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“The Book of the Great Practice”

The Life of the Mt. Fuji Ascetic

Kakugyō Tōbutsu Kū

(Introduction and Translation)

Abstract

Although Mt. Fuji had long been the object of religious attention, Kakugyō (1541–1646) founded a new form of the cult. According to his eighteenth-century biography (here translated, annotated, and fully introduced), he sought in his practice to incarnate the mountain, in obedience to divine revelations, so as to stabilize a land then rent by war. He taught that Mt. Fuji was the nurturing source of all things, and, according to his legend, his practice called into manifestation Tokugawa Ieyasu, the warrior who unified Japan in the early seventeenth century. The Fuji cult he founded was a powerful force among the people of Edo in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and offshoots of it survive even now.

Key words: Mt. Fuji — shamanism — mountain cults — ascetic practice — ideology (religious) — myths of kingship

MT. FUJI—virtually the symbol of Japan—needs no introduction. In premodern times the Japanese proudly called it “the greatest mountain in the Three Lands” (India, China and Japan), which amounted to calling it the greatest mountain in the world. Ancient poems praise it as a god, artists celebrate it repeatedly, and modern poets (KUSANO 1991)—to say nothing of photographers—are profoundly inspired by it. The legends of Mt. Fuji have a vigor worthy of its fame, and the mountain has inspired a cult devoted to its worship. Among the documents of this cult, none is more remarkable than *Go-taigyō no maki* 御大行の巻 [The book of the great practice; hereafter “the *Book*”]. The *Book* tells the life of the Fuji ascetic Kakugyō 角行 (1541–1646), the founder of the Edo-period (1600–1868) cult of Mt. Fuji.

Kakugyō sought to incarnate the power of the mountain, and his career inspired a legend that proclaims Mt. Fuji as the pillar and savior of Japan. This legend is the substance of the *Book*, a translation of which follows this introduction. The introduction and translation together form only a preliminary study, however. A proper understanding of the *Book* would require familiarity with the mountain itself, contact with well-informed cult leaders, and better access to the relevant documents than any scholar has yet been given. For some of what follows I have relied on research done for two previous articles on Mt. Fuji (TYLER 1981 and 1984). H. Byron EARTHART has promised a book on the Fuji cult (1989), and I trust that he will present the subject in far more complete perspective. The religion of Mt. Fuji deserves careful study.

In Kakugyō's time, the two chief religious institutions devoted to Mt. Fuji were the Fuji Sengen (or Asama) Shrine 富士浅間神社 in present Fujinomiya City, Shizuoka Prefecture, and the community of mountain ascetics (*yamabushi* 山伏) established at Murayama, low on the southwestern slope of the mountain. Murayama operated the already popular pilgrimage to the summit—a pilgrimage vividly illustrated in several circa sixteenth-century paintings of the mountain known as *Fuji man-*

dara 富士曼陀羅 (for example, SASAKI and OKUMURA 1979, plate 170). The religion of the *yamabushi* there was strongly colored by Buddhism and belonged in both doctrine and practice to the Shugendō 修験道 tradition of mountain asceticism that long before the sixteenth century had taken root on practically every sacred mountain in Japan.

In the late sixteenth century, most of the Fuji pilgrims still came from the regions to the south and west of the mountain, toward Kyoto and Osaka. In 1603, however, Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616), who had recently put an end to over a century of internecine war, established his shogunal capital at Edo, the present Tokyo. As Edo and the region around it grew in importance, the center of the Fuji cult shifted in that direction; and since the best access from Edo was to the north of the mountain, the northern “Yoshida entrance” became the base for the Edo-period cult. By the late eighteenth century, Edo (now a very large city) harbored many Fuji confraternities (*Fuji kō* 富士講), some of which began to call for world renewal (*yonaooshi* 世治し), arousing fear in the shogunal government and inspiring it to try—unsuccessfully—to ban the movement entirely. At the same time, new trends in the cult eventually developed into offshoot movements, some of which (like Fusō-kyō 扶桑教 or Fuji-dō 富士道) became important in their own right. Several streams of Fuji worship, including remnants of the old Edo confraternities, survive even now.

