby communities, and some mountains, such as Mount Haguro in northern Japan and Mount Hiko on the island of Kyūshū, kept their independence from the two dominant groups, surviving as “single mountain organizations” (*issan soshiki*). Studying their particular circumstances and cultures expands and deepens our understanding of early modern Shugendō and early modern religious communities in general. In this chapter, I consider the idea of status (*mibun*) among the orders of religious professionals who resided on or around Mount Haguro in Dewa Province. These professionals included both the celibate clergy based at temples on the mountain’s summit and slopes as well as the far more numerous spouse-keeping adepts of Tōge, the town at the mountain’s foot, who were entrusted with much of the actual responsibility for the operation of Haguro Shugendō. Concentrating on the elite Sanada families, the most privileged lineage of spouse-keeping ascetics, I explore how Haguro *yamabushi* managed the more practical, “worldly” questions of rank, finance, land, and status. My research utilizes the Sanada Gyokuzōbō Archive (*Sanada Gyokuzōbō monjo*), currently kept in the Tsuruoka Municipal Library of Tsuruoka City, Yamagata Prefecture, a

⁴ Suzuki Shōei, *Shugendō rekishi minzoku ronshū 1: Shugen kyōdan no keisei to tenkai* (Tokyo: Hōzōkan, 2003).; Takano Toshihiko, *Kinsei nihon no kokka kenryoku to shūkyō* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku shuppankai, 1989).; Sekiguchi Makiko, *Shugendō kyōdan seiritsu-shi – Tōzan-ha o tōshite* (Tokyo: Bensei shuppan, 2009).

collection of documents preserved by the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family (*yamabushi* name: Gyokuzōbō), dating mostly from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries, which corresponds roughly to Japan's "early modern" or Edo period (1600-1867). With the exception of my mentor Dr. Matsuo Kenji, no other Japanese scholar (and no Western scholar at all) has done any substantial work with these valuable primary sources, and this dissertation also serves to introduce the possibilities for future research with these documents and others like them. The broad variety of documents that constitute this archive show what kind of information elite *yamabushi* such as the Sanadas considered necessary and important to record and preserve. The documents emphasize just how crucial the techniques of careful recording and the maintenance and citation of those records were to the fortunes of early modern religious professional lineages.

In this chapter I examine how the Sanada families of spouse-keeping adepts experienced status, or *mibun*, at Haguro, including both the mountain itself and the village of Tōge at its foot. I consider the origin narratives that justified the Sanadas' honored place in the community, as well as their unique path to membership in the order of marrying ascetics. In the course of that discussion, I emphasize the internal diversity of Haguro Shugendō and show how the Sanadas occupied a space that blurred normal class distinctions but upheld their own elite self-image. From there, I show how their place of honor granted them special rights to their residence, land around Haguro, and structures on Mount Gassan that served the pilgrims who ascended it. This includes a description of how space and residence were organized according to status at Tōge and Haguro. Then, I explore how the Sanadas worked within set systems for inheritance and succession to

ensure that their privileges were handed down from generation to generation. Throughout all of these interlocking systems, the Sanadas used techniques of documentation and archive preservation to corroborate the precedents that preserved their respected role within the community and organization. The Chief Administrator and his proxy held ultimate authority at Haguro, but they delegated much of the actual operation of the site and organization to trusted subordinates including the Sanada families and their peers. These families gained prestige and authority from the relationship, and actively worked to preserve it, so they were not just passive recipients of the Chief Administrator's favor. Ultimately, I show how concern for status, rank, money, land, family, and official duties were central to the lives of the religious professionals of Mount Haguro. This does not delegitimize their participation in ritual activities, but there was more to the lives of these ascetics than just asceticism.

Status in Tokugawa Era Japan and the Sanadas

I begin by considering the overall status structure of Tokugawa Japan (1600-1867), then focusing on the ambiguous membership of *yamabushi* and similar figures within the subcategory of religious professionals, as well as the status of the Sanada families within Haguro Shugendō. The received conception of early modern Japan's social structure organized the realm's citizens into four primary classes, with the warrior class at the apex and peasants, artisans, and merchants below them in descending order of prestige. In this system, the place of figures such as Haguro's marrying adepts, religious professionals permitted families and hereditary succession, is unclear. More recently, scholars such as David Howell have moved beyond the simplistic four-tiered

interpretation of Edo class structure and advanced a more complex model of early modern society with useful applications to the study of Shugendō. Describing Japanese society from the seventeenth century onward as a “status-system society” (*mibunsei shakai*), Howell identifies the actual classes of early modern Japan as commoners (including both rural peasants and urban townsfolk), samurai, the imperial house and nobility, outcastes, and religious specialists including Buddhist and Shinto clergy and *yamabushi*. He notes that, “Status groups typically functioned through their constituent units, such as the peasant village, urban ward, outcaste territory, Buddhist sect, or daimyo domain...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).”⁵ Mt. Haguro and Tōge at its foot were examples of these communities, and the Sanadas were accustomed to receiving many hereditary privileges and serving in fulfilling several professional obligations.

Howell calculates that the religious professional subgroup numbered several hundred thousand members altogether, making its population less than that of the outcaste subgroup, which made up about a million people (roughly two to three percent of the total population), but more than the imperial house and court nobility subgroup, consisting of only a thousand or so people. The main goal of the shogunate’s reorganization of the realm’s religious professionals into a collective mass governed by

⁵ David L. Howell, *Geographies of Identity in Early Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 28-30, 36.

the Superintendent of Temples and Shrines (*jisha bugyō*) in Edo was to check the potential power of the major Buddhist institutions, who had wielded considerable military and political influence in the medieval era. Nonetheless, it led to the establishment of a distinct social group that included Buddhist monastics and shrine priests (who would increasingly belong to the religious tradition designated by the term Shintō).⁶

As a group that synthesized both lay and monastic qualities, *yamabushi* occupied an ambiguous position within the subgroup of religious professionals. The major Shugendō associations (which all *yamabushi* were legally obligated to join) were affiliated with either the Shingon or Tendai schools of Buddhism, and high-ranking temples of those Buddhist schools (who also served as the ultimate headquarters of the Shugendō organizations) either directly bestowed monastic ranks and titles on member *yamabushi* or authorized officials within their subordinate Shugendō groups to do so on their behalf. In this respect, the status system for *yamabushi* was very similar to that of Buddhist monastics of the various schools recognized by the Tokugawa Shogunate.⁷ However, until 1794, shogunal censuses classified *yamabushi* as peasants (*hyakushō*) because many only acted as *yamabushi* on a part-time basis, living as agriculturists for the rest of the year.⁸ At the same time, the full-time spouse-keeping ascetics who resided at Mt. Haguro itself in the village of Tōge at the mountain's foot shared many characteristics with the *oshi* class of religious professionals, who served as innkeepers

⁶ Ibid., 28-34.

⁷ Takano Toshihiko, "Minkan ni ikiru shūkyōsha," in Toshihiko, ed., *Minkan ni ikiru shūkyōsha* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2000), 8.

⁸ Helen Hardacre, *Religion and Society in Nineteenth-Century Japan: A Study of the Southern Kantō Region, Using Late Edo and Early Meiji Gazetteers* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2002), 44.

and guides at many religious sites throughout the realm and relied on hereditary succession to pass on their privileges and responsibilities. The *oshi* of Mt. Fuji, for example, maintained pilgrim lodges and fulfilled the religious needs of parishioners, much like Haguro's marrying adepts, and they occupied a middle ground between the status identities of shrine priests (*shinshoku*) and peasants (*hyakushō*). The shogunate confirmed the shrine priest status (affiliated with the local Asama Shrine) of the *oshi* of Kawaguchi village near Fuji in 1760, but in many respects, the authorities still treated them as peasants, requiring that they pay the village taxes typically levied on peasants.⁹ In her study of the *oshi* of Mt. Ōyama, subordinate to the Shingon Buddhist clerics of the mountain's summit, Barbara Ambros argues that rather than being a sub-variety of shrine priests, mountain ascetics, or peddlers, *oshi* "grew into a distinct category of religious professionals at many regional sites, such as Ōyama, during the seventeenth century."¹⁰

The Haguro *yamabushi* who operated pilgrim lodges at the mountain's foot and administered both the pilgrims and branch ascetics of the organization's parishes were not exactly *oshi*, but they had much in common with them, especially their ambiguous place within the class system of Tokugawa Japan. Both groups simultaneously held characteristics of religious professionals (Buddhist monastics or shrine priests, depending on the site) and peasants. Furthermore, as I will argue later, high-ranking *yamabushi* such as the Sanadas existed within hierarchical relationships that resembled those of the

⁹Nishida Kaoru, "Kawaguchi-mura ni okeru Fuji-san oshi no seiritsu to sono katsudō," in Takano Toshiko, ed., *Fuji-san oshi no rekishi-teki kenkyū* (Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha, 2009), 111-112.

¹⁰ Barbara Ambros, *Emplacing a Pilgrimage: The Ōyama Cult and Regional Religion in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2008), 6.

samurai class. Having touched on the place of the Sanadas in the larger status categories of the realm, I now consider their position within Haguro's internal status categories.

Locally, at Mount Haguro itself, the Sanadas were members of a special subgroup of marrying adepts who were linked to the mountain's *bettō*, or Chief Administrator, in a relationship that resembled that between a samurai lord and his retainers. This subgroup would later be called *onbun*, the Favored or Indebted, but it existed in practice even before the name was coined. The Chief Administrator delegated these adepts with the responsibility of maintaining certain shrines and halls in Haguro's precincts that venerated various deities, as well as structures on Mount Gassan that served the needs of pilgrims. These high-ranking *yamabushi* also enjoyed the right to administer and profit from pilgrims and branch temples located within set units of territory in northern and eastern Japan, called parishes (*dannaba/kasumiba*), so these elites can be regarded as a kind of *shugenja* landed gentry, ranked below the celibate clergy of the mountain's summit but above the rank and file of the organization. Membership in this lofty stratum of Haguro society conveyed both responsibilities and privileges, and I will consider both in examining how these ascetics engaged with the hierarchies of status the underlay life at Haguro.

Names

First, it is necessary to consider the significance of the lineage name Sanada Shichirōzaemon, the most obvious marker of status, as well as what such surnames meant. Without this background, one cannot comprehend the nature of the documents produced and archived by the family. As Herbert Plutschow explains, through recorded Japanese

history, “Names were not attached to individuals, but to family and its landholdings, office, or other types of property... One did not have a surname unless one was an integrated member of the state and unless one possessed a piece of land, or an office to which one’s name was inseparably linked. Names belonged to the official rather than the private world.”¹¹ In premodern Japan, simply having the right to a surname was an honor usually reserved for either the nobility or the warrior class. Merchants, artisans, and elite peasants also sometimes had surnames, but this was generally discouraged by the ruling classes. Other professional lineages such as kabuki actors or Danzaemon, the head of Edo’s *eta* untouchable community, handed down a surname and/or given name to their descendants. There were several other surname-bearing families of old ancestry at Haguro, such as the Amō Matahei family who were neighbors to the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family in the Kamei ward of Tōge.

Names in premodern Japan consisted of several components, and could change depending on circumstances. They can roughly be broken down into family names, “middle names,” and personal names, with family and middle names sometimes being inherited together over the generations.¹² In the case of Sanada Shichirōzaemon or Sanada Shikibu, the Sanada surname fell under the category of a family name, or *myōji*, which was generally restricted to samurai, nobles, and high-ranking peasants, merchants, and artisans. Shichirōzaemon or Shikibu were ‘middle names’ that originally indicated one’s rank in a family or community, but were then passed down to descendants along

¹¹ Herbert E Plutschow, *Japan’s Name Culture: The Significance of Names in a Religious, Political, and Social Context* (Folkestone, Kent: Japan Library, 1995), 200.

¹² *Ibid.*, 6-13.

with the family name. Shichirōzaemon contained the number seven, or “shichi,” indicating that the original bearer was the seventh son within a family group. Certain late medieval documents also refer to the family as Sanada Shirōzaemon, indicating a fourth son. When and why the shift from Shirōzaemon to Shichirōzaemon occurred is unknown. *Shikibu* was originally a court rank applied to officials in charge of ritual that became permanently attached to the lineage’s family name as a “middle name.” In a similar fashion, members of two generations of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family, Noriaki and Noritada, received the rank of *geki*, another courtly title, and both were often referred to as Sanada Geki in official documents. Finally, male family members also had a personal name, usually conferred around age fifteen. Prior to that they used a provisional name assigned at birth. Information on female members of the family is far scarcer, and for most, the only recorded name is their posthumous Buddhist name from the records of the family mortuary temple.

Surnames were not inextricably tied to genetically continuous bloodlines. In reality, “genealogies reflected the socio-political structure rather than blood relations,” and heirs need not have had any biological relationship to the position they succeeded to.¹³ A name and its affiliated position (*shiki*) could be transferred between individuals depending on the circumstances. In the history of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family, the most obvious instance of this is when Chief Administrator Ten’yū assigned the position of Sanada Shichirōzaemon to his relative Sone Hayato, who then changed his surname to Sanada Hayato. This became necessary because the prior head of the Sanada

¹³ Plutschow, 203.

Shichirōzaemon family, Sanada Kanejūro, left Haguro during the Meireki era (1655-1658) because of a dispute with Ten'yū, and his son Shigekatsu was too young to inherit.

Records from the Nanbu Domain confirm that Sanada Hayato continued the family relationship with the Nanbu clan as any Sanada would have done alongside members of the Sanada Shikibu branch. The Nanbu clan recognized him in that capacity, despite having no blood connection to the traditional lineage. Sanada Hayato was banished from Haguro in 1668 along with Ten'yū's other supporters, and the biological heir Shigekatsu soon succeeded to his family's traditional position.¹⁴ After Shigekatsu, later generations succeeded to the headship in conventional fashion, but that need not have been the case.

Additionally, the lineage used multiple names to refer to itself, depending on the circumstances. It frequently used Gyokuzōbō, its *yamabushi* title, especially when a Sanada ascetic served as the replacement Pine Saint for the Winter Peak New Year's ceremonies, a ritual responsibility discussed in chapter three. This designation seems to have emphasized its character as an ascetic lineage performing sacred rituals. When managing parishes in Mutsu province, including the branch ascetics and *miko* priestesses who lived with them, the lineage used the title Sanada *zaichō*. *Zaichō* was the title that conferred administrative rights over parishes at Haguro, as well as the right to house pilgrims in a lodge and produce the talismans that *oshi*, or guides, distributed within the parishes. The lineage also held *oshi* rights to most of its parishes, and both titles sometimes appear on documents, though just *zaichō* was used more often. Finally, for

¹⁴ *Sanada Gyokuzōbō monjo* 4-350. In subsequent citations, I refer to the documents of the *Sanada Gyokuzōbō monjo* with the abbreviation SGM followed by the document number. The originals are stored in the Local Materials Room of the Tsuruoka Municipal Library, Tsuruoka-shi, Yamagata Prefecture, Japan.

most of its social and administrative activities at Haguro, the lineage used the surname and middle name Sanada Shichirōzaemon. Individual members received a temporary name at birth that lasted until they came of age and received an adult name, generally beginning with the character for “eternal” or “long,” pronounced “Nori” in their names. A document issued to Sanada Shichirōzaemon Noriaki in 1727 includes the phonetic pronunciation of his name in red ink above the Chinese characters, and my readings of the names of his descendants derive from this.¹⁵

In the case of the Sanada Shikibu lineage, the issue of names is especially complicated. Until 1668, the designation Sanada Shikibu seems to have indicated all members of the family, but following their 1668 banishment from Haguro, families descended from the Sanada Shikibu line began identifying themselves by combinations of surnames and middle names that changed over time. This included Sanada Shihei (which derived from the seventeenth century Sanada Shikibu family), Sanada Giuemon (a sub-lineage connected to Sanada Shihei), and Sanada Wahei and Sanada Samon (generational name changes from Sanada Shihei). The individual given names of *yamabushi* from these lineages often include the characters for ‘pure’ or ‘mirror,’ evoking their ancestor Sanada Shikibu Seikyō, whose personal name consisted of both of those characters. Much later in the early modern period, they successfully reacquired a *yamabushi* name of their own, Daigōbō, which appears in Bakumatsu (“Fall of the Shogunate”) era (1853-1867) documents. Furthermore, certain documents from the Nanbu Domain occasionally refer to this lineage as Sanada *zaichō* as well. As all this

¹⁵ SGM 693-1,2.

indicates, names were a complicated aspect of lineages at Haguro. Still, they were fundamental to the marrying adepts of early modern Haguro. Adepts from a particular family took on different names depending on changing social, ritual, and historical circumstances, underscoring the multilayered character of their existences. Just as the broad term *Shugendō* encompassed a heterogeneous and fluid mass of meanings, so did the names of the religious professionals designated by that term. The same ascetic might be Sanada Shichirōzaemon in one context, Gyokuzōbō in another, and the Sanada *zaichō* in yet another, in addition to the private sphere of the family itself which, though sparsely documented, carried its own expectations and assumptions.

Warrior Ancestors from the Capital: Narratives of Sanada Family Origins and History

Narratives of Sanada origins at Haguro established that the families derived their prestige from both local and outside sources. On the one hand, the households had been at Haguro for centuries, but on the other, their ancestor first came from an outside center of power, Kamakura, seat of the Kamakura Shogunate, to assume a position of authority on behalf of the central government. It is impossible to verify the truthfulness of the received traditions concerning the arrival of the Sanada families' ancestor at Haguro, but that is beside the point. In a discussion of the frequency of the falsification of genealogies in Japanese history, Plutschow states that "Any person assuming power needed to claim descent from an illustrious ancestor."¹⁶ In words that apply exactly to the Sanadas, he explains that "Because their ancestors had already enjoyed it [rights to territory and

¹⁶ Plutschow, 158.

office], the right became legitimate, especially if one could prove that such right was enjoyed all the way from antiquity to the present descendants; better still if one could prove by means of an authoritative genealogy that their ancestors were related to a deity, an emperor, or other leading aristocratic or warrior families, that is, they were related to a legitimate source of power.”¹⁷ The Sanada lineages used exactly this strategy, citing their thirteenth century warrior ancestor and the office he had passed down to his descendants as the basis for their privileged position. What is important is how the Sanada lineages used their origin narratives to defend and enhance their honored place in Haguro Shugendō.

Two versions of the arrival of the Sanada family at Mt. Haguro have been passed down at Haguro, but they both follow a similar pattern, only disagreeing on certain details. This is not the sole example at Haguro of using a connection to a central capital to enhance prestige. The efforts of the Chief Administrators Ten’yū and Kakujun to identify Nōjo Daishi, the legendary founder of Haguro Shugendō, as an imperial prince who came to Haguro from the capital follows the same pattern. Furthermore, many temples throughout Tōhoku claim to have been founded by prominent figures from the capital-centric polity, such as the general Sakanoue Tamuramarō (758-811), the Tendai monk Ennin (794-864), or the warrior Minamoto no Yoriie (1192-1204).¹⁸ Having origins in an outside center of power conveyed prestige and honor, and was preferable to being entirely autochthonous.

¹⁷ Ibid., 148.

¹⁸ Gakkō Yoshihiro, *Tōhoku no issan soshiki no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kōsei shuppansha, 1991). 48-56.

The *Memorandum on the restorers of Mt. Haguro in Ūshū*, a history of Haguro compiled in the late seventeenth century by the summit monk Kyōdōin Seikai, recounts the first origin story of the Sanada family in two separate entries. Seikai himself was originally of the Sanada Shikibu household, so he may have been drawing on internal family tradition for these sections. I will examine the *Record* in more detail in chapter two's discussion of Sanada administrative duties, but it does pay particular attention to the activities of the Sanada Shikibu household as supporters of the Chief Administrator Ten'yū and in an account of Sanada Shikibu Seikyō's suicide in the Nanbu Domain. The Sanada Shichirōzaemon lineage is mentioned once, and only in the abstract, which may reflect purposeful omission, but this cannot be verified.¹⁹ There is no evidence of overt hostility between the two lineages, but the almost complete absence of the closely related and locally prominent Sanada Shichirōzaemon family within the text is striking. Other historical records indicate that Sanada Shichirōzaemon household heads served the Chief Administrators Yūgen and Yūshun as functionaries during the period chronicled by Seikai in his *Record*, but the *Record* itself fails to acknowledge this. Nonetheless, while the omission is intriguing, there is no way to ascertain whether it was intentional or the actual motives behind it. Keikai's *Record* is a rich source for the history of his own family, but for whatever unknowable reason, it says nothing about its sister lineage.

The first relevant entry in the *Record* states that the Sanada family (Sanada-ke) first came to Haguro from Kamakura as attendants to the Umezu Middle Captain (Umezu *chūjō*), alongside the Yoshizumi family. According to the *Record*, Hōjō Tokiyori (1227-

¹⁹ Kyōdōin Seikai, *Ushū Haguro-san chūkō oboegaki*, edited and annotated by Togawa Anshō (Yamagata-ken, Tōge-mura: Haguro-san-shi Kenkyūkai, 1941).

1263), the fifth Hōjō regent for the Kamakura Shogunate, once spent three years at Mt. Haguro serving at the Main Shrine during his travels through the provinces of Japan. After Tokiyori returned to Kamakura, he dispatched the Umezu Middle Captain to serve as the Warden (*tandai*) for Dewa Province, and his attendants, the Sanada and Yoshizumi families, accompanied him to his post. At Haguro, the Sanada and Yoshizumi families acted as his steward or regent (*shikken*) and were entrusted with administrative positions referred to as *karō* (Elder) or *chōri* (senior monastic post). The month was divided into three periods, called *jun*, and each section had designated families to serve as Elder. The Sanada and Yoshizumi families acted as Elder for the last third of the month, and Keikai notes that as of the Kanbun era (1661-1673), the families who served as Elders for the first and second thirds had died out, leaving only the Sanadas.²⁰ Local legends featuring Hōjō Tokiyori as a wanderer who aids communities in some capacity occur throughout Japan. Kōbō Daishi, or Kūkai, founder of the Shingon School of Buddhism, is the protagonist in a similar genre of local legends.²¹ It is therefore likely that the presence of Hōjō Tokiyori in this version of the Sanada family arrival at Haguro developed from this legend pattern. Hōjō Tokiyori is an honored figure who lends the authority of the shogunal capital of Kamakura to the ancestor of the Sanada families.

The second relevant entry repeats that the Sanada family first came to Haguro from Kamakura with the Umezu Middle Captain, but goes on to list both branches, Sanada Shikibu and Sanada Shichirōzaemon, and states that they have served as Stewards

²⁰Togawa Anshō, ed., *Shintō taikai jinja-hen 32: Dewa Sanzan* (Tokyo: Shintō Taikai Hensankai, 1982), 128-129.

²¹ Carmen Blacker, "The Folklore of the Stranger: A Consideration of a Disguised Wandering Saint," *Folklore* 101.2 (1990): 162-168.

(*shikken*) of the mountain's foot ever since. This is the only section in the document that mentions the Sanada Shichirōzaemon lineage.²² Technically, Sanada (formerly Sone) Hayato was carrying out the official duties of the family during Ten'yū's time as Chief Administrator, but the *Record* never identifies him as Sanada Shichirōzaemon or describes his connection with the family. It is difficult to say anything definitive about why Keikai may have intentionally or unintentionally ignored the Sanada Shichirōzaemon line in compiling his history, but it may stem from his support of Ten'yū. Keikai wrote the *Record* to memorialize and glorify Ten'yū, and consequentially depicted figures who opposed him in a negative light, especially the group of five summit clergy who objected to Ten'yū's reorganization of Haguro and filed the lawsuit that prompted his dismissal and exile. Keikai consistently refers to these five clergy as *akutō*, or a gang of villains. The conflict between Sanada Kanejūro and Ten'yū may have prompted Keikai to excise the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family from his account of Haguro's history under the three generations of Chief Administrators he praised as "restorers": Yūgen, Yūshun, and Ten'yū. When it came to his own lineage, however, he made sure to address its origin at Haguro and the reason for its unique position in the mountain's administrative system. In a later entry within the *Record*, he goes on to describe the received account of the origin of the patronage relationship between the Nanbu, samurai rulers of the Nanbu/Morioka domain, and the Sanada Shikibu family.²³ Intentional or not, Keikai's history documented and glorified not only the Chief Administrators he admired, but the Sanada Shikibu family and its long association with social and political power.

²² Togawa, ed., *Shintō taikei jinja-hen 32: Dewa Sanzan*, 128-129.

²³ For more information on the interactions between these two families, see chapter four.

The text preserved the Sanada Shikibu origin narrative within the larger history of Haguro, linking the two together for future generations. One of the primary justifications for their special status thus gained longevity and authority.

The Sanada Shichirōzaemon Version

The distinctions between different versions of this story may seem trivial, but examining their similarities and differences serves an important function. On the one hand, similarities suggest that certain core elements were significant enough to survive across diffusion and diversification within the different family branches. On the other hand, the existence of those differences underscores how something as seemingly fundamental as an origin tradition encompassed diverse, heterogeneous elements.

Documents written by members of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family describe the family's origin at Haguro according to the same basic pattern that Keikai notes in the *Record*, but the details are slightly different. The earliest reference to this version of the story that I have been able to locate is a 1685 letter from Sanada Shichirōzaemon Shigekatsu to the cleric Kakuzen'in. Shigekatsu states that two Sanadas came from Kamakura in the Jōkyū era (1219-1222) to serve as Deputy (*shoshidai*), Sanada Jirō Tayū [Iehisa], the ancestor of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family, and Sanada Genjirō ancestor of the Sanada Shikibu family. Since then, both families have passed down their duties as leaders of the mountain's foot, but Shigekatsu complains that he has had to handle the responsibilities by himself since the Sanada Shikibu household was banished along with Ten'yū in 1668.²⁴ He regarded the absence of his sister lineage as anomalous and

²⁴ SGM 2-156.

producing an undue burden on his own family. However, a year later, Shigekatsu copied records that he claimed were held by the Main Shrine and dated Sanada Jirō Tayū Iehisa's arrival to Jōkyū 3(1221) when he served as a commissioner (*bugyō*), but these records made no mention of another ancestor called Sanada Genjirō.²⁵ These discrepancies further show how multiple versions of the Sanada family's arrival at Haguro coexisted within documents and family tradition. Instead of one unchanging, easily verifiable account, there were several that varied according to need and circumstance.

Traditions summarized in later secondary sources expand on the details behind the Kamakura Shogunate sending Sanada Jirō Tayū Iehisa to Haguro. During the Jōkyū era (1219-1222), the Retired Emperor Go-Toba raised a rebellion against the authority of the Kamakura shogunate later called the Jōkyū Disturbance (*Jōkyū no ran*). Haguro tradition holds that Go-Toba appointed his supporter Sonchō as the mountain's leader in order to mobilize its resources for his rebellion. In response, Kamakura sent Iehisa to assume the position of Deputy (*shoshidai*) for the mountain and foil Go-Toba's plan. Iehisa's descendants continued to reside at Haguro in the role of Steward of the mountain's base.²⁶ This version has the Sanada ancestor as the primary figure acting on behalf of Kamakura, in contrast to Seikai's version, where the Sanada family is part of the retinue of a superior figure.

Neither version can be corroborated, but the difference between them could result either from the elevation of a mere follower to the role of primary actor in the Sanada

²⁵ Ibid., 2-158.

²⁶ Togawa Anshō, *Dewa shugen no shugyō to seikatsu* (Tokyo: Kōsei shuppansha, 1993). 57-58.

Shichirōzaemon version or the increase in prestige obtained through the creation of a relationship with a respected historical figure such as Hōjō Tokiyori in the Sanada Shikibu version. A special origin based on a connection to an outside center of power was central to both major Sanada families, but the details were less fixed in this second case. The discrepancies between the two versions raise fascinating but unanswerable questions. Was one the original and the other a later alteration? Were both elaborated from an even older prototype? Why is the Sanada ancestor merely the attendant to the superior official in the Sanada Shikibu version and the superior official himself in the Sanada Shichirōzaemon version? Regardless, the basic shared narrative of an origin with the Kamakura Shogunate provided an effective rationale for the honored role the families claimed within the community. The citation of a prestigious past helped to secure a prestigious future.

The Internal Diversity of Haguro Shugendō

At first glance, the term Haguro Shugendō may suggest a homogeneous, unitary assembly of *yamabushi* all engaged in the same religious activities and working toward common aims, but in reality, that designation encompassed several distinct subgroups with their own particular experiences as career religionists affiliated with Haguro. Furthermore, Haguro Shugendō included both the religious specialists residing on or around the mountain itself as well as the organization's branch *yamabushi* and *miko* who had settled in communities throughout Japan. On a similar note, the term Dewa Sanzan, or "The Three Mountains of Dewa," implies a harmonious association among the three, but conflict between the temples of Haguro and those of Yudono continued throughout

the early modern period. The leaders of the Haguro temples frequently claimed authority over the four temples associated with Yudono (Dainichibō, Chūrenji, Dainichiji, and Hondōji) and their affiliated religious villages, but these four temples continually and successfully contested Haguro's efforts to deny their independence.²⁷ While the members of the Haguro Shugendō organization did share many common characteristics, it should not be approached as an unchanging monolith.

This coexistence of multiple groups of religious professionals at the same sacred site or temple complex occurred frequently within Asian traditions of esoteric/Tantric Buddhism. Going as far back as the origins of the esoteric tradition in late medieval India (roughly 500 to 1200 CE), formal monastic complexes and communities of marginal *siddha*, or Perfected, were closely linked. Ronald Davidson concludes that, "Ultimately, both monks and siddhas developed a symbiotic relationship in the small regional monasteries located in regional centers, towns, and at the edge of the forest, with the two estates eventually sharing a common syllabus, ritual vocabulary, and a grudging respect for each other's scriptural compositions and spirituality."²⁸ Later, both the Northeast Indian esoteric institutions discussed by Indrani Chatterjee and Labrang Monastery in Tibet, studied by Paul Kocot Nietupski, exhibit similar social structures and fall within the esoteric Buddhist tradition.²⁹ A comparison between Labrang and Haguro is especially apt, as both locations include linked groups of more conventional monastics

²⁷ Togawa Anshō, *Shinpan Dewa Sanzan Shugendō no kenkyū*, 47-50.

²⁸ Ronald Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism: A Social History of the Tantric Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 338.

²⁹ Indrani Chatterjee, *Forgotten Friends: Monks, Marriages, and Memories of Northeast India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).; Paul Kocot Nietupski, *Labrang Monastery: A Tibetan Buddhist Community on the Inner Asian Borderlands, 1709-1958* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2011).

and ascetics with a more lay character. This heterogeneity has been a central aspect of esoteric Buddhism traditions since their origins, and Haguro Shugendō is another example of seemingly unitary Buddhist institutions or communities in reality encompassing a plurality of constituent groups with their own experiences and priorities.

The Social Organization and Career Progression of Marrying Ascetics in Tōge

Like many regional religious centers in early modern Japan, Mt. Haguro was divided between official clergy and subordinate religious specialists both geographically and administratively. The clergy of Mt. Haguro, called *seisō*, or “pure monks,” resided primarily in temples on the mountain itself, and exercised senior administrative authority over the organization. These monks observed the customary monastic precepts such as celibacy, and passed on their temples to their disciples, in contrast to the spouse-keeping ascetics of the foot whose children inherited their title and lodge. Though initially of various sect affiliations, all clergy on the mountain became affiliated with the Tendai School once Haguro became a branch temple of the Tendai temple Kan’eiji in 1634 through the efforts of Chief Administrator Ten’yū. Subsequently, they operated under the control of the Rinnō-no-miya *monzeki*, or imperial temple, which simultaneously served as head of Kan’eiji, Nikkō-san, Mt. Hiei, and thus the Tendai School as a whole.³⁰ Gaynor Sekimori has shown how the ritual calendar of these Haguro clergy increasingly showed the influence of Tendai practice and doctrine following their incorporation as a branch temple of Kan’eiji.³¹ Not only were the summit clergy required to practice

³⁰ Miyake Hitoshi, *Haguro shugen – sono rekishi to mine-iri* (Tokyo: Iwata shoin, 2000), 67-79.

³¹ Gaynor Sekimori, “Shugendō and its Relationship with the Japanese Esoteric Sects: A Study of the Ritual Calendar of an Edo-Period Shugendō Shrine-Temple Complex,” in *Esoteric Buddhism and the*

celibacy, but women were not permitted to reside on Mt. Haguro itself, though they could make temporary pilgrimages to the summit.

The religious specialists referred to as *saitai shugen*, literally *shugenja* with a spouse, resided in the village of Tōge at the foot of the mountain, and though they performed many important duties for the Haguro cult, they had little say in the overall management of the organization. Generally, they operated pilgrim lodges known as *shukubō* and guided pilgrims around the Dewa Sanzan. Among these spouse-keeping ascetics, there was an elite class connected to the Chief Administrator, himself a celibate monk of the summit, through a relationship that resembled that between a samurai retainer and his lord. As a result of that connection, these *yamabushi* enjoyed the rights to hold and manage parishes (*dannaba/kasumiba*), maintain and profit from various halls, shrines, and huts in Tōge and on Mt. Gassan, and other special privileges. The term *onbun* or *go-onbun*, literally meaning the Favored/Indebted Portion, was formally applied to this group in the late Edo period, but the basic conception behind it dates back to at least the early eighteenth century, if not earlier. A subset of the Favored class served the Chief Administrator directly at his temple of residence and were referred to as his Retinue, or *miuchi* (lit. “honored inside[rs]”), a term that in other contexts indicated aristocracy or a lord’s vassals or retainers.³² Both major Sanada families belonged to the Favored class, and they often held the administrative posts that qualified an adept to be one of the Chief Administrator’s Retinue (*miuchi*). As I will demonstrate later, however,

Tantras in East Asia, edited by Charles Orzech, Henrik Sorenson, and Richard Payne (Leiden: Brill, 2011): 997-1008.

³² Shinmura Izuru, ed., *Kōjien* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2008).

the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household considered itself and its sister lineage to be elites within elites, based on their ancient pedigree and special privileges.³³

Below the Favored, there were many *yamabushi* who did not have parishes of their own, but lodged and guided the pilgrims who came to Haguro from the parishes in the Kantō region held by three prominent summit temples whose head monks were referred to as the Three *Sendatsu*, or Three Guides. The heads of these three temples reserved the privilege to serve as the highest ranking functionary, the *daisendatsu*, during the annual Fall Peak austerities, exchanging the position on a yearly basis. The Tōge *yamabushi* to whom these temples entrusted their pilgrims were eventually referred to as the *hiramonzen* or *hiramonjin*, which translates roughly to ordinary or common temple townfolk. Furthermore, there were some townsmen who were not counted among the spouse-keeping adepts.³⁴

The pattern of elite clergy or priests who resided on the summit of a sacred mountain and wielded ultimate authority over the religious organization, and subordinate religious specialists who lived at the mountain's foot and ran pilgrim lodges, managed parishes, and passed on their position through hereditary succession was not unique to Mt. Haguro. A similar situation existed at Mt. Ōyama between the cult's Shingon clergy and its *oshi* who operated pilgrim inns, held parishes, and distributed talismans, among other responsibilities. Barbara Ambros characterizes the relationship between these two groups as symbiotic, with the *oshi* playing a crucial role in the cultivation and continued

³³ Togawa, *Dewa shugen no shugyō to seikatsu*, 27-29, 37-41.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

management of the mountain's pilgrimage system.³⁵ The relationship between Haguro's summit clergy and spouse-keeping ascetics also falls within Ambros' classification of symbiosis. She further notes that while the specific configuration of *oshi* and similar groups varied from one sacred site to another, the importance of these groups did not, and "though these religious specialists were usually not officially in charge of administering the cultic site, they represented the key to success for the majority [sic] Japan's early modern pilgrimage cults."³⁶

Haguro Ascetics and Innkeeper Religious Professionals across Japan

At Haguro, the spouse-keeping *shugenja* living at the mountain's foot engaged in the same activities as the *oshi* of other Japanese religious sites and likewise were subject to the authority of temple or shrine priests, but in certain other respects they were unique. The *oshi* of Mitake-san and Ōyama both had their origins in local ascetic traditions, but were brought under the control of shrine and temple priests in the seventeenth century, losing their ascetic character in the process. Enoshima's *oshi* derived from local villagers and fishermen, and like their counterparts at Mitake-san and Ōyama, found themselves dominated by temple-based clergy during the early modern period. The clergy of Haguro's summit temples controlled the lodge-keeping marrying adepts in an equivalent fashion to Ōyama, Mitake-san, and Enoshima. However, Haguro's spouse-holding ascetics maintained their identities as *yamabushi* and members of a Shugendō organization, while the *oshi* of many other religious sites discarded their ascetic qualities

³⁵ Barbara Ambros, *Emplacing a Pilgrimage: The Ōyama Cult and Regional Religion in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 84 – 87.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 116.

for the most part. Haguro *yamabushi* are an example of *oshi*-style religious professionals, but with a clear Shugendō affiliation and identity.

Additionally, though the comparison between Haguro's ascetics and the *oshi* of other religious centers is revealing, local interpretations of *oshi*-style offices and duties at Haguro were unique. For Haguro's *yamabushi*, the position of *oshi* only granted permission to make rounds of parishes, distribute talismans within them, and guide pilgrims from those parishes to Haguro. The rights to operate the lodges that housed those pilgrims, manufacture the talismans *oshi* circulated among them, and manage the branch *yamabushi* and *miko* based in those parishes were reserved for those holding the *zaichō* office. Despite the binary structure of pilgrim-related responsibilities, the separation between the two offices, *oshi* and *zaichō*, was not complete. Many Haguro *yamabushi*, including the Gyokuzōbō/Sanada Shichirōzaemon household, held both positions simultaneously for many of their parishes. Togawa also argues that the distinction between the two offices was a later development, traceable to the seventeenth century.³⁷ Nonetheless, Haguro's class of innkeeper religious professional had their own local, particular characteristics.

The geographic and social structure of Haguro is also echoed in the division of Mt. Hiko, an important Shugendō center located on the island of Kyushu. The mountain was separated into four ascending levels of increasing sacrality according to the concept of the "Four Lands" that Zhiyi (538-597), the founder of the Tiantai School of Buddhism, described in his writings. The lowest level was the site of several villages that served the

³⁷ Togawa Anshō, *Dewa Sanzan to Shugendō: Togawa Anshō chosaku-shū* 1 (Tokyo: Iwata Shoin, 2005), 200-204.

organization in various capacities, while its *yamabushi* resided at the second level.³⁸ Allan G. Grapard explains that the “four lands or zones of Mount Hiko were Buddhist metaphors that functioned to reinforce an older social prescription, in that they represented the embodiment of a mental map of hierarchy, itself grounded in a long-established opposition between purity and pollution.”³⁹ Though Mt. Haguro’s distinctions were not so rigid, there still were significant geographical divisions. Not only did the Sanada families enjoy the highest possible position among the spouse-keeping ascetics, the local iteration of the religious specialists described by Ambros, but they also had a foot in the world of the mountain clergy. Their unique status complicates easy distinctions between celibate clergy and marrying religious professionals, and suggests that groups like Haguro’s spouse-keeping adepts had important roles in the organization that went beyond managing pilgrims.

The Typical Membership Process for Spouse-Holding Ascetics

As mentioned above, Haguro Shugendō was a heterogeneous organization that contained several stratified subgroups with their own customs and rules. The religious professionals based at Mt. Haguro could be collectively referred to as Haguro *shūto*, a term used at religious institutions across the realm to group together all the religious professionals of a particular site or shrine-temple complex, but documents at Haguro often distinguished between the *shūto* of the summit and the *shūto* of the mountain’s foot. The clergy of the summit temples, one level above the marrying ascetics of the foot, had

³⁸ Allan G. Grapard, “Geotyping Sacred Space: the Case of Mount Hiko in Japan,” in *Sacred Space: Shrine, City, Land*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar and R.J. Zwi Werblowsky (New York: New York University Press, 1998) 229-234.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 230.

procedures for initiation and advancement derived from standard Buddhist monastic regulations, specifically those of the Tendai School because of Haguro's 1641 affiliation with the Tendai-affiliated Kan'eiji temple in Edo (also referred to as Tōei-zan, "Mt. Hiei of the East") as a branch temple. Branch Haguro *yamabushi* based in parishes across Japan, the level ranked below that of the marrying ascetics, had their own system as well, and advanced by completing sessions of the Fall Peak austerities.⁴⁰ Though members of the middle stratum of marrying ascetics, the Sanada lineages regarded themselves as a special sub-group ranked above their fellows and permitted their own unique path through life at Haguro.

In order to appreciate the special privileges enjoyed by the two major Sanada lineages, it is first necessary to understand the typical process that conferred membership in the order of Tōge's spouse-keeping ascetics. Members of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household based their self-image on their exemption from the standard demands placed on their peers. At practically every step of their career, they were entitled to special treatment based on their honored pedigree.

Membership in the order of marrying adepts of Tōge was achieved through the completion of three main requirements, usually referred to as the Three Duties (*san'yaku*). The first of these duties consisted of a ceremony called *taigyō* that registered a male child in the records of the mountain and was performed by his parents as soon as possible after his birth. This officially initiated him into the company of the ascetics, and became the basis for membership in elite ascetic groups later in life, which were reserved for

⁴⁰ Togawa, *Dewa shugen no shugyō to seikatsu*, 27-31.

yamabushi with the earliest recorded *taigyō* ceremony. The ceremony itself entailed an offering of five kinds of seasonal greens, two barrels of sake, and three hundred *mon* of coins presented atop a special eight-legged altar-stand to the office of the Chief Administrator, followed by the registration of the birth and issuing of the *taigyō* certificate. This ceremony also christened the child with either a *yamabushi* title ending in the character *bō* (房) or a name styled after official imperial court titles such as Major Counselor (*dainagon*).⁴¹ Awareness of seniority among adepts depended on the maintenance of reliable records, and the office of the Chief Administrator exhorted Haguro's ascetics to take proper care of their *taigyō* certificates, and for a fee would replace them if lost or damaged.⁴²

An ascetic's first participation in the annual Fall Peak Austerities, usually around age fifteen, was the second of the Three Duties. Completion of the ascetic regime conferred the status of Buddhist lay devotee (Jpn. *ubasoku*; Sanskrit, *upāsaka*). The ascetic then began Shrine Service (*ban-nori*), the last of the Three Duties, the following year, and worked at the Main Shrine on Haguro's summit in shifts of two youths each day for a set period of time. After performing all of the Three Duties, the *yamabushi* was officially a member of the order of spouse-keeping ascetics, but there were even higher ranks he could qualify for later in life. At around age forty-five or forty-six, if his *taigyō* birth certificate was especially senior, he could receive the high Buddhist ranks of Esoteric Master (Jpn., *ajari*; Sanskrit. *ācārya*) and Deputy Lesser Sangha Administrator (*gon-shōsōzu*) and be appointed to a special group called the Lotus Thirty Confraternity

⁴¹ Togawa, *Dewa shugen no shugyō to seikatsu*, 60-62.

⁴² Togawa, ed., *Shintō taikei: Dewa Sanzan*, 460-461.

(*hokke sanjū-kō*). Every year, the two most senior members of this assemblage received the ranks of Dharma Seal (*hōin*) and Deputy Chief Sangha Administrator (*gon daisōzu*), the highest possible for a marrying ascetic, and after a hundred days of fasting, confinement, and purification, the two served as *matsu hijiri*, or Pine Saints, in the Toshiya-matsuri New Year's ceremony held at the Main Shrine. This would usually happen around the ages of sixty-four or sixty-five.⁴³ In contrast to this, heads of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family (and potentially heads of Sanada Shikibu-derived families) could serve as a backup Pine Saint at any age, provided they were to inherit.

The Unique Membership and Advancement Processes of the Sanada Families

The centrality of ascetic practice to Shugendō may give the impression that a *yamabushi*'s status derived primarily from his participation in austerities and the enlightenment and supernatural powers they conferred upon him. While those factors certainly shaped hierarchies in Haguro Shugendō, the experiences of the Sanada lineages demonstrate that hereditary privilege was just as, if not more, important. They also underscore the necessity of proper documentation for both. If an ascetic could not prove his accomplishments, there was a risk that they would not be acknowledged and that he would not enjoy the rewards they were supposed to merit. Elite lineages such as the Sanadas also valued documentation, as it verified their claims to an honored position at Haguro. At practically every stage of advancement through their careers as ascetics, the Sanadas enjoyed special treatment. They even regarded themselves as comparable to respected summit clergy in certain respects. Furthermore, I argue that successive

⁴³ Togawa, *Dewa shugen no shugyō to seikatsu*, 37-38.

generations of Sanadas utilized techniques of internal self-documentation and careful preservation of official documents from external sources to defend their accustomed place at the apex of Tōge's community of marrying adepts. This shows that Shugendō communities were undergirded by notions of hereditary privilege and status.

The *Memorandum* prepared by Sanada Shichirōzaemon Hisatake in 1722 offers an especially revealing glimpse into the family's self-image because it was written for internal consumption, with the goal of educating future generations about their heritage. Hisatake recorded his conception of the family's history and identity, which went on to become the basis for later family histories compiled by his descendants. Throughout the *Memorandum*, Hisatake continually stresses that his family is entitled to certain unique privileges, enumerated in the certificate his ancestor received from the Chief Administrator Yūgen in 1602. He transcribed both that certificate and two parish deeds issued in 1673 and 1679 in the course of his writing, underscoring the necessity of reliable documentation to the preservation of the family's fortunes.