In this evolution of the cult, Kakugyō appeared at a pivotal time and, as far as one can tell, played a pivotal role. Certainly, he affiliated himself neither with the Murayama *yamabushi* nor with the old “Shinto” cult of the Fuji Sengen Shrine and its branch organizations. Instead, he moved into a cave on the north side of the mountain known as the Hitoana 人穴 (literally, “man hole”), where no ascetic is known to have lived before, and performed major ascetic exercises. Although it is unlikely that he was known much, if at all, in his own time (even the *Book* credits him with only two disciples), he made a suitable founding figure for the Fuji confraternities. It was his two great sixth-generation successors, Jikigyō Miroku 食行身禄 (1671–1733) and Murakami Kōsei 村上光清 (1682–1759), who turned the cult into a mass movement. The Murakami line of cult leaders in particular stressed their lineage back to Kakugyō, though Jikigyō may have been more influential in popularizing the movement. Funerary monuments to the major leaders of both lines still stand before the entrance to the Hitoana.

The *Book* is probably a work of the late eighteenth or perhaps the early nineteenth century. That is the period when the Fuji confraternities reached the peak of their popularity. Most members of the confraternities, including the leaders, were craftsmen or tradesmen, and

the teachings of the cult reflect their attitudes. Outstanding among these is a taste for hard work. Japanese diligence is now famous, but the spirit behind it is already plainly visible in the *Book*. Kakugyō's exemplary career provides, among other things, a model of labor and endurance in the interest of social harmony and welfare. The Fuji devotees, who time and again walked from Edo to climb the highest mountain in Japan, emulated him and his successors as best they could. The massively physical dimension of the spiritual goals set forth in the *Book* is one reason why it leaves so powerful an impression.

This introduction to the *Book* will begin with a discussion of the surviving documents that are believed to be in Kakugyō's own hand; the aim of this section is at least in part to establish that an ascetic named Kakugyō really did exist. The second section takes up those aspects of the *Book* that mark it most clearly, despite its own claims, as belonging to the latter part of the Edo period. The third section discusses the Fuji deity that appears in the *Book*, and the fourth analyzes the key terms *taigyō* 大行 (great practice) and *gyōdō* 行道 (path of practice). The fifth and final section considers the main elements—the cave, the mountain, and the waters—of Kakugyō's practice as it appears in the *Book*.

DOCUMENTS ON KAKUGYŌ

There survives an autobiographical note in Kakugyō's own hand, dated Keichō 10. 6. 3 (1605)¹ (see Itō 1971, 646–47 and IWASHINA 1983, 56).² Kakugyō probably jotted it down for someone to whom he gave one of the written “utterances” that Sengen, the Fuji deity, repeatedly taught him.

I came originally from Nagasaki but I spent time in Hitachi Province [now Ibaraki Prefecture] and did a seven-day vigil there. At Nishin-no-tawa³ I worshiped the Sun, the Moon, and the Dragon Deities, and I did severe ascetic practices. In my eighteenth year I conceived the aspiration to enlightenment and at times performed sevenfold standing vigils.⁴ I was told in a dream, “If you go south from here, climb Mt. Fuji and practice there, I will grant you a boon.” I climbed Mt. Fuji and walked the Mid-Path.⁵ A message from Fuji Sengen said: “To the northwest from here you will find the Hitoana.” So I secluded myself in the Hitoana, set up a seven-foot⁶ block and did a seven-day standing vigil. By the light of the Sun and Moon I received this utterance⁷ and aided sentient beings. Then I practiced in Izu Province [in modern Shizuoka Prefecture]. I purified my body with the waters of the Eight Lakes and did 18,008 ablutions. I did this in order to purify the

passions and to save sentient beings. He who asked for this utterance will in his future life be born . . . [?].⁸ If this promise proves false, may I fall into the realm of hungry ghosts.⁹