Exemption from the Three Duties

As discussed above, the *taigyō* ceremony was the first of the Three Duties required for full membership in the order of spouse-keeping ascetics. Through an offering of grains, sake, and cash to the mountain's Chief Administrator, the parents of a newborn son registered him among the ranks of Haguro ascetics and received a confirmatory certificate that qualified him for membership in elite ascetic assemblages later in life. In contrast to this custom, Hisatake takes great pains to stress that the firstborn sons of both the Sanada Shichirōzaemon and Sanada Shikibu families were exempt from the *taigyō*

requirement. He further emphasizes that the only other Haguro *shūto* with this privilege were the Three Sendatsu temples of the mountaintop clergy.⁴⁴ These temples held an especially honored place at Haguro because they monopolized the highest office in the yearly Fall Peak austerities, the post of *daisendatsu* (lit. “Chief Guide”), which they exchanged amongst themselves year to year.⁴⁵ The exact meaning of Hisatake’s statement is somewhat unclear, since the clerics of these temples were supposed to remain celibate and pass them on to their monastic disciples, making a summit cleric’s birth order within the community seemingly unimportant. Perhaps at the time of Hisatake’s writing, that policy was not yet completely cemented, and birth order still played a role in the hierarchies of the summit clergy. Regardless, the internal equation of the Sanada families with this prestigious set of summit temples is significant. For regular marrying adepts, the certificate verifying their date of *taigyō* was important because it guaranteed access to ranks that derived from seniority. For the Sanadas, individual *taigyō* certificates for heirs were not needed, but the 1602 certificate of privileges was necessary to justify their lack of conventional *taigyō* certificates. In either case, adepts could not take their positions for granted; they had to be able to prove that they deserved their place in the Haguro community.

The first participation in the Fall Peak program of austerities was the second of the Three Duties, usually done around age fifteen. Sanada Shichirōzaemon heirs fulfilled this requirement like the rest of their peers, but they received special treatment on the occasion. Yūgen’s 1602 certificate stated that they were permitted to wear the garments

⁴⁴ SGM 4-350.

⁴⁵ Togawa, *Dewa shugen no shugyō to seikatsu*, 32-35.

of a second year participant and sit in a seat of honor right behind the *kogi sendatsu*, one of the five ritualists who managed the program.⁴⁶ Histake's family history records other special privileges, mostly related to seating order.⁴⁷ By both their attire and their seating position, family heirs expressed their superior status to the rest of the spouse-keeping adepts of Tōge.

Similarly, Hisatake states that both the Sanada lineages and the Three Sendatsu received the same special treatment during their Shrine Service, the last of the Three Duties. He claims that both Sanada Shichirōzaemon heirs and those of the Three Sendatsu Temples only had to perform three years of Shrine Service and that service was *nōdarani* duty. The exact meaning here is somewhat unclear, as *nōdarani* generally referred to a special group of Haguro ascetics who spent their entire lives on the mountain and were forbidden from leaving.⁴⁸ Perhaps they assisted these *nōdarani* ascetics in some capacity. Ambiguity aside, Hisatake again compared his family to the three most prestigious summit temples.

Seating Order As an Expression of Status In Haguro Shugendō

Seating order was and continues to be a major concern within Japanese society. As the anthropologist Joy Hendry states, “in Japan, on any formal occasion and a good number less formal ones, seating in a room is decided according to an appropriate hierarchical order.”⁴⁹ This was certainly true for the religious professionals of early modern Haguro, who saw seating order as yet another expression of the social hierarchies

⁴⁶ SGM 1-3-1,2.

⁴⁷ SGM 4-350.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Joy Hendry, *Understanding Japanese Society: Third Edition* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 103.

that ordered the organization and community. In this respect, Haguro *yamabushi* resembled early modern samurai. As Eiko Ikegami writes, “the strict order of the vassal hierarchy took visual form in the seating arrangement in the castle (*rei seki*). This seating arrangement determined the precise order of greetings to the lord on formal ritual occasions, in order to symbolize each individual’s closeness to the ultimate source of honor, the lord.”⁵⁰ Lower ranking samurai were not even allowed audiences with their lord.⁵¹ As noted above, the relationship between the Chief Administrator and his favored adepts resembled the relationship between a samurai lord and his retainers. Furthermore, for Haguro *yamabushi*, it was not only the proximity to the Chief Administrator, but also to important summit clergy such as the heads of the Three Sendatsu temples or the acting ritualists of the seasonal periods of austerities that indicated an advanced place in the local hierarchy. Yūgen’s 1602 list of the privileges permitted to the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family specifies that on their first Fall Peak, heirs should sit just behind the *kogi sendatsu* ritualist, one of the five respected ritualists who oversaw the regime of austerities.⁵² Seating during the seasonal ritual periods will be considered in more detail later, but for now, it is sufficient to note that an advanced place in the seating order was one of the major hereditary privileges enjoyed by the family.

The mountain’s leadership further prescribed the mountain’s hierarchy in more explicit detail during the later Edo period. As part of an extensive program of reforms, Chief Administrator Kakujun implemented a clarification of Tōge’s class structure in

⁵⁰ Eiko Ikegami, *The Taming of the Samurai: Honorific Individualism and the Making of Modern Japan* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995), 272.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² SGM 1-3-1,2.

1816, claiming that the village's social categories had become uncertain and confused in recent years. The regulations he promulgated not only explicitly distinguished the elite Favored group from the common Temple Townsfolk inhabitants of the village, but it also provided both groups with detailed sets of regulations that carefully described an official seating order to be followed. The rules acknowledged the traditional “Shugendō”-style seating order based on seniority in *taigyō* birth registration, but detailed another, more complicated “worldly” seating order based on rank and authority. As a general rule, the Favored were to sit ahead of the Temple Townsfolk. Within the Favored, *yamabushi* holding the title Deputy Chief Sangha Administrator (*gon daisōzu*), only granted to the Pine Saints of the Winter Peak, sat first, followed by those with the title Esoteric Master (*ajari*), members of the elite group for senior *yamabushi*. The Genryōbō lineage of adepts, hereditary keepers of the shrine on Gassan's summit, came next in the order, then Favored with subordinate ascetics under their control, and after them, Favored without subordinate ascetics. From there, the order included several official positions and some specific lineages. As for the Temple Townsfolk, the eight Ward Chiefs (*kumi-gashira*) of Tōge came first, followed by townsmen with the titles Deputy Chief Sangha Administrator and Esoteric Master, followed by several other positions and lineages.⁵³

These regulations also reiterate that the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household was the head of all the ascetics of the mountain's foot, citing the 1602 document from Yūgen as proof. It does not mention them specifically in the rules for seating order, but they would surely have been near the top considering that they were members of the Favored

⁵³ Umezu, ed., *Dewa Sanzan Shiryōshū jōkan*, 737-742.

elite with subordinate *yamabushi* and often served as replacement Pine Saints, conferring the title of Deputy Chief Sangha Administrator. Their supremacy over their peers was corroborated, and that must have determined their place in the seating order. Both as an individual household and as part of an elite subgroup of adepts, the family's place in the mountain's seating order was determined by its high status. Seating was yet another theater in which the *shūto* of Haguro hierarchically arranged themselves. It is also worth noting that birth order was a major determinant of one's seat, even in the more 'worldly' system. The opportunity to acquire the titles of Deputy Chief Sangha Administrator and Esoteric Master was granted only to the most senior members of the community. They did involve ritual and ascetic practice, but only very senior *yamabushi* could do that practice. Heredity was another major factor. Having subordinate *yamabushi*, presumably from within the lineage's parishes, was a quality passed on from generation to generation. In the case of Genryōbō and others, specific lineages were assigned a seating position that was also passed down within the family. Despite being a sacred, liminal area, the hierarchies and status concerns of the larger society still applied within the mountains.

The Spatial Expression of Status at Tōge

The Sanadas lived in a community that was explicitly segregated according to the status and occupation of its inhabitants, underscoring their self-image as elites within a stratified class system. Tōge, the village in which they claimed to have lived since the thirteenth century, was the largest and oldest of the seven religious communities associated with the Dewa Sanzan, sometimes called the Seven Entrances of the mountains. All of these villages shared the same basic social hierarchy of a Chief

Administrator (*bettō*) and below him in descending order, *seisō* celibate clergy, *saitai shugen* spouse-keeping ascetics, and *hyakushō*, or peasants.⁵⁴ However, they differed in regard to their residential patterns and development processes. Both Tōge and the community of Iwanzawa consisted entirely of marrying adepts whose occupations included operating pilgrim lodges (*shukubō*), guiding pilgrims around the mountains, and managing their parishes (*dannaba*). All the farmers under the authority of these communities lived apart from the adepts in separate villages. The geographer Iwahana Michiaki designates Tōge and Iwanzawa as Early Modern Reorganization Type religious communities because their population of marrying ascetics was essentially set prior to the Tokugawa period. This produced the clear distinction between residential areas of the farmers and the ascetics.⁵⁵

In contrast to Tōge and Iwanzawa, Iwahana classifies the four communities of Hondōji, Ōisawa, Ōami, and Shimekake, where the residences of adepts and farmers intermingled, as Early Modern Formation Type communities. The adepts of these villages were former farmers who had made the occupational transition during the early modern era, resulting in mixed communities of the two groups. Hijiori, the most recently formed Dewa Sanzan religious community, known for its hot springs, is regarded as immature by Iwahana's reckoning, due to the relative underdevelopment of its pilgrim lodges.⁵⁶ Both Sanada lineages lived in a community whose consciousness of social identity and its attendant divisions was deep-rooted and pronounced, even compared to

⁵⁴ The term *hyakushō* may also be translated as “farmers.”

⁵⁵ Iwahana Michiaki, *Dewa Sanzan shinkō no kenkōzō* (Tokyo: Iwata shoin, 2003), 29-59.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

other Dewa Sanzan religious villages. This contributed to the distinct awareness of social hierarchy that defined the adepts of Tōge. While the *yamabushi* of other villages might mingle with farmers as neighbors in their day-to-day lives, the Sanadas and their fellow inhabitants of Tōge were ensconced in an exclusive society of spouse-keeping ascetics and celibate clergy.

Gates as Indicators of Status

The residences of Tōge were also constructed according to the community's class structure, and the pilgrim lodge of Sanada Shichirōzaemon reflected the household's position at the apex of its social elite. The gate of a dwelling in Tōge indicated the position of its residents. The homes of villagers who ranked the lowest, and only worked as pilgrim guides in very busy periods, had no gates, while the homes of the next social level up, *yamabushi* who had no parishes of their own but guided pilgrims from parishes in the Kantō region reserved for summit clergy, were permitted a gate consisting of two posts, but no crosspiece. Above them, elite *saitai shugen* with parishes lived in pilgrim lodges with crosspiece gates, or *nukitōshimon*, while the highest-ranking members of the community had row-house gates, or *nagayamon*.⁵⁷ These gates were fairly substantial structures, often attached to the residences of samurai, and retainers or servants could reside in the rowhouses on either side of the gate.⁵⁸ Certain celibate clergy-maintained temples such as Kongōjuin, which served as the Sanada family mortuary temple, were located at the mountain's foot instead of its summit, and were equipped with one story row-house gates. However, among the inhabitants of Tōge, only the Sanada

⁵⁷ Togawa, *Dewa shugen no shugyō to seikatsu*, 37-38.

⁵⁸ Shinmura Izuru, ed., *Kōjien* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2008).

Shichirōzaemon residence was allowed the privilege of a two story row-house gate. On the mountain itself, the only celibate clergy temples permitted such gates were those of the Chief Administrator, the Chief Ritualist (*shugyō*), and those of the Three Sendatsu, indicating what an honor this was.⁵⁹

This two story row-house gate figures into one of the more unique privileges accorded to the household. In addition to its other duties, it was supposedly entrusted with the management of itinerants who operated tea stalls, gambling dens, and show booths within the shrine precincts during festivals. The family issued permits to these itinerants and derived a profit from it, but they were also obligated to lodge them within the two-story rowhouse gates during festivals.⁶⁰ No documents specifically pertaining to this custom survive among the *Sanada Gyokuzōbō monjo*, but it is yet another indicator of the lineage's unique role within the community.

Sources are divided on whether or not the residence of Sanada Shikibu's descendants, located in the Sakura-kōji area of the village, also had two-story row-house gates. Togawa Anshō asserts that their residence was the same as their sister lineage and was furnished with two-story *nagayamon*. On the other hand, the compilers of the town history *Haguro-chō-shi* claim that the Sanada Shikibu residence only had a *nukitōshimon*

⁵⁹ Haguro-chō, ed., *Haguro-chō-shi jōkan* (Haguro-chō: Haguro-chō, 1991), 371-374. The same cleric, appointed by Kan'eiji in Edo, usually held both positions of Chief Administrator and Chief Ritualist, and relied on proxies to carry out the duties that came with them. Nonetheless, the positions of the Chief Administrator and the Chief Ritualist each had an associated residence temple. Togawa, *Dewa shugen no shugyō to seikatsu*, 32-35..

⁶⁰ Togawa, *Dewa shugen no shugyō to seikatsu*, 57.

crosspiece gate.⁶¹ Regardless of the exact structure of their gate, it would have shown passersby that the family that lived there belonged to the social elite of the community.

The Sanada Shichirōzaemon/Gyokuzōbō Temple Lodge

A clear understanding of the structure of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon residence is important because that building was a crucial part of their duties as Haguro *yamabushi*. Both pilgrims and branch ascetics from their parishes in the Nanbu and Sendai domains stayed at this building when they visited Haguro. The most detailed description of the structure and its associated territory derives from an 1813 report on the family's history and privileges submitted by Sanada Shichirōzaemon Noritada during the Chief Administrator Kakujun's early nineteenth century reorganization of Haguro Shugendō. As of 1813, the building frontage was forty *ken* (approximately 72.72 meters) and its depth was sixty *ken* (approximately 109.08 meters), indicating that it was a significantly large structure. The report also notes that the family property included the adjoining fields and mountains. The then current structure was apparently built in the Kan'ei era (1624-1645), though one is said to have existed in the same location prior to that. The construction was at the order of Chief Administrator Ten'yū for Sanada (Sone) Hayato, an ascetic who was temporarily assigned the duties of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon lineage while the then heir Shigekatsu was in his minority. I examine the ambiguous circumstances behind this situation in more detail in the next chapter, but Sanada Hayato was a trusted supporter of Ten'yū and his efforts to reform Haguro Shugendō. Shigekatsu inherited the residence after Sanada Hayato and several other Ten'yū supporters were

⁶¹ Haguro-chō, ed., *Haguro-chō-shi jōkan*, 371-374.

exiled from Haguro in 1668 following the dismissal and exile of Ten'yū himself. It was passed down through the family ever since.⁶² This information applies to the residence as it existed in 1813, and its exact measurements may have expanded or contracted in the years before and after. Presumably, this information is relatively trustworthy, since it would be difficult to falsify the size of an existing building. As part of the family's frequent administrative duties and high social standing, many adepts and clergy affiliated with the office of the Chief Administrator would have had access to its residence and would notice any obvious deceptions regarding its basic appearance and dimensions. To the best of my knowledge, no other specific information on the structure's size survives in the family archive.

A map of Tōge dating from Kyōhō 9 (1724), twelfth month, depicts a large structure that is clearly the Sanada Shichirōzaemon residence at the end of a street labeled *Shichirōzaemon-koji*, or Shichirōzaemon Alley. According to local historian Hoshino Masahiro, this is the oldest surviving map of Tōge.⁶³ The residence stands apart from the rows of pilgrim lodges that line the streets of Tōge, and while the row-house gate is not drawn in, there are fences to either side of the residence's entrance, similar to fences at the entrances to other Tōge landmarks such as the Shōzen'in and Kongōjuin temples.⁶⁴ There is a map showing the residence itself, its outbuildings, and the surrounding neighborhood that survives within the *Sanada Gyokuzōbō monjo*. This was presumably drawn by a family member, though it records no date, draftsman, or intended recipient. In

⁶² SGM 4-388.

⁶³ Private communication with Hoshino Masahiro.

⁶⁴ *Tōge mura ezu*, Tsuruoka-shi kyōdo shiryōkan document no. SL 884.

addition to the main house, labeled *Sanada-ke*, there is a *kura* storehouse within the courtyard and the aforementioned two-story row-house gate, labeled *nagayamon*. Though the sizes of the map's structures are likely inexact, the Sanada house is noticeably larger than that of their front neighbor, another prestigious Tōge household called the Amō.⁶⁵ Documents such as these confirm the descriptions of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon residence given in secondary literature. The fact that the street leading to their residence was named after the family emphasizes the influence it wielded within the community. The family's name was projected onto the very structure of the village in which it lived.

Land Maintenance Duties

The leadership of Haguro allowed several honored families the duty of maintaining the land around Haguro. They were expected to take care of the trees that grew within their allotted territory and render up any wood that the Main Shrine or the Chief Administrator requested. The mountains divided up in this fashion were called *azukari-yama*, or “entrusted mountains.” Several Sanada families held the rights to several of these mountains. An 1816 survey of the community's *onbun* notes that the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family was responsible for the forested mountain that adjoined their residence in Kamei-chō. Similarly, the Sanada Kōuemon lineage, a branch family of theirs, had controlled the rights to one section of Kami-no-yama Mountain since 1773, and the Sanada Wahei household, descendants of the Sanada Shikibu family, had the rights to the forests that adjoined their Sakura-kōji dwelling. Other surname-bearing Favored, including the Amō Matahei family, neighbors to the Sanada Shichirōzaemon

⁶⁵ SGM 7-673.

lineage, enjoyed rights to these mountains as well.⁶⁶ An undated map of Tōge depicts the residences of Sanada Shichirōzaemon and Wahei, as well as the mountain assigned to Sanada Kōuemon.⁶⁷ The families who held these mountains had exclusive use of them, but they had to keep them in good order. Other mountains were maintained by selected officials such as the Mountain Maintainer (*yama-mamori*), who was always chosen from among the Favored.⁶⁸ In this way, the mountain's ruling hierarchy delegated the actual upkeep of the land itself to its trusted subordinates, who regarded it as a privilege to be preserved. Much of the work of the organization was performed by marrying adepts such as the Sanadas.

The Sanada Shichirōzaemon family also made sure to keep documentation of their rights to their entrusted mountain. As in other circumstances, it was very important to preserve a paper trail. An 1835 document issued by the Inspector and two Magistrates of the time depicts the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family's entrusted mountain, with specific measures of distance and how it was situated in regard to other entrusted mountains nearby, specifically those of the *yamabushi* Anyōbō and Ryūzenbō. The document is addressed to a Sanada Utsuke, which, based on the timing, must be the provisional childhood name of Sanada Shichirōzaemon Noriyoshi. It cites two prior documents from 1773 and 1816, underscoring that the various privileges and responsibilities parceled out by the Chief Administrator's agents relied on a carefully preserve record of documentation.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Umezu, ed., *Dewa Sanzan shiryōshū gekan*, 813, 815, 833.

⁶⁷ Document copied and gifted by Hoshino Masahiro.

⁶⁸ Haguro-chō, *Haguro-chō-shi jōkan*, 913.

⁶⁹ SGM 3-223.

Taxes

Status at Haguro also manifested itself in explicitly economic terms, and the monetary demands on high-ranking members of the community were less than those on their social lowers. As social elites, both the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household and the Sanada Shikibu-descended Sanada Wahei household enjoyed tax-exempt status for their residences. Generally, inhabitants of Tōge were required to pay a residence tax based on the size of their dwelling. However, the survey of the community's Favored conducted by the two Magistrates in 1816 (additional entries were added in 1818 and 1823) noted that both the Sanada Shichirōzaemon residence in Kamei-chō and the Sanada Wahei residence on Sakura-kōji were excused from taxation in perpetuity, even though neither lineage could produce documentary evidence for this privilege. Both families are described as “special lineages” (*kakubetsu no iegara*) in their entries as justification for this allowance. The Kamei-chō residence of the Sanada Kōuemon lineage, a Sanada Shichirōzaemon branch family, on the other hand received no special tax status.⁷⁰

A later housing survey by the two Magistrates, one of whom was Sanada Shichirōzaemon Noriyoshi, repeated in 1854 that the Sanada Shichirōzaemon Gyokuzōbō land in Kamei-chō was tax-exempt in perpetuity (*eimenchi*) while the Daigōbō household, the *yamabushi* name of the Sanada Wahei family (descended from the Sanada Shikibu family and formerly called Sanada Shihei), had two tax-exempt buildings on Sakura-kōji. The Sanada Kōuemon residence was taxed at the rate of half a building. Of the over two hundred dwellings and structures listed in the survey, only twenty-three enjoyed some

⁷⁰ Umezu, ed., *Dewa Sanzan shiryōshū gekan* 813, 815, 833.

form of tax-exemption. This group included other prestigious marrying adepts such as the Amō Matahei household (who had two and a quarter tax-exempt buildings in Kamei-chō) and the Kichijōbō household, as well as religious structures such as Inari Shrines, a Daishi Hall, and a Yakushi Hall. Residences in Tōge affiliated with clergy-operated temples such as Shōzen'in and the temples of the Three Sendatsu also were grouped into this category.⁷¹ None of these elites had to shoulder the same tax burden as the other residents of the village.

Income from Gassan Pilgrims

Tōge's elite families not only enjoyed reduced expenses through their tax exemptions, but were also eligible for opportunities to increase their income. Haguro *yamabushi* with a close relationship to the Chief Administrator were sometimes granted the right to maintain and profit from certain structures on Mt. Gassan. In this way, they helped to run the infrastructure that served the large number of pilgrims who visited the Dewa Sanzan every year. This is yet another example of the office of the Chief Administrator's policy of delegating important tasks to trusted adepts and clergy. These responsibilities also conveyed additional inheritance procedures and costs, but it was still considered an honor. There were many different varieties of structures on Gassan that provided services to pilgrims. Some were resthouses where they could take a break or stay the night, while others sold food, drink, or talismans. There were also thirteen shrines dedicated to protective deities called *ōji*, or Prince Deities. Prince Deity Shrines

⁷¹ Umezu, ed., *Dewa Sanzan shiryōshū jōkan*, 265, 273, 259-286.

existed at many sacred mountains throughout Japan, including the Shugendō centers of Kumano and Ōmine in western Japan.⁷²

The Sanada Shichirōzaemon household first received the right to one of these *ōji* shrines in 1723 as a reward for Sanada Shichirōzaemon Hisatake serving as Magistrate, and it was subsequently passed down through the family for the remainder of the Tokugawa era. Holders of these shrines played a special role in the Summer Peak austerities. Their branch lineage, the Sanada Kōuemon household, also was granted the right to collect one *zeni* per pilgrim at an *ōji* shrine, perhaps the same one, during the Meiwa era (1764-1772) for serving as Inspector. Meanwhile, the Sanada Shikibu-derived Sanada Wahei household operated one of the talisman huts on the mountain, a privilege dating back to 1670 and presumably the time when the lineage was called Sanada Giuemon.⁷³ Both the primary Sanada Shikibu and Sanada Shihei households had been banished from Haguro in 1668, leaving the Sanada Giuemon lineage as the only one of Sanada Shikibu descent still at Haguro and holding public office. Records indicate that the Giuemon household head occupied the position of Magistrate at this time, so it is probable that the rights to the talisman hut came to the family as reward for that service, similar to Histake in 1723. In this way, the Sanada lineages both served and profited from the pilgrims who climbed Gassan during their visits.

Passing On the Family Business: Succession for Haguro Yamabushi

Family succession was another area in which Sanadas grappled with the issues of money and status. Because Tōge's *yamabushi* were permitted to have wives and children,

⁷² Miyake Hitoshi, ed., *Shugendō shōjiten* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2015), 133.

⁷³ Umezu, ed., *Dewa Sanzan shiryōshū gekan*, 813, 815, 833.

they had to deal with the question of succession and inheritance. The issue of succession has been important within the history of the Japanese archipelago, serving as a major cause of wars and disputes among all levels of society. For marrying adepts like the Sanadas, headship of a household, which included the rights to its residence/pilgrim lodge, its parishes, and to any other structures at Haguro (such as shrines, halls, or huts on Gassan), was a professional position to be passed down from heir to heir. Both the surname of Sanada Shichirōzaemon and the *yamabushi* title of Gyokuzōbō passed from father to son over the generations. Serving as Gyokuzōbō/Sanada Shichirōzaemon was essentially the family business, and it was in the family's best interests to ensure that it went smoothly. The process was not guaranteed or automatic, so it could not be taken for granted. In order to obtain authorization from Haguro's administrative officials, the household had to offer up a set assortment of gifts and cash, and in return received a document certifying that the succession had been approved. Sanada *yamabushi* frequently held administrative posts at Haguro, so they experienced both sides of the process. Also, like so many other processes discussed in this chapter, the Sanadas took care to safeguard documents that certified it, and cited them in later reports to the leadership structure.

Regulations concerning family succession reinforce how social hierarchies undergirded both the community of religious professionals at Mt. Haguro and the organization as it functioned across northern and eastern Japan. The summit clergy who ruled the mountain's administrative apparatus controlled succession procedure for the marrying adepts at its foot, even if some of the officials who carried out those procedures were themselves marrying adepts. Likewise, the marrying adepts with administrative

powers over parishes essentially controlled succession for their branch *yamabushi* through their authority to issue certification for ranks and titles. Chapter five considers this matter in more detail, but marrying ascetics acted as gatekeepers for the ascetics and *miko* who resided in their parishes.

Law codes issued to the mountain's clergy and ascetics emphasized that succession was not automatic, but required the explicit certification of the Haguro administration. This is another area in which the mountain's Chief Administrator acted similarly to the lord of a domain, or daimyo. For the samurai vassals of early modern lords, "every time there was a death in the direct line of inheritance, the new heir needed official permission from the lord to succeed to the headship of the *ie* [household]."⁷⁴ Haguro law codes express the same policy. A 1761 list of regulations states that *yamabushi* will not inherit unless they pay the set fees, which appear to have been decided in 1689. It also lists inheritance procedure for both the spouse-keeping adepts of Tōge and the summit temples of the clergy, including the temples of the high-ranking Three Sendatsu, so both clergy and adepts were required to pay to inherit.⁷⁵ Later, the set of regulations issued to the Favored (*onbun*) in 1816 reiterates that even in cases of illness or the heir being too young, those of the Favored who do not follow proper inheritance procedures will have to give up their titles and rights to the office of Chief Administrator.⁷⁶ This suggests that there had been cases of both situations being used as excuses for a lack of compliance with the rules. Laws such as these underscore how the

⁷⁴ Ikegami, 161.

⁷⁵ Umezu, ed., *Dewa Sanzan shiryōshū chūkan* 357, 363.

⁷⁶ Umezu, ed., *Dewa Sanzan shiryōshū jōkan*, 739.

clergy and adepts of Haguro could not take succession for granted. It was yet another way in which the Chief Administrator-headed bureaucracy wielded authority over the inhabitants of the mountain.

The Sanada Shichirōzaemon family made it a priority to save the official documents that the mountain's two Treasurers (*nando*) issued to them verifying the acceptance of the expected fees and gifts, and the approval of succession. Records exist within the Sanada Gyokuzōbō Archive for the headship succession of Hisatake (d. 1735), Noriaki (d. 1768), Noritada (d. 1818), and Noritaka (d. 1839), though for unknown reasons it contains no official documentation recording the succession of Noritaka's son Noriyoshi, who became house head following the death of his father. For Shigekatsu (d. 1692), the reception of deed guaranteeing the family parishes in 1673 seems to have served as recognition of his succession, since Hisatake writes that his father Shigekatsu inherited the family position (*shiki*) in 1672, the same year that the Chief Administrator Sonchōin Keikai issued the parish deed.⁷⁷ Except for Hisatake, the succession for all of these heirs required two separate procedures, one for the inheritance of the family parishes and another for the inheritance of the Prince Deity (*ōji*) Shrine on Gassan that Hisatake received as a lineage right in 1723. The significance of the family *ōji* Shrine bears more comment, but put simply, the Sanadas were entitled to a portion of the donations left at the shrine by pilgrims and their status as a shrine-holder entitled them to participate in certain rituals during the program of the Summer Peak austerities. It was a significant privilege. As per the procedure specified in mountain regulations, the family

⁷⁷ SGM 4-350.

presented the two Treasurers with fifteen *monme* of silver, a barrel of sake, and fish for parish inheritance and five *monme* of silver, a barrel of sake, and a fish for inheritance of the *ōji* Shrine.⁷⁸ The fees remained constant from Hisatake through Noritaka.

A succession record for the Sanada Shikibu lineage, included among other family documents in the *Shintō taiki: Dewa Sanzan*, is undated, but likely comes from the later Tokugawa era. It shows how the process involved multiple parties who profited from it. One portion went to the office of Chief Administrator, who received a cask of sake, a platform of the five varieties of greens, and three sheets of silver. Meanwhile, three officials received three hundred *hiki* of gold each, the Director (*chiji*) received one hundred *hiki* of gold, and a figure referred to as Jōuemon received one *shu* of gold and a *shō* (approximately 1.80391 liters) of sake.⁷⁹ This accords with the more detailed, complicated succession process laid out in the later set of guidelines, possibly instituted by Kakujun.

Preservation of these documents proved to be useful when the mountain's leadership requested information about the family for administrative purposes. In 1813, as part of the new Chief Administrator Kakujun's program to reform Haguro Shugendō, all of the spouse-keeping ascetics of the foot were required to submit reports detailing their family history and position at Haguro. The Sanada Shichirōzaemon lineage preserved a copy of the document they submitted for this survey that lists a wide variety of information, including data on family succession. The list includes the four successions mentioned above, with the names of the two Treasurers who had affixed their

⁷⁸ Umezu, ed., *Dewa Sanzan shiryōshū chūkan*, 345-348.

⁷⁹ Togawa, ed., *Shintō taiki: Dewa Sanzan*, 538-539.

seal to and issued the relevant documents. The document also notes that they possess no earlier succession records.⁸⁰ The citation of those four successions shows the utility of the household's policy of document preservation. When the mountain's leadership investigated, they were able to provide documentary evidence that proved their family history at Haguro.

The Archive also contains two guidebooks to succession procedure at Haguro that list the gifts and amount of cash that the various positions and rights demanded for proper inheritance. Copies of these guides were circulating among the community of religious professionals at Haguro, as versions of both appear in massive collections of primary source materials related to the Dewa Sanzan edited by Umezu Keihō on behalf of the Dewa Sanzan Shrine.⁸¹ Sanada Shichirōzaemon Noriaki hand-copied the *Memorandum on Guaranteeing Inheritance for Those of the Mountain's Foot Holding Parishes, Halls, and Huts* (*Fumoto dannaba narabi ni dō-goya-mochi tsugime ando oboe*) from the mountain's Minor Treasurer (*shō-nando*) in 1745. The document lists the amount of cash each group of spouse-keeping adepts or maintainers of halls and shrines must pay to inherit their hereditary rights. While Gyokuzōbō/Sanada Shichirōzaemon was among the group of marrying ascetics who paid fifteen *monme* (one *monme* was 3.76 grams) of silver to inherit, other groups paid more (twenty *monme*) or less (ten *monme*). All of these *yamabushi* also paid a yearly tithe, called *nentō* (literally “beginning of the year”), of

⁸⁰ Ibid., 4-388.

⁸¹ Umezu, ed., *Dewa Sanzan shiryōshū chūkan*, 345-348.; Umezu, ed., *Dewa Sanzan shiryōshō jōkan*, 787-792.

sixty *mon* in copper coins.⁸² For the Gassan *ōji* Shrines, as well as the talisman hut operated by the Sanada Shikibu family, the required payment was five *monme* of silver, plus one hundred *mon* of copper coins for a special fee called *sakadai* (lit. ‘sake fee’).⁸³ Inheritance procedures varied according to status, even within a group. The rules for inheritance were clear; ascetics kept guidebooks that recorded those rules, and they obeyed them when they passed on their family headship, preserving documentary evidence of the procedure. It was a process that had to be budgeted and planned for.

On occasion, members of the Sanada lineages found themselves on the other side of the succession process. According to an extensive list of mountain regulations dating from 1761, ascetics who served the Chief Administrator directly (*honbō fuchinin no bun*), a category that included both Sanada branches, had their requests for succession handled by the officials known as Major Treasurers (*ōnando*), while regular *yamabushi* of the mountain’s foot relied on the two Magistrates (*daikan*) for their succession.⁸⁴ Sanada Shichirōzemon and Sanada Shikibu *yamabushi* frequently held those offices, so their duties would have included approving the succession requests for the lower-ranking adepts of their community. Again, they were both the enforcers and recipients of the bureaucratic system that regulated the lives of Haguro *yamabushi*. Inheritance procedures at Haguro appear to have been reformed in 1826 when the Three Sendatsu circulated another list of regulations to the clergy and adepts, a copy of which, dating from 1852, is

⁸² Five *shugenja*, including Sakuramoto-bō and the four who served as commissioners for the Thirty Confraternity, paid a lower *nentō* rate.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 5-448.

⁸⁴ Umezu, ed., *Dewa Sanzan shiryōshū chūkan*, 353.

preserved among the Sanada Gyokuzōbō Archive materials.⁸⁵ According to this code, certain professions and lineages paid money and/or gifts to several officials to secure inheritance, including a group called the Office of the Three Officials (*sanyaku-sho*) and the Office of the Three Base Officials (*fumoto sanyaku-sho*). Even when the system changed in 1826, it still included payments to administrative posts that were often held by Sanadas.

Evidence of both lineages certifying the succession of their fellow adepts survives. In the collection of inheritance records for the Jibō lineage of marrying ascetics, included in *Shintō taikai: Dewa Sanzan*, there are such documents issued by both major branches of the Sanada families. Like the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family, the Jibō lineage held the right to a Prince Deity Shrine on Gassan that was passed down within the family. An undated confirmation of succession bears the names and seals of Sanada Shikibu and Ōta Hitachi, both spouse-keeping adepts who occupied major administrative roles during the seventeenth century tenure of Chief Administrator Ten'yū. Much later, Sanada Shichirōzaemon (Noritaka) issued Jibō a confirmation of succession in 1820.⁸⁶ Considering the frequency with which Sanadas held administrative office, it is likely that there are many more examples of this in other document collections. In this circumstance, the Sanada in question would receive both the cash and the gifts offered by the inheriting adept. Thus, not only did these duties intersect with their administrative duties, but they became a source of income.

⁸⁵ SGM 5-451.

⁸⁶ Togawa Anshō, ed., *Shintō taikai: Dewa Sanzan*, 512, 520.

In certain cases, inheritance procedures were not equal across Tōge but varied according to lineage and profession. Certain households were entitled to their own specific inheritance procedures. An undated guide to succession lists several lineages with their own special requirements. Interestingly enough, neither Sanada lineage appears in this section. Despite the many other special privileges accorded to them, they appear to have followed the same basic inheritance procedures as other parish-holding adepts. However, the guide does detail unique procedures for the Amō Matahei household, neighbors to the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family, along with several other surname-bearing prominent families of Tōge. To inherit the family headship, the heir to the Amō Matahei family had to pay both a gift and set amount of cash to multiple levels of the mountain bureaucracy. He presented a box of three folding fans and one hundred *hiki* in gold to three officials of the summit, and a pair of five *shō* (approximately 9.02 liters) casks of sake (approximately 18.04 liters in total) and thirty *hiki* in bronze coins each to three officials of the mountain's foot. The Director received twenty *hiki* of bronze coins, plus five varieties of grains (?) on a stand, while the officials of the Storehouse (*okura kakenaka*) received ten *hiki* in bronze coins each, and three hundred *hiki* of gold. The heir had to pay an additional two hundred *hiki* of gold to inherit a family office as Head of Supplies (*makanai-gashira*).⁸⁷ Taken together, then, this was a considerable sum of money, and a significant expense for the family. Conversely, it was a profitable source of revenue for multiple levels of the mountain's managerial structure. Financial transactions between levels of the organization were one of its sustaining forces. Furthermore, the

⁸⁷ Umezu, ed., *Dewa Sanzan shiryōshū jōkan*, 788-789.

same document lists inheritance procedures for the positions of Master Carpenter and the samisen player (*kyoku-shi*) who accompanied the popular form of ballad recitation called *naniwa-bushi*. This underscores how serving as a marrying ascetic was similar to other professions in early modern Japan.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have detailed how status, privilege, and hierarchy organized Haguro Shugendō and its affiliated communities of religious professionals. Simply by being *yamabushi*, the Sanada families of Tōge found themselves in an ambiguous position within the status-conscious society of Tokugawa era Japan. They manifested class characteristics of both the Buddhist monastic and peasant subgroups, much like the *oshi* class of guides and innkeepers found at various religious sites. Through their vassal-like relationship with the mountain's Chief Administrator, they even shared some common priorities with the samurai class. At Haguro itself, internal hierarchical structures were upheld by explicit documentation and manifested through seating order, residential patterns, and financial demands. Names were a crucial tool for organizing families of marrying ascetics, and both major branches of the Sanada family passed down both a family and middle name, with heirs receiving their own personal names. However, both the names themselves and the people they applied to were flexible, and could change depending on historical circumstance. The Sanada Shichirōzaemon family of spouse-keeping ascetics utilized an origin narrative that simultaneously connected them with an outside center of power and confirmed their long history of administrative service at Haguro in order to justify their respected role within the community. This identity as

an elite among the elite entitled them to a special program of career progression in their own level of Haguro's heterogeneous mix of religious professionals.

The hierarchies at whose apex the Sanadas stood were clearly displayed through the location and appearance of the residences of Tōge's inhabitants, as well as the financial burdens they were expected to bear. Furthermore, the adepts of the mountain's foot had to actively maintain their status through explicit inheritance procedures overseen by the agents of the Chief Administrator, whose ranks often included the Sanadas themselves. All of this demonstrates how the seemingly simple term Haguro Shugendō encompassed considerable internal variety, and how its constituent members actively maintained hierarchies among themselves, defending their own positions through strategies of documentation. As one portion of the larger status-based society of early modern Japan, Haguro Shugendō reflected the overall orientations of its social surroundings. Furthermore, it existed within a larger tradition of Buddhist sacred sites and temple complexes that subsumed a plurality of groups within an overall institutional or organizational framework. Haguro Shugendō, early modern Japanese society, and esoteric Buddhist institutions across Asia all utilized internal heterogeneity managed through status differentiation in order to maintain stability, order, and prosperity within themselves.

Chapter Two

Managing Mountain Monks:

The Sanadas as Central Administrators

Introduction

This chapter considers the development of Haguro Shugendō's administrative structures at both the individual level of Sanada household heads and the system's broader evolution throughout the era of Tokugawa rule. I will show how *yamabushi* of the various Sanada lineages served a succession of Haguro leaders and contributed to their reformation of Haguro Shugendō according to *bakufu* policies that reshaped the shrines and temples of the realm. The promulgation of *hatto* codes of conduct for religious specialists, the encouragement of the head-branch system of temple management, guarantees of tax-free land, and other policies influenced both the organization as whole as well as its component temples and lineages. The Haguro Shugendō that existed at the time of Tokugawa Ieyasu's victory at Sekigahara in 1600 and the Haguro Shugendō of the Bakumatsu period were quite different in many respects, despite certain basic continuities. Both local and outside forces reshaped the organization and its members, and *saitai shugen* such as the Sanadas could not help but be caught up in the transition. In fact, in their capacity as community leaders and administrative officials, Sanada *yamabushi* actively worked to implement new policies and rules among the inhabitants of Mt. Haguro. They gathered data, prepared official documents, and enforced the law. The Sanada Shichirōzaemon household received the deed that

explicated and guaranteed the family's privileged position at Haguro from the *bettō* (the highest administrative post at the mountain) Yūgen on Keichō 7 (1602) 7/1, just at the beginning of the early modern era, and they continued to enjoy a close relationship with the leaders of Haguro throughout it, even as the nature of those leaders changed quite drastically. The household's activities are an excellent lens through which to view the development of Haguro's administrative apparatus and how it increasingly interacted with a much broader world of shoguns, imperial temples, and the Tendai School.

The terms 'Tokugawa' or 'early modern' are convenient for demarcating general eras of study, but can deceptively imply that historical transitions involved were quick, obvious, and unquestioned. They also may mistakenly suggest that Tokugawa Japan remained essentially static once it reached its characteristic configuration. In fact, the so-called early modern period in Japan encompassed over two and half centuries, and Haguro, like everywhere else in the archipelago, continued to develop and change throughout that time. Miyake Hitoshi, for example, divides the early modern history of Mt. Haguro into three periods. Ten'yū's reformation of the organization and its incorporation into the Tendai School as a branch temple of Kan'eiji / Rinnōji in the mid seventeenth century constitute the first period. During the second period, the Rinnōji priests serving as Haguro *bettō* remained in Kantō and dispatched proxy *bettō*, or *bettōdai*, to do the actual work of managing the organization. Finally, with the arrival of *bettō* Kakujun in Bunka 10 (1813) and his series of organizational reforms, the office of *bettō* regained its old authority and retained it until the crisis that dismantled Haguro Shugendō

in the early Meiji.¹ Sanada lineages were especially involved in the reform programs of both Chief Administrators Ten'yū and Kakujun. In particular, the fortunes of the Sanada Shikibu branch were tied quite closely with Ten'yū. They were a central part of his faction at Haguro, and they suffered imprisonment, interrogation, and exile after his fall from power. Over a century later, members of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon branch played a significant role in implementing Kakujun's reforms, especially in regard to the spouse-keeping ascetics who populated the community of Tōge at the mountain's foot. While individual sublineages of both major Sanada branches rose and fell, the family as a whole was able to use its pedigree and local prestige to preserve its standing, even as the Haguro community and organization changed according to the larger developments of era. They even helped to advance those changes as active agents. The household or lineage was a crucial unit of organization for *yamabushi* both at Haguro and at other Shugendō organizations.

Haguro in the Late Medieval and Early Tokugawa Periods

Apart from a few documents relating to the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family's management of their parishes in southern Mutsu Province (present day Miyagi prefecture), the earliest reliable records for the presence of both Sanada lineages at Haguro begin with the tenure of the *bettō* Yūgen in the Keichō era (1596-1615) that spanned the late Azuchi-Momoyama and early Edo periods. During the late medieval era, Mt. Haguro was controlled by a succession of local daimyo who ruled the Shōnai region in which Haguro was located. The Mutō warrior family first inaugurated the position of

¹ Miyake Hitoshi, *Haguro shugen – sono rekishi to mine-iri* (Tokyo: Iwata shoin, 2000), 67, 85.

bettō as the mountain's highest administrative post during the Nanboku-chō era (1336-1392), superseding the existing leadership posts held by Haguro monks. Initially daimyo themselves acted as *bettō*, but they eventually began appointing favored clerics to the office instead. After the Mutō clan lost control of the region, the Mogami clan claimed power, and the newly established Tokugawa shogunate confirmed their control over the Yamagata domain, including Shōnai. Mogami Yoshiaki (1546-1614), an enthusiastic patron of Haguro Shugendō, soon appointed the monk Yūgen, the disciple of a Mogami kinsman, as Haguro's forty-eighth *bettō*. Yūgen initiated three generations of *bettō*, all of whom incorporated the character “yū” (宥) in their names, who enjoyed relative independence and shepherded Haguro's adaptation to the new Tokugawa system of religious institutions.²

Both the Sanada Shichirōzaemon and Sanada Shikibu lineages enjoyed a beneficial relationship to Yūgen. On Keichō 7 (1602), 7/1, Yūgen himself issued the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household the treasured deed that guaranteed the family's special privileges at Haguro.³ Furthermore, a history of Haguro compiled in the early modern era, *The Generations of the Haguro Sanzan bettō-shugyō in Dewa Province, Akumi District, Oizumi Estate* lists the spouse-keeping ascetics Daimanbō, Sanada Shichirōzaemon, Sanada Shikibu, and the Misawa family as Yūgen's Stewards of the Mountain's Base (*fumoto shitsujī*), in addition a Summit Steward drawn from the summit clergy.⁴

Surviving ridgepole plaques recording a structure's construction information, or

² Dewa Sanzan Jinja, *Dewa Sanzan-shi* (Tsuruoka-shi: Dewa Sanzan Jinja, 1954), 92-105.

³ SGM1-3-1, 1-3-2.

⁴ Umezu Keihō, ed., *Dewa Sanzan shiryōshū gekan* (Haguro, Yamagata-ken: Dewa Sanzan Jinja Shamusho, 2000), 873.

manafuda, also list both Sanada lineages as participating in several construction projects under Yūgen's rule. They served as commissioners (*bugyō*) for a reconstruction of the Main Shrine sponsored by Mogami Yoshiaki in Keichō 11 (1606), as well as repairs to the Five Story Pagoda in Keichō 13 (1608), and a reconstruction of Kōtakuji's Miei-dō in Keichō 14 (1609).⁵ Yūgen's successor, the forty-ninth *bettō* Yūshun employed Sanada Shikibu as his Steward of the Base, in addition to another *saitai shugen* Ōta Hitachi, who went on to have a significant role in the career of Yūshun's successor, Ten'yū, perhaps the most influential Haguro leader of this period.⁶

Ten'yū's Reorganization of Haguro Shugendō and the Early Modern Transition

Ten'yū (originally Yūyo before becoming a disciple of Tenkai), the fiftieth *bettō* of Haguro, actively worked to reorganize Haguro Shugendō according to the new policies promulgated by the *bakufu* regarding religious institutions. Members of the Sanada Shikibu household, as well as Sanada Hayato, a supporter of Ten'yū who had been granted the duties and privileges of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon lineage, were Ten'yū's trusted subordinates and helped to implement his program of reforms, especially within Tōge and its neighboring domains. The major source for this era of Haguro's history is the *Memorandum on the restorer(s) of Mt. Haguro in Ūshū*, or the *Ūshū Haguro-san chūkō oboegaki*, authored by a Sanada relation, Kyōdōin Seikai, as a memorial for Ten'yū. The events described in the *Memorandum* and other related documents show how prominent *saitai shugen* like the Sanada Shikibu family played a significant role in

⁵ Togawa Anshō, ed., *Shintō taikai: Dewa Sanzan* (Tokyo: Shintō Taikai-hen Sankai, 1982), 597-600, 605-606.

⁶ Uemzu, ed., *Dewa Sanzan shiryōshū gekan*, 875.

the transition of Shugendō from medieval to early modern forms. The development of the organization as whole and the activities of the households that comprised it, such as the Sanadas, were intimately linked.