This note is poorly written and spelled, despite the distinguished birth claimed for Kakugyō later on, but elements in it are still easily recognizable in the *Book*. Another autograph document (published in Itō 1971, 647) states that during a thousand-day retreat in the Hitoana, Kakugyō wrote out a thousand scrolls of his chief invocation to the Fuji deity, no doubt for people who had asked for them;¹⁰ while yet another, entitled *Shoshinbō no maki* 諸神法の巻 [The book of divine rites; IWASHINA 1983, 59] contains a long collection of healing invocations, beside many of which Kakugyō noted the donations he had received. This side of Kakugyō, absent from the *Book*, makes him come alive. Ascetics like him normally distributed invocations or talismans that they had written or made in response to popular demand, and accepted in return the donations they needed in order to live.¹¹

Prominent in the *Book* are vaticinatory texts and mystic diagrams of the mountain, which Kakugyō called *go-monku* 御文句 ("utterances" in my translation) or *fusegi* 風先侘 (spells). These are meant to draw down the power of the Fuji deity and channel it to a particular purpose. Examples of such items, written or drawn by Kakugyō himself, survive. One gathers from the *Book* that they were somehow to be voiced. Similar utterances or spells were also produced by later cult leaders and came to be known as *o-minuki* お身抜, a term that suggests the meaning "drawn from the very body" (of the practitioner or the deity). Kakugyō's contain unique characters (perhaps a written analogue of "speaking in tongues") that remained in use in the cult. Such documents are only sporadically intelligible, since they are not written in normal language.

IWASHINA (1983, 58) has published from *Shoshinbō no maki* a brief description of Kakugyō's "practice of the eight lakes," discussed below; Itō (1971, 647) has published a different fragment on the same subject. Finally, a short work (two printed pages) entitled *Hibi no kokoroe* 日々の心得 [Precepts for daily living; IWASHINA 1983, 64–66] praises Mt. Fuji, laments spiritual and social disorder, recommends chanting the utterances and heeding the deity's teachings, declares the writer to be the vessel of the deity, and ends with twelve practical admonitions for right living.

These are the items that confirm Kakugyō's reality to the world at large. To them should perhaps be added *Fusō nenpu taigyō no maki* 扶桑年譜大行の巻, a collection of biographical information on Kakugyō compiled ca. 1880, from materials that clearly differ at times from the

Book, by a senior Fuji devotee (IWASHINA 1983, 46–51). Other materials do exist. The documents already mentioned are only samples from a collection of Kakugyō documents, and of others from the later cult, owned by the Akaike 赤池 family that has resided for centuries near the Hitoana. Unfortunately, this collection is not available to persons outside the cult. Itō (1971, 646) wrote that he and another person were the first outsiders allowed to see it, at just about the time he was beginning to annotate the *Book*. IWASHINA (1978, 63) wrote that when he and the Fuji scholar Endō Hideo went to a festival at the Hitoana, they saw a pile of documents on the altar and secretly photographed several before they were caught and roundly scolded. No inventory of the Kakugyō documents is yet available; still less have they been analyzed.

THE BOOK OF THE GREAT PRACTICE AND ITS LATE DATE

The many variants of the *Book* testify to the work's importance in the Fuji cult. Actually, the version translated here is entitled *Kakugyō Tōbutsu Kū ki* 角行藤仏の記 [The record of Kakugyō Tōbutsu Kū; hereafter "the *Record*"], but it seemed preferable in translation to use the more widely known title. Itō Kenkichi chose this text of the *Book* for inclusion in MURAKAMI and YASUMARU (1971, 452–81).

The *Book* claims to be a biography of Kakugyō, written in 1620 by Kakugyō's successor Engan 演旺 (Nichigyō Nichigan 日行日旺, d. 1652). However, the *Book* itself speaks of Kakugyō's death in 1646, and beyond that it contains various anachronisms or fabrications. Those easiest to define involve 1) the ancestry claimed for Kakugyō and his disciples; 2) the elements from the Kōshin cult superimposed on Kakugyō's practice; 3) the identification of the "eight lakes" where Kakugyō practiced after first climbing the mountain; 4) the elimination of the dragon deities mentioned in Kakugyō's autobiographical note and the suppression of other traces of medieval religious vocabulary; 5) the presence of passages that can only have been written after the death of Kakugyō's sixth-generation successor Jikigyō Miroku; 6) the character of the *Book*'s moral teachings as compared to Kakugyō's *Hibi no kokoroe*; 7) the extraordinary connection claimed in the *Book* between Kakugyō and the shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu; and 8) a related insistence on the link between Kakugyō and Nikkō 日光, where Ieyasu's spirit was enshrined. Other doubtful matters include the stories of how Kakugyō gained his two disciples and the healing miracles said to have been performed by Kakugyō and his disciples in Edo in 1620. I will discuss the eight main points in turn.

1) *Kakugyō's ancestry and the name Kakugyō Tōbutsu Kū*. Kakugyō's full name, as given in the *Book*, consists of three elements. The

last of these, Kū 倨, is an honorific title peculiar to the Fuji cult and is written with one of Kakugyō's unique characters. It is roughly equivalent to "Bosatsu" (from the Skt. Bodhisattva) (IWASHINA 1983, 66), a title reserved in popular Buddhism for the most venerated holy men.

With respect to "Kakugyō" itself, the *-gyō* 行 element means "[religious] practice." Names ending in *-gyō* became common in the Fuji cult; for example, "Jikigyō" means "practice of food." *Kaku* 角 has two or perhaps three meanings. The main one, judging from the *Book*, is "[wooden] block," so that "Kakugyō" means "practice of the block." Kakugyō performed standing vigils on a block of wood that the *Book* discusses at length. However, when written with a different character, *kaku* can also mean "writing" 書; hence, "practice of writing." The *Record* has the Fuji deity give Kakugyō this new name sometime after 1607, but one document (Itō 1971, 647), dated Tenshō 8. 1. 3 (1580), is already signed that way. The "writing" presumably refers to the divinely revealed utterances and spells that Kakugyō wrote down and distributed. Finally, the Murakami line of Fuji confraternities preferred to use, in place of "writing," a character that means "drawing" or "painting" 画. This rendering, too, must allude to the utterances and spells, so many of which incorporate a sketch of Mt. Fuji.

It is the element "Tōbutsu" 藤仏 that raises the issue of Kakugyō's ancestry. The character for *tō* can also be read *fuji*, and means "wisteria." Although the name of the mountain is not properly written this way, Kakugyō himself used this homophone to mean the mountain itself. *Butsu*, for its part, means "buddha." *Tōbutsu* therefore means, plausibly enough, something like "[Mt.] Fuji Buddha" or "Buddha of [Mt.] Fuji." However, *tō/fuji* is also the first character of the surname Fujiwara 藤原 (literally, "wisteria field"). This is where the trouble starts.

Kakugyō signed the 1580 document, mentioned above, "Fujiwara Kaku[=write]gyō Tōbutsu." This signature seems at first glance to weaken the unanimous opinion that he cannot have been a Fujiwara, and that even if he had been, he would not have cared (IWASHINA 1983, 44). (Japanese history is full of people who falsely claimed noble ancestry, but a holy man who lived in a cave and spoke with the voice of Mt. Fuji is unlikely to have clung to any last, worthless straw of high-born ancestry.) In fact, it is likely that in writing *tō/fuji*, Kakugyō really did mean Mt. Fuji and not "Fujiwara." On the other hand, it is also possible that this signature (on this and other documents) is what gave Kakugyō's successors the idea of claiming noble ancestry for him. Japanese popular religion can take word play and "folk etymology" very seriously indeed.

The name Fujiwara is one of the most famous in Japanese history.