Ten'yū, Sanada Kanejūrō, and Sanada/Sone Hayato

Ten'yū's relationship with the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household is unclear, though evidence suggests that friction between the household head Sanada Kanejūrō and Ten'yū prompted Kanejūrō to leave Tōge around the Meireki era (1655-1658), allowing Ten'yū to appoint one of his supporters, Sone Hayato, to perform the household's traditional functions. Sone Hayato changed his surname to Sanada to reflect his new position, and he retained his status until Ten'yū's dismissal from the office of *bettō* and exile to the Izu Islands in Kanbun 8 (1668). The exact circumstances that prompted Kanejūrō to quit Haguro are unclear, but a family history compiled by his grandson Sanada Shichirōzaemon Hisatake indicates that he refused multiple requests, presumably from administrators in the organization, to hand over the deed guaranteeing the family's traditional privileges. Eventually he left Haguro altogether, taking the document itself with him, and it remained at his place of reclusion until Hisatake himself traveled there to retrieve it. Hisatake states that Sanada Hayato was chosen to inherit because Kanejūrō's own son Shigekatsu was too young, though this does not explain the efforts to acquire the deed guaranteeing the family privileges.⁷ Records indicate that Sanada/Sone Hayato

⁷ SGM 4-350.

acted as Ten'yū's Senior Retainer (*karō*), as well as the Steward of the Three Temples (*sanji shitsuji*).⁸

Unfortunately, the dearth of historical records on this matter means that we can only speculate on its significance, but it is possible that Ten'yū or his supporters were attempting to transfer the traditional function of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household to another figure, presumably more closely connected with Ten'yū's power base and in need of the document in question to cement the process. Considering Ten'yū's political acumen and his ambitions for Haguro Shugendō, such a drastic change is not out of the question. Investing Sone/Sanada Hayato with the position may have been his plan from the beginning, and Sanada Kanejūrō's refusal to relinquish the document guaranteeing his family's status was a way to resist such a change. Hisatake notes that it was through the intervention of Ten'yū's chosen successor Sonchōin Keikai that Shigekatsu regained the family's traditional position and parishes, so the lineage's absence from Haguro was relatively short-lived.⁹ Nonetheless, the Sanada Shichirōzaemon lineage does not appear to have been a part of Ten'yū's power base at Haguro, while several members of the Sanada Shikibu family occupied central positions in his entourage.

Haguro and the New Edo Religious Order

Haguro's transition to an official branch temple of Kan'eiji radically altered who controlled the organization and how it was run, and this would have lasting consequences for the Sanadas and other inhabitants of Tōge. By making Haguro a branch temple of

⁸ Togawa Anshō, ed., *Shintō taikai: Dewa Sanzan*, 162-163.; Uemzu, ed., *Dewa Sanzan shiryōshū gekan*, 875.

⁹ SGM 4-350.

Kan'eiji, Ten'yū fixed its sectarian identity and affiliated Mt. Haguro with a rising power in Tokugawa period Buddhism. This strategy cost Mt. Haguro its independence, but secured a powerful advocate in the shogun's new capital at Edo and prevented them from falling under the authority of a rival Shugendō organization. Kan'eiji was established by the *bakufu* at the request of the high-ranking Tendai monk Tenkai. Tenkai was a confidante and adviser to the first three Tokugawa shoguns, ensuring that Kan'eiji received considerable patronage from the *bakufu*. It soon became a central force in the shogunate's policies to restructure and control the shrines and temples of the realm. It also became the established mortuary temple for the shoguns and their consorts, with mausoleums for deceased shoguns within its precincts.

Construction began in the first year of the Kan'ei era (1624), which was the source of the temple's name, in imitation of Enryakuji on Mt. Hiei, which had been founded in the seventh year of the Enryaku era (788). Kan'eiji was situated to the northeast of Edo Castle in order to protect against the harmful influences thought to come from that direction, the so-called "demon gate," or *kimon*. This was another way in which Kan'eiji imitated the model of Mt. Hiei, which served the same function to the northeast of the Imperial Palace. As the Head Temple for Tendai in Eastern Japan, Kan'eiji was often called Tōeizan, or the Mt. Hiei of the East. Its authority only increased as *bakufu* policies toward Buddhism took shape, and it came to eclipse Mt. Hiei in actual power and influence. Eventually, a precedent was established that the same cleric jointly held the abbotship of Mt. Hiei, Kan'eiji (the shogunate's mortuary temple), and Nikkō-san (the site of Tōshōgū, the shrine-temple complex that enshrined the deified Tokugawa Ieyasu),

making him the ultimate authority in Tendai Buddhism. From the time of the third abbot of Tōeizan onward, this cleric was always an imperial prince, making Kan'eiji a *monzeki*, or imperial temple whose head was always of the royal family. Kan'eiji received the *monzeki* title of Rinnōji in Meireki 1 (1655), and the head cleric of the three temples was thereafter often referred to as the Rinnōji-no-miya, or the Rinnōji Prince.¹⁰ Both the Honzan-ha and the Tōzan-ha, the two major organizations formally recognized by the *bakufu* in their regulations issued for Shugendō institutions, had their own affiliate *monzeki*, but these were both older Kyoto-based temples. Haguro's *monzeki* patron was new, vital, and directly associated with the supreme political authority in the realm. After the affiliation, Haguro was closely linked to the political and religious center of power in Tokugawa Japan. Tōeizan appointed the mountain's *bettō*, issued its law codes, settled disputes between its monks, and negotiated with other religious organizations on its behalf.

Making Use of the *bakufu*: Ten'yū's Engagement with Edo

Both Ten'yū and his predecessor, the forty-ninth *bettō* Yūshun, worked aggressively to establish connections with the new regime developing in Edo and make use of its authority to advance their own ambitions for Haguro. At this point, they generally relied on the Sanada families for local concerns, such as the administration of Tōge or the resolution of border disputes, but the Sanadas, like all of the religious specialists who belonged to the Haguro *shugen* community, were affected by Ten'yū's actions. Indeed, as we shall see, Sanada Shikibu and Sanada Hayato would eventually be

¹⁰ Yokota Chieko, "Kan'eiji no jimu soshiki ni tsuite," *Gakushūin shigaku* 3 (Nov., 1966): 39-64.

summoned to Edo and questioned by the *bakufu*'s Superintendency of Temples and Shrines, or *jisha bugyō-dokoro*, as part of the lawsuit against Ten'yū that ended his career.

Tax-Free Land

Some of the earliest documents in the *Sanada Gyokuzōbō monjo* concern the collection of yearly *nengu* taxes from the villages under Haguro's control, indicating that this was a responsibility of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household heads of the time. Most of these documents date to the tenures of Yūgen and Yūshun as *bettō* and *shugyō* of Haguro, and it is likely that members of the Sanada Shikibu family were also involved in these activities.¹¹ The most enduring and significant events of the early Edo period related to Haguro's territory would occur during the administration of Ten'yū, and later generations of both families would operate within the new land policies he secured. As described above, friction between Ten'yū and the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family head Sanada Kanejūrō led to Kanejūrō leaving Haguro and Ten'yū transferring the responsibilities of the lineage to his kinsman Sone Hayato, who took the surname Sanada. As a result, the Sanada Shikibu household and Sanada Hayato were the primary actors involved in Ten'yū's efforts to secure Haguro's sovereignty over its territory.

One of Ten'yū's many accomplishments as *bettō* was securing a vermilion seal land grant deed, or *shuinjō*, for Haguro's territory on Kanbun 5 (1665), 7/11. The bestowal of these deeds was one of the *bakufu*'s policies to control Buddhist temples while enhancing their ability to deal with the perceived threat of Christianity. They guaranteed or even increased the land traditionally held by major temples and exempted

¹¹ *Sanada Gyokuzōbō monjo*, 1-4, 1-5, 1-8, 1-10, 1-11.

it from taxation.¹²As Naitō Masatoshi points out, Haguro acquiring tax-free vermilion seal status from the shogunate essentially guaranteed its independence from the authority of the Shōnai domain and its rulers, the Sakai clan.¹³ Haguro's *shuinjō* was officially issued on Kanbun 5 (1665), 7/11. The text of Haguro's *shuinjō* reads, "For the Haguro-san Gongen Shrine Precincts in Shōnai, Akumi District, Dewa Province, just over one thousand five hundred *koku* are donated, in accordance with precedent. Furthermore, the temple town, mountain forests, and bamboo trees are exempted from all taxes. In perpetuity, there should be no deviations from what has come to be. It is as above."¹⁴ This territory consisted of fifteen villages, one of which was Tōge itself, valued together at just over one thousand five hundred *koku* of rice.¹⁵

Ten'yū first requested the vermilion seal deed designation for Haguro's territory in Kan'ei 18 (1641) after becoming Tenkai's disciple, changing his name from Yūyo to Ten'yū, and formally affiliating Haguro with Kan'eiji and the Tendai school as a branch temple. His ambition was not fulfilled until twenty-four years later, possibly because of Tenkai's death in Kan'ei 20 (1643), which robbed Haguro of an influential advocate in Edo.¹⁶ The Sanada Shikibu lineage consistently supported Ten'yū's plans for Haguro's territory. Along with over twenty other members of the Haguro community, Sanada

¹² Helen Hardacre, *Religion and Society in Nineteenth-Century Japan: A Study of the Southern Kantō Region, Using Late Edo and Early Meiji Gazetteers*, (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies University of Michigan, 2002), 39.

¹³ Naitō Masatoshi, *Nihon no miira shinkō*, (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1999), 209-213.

¹⁴ Togawa, ed., *Shintō taiki: Dewa Sanzan*, 437.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 435-436.

¹⁶ Miyake, *Haguro shugen – sono rekishi to mine-iri*, 67-71

Shikibu Kūshin¹⁷ accompanied Ten'yū to negotiations with the Shōnai domain over the Haguro-Shōnai border in Meireki 4 (1658), a dispute that was resolved through arbitration by the shogunal Superintendent of Temples and Shrines in Manji 3 (1660). Later, in the immediate aftermath of the acquisition of vermilion seal deed privileges, the Shōnai domain commenced an investigation of its border with Haguro, which several Haguro *shūto* objected to. Sanada Shikibu and Sanada Hayato are among the twenty-three names affixed to a petition these *shūto* submitted to the domain's own Superintendent of Temples and Shrines on Kanbun 6 (1666), 5/13, that demanded the border remain where Haguro set it.¹⁸ It is entirely understandable why Haguro ascetics such as the Sanadas would support Ten'yū's plans, while the domain itself would oppose them. Haguro had been subordinate to local warrior families such as the Mutō, Uesugi, and Mogami during the later medieval period, and the *bakufu*'s acknowledgment of its authority over its territory ensured that this would not reoccur.

Even though Ten'yū would be dismissed and exiled soon after securing Haguro's land privileges, subsequent generations of both major Sanada lineages would work to support the new status quo he had established. Sanada Shichirōzaemon Shigekatsu, alongside four other marrying ascetics of the base and five summit clergy temples, presented a petition to the Shōnai Superintendent of Temples and Shrines on Tenna 3 (1683) 3/4 that defended Haguro's land claims.¹⁹ Furthermore, several documents preserved among the *Sanada Gyokuzōbō monjo* show that as administrators, the Sanadas

¹⁷ The name Kūshin is unspecified in the associated documents, but he had likely inherited headship by that point.

¹⁸ Togawa Anshō, *Dewa Sanzan Shugendō no kenkyū*, (Tokyo: Kōsei, 1986), 360-362.

¹⁹ Togawa, ed., *Shintō taiki: Dewa Sanzan*, 435-436.

felt it necessary to have their own copies of the *shuinjō* deeds issued by the *bakufu*. Documents 1-14 and 1-15 are copies of the original document issued on Kanbun 5, 7/11 in the name of the fourth shogun Tokugawa Ietsuna (1641-1680; r.1650-1680).²⁰ The fifth shogun Tokugawa Tsunayoshi (1646-1709; r. 1680-1709), reissued the deed on Jōkyō 2 (1685), 6/11, and Document 1-22 is a copy of that.²¹ Furthermore, Document 1-37 is a copy of the deed issued by the eighth shogun Tokugawa Yoshimune (1684-1751; r. 1716-1745) on Kyōhō 3 (1718), 7/11.²² As Magistrates (*daikan*) and Inspectors (*metsuke*) for Haguro, Sanada family heads would have had to deal with matters involving land and taxation, necessitating access to reliable records such as these. In fact, the genealogy of the Gyokuzōbō Sanada Family records that Sanada Noritada traveled to Kan'eiji in Edo in Kansei 8 (1796) to request official reissuing of the *shuinjō*, as they had been lost in the fire that consumed the Main Shrine.²³ It is possible that the copies surviving in the family archive derive from this trip, as they all include the posthumous names of the shoguns who issued them. Regardless, as administrators for Haguro, the Sanadas directly engaged with the *shuinjō* system instituted by the *bakufu*. They worked within the new Tokugawa religious order.

Sanada Yozaemon and Temple Relocation for the New Order

Ten'yū entrusted a Sanada branch lineage with another major part of his reorganization of Haguro, the relocation of two temples used as residences for the *bettō* and *shugyō* (Haguro's chief ritual post, usually held by the *bettō*) from the summit to new

²⁰SGM 1-14, 1-15.

²¹ SGM 1-22.

²² SGM1-37.

²³ *Sanada Gyokuzōbō keizusho*, original in possession of Sanada family. Transcription gifted to me by Hoshino Masahiro.

locations further down the mountain. Sanada Yozaemon, member of a branch lineage, was appointed as commissioner (*bugyō*) for both of these projects. Even minor Sanada *yamabushi* were enlisted in Ten'yū's reworking of the material structures that comprised Mt. Haguro. According to Togawa, Yozaemon was a branch lineage of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon line that served as a watchman, or *mimawari*, for Tōge. Togawa anachronistically classifies Yozaemon as part of the elite *onbun* class of marrying ascetics, despite that designation not existing at the time, possibly referring to the contemporary social stratum that would later be indentified with the term.²⁴ Alternatively, as discussed above, Kyōdōin Seikai's *Memorandum* identifies Sanada Yozaemon with the *yamabushi* title Kitanobō, and a memorial monument for the Sanada Shikibu family lists a Kitanobō Gensei as the second son of Sanada Shikibu Seikyō. Sanada Yozaemon/Kitanobō and Kitanobō Gensei may refer to the same person, or they may have been father and son. The name Sanada Yozaemon does not appear in later Haguro records, suggesting that the family died out after their exile alongside Ten'yū.

In the last third of the third month of Kanbun 2 (1662), Sanada Yozaemon oversaw the movement of the *bettō*'s residence Hōzen'in (subsequently renamed Shion'ji, though the prior name continued to be used) from the summit to a new location in the South Valley. He received the title *jibiki bugyō*, or *jibiki* Commissioner,²⁵ and supervised one hundred day laborers from Shōnai-hama, or Shōnai beach, and completed the job in

²⁴ Togawa, *Dewa shugen no shugyō to seikatsu*, (Tokyo: Kōsei, 1993), 29.

²⁵ The term *jikibi* refers to a ceremony performed by the head carpenter prior to the start of construction; in this case, it seems to indicate general authority over the construction project, in addition to any ritual duties, though the meaning is somewhat unclear.; Kawamura Kōshō, ed., *Tendaigaku jiten* (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1990).

the eighth month of the same year.²⁶ Similarly, in Kanbun 4 (1664), Yozaemon again acted as Commissioner for the transfer of the *shugyō*'s residence (Kangi'in, then renamed Jakuōji) from the summit to an area on the mountain's Second Slope (Ni-no-saka) called Mt. Izanagi, with one hundred day laborers under this command.²⁷ Ten'yū broke with precedent even further by designating this as the permanent residence for the *shugyō*, despite the tradition of the *shugyō*'s residence changing to the temple of the new holder of the position whenever it was passed on. At this point Ten'yū was serving as both *bettō* and *shugyō*, so both of these temples were now his official residences.²⁸ This is another case of Ten'yū relying on a Sanada to carry out his ambitious reorganization of Mt. Haguro.

Sanada Yozaemon's support for Ten'yū never flagged, even in the face of the lawsuit filed against him by five summit monks in Kanbun 7 (1667), analyzed in more detail below. Along with several other Haguro *shūto*, he signed a joint statement asserting Ten'yū's innocence and traveled to Edo to submit it directly. He remained in Edo until the Kanbun 8 (1668), 10/13 verdict, a year later, which condemned Ten'yū's supporters and their families, to banishment from Haguro to the village of Obanazawa in Mogami.²⁹

Ten'yū's Dismissal and the Consequences for the Sanadas

Members of the Sanada Shikibu, Sanada Shihei, Sanada Yozaemon, and Sanada/Sone Hayato families all worked with Ten'yū as he consolidated his authority and restructured Haguro Shugendō according to his personal goals and the new status quo for

²⁶ Togawa, ed., *Shintō taiki: Dewa Sanzan*, 146.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 147.

²⁸ Togawa, *Dewa Sanzan shugendō no kenkyū*, 356-357.

²⁹ Togawa, ed., *Shintō taiki: Dewa Sanzan*, 151, 161, 166.

religious institutions established by the *bakufu*. Participation in such a momentous program of change ended up having severe consequences for those involved, however. As mentioned above, five summit clergy who objected to Ten'yū's conduct as head of Mt. Haguro, filed a lawsuit against him through Tōeizan in Kanbun 7 (1667). The suit was subsequently transferred to the court of the Superintendency of Temples and Shrines after the plaintiffs alleged that Ten'yū had stolen a little over two hundred *roku* from the Shōnai domain when he had obtained the red vermilion seal status for Haguro's territory that exempted them from taxation. On Kanbun 8 (1668), 4/4, a ruling by the Superintendent of Temples and Shrines in Edo dismissed Ten'yū from the positions of *bettō* and *shugyō* and ordered that he and his Deputy (*indai*) Daijōbō be exiled to Niijima in the Izu Islands. Later rulings banished fifteen of his supporters and their families from Haguro, including all of his Sanada allies.³⁰

Ōta Hitachi, the Sanadas, and Intrigue

Kyōdōin Seikai, compiler of the *Memorandum on the restorer(s) of Mt. Haguro in Ūshū*, depicts Sanada Shikibu Kūshin, Sanada Shihei Gendō, and Sanada Hayato as members of a clique headed by the *saitai shugen* Ōta Hitachi that abused their positions as Ten'yū's trusted subordinates in order to enrich themselves and attack their enemies. This group also supposedly included Daijōbō, Ten'yū's Deputy (*indai*), and Hitachi's son Ōta Kazue, as well as several of Ōta Hitachi's kinsmen. Seikai claims that Hitachi was Ten'yū's older brother, from the Mogami area near Haguro.³¹ Seikai may have been trying to preserve Ten'yū's reputation by blaming a clique headed by a corrupt relative

³⁰ Miyake, *Haguro shugen – sono rekishi to mine-iri*, 70-72; Togawa, *Dewa Sanzan shugendō no kenkyū* ?.

³¹ Togawa, ed., *Shintō taiki: Dewa Sanzan*, 167.

for the alleged misconduct that prompted the five summit monks' suit to Tōeizan. The relative lack of other records from this time makes this difficult to verify, but Seikai clearly held Ten'yū in high regard; either intentionally or unintentionally, he painted Ōta Hitachi and his collaborators as the conniving villains who caused the innocent Ten'yū's dismissal and exile. Seikai notes that Hitachi was imprisoned for an unspecified offense while Yūshun was *bettō*, but under Ten'yū, he was allowed to do as he pleased. Hitachi supposedly invited relatives to Haguro who worked with him to exploit his position, persecuting opponents, and misappropriating rice allotments from Haguro's territory, among other crimes. All the while, Ten'yū seemingly remained unaware of his brother's misconduct.³²

In Seikai's account, the Sanada lineages favored by Ten'yū were allied with Ōta Hitachi in his intrigues. In particular, Seikai records how Ōta Hitachi enlisted the Sanada Shikibu family and Daijōbō in a scheme to discredit Ten'yū's chosen successor Kakujuin because Hitachi feared that he would not enjoy the same license under Kakujuin's rule. The schemers filed a lawsuit against Kakujuin with Haguro's head temple and slandered him to Ten'yū, but the *bettō* refused to accept the suit. He continued to refuse even after Sanada Shikibu, Sanada Shihei, and Daijōbō filed a joint suit against Kakujuin. It seems that the clique was ultimately able to make Kakujuin go into seclusion through unclear means that included Sanada Hayato's aid, and Sonchōin was designated as Ten'yū's new successor via an internal agreement.³³ In Kyōdōin's version, Ōta Hitachi and his allies are

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

cunning manipulators who try to turn Ten'yū against one of his allies for their own benefit.

Certain aspects of this story do conform to more accepted history. At one point, Kakujuin Yūkai was Ten'yū's designated successor, only to be replaced by Sonchōin Keikai, but it was Ten'yū himself who dismissed Yūkai in Kanbun 4 (1664). Yūkai had gone behind Ten'yū's back to try to resolve the persistent problems of Haguro's purported authority over the four Yudono temples and the dispute with the Shōnai domain over territorial borders. He had suggested to the shogunate's Superintendent of Temples and Shrines that he have Ten'yū switch Haguro's allegiance to the Shingon school, which would facilitate a better relationship with the Shingon Yudono temples, and encourage Ten'yū to work more harmoniously with both Yudono and Shōnai. Upon learning of this, Ten'yū severed ties with Yūkai, who fled Haguro, and later designated Sonchōin Keikai as his new heir.³⁴

Interrogation, then Banishment: A Temporary End to Sanada Shikibu at Haguro

Following the verdict that sent Ten'yū into exile, Sanada Hayato, Sanada Shikibu Kūshin, and Ōta Kazue were summoned before the Superintendent of Temples and Shrines in Edo to testify about other crimes attributed to Ten'yū by the five summit monks. The court that their patron had repeatedly (and ultimately unsuccessfully) employed to confirm Haguro's authority over Yudono was now questioning them. Due to their association with an influential monk like Ten'yū, the heads of the Sanada Shikibu and Sanada Hayato households were made to travel to the new seat of centralized

³⁴ Miyake, 67-71.

political power in the realm and face one of its judicial organs. While they were away, Tōeizan put Sanada Shihei Gendō in charge of the administration of the mountain, indicating that even after the loss of their patron, the Sanadas were still trusted to carry out important jobs at Haguro.³⁵

The five summit monk plaintiffs accused Ten'yū of appropriating fifty-two horse-loads of Haguro's valuables and treasures and concealing them at Iwanezawa in the Mogami region, supposedly the homeland of Ten'yū and Ōta Hitachi. In order to investigate this claim, the court instructed Tōeizan to summon Sanada Shikibu Kūshin, Sanada Hayato, and Ōta Kazue to Edo, and the three ascetics immediately set out for the capital. They arrived at Edo in the last third of the fourth month and testified that there was absolutely no truth to the allegations of theft. Meanwhile, the local Intendant of Iwanezawa Matsudaira Seibei searched for the supposed stolen materials and found no evidence of them, and a survey of valuables at Haguro by Sanada Shihei Gendō also did not discover any missing items. Despite all this, on Kanbun 8 (1668), 10/13, the Superintendent ruled that for the crime of being in league with Ten'yū, the eight Haguro *shūto* currently in Edo, which included Sanada Hayato, Sanada Shikibu Kūshin, and Ōta Kazue, along with their families, were banned from living within ten *ri* (roughly 39 km.) of Haguro. The same sentence was also applied to seven *shūto* still at Haguro and their families, including Sanada Shihei Gendō. All of the banished *shūto* and their families were relocated to Obanazawa village in Mogami.³⁶

Memorialization alongside Ten'yū

³⁵ Togawa, ed., *Shintō taikei: Dewa Sanzan*, 165.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 164-166.

The association between Sanada Shikibu Kūshin, Sanada Hayato, and Ten'yū continued even after their deaths. On Kyōhō 4 (1719), 10/24, Kyōdōin Seikai erected a memorial stupa for Ten'yū and his supporters on the grounds of Kōtakuji. In addition to Ten'yū himself, who passed away at age eighty-one in Enpō 2 (1674), the memorial lists the two marrying ascetics Sanada Shikibu Kūshin and Sanada Hayato Gendō³⁷, along with five summit clergy, as well as the fifteen followers of Ten'yū banished in Kanbun 8 (1668).³⁸ Of the all the names inscribed on the memorial, only Sanada Shikibu and Sanada Hayato are spouse-keeping ascetics, while the rest are all summit clergy with monastic titles. Being listed alongside these *seisō* shows the respect accorded to them as members of Ten'yū's inner circle.

The exile of Ten'yū and his supporters exemplifies the complex internal politics that marked the seventeenth century reorganization of many shrine-temple complexes throughout Japan. Figures like Ten'yū succeeded in effecting sweeping changes in their organizations, but conflicts between different factions could result in severe consequences for the losers. Sanada Shikibu Kūshin, Sanada Hayato, and Sanada Shihei Gendō all experienced this for themselves, though their support for their patron would be preserved in stone decades after their banishment from their homes.

Aftermath: The Rise of Sanada Shichirōzaemon and Sanada Giuemon

Tōeizan's policies toward Haguro in the wake of the banishment of Ten'yū and his supporters show that the Sanada lineages continued to be regarded as trustworthy administrators for the community, even if the rationale behind certain decisions remains

³⁷ A mistake, as Gendō was the personal name of Sanada Shihei, not Sanada Hayato.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 621.

unclear. After the Sanada Shikibu household's banishment from Haguro, Tōeizan initially transferred its rice stipend to the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household. However, in the following year the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household head was dismissed from any administrative posts he held (the order does not specify what post he then occupied), made to forfeit his parishes back to the office of the *bettō*, and give up his residence to the Sanada Giuemon household. Despite this seeming downturn in fortunes, the new *bettō* Sonchōin Keikai soon restored the family's parishes and selected Sanada Shichirōzaemon Shigekatsu, son of Sanada Kanejūrō, to manage the community of spouse-keeping ascetics at the foot of Mt. Haguro as his ancestors had in the past. Meanwhile, the Sanada Giuemon lineage, somehow related to Sanada Shihei, obtained the office of Magistrate and Sanada Shichirōzaemon's dwelling. Even as the new era of governance by proxy *bettō* began, Sanada lineages retained their traditional role as leaders of the mountain's foot. The family's pedigree demonstrated an enduring ability to survive political shakeups and restructurings. Furthermore, even if there had been animosity between Sanada Kanejūrō and Ten'yū, Kanejūrō's heirs would serve the new Tōeizan-controlled Haguro Shugendō that Ten'yū had initiated.

The immediate aftermath of the exile of the Sanada Shikibu, Sanada Shihei, Sanada Yozaemon, and Sanada/Sone Hayato households initially seemed to benefit the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family, who remained at Haguro. On Kanbun 8 (1668), 11/15, two Tōeizan monks Kanri'in and Engakuin issued a memorandum to the Haguro *shūto* in general and Sanada Shichirōzaemon in particular stating that the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household should now receive the thirty bales of stipend rice previously given to the

Sanada Shikibu household.³⁹ The rice in question came from the tax-free 1,500 *koku* of rice guaranteed by the *bakufu*'s red vermilion seal deed. A detailed survey of stipend rice distribution at Haguro prepared by the same two monks on 10/1 of the same year, just prior to the sentence of banishment for Ten'yū's supporters, listed Sanada Shikibu as the recipient of thirty-one bales of rice, the same as his peer Ōta Kazue (though one bale of Ōta's went to a person with the surname Sawada serving in the position of headman). No other Sanada lineages appear on this list.⁴⁰

An order dispatched by Tōeizan to Haguro the next year complicates the position of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household at Haguro at this transition point between Ten'yū and the rule of Rinnōji-no-miya *bettō* and their proxies. On Kanbun 9 (1669), 4/12, Denbōin and Engakuin, two Tōeizan monks, submitted an order to the temple of the *bettō* that dismissed Sanada Shichirōzaemon from his official duties, gave his residence to Sanada Giuemon, and demanded that he return all his parishes to the office of the *bettō*. However, the same order granted Sanada Shichirōzaemon the residence of a Gorōzaemon, surname unspecified, and three hundred *kari* of rice fields for a retirement stipend. The document also raised the stipend received by the two Magistrates from ten to fifteen bales of rice, but dismissed the two current holders of the position and appointed Sanada Giuemon and Ōtani Chūbei as the new Magistrates. Ōtani Chūbei also received the residence formerly occupied by Sanada Giuemon.⁴¹ Since this order dismisses the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household from all administrative posts, it seems likely that it would

³⁹ Togawa, ed., *Shintō taiki: Dewa Sanzan*, 457.

⁴⁰ Togawa, ed., *Shintō taiki: Dewa Sanzan*, 449-454.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 458-459.

have also stripped them of their thirty rice bale emolument. It is unclear why all of this was done to the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household, or even which household head was intended. Possibly the target was Sanada Kanejūrō, who had already left Haguro, and this just formalized the existing situation, guaranteeing him a stable dwelling and income in his retirement. His son Sanada Shichirōzaemon Shigekatsu was still a child at this point, so Sanada Giuemon may have been selected to fulfill the duties of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon position until he was old enough to do so. Another possibility is that this was a delayed fallout from the exile of Ten'yū and his clique, and the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family was somehow included in the punishment despite its distance from Ten'yū. This theory seems doubtful, since the order increased Sanada Giuemon's status at Haguro, and they were related to the exiled Sanada Shihei household. As with the relationship between Sanada Kanejūrō and Ten'yū, only speculative conclusions are possible.

The new *bettō* Sonchōin Keikai, based at Kan'eiji in Edo and ruling through proxies, soon displayed a favorable attitude toward the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family, so if the orders of Kanbun 9 (1669) were grounded in any official censure, it was short-lived. Keikai formally confirmed the household's rights to its traditional parishes in a deed issued on Kanbun 13 (1673), 9/25, overruling the earlier demand that it return them to the *bettō*.⁴² This is the oldest surviving parish deed for the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family. Later documents concerning their parish privileges refer back to this deed, but not any earlier ones, so this one may be the first ever issued to them. Furthermore, Keikai's

⁴² SGM 2-147.

proxy Jumyōin Jitsuin arrived at Haguro on Enbō 3 (1675), 12/7, with an order to appoint Sanada Shichirōzaemon Shigekatsu to the position of Steward (*shikken*).⁴³ Within ten years of Ten'yū's fall from power, the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household had regained its traditional parish rights and again occupied an elevated position in the administrative hierarchy of Haguro.

According to a family history prepared by Shigekatsu's son Hisatake, Shigekatsu received thirty-one bales of rice as part of his emolument for holding an official post, so if his rice allotment was stopped in Kanbun 9 (1669), it soon resumed and increased one bale to the level originally granted to Sanada Shikibu.⁴⁴ The Sanada Gyokuzōbō family genealogy states that Shigekatsu was granted an audience with the mountain's ruler in the ninth month of Enbō 5 (1677), then served as Master of Accounts (*ōnandō*).⁴⁵ He would resign from his official duties in Jōkyō 1 (1684) due to illness, but lived until Genroku 5 (1692), 7/16.⁴⁶ The Sanada Shichirōzaemon household continued to be active in the administration of the mountain with Sanada Shichirōzaemon Hisatake, who inherited the family headship at age fourteen in Jōkyō 3 (1686), then completed his first round of the Fall Peak austerities in Genroku 2 (1689). The same year he assisted in population surveys and gun inspections for Haguro. He was assigned to post of Inspector during the Genroku era, and held the posts of Magistrate and Inspector simultaneously from Shōtoku 2 (1712). His emolument for these services was twenty bales of rice and the

⁴³ Togawa, ed., *Shintō taiki: Dewa Sanzan*, 67.

⁴⁴ SGM 4-350.

⁴⁵ *Gyokuzōbō Sanada-ke keizusho*. Currently in possession of the Sanada family, Tōge-mura, Yamagata-ken, Japan.

⁴⁶ SGM 4-350.

rights to one of the thirteen Prince Deity Shrines on Mt. Gassan visited by pilgrims.⁴⁷

Rights to these shrines guaranteed the holder income from a portion of the donations they received from pilgrims.

The experiences of Shigekatsu and Hisatake show that the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household preserved its customary central role within the organization and community of Haguro Shugendō as the new system of rule by Kan'eiji coalesced. The *bettō* temples at Tōeizan and their representatives at Haguro used Sanada Shichirōzaemon house heads to carry out necessary duties and fill administrative offices. The acquisition of new privileges like the right to a Prince Deity Shrine on Mt. Gassan indicates that they were even able to improve their standing in certain capacities. As a *yamabushi* lineage, the household demonstrated a persistent ability to retain its elite position at Haguro throughout the upheavals of the early Tokugawa period. On the Sanada Shikibu side of the family, though many of the most prominent members were banished along with their patron Ten'yū, the Sanada Giuemon lineage remained at Haguro and was trusted to manage the community.

The Sanadas Within the Reform Program of *bettō* Kakujun

In the late Edo period, the Sanada families were central to another major reformation of Haguro Shugendō and its attached community. The late nineteenth century was an inauspicious time for Haguro. The Main Shrine on Haguro's summit was destroyed in a fire in Kansei 8 (1796), the campaign to collect funds for its reconstruction was plagued with corruption, and in the midst of rebuilding, the Shrine suffered another

⁴⁷ Ibid.

major fire in Bunka 8 (1811). However, in Bunka 10 (1813), Tōeizan selected Kakujun *daisōzu*, the abbot of the Nikkō temple Iōin, as the new *bettō* and *shugyō* of Haguro. Kakujun would become the first *bettō* to actually reside at Haguro since Genroku 5 (1692), and he restored the authority and importance of the office. Subsequent *bettō* would be based at Haguro until the shattering disruptions of the early Meiji.⁴⁸ Like Ten'yū in the seventeenth century, Kakujun recruited several Sanada *yamabushi* to serve in his new administration. Luckily, the *Kakujun bettō nikki*, or *Daybook of the bettō Kakujun*, recorded the significant events of his time as *bettō*, from Bunka 10 (1813) to Bunsei 9 (1826), including his various reforms, the reconstruction of the Main Shrine, the religious ceremonies performed, and yearly tallies of the number of pilgrims who visited Haguro.⁴⁹

Kakujun retained much of the existing administrative structure, but established three new positions, that of the Lieutenant (*go-te-gawari*), Deputy (*indai*), and Head of Staff (*chiji*), filling them with clerics that accompanied him from Nikkō. Following his example, later *bettō* would bring their own Deputies and Lieutenants with them from their previous temples. He also changed the names of certain positions, reduced the number of officials, and cut down on economic waste.⁵⁰ Three Sanada *yamabushi* were tapped to become part of his new group of officials. From the Sanada Shichirōzaemon line, Sanada Geki Noritada was first appointed as Magistrate on Bunsei 10 (1813), 6/19, but was promoted to Senior Retainer (*karō*) on Bunka 11 (1814), 8/17, replacing the

⁴⁸ Miyake, *Haguro shugen – sono rekishi to mine-iri*, 79-85.

⁴⁹ *Dewa Sanzan Shiryōshū jōkan*, 843-879.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

retiring Senior Retainer. Noritada's son, Sanada Shichirōzaemon Noritaka, was chosen to be one of the two Supervisors, or *nen-gyōji*, a newly established office with the jurisdiction over the *onbun* elite of the marrying ascetics, on Bunka 13 (1816), 5/24. Meanwhile, on the Sanada Shikibu side, Sanada Wahei, descendant of Sanada Shikibu, left his post as Master of Supplies (*wai-no-gashira*) on Bunka 11 (1814), 8/25, to fill the office of Magistrate when Sanada Geki Noritada became Senior Retainer.⁵¹

Sanada Shichirōzaemon Noritaka had to deal with Kakujun even before Kakujun arrived at Haguro. Copies of the *Memorandum on Everything [Concerning] the Investiture of the Shōgon'in inge [Kakujun]*, or *Shōgon'in go-inge go-nyūin shoji tebigae*, and the *Order of the Procession Upon Shōgon'in inge [Kakujun's] Arrival at the Mountain*, or *Shōgon'in inge oyama-tsuki no setsu gyōretsu no shidai*, both dating from the sixth month of Bunka 10 (1813), remain the *Sanada Gyokuzōbō monjo*.⁵² While a more detailed analysis of both documents is outside the scope of this project, both of them concern the procedure for greeting Kakujun upon his arrival at Mt. Haguro. The former consists of a list of instructions for all levels of Haguro society about how to behave when Kakujun reaches Haguro. Even a cursory review shows that Sanada Shichirōzaemon played a significant role in the proceedings, along with the two Magistrates and the Inspector. According to the plan marked down in the latter text, Sanada Geki Noritada and one of the Magistrates would lead the procession intended to greet Kakujun and his entourage.

Clarifying Haguro's Social Hierarchy

⁵¹ *Dewa Sanzan Shiryōshū jōkan*, 845, 849, 854.

⁵² SGM 4-386, 4-387.

Kakujun also sought to clarify and systematize Tōge's social hierarchy as part of his program of reform. In Bunka 13 (1816), households were required to submit documents to the two Magistrates in order to verify their social status, and as a result sixty-one households were confirmed as members of the *onbun* elite. The term *onbun* derived from the Shōtoku 1 (1711) document described in Chapter One that exhorted marrying ascetics who had received rights to parishes, halls, shrines, and pilgrim huts to faithfully carry out their duties as recipients of the *bettō*'s "favor," or *onbun*. While the concept of certain *saitai shugen* existing as elite vassals or retainers of the *bettō* had existed for some time, this appears to be when use of the term *onbun* to describe a privileged upper stratum was formalized. The remaining two-hundred eighty households of Tōge were then classified as *hiramonzen* or *hiramonjin*, a term roughly meaning common townsfolk. Furthermore, in the fifth month of Bunka 13 (1816), Kakujun's administration issued codes of conduct to both the *onbun* and *hiramonzen* that listed the various rules the two groups were to follow. These codes paid particular attention to describing the proper seating order at official meetings, though they distinguished between a "worldly" order based on social status and a "*shugen*" seating order based on one's ascetic experience. A clear and detailed understanding of hierarchy was necessary within Haguro Shugendō.⁵³

Both Sanada lineages participated in this stabilization of Haguro's social order. As one of the two Magistrates, Sanada Wahei would have received and examined the documentation submitted by the households of Tōge, then prepared the formal list of

⁵³ *Dewa Sanzan Shiryōshū jōkan*, 737-742.

onbun, the *sō-go-onbun aratame-sho*, that survives in both the *Dewa Sanzan shiryōshū* and the *Sanada Gyokuzōbō monjo*.⁵⁴ Document 4-388 from the *Sanada Gyokuzōbō monjo* appears to be a copy of the report the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household submitted to the Magistrates, and large portions of its text matches the entry for Sanada Shichirōzaemon in the *sō-go'onbun aratame-sho*.⁵⁵ As noted in Chapter One, the household was the first entry in the collection and maintained many of its traditional privileges, even without specific documentation to back them up, because they were a “special” lineage. Furthermore, the list of rules issued to the *onbun* in Bunka 13 (1816) reaffirms the role of Sanada Shichirōzaemon as the head of all *saitai shugen*, citing the Keichō 7 (1602) document discussed earlier as proof. The system that this series of activities described was extremely favorable to the Sanada families of Tōge. It also demonstrates the continued existence of an elite within the spouse-keeping *shugenja* at Haguro’s foot, and how membership in that elite was supported by the possession of corroborating documents. For *shugenja*, rank and status wasn’t based solely or even primarily on one’s ascetic experience, though that remained important in certain spheres. Hereditary privilege was a major factor shaping life and society at Haguro.

Reconstruction and Redefinition of the Main Shrine

As members of Kakujun’s administration, Sanada Geki Noritada, Sanada Shichirōzaemon Noritaka, and Sanada Wahei all took part in the *bettō*’s rebuilding of the Main Shrine. Kakujun first informed his subordinates, including the Senior Advisor, the two Magistrates (one of which was Sanada Geki Noritada), the Inspector, and lesser

⁵⁴ SGM 5-429; Umezu, ed., *Dewa Sanzan shiryōshū jōkan*, 813-817.

⁵⁵ SGM 4-388.

officials (presumably Supervisor Noritaka and Master of Supplies Wahei), about his reconstruction plans at a meeting on Bunka 10 (1813) 6/29. Later in the year, on 11/18, Kakujun shared a meal with his officials to celebrate the cutting of the three great pillars for the Shrine, and on Bunka 13 (1816) 3/1, he presented them with a meal, sake, and congratulations to mark the gathering of lumber for the reconstruction. At this point, Sanada Geki Noritada held the position of Senior Advisor and Sanada Wahei still served as one of the Magistrates.⁵⁶ Although a detailed analysis is beyond the scope of this project, Sanada Shichirōzaemon Noritada maintained a record of the reconstruction between Bunka 11 (1814) and Bunka 12 (1815) called the *Main Shrine Construction Sleeve Diary*, or *Go-honsha go-fushin sode nikki*, indicating that he was closely involved with the process.⁵⁷ The Main Shrine was the centerpiece for pilgrims to Haguro, and in working to rebuild it, Kakujun and his subordinates restored the environment of Haguro to the state anticipated by visitors. In this project, the Sanadas made a valuable contribution to the prestige and health of Haguro Shugendō. This also underscores how maintenance of the buildings and structures of Shugendō complexes was a major priority for their administrators.

Conclusion

The household or lineage remained an important unit within Haguro Shugendō, even as the social and administrative aspects of the Haguro community and organization shifted over the course of the early modern period. The two major branches of the Sanada family and their various sublineages were able to maintain their elite position as trusted

⁵⁶ Umezu, ed., *Dewa Sanzan shiryōshū jōkan*, 846, 848, 854.

⁵⁷ SGM 4-391, 4-392.

officials even when the leadership of the organization changed. First under the three *bettō* Yūgen, Yūshun, and Ten'yū, then under the new Tōeizan/Rinnōji-no-miya leadership, Sanada household heads continued to occupy roles crucial to the successful functioning of Tōge and the Haguro Shugendō organization. Certain divisions of the families might rise or fall in favor, such as Ten'yū's trust in the Sanada Shikibu household and probable friction with the Sanada Shichirōzaemon, or the consequences for Sanada Shikibu *yamabushi* after his dismissal and exile, but the Sanada families were an element of continuity at Haguro. Furthermore, their various administrative roles demonstrate that *yamabushi* were more than just their ascetic activities. *Shugenja* communities required the same effort and structures to remain stable and prosperous as any other village or city in early modern Japan, and were affected by the same political and social currents.

Chapter Three

An Ascetic for All Seasons:

The Sanadas in Haguro's Ritual Calendar

Introduction

The ritual year of Haguro Shugendō has been the most studied aspect of the tradition, both in Japan and the West. The centerpiece of Haguro's ceremonial calendar was a quartet of ritual periods, one for each of the four seasons, called "peaks" (*mine*) because they were performed within the sacred mountains of the Dewa Sanzan. In fact, the first significant English monograph on Shugendō, H. Byron Earhart's *A Religious Study of the Mount Haguro Sect of Shugendō*, centers around the author's ethnographic analysis of the Fall Peak, or *aki no mine*, conducted by the Haguro-san Shugen Honshū organization based at Shōzen'in temple in Tōge.¹ Furthermore, Carmen Blacker's seminal *The Catalpa Bow* includes an account of her experience of the Fall Peak, done at the same time as Earhart, in which she discusses it as an example of a shaman's "symbolic journey" to the otherworld.² *The Catalpa Bow* was another groundbreaking study that brought Shugendō traditions to greater prominence in the West, and the impact of Blacker and Earhart on Western research on Shugendō cannot be underestimated. In more recent years, Gaynor Sekimori, the leading Western scholar on Haguro, has addressed the Fall Peak's historical development from its earliest records to the present

¹ H. Byron Earhart, *A Religious Study of the Mount Haguro Sect of Shugendō: An Example of Japanese Mountain Religion* (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1970).; The Haguro-san Shugen Honshū organization transmits a tradition of Haguro *shugen* that preserves its Buddhist aspects (called *tera-gata* or "temple style") as opposed to the Dewa Sanzan Shrine, whose practices have been stripped of overt Buddhist elements (*jinja-gata*, or "shrine style").

² Carmen Blacker, *The Catalpa Bow: A Study of Shamanistic Practices in Japan*, 3rd edition (Richmond: Japan Library, 1999).

day, and scholars such as Tullio Lobetti and Andreas Riesland have produced modern-day ethnographic accounts that apply fresh critical and theoretical perspectives to the tradition.³ The Winter Peak, conducted prior to and on New Year's Eve, also survives in modified form, now called the *Shōreisai*, and prominent Shugendō scholars such as Suzuki Masataka and Miyake Hitoshi have analyzed its complex symbolic structure and meaning.⁴ The Spring Peak festival has gone extinct in modern times, while the Summer Peak survives in a much changed and reduced form as the yearly Flower Festival held at the Dewa Sanzan Shrine.

In this chapter I will discuss the participation of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family in Haguro's four season ritual periods during the early modern period. Modern ethnographic research has explored the personal experiences of the seasonal peaks for contemporary practitioners, and I will attempt to do the same for an early modern household of spouse-keeping adepts. In the process, I will demonstrate how the status systems based on heredity and seniority discussed in chapter one shaped Haguro's ritual year. Descriptions of Shugendō often emphasize its basis in the personal experience of austerities and the mental and supernatural transformations they produce. This view may also suggest that status in a Shugendō group or organization should derive primarily from a *yamabushi*'s ascetic accomplishments. Contrary to this, I show how other determinants of status operated in these ritual periods for both Sanadas and other participants. The lineage of the participants was just as, if not more, influential than an adept's seniority or

³ Gaynor Sekimori, "The *Akinomine* of Haguro *Shugendō*: A Historical Perspective," *Transactions of the International Conference of Eastern Studies* 40 (1995): 163-186.; Tullio Lobetti, *Ascetic Practices in Japanese Religion* (London: Routledge, 2014).

⁴ Suzuki Masataka, *Yama to kami to hito – Sangaku shinkō to shugendō no sekai* (Tokyo: Tankōsha, 1991), 114-138.

ascetic prowess in determining their privileges and responsibilities. This does not mean that ascetic experience itself was unimportant, but it was far from the only factor at play in these circumstances. Additionally, I will demonstrate how the various privileges that the Sanadas enjoyed during these ritual periods were an influential factor in the household's self-image. This chapter will emphasize the complex ways in which ritual participation shaped status and self-image for the ascetics of Mount Haguro.

Furthermore, as Pine Saints, Gyokuzōbō adepts became the center of a series of rituals and ceremonies that were rich in meaning and significance, with close connections to the local community. The Winter Peak austerities were very much a communal celebration, and the Pine Saints were the focus of support and veneration from the region's inhabitants. When he stepped into the role of Pine Saint, a Gyokuzōbō house head performed a vital service to his community, underscoring the importance of relationships and bonds between Shugendō ascetics and their local patrons. The efforts of the Pine Saints were further conceived of as benefitting the entire realm of Japan, the political institutions that governed it, and Haguro *shugen*'s parent Tendai sect, so the family's responsibility to ensure the Winter Peak's smooth operation had consequences beyond the immediate area of the Dewa Sanzan. Additionally, while much of this project emphasizes the more practical aspects of the Sanada families' livelihood, their participation in Haguro's ritual periods reinforces that performance of austerities and ascetics practices remained a central duty, with many layers of meaning to the families. Not only did they contribute to Haguro's ritual calendar, they helped to keep it functioning.

The documents of the Sanada Gyokuzōbō Archive allow for a focused examination of a family's personal relationship to the mountain's ritual calendar. Miyake and Suzuki have described and interpreted the procedure and significance of the Winter Peak austerities from the perspective of the community and/or organization as whole. Earhart, Sekimori, and Miyake have done the same for the Fall Peak austerities. While incorporating their broad conclusions within my analysis, I utilize the many documents within the Sanada Gyokuzōbō Archive pertaining to these ritual periods to concentrate on the lineage's unique experience of them, a heretofore unexplored aspect of early modern Haguro Shugendō. One of the overarching themes of this dissertation is the conception of Shugendō as a hereditary profession transmitted within familial lines, with all the demands and benefits such a generational professional commitment conveyed. This structure was also expressed when successive household heads carried out their accustomed roles in the major ritual functions of the mountain. Special treatment during an heir's first session of Fall Peak austerities or serving as the designated understudy for the Pine Saints was just as much of a part of the family business as its financial or administrative aspects.

The Winter Peak: The Sanada Shichirōzaemon Family as Backup Pine Saints

The Winter Peak austerities and their culminating New Year's Eve festival (*toshiya-matsuri*) were an indispensable stage in the region's ritual year, and the Sanada lineages had a family responsibility to ensure that they proceeded according to plan, acting as the designated understudy to the ceremony's central ritualists. When they performed this duty, they became part of a multilayered calendar of ceremonies than held

great significance for the community of Tōge, Haguro Shugendō as an institution, and the agriculturalists and fishermen of the surrounding Shōnai region. As Pine Saints, they carried out rituals that reflected the status hierarchies of Mount Haguro and contributed to community unity and stability. Even when not acting as a backup Pine Saint, their role as community members involved them in the festivities.

The Winter Peak at Haguro consisted of a hundred day period of austerities performed by two figures called the Pine Saints, or *matsu hijiri*, that culminated in a New Year's festival called the *toshiya-matsuri*. Though the Dewa Sanzan Shrine temporarily suspended the ceremonies in 1875 soon after being reorganized as an organ of the State Shinto network, it reinstated them in 1878 under its own control and renamed them as the *shōreisai*, the term that is still used in the present day.⁵ The Shrine actively publicizes the festivities through their website and other media channels, and both Japanese and foreign news services have reported on them throughout the years.

The two Pine Saints (*matsu hijiri*) were the central ritual figures of the Winter Peak, though they were served by a retinue of subordinate functionaries who acted as their proxies in various capacities. The title of the two ritualists refers to the pine tree, or *matsu*, often used as a decoration for the Japanese New Year. *Matsu* is also a homonym for the verb “to wait,” which may relate to the hundred day period of austerities in which they wait for the arrival of the New Year and spring. Suzuki Masataka identifies a connection to the Shugendō *hashiramatsu* (“pillar pine”) ceremony, which utilizes a pine tree as the vessel for a deity, as well as the aforementioned New Year's pine tree

⁵ Suzuki Masataka, *Yama to kami to hito – Sangaku shinkō to shugendō no sekai* (Tokyo: Tankōsha, 1991), 114.

decoration, also regarded as the receptacle for a divine presence. Through their ascetic activities, the two Pine Saints make themselves into vessels for deities at the New Year's festival.⁶

The hereditary status of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household head entitled him to a central role in the Winter Peak austerities as an emergency replacement if one of the two designated Pine Saints died or became incapacitated during his ritual confinement. In this capacity, instead of their Sanada Shichirōzaemon surname, the lineage generally used their *yamabushi* title, Gyokuzōbō, emphasizing their ritual character for this duty. This arrangement could potentially confound the expected qualifications for the role of *matsu hijiri*. Typically, the two Pine Saints were the most senior members of the marrying adept community with the earliest recorded *taigyō* birth registration, but a Gyokuzōbō ascetic of any age could serve as the backup Pine Saint, provided he had ascended to the family headship. In this case, hereditary status trumped seniority status. The special function of the Gyokuzōbō lineage ceased with the Meiji reworking of the festival, so this chapter will concentrate on the early modern incarnation of the Winter Peak austerities, when Gyokuzōbō still occupied a crucial role.

The very first clause of the 1602 Certificate of Old Precedents (*koreijō*), bestowed on the Gyokuzōbō Sanada Shichirōzaemon lineage by Chief Administrator Yūgen, the highest authority at Haguro, describes its hereditary duties toward the Winter Peak austerities. It reads, “When there is a death in the course of the Pine Saints’ austerities, Gyokuzōbō must at once begin the austerities and perform the sacred rites of the office.

⁶ Ibid., 126.

For this reason, the family's office is the head of the *shugenja*. They do not perform the *taigyō* birth registration.” While this document is the earliest surviving record of the family's performance of this function, it states “that the aforementioned should be followed according to matters of precedent (*kyūrei no mune*) for future generations without any deviation.”⁷ While it is possible that Yūgen created these new duties ex nihilo and assigned them to a favored lineage, it seems more likely that their history can be traced back earlier than 1602. *Yamabushi* of the Gyokuzōbō line potentially served as emergency Pine Saints during at least the late medieval period, which immediately preceded the reorganization of Haguro Shugendō that began at the advent of the Tokugawa era in 1600.

Typically, the Pine Saints were the two most senior *yamabushi* in Tōge as measured by their *taigyō* birth registration, the first of the Three Duties that conveyed full membership in the order of spouse-keeping adepts. The older of the two Pine Saints received the position called the Upper (*ijō*) and represented the four wards of the upper half of Tōge, closest to Mount Haguro's entrance, while the younger was designated the Lower (*sendo*) and represented the four wards of the community's lower half, further away from the mountain's entrance. These two titles had an additional cosmic significance, reflecting the two complementary forms of energy, or chi, which comprised the universe. Togawa claims that the Upper (*ijō*) represented dark, lunar, yin chi and the Lower (*sendo*) represented light, solar yang chi.⁸ The Pine Saints were usually in their sixties or seventies, so death or illness during their austerities was a definite possibility. A

⁷ Togawa Anshō, ed., *Shintō taiki: Dewa Sanzan* (), 508.; Also, SGM1-3-1,2.

⁸ Suzuki, 89-99.; Togawa Anshō, *Dewa Sanzan Shugendō no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kōsei, 1986), 54-56.

designated replacement family was a natural development to counteract this risk. However, this produced a contradiction between two different ideas of status, age and heredity. Normally, seniority determined who became a Pine Saint, but the family affiliation of a Gyokuzōbō adept entitled them to step into the role. What's more, as long as a Gyokuzōbō adept had already inherited the family headship, he could become a Pine Saint at any age. In 1833, for example, the eighteen year old Sanada Shichirōzaemon Noriyoshi was the replacement for the *ijō* Pine Saint during the year's Winter Peak austerities.⁹ Noriyoshi had only recently qualified for family headship in 1829 after completing his first round of Fall Peak austerities, but a few years later, he carried out the most prestigious duty possible for a Tōge ascetic alongside another Pine Saint likely in his sixties or seventies.¹⁰ In a crisis, hereditary status, derived from one's lineal origin, trumped seniority status, derived from one's age and its accompanying qualifications.

Internal and External Records of Sanada Shichirōzaemon/Gyokuzōbō as *matsu hijiri*

Evidence shows that this Pine Saint service was not merely a theoretical or cosmetic duty. Several records of a Gyokuzōbō house head serving as a replacement Pine Saint survive, both in official mountain records and in the family's own archive. A history of Mount Haguro called the *Nendaiki* (lit., "chronicle") records that Sanada Shichirōzaemon was ordered to act as replacement Pine Saint in 1770 when the Pine Saint Raikōbō passed away from illness during his confinement. It also notes that a

⁹ *Sanada Gyokuzōbō monjo*, 1-81-1,2.

¹⁰ SGM 5-460.

Gyokuzōbō again became a *matsu hijiri* in 1774 as a replacement for Jōdōin.¹¹ The diary of the nineteenth century Haguro Chief Administrator Kakujun states that on the very last day of 1823 the Lower Pine Saint died of illness and Gyokuzōbō had to take over his duties.¹² As this shows, the appointment could be extremely last minute, but the position was important enough that the Gyokuzōbō head had to fulfill his duties. Even if he had not been able to do any prior austerities, he was still capable of being a *matsu hijiri* in the New Year's festival.

The family archive also preserves many important documents relating to its *matsu hijiri* responsibilities. Six certificates appointing Gyokuzōbō as a replacement *matsu hijiri* survive within the archive, all of which were issued by the Chief Administrator or his proxy. These date from 1742, 1770, 1774, 1823, 1833, and 1862.¹³ It is likely that there were more instances of the family performing the *matsu hijiri* role prior to 1742, but the documents were not preserved. Records prior to the ascension of Sanada Shichirōzaemon Shigekatsu to family headship in 1672 are relatively scarce compared to those kept by subsequent generations. Furthermore, the practice may also have lapsed during the two generations of Shigekatsu and his son Hisatake because they did not possess the 1602 Certificate of Ancient Precedents that corroborated their responsibilities.

Shigekatsu's father Sanada Kanejūrō had taken this certificate with him when he left Haguro for the nearby Kushibiki region during the Meireki era (1655-1658), and it remained there until his grandson Hisatake retrieved it in 1722. Without the actual

¹¹ Umezu Keihō, ed., *Dewa Sanzan shiryōshū jōkan*, 20-21.

¹² *Ibid.*, 869.

¹³ SGM 1-50-1,2.; *Ibid.* 1-63-1,2.; *Ibid.* 1-66-1,2.; *Ibid.* 1-80-1,2.; *Ibid.* 5-467-1,2.; *Ibid.*, 5-470-1,2.

document, it may have been more difficult to convince others of their hereditary function. In his 1722 family history, Hisatake notes that a *matsu hijiri* died in 1711, but neither Sanada lineage was able to replace him because Hisatake was under house arrest and Sanada Shihei, a descendant of Sanada Shikibu, had been banished from Haguro following a dispute over the qualifications for membership in the community of Haguro adepts.¹⁴ Hisatake petitioned the Chief Administrator's proxy for permission to fulfill his expected role as backup Pine Saint, but the proxy denied his request. Another replacement *matsu hijiri*, unrelated to the Sanada families, performed the necessary rites, but his name was not officially entered into the records. Tokugawa Ienobu, the sixth shogun, died in 1712, a misfortune that Hisatake attributed to the improperly conducted Winter Peak of 1711. According to him, circumstances had not required a Gyokuzōbō house head to fulfill his hereditary Winter Peak duties for many years prior to 1711, and knowledge of the custom had lapsed. This may have been one of the reasons why Hisatake later went in person to acquire the document from Kanejūro's former residence at Kushibiki.¹⁵ Not only was documentary corroboration crucial for families like the Sanadas to defend their accustomed privileges and responsibilities as community leaders, but they were capable of ascribing great significance to their ritual duties. The extent to which other members of the Haguro community agreed with Hisatake that an unsatisfactory New Year's Festival contributed to the death of the ruler of the realm is unknown. Still, he judged it important enough to pass on to his descendants as proof of

¹⁴ This is discussed more thoroughly in chapter one.

¹⁵ SGM 4-350.

the family's importance. Failure to defend that importance could have dire consequences not only for the lineage itself, but the country as a whole.

Several other documents in the family archive shed light on various aspects of their activities during the Winter Peak. Some listed the ascetics who performed ancillary roles as aides to the *matsu hijiri*. A list from Sanada Shichirōzaemon's 1823 turn as the Upper Pine Saint recorded that the adepts Kyū'unbō and Kakunobō were his functionaries (*yakusha*), Jōenbō was his gunpowder carrier (*kado-machi*), Kyōninbō was his flint striker (*matsu-uchi*), and Chōdenbō was his conch shell trumpet blower.¹⁶ Other documents described the prayers (*norito*) that the *matsu hijiri* performed in the course of the Winter Peak austerities. Prayer documents for the *matsu hijiri* experiences of Noriyoshi in 1833 and Norioki (?) in 1862 survive.¹⁷ I will analyze the contents of these prayers later in the chapter, but for now, the fact that they were preserved is significant.

As discussed in chapter one, documentation was a necessary practice for preserving a household's position in the community and organization. Various types of documents verified its traditional status, privileges, and responsibilities, and could be cited if any of those were questioned or investigated. These documents were a medium of exchange between the Sanadas and both their superiors in the office of the Chief Administrator and their subordinates within their parishes. Similar patterns apply to the papers they kept concerning their Pine Saint duties. As official documents from the Chief Administrator, the appointment certificates corroborated their participation in the Winter Peak. Other documents gave more details on their activities, and presumably could be

¹⁶ SGM 1-79.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 1-81-1,2,; *Ibid.*, 3-225.

consulted to prepare for future occasions when they might need to perform them again. Documentation and status were just as important to the performance of rituals as they were to social hierarchies and administrative duties.

The Demands of Serving as Pine Saint

In order to understand the significance of the Gyokuzōbō lineage's responsibility as a backup Pine Saint, it is necessary to describe what an adept chosen to fulfill this role would have experienced and endured, as well as what his activities meant to the people of Haguro and its surrounding communities. The activities of the Pine Saints were connected to the prosperity of local farmers and fishermen, as well as to the social order of Tōge and the long history of Haguro Shugendō. The scope of their influence and importance was far-reaching, and when a Gyokuzōbō *yamabushi* was appointed a Pine Saint, he became part of an old tradition with several overlapping layers of meaning to many parties. It was not just a solitary, personal kind of ascetic practice. Naturally, the lineage regarded this duty as major source of prestige and respect in their community.

When a Gyokuzōbō *yamabushi* stepped in to fill the void left by a deceased or incapacitated Pine Saint, he began, provided there was time, a demanding regime of ascetic practices intended to build up his spiritual power for the New Year's Eve festival. Normally, the hundred day period of austerities began on the twentieth day of the ninth month and lasted until the final day of the year, but a Gyokuzōbō household head could assume the role at any time during the process, if one of the designated Pine Saints died. For most of these one hundred days, the two ritualists were confined to a specially prepared room within their pilgrim lodge, where they adhered to a strict abstinence from

any sources of impurity or pollution, such as women or those in mourning. They cooked all their meals over a special “separate fire” (*bekka*) that was carefully kept untainted by outside pollution. They even observed certain language taboos, substituting equivalents for forbidden words. During their seclusion, the two adepts performed three cold water ablutions a day and two Buddhist services called *gongyō*.¹⁸ They also prayed over a small grass hut called the *kōya no hijiri* that contained the five primary cereals and was seen as housing the spirit of the grains. The grains of the Pine Saint who won the New Year’s festival’s contest of ascetic power would be used in rituals and distributed to local patrons to ensure agricultural prosperity. The two ascetics temporarily broke their seclusion in order to solicit donations from the immediate area, a practice called the *jiki-mawari*, but assistants, called *ko-hijiri*, or “minor *hijiri*,” traveled farther afield to collect contributions from more distant communities in the Shōnai region.¹⁹ All of these activities prepared the two Pine Saints for their central ritual role in the New Year’s Eve festival on the summit of Mount Haguro.

The Mythic Origins of the Position and Later Practical Adaptations

Haguro tradition traced the figures of the Pine Saints back to the triumph of a group of Haguro ascetics over a powerful demon and his followers, and the construction and burning of the two miscanthus effigies during the New Year’s ceremonies reenacts this. Later, the shape of the effigies changed to resemble a more concrete threat to the area’s inhabitants, a local mite that blighted crops and caused disease. According to the *Shūkai-shū*, a guide to Haguro’s traditions supposedly written in the Genki era (1570-

¹⁸ Earhart, 80-99.

¹⁹ Togawa, *Dewa Sanzan Shugendō no kenkyū*, 54-56.

1573), in the eighth century, a three-faced demon called the *soranki* and his retinue of monstrous followers conquered the peaks of Northern Japan, sending forth a poisonous miasma that killed many people and devastated local crops. To stop him, a Prince Deity (*ōji*) in the retinue of the Haguro Gongen possessed a young girl and through her ordered that twelve Haguro *yamabushi* should pray and compete with each other in austerities before his shrine for twelve months, then burn the demon in effigy. This succeeded in overcoming the demon and his subordinates, who fled to the island of Tobishima off the west coast of Northern Japan. The figures of the Pine Saints and the ceremonies of the Winter Peak were inaugurated to commemorate this event. Suzuki Masataka notes that demon-related traditions exist throughout Northern Japan, including the Demon-Sword Dances (*oni-kenbai*) of Iwate Prefecture and the visiting New Year's demons of Akita Prefecture's Oga Peninsula called the *namahage*. Furthermore, there are many "demon mounds" and "demon caves," which may relate to the court-centered polity's conquest of the region's indigenous inhabitants, the Emishi, enshrining their leaders as demons.²⁰

Much later, the demon-shaped effigy was altered to resemble an arthropod called the *tsutsugamushi*, a mite (also called a chigger) whose larvae were the source of a serious disease known as scrub typhus (also called Japanese river disease) in the region, with symptoms of fever, headache, muscle pain, and cough. Suzuki sees this as shifting from a more conceptual image of evil to a more concrete one experienced by local inhabitants firsthand. In both dimensions, burning the effigy destroys the source of evil

²⁰ Suzuki, 113-116.

and purifies its baleful influence.²¹ Thus, as Pine Saints, Gyokuzōbō adepts played a central role in local tradition with a deeply-entrenched significance to the region, both in Haguro Shugendō's classical history and in the everyday sufferings of its farmers. They reenacted an established narrative that demonstrated the power of the tradition's ascetics to conquer and banish the evil forces that plagued the area, both symbolic and actual.

Social Dimensions of the Winter Peak

In addition to their more mythic scope, the Pine Saints also became the foci for communal activities. As noted above, each Pine Saint represented half of Tōge, with the upper *ijō* Pine Saint corresponding to the four wards closest to the entrance to Mount Haguro and the lower *sendo* Pine Saint corresponding to the four further away. The location of the Pine Saint's residence had no bearing on which half of the village he was assigned. During the New Year's festivities, the community split into two halves that competed against one another at several stages of the process, especially in the construction and destruction of the two effigies of the demon/mite larva. Most of the actual work in this competition was done by the Young Men's Association (*wakamono-gumi*) for the village's wards, the main constituent of which was the village's rank and file inhabitants (*hiramonjin/hiramonzen*). Children of the village elite (the Favored, or *onbun*) were not a part of this group and did not contribute to this aspect of preparation. In the pre-Meiji system, on the twenty-eight day of the twelfth month, the two groups gathered within the Main Shrine in order to build their effigies out of miscanthus that had been prayed over by the two Pine Saints, with each group attempting to finish first and

²¹ Suzuki, 113-116.;

hinder their opponent's efforts in the process. In the evening, after the winner was declared, the Pine Saints climbed onto the effigies, splashed sake on the crowd, and threw thirty-three vinegared rice balls to them.²² The resulting mess was said to be completely cleaned up by the next morning, the popular explanation being that the three-legged crow (*yatagarasu*), servant of the Haguro Gongen, ate up all the remains during the night.²³

The ceremonies on the last day of the year repeated the spirit of competition between the two groups. Both effigies were temporarily disassembled, and the pieces of the ropes that bound them together were distributed as protective talismans to those assembled.²⁴ Later in the day, the two groups of local young men again competed to reassemble their effigies the fastest. Just before midnight, simultaneous to the Competition of Ascetic Power (*gen-kurabe*) done in the Main Shrine by adepts acting on behalf of the Pine Saints, the two teams competed to drag their effigies thirty-three *hiro* (approximately 60 meters) and burn them with sacred fire from the Eternal Flame of Seino-in temple on the summit. Both the adepts within the Main Shrine and the young men outside of it were believed to be acting as the proxies and manifestations of their Pine Saint and the supernatural power he had built up through his one hundred days of confinement, abstinence, and prayer.²⁵

Suzuki interprets the competition between the two halves of the community as ultimately reinforcing its unity. They divided, only to come together again, stronger and

²² The number thirty-three was said to derive from either the thirty-three heavens in Buddhist cosmology, or the eastern and western divisions of the sixty-six provinces said to compose Japan.

²³ Suzuki, 120-122.

²⁴ This custom has survived to the present day, and Tōge's inhabitants still hang these rope talismans under the eaves of their residences to ward off fire and ensure the safety of the household.

²⁵ Suzuki, 129-132.

reunified. He also sees this as a way for the common inhabitants of Tōge to feel a connection with the sacred space of the mountain's summit. Usually, only the village's elite adepts enjoyed a closer relationship with the higher ranked clergy of the summit, but for New Year's, even the rank and file of the village's inhabitants could enjoy themselves on the mountain's summit.²⁶ Miyake Hitoshi interprets the events as linking together the various subgroups of Haguro Shugendō and its surrounding community through the medium of sacred fire.²⁷ Regardless, when a Gyokuzōbō adept acted as a Pine Saint, he represented the common inhabitants of Tōge, and they were said to win or lose based on the strength on his ascetic prowess. This was yet another sphere in which the Sanada lineages played a central role in their community, in addition to their usual activities as social and administrative leaders. Playing the role of Pine Saint strengthened the unity of Tōge and facilitated a celebration greatly anticipated and enjoyed by its inhabitants, as well as those of the surrounding region.

Prayers of the Pine Saints

When a Sanada Shichirōzaemon *yamabushi* became Pine Saint, what exactly did they pray for during their one hundred days of ascetic practice? As described above, their activities were highly valued by the inhabitants of the communities on and around Haguro, but they also were thought of as acting on a much larger scale. Documents from Noriyoshi's 1833 performance as the Upper Pine Saint and his son Norioki's 1862 experience in the same role record the exact contents of the Pine Saints' prayers, which had national, local, and sectarian significance. The Pine Saints prayed for the realm as a

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Miyake, 238-243.

whole, its rulers the shogun and emperor, the head of the Tendai School (of which Haguro was a part), the head of Mt. Haguro and its inhabitants, and the local daimyo. The lists of prayers issued to Noriyoshi reads:

[Haguro's seal] Prayers

Item The peace of the realm, the proper timing of the wind and rain, the achievement of the five cereals, and the satisfaction of the masses

Item The peace of the reigning emperor's person and the prolonging of his position. The longevity of the barbarian-subjugating shogun's military fortune, the prosperity of his descendants, and the security of the state

Item The extension of the Tendai *zasu ippon daiō*'s honored life and the satisfaction of his requests

Item The satisfaction of the requests of this mountain's ruler, the flourishing of the Buddhist teachings, the prosperity of the mountain's forests and foot, harmony between clergy and layfolk, and the increase of fortune and wisdom

Item The longevity of the military fortune of this province's lord, the prosperity of his descendants, the safety of his domain, the happiness of its people. The longevity of the military fortune of the castle lords and domain lords of the five provinces, the prosperity of their descendants, the extinguishing of various troubles, and the fulfillment of their wishes, we pray

Tenpō 4 (1833), year of the snake, tenth month

Pine Saint *ijō*, age eighteen

Gyokuzōbō Noriyoshi, with respect

[seal]²⁸

A similar document from Norioki's 1862 fulfillment of the position is essentially the same, but slightly abbreviated.²⁹ These prayer lists further show that the Pine Saints, Sanada understudies or not, regarded their influence as extending far beyond their immediate community. They prayed not only for the realm as a whole, but for both its imperial and shogunal rulers, the head of their parent Tendai sect, the inhabitants of Mount Haguro itself, and local political rulers. Only one of the five clauses limits itself to the immediate community where the Pine Saints lived. Prayers for the peace and stability of the state and the safety and power of its rulers have been central to Japanese Buddhism since the tradition arrived in the archipelago, and Haguro's New Year's prayers continued that association.

Earlier records indicate that the activities of the Pine Saints were conceived of as influencing the entire realm of Japan, not just the local area around Haguro. In his 1722 family history, Hisatake blamed the death of the shogun Tokugawa Ienobu in 1712 on the improperly performed Winter Peak of the previous year. With the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family under house arrest and the Sanada Shihei family (descendants of the Sanada Shikibu line) banished from Haguro, neither could provide a replacement when one of the two Pine Saints died in the course of their confinement. Crucial elements of the ceremonies did not proceed according to custom, and Hisatake linked this with the

²⁸ SGM 1-81-1,2.

²⁹ Ibid., # 3-225.

shogun's death the following year.³⁰ He may have been exaggerating to emphasize the necessity of his family's ritual function, but his conclusions demonstrate that the austerities and prayers of the Pine Saints were regarded as supporting the nation as a whole rather than just a limited, provincial part of it. Therefore, the family's hereditary duty to ensure that the Winter Peak austerities were carried out in the expected manner had a significance that went far beyond the personal or local level. Preservation of their necessary role within the Winter Peak was not just for the benefit of the family, but for all the people and places that were sustained and enriched by the successful and regular enactment of the New Year's austerities. Regardless of how sincerely family members or other community members viewed this assertion, it was an effective technique for upholding its elevated position within Haguro Shugendō.

Other Winter Peak Involvement

Even when not acting as a backup Pine Saint, Sanada Shichirōzaemon house heads took part in the calendar of Winter Peak events through their administrative duties or familial connections to the Pine Saints. The Pine Saints' responsibilities included several community functions, and the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family was a major force in the social and managerial life of Haguro. As discussed in chapter two, *yamabushi* from both major Sanada families often served in administrative roles at Haguro, such as Magistrate, Inspector, or Elder. As part of their duties, the Pine Saints had audiences with several prominent figures in Tōge and on the mountaintop, including members of the bureaucracy. On the twentieth day of the ninth month, just after they received their

³⁰ Ibid., #4-350.

official certificates of appointment, the Pine Saints served sacred sake to Elder, Magistrates, Inspector, and Head of Affairs (*chiji*).³¹ Later, during the eleventh month, they entertained various officials from the mountain's foot, again serving them sacred sake. At the New Year's ceremony itself, the Inspector, alongside the Three Sendatsu temples of the summit, acted as commissioner (*bugyō*) for the "country dividing" and "fire lighting" portions of the ritual on the mountain's summit. Members of both the main Sanada Shichirōzaemon lineage and its Sanada Kōuemon branch family were appointed as Inspectors, and in this capacity, they would have both been entertained by the Pine Saint and overseen the activities of this retinue during the New Year's festivities on Haguro's summit. Similar to their involvement with the mountain's managerial bureaucracy, Sanada adepts could find themselves on both sides of the process.

The Pine Saints' schedule also included feasts with their family and relatives, which would sometimes include members of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family. Generally, the Pine Saints held banquets for family and relatives on the twenty-first day of the ninth month and during the eleventh and twelfth months (called the "hidden" *oi-zake* banquet). The banquets for both officials and family were called *oi-zake*, a combination of the words sake, or rice wine, and *oi*, a portable altar worn by traveling *yamabushi* on their backs that contained sacred images, ritual tools, food, or clothes. The portable altar was believed to act as the vessel for a divine entity, and the sake mediated between the human and the divine, further reinforcing the character of the Pine Saint as

³¹ Umezu, ed., *Dewa Sanzan shiryōshū gekan*, 706.

an intermediary between the sacred and human realms.³² Surviving records confirm that members of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family attended such banquets. An account of the marrying adept Yakushibō's time as the *sendo* Pine Saint in 1867 lists Sanada Shichirōzaemon among the guests for the *kukuri oizake* feast held on 9/21 for the Pine Saint's family and relatives.³³ It is likely that this had happened before on multiple occasions, considering that the adept lineages of Tōge often intermarried, so there were many relatives of the household who could potentially become the Pine Saint for a year. Either as an administrative official or as a relative of one of the Pine Saints, Sanada Shichirōzaemon adepts could find themselves involved in the calendar of Winter Peak events, even when not called upon to fulfill their ancestral duties. Simply being part of the Tōge community ensured that they would play a part in its New Year's festivities.

Sanadas and the Summer Peak

The Sanada family's place within the Summer Peak ritual period at Haguro shows how ritual, administrative, and economic interests overlapped for the families of elite marrying adepts. While several aspects of the calendar of the Summer Peak involved the majority of the mountain's clergy and adepts, participation in the most exclusive and important ceremonies was limited to high-ranking clergy officials and the holders of rights to the thirteen Prince Deity (*ōji*) Shrines on Mt. Gassan. Simply having the right to one of these shrines marked a family as being in the upper echelons of the Haguro Shugendō organization, with privileged access to its leadership. Having first gained the right to one of these shrines through its administrative service, the Sanada

³² Suzuki, *Yama to kami to hito*, 125-129.

³³ Umezu, ed., *Dewa Sanzan shiryōshū jōkan*, 672.; Suzuki, *Yama to kami to hito*, 126-127.

Shichirōzaemon family acquired new ritual responsibilities, as well as a new source of income and new fees to pay to the mountain's governing apparatus. Like many of their other duties, they regarded this as a trust from the Chief Administrator that they had to maintain diligently. At the same time, this put the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family within the pilgrimage culture that flourished at Haguro during the early modern period. They served and profited from the increasing number of pilgrims who visited the Dewa Sanzan and left offerings at the Prince Deity Shrines along the trails of Mt. Gassan. Additionally, this was a right connected to the Haguro seasonal calendar that was not guaranteed by the family's 1602 Certificate of Old Precedents, showing that they could acquire new ritual privileges even in the early modern period.

Haguro's Summer Peak encompassed a program of ceremonies that spanned a hundred day period beginning on the third day of the fourth month and ending on the thirteenth day of the seventh month. It supposedly originated in the activities of Haguro Shugendō's legendary founder Nōjo Daishi, who performed one hundred days of austerities both at the Kōtaku area of Haguro and on Gassan. In the early modern era, the ceremonies were performed primarily by the proxies of the Chief Administrator and Chief Ritualist (from the mid seventeenth century on, the two positions were usually held by the same person) and the marrying adepts who maintained and profited from the thirteen Prince Deity (*ōji*) Shrines on Mount Gassan. As discussed in chapter one, protective deities with the form of a prince were widespread in Shugendō and often were enshrined on or around sacred mountains to watch over the ascetics who practiced there and the pilgrims who came to venerate local deities. Prince Deities were worshipped at

major Shugendō centers such as Ōmine, Katsuragi, and Kumano.³⁴ Thirteen shrines to these deities, corresponding to the grouping of Thirteen Buddhas, stood on Gassan, and the office of the Chief Administrator entrusted their upkeep to high-ranking members of Tōge's spouse-keeping adepts, who profited from the donations that pilgrims left at these shrines. The Sanada Shichirōzaemon household's hereditary right to one of these thirteen Prince Deity Shrines on Gassan entitled them to join in several of the ceremonies alongside high-ranking officials from the summit.

In contrast to their privileges in the Winter and Fall Peaks, which dated back to at least 1602 and almost certainly earlier, the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family's involvement with the Summer Peak ceremonies only began in the early eighteenth century, as a result of their service within the organization's bureaucracy. In 1723, as a reward for serving as Magistrate, Sanada Shichirōzaemon Hisatake first received the right to one of Gassan's thirteen Prince Deity Shrines, an honor that granted the family income from pilgrim offerings at the shrine, as well as responsibilities within the calendar of Summer Peak functions. Inheritance documents verify that subsequent generations of the family handed down their right to the Prince Deity Shrine along with their rights to the family parishes in Mutsu province. In this case, the family's administrative and ritual privileges were closely intertwined, leading to the acquisition of a new hereditary privilege that would be carried on. The household only became qualified to play a major role in the Summer Peak because one of its household heads occupied a respected administrative right within the organization.

³⁴ Miyake Hitoshi, ed., *Shugendō jiten*, 34.

Economic and ritual obligations came attached to a Prince Deity Shrine during the Summer Peak, demonstrating how these systems were closely interwoven at Haguro. According to descriptions of Haguro's four seasonal peaks prepared in 1679 and 1687, on 4/3, the proxies for the Chief Administrator and Chief Ritualist, along with the holders of the thirteen "houses" (the document uses the term *ken*, which refers to the Thirteen Prince Deity Shrines in this case) gathered at the especially sacred Kōtaku area of Haguro and performed the rituals that began the Summer Peak period, called the "Door Opening" (*mito-biraki*). At this time, the Prince Deity Shrine holders each paid the Chief Ritualist (*shugyō*) thirty *mon* in copper coins, and he in return presented them with votive candles, sacred sake, and a meal. The payment was called *sake-dai*, literally "sake fee," and came with the responsibility of holding a shrine on Gassan. On 6/12 and 6/13, the proxy Chief Ritualist, accompanied by the thirteen Shrine holders, climbed Gassan and they performed secret rites related to the transfer of the Gassan Gongen deity to that location for the season. This officially opened the mountain for pilgrims.³⁵

On 7/13, both proxies and the thirteen Prince Shrine Holders ascended Gassan and performed the esoteric fire festival known as *saitō goma* on its summit, then made a pilgrimage to Yudono.³⁶ *Goma* (Sanskrit. *homa*) fire rituals have their origins in the pre-tantric ritual practices of Vedic culture and its predecessors, but became central to the repertoire of Esoteric Buddhism, especially in Japan. The *homa* festival is "a votive offering made in the act of exchange with a deity and it is clearly identifiable by the use

³⁵ Togawa Anshō, ed., *Shintō taikai: Dewa Sanzan*, 192-193, 309 – 315, 319.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

of fire.”³⁷ Miyake describes the *saitō goma* as “a fire ceremony unique to Shugendō,” generally addressed to the deity Fudō Myōō, which was crucial to the peak-entering practices of the tradition.³⁸ On 8/6, the mountain’s shrine-holders again paid thirty *mon* of copper coins to the Chief Administrator as another installment of the “sake fee.” Finally, on 8/8, they gathered again at Kōtaku to close the mountain for the year in a ceremony called the “Door Closing” (*mito-shime*).³⁹ The Fall Peak austerities also included the *saitō goma* fire ritual, and the activities of the Winter Peak Pine Saints involved the manipulation of fire as well. Certain common elements reoccurred in the various seasonal peaks participated in by the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family. Their role in emblematic Shugendō rituals such as the *goma* underscores that their engagement with the tradition was not limited to what might be classified as its administrative, political, or social contexts. Of course, these spheres were all interpenetrating, but their place in the Summer Peak ritual calendar is an explicit reinforcement of their ritual character.

The diary of Chief Administrator Kakujun (*Kakujun bettō nikki*) confirms that Summer Peak ceremonies of the sixth and the eighth months were still being carried out in 1819. An entry from the sixth month confirms that adepts with rights to the Prince Shrines went on a three day pilgrimage, while on the fifth day of the eighth month, the Chief Administrator and Ritualist entertained just the Shrine holders with food and sake, then held an event with all of the mountain’s religious professionals assembled.⁴⁰ This program of ceremonies and meetings continued into the nineteenth century. These entries

³⁷ Richard K. Payne and Charles D. Orzech, “8. Homa,” in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, edited by Orzech, Henrik H. Sorensen, and Payne (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 133-140.

³⁸ Miyake Hitoshi, *Shugendō: Essays on the Structure of Japanese Folk Religion*, 68.

³⁹ Togawa Anshō, ed., *Shintō taikai: Dewa Sanzan*, 192-193, 309 – 315, 319.

⁴⁰ *Dewa Sanzan shiryōshū jōkan*, 860-861.

also underscore how holding a Prince Shrine granted greater access to the mountain's high-ranking leadership. Adepts with that right were entitled to an exclusive meeting with the Chief Administrator and Ritualist prior to the more general meeting for all of the mountain's clergy and adepts.

The benefits and responsibilities of the Prince Deity Shrine holders didn't end with the Summer Peak, and they continued to convey access to high-ranking officials and ritual responsibilities during the New Year's season. The holders all participated in a special ceremony during the twelfth month called "Gassan New Year's" (*Gassan otoshiya*).⁴¹ On the evening of 12/14, the Shrine holders met at the temple of the Chief Ritualist's proxy to perform Buddhist rites together and be entertained by proxy. The next morning, all of the mountain's religionists and the Shrine holders did further Buddhist rites and were feasted again. The rites done at these events included the recitation of the Heart Sutra, Shakujō *shōmyō* chanting, the Amida Sutra, the Amida hymn, the Kannon Sutra, and various mantras.⁴² These are the same rites that were done during the Fall Peak austerities. Furthermore, during years when a Sanada Shichirōzaemon household head wasn't a replacement Pine Saint or filling a managerial office, they would still be involved in the calendar of New Year's events through their Prince Deity Shrine responsibilities. Even beyond the designated Summer Peak season, being a Prince Shrine Holder conveyed benefits and responsibilities.

⁴¹ There was also a "Yudono New Year's" on 12/7 that included the Chief Administrator, Chief Ritualist, and pilgrims, and a "Haguro *gongen* New Year's" on 12/17 that involved the two Pine Saints and their *matsu-uchi* ritual assistants. *Ibid.*, 319.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 319.

Clothes, Food, and a Seat of Honor: Hereditary Privilege Within the Fall Peak

Austerities

The space of Haguro's annual Fall Peak austerities was one in which rank and status were clearly displayed through the garments and seating order of participants. As a *yamabushi* accumulated years of Fall Peak experience, he earned the right to wear more exclusive garments and paraphernalia and to sit in a more advanced seat of honor. These garments were status symbols, displaying to his peers that he had achieved an honored place within the organization through his ascetic attainments, albeit only those that were properly documented. Even in the current practice of the Fall Peak, seating order is determined by the number of Fall Peaks one has completed and is fixed for the duration of the austerities. In the early modern period, members of all of the orders of Haguro religious professionals, including the summit clergy, both elite and regular spouse-keeping adepts, and parish *shugenja*, all took part in the Fall Peak austerities during their careers, but their experiences varied depending on their order/status group. The highest ritual functionary role, the *daisendatsu*, or Great Guide, was reserved for the abbots of three summit temples, referred to as the Three Sendatsu temples, who exchanged the position between themselves year by year.⁴³ The two ritual positions below that could only be held by summit clergy, leaving the two lowest positions for the marrying adepts of Tōge.

⁴³ Until the early sixteenth century, this grouping including five temples and was called the Five Sendatsu temples, but the abbots of the Hōzenbō temple, Yūgen, Yūshun, and Ten'yū, elevated their temple to the lineal positions of Chief Administrator and Chief Ritualist, and eliminated another of the five temples, leaving the grouping of Three Sendatsu who survived until the Meiji era conversion of Haguro into a State Shinto shrine.

The high status enjoyed by the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household in the social and administrative spheres further extended into the ritual space of the Fall Peak austerities. The Fall Peak austerities were connected with advancement in rank and confirmation of membership in orders/status groups. For the marrying adepts of Tōge, their first participation at around age fifteen was one of the Three Duties required for full membership in the community, and for the branch ascetics of the parishes, the number of Fall Peaks completed determined their rank within the organization, leading the regime of austerities to be called the “promotion peak” (*shusse no mine*). For the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family specifically, it was yet another arena in which they could show their elite position within the community. Their respected pedigree allowed them accelerated access to garment and seating privileges, and they enjoyed close proximity to the ritual functionaries who were the center of the ceremonies. On rare occasions, they were even able to fill certain important positions managing the austerities. The family also carefully recorded their expected privileges and confirmatory information about the first participation of heirs, in order to safeguard their position. At both a general and individual level, the Fall Peak austerities at Haguro were closely tied to the status systems that governed the organization and community.

The Structure of the Early Modern Fall Peak at Haguro

Haguro’s Fall Peak was organized according to a rich and sophisticated system of ritual and symbolic meanings, and I can only give a brief sketch here in order to convey what activities the *yamabushi* of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon line undertook and what they meant. The length and content of the Fall Peak austerities have varied throughout

Haguro's history. As Gaynor Sekimori notes, it is difficult to know much about the subject prior to the seventeenth century. Haguro records indicate that it initially consisted of seventy-five days of austerities, which eventually lessened to thirty days. The fifteen-day style that obtained throughout the early modern period began in 1669, and records about the procedures after that are plentiful. Currently, both the Dewa Sanzan Shrine and the Haguro-san Shugen Honshū organization perform separate regimes of austerities that both last about a week.⁴⁴ The post-1669 fifteen week iteration of the Fall Peak austerities is the version most often described in the records of Sanada Gyokuzōbō Archive, though they certainly participated in the earlier, longer style.

Lasting from the twentieth day of the seventh month to the fourth day of the eighth month, the early modern Fall Peak austerities were divided into three sections, called Lodgings (*shuku*), each based at a different location on Haguro or Gassan. Participating *yamabushi* undertook a series of practices modeled after the Ten Realms of Buddhist cosmology, beginning with the Six Courses (*rokudō*: hell-beings, hungry ghosts, animals, warring titans, humans, gods) and ending with the four holy states (*śrāvaka*, *pratyekabuddha*, bodhisattva, Buddha). Through this ten-realm practice, the participants purified themselves of bad karma and achieved Buddhahood in this very body, building up supernormal power in the process. At another level, they underwent symbolic death and rebirth, dying the night before the austerities commenced, then proceeding through conception, development in the womb of the mountain, and birth when they descended at the end of the process. The traditional length of seventy-five days was said to correspond

⁴⁴ Gaynor Sekimori, "The Akinomine of Haguro Shugendō: An Historical Perspective," *Transactions of the International Conference of Eastern Studies* 40 (1995): 163-186.

to the two-hundred seventy-five days a child spent in the womb. More generally, since ancient times, the inhabitants of the Japanese archipelago had regarded mountains as sacred territory and they gradually acquired new sacred meanings from imported continental ideologies that built upon and complemented one another. Mountains were both honored and feared as the dwelling place of the divine and the dead. Through religious practice in these mountains, *yamabushi* encountered the sacred forces that resided within them and took some of that sacrality into themselves, so that they could serve as intermediaries between human beings and the divine.⁴⁵

Five major ritual functionaries organized and oversaw the Fall Peak austerities, each supervising a different aspect of the process. These positions were exchanged between different Haguro *yamabushi* each year, though marrying adepts could only serve in the two lowest, the *kari sendatsu* (lit. “*Hunt Guide*”) and *aka sendatsu* (“*Holy Water Guide*”), while the highest, that of the *daisendatsu* (*Great Guide*) was reserved for three summit temples, referred to as the *Three Sendatsu*, who passed it between them year by year. Each of the five positions corresponded to a cardinal direction, color, and Buddhist deity. The *kari sendatsu* (south, gold, Hōshō Buddha) managed the practice area for the austerities, and was only open to *yamabushi* who had completed three years of the Fall Peak. Control of the Dharma Water (*hōsui*) used in the austerities fell to the *aka sendatsu* (west, red, Amida Buddha). Holders of this position had to have acted as the *kari sendatsu* three times, but the spouse-keeping ascetics of the foot could take on both roles. Both also played a major role in the *saitō goma* fire festival that marked the transition

⁴⁵ Suzuki, 26-34.

from the second lodging to the third lodging. The positions of *kogi sendatsu* (“Wood Guide”; east, green, Ashuku Buddha), in charge of the wood used in ceremonies, and *dōshi* (“Way Guide”; north, black, Fukujōjū Buddha), a teacher in charge of the ceremonies, were reserved for summit clergy. The highest position, that of *daisendatsu* (center, white, Dainichi Buddha), rotated between the Three Sendatsu temples of the summit, Kezōin, Chiken’in, and Shōgon’in.⁴⁶ All together, these officials constituted a mandalic map of the cosmos. In internal histories, the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family often drew analogies between themselves and the Three Sendatsu temples, noting that certain privileges were only reserved for them.

The Reflection of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon Family’s Status in the Fall Peak

The expectation of special treatment for a Sanada Shichirōzaemon heir during the Fall Peak can be traced back to at least the 1602 Certificate of Old Precedents issued to the family by the Chief Administrator Yūgen that described the special treatment they were entitled to at Haguro. The document specifies that when a Sanada Shichirōzaemon heir first enters the Fall Peak austerities, which would have occurred around age fifteen, he should be permitted to wear the garments of a second-year participant (*doi*) and sit in an advanced seat just behind the *kogi sendatsu*.⁴⁷ As noted earlier, it is unlikely that Yūgen inaugurated these privileges for the family out of nothing, so they probably date back earlier, though it is impossible to determine just how far. Hisatake’s 1722 family history includes a transcription of this document and mentions even more entitlements,

⁴⁶ Earhart, 58, 133.

⁴⁷ Togawa, ed., *Shintō taiki: Dewa Sanzan*, 508.; SGM 1-3-1,2.

including the right to sit with the Peak's four major ritualists at certain stages of the process.⁴⁸

The garments permitted to a second year participant may have varied over the centuries, but according to a 1689 code of law issued by the proxy for the mountain's Chief Administrator and Ritualist, *yamabushi* who had not yet completed their first Fall Peak should wear a *yuigesa* (the Buddhist surplice particular to Shugendō) with a dark blue crest on a white twilled silk background. Yamabushi who had completed from one to three Fall Peaks should wear a *yuigesa* with a purple crest on a white twilled silk background.⁴⁹ Since a second year participant (*doi*) seems to have had no garment particular to that year of austerities, I surmise that on his first Fall Peak, a Sanada heir was allowed to wear the purple-crested *yuigesa* a regular *yamabushi* only earned after completing his initial Fall Peak. Rank determined sartorial privileges, and Sanada heirs could 'jump the line' by a year.

In 1765, Sanada Geki Noriaki submitted to the office of the *bettō* a list that detailed the ways in which the family was to receive special treatment during the Fall Peak according to established customs, expanding on those described by the Certificate of Old Precedents. Noriaki stated that both he and his father Hisatake had enjoyed such treatment on their first Fall Peaks and he wanted to ensure that his son Noritada did as well on his first Fall Peak (which took place that same year at age sixteen). The proxy Chief Administrator approved the document with his seal, affirming that these regulations

⁴⁸ SGM 4-350.

⁴⁹ Togawa, ed., *Shintō taikei: Dewa Sanzan*, 473.

should be followed for future generations.⁵⁰ The family successfully petitioned the mountain's leadership to recognize their special status within the Fall Peak austerities. Unfortunately, I am not aware of similar lists prepared by other adept lineages, so I cannot determine whether the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family was unique in this regard. Considering that other elite families such as the Amō had long and respected histories at Haguro, it is entirely possible they may have submitted similar lists to the office of the Chief Administrator and had similar expectations.

This was not the first time official mountain documents recognized the Fall Peak privileges of the Sanada families. A 1726 memorandum copied by the adept Sankōbō from an original by the cleric Kita-no-in states that both Sanada families enjoyed the same treatment on their first Fall Peak as the Three Sendatsu temples of the summit, sitting next to the *kogi sendatsu* and on the circuit of halls and shrines, standing next to the four ritual officials. This document also describes their right to only three years of service at the Main Shrine and their responsibilities as replacement Pine Saints, establishing that the mountain's leadership had confirmed the family's special treatment even earlier.⁵¹

One of the primary indicators of the lineage's prestige was a greater than normal access to the main functionaries of austerities, repeating a cultural practice that high-ranking retainers or officials sat closer to a lord or superior. Noriaki's 1765 list emphasizes the family's advanced place in the seating order of participants, especially in relation to the major functionaries. The first clause reiterates the 1602 Certificate of

⁵⁰ SGM 1-61-2.; Document 3-206 is copy of this document.

⁵¹ Togawa, ed., *Shintō taikei: Dewa Sanzan*, 471-472.

Ancient Precedents, stating that the family heir should wear the garments of a second year participant and sit in an advanced seat right behind the *kogi* sendatsu. However, he expands on this in subsequent clauses, stating that among the second-year participants, at the *toko-naori* (ordering of the floor), regardless of their rank or advancement, none should sit ahead of Gyokuzōbō/Sanada Shichirōzaemon. Furthermore, during the circuits of the mountain's shrines, halls, and holy places (*tsuzuki-dō*), Sanada heirs should stand behind the *kari* sendatsu and hold a cypress staff. This accords with the importance of establishing proper seating order discussed earlier. The meaning of certain terms used in this list is unclear, since they are not described in either primary or secondary sources on the Haguro Fall Peak, but the list does specify the special treatment family heirs enjoyed during it. During the *okonai* (a term that may refer to the carrying out of religious services, possibly the *gongyō* chanting of sutras, mantras, and prayers), they sat next to the four ritual functionaries (*kari sendatsu, aka sendatsu, kogi sendatsu, dōshi*), a place of honor. Furthermore, during the “repair/ordering of the sandals” (*waraji naoshi*) of the first and second lodgings, the mountain provided them with meals and an attendant (*meshi-tsure*). Proximity to those functionaries, the central actors of the rituals, continually underscored the high rank that hereditary privilege bestowed on a Sanada heir, even though it was only his first year taking part in the austerities.⁵²

In another privilege enumerated on the list, the Sanada Shichirōzaemon heir visited the “ranked room” (*kaku-jidō*) of the *kari sendatsu* on the nights of the First Lodging's completion. During the Second Lodging, Noriaki records that he requested the

⁵² SGM 1-61-1,2.

customary meal (*o-tachi*) that came with his assigned room, and was instructed to sit with the four functionaries in their “ranked room” and enjoy it there. During that lodging period, his assigned room was next to that of the *kari sendatsu*, and he intended these customs to continue with his descendants.⁵³ As noted earlier, in early modern society, highly-ranked retainers were permitted audiences with their lords and a more advanced place in the seating hierarchy, while lower-ranking retainers sat further away or were not allowed in his presence at all.⁵⁴ The same principle is apparent in the conduct of Haguro Shugendō’s Fall Peak austerities, and the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family benefitted from it considerably. When heirs entered into their first session of the ritual period, they clearly displayed their close connection to the foci of its ritual practice and prestige, which was superior to many more senior *yamabushi* who were a part of the proceedings. This closeness did not derive from their ascetic attainments, but from their birth, underscoring the importance of family privilege to Shugendō communities and practices.

The financial demands of the Fall Peak austerities were less for the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family than they were for both other Tōge adepts and branch ascetics from the parishes. Not only did the Sanada Shichirōzaemon/Gyokuzōbō family receive a portion of the fee when their subordinate ascetics entered the Fall Peak, but they saved money during their own experiences of the ritual period. The list of Fall Peak-related privileges composed by Noriaki states that after descending the mountain, in accordance with precedent, they paid a set fee of three hundred *hiki* in gold to the mountain’s

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Eiko Ikegami, *The Taming of the Samurai: Honorific Individualism and the Making of Modern Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 270-273.

leadership.⁵⁵ A guides to fees and certifications hand-copied by Noriaki's son Sanada Shichirōzaemon Noritada (inherited 1769, d. 1818) lists the peak entering fee for Tōge residents as the total of 1 *bu*, 1 *kan*, and 764 *mon* in gold.⁵⁶ Exact conversion for Tokugawa era currency is difficult, but generally for gold one *bu* was equivalent to 100 *hiki* or 250 *mon*. Therefore, the 764 *mon* and 1 *bu* together amounted to roughly 405 *hiki* (the equivalent to a *kan* in unclear, as that unit was usually used for silver), making the traditional fee expected from Sanada heirs much less than the standard amount. The same guide lists the participation fee for the “first peak-entering of new guests from the various provinces,” i.e. first-time participants from parishes, as 3 *ryō* and 2 *bu* in gold, of which 1 *bu*, 2 *kan*, and 904 *mon* in gold went to the mountain's governing organization. Thus, the total fee for newcomers amounted to 14 *bu*, or 1,400 *hiki*.⁵⁷ Another early modern document, undated, only records the sum collected by the mountain leadership, but the total fee for a first-time participant is the same amount of 1 *bu*, 2 *kan*, and 904 *mon* in gold. This documents lists an additional 1 *kan* and 20 *mon* in *zeni* (coins made from copper, brass, or iron) fee to be paid during the *toko-naoshi* (“floor ordering”) stage of the austerities, when advancement in rank was recognized and factored into the seating order.⁵⁸ A more detailed comparison of these various fees is challenging based on the ambiguities of exact conversion, but it is clear that the Sanadas paid a much reduced amount for their initial peak-entering, far less than that expected of Haguro-based ascetics or branch *yamabushi* from the provinces. Not only did the Sanadas derived a

⁵⁵ SGM 1-61-1,2.

⁵⁶ SGM 5-439.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Umezu Keihō, ed., *Dewa Sanzan shiryōshū chūkan*, 324.

profit from their subordinates' completion of the ritual period, they themselves could complete it with much less than the usual expenditure. Through all this special treatment, Sanada Shichirōzaemon heirs were publically shown to be a unique and honored family within the Fall Peak austerities.

Despite the privileges they enjoyed during the Fall Peak austerities, the Sanadas almost never served as ritual functionaries that supervised them. Marrying adepts of the mountain's foot could only occupy the positions of *kari sendatsu* and *aki sendatsu*, and records indicate that some, especially *yamabushi* of the respected Jibō household, often received that honor. Of all the generations of house heads, only Sanada Shichirōzaemon Noritada seems to have participated in the Fall Peak as a ritual functionary. Mountain records listing the holders of the various functionary positions from 1605 to 1825 indicated that Noritada acted as *kari sendatsu* three times, in 1788, 1790, and 1791, and *aka sendatsu* once, in 1789.⁵⁹ This appears to contradict the rule that a *yamabushi* had to be *kari sendatsu* three times before he could become *aka sendatsu*, which suggests that these rules were not necessarily always followed strictly. These years are also clustered together, so perhaps Noritada was in especial favor in that era, earning the unprecedented right to play a greater role in the Fall Peak austerities.

Keeping a Record: Family Documentation of Fall Peak Participation

The Sanada Shichirōzaemon family's documentation practices regarding the Fall Peak austerities indicate that its most immediate value was as a requirement for attaining complete membership as a spouse-keeping adept of Tōge. Not only did their hereditary

⁵⁹ Togawa, ed., *Shintō taikei: Dewa Sanzan*, 236-237.

status guarantee them a favored place during the austerities, but completing them was part of securing their full status as a part of the community. Once that was achieved, however, no further record-keeping was required. Though they maintained detailed internal records of their heirs' first participation in the Fall Peak, they preserved nothing about subsequent participation in later Fall Peak ritual periods. Noritada's service as the *aka sendatsu* and *kari sendatsu* prove that at least one household head continued to enter the Fall Peak austerities after his initial experience, but no documents within the family archive pertain to those occasions. It is also impossible to ascertain how often other household heads entered the Fall Peak after their first time. All of this indicates that for the spouse-keeping adepts of Tōge, the primary function of the Fall Peak was as one of the Three Duties that conferred full membership in the order of Tōge's marrying adepts.⁶⁰ Not that they necessarily failed to appreciate its ritual, doctrinal, and magical aspects, but they did not consider it necessary to record and preserve their responses to those, perhaps out of respect for the tradition's emphasis on secret transmission. It was sufficient to document the basic fact of their initial completion of the austerities. This contrasts with the experiences of their branch *yamabushi* from the parishes, for whom careful documentation of multiple Fall Peak completions was required in order to advance within the organization.⁶¹ The *yamabushi* of Tōge only had to document their first Fall Peak, and relied on birth order (verified by *taigyō* birth registration certificates) as the major basis for establishing internal hierarchies, with the Sanada Shichirōzaemon standing outside

⁶⁰ For a more detailed discussion of the Three Duties and membership requirements for the various tiers of Haguro Shugendō, see chapter one.

⁶¹ For more on the relationship between the Fall Peak austerities and certification of parish *yamabushi*, see chapter five.

even that process. The disparity between Tōge adepts and parish *yamabushi* underscores that different subgroups within the broader organization navigated different expectations and procedures for rank advancement, and that this produced differing experiences of their major ritual duties.

Tōge's adepts may have had to only document their first Fall Peak, but their records had to be thorough, with sufficient details to prove their accuracy. The Sanada Shichirōzaemon family maintained such a record over its generations, and what they chose to include shows what information was most important. The *Record of Peak-Entering Procedures (Mine-iri shidai oboe)* is a family document that records the initial participation in the Fall Peak of five generations of Sanada Shichirōzaemon household heads, beginning with Hisatake in 1689 and ending with Noriyoshi in 1829. The family began the record in the eighth month of 1729, the same year as Noriaki's initial Fall Peak, retroactively writing in the circumstances of his father Hisatake's 1689 first Fall Peak as well. Later generations updated the bound booklet when heirs completed their first round of Fall Peak austerities. Entries always include the names of the clergy or adepts who served as the five (six in some cases) major functionaries for that year. The entries for Hisatake (1689), Noriaki (1729), and Noritada (1765) also include a copy of the list of special privileges analyzed above that Noriaki had approved by the Chief Administrator in 1789, as well as a transcription of their entries from the records kept by the mountain (*toko-chō*, literally “notebook of the *toko*,” a term that refers to the assembled and

ordered *yambushi* of the Fall Peak). The entries for Noritaka (1801) and Noriyoshi (1829) are sparser, but still include the identities of the ritual functionaries.⁶²

This multi-generational logbook proves the importance of careful documentation to the careers of marrying adepts such as the Sanada Shichirōzaemon/Gyokuzōbō family. The Fall Peak austerities, while replete with sophisticated doctrinal and ritual significance, were also a necessary step for Tōge's adepts to become recognized within their community of religious professionals. As such, these adepts carefully documented their participation, with precise information on details such as age at time of participation, privileges enjoyed, and the ritual functionaries who oversaw the austerities, in order to confirm their experiences for later citation. For all of the magicoreligious benefits of the Fall Peak, it meant nothing within wider society if an adept didn't take care to maintain a proper record of his experiences.

Conclusion

Hierarchies of status and rank organized participation in the four seasonal peaks of Haguro Shugendō, and they served as a sphere in which the elite Sanada families could display their privileged pedigree and its associated rights. The activities of the Pine Saints during the Winter Peak austerities and New Year's Eve festival maintained community unity while reflecting the social divisions among summit clergy, elite marrying adepts, and regular marrying adepts. Through their hereditary duty as replacement Pine Saints, the Sanada families ensured the smooth running of the ceremonies and performed a ritual function with deep significance to the village of Tōge, the Haguro Shugendō organization,

⁶² SGM 5-460.

and the farmers and fishermen of the Shōnai region. The family's connection to the Spring Peak was tenuous, and only functioned when they acted as Pine Saint and were victorious in the competition of ascetic power, but the Spring Peak itself underscores how status determined who carried out the Seasonal Peaks. The family's position within the Summer Peak shows how administrative, ritual, and economic privileges overlapped to place it within the upper echelons of the peak's ritual calendar. It also allowed them access to high-ranking officials within Haguro ritual and connected them with the thriving early modern pilgrimage culture at Haguro. Finally, the Fall Peak austerities show how the family recorded and defended their special privileges in Haguro's ritual sphere. Their close proximity to the major ritualists in seating order and their advanced garments openly manifested their special place in the community. For them and their marrying adept peers, the Fall Peak had practical, status-based significance in addition to its complicated doctrinal and magic aspects. The experiences of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family in Haguro's seasonal calendar of austerities shows how Shugendō ritual, like esoteric Buddhist ritual throughout East Asia, did not transcend social and political hierarchies, but reflected and enhanced them. At the same time, it worked to build identity and cohesion among communities of religious professionals.

Chapter Four

Lords and Ascetics:

The Sanada Families and the Nanbu Daimyo

The activities of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon and Sanada Shikibu families were not confined solely to Mt. Haguro and Tōge, but extended further to the regions of Northern Japan in which they had a longstanding presence as holders of parishes and recipients of patronage from domainal rulers. In this chapter, I analyze the connection between both Sanada families and the Nanbu clan, rulers of the Nanbu domain (also called the Morioka domain) in Northern Japan throughout the Edo period. The Nanbu domain was located to the northeast of Mt. Haguro; in the traditional cartographic system of the imperial court, it lay within Mutsu province, also called Ōshū. The Sanada family's relationship with the Nanbu clan allowed them to maintain their connections with the branch *shugenja* and parishioners residing in the parishes they held within the Nanbu domain. I concentrate on the ways that Sanada Shikibu and Sanada Shichirōzaemon negotiated their interactions with the Nanbu lords and their domainal government. I begin by discussing the received account of the origin of the Nanbu clan's patronage of the Sanada Shikibu lineage, then consider in detail the circumstances regarding Sanada Shikibu Seikyō's suicide within the Nanbu domain and its effect on this relationship. From there, I focus on the parish rights of both Sanada lineages within the Nanbu domain through an explanation of the parish deeds guaranteed by the Haguro Shugendō administration.

I then address several facets of the Nanbu-Sanada relationship via internal Nanbu records, Sanada records, and correspondence between the two parties. This relationship encompassed the exchange of gifts and money, the reception of post horse bonds, and negotiations based on the invocation of precedent preserved in old records and letters. I also contextualize these activities in regards to other religious figures supported by the Nanbu household. Ultimately, I argue that the connection between both Sanada families and the Nanbu lords was longstanding and beneficial for both parties, albeit in unequal proportions; the Sanadas were dependent on the sanction of regional powers to fully carry out their privileges regarding their parishes, and worked to justify and preserve the patronage of the Nanbu clan through a wide variety of strategies and practices. The Nanbu clan was generally far less reliant on the services of the Sanada families; as rulers of a large domain, they enjoyed connections with multiple religious institutions that could provide religious functions similar to those of the Sanadas, such as prayers for military success or divine healing. Nonetheless, they continued to patronize Sanada *yamabushi*, even after a hiatus in serious contact that lasted over a century. The verifiable antiquity of the relationship effectively maintained it over centuries.

Other sections of this study concentrate on the relationships between the Sanada families and the members of their immediate community - Mt. Haguro and Tōge, the village at its foot and the location of the Sanada residences. These relationships were essentially local, functioning primarily within the social, administrative, and ritual structures of the semi-independent territory directly ruled by the Haguro Shugendō leadership. Sanada household heads worked with (and sometimes against) both their

fellow spouse-keeping *yamabushi* families and the celibate monks of the summit temple lineages for the benefit of both the individual household and the corporate organization of which it was a part. The Sanada households could not limit themselves to just the local sphere, however, and they also relied on valuable connections between the household and outside parties, both superior and inferior to them. This chapter considers the situation between the Sanadas and their social superiors, the Nanbu family of daimyo, while chapter five considers the situation between the Sanadas and their social inferiors, the branch *yamabushi* and priestesses of their parishes. Not only were the Nanbu daimyo spatial outsiders to the Sanadas, they were also status outsiders, existing outside the bounds of the status group of religious professionals to which *yamabushi* were affiliated. Their relationships to celibate Buddhist clergy and spouse-keeping *yamabushi* were with fellow religious professionals, but the class of daimyo rulers was firmly of lay status. Material on the late medieval period form of the Sanada-Nanbu connection is relatively scarce, but the surviving documents allow me to trace its vicissitudes during the Tokugawa period. Though shaken by the suicide of a Sanada who perceived neglect by a Nanbu lord, it proceeded according to expectations until the fall of Chief Administrator Ten'yū and his supporters, who included the Sanada Shikibu family and the temporary holder of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon office. Fortunately, both Sanada lineages were able to revitalize the tradition of Nanbu patronage after over a century of inactivity, and it lasted in some form until the early modern period and the near simultaneous abolishment of both the domain system and Shugendō as a government-recognized religious tradition.

Narratives of early modern religious history tend to stress the growing importance of patronage of monastics, shrine priests, and *yamabushi* by commoners, such as merchants and peasants (as opposed to the aristocratic and military patronage that predominated during the classical and medieval eras), but the case of the Sanadas and the Nanbu demonstrates that the bonds between samurai and *shugenja* that originated in the late medieval period remained relevant throughout the Tokugawa era, albeit in attenuated form. Even in an age of rising merchants and wealthy peasants, *yamabushi* lineages such as the Sanadas could not afford to neglect their connections with the daimyo, which conveyed tangible benefits, especially in regard to travel. As the shogunate and domain governments increasingly regulated travel, *shugenja* had to secure the daimyo's permission to make their parish rounds, as well as the travel passes that permitted unobstructed movement and the use of the domain's post horses. In this case, an old relationship helped them adapt to new conditions.

The Nanbu Clan and the Consolidation of Nanbu/Morioka Domain

I will now briefly introduce the history of Nanbu clan. The Sanada Shikibu family in particular regarded itself as having had a significant influence on the rise of the Nanbu clan in the late medieval and early Tokugawa eras, contributing to the conquest of their territory and the relocation of their domainal capital. Though the historicity of these claims cannot be verified, the importance ascribed to them underscores how much the Sanada Shikibu household valued its connection with the Nanbu clan.

The Nanbu clan traced their ancestry back to Nanbu Mitsuyuki (1165? –1236?), a retainer of Minamoto Yoritomo (1147-1199, r. 1192-1199), the samurai warlord who first

established the institution of the shogunate in Japanese history. Originally from Kai Province in central Honshū, Mitsuyuki aided Yoritomo in his pacification of northern Japan, settling in the Nukanobu region of Mutsu Province (the northern area of modern day Iwate Prefecture). During the Warring States period, the branch of the Nanbu clan based at Sannohe in Nukanobu cemented its control over most of the eastern half of northern Japan, subduing rival warlords such as the Shiwa and Kunohe clans. Through an alliance with Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537-1598), second of late medieval Japan's "three great unifiers," the Nanbu clan secured confirmation of their authority over seven districts (*gun*), which soon increased to ten in total. Nanbu Nobunao (r. 1582-15), the twenty-sixth clan head, then relocated his capital from Sannohe to a new, more central location in Morioka, becoming the clan's first Morioka lord. As a result, the family's territory was also referred to as the Morioka domain as well as the Nanbu domain. Through his support of Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616, r. 1603-1605), founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate, Nobunao and his heirs guaranteed their control over the domain, and they ruled without interruption throughout the early modern period until the abolition of the domain system in the Meiji era.¹ The Sanada Shikibu family considered itself to be a major influence on both the Nanbu consolidation of power and their eventual move to Morioka, though the relationship between the two families was not always harmonious. The narrative of family history preserved in various sixteenth century texts shows how *yamabushi* lineages intertwined their own histories with that of their lay patrons, enhancing their prestige and influence in the process.

¹ Satō Ryūichi, *Morioka-han* (Tokyo: Gendai shokan, 2006), 20-26.

The Fall of Kunohe Castle, or the Origin of the Sanada – Nanbu Relationship

Haguro narratives credit a Sanada Shikibu *yamabushi* for one of the most important victories in Nanbu Nobunao's campaign to solidify his control over the domain, presenting the Sanada Shikibu family as a crucial part of the Nanbu clan's history and interweaving the pasts of the two lineages. In the story, a Haguro *yamabushi* and the deity of Mt. Haguro he invokes, the Haguro Gongen, are presented as having the power to ensure the conquest of a castle, a feat that brings credit to both the lineage itself and the Shugendō tradition it belongs to. Furthermore, this assistance establishes a mutually beneficial bond of patronage between a warrior family and a *yamabushi* family, exemplifying one of the relationships that sustained Shugendō lineages. Significantly, these patronage relationships were between households or families, not individuals, though they were first established by the actions of individuals. The benefits and responsibilities they entailed ideally passed on through generations of *shugenja* and daimyo, providing a potential mandate or justification for their revival, should individual household heads fail to preserve them.

The main source for the early history between the Nanbu and Sanada families is Kyōdōin Seikai's *Memorandum on the Restorers of Mt. Haguro in Ūshū* (*Ūshū haguro-san chūkō oboegaki*), a history of Mt. Haguro compiled in the late seventeenth century that concentrates on the tenures of the Chief Administrators Yūgen, Yūshun, and Ten'yū. Sections of this history record in detail both the origin of the relationship between the Sanada Shikibu and Nanbu families as well as a crisis in that relationship centering around the suicide of Sanada Shikibu Seikyō, a later descendant. Kyōdōin Seikai was the

second son of Seikyō's grandson Yūi, making him Seikyō's great-grandson. His membership in the Sanada Shikibu family may explain why he chose to include this information within his history, and he likely had access to records and recollections of the incident by family members, accounting for the detail of the entry. This was very probably the tradition passed down within the family itself, so regardless of its historical accuracy, it reflects the family's internal conception of their historical connection to the Nanbu clan.

Seikai traces the connection between the two families back to a rebellion at Kunohe within the Nanbu domain. He does not give a specific date in his narrative, but the conflict between the Kunohe and Nanbu families to which he refers occurred in 1591. The rebels had retreated to Kunohe Castle, which was under siege by the Nanbu lord on the orders of what Seikai calls the "shogunal lineage" (*shogun-ke*), a term that inaccurately refers to the Tokugawa family, despite it not yet having achieved national hegemony.² The siege was unsuccessful until an ancestor of Sanada Shikibu invoked the assistance of the Haguro Gongen, allowing the Nanbu forces to take the castle and pacify the revolt. This Sanada Shikibu supposedly gathered together *yamabushi*, hung the sacred wands with paper streamers (*bonten*) on a sacred object imbued with the presence (*shintai*) of the Haguro Deity and charged the castle with the vanguard, winning the day for the Nanbu clan.³ The historical accuracy of this Sanada Shikibu's participation in the battle cannot be verified, but Nanbu Nobunao did overcome many rivals to his authority

² The use of this phrase is inaccurate as the Tokugawa family had not yet established its hegemony over the country, nor had its lords declared themselves shoguns. Furthermore, it appears that Toyotomi Hideyoshi was the warlord involved in the Nanbu-Kunohe conflict.

³ Togawa Anshō, ed., *Shintō taiki: Dewa sanzan*, 133.

in the late sixteenth century as he established his hegemony over the region, including Kunohe Masazane, the lord based at Kunohe Castle. In the third month of 1591, the Kunohe clan rose up against Nanbu Nobunao, then based at Sannohe Castle. However, Nobunao was unable to handle the Kunohe clan's revolt on his own and received aid from Toyotomi Hideyoshi's Central Army, having allied himself with Hideyoshi the previous year. The combined forces achieved victory on the fourth day of the ninth month, and in the aftermath Nobunao renamed the castle Fukuoka Castle and took it as a residence.⁴ Discrepancies aside, it is entirely plausible that an ancestor of Sanada Shikibu aided Nanbu Nobunao in his battles and established the basis for a long-lasting relationship of patronage. Prayers for victory were a common request for religious specialists of all affiliations throughout Japanese history, *yamabushi* included. Despite the necessity of Hideyoshi's assistance, this Sanada Shikibu ancestor could still have claimed to contribute to Nobunao's victory and used that claim as the basis for a long-term patronage relationship with the Nanbu family. Alternatively, this relationship may have predated the Nanbu defeat of the Kunohe clan, and Seikai may have reinterpreted the incident as the origin of the association between the Sanada and Nanbu families.

Kunohe Masazane was one of the last major rivals that Nanbu Nobunao vanquished in order to solidify his rule over what would become the Nanbu/Morioka domain. In attributing this victory to the efforts of a Sanada Shikibu ancestor and the patron deity Haguro Gongen, the narrative casts them as vital to the ultimate triumph of a major samurai clan. Haguro *yamabushi* viewed themselves as having a significant effect

⁴ Kimura Motoi, Fujino Tamotsu, and Murakami Tadashi, eds., *Hanshi daijiten: Dai-ichi-kan Hokkaidō, Tōhoku-hen* (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1988), 57.

on the military and political struggles that raged during the Warring States period, playing a crucial role in the activities of the warrior lords. With the aid of their sacred power and divine patronage, their daimyo lords could triumph over their enemies and achieve their political goals.

This narrative goes on to show how such assistance could become the basis for more long-term patronage relationships between daimyo and *yamabushi* families, in which both parties benefitted. The *Memorandum* details the gratitude displayed by Nanbu Nobunao towards Sanada Shikibu's ancestor for his assistance in the taking of Kunohe Castle. In thanks, Nobunao supposedly gifted him with territory within the Nanbu Domain worth five hundred *koku* (roughly 2,560 bushels) of rice, where the ancestor settled and had a son. This son grew up to serve the Nanbu lord in an official capacity, but passed away from illness while still childless, so the land went back to the Nanbu lord. Sanada family members still came to Nanbu to collect duties from *yamabushi* residing in the family parish territory, however, and later descendants of the Sanada Shikibu family brought the Nanbu lords prayer talismans and gifts. They also received the privilege of a direct audience with the reigning Nanbu lord and a meal in the castle. The Nanbu clan furthermore allowed them the use of post horses and laborers for their rounds within their parishes in the domain.⁵ I am unaware of any corroborating evidence from the Nanbu Domain prior to the suicide in 1620, but later correspondence between the two parties and entries in the Nanbu Domain's *Records of Temples and Shrines (jisha kiroku)*, maintained by the office of the domain's Superintendent of Temples and Shrines (*jisha*

⁵ Togawa, ed., *Shintō Taikei: Dewa Sanzan*, 133.

bugyō), describe audiences between the two and the exchange of gifts. The account of the history between the Nanbu Clan and the Sanada Shikibu family given by the *Memorandum* describes a similar relationship with an established custom of audiences and the exchange of gifts. This also demonstrates how these relationships were not between individuals, but between households or families, and that the responsibilities and benefits were passed on through generations. The tradition of service to the Nanbu clan was carried on by the Sanada Shikibu adept's son, and even though that particular line died out quickly, other descendants continued to provide the Nanbu family with religious support in exchange for patronage and help in performing their parish rounds.

Death, Ghosts, and Parishes: The Suicide of Sanada Shikibu Seikyō

The connection between these two families that was said to have been established through the taking of Kunohe Castle faced a crisis almost three decades later. The apparent neglect of this relationship by the Nanbu family appears to have provoked an extreme reaction in Sanada Shikibu Seikyō that ultimately reaffirmed the connection between the two families, albeit through radical and bloody means. Much is unclear about this series of events, and there are relatively few available sources - only Kyōdōin Seikai's *Memorandum* and a handful of surviving letters - but the narrative proves the importance of relationships between *yamabushi* and daimyo families and demonstrates how Sanada Shikibu narratives of history present themselves as wielding considerable influence over the fortunes of the Nanbu clan.

According to the *Memorandum*, Seikyō traveled to Nanbu Domain in the autumn of 1619 expecting his customary audience with the second Morioka Nanbu lord, Nanbu

Toshinao (r. 1599-1632). However, by the second month of 1620, this audience had failed to materialize, prompting an angry Seikyō to commit suicide (*hara-kiri*) on the third day of the second month within Toshinao's castle town of Sannohe.⁶ The *Memorandum* states that the precise rationale for this act was unclear, despite Toshinao's efforts to discover it. Seikyō left no final statement or will explaining his suicide, and even Seikyō's traveling companion, the Haguro *yamabushi* Daimanbō, was unable to clarify matters when consulted by Toshinao.⁷ A letter sent to Seikyō's son Sanada Genjirō⁸ by Toshinao's retainers corroborates this account, though the letter notes that prior to dying Seikyō asked for his son to inherit his parishes without any deviations or changes from precedent, a request with which the two retainers affirmed Toshinao would comply. This request was apparently not accompanied by any further explanation of the suicide, however, since the letter also notes Toshinao's confusion and fruitless inquiry to Daimanbō. The retainers also wrote that Toshinao considered the incident very unfortunate, and that Seikyō's traveling companions would convey more details to Genjirō on their return to Haguro.⁹ The Sanada Shikibu family preserved this letter within their family archive, and Nanbu domain records state that Sanada Geki Noritada (or one of his messengers), of the sister Sanada Shichirōzaemon lineage, brought a copy of it, along

⁶ In the *Memorandum*, Sannohe is written 三閉井, but the characters were later standardized to 三戸.

⁷ Togawa, ed., *Shintō taiki: Dewa sanzan*, 133.

⁸ Genjirō is called Yūsei or Konzōbō in other Nanbu and Haguro documents.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 531.

with copies of other correspondence between the two parties, to Morioka's Daishōji Temple, head temple for the domain's Haguro *yamabushi*, in 1778.¹⁰

The *Memorandum*'s account of Seikyō's suicide repeats Toshinao's guarantee that Seikyō's son will inherit his father's parishes without incident, and goes on to note that Toshinao also made offerings to the Three Gongen of Haguro (*Haguro sansho gongen*), pledging to send thirty proxy pilgrims each year with thirty *ryō* of gold and nine shrine horses. Furthermore, Toshinao founded the temple Daishōji as a prayer temple for Seikyō's spirit and granted its ascetics two hundred *koku* (roughly 1,024 bushels) of rice as an emolument. This Daishōji would later go to become a central part of the Haguro Shugendō's administrative structure within the Nanbu Domain.¹¹ It is unclear how long this tradition of sending proxy pilgrims and gifts continued, but the number of pilgrims and the high value of the gifts suggest that Toshinao took Seikyō's suicide very seriously and wanted to make proper restitution. Mori Tsuyoshi interprets this abrupt suicide as a desperate strategy by Seikyō to maintain his family's traditional rights as *yamabushi* within the Nanbu domain at a time when the power of the rival Honzan-ha Shugendō group was on the rise.¹² This is a plausible explanation, but with comparatively little surviving documentary evidence, we can only speculate. Still, based on that interpretation, Seikyō was willing to die so that his family's connection with the Nanbu clan would continue, showing the importance placed on such connections by *yamabushi*.

¹⁰ Miyako-shi Kyōikuinkai, *Miyako shishi: Shiryōshū kinsei* (Miyako: Miyako-shi, 1996), 304-305.; Togawa Anshō had access to these letters (or later copies of them) when he compiled the *Shintō taikai: Dewa Sanzan* volume of primary source documents in 1982, but I am unaware of their present location.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 133.

¹² Mori Tsuyoshi, *Shugendō kasumi-shiki no shiteki-kenkyū* (Tokyo: Meicho shuppan, 1989). 137-151.

The narrative of the *Memorandum* further emphasizes the influence of Sanada Shikibu Seikyō on the history of the Nanbu clan by claiming that the decision to move its seat of power from Sannohe Castle to Morioka Castle was due to Seikyō's unquiet ghost. The spirit of the family's ancestor was supposedly powerful enough to induce the samurai ruler of an entire domain to relocate his capital, a considerable compliment to the family's reputation. Stories of the unjustly executed or exiled exacting revenge on their tormentors after death have a long history in Japanese culture, with perhaps the most well-known being the ninth century courtier Sugawara no Michizane, who was ultimately deified to satisfy his shade. Generally, a spirit's status in life corresponded to their power after death, with nobles and emperors producing especially potent ghosts, so the power exhibited by Seikyō's ghost in this story is a sign of status and importance.¹³ It may also derive from the supernatural powers held by *yamabushi*, which made them into partially divine figures. It is a natural extrapolation that their vengeful spirits could be especially dangerous. Regardless, the Sanada Shikibu family could claim credit for one of the major events in the Nanbu clan's seventeenth century history, reinforcing the connection between the two families.

The *Memorandum* goes to state that:

After that [the suicide], fifty or sixty *yamabushi* garbed in white entered the castle every night. The castle shook throughout, and a wrathful spirit (*onryō*) accomplished this out of hatred. As a result, Sannohe Castle was moved to Morioka. They worshipped Seikyō as an angry deity (*aragami*) and enshrined him at Sannohe.¹⁴

¹³ Herbert E. Plutschow, *Chaos and Cosmos: Ritual in Early and Medieval Japanese Literature* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1990), 203-216.; Robert Borgen, *Sugawara no Michizane and the Early Heian Court* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), 307-324.

¹⁴ Togawa, ed., *Shintō taiki: Dewa Sanzan*, 133.

The claim that these hauntings prompted the Nanbu family to move their seat from Sannohe to Morioka is clearly untrue, as plans for the move had been in place for decades prior. Nanbu Nobunao, Toshinao's father, had already begun preparing the land for Morioka Castle in 1592 and actual construction started in 1598. Though the castle itself was not finished until 1633, when Toshinao's son Shigenao took up residence there, the Morioka castle town was basically finished in 1609, and the inhabitants of Sannohe were moved there in 1617 to a neighborhood called Sannohe ward (*chō*).¹⁵ It seems likely that the temporal closeness of the two events led to them to be associated with one another. Being responsible for the relocation of the lord of a domain would no doubt enhance the prestige of the Sanada Shikibu family.

Several sources both at Haguro and within Nanbu corroborate the idea that Seikyō's spirit was enshrined as a wrathful deity in order to mollify his curse, and that his descendants continued to honor his memory. In 1719 on the centennial anniversary of his death he was memorialized with a stone stupa erected within the grounds of Kōtakuji Temple on Mt. Haguro's summit. Inscriptions on the monument not only record that the Nanbu *zaichō* Sanada Shikibu Seikyō committed suicide in Sannohe, Nanbu domain in 1620, but also repeat the assertion that his angry spirit was enshrined as a deity by Lord Toshinao. Thus, the story of his posthumous wrath was handed down to his descendants and was included in his later memorialization. Other sides of the memorial list his children, including his firstborn heir Kinzōbō Yūsei, another name of the Genjirō who

¹⁵ Kimura, Fujino, and Murakami, eds., *Hanshi daijiten: Dai-ichi-kan Hokkaidō, Tōhoku-hen*, 57.

received letter from Toshinao's retainers informing him of his father's suicide.¹⁶ There is also evidence that the descendants of Seikyō observed the bicentennial anniversary of his suicide. An 1819 Haguro administrative text called *Miscellaneous Records (zatsuroku)* states that on 3/27/1819, Sanada Wahei (a descendant of the Sanada Shikibu family) traveled to the Nanbu domain in order to visit the grave of his ancestor Sanada Shikibu Seikyō on the bicentennial anniversary of his death, and that Wahei returned to Haguro on 4/4/1819.¹⁷ However, this visit apparently did not include any interaction with the Nanbu clan or their Superintendent of Temple and Shrines, since the domain's *Records of Temples and Shrines* 1819 entries do not mention Sanada Wahei in any capacity.¹⁸

As noted earlier, Sanada Shihei, a son of the Sanada Shikibu household, eventually returned to Haguro after his 1668 banishment and carried on the lineage and its duties, though his descendants changed the household name from Sanada Shihei to Sanada Wahei, then to Sanada Samon and Sanada Fumiuchi, maintaining the surname but varying the connected middle name. These duties included memorialization of their ancestors such as Seikyō. Wahei's memorial trip demonstrates that a grave for Seikyō in Morioka still existed in 1819, and that it was considered important for Sanada Wahei to travel there on the death anniversary, not just perform rites at the family's mortuary temple Kongōjuin at Haguro, which also had a gravestone for Seikyō. The very first entry in Kongōjuin's death registry (*kakochō*) is for Sanada Shikibu Seikyō (granted the

¹⁶ Togawa, ed., *Shintō taiki: Dewa Sanzan*, 623.

¹⁷ Umezu, ed., *Dewa Sanzan shiryōshū gekan*, 429, 509.

¹⁸ Kishi Shōichi, ed., *Nanbu-ryō shūkyō kankei shiryō 3: Jisha Kiroku*, (Tokyo: Iwata shoin, 2006), 58, 273-277.

monastic title Deputy Chief Sangha Administrator (*gon-daisōzu*), further confirming that death traces of Seikyō existed both in Nanbu domain and at Mt. Haguro itself.¹⁹

Documents from the Nanbu Domain record the basic outline of the incident, and testify to the location of Seikyō's grave, though there is some disagreement on the details. The ninth volume of the *Tōen Family Precepts (Tōen kakun)*, a collection of records maintained by a Nanbu retainer family, includes several entries concerning Seikyō's suicide, as well as transcriptions of the letters exchanged between the Nanbu Domain and the Sanadas.²⁰ The first entry states that the *zaichō*'s grave is said to be within the precincts of a Yakushi temple in Yonai Village, Morioka, where there is a "sideways hall" that enshrines the *zaichō*. The term *zaichō* refers to an office within the Haguro Shugendō system of parish management that conferred administrative authority over the branch *yamabushi* of a section of parish territory. Both Sanada families held *zaichō* authority over territory in Nanbu domain, and domainal records often referred to them as the Sanada *zaichō*. Additionally, two locations in Sannohe are said to be the site of Seikyō's suicide, both within the territory granted to Kawamorita Taemon; it is unclear which of the two corresponds the actual location of the suicide, and it is also said that the *zaichō* committed suicide in Morioka. The entry notes that supposedly grass will not grow on either, though it is said that a little has grown more recently.²¹ Yet another supplementary note clarifies matters even further. It states that the former Sannohe residence (*mitachi*, a term referring to the dwelling of a lord), presumably corresponding to Sannohe Castle, is

¹⁹ *Kongōju 'in kakochō*, photographed by author with permission of head priest.

²⁰ Stored in the Morioka City Central Community Center and reproduced in Volume 9.1 of the *Miyako City History (Miyako-shi-shi: Shiryōshū kinsei)*.

²¹ Miyako-shi Kyōikuinkai, ed., *Miyako shishi: Shiryōshū kinsei*, 304-305.

in Komukai Village, and that the *zaichō*'s grave is located to the west of this in Kawamorita town, where there is a Nyorai Hall that was the past location of a *yamabushi* committing suicide by stomach-cutting (*hara-kiri*) out of a grudge towards his lord.²² These locations testify to the basic accuracy of the events described, and that the incident was severe enough to necessitate the enshrinement of the *zaichō*'s spirit. Togawa Anshō reports having visited the shrine in Morioka on one of its festival days, and that it was quite lively, with performances of sacred dances called Dharma Seal (*hōin*) *kagura*. He says the shrine seemed to be popular among entertainers, corresponding to the traditional association between that group and *yamabushi*.²³ The shrine exists to the present day, and has a page on Facebook.²⁴

The legal historian Mori Tsuyoshi interprets the events surrounding Sanada Shikibu Seikyō's suicide as the result of the shift from medieval to early modern conceptions of parish rights, with Seikyō's suicide being a calculated move to defend his family's traditional parish holdings in the face of the rival Honzan-ha Shugendō organization's increasing influence within the Nanbu domain. Conflicts between *yamabushi* over parishes occurred frequently throughout Japan in this period, prompting the Tokugawa Shogunate to promulgate a new set of regulations concerning Shugendō (*Shugendō hatto*) in 1613 that required all Shugendō centers to affiliate with either the Tendai-supported Honzan-ha or the Shingon-supported Tōzan-ha. Certain regional centers such as Mt. Haguro or Mt. Hiko in Kyūshū worked to maintain their

²² Ibid.

²³ Togawa Anshō, *Haguro-san hiwa* (Tsuruoka-shi: Tōhoku shuppan kikaku, 1977), 137.

²⁴ Asagishi Yakushi jinja's *Facebook* page, accessed July 28, 2016, <https://ja-jp.facebook.com/浅岸薬師神社-249219445209365/>.

independence, but these edicts had an enormous impact on the world of Shugendō, and competition over parish holdings continued throughout the century. According to Mori, Seikyō's actions have to be examined in the context of the Nanbu Domain serving as a battleground between the Haguro and Honzan-ha Shugendō groups over parishes.

Mori ascribes particular importance to Nanbu Toshinao's postponement of his customary audience with the head of the Sanada Shikibu lineage. One received explanation blames Toshinao's retainer Ishi Kaga no kami, claiming that he had a reputation for being absent-minded and thus he delayed the meeting for too long. Mori rejects this, and instead proposes that Toshinao's delay in meeting with Seikyō was entirely intentional. The Honzan-ha's influence within Nanbu had been increasing, and the Nanbu clan itself had a close connection to it through the yamabushi Jikkōbō, a kinsman of Toshinao's mother whose lineage would serve the Nanbu clan throughout the early modern era. Toshinao was torn between conflicting loyalties to Haguro and the Honzan-ha, and his refusal to meet with Seikyō was a deliberate choice to avoid engaging with the complicated issue of parish disputes between the two groups. This explains Seikyō's insistence that his son inherit his parishes without any change or incident. To Mori, this sequence of events was a symbolic transition point between medieval and early modern Shugendō, and he regards it as influencing later parish disputes within Nanbu. Indeed, they would be a frequent occurrence in the Edo period, and led to the development of rules and administrative structures to define the precise outlines of authority within the Shugendō of Nanbu Domain.²⁵

²⁵ Mori Tsuyoshi, *Shugendō kasumi-shiki no shiteki-kenkyū*, 137.

Mori goes on to argue that the position of the Sanada Shikibu family within Nanbu began to decline, in spite of any temporary boost that resulted from Seikyō's suicide. In fact, in his view, the suicide signaled the onset of this decay.²⁶ Yet the domain's *Record of Temples and Shrines*, maintained by its Superintendent of Temples and Shrines, contradicts Mori's theory. Gensaburō, one of Seikyō's sons, came to pay homage to Nanbu Shigenao in 1648, having first send word of this intention in 1644. During this visit, Gensaburō gave Shigenao gifts of cloth, paper, and sake, and received five pieces of silver and assorted foodstuffs in return.²⁷ Later, in 1665, both the Sanada Shikibu household head and Sanada Hayato, the Haguro adept who had temporarily assumed the duties of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family, presented Nanbu Shigenobu with gifts and received permission to conduct parish rounds.²⁸ The real cause for the cessation of parish rounds in Nanbu and audiences with its lords seems to be the banishment of the Sanada Shikibu household from Haguro in 1668 after the Chief Administrator Ten'yū, their patron, was exiled. While descendants of the Sanada Shikibu would return to Haguro and play important roles in local administration, their relationship with the Nanbu domain would not resume until 1819 and the two hundredth anniversary of Seikyō's suicide. Thus, I am sympathetic to the assertion that parish disputes between Haguro and Honzan-ha *yamabushi* very likely played some role in influencing Seikyō's

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Kishi Shōichi, ed., *Nanbu-ryō shūkyō kankei shiryō 3: Jisha Kiroku* (Tokyo: Iwata shoin, 2006), 1.

²⁸ Ibid., 3.

decision to commit suicide, but I believe his actions bore more long-term success than Mori acknowledges, or at least, they did not have so many negative consequences.²⁹

The Aftermath – Seikyō’s Sons and the Nanbu

Several letters testify to the continuing relationship between the Nanbu clan and Sanada Shikibu Seikyō’s sons, Genjirō and Saiichirō, following their father’s suicide. Whether or not the Nanbu clan’s support of the Sanada Shikibu lineage was in doubt prior to the suicide, it was clearly secure afterwards, and the Nanbu-Sanada connection continued for the next few generations. These letters also show the services that the Nanbu lords expected from the Sanada Shikibu family, which included prayers for the health of both their own Nanbu family and their superiors in the Tokugawa Shogunate. By commissioning Sanada *yamabushi* to pray for shogun, the Nanbu clan demonstrated their support of the shogunate. The Sanada family itself derived both income and, quite probably, a sense of pride, from these requests.

The letters in this set are dated with the month and day, but not the year, though some can be tentatively dated according to clues within them. They demonstrate that the Nanbu lords often commissioned the Sanada Shikibu to pray for the health of themselves and others, and that exchange of money and gifts was an important aspect of the relationship. Miyake Hitoshi states that “in the Edo period the *shugenja* were responsible for offering ‘worldly benefits’ within the context of the religious activities of the

²⁹ The surviving materials pertaining to the incident are so few in number that any attempt at explanation must be fairly speculative. Regardless of the ultimately unknowable deeper motives of Seikyō, Toshinao, or Toshinao’s retainers, it seems safe to say that Seikyō felt that he had been denied a privilege that should have been central to the patronage relationship his family and the Nanbu family held. Furthermore, whether Mori’s contention is accurate or not, Seikyō made it a priority to ensure that his family’s parish rights were passed on to his heirs.

common people and played a major role in these religious activities,” and characterizes Shugendō as a “religious tradition that actively responded to the people’s requests for worldly benefits from the Heian up to the modern period.”³⁰ However, these letters show that it was not just the common people who benefitted from the religious activities of *yamabushi*, but high-ranking daimyo and even the shogunate. The scholarly tendency to classify Shugendō as a form of “folk religion” should not obscure how *yamabushi* served all levels of Japanese society, high and low, or their close ties with the realm’s political and social elites.

The Nanbu clan trusted in the healing power of *yamabushi* and employed their patron status to obtain medical assistance both for themselves and for their political superiors. Toshinao commissioned the services of the Sanada Shikibu brothers Gen’irō and Sai’ichirō on 8/12 of an unspecified year. He wrote, “Because of the illness of the shogun, I present one piece of gold to Yudono and Haguro as an offering. You should pray for his recovery before the deities and send charms and talismans to Edo.”³¹ A later letter, dated 10/20, confirmed that the shogun’s officials had received the items sent by the Sanadas and requested another set of healing prayers from the two, this time for Toshinao’s daughter, who had been ill with the “bug sickness” (*mushike*) since the previous year. As before, Toshinao remanded gold, in this case five *ryō*, to Haguro and Yudono as an offering to accompany the request.³² The manner in which these donations were divided between the Sanada Shikibu family and their superiors in the Haguro

³⁰ Miyake Hitoshi, *Shugendō: Essays on the Structure of Japanese Folk Religion* (Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Japanese Studies University of Michigan, 2001), 60, 204.

³¹ Togawa, ed., *Shintō taiki: Dewa Sanzan*, 532

³² *Ibid.*

administration is unspecified, but it seems likely that both parties received a share.

Daimyo patrons were a source of income for individual *shugenja* households and the organization they belonged to.

In addition to perceived medical benefit, prayers and talismans also functioned as sources of political advancement. Toshinao's request to his *yamabushi* client household on behalf of the shogun displayed his own loyalty and concern for his ultimate political superior. By having physical objects sent to the shogunate, Toshinao ensured that his devotion was expressed in concrete terms that could be recognized by the shogun and his retainers. Toshinao's 10/20 letter to the Sanadas reported that the shogun was very pleased when he learned of the charms and talismans they had sent to Edo.³³ Obviously, they were only a small portion of the enormous number of gifts the shogun must have constantly received, but official acknowledgement of their receipt reflected well on both the Nanbu clan and the Sanada Shikibu family. Toshinao was able to utilize the religious capabilities of the *yamabushi* household he patronized to improve his political standing in Edo. The prayers and charms were not only effective as healing, but were a means of showing Toshinao's loyalty to the shogun and cultivating his favor.

Parish Holdings of the Sanadas and the Deeds that Guaranteed Them

Access to the family parishes located within the Nanbu domain was one of the primary benefits of the Nanbu clan patronage enjoyed by both the Sanada Shichirōzaemon and Sanada Shikibu households. Chapter five discusses Haguro Shugendō's parish system in detail, but I will now briefly describe the parish holdings of

³³ Togawa, ed., *Shintō taiki: Dewa Sanzan*, 532.

the Sanada families to provide context for their interactions with daimyo in relation to parish management. The parishes of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household consisted of extensive territory within the southeastern area of the Nanbu domain and a much smaller section of northeastern Sendai domain, which lay to the south of Nanbu domain. The Date family ruled the Sendai domain as daimyo, but the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family does not appear to have interacted with the Date family or its retainers to a significant degree in the course of its parish administration. The first surviving Sanada Shichirōzaemon parish deed dates from 1673, but correspondence between the two families and entries within the domain's *Records of temples and shrines (Jisha kiroku)* indicate that the Sanada Shichirōzaemon line had a close relationship with the Nanbu clan and parish rights within its territory prior to this.

Following Chief Administrator Ten'yū's reform of the Haguro parish system in the mid-seventeenth century, parish rights were divided into two offices. The office of *zaichō* conferred the power to lodge a parish's pilgrims and branch ascetics in the holder's pilgrim lodge, issue the charms and talismans distributed throughout the parish, and certify the rank promotions of its branch ascetics and priestesses (*miko*). The office of *oshi*, on the other hand, guaranteed the authority to make parish rounds (*danna-mawari*) and hand out the *zaichō*-produced talismans, as well as guide pilgrims as far as Haguro. Many adept families and summit temple lineages held both offices for a region, but in some cases the offices were divided between two different parties. Within early modern Haguro Shugendō, only the *yamabushi* lineages residing at the organizational headquarters of Mt. Haguro could hold parish rights. In contrast, the Honzan-ha and

Tōzan-ha *shugen* groups sometimes granted parish rights to local *yamabushi* lineages that resided apart from the organizational headquarters within the parishes themselves.³⁴

The parish deeds issued to the lineage of Sanada Shichirōzaemon in the name of the Chief Administrator (*bettō*) of Mt. Haguro state that the family held combined *zaichō-oshi* rights for forty-eight villages in Nanbu Domain's Hei District. Additionally, within Ōshima/Ōsaki, they held parish rights to sixty-six villages in Tōshima, as far as Ishikochi and Ishinomori, and within Kasai, thirty-three villages in Oga, and forty-eight villages within Ninohazama, Kasai. They exercised only *zaichō* rights for Kessen, Motoyoshi, Ichinohazama, Sannohazama, and Munō, all within Kasai. All of their holdings were within Ōshū, or Mutsu province, which constituted the eastern half of northern Honshū. In this case, it seems likely that this did not reflect a specific number of villages, but rather the entire district.³⁵ The office of the Chief Administrator (or his proxy) issued subsequent parish deeds in 1679, 1690, 1714, and 1816, all of which reproduced the same list of holdings. Each new deed cited the prior deeds in the postscript that followed the list, referencing them either by the era in which they were issued (i.e. Kanbun, Enpō, Genroku) or the catch-all phrase “prior seals.”³⁶ Though the authority of a given parish deed did not last forever and had to eventually be renewed through a reissued deed, later deeds acknowledged and cited previous ones. Older parish deeds still retained some utility even after being superseded, and a thorough documentary record of one's holdings bolstered one's claims to them.

³⁴ Togawa Anshō, *Dewa Sanzan Shugendō no kenkyū*, 145-170.

³⁵ Tokieda Tsutomo, “Shugendō shiryō to kenkyū hōhō,” in *Shugendō-shi nyūmon*, edited by Tokieda Tsutomo, Hasegawa Kenji, and Hayashi Makoto (Tokyo: Iwata, 2015), 57.

³⁶ Togawa, ed., *Shintō taikei: Dewa Sanzan*, 364-365.

The parishes of the Sanada Shikibu household and its descendants (called Sanada Shihei, Sanada Wahei, Sanada Samon; *yamabushi* name Daigobō) all fell within the borders of the Nanbu domain, generally in its more northern and central parts. The main source for their holdings is the lineage's only surviving parish deed, issued to Sanada Fumiuchi in 1861. They held parish rights in Nanbu from at least the late medieval period, but there is no indication that the household received a parish deed during Ten'yū's reorganization of the parish system. When they were banished from Mt. Haguro alongside Ten'yū, they surrendered their parish rights to the mountain leadership and did not reacquire them after they returned. Over a century later, some descendants restarted parish rounds and contact with the Nanbu clan, even while lacking an official parish deed, but Haguro Shugendō did not officially recognize their parish holdings with documentation until 1861. According to the 1871 deed, the descendants of the Sanada Shikibu family, then called Sanada Fumiuchi or the *yamabushi* name Daigobō, had joint *zaichō* and *oshi* rights to five districts in Nukanobu, the northern part of Nanbu domain. They had *zaichō* rights to five other sections of the domain, Tōno, Waga, Shiwa, Iwate, and Isawa. Waga, Shiwa, and Iwate are all traditional districts of the region, and it appears that Isawa and Tōno were regarded as the equivalent of districts. As with the parish deeds issued to the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household, a certain number of villages is given after each district, but that is not to be taken literally. The intended meaning is to confer rights to the district as a whole.³⁷

³⁷ Togawa, ed., *Shintō taiki: Dewa Sanzan*, 536-537.

In the early seventeenth century, even prior to the official documentation of parish deeds, both Sanada lineages exercised their rights as holders of the *oshi* office by performing parish rounds in the Nanbu domain. A 1758 compendium on the parish holdings of Haguro *shugenja*, the *Memorandum on documents concerning the parishes of [the inhabitants of] the mountain's foot submitted upon inquiry*, briefly discusses the history of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family in Nanbu domain and the associated parish rounds. The Sanada Shichirōzaemon family seems to have discontinued the practice for over a century following the downfall of Chief Administrator Ten'yū in 1668, an event that will be considered in more detail later.³⁸ The entry for the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family, at that time called Sanada Geki, in the *Memorandum* states that the family has records of dispatching messenger monks to their Sendai parishes during the Kanbun era (1661-1675), but they have not engaged in the practice since then. The entry further notes that *yamabushi* of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon and Sanada Shikibu lineages traveled together to Nanbu biennially in order to conduct parish rounds and have an audience with the domain's lord until the Keichō era (1596-1615), but ceased the practice after that. Both the Sanada Shichirōzaemon and Sanada Shihei (a descendant of Sanada Shikibu) families still possess letters received directly from the Nanbu lords.³⁹ Though they no longer kept the custom, they could verify that they had done so in the past. This kind of relationship with a daimyo lineage was hardly unique to the two Sanada lines. In fact, the Unrinbō household of marrying *shugenja* also held *oshi* and *zaichō* rights within Nanbu

³⁸ For a more detailed discussion of this hiatus and the reasons behind it, see later in this chapter.

³⁹ Umezu Keihō, ed., *Dewa Sanzan shiryōshū gekan* (Haguro, Yamagata-ken: Dewa Sanzan jinja shamusho, 2000), 813.

domain for the Kazuno district, had audiences with Nanbu lords, and preserved their direct correspondence with them. The Unrinbō family parishes extended to Dewa Province (also called Ushū), including Hinai within Akita Domain, and their entry notes that in recent years the household had begun to make gifts of protective talismans to the lord and his family.⁴⁰ Several other yamabushi lineages described within the *Memorandum* maintained longstanding relationships with the rulers of the domains that contained their parishes, underscoring that this was a broader trend among the marrying ascetics of Haguro.

The Nanbu Domain's *Record of Temples and Shrines* as A Source for *shugenja-daimyo* Relations

The Nanbu domain's *Records of temples and shrines* (*Jisha kiroku*), a series of twelve surviving logbooks that recorded the activities of the domain's Superintendent of Temples and Shrines (*jisha bugyō*) from 1644 to 1837, is a rich source on the interactions between the Nanbu and Sanada families. Several entries within the logbook record the details of the visits of Sanadas or their emissaries to Morioka, the domain capital, including audiences, the exchange of gifts, and the issuing of travel passes and post horse bonds for the sake of parish rounds.⁴¹ Among the community of Mt. Haguro ascetics, both Sanada families, but especially the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household, were part of an elite social group, with several special privileges and duties within the various spheres

⁴⁰ Ibid, 785.

⁴¹ Generally, though not always, it refers to members of the Sanada Shikibu family as the Sanada *zaichō* and members of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon lineage as the Hei *zaichō*, in reference to their parishes in the Hei District of the domain. However, certain entries also refer to Sanada Shichirōzaemon as just Sanada *zaichō*, with the details of entry confirming which branch of the family is being described. The term Hei *zaichō* was also used to refer to Sanada Hayato during the period when he served as head of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family under Ten'yū.

of Haguro Shugendō. In contrast, their performance of parish rounds and their relationship with the domainal lords whose territory contained those parishes were not unique among the marrying *yamabushi* of Haguro. As noted above, the Unrinbō household of Tōge marrying adepts held parish rights to Kazuno district within the Nanbu domain and received the patronage of the Nanbu family. However, analysis of several entries within the *Records of temples and shrines*, other internal Nanbu records, and documents preserved by both Sanada lineages present a detailed image of just what that sort of relationship existed between the marrying adepts of Mt. Haguro and the domainal lords who acted as their patrons.

The Exchange of Gifts

The exchange of gifts between the Nanbu and Sanada families was one of the primary activities that defined and sustained the patronage relationship between the two parties. It remained constant both before and after the hiatus in parish visits by both Sanada branches that began in 1668. Gifts and money were mediums of interaction between Sanada *yamabushi* and Nanbu lords. The Sanadas offered both the lords and their retainers items specifically related to their family profession as *shugenja* such as talismans and amulets, but also more general gifts such as goods and foodstuffs. In return, those lords and retainers gifted the Sanadas and their envoys with money, luxury items, and foodstuffs. Like other aspects of this relationship, both sides made sure to record the particulars of these exchanges for future reference. The relationship was material not only in what was being exchanged, but in the physical documentation that described it.

Generally, the religious paraphernalia presented by the Sanadas included several varieties of charms. These charms were usually in the form of tags, plates, or bills (*fuda*), often made of wood (*bansatsu*), and they were affixed to door frames and walls or enshrined within household altars (*kamidana*). Oxking treasure seal charms (*goō hōin*), often just called oxking charms (*goō*), were another common variety of talisman, and recipients often wrote oaths on the charm's reverse side. Prayer bills (*kanzu/kanju*) on the other hand, were records of sutras, mantras, or spells recited and written down for a patron. The document noted both the pieces recited and how often it was done, and it was often folded like other charms and tied with a tree branch, usually willow. Protective charms (*o-mamori*) were small talismans intended to be carried or sewn into clothing. Mt. Haguro also produced many varieties of illustrated charms (*o-mie*) with images of a deity, mountain, or sacred animal, though the Sanadas seem to have not given these as gifts as much as the other kinds.⁴² The Nanbu daimyo, in turn, frequently gave the Sanadas goods, foodstuffs, and significant amounts of cash money. An entry within the *Records of Temples and Shrines* dated 3/3/1648 records that the Sanada *zaichō* paid his respects to the Nanbu lord and made a gift of one roll of cloth, a unit of paper, and a barrel of sake. In return, the Nanbu Lord sent to him via the messenger Kasai Shōhei five sheets of “horse silver” (*ginbadai*), five salted fish, and ten sea cucumbers. The Sanada *zaichō* referred to in this entry is Sanada Shikibu Yūi, the younger son of the Seikyō whose suicide was discussed previously, and the successor to his older brother (called variously Genjirō, Yūsei, or Konzōin). Both brothers were the recipients of the letters from Nanbu

⁴² Togawa Anshō, *Dewa sanzan no efuda*, 14-23, 26-27.

following their father's suicide, establishing a history of earlier correspondence. A prior entry from 6/8/1644 records a message from Yūi, expressing a desire to pay his respects to the daimyo and requesting permission to do so. The entry notes that his older brother Konzōin passed away from illness in 1643, so presumably Yūi's ascension to the family headship was the reason for this request.⁴³

The ascension of Nanbu Shigenobu to clan lordship, a significant occasion in the affairs of a daimyo house, provided the next known occasion for the exchange of gifts between the two parties. Shigenobu became domainal lord on 12/6/1664 following the death of his father Nanbu Shigenao on the same day.⁴⁴ Consequently, according to *The miscellaneous books of the Nanbu domain (Nanbu-han zassho)*, both the Suehiro Sanada *zaichō* (Presumably Sanada Shikibu Kūshin, the then head of the family) and the Hei *zaichō* (Sanada Hayato serving as head of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family by order of the Chief Administrator Ten'yū) both dispatched express messengers to convey their congratulations and present gifts to Shigenobu and his household. The messengers, who arrived on 3/5/1665, offered up protective talismans (*mamorifuda*) and prayer bills (*kanju*) to the so-called "young lord," and just protective talismans to a Sir Budayū (*Budayū-dono*) on behalf of both Sanadas. In return, Shigenobu gave each messenger one *ryō* of gold, and Budayū gave each one two *bu* of gold, presumably to take back to the two *zaichō* who had dispatched them.⁴⁵ These were not inconsiderable sums of money. In this case, both Sanadas sent religious paraphernalia to the Nanbu, who in turn sent the

⁴³ Kishi, ed., *Jisha kiroku*, 1.

⁴⁴ Kimura, Fujino, and Murakami, eds., *Hanshi daijiten: Dai-ichi-kan Hokkaidō, Tōhoku-hen*, 61.

⁴⁵ Miyako-shi Kyōikuinkai, ed., *Miyako shishi: Shiryōshū kinsei*, 16.

Sanadas a sum of gold. This case also demonstrates that the exchange of gifts could occur through messengers without the Sanadas visiting in person. Furthermore, it provides evidence that Sanada Hayato maintained the traditional relationship with the Nanbu clan as temporary head of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon lineage, and that the Nanbu clan itself had no objection to him occupying that role.

Another series of exchanges of gifts occurred during the ninth and tenth months of 1665, possibly on the occasion of direct visits to Nanbu by Sanada Shikibu and Sanada Hayato. On the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month, according to the *The Miscellaneous Books of the Nanbu Domain*, both the Hei *zaichō* Sanada Hayato and Sanada Shikibu came to pay their respects and offer up gifts to the Nanbu household. Hayato presented protective talismans, prayer bills, oxking charms, a role of setim (*shuchin*, a kind of satin with raised figures), a box of folding fans (*sensu*), a box of kelp, and barrel of sake. Sanada Shikibu's gifts were far less substantial, consisting of protective talismans, one *danko* (段子), and a box of folding fans. On the twenty-seventh, an envoy from the Hei *zaichō* and three attendant *yamabushi* were treated to meals, and on the third day of the tenth month, the envoy received three sheets of silver and a box of kelp from the Nanbu household.⁴⁶

The Sanada Gyokuzōbō Archive contains both the original listing of gifts sent by Sanada Hayato and a copy of this list, made much later. While these ledgers are so thorough as to be tedious, I will discuss their contents in detail in order to convey the sheer number of both gifts and recipients that this visit involved, as well as the money

⁴⁶ Ibid.

and effort it required on the part of the Sanada lineages. Documents # 1-16 and # 4-330, both titled *Ledger of gifts (go'shinmotsu-chō)*, record a longer list of gifts, including many given to other members of the Nanbu household. Document # 4-330 is the original dating from 1665, while Document #1-16 is a more legible copy made at an unspecified later date.⁴⁷ According to this list, Sanada Hayato sent gifts to the lord (Nanbu Shigenobu), the young lord (Nanbu Yukinobu), and the retainers Saemonsuke and Budayū. Additionally, the list records a group of eleven retainers, including the two Elders (*karō*) of the young lord, the two Town Magistrates (*machi bugyō*), and a group of nine officials within the office of the Inspector (*metsuke*), who received gifts on this occasion. The gifts given to Nanbu Shigenobu correspond to the list recorded in the *Records of Temples and Shrines*, while Nanbu Yukinobu received protective charms, oxking charms, and a box of prayer bills. Sanada Hayato presented Saemonsuke with protective charms, wooden plate charms (*bansatsu*), oxking charms, and a box of prayer bills, as well as a cask of sake, three boxes of *konbu* seaweed, and a box containing two fans. He also presented Budayū with protective charms, oxking charms, a box of prayer bills, and a box of fans. All of the eleven retainers got protective charms, oxking charms, prayer bills, and a box of fans, though the final item was omitted for the retainer Daigaku, with no reason given. Finally, the items presented to the nine officials of the Inspector's office included protective charms, oxking charms, prayer bills, and two fans.⁴⁸ Both lists emphasize that the exchange of gifts was not confined to just the Nanbu Lord and the Sanada house head or his messenger. Sanada Hayato provided charms and gifts to the

⁴⁷ SGM 4-330.

⁴⁸ SGM 1-16.

lord, his son, and twenty-two retainers or officials from his household. This would entail a significant investment of time, money, and effort on behalf of Sanada Hayato, which indicates that gift-giving to one's lordly patron deserved and justified such efforts. Furthermore, the preservation of the original list and a later copy underscores how necessary detailed record keeping was for the maintenance of such a relationship. Considering how abbreviated the list of items in the *Records of Temples and Shrines* was compared to the full list recorded in these two documents from the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family archive, it is plausible that other examples of gift-giving noted in the *Records* may have included far more items presented to the various retainers and officials of the Nanbu Domain. It was not just a relationship between the Sanadas and the Nanbu Lords, but one that also included the domainal retainers and officials.

These same basic gift-giving procedures and expectations still functioned when the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family revived the custom of parish rounds to Nanbu and their attendant audiences with the domain's government. After successfully ending the more than a century long hiatus of visits, the family head or his messenger traveled to Morioka in 1787 to complete a circuit of the family's parishes in the Hei district, and took the occasion to give several gifts to the Nanbu household. He arrived on the fourteenth day of the ninth month, and on the fifteenth day he offered up protective charms, gate charms (*go-monsatsu*), a barrel of sake, a book and box of ten-quire paper, and a box of kelp. Because the domain's Superintendent of Temples and Shrines (*jisha bugyō*) was away at the time, these offerings were received by another official, following a precedent from an earlier visit in 1778. On the sixth day of the tenth month, the

Superintendent of Temples and Shrines gave them a gift of three sheets of silver in return for their gifts of religious paraphernalia.⁴⁹ Document # 2-122 from the Sanada Gyokuzōbō Archive may be the wrapping for this sum. The wrapping is tied with green and red string, and the phrase “three pieces of silver” is written on its outside; an attached strip of paper notes that it was given by Nanbu Daizen Dayū, a title granted to Nanbu Toshitaka, the reigning lord at the time of this visit.⁵⁰ Toshitaka may have been the giver of these three pieces of silver. The number of envoys utilized for this visit appears to have been quite large. According to a notation in another official Nanbu record, eighteen people came from the Haguro Chief Administrator and Sanada *zaichō* with protective charms, and they received three hundred *mon* in return.⁵¹ The essential style of audience and gift exchange had not changed considerably during the long break in visits.

The Nanbu clan’s role as patron could be a significant source of financial support for the Sanada families. Although Sanada visits to Morioka castle usually involved mutual exchange, members of the Sanada family did not always receive money from the Nanbu family solely as repayment for gifts of religious paraphernalia and other goods. In fact, judging from an 1824 entry in the *Records of Temples and Shrines*, the Sanadas sometimes relied on their relationship with the Nanbu for aid in times of financial uncertainty. On the twenty-fourth day of the sixth month, Sanada Samon, son of Sanada Wahei (of the Sanada Shikibu/Shiheii lineage) requested either a loan from the Nanbu

⁴⁹ Kishi, ed., *Jisha kiroku*, 192.

⁵⁰ SGM 2-122.; In addition to their surname and given name, Nanbu daimyo received an official title such as Shinano-no-kami for Nanbu Toshinao or Yamashiro-no-kami for Nanbu Shigenao. The official title Nanbu Daizen Dayū was granted to several generations of Nanbu lords, including Nanbu Toshitaka; Kimura, Fujino, Murakami, eds., *Hanshi daijiten: Dai-ichi-kan Hokkaidō, Tōhoku-hen*, 61-62.

⁵¹ Miyako-shi Kyōikuinkai, ed., *Miyako shishi: Shiryōshū kinsei*, 142.

family or permission to collect three *zeni* for two years from each person in their parish who had received a sacred wand (*go-hei*), which he also notes was “as his father had requested in the past.” The lord rejected both requests and instead ordered the Superintendent of Temples and Shrines to gift him with ten *ryō* of gold as a “special matter” (*betsudan no gi o toshite*).⁵² There are no other accounts of a Sanada asking for a loan within the *Records of Temples and Shrines*, so this may have been a unique event prompted by severe financial trouble. Sanada Samon’s two requests suggest that receiving both loans and permission to collect extra dues from parishes were feasible options for *yamabushi* tied to a daimyo family. Furthermore, this connection could potentially yield an unexpected but welcome gift of money.

The Necessity of Post Horse Bonds and Travel Passes

Access to a *yamabushi*’s parishes depended on the permission of the lord whose territory they were in, and the lord’s favor entitled the *yamabushi* to use certain domain resources, such as the post horses kept at waystations on its highways. Domainal lords and their retainers were the gatekeepers, literally in some cases, and official permission from them was necessary in the early modern period when both the shogunate and the domains increasingly regulated travel by the realm’s citizens, especially travel between domains. Thus, the Sanada’s relationship with the Nanbu clan was required for the performance of parish rounds; the permission and aid of the Nanbu lords were crucial. One of the most important privileges the Nanbu clan granted visiting Sanada *yamabushi* was the issuance of travel permits and the right to use post horses (*tenma*) while

⁵² Kishi, ed., *Jisha kiroku* 286.

performing their parish rounds within the Nanbu Domain. The Sanada Shichirōzaemon family cited precedents which they corroborated with older documents preserved in their archive in order to secure the treatment they expected, a technique they also employed in their interactions with administrative superiors in the Haguro Shugendō organization such as the Chief Administrator or his representatives. The travel passes and post horse deeds themselves specifically described the areas of validity and the number of horses that were permitted, underscoring how these activities were defined and maintained through physical documentation.

Although travel increased dramatically during the course of the Edo period, it was also heavily regulated, at least judging by the various laws and prescriptions issued by the Tokugawa shogunate. While it appears that many of these regulations were not necessarily enforced as strictly or consistently as their language might indicate, frequent travelers such as *yamabushi* on parish rounds would still have had to navigate the demands of this system, including travel passes and post horse bonds. The shogunate designated several locations as post stations along the Gokaidō, the five major highways that linked the realm, and daimyo established post station networks within their own domains in imitation of the shogunate's system. The Ōshū Highway portion of the official Gokaidō road system extended through the Nanbu domain, and interfaced with the domain's own road system. Like the post stations along the Gokaidō, domainal post stations kept post horses and porters to be used for official business as well as by individual travelers. Only those with the proper documentation could utilize these

resources, however.⁵³ Therefore, traveling religious specialists such as Haguro *yamabushi* made it a priority to secure such documentation via the patronage of the lord of the domain.

An early modern *yamabushi* navigated an increasingly mapped and defined Nanbu domain, under the consolidated administration of its daimyo rulers. The more than five hundred villages within the ten counties (*gun*) of Nanbu domain were organized in units called reaches (*tōri*), each of which was managed by a Magistrate (*daikan*). Initially there were thirty-three reaches, but the number later decreased to twenty-five. In villages, officials known as Headmen (*kimoiri*) served under these Magistrates, assisted by an Elder (*otona*) and the heads (*kumigashira*) of the groupings of five household (*gonin gumi*) into which commoners were apportioned.⁵⁴ The policy of five household groups was a tool of social control imposed by the shogunate across the realm, and members were expected to practice collective responsibility; all five households could be punished for the misdeeds of one.⁵⁵ For towns, the arrangement was similar, though the position of Headman was referred to by the term *kendan* instead of *kimoiri*, and the title of Elder (*otona*) was written with different characters. Besides the aforementioned Ōshū Highway, there were eleven major roads within the domain.⁵⁶ Sanada *yamabushi* or their messengers would have interacted with these administrative officials and traveled on both domainal roads and the Ōshū Highway, so it was necessary for them to ensure that they

⁵³ Constantine Vaporis, *Breaking Barriers: Travel and the State in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994), 21-26.175-177.

⁵⁴ Kimura, Fujino, Murakami, eds., *Hanshi daijiten: Dai-ichi-kan Hokkaidō, Tōhoku-hen*, 58, 73-74.

⁵⁵ Marius B. Jensen, *The Making of Modern Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 114-115.

⁵⁶ Kimura, Fujino, Murakami, eds., *Hanshi daijiten: Dai-ichi-kan Hokkaidō, Tōhoku-hen*, 58, 73-74.

possessed the proper documents for their business. The Nanbu Clan and its retainer-run bureaucracy was the source of these documents.

Deeds were issued by senior Nanbu retainers and certified with their seals. The deeds specified the number of horses the bearer was entitled to and the regions of the domain he was permitted to visit. Accordingly, deeds given to the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family list the districts in which they held parishes, most notably Hei district in the southeast of the domain, and deeds given to the Sanada Shikibu-descended households list the locations of their parishes, most notably the Nukanobu districts in the northern area of the domain. The domain's *Records of temples and shrines* indicate that the Sanadas or their messengers would submit old post horse deeds to retainers and receive new ones, though the Sanada Gyokuzōbō Archive shows that they often made copies of the used deeds for future reference. The Sanada Shichirōzaemon family in particular preserved copies of several of these post horse bonds within their records. A paper wrapping labelled *Copies of post horse deeds (go'tenma shōmon utsushi)* contains reproductions of deeds from 1629, 1665, and 1787.⁵⁷ The following format is typical. Document # 2-129-6 is a deed for one post horse issued and sealed by Konata (小向) Shūemon on the seventeenth day of the ninth month, 1787. This Konata Shūemon was likely an official within the domainal government. The text of the letter instructs the reader to provide the Mt. Haguro Sanada *zaichō* (or presumably their proxies) with one post horse as they make the rounds of the villages in their Hei District parishes. A short

⁵⁷ SGM 2-129-1,2,3,4,5,6,7.

clause after the name of the recipient and date specifies that it applies from Morioka through Yabukawa, Noda, Miyako, Ōtsuchi until the border with Sendai domain.⁵⁸

Records show that envoys from the Sanada Shikibu family also received these post horse deeds to use on their parish rounds. On 10/3/1665, a Sanada Shikibu family head (or his envoy), referred to as the Mt. Haguro *zaichō*, received a bond for seven post horses to be used traveling from Morioka to Waga, Hienuki, Tōno, and Tago, Seki, and Ōyu in Oku District. He also brought and submitted two old bonds dating from 1648. As noted above, an earlier entry in the document records this visit and the gift exchange that it entailed, though it did not specifically mention the issuing of post horse deeds.

Similarly, Ozeki Riuemon, the envoy of the Hei *zaichō* (Sanada Hayato), was granted a deed for three post horses to use on his parish rounds in the Hei District on the same occasion.⁵⁹ Additionally, retainers issued travel passes to four messengers from the Hei *zaichō* so they could return to Haguro without any trouble.⁶⁰ The issuance of these post horse bonds continued up until the very end of the Edo period. Following the restoration of the traditional Sanada Shikibu parishes in 1861, Sanada Fumiuchi resumed parish rounds within the Nukanobu counties in Nanbu. A post horse bond from the twenty-first day, second month, year unknown (certainly sometime after 1861), sealed by Ichinohe Yoshizō (possibly read Kizō) and addressed to the Headmen and Elders of the villages of the Shichinohe reach (*tōri*), instructed them to provide the Mt. Haguro *zaichō* Sanada Fumiuchi with three post horses while he distributes talismans throughout the villages

⁵⁸ SGM 2-129-6.

⁵⁹ Kishi, ed., *Jisha kiroku*, 3.

⁶⁰ Miyako-shi Kyōikuinkai, ed., *Miyako shishi: Shiryōshū kinsei*, 16.

there.⁶¹ According to these documents, travel passes remained necessary for Sanada ascetics on parish rounds through the end of the Tokugawa era. When the Sanada Shikibu/Fumiuchi family had their parishes officially restored, they had to again request the patronage and sanction of the lords who ruled the domain.

The preservation of an amiable relationship with the domainal lord was required for a *yamabushi* to performance his parish rounds. He depended on the lord to allow him or his agents to travel within their domain and to use the post horses to transport their goods. One of the ways this was accomplished was the exchange of gifts. As in many other aspects of the life of a Haguro *shugenja*, thorough documentation helped to ensure that this relationship and its attendant privileges would continue in the future.

Nanbu Patronage of Other Religious Specialists

The Sanada Shichirōzaemon and Sanada Shikubu families were not the only *yamabushi* lineages patronized by the Nanbu clan throughout the Tokugawa period. Both the Haguro and Honzan-ha *shugen* groups had a longstanding presence in the domain, and *yamabushi* families from both successfully established long-term connections with its rulers. The Honzan-ha *shugenja* Jikōbō, steward (*bettō*) of the Mt. Iwate Shrine near Morioka, received the clan's support from the time of the domain's founder Nanbu Nobunao, and acted as the chief administrator (*sōroku*) of all the *yamabushi* residing in the domain. This favor derived from Jikōbō's relation to the Ikkatai family, from which Nanbu Nobunao's birth mother came. Sankōbō, an ancestor of Jikōbō, was commissioned to pray for Nobunao's mother to bear her husband an heir, and after he was born,

⁶¹Togawa, ed., *Shintō taikai: Dewa Sanzan*, 535.

Sankōbō served as the young lord's teacher. As an adult, Nobunao made a gift of one-hundred eighty *koku* to the Mt. Iwate Shrine, and Jikōbō thus came to hold two hundred *koku* in total.⁶² Although the two Sanada families communicated mainly with the domain's Superintendent of Temples and Shrines, when Sanada Shikibu Yūi/Gensaburō sent a letter requesting permission to pay his respects to Nanbu Shigenao in 1644, the *Records of the temples and shrines* notes that Jikōbō received it and announced it to the court.⁶³ Many of the surviving documents of the Jikōbō lineage have been transcribed and published by Mori Tsuyoshi, but none of them mention the Sanadas in any capacity. While some of these documents do concern disputes over parish administration between Haguro and Honzan-ha *shugenja* that originated in areas within the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household's parishes, it seems that such problems were outside the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household's jurisdiction, as will be considered in more detail next chapter.⁶⁴

In addition to Jikōbō, later Nanbu lords patronized the Haguro-affiliated Daishōji temple, even gifting it with over one hundred and one of the Mt. Iwate Shrine's customary *koku*. Daishōji served as the head temple for all Haguro *yamabushi* within the domain, with several subordinate administrators known as "Skullcap Chiefs," or *tokin-gashira*, working under it.⁶⁵ The Nanbu furthermore supported traveling religious specialists of other religious organizations in addition to Haguro *shugenja* like the

⁶² Mori Tsuyoshi, "Nanbu-han ni okeru shugen no katsudō," in *Tōhoku reizan to shugendō*, edited by Gakkō Yoshihiro (Tokyo: Meicho, 2000), 70-71.

⁶³ Kishi, ed., *Jisha kiroku*, 1.

⁶⁴ Mori Tsuyoshi, "Shugendō shiryō jikōbō monjo," *Artes Liberales* 34 (College of Humanities and Social Sciences, Iwate University: June 1984) 122-146.

⁶⁵ Mori Tsuyoshi, "Nanbu-han ni okeru shugen no katsudō," 70-71. The *tokin* skullcap was one of the set assortment of garments and paraphernalia particular to *yamabushi*.

Sanadas. They frequently provided the envoy monks of the Mt. Kōya temple Henkōin with post horses, porters, food, and lodging when they came to Nanbu to distribute their protective charms. Kumano and Ise *oshi* were also granted use of domainal post horses for their rounds.⁶⁶ Naturally, as lords of a large domain, the Nanbu lords would maintain relationships with a great many religious organizations and lineages, not just the Sanadas, and from the Nanbu's point of view, many aspects of this relationship were not unique. The Sanadas were just one more lineage of religious specialists with which they had interactions.

The Strategic Uses of Correspondence and Citation

The exchange of correspondence between the Sanada and Nanbu families was necessary in order for the former to sustain the patronage relationship they relied on to conduct their activities within the Nanbu domain. This included saving older correspondence and citing it when making requests, appealing to tradition and precedent to convince the Nanbu lords to sanction their parish rounds. For both their internal privileges at Haguro and their external privileges within the Nanbu domain, the preservation and use of documentary evidence was a crucial technique for the Sanada families to maintain their high status. A right was only as solid as a family's ability to back it up with persuasive, reliable evidence, and they generally could not take its continuance for granted. This was yet another practical demand of governing a *yamabushi* lineage, and Sanadas from both branches used documentary precedent to their advantage when dealing with the Nanbu clan.

⁶⁶ Kishi, ed., *Jisha kiroku*, 3, 7, 13, 17, 24, 38, 39, 126.

Both Sanada lineages ceased the custom of parish rounds within the Nanbu Domain following Ten'yū's 1665 dismissal from the post of Chief Administrator and banishment to the Izu Islands. Once he was old enough, Shigekatsu, biological heir to the position of Sanada Shichirōzaemon, succeeded to the family headship and had its customary parish rights confirmed through official documentation. He and his descendants continued to administer the branch *yamabushi* and *miko* from their parishes, but they did not resume the custom of parish rounds for over a century. The Sanada Shikibu family, banished from Haguro because of their support for Ten'yū, lost their parish rights completely. Later Chief Administrators temporarily assigned these rights to other *yamabushi* lineages, and the Sanada Shikibu descendants still active in the Mt. Haguro community were unable to again travel to their parishes and distribute charms. In time, both families did reestablish the practice of parish rounds, but they had to secure the permission of the Nanbu families before that could happen. They used saved correspondence with the Nanbu clan to appeal to precedent and tradition to convince the lord's retainers to allow them to make rounds once again and use the domain's post horses in the process.

Several pieces of correspondence between members of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family and the retainers of the Nanbu Domain survive within the Sanada Gyokuzōbō Archive, as well as a copy of a letter written by a descendant of the Sanada Shikibu line to the Nanbu. In addition to expanding on the circumstances surrounding the meetings described in the domain's *Records of Temples and Shrines*, these letters demonstrate significant aspects of the Sanada-Nanbu relationship over the centuries.

While this relationship could lay fallow for a long period of time and be resumed, the Sanadas had to preserve and cite records of their past interactions with Nanbu in order to justify this resumption. Several of these letters refer to earlier correspondence as proof of the existence and nature of the services that the Sanada Shichirōzaemon and Sanada Shikibu families had performed for the Nanbu clan in the past. In doing so, they attempted to persuade the current Nanbu lord to permit them an audience and to allow them to perform parish rounds within the domain again with the use of its post horses.

Most of the surviving letters between Sanada Shichirōzaemon house heads and Nanbu retainers date to around their 1787 visit to Nanbu Domain. Sanada Shichirōzaemon sent several of these letters to Nanbu officials in 1786 and 1787 in order to request the aforementioned visit and permission to perform parish rounds within Hei County. It seems that a Sanada Shichirōzaemon had not done so for over a hundred years, following Sanada Hayato's visit and parish rounds in 1665. Document # 4-380, a letter to the Nanbu Superintendent of Temples and Shrines sent in 1786, eighth month, from the Sanada *zaichō* (Sanada Shichirōzaemon Noritada), describes the dispatch of a servant monk (*shisō*) by the Sanadas around 1778 to present gifts, receive an audience, and request permission to make the rounds of the villages in their parishes.⁶⁷ The servant monk's visit was preceded by a letter and a gift of protective talismans (*mamorifuda*) two years prior. The monk was initially supposed to come in person the year after the letter was delivered, but business from Tōeizan required either the Sanada *zaichō* or his messenger to travel to Edo that year, so he arrived two years later and presented gifts,

⁶⁷ SGM 4-380.

including wooden gate charms (*go-mon bansatsu*), a box of prayer bills, protective talismans, and a box of kelp (*konbu*), but it seems he was unable or unwilling to have an audience and make his request.⁶⁸ Two letters from 1787 indicate that the hiatus in parish rounds continued until that year, so the 1779 attempt to end it was either unsuccessful or circumstances changed and make rounds inconvenient or impossible.⁶⁹ All of this demonstrates how resuming the custom of parish rounds after a long hiatus was a multistep process with much groundwork to prepare before the actual rounds themselves.

Another technique utilized by Sanada Shichirōzaemon Noritada in this 1786 letter was the citation of documents preserved from prior interactions with the Nanbu domain. In this case, he transcribes a bond for six post horses from the 1629 parish rounds, still preserved in the present Sanada Gyokuzōbō Archive, asking to receive the same kind of document for this set of rounds. He uses terms that invoke the past throughout the letter, including “old customs” (*korei*), “years past” (*sennen*), and “precedents” (*senrei*), so the authority of established tradition has a practical purpose.⁷⁰

In this 1787 letter, the Sanada *zaichō* (Sanada Shichirōzaemon Noritada) requests permission from the Nanbu domain’s Superintendent of Temples and Shrines to travel to his parishes within the domain and distribute protective talismans. Before making the actual request, he summarizes the history of the services *yamabushi* of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon line have performed for the Nanbu clan. Specifically, he writes that in

⁶⁸ The dating on the first letter, the year of the postponed visit, and the actual visit are somewhat unclear. Noritada’s letter seems to say that he mailed the first letter in An’ei 7, then sent the messenger two years later. The *jisha kiroku* dates the messenger’s visit to An’ei 7, so perhaps Noritada was mistaken or imprecise.

⁶⁹ SGM 1-68; SGM 2-103-1,2,3,4.

⁷⁰ SGM 4-380.

the past (*sennen*), every year from the fifteenth day to the seventeenth day of the first month, the Sanada *zaichō* would perform prayers for the Nanbu lord and offer up protective charms. He then states that he thought that he should at this point confine himself in the Main Shrine of Mt. Haguro, perform prayers for the prolongation of the lord's military fortune and the prosperity of his descendants and offer up protective charms according to the old precedent. Directly after this, he asks if the Magistrate of Temples and Shrines would allow him to make his protective charm rounds within the domain according to old custom.⁷¹ He presents the revival of his own responsibilities demanded by the traditional Sanada-Nanbu relationship so as to persuade the lord and his retainers to revive their associated responsibilities and allow Noritada to engage in parish rounds. Citing and acting according to precedent was a strategy to obtain sanction for an aspect of that precedent that was beneficial to him. Furthermore, Noritada likely obtained knowledge of the yearly prayer rituals the Sanadas formerly undertook on behalf of the Nanbu family from an earlier letter preserved within the family records.

The custom of Sanada *yamabushi* performing yearly prayer rituals for the Nanbu clan is also described in a 1631 letter from Sanada Toshinori to a Nanbu retainer and it is likely that Noritada learned of the custom from this letter or a similar document that has since been lost. This letter states that Nanbu-sama has been a worshipper (*ujiko*) of Mt. Haguro since he first came from Kamakura.⁷² This probably refers to clan founder Nanbu Nobunao's claim to descent from a warrior retainer of the Kamakura Shogunate.⁷³

⁷¹ SGM 1-68

⁷² SGM 1-98.

⁷³ Kimura, Fujino, Murakami, eds., *Hanshi daijiten: Dai-ichi-kan Hokkaidō, Tōhoku-hen*, 56-58.

Consequently, in prior times, both *zaichō* (presumably both branches of the Sanada family) established a “prayer place” (*kinenjo*) at Mt. Haguro, confined themselves within, and performed prayers for the Nanbu lord from the evening of the seventeenth day to the eighteenth day, first month. The letter also indicates that they confined themselves in a guardian deity (*chinju*) Hachimangū shrine with *miko* priestesses and proxies (*myōdai*) for the sake of the Nanbu lord.⁷⁴ Though the dates differ slightly, both this letter and Noritada’s letter from over a century later describe the same basic custom.

Documentation on a discontinued obligation to the Nanbu family became a useful resource for appealing to a shared history in order to secure an advantageous privilege in the present. As with Mt. Haguro’s internal administration, physical proof of a lineage’s history and the accompanying rights was a crucial requirement for maintaining its position.

The long hiatus in the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household’s parish rounds in Hei county left the Nanbu Superintendent of Temples and Shrines at something of a loss concerning custom, and they appealed to Haguro for more information via letter. At some point, the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family itself acquired a copy of one of these letters and saved it within their archive.⁷⁵ In this letter, the two retainers state that the Nanbu domain had no objection to respecting the precedent set by their ancestors and accepting gifts of protective charms from the Sanadas’ emissary, but they initially requested that the agents of the Sanada *zaichō* postpone their visit to Hei County since it was currently suffering from extreme poverty. The Great Tenmei Famine (1782-1787), one of the four most

⁷⁴ SGM 1-98.

⁷⁵ SGM 103-1,2.

severe famines of the Edo period, was still going on, and was especially difficult in Tōhoku. Nonetheless, the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family persisted in their request until the domain's government relented and grudgingly granted them permission to make their parish rounds. According to this letter, following the initial request by the Sanada family, the domain had consulted with Haguro over the customs of the sect and the names of its pilgrim lodges, indicating a definite lack of information on their part.⁷⁶ By invoking the letters kept in the family archive, the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family overcame the confusion of the Nanbu domain and successfully revived the custom of parish rounds. A relationship was only as useful as the reliable documentation that corroborated it. The reinstatement of these customary rights only came about through a sustained campaign of persuasion on the part of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family, but the fact that they could be reinstated after ceasing for over a century proves that longevity of the idea of *yamabushi*-lord patron relationships, provided they could be convincingly verified.

Members of the Sanada Shikibu lineage also employed this strategy with the Nanbu clan in order to legitimize their connection to the family and its attendant benefits. A letter written by a member of the Sanada Shikibu family preserved within the Sanada Gyokuzōbō Archive (although it is unclear how the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family came to possess it) also attempted to reignite a relationship with the Nanbu family. Nonetheless, the letter's contents make it clear that the writer was a descendent of Sanada Shikibu, not a member of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family as one might expect. The author, signed the Ushū Mt. Haguro *zaichō* Saijirō, wrote to the Nanbu Office of the Superintendent of

⁷⁶ Ibid.

Temples and Shrines requesting permission to resume performing prayers for the Nanbu family and also presenting gifts to the lord and the young lord. This letter is divided into several entries, each of which recounts a different event in the history of the relationship between the Sanada Shikibu and Nanbu families. In several of these clauses, the author states that he still possesses the correspondence remaining from the event. Though it is dated third month, second day, the year is unspecified. Because the author writes that his ancestor visited Morioka in 1665, but visits have been on hiatus since then, it must have been written sometime after 1665, presumably at least a generation or two later.

References to letters received by the Sanada Shikibu lineage from various Nanbu lords clearly demonstrate that he is of the Sanada Shikibu line. The name Saijirō appears to be a family name since past members of both lineages were given it, and he refers to a Saijirō as his ancestor.⁷⁷

Saijirō's letter to Office of the Superintendent of Temples and Shrines includes eight clauses. The first five detail requests or gifts from Nanbu Toshinao or Nanbu Shigenao, and correspond to the letters analyzed earlier in this chapter, which the writer claims to still possess. Clause six recounts Sanada Shikibu Seikyō's suicide at Sannohe and its aftermath, while clause seven describes the custom of biennial parish rounds by *yamabushi* of both the Sanada Shikibu and Sanada Saijirō households. In this case Sanada Saijirō presumably refers to a prior head of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family. In the eighth and final clause, the writer identifies 1665 as the last time an ancestor of his visited the Nanbu family in Morioka, and requests permission to resume the custom. The

⁷⁷ SGM 5-408.

letter ends with a list of gifts presented to the lord and the young lord. Both received protective charms, a cask of sake, a unit of paper, and a box of kelp (*konbu*), and the lord also received wooden gate charms (*go-monbanzatsu*).⁷⁸ This letter serves as a thorough recitation of the former patronage relationship between the Nanbu and Sanada Shikibu families that provides an authoritative basis for its resumption. Again, citing documents in one's possession is employed to reestablish a relationship that has been discontinued, and this appeal is paired with a selection of gifts that follow the previously established pattern. I theorize that this letter preceded the revival of parish rounds by Sanada Shikibu descendants in 1819, and that the author was of the Sanada Shihei-Wahei-Samon lineage. It was clearly written by a descendant of the seventeenth century Sanada Shikibu family who had access to previous correspondence with the Nanbu lords. Furthermore, parish rounds and a relationship with the Nanbu clan did resume for that family's descendants in 1819, making that year the *terminus ante quem*. It may have even been part of a campaign to revive that custom, similar to the one carried out by the Sanada Shichirōzaemon branch in 1787. If that was the case, then both major Sanada families successfully used their documented history as a method of restoring beneficial former relationships with powerful patrons. Knowledge of their family history helped to improve its future prospects.

Letters sent by both major Sanada branches to the Nanbu lords via the domain's Superintendent of Temples and Shrines show the importance of a reliable understanding of precedent and history. These letters referenced previous correspondence between the

⁷⁸ Ibid.

two families in order to justify a revival of the patronage relationship that first prompted that correspondence. Thus, the preservation and citation of that correspondence and similar documents was necessary. *Yamabushi* lineages in a position similar to the Sanadas had to work to preserve their connection to the lords whose domain contained most of the family's parishes, and much of that work relied on a well-maintained document archive. Without corroborating evidence, the family could not count on the support of patrons like the Nanbu family.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored the development and nature of the patronage relationship between the samurai Nanbu clan, rulers of their eponymous domain, and the Sanada Shichirōzaemon and Sanada Shikibu families of Haguro's community of spouse-keeping ascetics. Both Sanada lineages held parishes within the territory controlled by the Nanbu, making the lords and their retainers essential gatekeepers for performing the customary *yamabushi* activities connected to those parishes. The Sanada Shikibu family advanced narratives of a shared history with the Nanbu that claimed a significant influence on crucial points in their consolidation of authority over their domain. Despite both Sanada families being forced to suspend the custom of parish rounds as result of the downfall of Chief Administrator Ten'yū in 1668, they eventually resumed them and reestablished their traditional relationship with the Nanbu via the preservation and citation of old correspondence that corroborated their claims. The domainal government kept its own records through the office of the Superintendent of Temples and Shrines, recording visits in their *Records of Temples and Shrines*. Before and after the hiatus, the Sanada and Nanbu families sustained their connection via the exchange of money, gifts,

and foodstuffs, with the Sanadas providing the religious paraphernalia particular to their profession. As a result, the Sanadas maintained access to their parishes in the Nanbu domain, receiving travel passes and the use of the domain's post horses to facilitate their responsibilities as parish holders. The favor of a ruling daimyo family was just one of the many relationships that elite Haguro *yamabushi* had to protect in order to carry out their duties as parish administrators for the mountain's governing body. Mediated through the material aspects of documents, gifts, and records, this was yet another practical demand in the existence of a *yamabushi* lineage, showing how they were embedded in the political, social, and economic worlds of early modern Japan.

Chapter 5

Certifying *shugenja*:

Sanada Administration of Subordinate *yamabushi* and *miko*

Any large scale organization faces the inevitable problem of controlling the entirety of its territory. Though incorporated around a central principle, goal, or service, it must maintain the loyalty of its members and the support of the people it serves. Haguro Shugendō was no stranger to these concerns.

The territory controlled by the corporate Haguro Shugendō organization can roughly be divided into three concentric spheres, following the ideas of the geographer Iwahana Michiaki whose system identifies Mt. Haguro itself as sacred space, the trailhead-based communities at its foot as semi-sacred space, and the organization's parishes as its cultic zone.¹ These three divisions also correspond to the major social and administrative hierarchical strata of the organization. The celibate clergy, centered around the position of the Chief Administrator (itself connected to the external Tendai power center of Rinnō-no-miya *monzeki* / Kan'eiji temple in the Kantō region), primarily lived in temples on the mountain's summit or slopes. Spouse-holding adepts, the group that included the Sanada families, resided in the village of Tōge at the foot of the mountain (as did the adepts of other trailhead communities around the Dewa Sanzan). These adepts were central to the actual operation of the organization, managing both the pilgrims who visited the Dewa Sanzan and the third stratum, the branch ascetics and priestesses living in communities located within the organization's parishes. The Chief Administrator and

¹ Iwahana Michiaki, *Dewa Sanzan no bunka to minzoku* (Tokyo: Iwata shoin, 1996), 4-10.

his officials enjoyed direct political control over the mountain and its foot, a control guaranteed by the vermilion seal deed (*shuinjō*) they received from the shogunate in Edo. The situation with the parish territory was more complicated; the authority the Haguro Shugendō administrative structure held over this space was limited to the religious sphere.

I begin this chapter with a discussion of the nature of parish territory, described by the terms *dannaba* and *kasumiba* in Shugendō, comparing the strategies of parish management developed by Haguro to those of the other major *shugen* organizations of Tokugawa Japan. Haguro's system was distinguished by an emphasis on central control and a particular division of responsibilities between two offices, *oshi* and *zaichō*. I then describe the parish territory controlled by the Sanada Shichirōzaemon/Gyokuzōbō family and argue that during the late medieval era (the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries) the lineage enjoyed the direct authority to appoint local subordinates as regional leaders. Over the course of the early Tokugawa period, the Chief Administrator-headed mountain bureaucracy advanced its own centralized control over parishes, guaranteeing many traditional rights to elite families such as the Sanadas while diminishing these families' independent supervisory power. This coincided with Shugendō groups, influenced by the shogunate's promotion of sectarianism, limiting their constituencies to *yamabushi* ascetics and *miko* priestesses to the exclusion of career shrine priests, some of whom were formerly under the direct administration of Shugendō organizations.²

² Many *yamabushi* continued to act as stewards (*bettō*) of shrines during the early modern era, but their primary affiliation was with Shugendō organizations, not the Yoshida and Shirakawa lineages of Shinto priests.

Next, I explain the centrality of rank, status, and certification to religious institutions in early modern Japan. The verification of a household's status and rank via garments, paraphernalia, and documentation was essential for religious specialists such as Haguro *yamabushi* and *miko*. This reflects both a general concern with status in the Tokugawa social order and the long-standing importance of rank-based hierarchies in Buddhism and other Japanese religious and professional traditions. The Sanada Schirōzaemon family's relationship with its parishes was based on hierarchies of rank and status. The family copy of a certification guidebook used by households with certification privileges shows how the mountain's clergy-centered leadership standardized the system to ensure its own influence and income sources, though high-ranking marrying adepts such as the Sanadas also profited considerably from it.

Building on my analysis of Haguro's certification procedures, I then discuss the household's eighteenth-century certification activities, as recorded in a family logbook maintained by two generations of household heads. This text is an invaluable resource for how certification within Haguro Shugendō functioned in practice, not just in the prescriptive regulations of the guidebook. Services toward subordinates from the Nanbu domain occupied the bulk of the household's attention, though those based in the Sendai domain accounted for a higher proportion than would be expected from the percentage of territory the Sendai parishes occupied out of the whole. Providing documentation of the completion of the Fall Peak austerities for branch ascetics, all male, was the household's most common activity, constituting almost half of the total certifications, but granting religious names to female priestesses was also a significant responsibility, accounting for

nearly a fourth of them. The certification activities of the Sanadas toward their parish subordinates also testifies to the importance of names and titles in the careers of religious professionals, and to the power derived from the Sanada family's authority to grant them to the men and women they supervised. The generational nature of the offices and titles held by both halves of the transaction, as well as the transactional relationship itself, is also shown by the data contained within the logbook. Similarly, both Sanada administrators and branch subordinates possessed a documentary drive to record and verify their accomplishments.

Finally, I consider two major issues that intersect with the administration of parishes in Haguro Shugendō: the presence in a predominantly male organization of female religious specialists known as *miko*, and the overlapping systems of authority concerning *shugenja* in the early modern Nanbu domain. The Hei district, located in the southeastern region of the domain, was the home of an especially high population of *miko*; their certification was therefore a major component of Sanada responsibilities in the region. Even though women were not an institutionally recognized constituency within the summit and foot levels of the centrally-based Haguro hierarchy, they were vital to the parish sphere of the organization's activities, and middle administrators had to maintain certificatory relationships with them. Furthermore, sectarian conflict between *shugen* groups in Tokugawa era Nanbu was fierce, involving both domain and shogunal courts, and some major conflicts occurred within Sanada parish territory. Nonetheless, the Sanada family played almost no part in these disputes. Three overlapping administrative systems, those of Haguro, Honzan-ha Shugendō, and the domainal

government, were involved in the conflicts, but not the Sanada offices of *zaichō* and *oshi*. The Sanada Shichirōzaemon family did, however, continue to exercise certification rights over local officials in the Haguro system even as more direct forms of control were ceded to newer authorities.

The Development of the Parish System in Early Modern Haguro Shugendō

The administration of the family's parish territory was one of the primary responsibilities for generations of Sanada Shichirōzaemon household heads, and it was of indispensable benefit not just for their lineage but also for the institution of Haguro Shugendō as a whole, making it simultaneously a family and organizational duty. I therefore begin by examining how parish territory, corresponding to the Japanese terms *kasumiba* and *dannaba*, was defined, apportioned, and managed in late medieval and Tokugawa era Haguro Shugendō, especially as compared to other religious organizations in early modern Japan. Though crucial, parish supervision was not unique to Haguro *yamabushi*; conventional Buddhist monastics and lay-influenced religious professionals employed similar terms and policies in reference to the areas over which they held religious authority. Additionally, terminology and policy was fluid even within Haguro's system. Nonetheless, research on parishes has often favored how holders of parish-rights responded to the needs of the laypeople living in the parishes' communities. In this chapter I will instead concentrate on the management of the branch religious professionals living in parishes, clarifying how networks of administration functioned in a centralized, hierarchical religious organization like Haguro Shugendō.

The concept of parish territory appears to have existed before there were documents that formally recognized it. When the practice of documentation became standardized, the documents claimed to be recording a previously existing situation, though it is often impossible to verify these claims with any specificity. Apart from the 1602 “Certificate of Ancient Precedents” received from Chief Administrator Yūgen, which guaranteed the family’s unique role in the Haguro community, parish deeds, i.e. documents guaranteeing Shugendō-related authority over specific divisions of territory, were perhaps the most valuable documents held by the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family. The *yamabushi* of Kumano and other Shugendō centers had been drafting, inheriting, and even buying and selling documents representing parish rights for centuries, but reliable records of the practice at Haguro only date back to the seventeenth century, when Chief Administrator Ten’yū enacted the first large-scale issuing of parish deeds in 1638. These certificates all utilize phrases and vocabulary invoking precedent (*senki* “prior ages,” or *senjō* “prior circumstances”), yet despite the use of those expressions, it is difficult to determine whether the documents reflect actual history or whether they were merely a rhetorical tool to strengthen a new status quo.³ Most likely, it was some combination of the two. The extreme paucity of records pertaining to the medieval history of Haguro Shugendō continually stymies attempts to understand the circumstances preceding the establishment of the early modern parish system.

Neither the Sanada Shichirōzaemon/Gyokuzōbō nor the Sanada Shikibu families received parish deeds in 1638, despite their documented presences in the Nanbu domain

³ Mori Tsuyoshi, *Shugendō kasumi shiki no shiteki kenkyū* (Tokyo: Meicho shuppan, 1989), 247.

prior to this time. This is surprising in light of their roles, at the time, as the trusted subordinates of the Chief Administrators. It is unclear why the Chief Administrator Ten'yū overlooked them when he issued the certificates, considering their possession of parish territory and their prominent roles in the Haguro Shugendō organization. Mori Tsuyoshi theorizes that this omission is related to the aftermath of Sanada Shikibu Seikyō's suicide at Sannohe castle in 1620, which he suggests had a negative impact on the family's position at Haguro.⁴ As discussed in chapter four, however, friendly interactions between the Sanada Shikibu and Nanbu families continued until the former's banishment from Haguro in 1668, and several *yamabushi* related to the Sanada Shikibu family were trusted supporters of Chief Administrator Ten'yū, the direct cause of the banishment.⁵ The possible conflict between the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family and Ten'yū may explain the former's lack of a 1638 parish deed, but would not apply to their sister lineage. The lack of parish deeds for two such prominent families is conspicuous, but unresolvable based on the documents currently known. Both Sanada families continued their activities in the Nanbu domain at this time, so their lack of parish deeds did not appear to have caused them any difficulties, suggesting that official documentation from the Chief Administrator was not yet as crucial as it would later become.

The terminology that Haguro Shugendō employed in referring to the territorial units under its jurisdiction was not uniform or static. Until 1684, the first year of the

⁴ Ibid., 258.

⁵ See chapter four for the relationship between the Nanbu clan and the Sanada Shikibu family, and chapter two for the Sanada Shikibu family's support of Ten'yū.

Jōkyō era, the organization's documents, including the early deeds just discussed, used the term *kasumiba*, literally “mist place,” the same term employed by the other two major Shugendō groups in early modern Japan, the Honzan-ha and the Tōzan-ha. It has been suggested that use of the word *kasumiba* derives from the widespread tradition that Daoist mountain hermits, or *sennin*, purified themselves to the point that they subsisted only on mist. Thus, the territory that provided subsistence for the *sennin*-like *yamabushi* could be regarded as a “mist place.”⁶ The *Jūkaishū*, a Haguro text that claims to have been composed in the late medieval period, records this explanation for the word.⁷ However, in 1684 the shogunal Superintendent of Temples and Shrines settled a parish dispute between Haguro and Honzan-ha *yamabushi* by decreeing that Haguro should now use term *danna-ba*, literally “patron/donor place,” to refer to the territory under its control. Members of several other mountain-based religious organizations, including the *oshi* of Mt. Ōyama, employed the term *dannaba*. Thereafter Haguro *yamabushi* continued to use the term *kasumiba* when referring to their territory internally (except for parishes in the Kantō region, which they always called *dannaba*), but started using *dannaba* for official documentation.⁸ The parish deeds received by the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family reflect this shift in usage. Two deeds issued in 1673 and 1679, prior to the ruling, use the word *kasumi*, while those issued after for over two hundred years use *dannaba*.⁹ Somewhat ironically, the parish deed issued to the family in 1881 by the Dewa Sanzan Shrine following its conversion to State Shinto uses the term *kasumi*, perhaps to

⁶ Mori, *Shugendō kasumi shiki no shiteki kenkyū*. 116-121.

⁷ Togawa Anshō, ed., *Shintō taikai jinja-hen 32: Dewa Sanzan* (Tokyo: Shintō taikai hensankai, 1982), 24.

⁸ Togawa Anshō, *Shinpan Dewa Sanzan Shugendō no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kōsei shuppansha, 1986), 161-164.

⁹ SGM 2-147-1,2; *ibid.*, 2-152-1,2;

distinguish itself from any now inappropriate Buddhist elements.¹⁰ The substitution of *danna* for *kasumi* following the shogunate's 1684 ruling did not alter the territory claimed by the Sanada family or the privileges they exercised over it, but the conflict over terminology does illustrate that the rights and responsibilities of elite Haguro adepts did not exist in a vacuum. Interactions with other religious organizations exerted an inescapable effect on Haguro adepts' relationship with their sphere of influence.

The Diversity of Medieval and Early Tokugawa Parish Management

The transition from late medieval to early Tokugawa forms of Haguro Shugendō diminished the direct authority of headquarter-based marrying adept lineages over subordinates in their parish territory. At the same time, shogunate policies mandating more centralized sectarian organization for religious institutions also decreased the variety of religious specialists under the control of Haguro adepts. While few documents survive from before the second half of the seventeenth century describing the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family's management of their parishes on the coast of Mutsu province (in the Tokugawa era, southeastern Nanbu domain and northeastern Sendai domain), those that do suggest that in the late medieval and early Tokugawa periods, the Sanada family had more independent control over these parishes. The Sanada family, not the clergy-run summit leadership, could select deputies within the parishes who would then hold responsibility over local affiliates of Haguro Shugendō. Furthermore, both the Sanada family and these proxies governed a wider range of religious specialists at this

¹⁰ SGM 4-325-1,2.

time, some of which would be excluded from the ambit of Haguro Shugendō in the fully developed early modern system.

In the reorganized early modern system created by three generations of Chief Administrators (*bettō*), Yūgen, Yūshun, and Ten'yū, the only members of the Haguro Shugendō organization permitted official authority over its parishes were the summit clergy and an elite upper stratum (later dubbed “the Favored,” or *onbun*) of the spouse-keeping adepts. Both groups resided permanently at Mt. Haguro, and branch *yamabushi* living within the parishes could only occupy subordinate roles in the system. Furthermore, in keeping with overall national trends toward sectarianism, branch members of the organization were generally limited to *yamabushi* and some priestesses (*miko*), with career shrine priests instead falling under the purview of the hegemon of Shinto shrines, the Yoshida and Shirakawa families. *Yamabushi* maintained temples and halls, structures with stronger Buddhist associations, but many of them also served as stewards (*bettō*) for local shrines. Professional shrine priests, on the other hand, increasingly (but not at all exclusively) became associated with the idea of a Shinto tradition distinct from Buddhism and licensed by the Yoshida and Shirakawa lineages or their subordinates. Early modern documents such as the Nanbu domain's registry of shrines and halls clearly distinguish between the structures maintained by *shugenja*, the temples or halls of Buddhist monastics (*ji'in*), and the structures run by career shrine folk (*shanin*).¹¹ *Shugenja* and monastics could have shared organizational affiliations, since every major Shugendō group had a Buddhist head temple, but the three groups were presented as distinct from

¹¹ Kishi Shōichi, ed., *Nanbu-ryō shūkyō kankei shiryō 1: Go-ryōbun shadō* (Tokyo: Iwata shoin, 2001).

one another. Similarly, the *Enkyō 3 [1746] name registry of Haguro sect shugenja in Mutsu and Dewa (Enkyō sannen aratame Ōū Haguro-ha shugen namae-chō)* only lists *yamabushi*, whose names end with the suffixes *bō* (lodge) or *in* (temple), and priestesses (*miko*), not professional religionists whose primary identification was as shrine priests.¹² By this point, those shrine priests were no longer under the control of Shugendō organizations, but looked to Shinto lineages for organizational affiliation.

The earliest extant documents describing the *shugenja* of the era present a more varied community of religious specialists under the authority of Mt. Haguro and the Sanada family. Two documents from the Hakuin¹³ collection concern Sanada administration of parishes in the Ninohazama region of Kurihara district. In a document from 1380, one Sanada Shirōsaemon (an earlier version of the family surname) entrusted the local administration of his parishes to a *yamabushi* called Kibotoke (lit. “tree Buddha”). A later document from 1418 lists the villages assigned to the subordinate guides (*sendatsu*) who worked under the Head Guide (*sō-sendatsu*) Kibotoke. This list includes both a priestess (*miko*) and shrine priest (*negi*), as well as other figures who are presumably *yamabushi* of some variety, though none of their names end with the characters *bō* or *in*, so their precise vocation is unknown. Matsuo Kenji has shown that copies of these two documents also survive within the Sanada Gyokuzōbō archive, proving that they originated with the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family.¹⁴ Sanada Shichirōzaemon interests in the region date back to at least the late fourteenth century,

¹² Dewa Sanzan Jinja, ed., *Enkyō sannen aratame Ōū Haguro-ha shugen namae-chō* (Tsuruoka: Dewa Sanzan Jinja, 1992).

¹³ The reading Hakuin is provisional pending further correction.

¹⁴ Matsuo Kenji, “Haguro shugen no chūsei-shi kenkyū - shinhakken no chūsei shiryō o chūshin ni,” *Yamagata daigaku daigakuin shakai bunka shisutemu ken'yūka kiyō* 1 (March 2005), 250-252.

and at that time the family managed a broader spectrum of religious professionals by directly appointing a local adept to act as their proxy. Unfortunately, the next document that survives on this topic dates from almost two centuries later, but confirms that this strategy survived until the early Tokugawa period, when it was supplanted by a more centralized system that allotted more power to Haguro's Chief Administrator-headed bureaucracy.

The Furudate Masao documents, kept by a former Haguro *yamabushi* from the Wainai section of Niisato village in Nanbu domain, also testify to a more direct policy of managerial delegation by the Sanada family during the early years of the Tokugawa period. The collection includes many certifications granted to family members (often under the *yamabushi* name Hōrinbō) by Sanada Shichirōzaemon household heads, all but one of which date from the time of Sanada Shichirōzaemon Hisatake (d. 1735), by which point the early modern system of Haguro parish management had fully cemented, and later.¹⁵ The one exception shows that the late medieval/early Tokugawa system was more complicated, and that the Sanada *zaichō* had a broader jurisdiction, but relied more closely on local *shungenja* to carry out their responsibilities. In a document from 1619, a Mt. Haguro *zaichō* entrusted the local *shugenja* Mirokubō (spelled with atypical characters in the document) with the governance of the various religious specialists dwelling within a parish. Only the first character of the issuer's name is legible, but that character (永) corresponds with the initial character of the personal name of Sanada Shichirōzaemon Hisayori (永順), the household head at the time, indicating that he

¹⁵ Miyako-shi Kyōikuinkai, *Miyako shishi: Shiryōshū kinsei* (Miyako: Miyako-shi, 1996), 365-391.

bestowed it on Mirokubō. It reads, “Concerning the governance of parishes: because Mt. Haguro has, according to precedent, had the management of priestesses (*miko*), *yamabushi*, shrine priests (*negi*), guides (*sendatsu*), and ascetics (*gyōnin*), in accordance with custom, that management for within this parish is to be assigned to this person without fail.”¹⁶

At this point, the Haguro Shugendō organization included as members not just *yamabushi* and *miko* (who would become its primary membership as the early modern system fully coalesced), but also professional shrine priests (*negi*), guides, and ascetics. It is unclear what distinguished the ascetics and guides from regular *yamabushi*, but it does seem that a wider range of religious professionals existed as part of the Haguro group. The type of religious specialist managed by Haguro administrators was formerly more diverse than it would be after greater sectarianism solidified the distinctions between traditions. Furthermore, Sanada Shichirōzaemon Hisayori had the power to directly assign a local subordinate, the *yamabushi* Mirokubō, the duty of supervising all those religious figures. The system of parish management that became established later in the seventeenth century would reserve that power for the summit clergy, taking it out of the hands of marrying adepts like the Sanadas. Eventually the Haguro leadership, working with the Nanbu domain, organized a system to administer the domain’s Haguro religionists through figures known as Skullcap Chiefs (*tokin-gashira*). These Skullcap Chiefs reported to Daishōji, a temple near the domain capital of Morioka, and the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family had very little involvement in the process. In the early Tokugawa

¹⁶ Ibid., 365.

period, the household took a more direct hand in appointing its deputies, but in the fully developed early modern system, that aspect of governance was handled mainly by the mountain's bureaucracy or the domain's government. The family's main responsibilities appear to have contracted to the *zaichō* privileges of certification and lodging, and it lost the more direct control it enjoyed in the late medieval and early Tokugawa eras.

Haguro's Administration of Parishes Compared to Other Shugendō Organizations

The major Shugendō organizations recognized by the Tokugawa shogunate each developed their own distinct procedures for organizing and governing the territory or people over which they had religious privileges. They referred to this jurisdiction with the terms *kasumiba* ("mist place") or *dannaba* ("patron/donor place"). I translate both *dannaba/kasumiba* as parish, though the terms are not exactly equivalent in meaning. H. Byron Earhart notes some of the problems with this translation: "Technically, it is best to retain the word *kasumi*, for unlike a 'parish', *kasumi* was only rarely a simple territorial area. More often it was a personal or family tie with a *shugen* leader... And although *kasumi* indicated exclusive privileges and duties in connection with Haguro Shugendō, *kasumi* overlapped with other religious organizations and religious activities unrelated to Haguro."¹⁷ Nonetheless, I use parish, with the caveat that it can convey a broader, more complicated meaning than its use in Christian organizations. It is particularly fitting for Haguro's system, which generally used villages or districts, not individual households, as the units for dividing its parish territory.

¹⁷ H. Byron Earhart, *A Religious Study of the Mount Haguro Sect of Shugendō: An Example of Japanese Mountain Religion* (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1970), 61.

The distinguishing feature of Haguro's parish management system was that only *yamabushi* based at the organization's headquarters of Mt. Haguro could hold the rights to parishes, resulting in a system with a high degree of central control that was limited to a select stratum of organizational elites. Both the clergy who headed the temples on the mountain's summit (*seisō*) and the elite of the spouse-keeping adepts living at the mountain's foot (*saitai shugen*) were permitted rights over parishes, but these rights were denied to branch *shugenja* residing in those parishes or the lower-ranking adepts of Haguro. In contrast to this highly centralized system, the Honzan-ha group, Haguro's primary rival in northern Japan, divided parish rights over several levels, the lower of which included members who lived within the parishes themselves.¹⁸ Meanwhile, the Tōzan-ha group, the other major Shugendō organization recognized by the shogunate, used a system called Surplice Lines (*kesa-zuji*; the *yui-gesa*, or nine-panel surplice, was one of the distinctive garments worn by *yamabushi*). The organization's governing elite, the Tōzan Shōdaisendatsu-shū, appointed trusted subordinates as Surplice Chiefs (*kesa-gashira*) to manage their fellows.¹⁹ As members of Haguro Shugendō, Sanadas were eligible for parish rights because they lived at the organization's headquarters, and would have been disqualified if they had been mere branch ascetics from afar.

Another unique feature of Haguro's early modern parish system was the division of duties between the two offices of *oshi* ("guide") and *zaichō* ("deputy"). Across other organizations, the term *oshi* is often translated as "innkeeper" because the *oshi* affiliated

¹⁸ The highest-ranking officials in the group, the Guides (*sendatsu*) and the Temple-Holds (*inge*), controlled territory in units of provinces (*kuni*), while the officials below them, the Year Functionaries (*nen-gyōji*) held it in units of districts (*gun*). The Guides subdivided authority within their province-level parishes between Year Functionaries and Year Sub-Functionaries (*jun-nen-gyōji*).

¹⁹ Miyake Hitoshi, ed., *Shugendō shōjiten* (Tokyo: Hōzōkan, 2015), 46.

with many religious sites operated inns or lodges for pilgrims. At Haguro, though, the office of *oshi* only conveyed responsibilities within the parishes themselves. Locally, the term was pronounced *onshi*, though it was written with the conventional characters (御師). The job of operating the pilgrim lodges lining Tōge's streets instead fell to families with *zaichō* rights. Of course, many families, including the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household, were guaranteed both positions for most of their parish territory. Others, however, technically only had *oshi* rights.²⁰ This is a testament to how systematized and complex organizational policies toward parishes had become in the early modern era.

The office of *zaichō* guaranteed several privileges, including the right to lodge pilgrims and branch *yamabushi* from the associated parish at the holder's lodge and to profit from the accompanying fees. The office also conveyed the right to administer the parish's branch *yamabushi* and priestesses, a privilege that included certification of ranks and religious paraphernalia they earned through the completion of Haguro's Fall Peak austerities, and the related certification fees served as another source of income. Finally, Haguro *zaichō* were guaranteed the exclusive right to produce the charms distributed by holders of the *oshi* office on their parish rounds. In many cases, including that of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family, the same household jointly occupied both offices, making the charms and selling them to their parishioners. The regular *yamabushi* of Tōge who lacked *zaichō* rights could only engage in lodging, certification, and talisman-production as subordinates to summit clergy, who often delegated their parish responsibilities downward. Households designated as *zaichō*, on the other hand, could

²⁰ Togawa Anshō, *Dewa Sanzan to Shugendō: Togawa Anshō chosaku-shū* 1 (Tokyo: Iwata shoin, 2005), 197-209.

perform those activities independently and thus had access to several more sources of income, as well as more responsibility and authority.²¹

The Location of Sanada Parish Territory

The parish territory held by the Sanadas covered 163 villages in which they held *zaichō/oshi* rights, and five villages in which they held only *zaichō* rights, all in Ōshū. The household's territory was delineated in a series of parish deeds issued over the generations by the Chief Administrators of the mountain.²² Although the authority of a given parish deed did not last forever and eventually had to be renewed through a reissued deed, later deeds acknowledged and cited previous ones. Older deeds still retained some utility even after being superseded, and a thorough documentary record of one's holdings bolstered one's claims to them. One's rights were based on an accumulation of documented precedent.

Later registers collecting information on the marrying *shugenja* families of Tōge reproduce the same list of territory for the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household that is found on its parish deeds. The 1758 *Memorandum on documents concerning the parishes of [the Inhabitants of] the mountain's foot submitted upon inquiry* (*Gotazune ni tsuki fumoto dannaba kakeageru oboe*) describes the same holdings for Sanada Geki Noriaki, the then head of the family, citing the 1673 deed issued in the name of Chief Ritualist and Administrator Sonchōin. There are slight differences between this document and the deeds, in that it identifies all of the family's parishes in Ōsaki and Kasai as being within

²¹ Ibid.

²² See chapter four for a more detailed description of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household's parish territory.

the territory of Matsudaira Mutsu no kami, presumably referring to the Date family that ruled Sendai domain. It goes on to state that the family held authority over one hundred thirty-four disciple (*deshi*) *yamabushi* within its Nanbu parishes and over twenty disciple *yamabushi* within its Sendai parishes.²³ Furthermore, the *Complete registry of the Favored* (*sō-go'onbun aramatechō*), compiled in 1813, gives the number of temples (*in*) managed by the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household as one hundred fifty seven, roughly the sum of the two figures from 1758. This entry also states that there should be no discrepancies with the four parish certificates issued since 1673.²⁴ As noted above, documentation of parish rights was cumulative and employed frequent citations of previous sources to defend a claim's long and secure history.

The parish deeds kept by the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household itself and the internal registers compiled by administrative officials of the Haguro bureaucracy both demonstrate that the family's parish territory remained essentially static throughout the early modern period. The few remaining documents recording the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family's medieval history verify its presence in the coastal regions of Mutsu province that would later be officially designated as its parishes, though it is unclear whether the seventeenth century formalization of that original territory expanded, contracted, or merely left it as it was. During the Tokugawa era, the various documents maintained Sanada Shichirōzaemon authority over the family parishes, but there was apparently no opportunity for them to increase that authority by adding to the territory. The early modern formalization of the system thus also appears to have rendered it fairly

²³ Umezu Keihō, ed., *Dewa Sanzan shiryōshū gekan* (Yamagata-ken: Dewa Sanzan Jinja Shamusho, 2000)

²⁴ *Ibid.*

rigid. Subsequent parish deeds or registers merely repeated what had come before, with only some slight changes in the geographic terminology (such as adding the phrase *Mutsu Matsudaira no kami*, for example). Now, having discussed the territory itself, I will consider what services the Sanadas provided to the branch *yamabushi* and *miko* living within it.

Certification and Rank in Tokugawa Era Religion

The phenomenon of licensing and certification was not limited to *shugen* organizations such as Haguro, but was in fact widespread in early modern Japanese religion, as well as in the fields of the performing and martial arts. Within the traditions of Shinto, yin-yang divination practices known as *Onmyōdō*, and nativist National Learning (*kokugaku*), certain prominent families came to dominate, securing and expanding their authority through the issuance of certifications to subordinates across Japan. The Tsuchimikado family of court nobles specialized in *Onmyōdō* and worked consistently to assert its authority over regional practitioners, ultimately securing recognition of its governing position from the shogunate. The Tsuchimikado even acquired the right to license related religious specialists, such as the *banzai* religious itinerants who visited households in Edo at New Year's to collect donations.²⁵ Likewise, the Yoshida and Shirakawa lineages of shrine priests successfully obtained shogunal recognition as hegemonies of shrine and *kami*-related traditions that came to be referred to as Shinto. Even traditions that straddled the amorphous line between “religion” and scholarship, such as the nativist schools of National Learning (*kokugaku*), developed

²⁵ Takano Toshihiko, *Kinsei nihon no kokka kenryoku to shūkyō* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku shuppankai, 1989). 89-109.

under the control of influential families that acted as gatekeepers. The Hirata school of National Learning, in particular, founded by Hirata Atsutane, was controlled by generations of his descendants, who acted as stewards of the lineage's teachings. Above all the family-controlled traditions stood the shogunate, which recognized these families' position as leaders and guaranteed their privileges through official decree.²⁶ In the realm of the martial arts, the schools of swordsmanship that proliferated in Tokugawa Japan were passed down through select families, which monopolized the secrets of their styles and techniques. These household-controlled schools, also called *ryūha*, recognized students' advancement in rank through certification, though G. Cameron Hurst III notes that the social and economic demands on schools "often meant that the awarding of ranks was influenced by factors other than attainment or skill."²⁷ Hurst goes on to state that "Initiation into the secret techniques of the *ryūha* [school] usually meant the award of a certificate of mastery, a license that carried with it the express right of the initiate to reproduce that form, whether flower arranging or swordsmanship."²⁸ When the house heads of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family recognized the achievements of their subordinates via certification and profited from the associated fees, they participated in a widespread cultural practice found in both other religious traditions and in other professional teaching lineages.

The recipients of these certifications were not merely passive victims of the traditions' ruling families. Lower-ranking groups of religious professionals at various

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ G. Cameron Hurst III, *Armed Martial Arts of Japan: Swordsmanship and Archery* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 75.

²⁸ Ibid., 185.

sacred sites sought outside certification as a method of improving their own statuses within their organizations. The *oshi* of Mt. Ōyama, for example, were generally subordinate to the Shingon Buddhist clergy based on the mountain's summit, in an arrangement that paralleled the status divisions at Haguro. In the later Edo period, however, certain Mt. Ōyama *oshi* families acquired certification from the Yoshida or Shirakawa schools of Shinto to enhance their status at the site.²⁹ The *oshi* of Mitake-san pursued a similar policy, increasing their position in relation to the Chief Priest via licenses from the Shirakawa family. There were even cases of peasants (*hyakushō*) attempting to earn Shirakawa or Yoshida licensing in order to move out of their status group and enjoy the greater privileges permitted to the shrine priest status group, though the shogunate disapproved of such class mobility.³⁰ The Sanada families do not appear to have ever sought out certification from an outside religious, scholarly, or artistic tradition, perhaps because they enjoyed a secure position as social elites within both the village community of Tōge and the Haguro organization as whole. They were already at the top, so there was no need to engage in social-climbing.

In Tokugawa society as a whole, clothing was a major indicator of one's status group, though there was a considerable gap between the ideal system espoused by the shogunate and the actual behavior of its subjects. The shogunate frequently issued sumptuary laws that forbade townsmen (*chōnin*) or peasants (*hyakushō*) from wearing luxurious clothing or keeping luxurious residences. These regulations went hand-in-hand

²⁹ Barbara Ambros, *Emplacing a Pilgrimage: The Ōyama Cult and Regional Religion in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2008), 106-114.

³⁰ Helen Hardacre, *Religion and Society in Nineteenth-Century Japan: A Study of the Southern Kantō Region, Using Late Edo and Early Meiji Gazetteers*, (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies University of Michigan, 2002), 49-51, 128.

with laws that prevented commoners from using surnames in an official context. Provisions of these sumptuary regulations also applied to the daimyo when they resided in Edo, and to the shogun's bannermen (*hatamoto*). Clothing and residence had to match rank within the samurai status group, and higher-ranked families were allowed larger, more expensive dwellings and more luxurious clothing.³¹ Within Buddhist organizations, permission to wear more prestigious robes and garments was also linked with one's rank. In the Shingi sub-school of Shingon Buddhism, for example, in order to serve as the abbot of a temple, a monk had to have first achieved a rank high enough to wear the appropriate color surplice.³² Thus, when the branch *yamabushi* of Haguro Shugendō displayed their organizational rank through garments and paraphernalia whose licenses came from the Sanada *zaichō*, they participated in broader cultural values that found expressions at all levels of society. Just like the townsmen, rural commoners, samurai retainers, and daimyo, they had to abide by sumptuary rules determined by their class and rank. A branch *shugenja*'s place in his professional association was precisely identified by the level of austerities he had completed, and that place had a set of defined signifiers that included the garments he was permitted to wear. It seems likely that just as merchants and commoners resisted shogunal exhortations toward frugality and plain dress through techniques like sewing expensive brocade on the inside of their garments, so too lower-ranking *yamabushi* may have acquired and worn robes and paraphernalia they were not officially permitted by the rules of their order. A Sanada Shichirōzaemon

³¹ Donald H. Shively, "Sumptuary Regulation and Status in Early Tokugawa Japan," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 25 (1964-65): 123-164.

³² Takano Toshihiko, *Kinsei nihon no kokka kenryoku to shūkyō* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku shuppankai, 1989).149-152.

yamabushi, however, could expect high-level sumptuary privileges because of his prestigious pedigree, and he would have not have required such subterfuges to assert his self-worth.

The *yuigesa* surplice also served to distinguish between *yamabushi* of different groups. Sectarian consciousness within *shugen* groups developed considerably during the early modern period, as the shogunate mandated that the realm's *yamabushi* declare an exclusive affiliation with a parent organization. As a result of disputes over the rights to issue certain garments, the three major Shugendō associations (Honzan-ha, Tōzan-ha, and Haguro-ha) established their own unique variants of the *yuigesa* surplice that set them apart. After a shogunal ruling in 1684 confirmed the Honzan-ha monopoly on the gold brocade *yuigesa*, Haguro instituted a purple brocade *yuigesa* with white crests (*mon*) that became characteristic of the sect. Earlier, the Tōzan-ha had decided on their own unique style of *yuigesa*, replacing one of the front panels with a cord and replacing the tassels with golden wheel ornaments. A *yamabushi*'s surplice not only marked him as a *yamabushi*, distinct from both laypeople and the religious professionals of other traditions, but also as a *yamabushi* with a particular sectarian affiliation. Yet multiple regimes of rank and hierarchy coexisted within the same sectarian organization. A *yamabushi*'s garments and his position in the seating-order hierarchy displayed his rank within the organization to his peers. This was especially relevant for Haguro's branch *shugenja* residing in the parishes away from the mountain. Inhabitants of the summit and the foot of the mountain relied on the distinction between summit clergy and Tōge adepts, then on birth order among adepts and tonsure order for the clergy.

Rank and Status in Early Modern Buddhism

Since Haguro Shugendō existed within the broader Buddhist world of Edo Japan, I will first discuss how that broader system and Haguro's own internal system intersected. The summit clergy, marrying adepts, and branch ascetics all received official titles, though they did not necessarily carry the same meaning for all three groups, as will be discussed in more detail later. As the *zaichō* supervisors for their subordinate *yamabushi* and *miko*, the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family operated within the intersection of these two systems, both receiving and issuing ranks and titles.

Rank in Haguro Shugendō was based on both a local set of ranks and titles – most of which related to the Fall Peak austerities – and the universal system of priestly ranks and offices that informed all the Buddhist organizations of the realm. Ostensibly, the imperial court in Kyoto was the supreme authority in this system, and the right of Buddhist organizations to confer ranks and offices on their members derived from the sanction of the court. During the early modern period, however, Tokugawa control over the court meant that the shogunate became the ultimate arbiter of the system. The set of priestly ranks and offices originated in China and was adopted by the Japanese imperial court in the eighth century. It continued in one form or another until the beginning of the Meiji era. The system was divided into priestly offices (*sōkan*) and priestly ranks (*sōi*). There were three main priestly offices, each of which could be split into four subdivisions. The most senior of the three was sangha prefect (*sōjō*), followed by sangha administrator (*sōzu*) and Preceptor (*rishi*). Four prefixes were affixed to the three offices – chief (*dai*), deputy chief (*gon-dai*), lesser (*shō*), and deputy lesser (*gon-shō*) – making twelve

possible permutations in total. The priestly ranks consisted of Dharma Seal (*hōin*), Dharma Eye (*hōgen*), and Dharma Bridge (*hokkyō*), with each corresponding to one of the three priestly offices.³³ Monks often held both an office and a rank, though the titles were generally divorced from their original duties.

Status within Shugendō organizations such as Haguro or the Honzan-ha stemmed from the interaction of internal and external structures of hierarchy and certification. The historian Takano Toshihiko has analyzed how early modern Buddhist organizations interacted with the monastic status system, especially in regards to the Honzan-ha Shugendō organization. He argues that status (*mibun*) was extremely important to members of the Shugendō organizations, and that this status derived from both the court-based, central system described above and the local internal system of certification (*bunin*) of Shugendō organizations. He also distinguishes between Buddhist organizations with a *monzeki* (a temple headed by an imperial prince) and those without one. In general, Buddhist organizations with a *monzeki* were allowed to confer priestly offices up to deputy chief sangha administrator and priestly ranks up to Dharma Seal upon their members without making a special petition to the shogunate-appointed intermediaries between the *monzeki* and the imperial court. These *monzeki* usually held the right of “permission from the court in perpetuity” (*eisenji*) to issue these titles internally.

However, they could only confer more senior offices after seeking court approval through

³³Inagaki Hisao, ed., *A Dictionary of Japanese Buddhist Terms, Based on References in Japanese Literature*, third edition (Kyoto: Nagata bunshōdō, 1988), 331, 335.; I utilize the translations of the priestly offices and ranks presented by Thomas Conlan in *From Sovereign to Symbol: An Age of Ritual Determinism in Fourteenth-Century Japan*, agreeing with his decision to not use equivalent Catholic Church terminology. Thomas Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol: An Age of Ritual Determinism in Fourteenth-Century Japan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), xiii.

the shogunate-appointed court liasons. Haguro's primary rival throughout the early modern era, the Honzan-ha Shugendō group, had the Tendai school temple Shōgoin in Kyōto as its *monzeki*.³⁴ Haguro Shugendō was affiliated with the Rinnōji-no-miya *monzeki*, which was headed by a tonsured imperial prince who acted jointly as the Tendai school head (*zasu*), the head priest of Nikko/Rinnōji temple, and the head priest of Kan'eiji/Tōeizan temple in Edo. This *monzeki* selected the monks who served as the Chief Administrators of Haguro, tying Haguro administration closely to the Rinnōji-no-miya *monzeki*.³⁵ Several certificates conferring the titles of Dharma Seal or deputy chief sangha administrator under the name of the Rinnōji-no-miya *monzeki* survive among the archives of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household's subordinate *yamabushi* from Hei district, Nanbu domain.

The internal Shugendō certifications discussed by Takano included temple names (*ingō*), ending in the suffix *in*, lodge names (*bōgō*), ending in the suffix *bō*, and various garments and paraphernalia particular to Shugendō. There are many similarities between the internal systems of the Honzan-ha and Mt. Haguro, though there were also significant differences that must be accounted for. Haguro consistently asserted its independence and uniqueness in the face of Honzan-ha efforts to control its *yamabushi*.

The certification activities of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family took place against a backdrop of monastic offices and ranks that extended to the realm's centers of power. Much of the exchange was local, between the headquarters of Mt. Haguro and the branch *yamabushi* of the parishes, but it was still part of a broader phenomenon. Other

³⁴ Takano Toshiko, *Kinsei Nihon no kokka kenryoku to shūkyō*, 148-167.

³⁵ Dewa Sanzan Jinja, *Dewa Sanzan-shi* (Yamagata-ken, Tsuruoka-shi: Dewa Sanzan Jinja, 2011), 158.

Shugendō organizations differed from Haguro in their parish management styles, but they all conducted their rank certification activities within a larger network of Buddhist institutions and political power centers.

Certification Guidelines

The summit clergy reserved the most prestigious certifications for themselves, but they delegated most other certification duties to mid-level adepts. This became a consistent source of income for adept families, and strengthened their positions as intermediaries within the organization. In a similar fashion, the Chief Administrator and *daisendatsu* temples farmed out to select groups of rank-and-file Tōge adepts (*hiramonzen*) the responsibility for housing and entertaining pilgrims and ascetics from their parishes (a duty called *dōsha-hiki* – “pilgrim wrangling”). Pilgrims who arrived at Mt.Haguro unaware of the temple or *yamabushi* household with authority over their parish would consult with a special office for travelers that would direct them to the appropriate lodge.

Internal certification procedures within Haguro Shugendō illustrate that the system was organized according to a standard, centrally determined set of regulations that recognized the supreme authority of the Chief Administrator and other elite clergy, as well as their access to profit from pilgrims and branch *yamabushi*. The elite adepts of Tōge’s *onbun* class were ensured a smaller, but still significant role in the process based on direct supervision of parishes. In contrast, the common *yamabushi* of Tōge had no parishes of their own, but were contracted by the mountaintop clergy to manage the parishes of the summit temples. The Tokugawa era was a period of concentrated sectarian

development and consolidation. Following edicts by the Tokugawa shogunate in Edo, religious professionals were expected to affiliate themselves with a single organization, and large-scale religious organizations and associations were expected to monitor and record their members. The systematization imposed externally by the shogunate prompted newly cohesive organizations to emphasize internal systematization, codifying regulations, hierarchies, and sectarian identities. As part of this realm-wide process, Haguro's certification system was standardized precisely, with explicit rules for who was allowed to issue which certifications, the set fees for those certifications, and the exact format of the document to be issued. It is unclear whether these rules were devised entirely by the clergy of the Chief Administrator's office or if high-ranking marrying adepts like the Sanadas contributed to the process, but the regulations were essentially edicts handed down to marrying adepts by the clergy. It is certain that the branch ascetics who received the certifications had no say in the construction of the regulations concerning certification, considering the low level they occupied in the organization. At the same time, adepts benefitted from these edicts because they guaranteed them certain privileges that came with sources of income.

Certification operated according to procedures explicated in documents held by *zaichō* families such as the Sanadas. The family archive includes a bound booklet entitled *Rules for the official fees of ritual, promotion, and appointment at Mt. Haguro (Haguro-san hōshiki shusse kankin narabi bunin okite)*, apparently hand-copied by Sanada Geki Noritada, who wrote his name on the front cover as Sanada *zaichō* Noritada, emphasizing the office of *zaichō*. Noritada's authorship indicates that the volume must date from some

point between 1769, when he inherited the family headship, and 1818, when he died. The text is written in black ink with additions in red ink appended at the beginning and end, suggesting that either Noritada or one of his descendants continued to update it after its initial completion. Altogether, it encompasses thirty-eight pages, not including the front and back covers, making it a relatively substantial text. The purpose of the booklet was to collect the rules on the issuance of various forms of certification in Haguro Shugendō. The first section lists the titles and ranks available to Haguro *yamabushi*, with information on whether the Chief Administrator or a Pilgrim Lodge is allowed to issue them, and the set fees for each certification. The second section presents templates for each of the available certifications, followed by the division of fees for high-level ranks such as mountain titles. The templates include the Sanada name, the only element that was personalized by Noritada for his family's use.³⁶ The text and format of the templates remained constant among *zaichō* households, but each substituted their names in the section dedicated to the issuing party.³⁷ Haguro's system of certification had become firmly standardized by the mid-Edo period. Fees, the division of those fees among the organization, the format for certificates, and authority to issue certifications were all strictly defined.

The issuance of certifications to branch ascetics and priestesses was a source of profit to both the senior summit clergy and the elite adepts of Tōge, but the senior clergy reserved the right to grant the most prestigious and most expensive certifications for themselves. Thus the Chief Administrator and other senior clergy still asserted

³⁶ SGM 5-439.

³⁷ Templates collected in the *Dewa sanzan shiryōshū* match those recorded in the Sanada format manual.

themselves as the dominant stratum of the organization, despite their delegation of certain tasks to the adepts. The certification fee was sometimes split between the Chief Administrator and the *zaichō*, but ratios varied; the *zaichō* was entitled to only a small portion of the highest priced licenses. 7 *ryō*, 2 *bu* in gold (a considerable sum in Edo Japan) were collected by the Chief Administrator as the fee for the rank of *tai-otsuke*, which was obtained after completing thirty-six Fall Peaks. Of these, only one *bu* of gold, roughly 3.3 percent, went to the temple lodge that supervised the recipient. Similarly, the temple lodge received only one *bu* of gold from 3 *ryō* 2 *bu* paid to the Chief Administrator for the rank of Dharma Seal (*hōin*), roughly seven percent of the total value. For more basic certifications, the operator of the temple lodge retained the majority of the fee, but he still had to offer up a small portion for the mountain bureaucracy itself. Certification for the *nido* rank, which confirmed the completion of two Fall Peaks, cost one *ryō* of gold. The *zaichō* kept most of it, but 1 *bu* and 600 *mon*, forty percent in total, was reserved for the mountain. However, in some other cases, such as the granting of Lodge Name (*bōgō*) or priestess (*miko*) titles, the temple lodge issued them and kept the entire fee of 1 *bu*, 140 *mon* in gold.³⁸ The Sanada Shichirōzaemon family issued many *miko* certifications to women from their parish territory in Hei district, Nanbu domain, making this a steady source of exclusive income. While the title of *zaichō* did allow for additional sources of direct income, the summit clergy were involved at all but the lowest levels, enacting a partial tithing of the fees branch ascetics paid to their *zaichō*.

³⁸ SGM 5-439.

Certifiers obtained both profit and presumably a sense of authority from their issuance of certifications, but the recipients required the certifications to verify their membership in Haguro Shugendō and any ranks they achieved within the organization. For the branch *yamabushi*, the headquarters-based *zaichō* office-holders were the gatekeepers to legitimate affiliation with their professional association. Shogunal and domainal regulations required that religious professionals choose a primary organizational affiliation and be able to prove it via documentation. Furthermore, *yamabushi* were expected to obtain a license from their head temple or its representative before wearing higher-level garments and paraphernalia. No doubt some branch *yamabushi* skirted these rules and obtained garments without earning them or paying the required fees, but in general branch *yamabushi* relied on the clergy and adepts of Mt. Haguro to provide professional certification and opportunities for rank advancement within the profession.

Miko also needed certification from a Shugendō headquarters, but they were not eligible for the monastic ranks and offices or the special garments and paraphernalia. Their engagement in the certification system was much more limited and thus less expensive. Nonetheless, *yamabushi* and *miko* often coexisted within the same household, so they may have drawn on a common pool of money to fund their certifications. *Miko* and *shugenja* were not marginal, independent figures, but instead were like professionals belonging to a guild or trade organization. That organization verified their professional identities and provided opportunities for advancement, but it also imposed financial and training demands on its members. As *zaichō* with the authority to issue many

certifications, the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family and its peers were the middle managers of the organization, mediating between the parishes and headquarters, while obtaining profit and prestige in the process.

Mid-Tokugawa Certification Activities of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon Family

In this section I examine the certification activities of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon/Gyokuzōbō family during the mid-Tokugawa era. These activities show that the bulk of their efforts concentrated on their Nanbu domain parishes and involved the certification of peak-entering by male ascetics and the granting of religious names to the female priestesses known as *miko*. Names changed at certain regular milestones during the career of a branch ascetic, and the power to grant these names was one of the major privileges of *zaichō* families like the Sanadas. The relationship between the managing Haguro-based *zaichō* lineage and the subordinate parish-based branch ascetic lineage was generational for both parties, and they also both exhibited a pronounced documentary drive to record and verify their activities and accomplishments.

The procedures and document formats described in the aforementioned guidebook determined the Sanada's activities as *zaichō*. The *Logbook of ranks for miko and yamabushi of the Sendai and Nanbu domains (Sendai Nanbu miko yamabushi kan'ichō)* records the certifications the family granted to its subordinate *yamabushi* and *miko* from the two domains containing the family's parish territory.³⁹ This logbook spans fifty-six years of certification by two generations of Sanada Shichirōzaemon house heads. Hisatake began the log in 1711 (the first year of the Shōtoku era) and after his death in

³⁹ SGM 4-339.

1735, his son Noriaki continued to update it until 1769 (the fifth year of the Meiwa era), when he abandoned it for unspecified reasons. If he or his descendants kept other logbooks for subsequent years, they have not survived within the family archive. Complementing the logbook are the archives of several *yamabushi* families from the former Hei district of the Nanbu domain, now southeastern Iwate Prefecture. In several cases, certification documents from these family archives correlate with entries from the Sanada logbook, demonstrating that the documentary drive was strong on both sides of the transaction. These documents reveal many aspects of the relationship between centrally-located Haguro adepts holding the office of *zaichō* and the parish-based subordinate *shugenja* and *miko* they supervised during the mid-Tokugawa era.

I will begin by describing the basic format for entries within the Sanada's certification logbook. Each entry records the place of origin for the religious professional being certified, listing the province (always Ōshū/Mutsu province, which contained both the Nanbu and Sendai domains), domain (either Nanbu or Sendai), district (*gun*; always Hei for Nanbu entries), and village. Entries also recorded the religious name or names of the recipient, the kind of certification conveyed, and the date of issuance. Some included additional notes that indicated that the recipient was the child or disciple of another *yamabushi* or *miko*. The entries are usually, but not always, stamped with the personal seal of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household, which consisted of the characters Sanada *zaichō*.⁴⁰ In some cases, the logbook specifies that a certain number of documents were

⁴⁰ Document 4-306 of the *Sanada Gyokuzōbō monjo* is a collection of imprints of the family seals.

issued, though it is usually unclear whether this refers to multiple copies of the same certification, or several different but related certifications received at the same time.

Quantitative analysis of the logbook's data leads to several conclusions about the administration of parish territory. For one, roughly seventy-five percent (74.8%) of the 246 total entries were related to subordinates from Nanbu domain, with the remaining quarter (25.2%) concerning the Sendai domain. According to a 1758 survey of the parish holdings of Haguro's adepts, the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family governed 154 branch lineages in total. The vast majority (134; 87 %) lived in Nanbu and the remaining minority (a little over 20; 13 %) came from Sendai domain.⁴¹ Thus, more Sendai subordinates were certified than one might expect during the period described in the logbook, but certification activities related to the Nanbu domain occupied far more time than those related to the Sendai domain.

Almost half (46.7 %) of the logbook's entries pertain to the peak-entering (*mine-iri*) activities of male subordinate ascetics participating the annual Fall Peak austerities of Haguro Shugendō's ritual calendar. As discussed previously, parish-based Haguro branch ascetics relied on participation in these austerities first to achieve basic membership in the organization and then to advance further in rank. These entries are always dated on the fourth or fifth of the eighth month, immediately after Fall Peak austerities concluded and branch *yamabushi* returned to the temple lodge of their *zaichō* for lodging and certification. Several of these entries note when the ascetic completed a milestone number of Fall Peaks. Seventeen *itsu-sōgi* certifications, confirming the completion of

⁴¹ SGM 4-339.

nine Fall Peaks, are listed within the logbook, demonstrating that many branch ascetics did not just finish the bare minimum requirements and stop ascetic practice at Haguro.

The data within the logbook confirms that the management of the female religious professionals known as *miko* occupied a considerable portion of the family's certification duties. *Miko* were not just an afterthought for the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household; roughly a quarter of its entries (25.6 %) are certifications of *miko* from the Nanbu and Sendai domains. Thus, while these *miko* could not participate in the Fall Peak austerities, they were still a significant constituent group of the organization who occupied the attention of its mid-level administrators. Furthermore, these *miko* were not just local figures, but also sought membership in powerful religious corporations with a broad regional power base. *Miko* certifications generally dated to the late spring and early summer, in the fifth, sixth, and seventh months. Evidence from other documents indicates that at least some *miko* traveled in person to Haguro to obtain certification.⁴² The logbook entries do not specify whether all *miko* certifications were obtained in person, or if they may have also used messengers or family members as proxies in certain circumstances. Regardless, actual travel between the parishes and the headquarters solidified the relationship between different levels of the organization.

Names were an important and complex feature within the careers of Haguro branch *yamabushi*. Branch ascetics held multiple names throughout their lifetime, whose use depended on circumstance and level of maturity. The frequent changing of names

⁴² Kanda Yoriko, *Miko to shugen no shūkyō minzoku-teki kenkyū* (Tokyo: Iwata shoin, 2001), 416-421.

throughout one's life was a common custom for the premodern Japanese.⁴³ A *yamabushi* family generally had a hereditary religious name, ending in either the suffix *-bō* (“lodge”) or *-in* (“temple”), which was inherited by the household head upon succession, but the heir would have multiple individual names prior to coming into the lineage name. The scion of a *yamabushi* lineage would receive a “lodge name” (*bōgō*) ending with the suffix *-bō* (坊) sometime after birth but before his first participation in the Fall Peak austerities at Mt. Haguro. The logbook and the surviving certificates in family collections do not note the age of the recipient, so it is unclear at what specific age this was generally done. Like *miko* certifications, they generally date to the late spring/early summer, prior to the start of the Fall Peak austerities, but it is unclear whether the recipient actually came to Mt. Haguro in person or if it was obtained through messengers or go-betweens. These lodge names account for thirty-four, or 13.8 percent, of the total entries in the document. As the *zaichō* with supervisory power over branch ascetics, Sanada household heads were central to confirmation of this initial milestone of a *yamabushi*'s career.

As noted above, nearly half of the entries concern the participation of branch ascetics in the annual Fall Peak austerities of Mt. Haguro. Heirs to a *yamabushi* lineage received a personal (as opposed to family) “temple” name ending with the suffix *-in* upon completion of their first period of Fall Peak austerities. Entries concerning this certification also note a two-character personal name following this, but it is unclear whether the branch *yamabushi* had already acquired this name from his household prior to austerities and merely appended it to his new *in*-suffix name or the Sanada *zaichō*

⁴³ Mary Louise Nagata, “Why Did You Change Your Name? Name Changing Patterns and the Life Course in Early Modern Japan,” *The History of the Family* 4.3 (1999): 315-338.

himself bestowed it on the branch *yamabushi* following the Fall Peak austerities. The personal temple name of a *yamabushi* heir who had not yet inherited the headship was distinct from the household's hereditary religious name, but the two sometimes shared a character or pronunciation. Upon succession, the heir began to use the family religious name. Name changes not only marked the advancement of *yamabushi* through career milestones, but they also illustrate how those *yamabushi* depended on their headquarters-based administrator to recognize and officially certify those milestones. A branch *yamabushi* could not become a member of his professional organization or advance in rank within it without the cooperation of the Tōge household that held the *zaichō* rights for his parish. The dependency inherent in this relationship necessitated an expense for the branch adept and a profit for the *zaichō*, making the certification process a financial tie that bound the strata of Haguro Shugendō.

The relationship between a Haguro-based *zaichō* and his parish subordinates was generational. The household, not the individual, was the central component of this dyad. Just as members of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family passed down the office of *zaichō* from household head to household head, so too the *yamabushi* and *miko* of their Nanbu and Sendai parishes passed down their dependency for certification within the familial or teaching lineage. Many entries in the logbook note that the recipient is the child or disciple of another *yamabushi* or *miko*. Both actors in this certification exchange saw it as a matter of profession, or a family business, to be continued over the generations. On 1735/7/5, a disciple (*deshi*) of the *yamabushi* Daigakuin from Iwaizumi village in Nanbu received the “lodge name” Manzōbō. Similarly, the son of the ascetic Rengebō of Omoto

village, Nanbu, achieved the “lodge name” Rengebō (written with a different but homophonous middle character) on 1738/6/27. For the ascetic Myōren’in of Ōtsuchi village, Nanbu domain, both his son (called both Shukugakubō and Zenmei’in; on 1751/8/4) and two *miko* disciples, Mannichi and Asahi (1745/5/6), acquired certification from Sanada Shichirōzaemon Noriaki, so both familial and teaching relationships coexisted within the same household.

Several archives kept by *yamabushi* lineages of the former Hei district corroborate the information recorded in the logbook of the Sanada *zaichō*, including those of the Sasaki Kenjirō, Ōte Ichinan, and Oriso families. The Ōte Ichinan family lived in the Haraigawa section of Tsugaru-ishi village in Hei district and handed down the hereditary *yamabushi* name of Jigen’in. Their residence in Tsugaru-ishi village is also attested in the 1746 *Registry of Haguro-ha shugen[ja] in Ōū compiled in Enkyō 3(Enkyō sannen aratame Ōū Haguro-ha shugen namae chō)*.⁴⁴ They continued to obtain certifications from the Sanada *zaichō* until the very end of the early modern period. Their archive includes two *miko* certifications noted in the logbook, one to a *miko* called Yosegi in 1726 and another to a *miko* called Sennichi in 1745. Furthermore, both the logbook and the family archive note the 1731 certification of the hereditary “temple name” for Jigen’in Yūen and the 1760 peak-entering of Jigen’in Senyū, presumably Yūen’s successor. The 1760 certification documents in the family archive include both a license from the Sanada *zaichō* to wear white *hakama* trousers and the customary waist-cord and

⁴⁴ Dewa Sanzan Jinja, ed., *Enkyō sannen aratame Ōū Haguro-ha shugen namae-chō* (Tsuruoka: Dewa Sanzan Jinja, 1992), 70.

a license directly from the *daisendatsu* Chiken'in for the *yuigesa* surplice.⁴⁵ The entry in the Sanada logbook merely notes that it was the ascetic's second round of Fall Peak austerities. Thus, it is certain that other entries in the logbook do not necessarily mention details of garment licenses that accompanied the peak-enterings they recorded.

Additionally, since Jigen'in Senyū is noted as completing his second set of Fall Peak austerities in 1760, neither the family archive nor the Sanada's logbook record his initial participation. This implies a potentially significant gap in the documentary record on both ends of the exchange.

At the same time as branch ascetics were paying for certifications from the Sanada *zaichō*, they were also obtaining them from high-ranking mountain clergy. As noted above, Jigen'in Senyū simultaneously received garment licenses from both the adept Sanada Noriaki and the cleric Chiken'in Nindō in the eighth month of 1760, after his completion of the Fall Peak austerities. Nindō certified Senyū to wear the white *yuigesa* surplice with purple crests (*mon*), the surplice that became emblematic of Haguro Shugendō after the shogunate established the Honzan-ha organization's monopoly on the gold-brocade surplice. Branch ascetics had to rely on the clergy for the most distinctive signifier of membership in Haguro Shugendō. Both earlier and later generations of Jigen'in lineage ascetics received the surplice.

Priestesses (*miko*) in Haguro Shugendō

The region of Nanbu domain in which the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household had its parish territory, especially the Hei district, produced an especially high population of

⁴⁵ Miyako-shi Kyōikuinkai, *Miyako shishi: Shiryōshū kinsei* (Miyako: Miyako-shi, 1996), 614-616.

miko during the Tokugawa era. Consequently, the administration of those *miko* became a significant aspect of the family's responsibilities in the region. The certification of official *miko* status under the aegis of Haguro Shugendō was the primary transaction between these women and generations of Sanada Shichirōzaemon house heads, and the document archives of several local *miko* and/or *yamabushi* families prove that it continued until the very end of the early modern era. Once Mt. Haguro verified their occupation as *miko* through the appropriate documentation, there were no higher ranks or titles for these women to receive, at least as indicated by the regulations of their parent organization.⁴⁶ This contrasts with the expectations Haguro Shugendō placed on the exclusively male *yamabushi* of its parish territory, who were encouraged to work toward higher ranks by repeatedly entering and completing the yearly Fall Peak austerities held at Mt. Haguro. Only men were permitted to participate in these austerities; women were not even allowed to spend the night on Mt. Haguro's summit because of their supposed "impure" nature. The Haguro custom of allowing even temporary pilgrimage by women was comparatively liberal for sacred mountains in early modern Japan, many of which enforced a policy of total "female exclusion" (*nyonin kinsei*).⁴⁷ *Miko* were therefore unable to take part in the form of ascetic practice that was one of the central pillars of the Haguro *shugen* tradition, relegating them to lesser status in the organization. Nonetheless, they were highly valued members of their home communities, performing a wide variety

⁴⁶ It is possible the local *miko* associations may have had their own systems of rank and promotion, but that is outside the ambit of this study.

⁴⁷ For a more detailed discussion of female exclusion policies on sacred mountains in Japan, see Suzuki Masataka, *Nyonin kinsei* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2002).

of religious services for patrons, both by themselves and in concert with male *yamabushi*, who were often their spouses or relatives.

These *miko* were a reliable source of income for the Sanada family, who charged them both for the issuance of certification documents and for lodging at their pilgrim lodge in Tōge. The certification guidebook hand-copied by Sanada Shichirōzaemon Noritada records the certification fee for a *miko* title as 1 *bu* and 148 *mon* in gold coins, the same cost as for the lodge names (*bōgō*) granted to male *yamabushi*. The guidebook also provides a template for the document itself, with certain sections to be filled out with the woman's specific information, including her *miko* name and home village.⁴⁸

Historical records also indicate that *miko* visited the Sanada family at Mt. Haguro in person to pay these fees and accept the documentation, rather than relying solely on messengers or *yamabushi* relatives and colleagues. An entry from the miscellaneous records (*zatsuroku*) of the Nanbu domain from 1672/6/6 states that:

Because regulations for the pilgrimages of women to other domains must be decided, we issued them on 3/6 of this year. Related to that, it is now the season for pilgrimage to Mts. Yudono and Haguro, and among the requests for travel passes that the intendant (*daikan*) of Ōtsuchi has presented to us, there are also those of women. Since years past, *miko* have acquired their rank at Haguro; these women have respectfully inquired about how they should proceed. Obviously, named *miko* with the titles of Asahi, Hidari, and Yosegi, but also descendants of *miko* not yet named, though they travel to Yudono, Haguro, or whatever other province, should be given travel passes. Samurai, townsman, and peasant women, though they go on pilgrimage to other domains, must obey all regulations. Today we decided to this effect. Because there will

⁴⁸ SGM 5-439.

certainly be women who fake the status of *miko* and leave for other domains, these women must be examined.⁴⁹ Records from the Nanbu domain identified and analyzed by Kanda Yoriko indicate that two *miko* from Tsugaru'ishi village in the Miyako region of Nanbu domain successfully obtained travel passes from the local Intendants (*daikan*) for a 1672 trip to Mt. Haguro, even though official regulations forbade women from traveling outside the domain. The two *miko* certification documents they received on this trip survive and corroborate the domain's records.⁵⁰ In the third month of 1815, the head of Hakusenji temple in Yagisawa village, Hei district, also the head of the Monjuin *yamabushi* household, issued a travel pass to the *miko* Isegami of Kanehama village in the same district. The travel pass is addressed to the personnel of the domain administrative offices that the traveler would encounter during her journey, and states, "The *miko* in question is certainly under the authority of this temple, and we respectfully request that you sirs kindly provide her with aid."⁵¹ *Miko* thus received the official documentation necessary for travel to Mt. Haguro, but it was under the auspices of the male institutions that held supervisory authority over them.

Since these women made the journey to Mt. Haguro in person, they would have stayed at the Sanada Shichirōzaemon/Gyokuzōbō pilgrim lodge in Tōge and paid the expected fee, which at one point amounted to one hundred *hiki* in gold for one person and

⁴⁹ Miyako-shi Kyōikuinkai, ed., *Miyako-shi-shi shiryō-shū: kinsei 9-1* (Miyako: Miyako-shi, 1996): 427.; Kanda Yoriko reproduces and analyzed this document in Kanda, *Miko to shugen no shūkyō minzoku-teki kenkyū*, 420.

⁵⁰ Kanda Yoriko, *Miko to shugen no shūkyō minzoku-teki kenkyū*, 406-421.

⁵¹ Miyako-shi Kyōikuinkai, ed., *Miyako-shi-shi shiryō-shū: kinsei 9-1*, 427.; Kanda Yoriko reproduces and analyzed this document in Kanda, *Miko to shugen no shūkyō minzoku-teki kenkyū*, 421.

1 *bu* in gold for two.⁵² *Miko* not only had to pay for the licenses, but also for lodging during the trip to obtain them, which increased the financial burden of the process and the profit for the Sanada household. At the same time, pilgrimage in early modern Japan also had a strong recreational aspect, so these *miko* may have regarded the journey as a kind of vacation and enjoyed the attractions of the route between their homes and Mt. Haguro.⁵³

Overlapping Administrative Networks in Nanbu

Despite the powers granted to them through the office of *zaichō*, Sanada house heads were not the only officials with supervisory authority over the Haguro ascetics and priestesses living in their parish territory. While many of the most important conflicts between Haguro and Honzan-ha *yamabushi* over parishes and local authority occurred in the Nanbu domain in or near Sanada Shichirōzaemon parish territory, the household remained almost entirely uninvolved. Authority in early modern Shugendō was extremely complicated, and the Haguro-affiliated religion professionals based in Hei district, as well as the rest of Nanbu domain, found themselves interacting with many overlapping systems of administration. The Sanada Shichirōzaemon family had major rights and responsibilities in one set of circumstances, but in others, branch ascetics turned to different officials within the Haguro organization or even local secular powers to safeguard their interests.

⁵² Miyako-shi Kyōikuinkai, ed., *Miyako-shi-shi: kinsei 9-1*, 465.

⁵³ Laura Nenzi, *Excursions in Identity: Travel and the Intersection of Place, Gender, and Status in Edo Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 186-190.

Haguro-affiliated *yamabushi* based in villages and towns within the Nanbu domain ultimately had to navigate three overlapping systems of administration: the domainal government's Superintendent of Temples and Shrines office (*jisha bugyō-dokoro*), the Year Functionaries (*nen-gyōji*) of the Honzan-ha Shugendō group, and Haguro's own governing apparatus, which included both the headquarters-based Sanada Shichirōzaemon family and the temple Daishōji at the domain's capital of Morioka.⁵⁴ The Honzan-ha administrative officials known as *nen-gyōji* aggressively claimed authority over all *yamabushi* within their jurisdiction, even those associated with other organizations such as Haguro Shugendō. Haguro *yamabushi* resisted these impositions and the two groups pursued the dispute via a series of legal cases filed through the shogunal courts in Edo. These legal battles led to Haguro establishing its own managerial system for the Nanbu domain in 1726, with the temple Daishōji as the highest authority (*sōtō*, lit. "general chief/head") and officials called Skullcap Chiefs (*tokin-gashira*; the *tokin* skullcap was one of the distinctive garments and paraphernalia associated with *shugenja*), who came to number fourteen in total by 1750. The historian Mori Tsuyoshi argues that because Haguro's system was created significantly later than those of the domain government and the Honzan-ha, it was never able to achieve comparable authority in the region. All of these systems were dissolved with the abolition of domains, *kami*-Buddha syncretism (*shinbutsu shūgō*), and Shugendō that marked the beginning of the Meiji era in Japan.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Who, despite the literal meaning of their name, held their offices in perpetuity, not for annual periods.

⁵⁵ Mori, *Shugendō kasumi shiki no shiteki kenkyū*, 247-258.

In the early modern form of Haguro Shugendō inaugurated by Chief Administrator Ten'yū and his predecessors, the Sanada Shichirōzaemon/Gyokuzōbō family was primarily responsible for the tasks associated with the offices of *zaichō* and *oshi*. They appear to have had no direct involvement with the legal conflicts between Honzan-ha officials and Nanbu domain-based Haguro *yamabushi*, despite some of the conflicts originating from within their parishes. The rationale behind this lack of involvement was never articulated specifically, but it is likely that the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family had insufficient political and social authority to address the problems. The *yamabushi* involved instead turned to higher-ranking figures associated with the domain government, the shogunate's court system, and Haguro's powerful head temple of Tōeizan in Edo. However, the generations of Sanada *zaichō* retained the power to issue certifications to the branch *yamabushi* and *miko* of their parishes right until the very end of the Tokugawa period. This guaranteed a consistent source of income and prestige for the family, although the highest certifications, including the license to wear Haguro Shugendō's signature purple surplice (*yuigesa*) with white crests, could only be conferred by the office of the Chief Administrator. In these cases, the Chief Administrator shared a small portion of the fee with the *zaichō* household with authority over the recipient, but he retained the lion's share for himself.

Four of the domain's Skullcap Chiefs (*tokin-gashira*), Haguro Shugendō's locally-based administrators, lived in the Hei district of Nanbu, which meant they relied on the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household to certify their participation in the Fall Peak austerities and the ranks and licenses it conveyed. Skullcap Chiefs themselves had no

power to issue licenses under the authority of Mt. Haguro. The document archives of these Skullcap Chief households corroborate that the Sanada Shichirōzaemon issued certifications to successive generations of these households. These Skullcap Chief *yamabushi* lineages consisted of Myōren'in from Kotsuchi village, Zenryūin from the Miyako area, Monjuin from Yanagisawa village, and Mirokuin from Iwaizumi village. Judging from document archives of these lineages, the Sanada Shichirōzaemon family does not appear to have interfered with their responsibilities as *tokin-gashira*, except for occasionally circulating notices from the organization's leadership at Mt. Haguro. Considering the family's more direct engagement with the subordinates it appointed to govern its territory in the medieval and early Tokugawa eras, this can be regarded as another example of the centralized Haguro bureaucracy and other groups infringing on powers traditionally enjoyed by lineages like the Sanadas.

Conclusion

Haguro Shugendō existed as a religious corporation composed of several hierarchically arranged orders of religious professionals. The ideological source of its authority and identity was Mt. Haguro itself and its local deity, the Haguro Gongen (avatar), though much of its practical authority derived from its role as a subtemple of the powerful Kan'eiji/Rinnōji-no-miya temple. The Sanada Schichirōzaemon family occupied the middle tier of this organization, subject to the summit clergy at its literal and figurative apex, but superior to the branch ascetics and priestesses who lived apart from its center. One of the major privileges the Sanadas enjoyed as middlemen – the patriarchal *ie* system ensured that all house heads were male, and contributions by female

family members, though surely indispensable, were not considered important enough to record – was the authority to issue certifications to these branch ascetics and priestesses in a process that might be likened to the granting of a franchise. Branch ascetic families had to rely on their *zaichō* to recognize and certify membership and rank in the organization. The extent to which these branch religious professionals held sectarian consciousness is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but affiliation with a larger organization was a necessity in the Tokugawa religious order. Furthermore, a connection with a prestigious and established religious center certainly enhanced the reputation of these ascetics within their communities, and granted them potential resources during conflicts with other religious specialists.

Conclusion

Between Headquarters and Parish:

The Sanada Families Within and Without

I began this study by recounting two anecdotes about early modern *yamabushi* that highlighted some of the complications that arise when describing and characterizing the Shugendō tradition. The story of Sanada Shikibu Seikyō's suicide and subsequent manifestation as a wrathful spirit illustrates that *shugenja* were both sources of otherworldly spiritual power and householders with clear material and social interests. Engelbert Kaempfer's account of *yamabushi* underscores the diversity within the ranks of the *shugenja*, which included both rich, settled *yamabushi* as well as impoverished, itinerant *yamabushi*. *Yamabushi* were multivalent figures, often positioned in an ambiguous place between the seeming dichotomies of the monastic and lay, the ascetic and worldly, and the folk and elite. The history of the Sanada households ably shows the full complexity and scope of Shugendō and the activities of *yamabushi* in early modern Japan.

The Internal and External Roles of the Sanada Families

Much of the history of the Sanada families occurred at Mt. Haguro and its temple town of Tōge, which together constituted the central headquarters of Haguro Shugendō. The leaders of Haguro Shugendō directly ruled the immediate area as a semi-autonomous territory, and it was the primary community in which the Sanada families claimed membership and residence. Consequently, I examined their place within the social,

political, and ritual structures of that community. The Sanada households functioned as members of both the local status groups that comprised the Haguro Shugendō community and the more universal status groups that constituted early modern Japanese society as a whole. Citing a respected ancestor and their long history at the mountain, the Sanadas expected to be treated as elites among elites, and justified that expectation via the strategic use of documentation and archival management. Their membership in the high-ranking *onbun* status group as well as the prestige conveyed by the history of their individual household ensured a special place in the mountain's hierarchy, granting them privileges in regard to land, taxes, and inheritance.

The Sanada families also consistently engaged with the political and administrative sphere of Mt. Haguro and Tōge. Sanada *yamabushi* often served the Chief Administrators (*bettō*), rulers of the mountain and Tōge, in major administrative roles, a relationship that granted the households special privileges and responsibilities, but also exposed them to the dangers of political intrigue. As the Sanada Shikibu household's close relationship with Chief Administrator Ten'yū illustrates, the fall of a political patron could have severe consequences for his followers, which could even involve the courts of the shogunate in distant Edo. Nonetheless, despite the succession of clerics who occupied the post of Chief Administrator, established *shugenja* households such as the Sanadas managed to preserve a central role in the governance of Mt. Haguro and its relations with outside powers throughout the early modern era, assisting in major reforms of Mt. Haguro and Tōge. Sanada *yamabushi* were also closely involved with the ritual calendar at Mt. Haguro, especially the four seasonal ritual periods that were its pillars.

Sanada *yamabushi* regarded their elite pedigree as the justification for special privileges within the ritual and ascetic sphere of Haguro Shugendō, especially concerning unique treatment in the Fall Peak austerities and their duties as replacement Pine Saints in the Winter Peak austerities. The experiences of the Sanada households demonstrate that high status in the community of Haguro *yamabushi* was often not the result of ascetic attainments, but instead was the prerequisite for participation in the austerities that allowed such attainments.

The Sanada households did not limit their activities to just Mt. Haguro and its immediate territory; they actively maintained relationships with external households and institutions, both within and without the ambit of Haguro Shugendō. The Nanbu clan, rulers of the Nanbu/Morioka domain, were the primary daimyo patrons of the Sanada families. Put broadly, the Nanbu were superior in status to the Sanadas, and had no obligations toward them that were not voluntarily obeyed. As local rulers, the Nanbu controlled access to the regions that corresponded with Sanada parishes, and Sanada *yamabushi* prioritized the maintenance of good relations with the Nanbu. The retainers of the Nanbu clan provided Sanada *yamabushi* and their proxies with the travel passes that guaranteed unobstructed use of the domain's road networks as well as the use of post horses and porters. Both Sanada lineages used their family document archives to revive their client-patron relationship with the Nanbu after it had lain fallow for over a century. The Sanadas derived far more benefit from this relationship than did the Nanbu, who had many lineages of religious professionals to serve their needs, but Nanbu patronage of the

Sanadas continued until the end of the early modern period, testifying to the strength of the bond.

The Nanbu lords occupied a superior social position in relation to the Sanadas, but the Haguro-affiliated branch *yamabushi* and *miko* living within Sanada parish territory were by contrast subordinate to the Sanada households, who held administrative authority over these religious professionals. As holders of the office of *zaichō*, the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household was responsible for certifying the participation of branch ascetics in the Fall Peak austerities and promotion to the ranks that participation entailed. For the Haguro-affiliated *miko* living in that territory, the household granted them their religious names. These certification activities were a major source of income and prestige for the household, and they were conducted according to a well-documented system headed by the Chief Administrator and elite summit clergy. The administrator-subordinate relationship between the Sanadas and their branch *yamabushi* was hereditary for both parties, extending across the generations. Descendants of the Sanada Shikibu household were denied their *zaichō* rights over their Nanbu parishes for much of the early modern period as a result of fallout from their support of the banished Chief Administrator Ten'yū in the later seventeenth century, but they exercised the same rights before and after that hiatus.

This study divided the early modern activities of the Sanada families into five separate sections, which were themselves split between the internal sphere of Mt. Haguro and Tōge and the external sphere of its parishes in northern Japan. Practicality made this structure necessary, but in the actual experiences of the Sanada families, all five divisions,

both internal and external, were fundamentally interrelated. I will now weave them all together and consider the larger thematic and conceptual questions they raise.

The Worldly and the Ascetic in Haguro Shugendō

The Fall Peak austerities may be the most studied aspect of Haguro Shugendō, and the analyses of the ritual period by Earhart, Blacker, Sekimori, and others are rightfully acknowledged as seminal works in both the study of Haguro Shugendō and the Shugendō tradition as a whole. Nonetheless, for the Sanada *yamabushi* of the Tokugawa era, these austerities only occupied two weeks out of the year and represented a fraction of their total activities as *shugenja* within Haguro Shugendō. The activities of *shugenja* during the other fifty weeks of the year are equally important to our understanding of early modern Shugendō, as are the more practical elements of *yamabushi* austerities. Ascetic practice was ideologically central to the identity of early modern *yamabushi*, but the true extent of their activities and concerns was far vaster. This raises the question of the relationship between the seemingly opposite concepts of ‘worldliness’ and ‘asceticism’ in Shugendō and Asian Buddhism.

The term asceticism suggests the denial of the world for higher, more spiritual ends, but the austerities undergone by Haguro *yamabushi* were inseparably linked with the ‘worldly’ spheres of money, status, and politics. Service to their lay patrons, subordinate religious professionals, and peers within the village of Tōge was also interwoven with the more practical and temporal needs of the household. This interconnectedness of the worldly and the austere was not merely a concession or degeneration from the pure Shugendō of the medieval era, but the accepted mainstream

of Shugendō in the early modern period. Hagiographies of Shugendō sect founders such as En-no-Gyōja or Nōjo Daishi may have been elaborated and disseminated during the sectarian growth spurred by the policies of the Tokugawa shogunate, but the lives of the era's actual *yamabushi* necessarily included much that went beyond the contents of those hagiographies.

The early modern activities of the Sanada families recorded in family archives and other Haguro sources proves how the more 'sacred' aspects of *yamabushi* life were thoroughly interwoven with the more 'worldly' arenas of economics, politics, and social hierarchies. Austerities were undertaken not just for personal transformation, but for necessary temporal benefits. Completion of the Fall Peak austerities at age fifteen was one of the three requirements for a Haguro-based *yamabushi* heir to achieve full membership in the community and be permitted to inherit the position of household head. For the branch *yamabushi* living within parishes, participation in the Fall Peak not only confirmed their membership in the organization, but was the basis for ascending in rank and qualifying for certifications that conferred prestigious garments, paraphernalia, and titles. Both centrally-based *yamabushi* households with the office of *zaichō* and the mountain's Chief Administrator-headed leadership regarded the participation of parish-based village *shugenja* in the Fall Peak austerities as a significant source of profit. As for the Winter Peak austerities, the Sanada households' special role as replacement ritualists derived from the prestige of their lineage, not the ascetic attainments of an individual household head. High status, based on one's elite household, guaranteed access to austerities as well as better treatment during those austerities, as in the Fall Peak.

Elite *yamabushi* households such as the Sanadas came to depend on the Chief Administrator to guarantee their authority over their traditional parish territories. The ancestors of these households may have initially secured these parish rights on their own during the medieval era, but in the early modern system, the parish deeds that confirmed and defined a household's privileges were issued in the name of the Chief Administrator, reflecting the office's dominance. These elite *yamabushi* furthermore required the cooperation of the daimyo, rulers of the domains that contained their parishes, to travel safely and conveniently through around those parishes and serve their inhabitants. For the Sanada lineages, this meant maintaining a friendly relationship with the Nanbu clan, which they accomplished by invoking the documentation preserved in their archives. The Nanbu clan was far less dependent on the Sanada families, but the Sanada connection to the sacred mountains of the Dewa Sanzan granted them the supernatural power to aid the Nanbu in war and peace, praying for both victory in battle and the healing of illness. At the same time, the fallout from Haguro's internal political struggles appears to have led to the cessation of parish rounds, and they were restored by using archived documents to reestablish the relationship with the Nanbu clan. Similarly, the document that defined and guaranteed the elite status of the Sanada Shichirōzaemon household at Haguro, which included their ritual and social privileges, was issued by the Chief Administrator Yūgen and then copied and reissued by a later Chief Administrator. The networks and relationships that allowed the Sanada families to survive and flourish throughout the early modern period were not mere abstractions, but instead were grounded in defined, material documentation, which was lost or ignored at a household's peril. The internal and the

external, the worldly and the ascetic, were all bound together in system that organized the lives and activities of Haguro *yamabushi* for centuries.

Character List

A

ajari-kō 阿闍梨講

aka sendatsu 阿伽先達

Aki-no-mine 秋峰

Amō Matahei 天羽又兵衛

azukari-yama 預山

B

ban-nori 番乗

betsudan no gi o toshite 別段之儀を為

bettō 別当

bettōdai 別当代

bōgō 坊号

bōgō 房号

buninjō 補任状

C

chiji 知事

D

Daigobō 醍醐坊

daikan 代官

Daimanbō 大満坊

daisendatsu 大先達

Daishōji 大勝寺

dannaba 檀那場

danna-mawari 檀那廻り

Date-ke 伊達家

deshi 弟子

Dewa 出羽

Dewa Sanzan 出羽三山

Dewa Sanzan shiryōshū 出羽三山史料集

dōsha 道者

E

Edo 江戸

Enkyō sannen aratame Ōu Haguro-ha 延享三年改奥羽羽黒派修験名前帳

shugen namae-chō

Enryakuji 延暦寺

F

Fuyu-no-mine 冬峰

Fumoto dannaba narabi ni dō-goya-mochi 麓旦那場並堂小屋持継目安堵覚

tsugime ando oboe

G

Gassan 月山

gen-kurabe 験競べ

go-monsatsu 御門札

gon-daisōzu 権大僧都

gongen 権現

gonin gumi 五人組

gon-shōsōzu 権少僧都

Go 'shinmotsu-chō 御進物帳

Gotazune nit suki fumoto dannaba kakeageru oboe 御尋二付麓檀那場書上覚

Go 'tenma shōmon utsushi 御伝馬証文写

Gyokuzōbō 玉蔵坊

H

Haguro-san 羽黒山

Haguro-san hōshiki shusse kankin narabi bunin hikae 羽黒山法式出世官金並補任控

Haguro-san shugen honshū 羽黒山修験本宗

Haru-no-mine 春峰

hatamoto 旗本

Hei-gun 閉伊郡

Hijiori 肘折

hiki 疋

hiramonjin 平門人

hiramonzen 平門前

hiro 尋

hōin 法印

Hokke sanjū-kō 法華三十講

honbō 本坊

Hondōji 本道寺

honmatsu seido 本末制度

honsha 本社

Honzan-ha 本山派

horagai 法螺貝

Hōzen'in 宝前院

hyakushō 百姓

I

ie 家

ijō 位上

indai 院代

ingō 院号

issan soshiki 一山組織

itsu-sōgi 一僧祇

Iwanezawa 岩根沢

J

Jakkōji 寂光寺

jisha bugyō 寺社奉行

Jisha kiroku 寺社記録

Jōkyū no ran 承久の乱

K

kaimyō 戒名

kainō 螺緒

Kakujun 覚諄

Kakujun bettō nikki 覚諄別当日記

Kamei-chō 亀井町

Kan'eiji 寛永寺

kari sendatsu 駈先達

karō 家老

kasumiba 霞場

ken 間

Kibotoke 木仏

kimo-iri 肝入

kogi sendatsu 小木先達

roku 石

Kongōjuin 金剛樹院

Kōtakuji 荒沢寺

Kumano 熊野

kumi-gashira 組頭

kura 蔵

Kushibiki 櫛引

Kyōdōin Seikai 經堂院精海

L

M

mamorifuda 守札

mappa shugen 末派修験

matsu hijiri 松聖

metsuke 目付

mibun 身分

miko 神子

mine-iri 峰入

Mirokubō 弥勒坊

Mirokuin 弥勒院

Mitake-san 御岳山

mito-aki 御戸開

mito-jime 御戸閉

miuchi 御内

Mogami-ke 最上家

Monjuin 文殊院

monjo 文書

monme 匆

monzeki 門跡

Morioka 盛岡

Mutsu 陸奥

N

nagaya-mon 長屋門

Nanbu 南部

Nanbu Nobunao 南部信直

Nanbu Shigenao 南部重直

Nanbu Toshinao 南部利直

nando 納戸

na-nushi 名主

Natsu-no-mine 夏峰

nen-gyōji 年行事

nentō 年頭

nōdarani 能陀羅尼

Nōjo daishi 能除大子

nukitoshi-mon 貫通門

nyonin kinsei 女人禁制

nyūbu 入峰

O

Ōami 大網

Ōisawa 大井沢

ōji 王子

Ōmine 大峰

ōnando 大納戸

onbun 恩分

oshi 御師

Ōshū 奥州

Ōta Hitachi 太田常陸

Ōta Kazue 太田主計

P

Q

R

Rengebō 蓮華坊

Rinnōji-no-miya 輪王寺宮

ryō 両

S

sakadai 酒代

Sakai-ke 酒井家

saitai shugen 妻帯修験

saitō goma 採燈護摩

Sakura-kōji 桜小路

Sanada Geki 真田外記

Sanada Giuemon 真田儀右衛門

Sanada Hayato 真田隼人

Sanada Jirō Iehisa 真田治郎家久

Sanada Kamemitsu 真田龜三

Sanada Kanejūrō 真田金十郎

Sanada Kōuemon 真田幸右エ門

Sanada Norioki 真田永起

Sanada Shichirōzaemon 真田七郎左衛門

Sanada Shichirōzaemon Hisatake 久武

Sanada Shichirōzaemon Noriaki 永秋

Sanada Shichirōzaemon Noritada 永忠

Sanada Shichirōzaemon Noritaka 永隆

Sanada Shichirōzaemon Noriyoshi 永良

Sanada Shichirōzaemon Shigekatsu 重勝

Sanada Shihei 真田四兵衛

Sanada Shikibu 真田式部

Sanada Wahei 真田和兵衛

Sanada Yozaemon 真田与左衛門

Sanbōin 三宝院

Sannohe 三戸

sanyaku 三役

sanyaku-sho 三役所

sato shugen 里修験

Seikyō 清鏡

seisō 清僧

Sendai Nanbu miko yamabushi kan'i-chō 仙台南部神子山伏官位帳

sendo 先途

shiki 職

shanin 社人

Shimekake 七五三掛

shinbutsu bunri 神仏分離

Shingon 真言

shinshoku 神職

shō 升

Shōgoin 聖護院

shōnando 小納戸

shoshidai 所司代

Shōreisai 松例祭

shu 朱

Shugendō 修驗道

Shugendō hatto 修驗道法度

shugenja 修驗者

shugyō 執行

Shūkai-shū 拾塊集

shuinjō 朱印状

shukubō 宿坊

shūto 衆徒

Sō-go'onbun aratame-sho 惣御恩分改書

sokushinbutsu 即身仏

Sonchōin Keikai 尊重院圭海

T

taigyō 大業, 太業

Tendai 天台

Tenkai 天海

tenma 伝馬

Ten'yū 天宥

tera-uke seido 寺請制度

Tōeizan 東叡山

Tōge 手向

tokin 頭巾

tokin-gashira 頭巾頭

toko-naori 床直

Tōno 遠野

tori 通

Toshiya-matsuri 年夜祭

Tōzan-ha 当山派

Tsuruoka 鶴岡

tsutsugamushi 恙虫

U

Ueno 上野

ujiko 氏子

Umezu chūjō 梅津中将

Ushū Haguro-san chūkō oboegaki 羽州羽黒山中興覚書

V

W

X

Y

yamabushi 山伏

yama-mamori 山守

yatararasu 八尺鳥

Yudono-san 湯殿山

Yūgen 宥源

yuigesa 結袈裟

Yūshun 宥俊

Yūyo 宥譽

Z

zaichō 在庁

Zatsuroku 雜録

zeni 錢

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