The Fujiwara clan emerged in the seventh century, flourished in the eighth, and by the late ninth century effectively controlled the emperors and their court. The entire political system of the Heian period (794–1185) was conventionally conceived as an alliance between the Fujiwara regents and the emperors whom they “served.” In the late Heian period, however, this alliance, although preserved in form, began to weaken. Then, at the end of the twelfth century, warrior rule—the rule of shoguns—appeared. The Fujiwara courtiers were never at any time simply done away with, but by the sixteenth century they were little more than ciphers in the ritual of an imperial government that had long since lost any shred of practical power. The claim that Kakugyō was a Fujiwara (in fact, a “Fujiwara Buddha”) therefore held a deep nostalgia. The courtly reality of long ago had become a folklore motif. Any doubt on this score is laid to rest by the extraordinary coincidence that Kakugyō’s two disciples in the *Book* share the same ancestry.

Why should it have been so important that Kakugyō and his disciples be Fujiwaras? One reason, suggested by Itō (1971, 648), has to do with rivalry in the latter part of the eighteenth century between the Murakami line and the Miroku line of Fuji confraternities. Perhaps the Murakami line, faced with the enormous popularity of Jikigyō Miroku, felt the need to ornament the biography of their founder. In fact, other anomalies in the *Book* could be explained this way as well.

A second reason returns to the idea of Fujiwara ancestry as a folklore motif. The folk religious literature of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries is full of tales about humans who, after various trials, eventually “appeared as deities” (*kami to arawaretamō*). The humans in question are, precisely, courtiers who have about the same relationship to the Heian court nobles as the princes and princesses of European folktales do to the lords and ladies of medieval Europe. An example can be found in *Nikkō-san engi* 日光山縁起, the legendary history of the Nikkō mountains, datable to approximately the sixteenth century (SAKURAI 1975, 276–89). The hero is a courtier of distinguished rank who, having incurred the emperor’s displeasure, wanders to the far north where he marries a rich man’s daughter and has a son. In due course, the three appear as the deities of the three Nikkō peaks—the triple deity mentioned in the *Book* (see translation, note 13). In other words, the very fact of being a Fujiwara long separated from the capital may have helped to qualify Kakugyō for divinity; and Kakugyō’s two fallen Fujiwara disciples seem to complete an almost predictable triad.¹²

2) *The Book and the Kōshin cult.* The Kōshin cult, originally im-

ported from Chinese Taoism, was well known in Japan for hundreds of years prior to 1600. Nonetheless, the prominence of Kōshin motifs in the *Book*, in connection with Mt. Fuji, seems to be uncharacteristic of Kakugyō's time.

The word *kōshin* 庚申 is an alternate reading of the characters used to write the calendrical designation *kanoe-saru*. In the East Asian sexagenary cycle of "stems" and "branches," the "stem" *kanoe* combines with the "branch" *saru* once every sixty days and, similarly, once every sixty years. The night of a Kōshin day was the occasion for a special vigil. And because the "branch" *saru* is homophonous with the word for "monkey" 猿, monkeys were associated with Kōshin beliefs. The famous "three monkeys" ("see no evil, hear no evil, speak no evil") are a part of Kōshin lore. For this reason Kōshin belief in Japan also appropriated to some extent the unrelated Japanese deity Sarutahiko 猿田彦.

A document dated 1676 states that the feast-days (*ennichi* 縁日) of Fuji were, apart from the Kōshin days, the first *saru* day of each month (no matter what the other component of that day's calendrical designation might have been) and the last day of the month (KUBO 1976, 410). For example, the *Book* describes Kakugyō as having first begun to climb the mountain on the first *saru* day in the third lunar month of 1572. However, it was the Kōshin years that were really important.

According both to the *Book* and to the popular religious tale *Fujisan no honji* 富士山の本地 (16th c.?) (YOKOYAMA and ŌTA 1938, 297–317), Fuji first arose in a Kōshin (*kanoe-saru*) year, though other documents say it was in a Kōshin year that the pilgrimage up the mountain first began (KUBO 1976, 409). At any rate, the Kōshin years were the mountain's festival years (*ennen* 縁年). Already in 1500, the earliest Kōshin year for which any evidence exists, large crowds of pilgrims apparently came to Fuji. Skimpy evidence suggests the same for 1560. There is no record for 1620, but in 1680 the indications are once more positive. Real confirmation of the Kōshin rush to the mountain does not begin until 1740. Kōshin-year votive pictures from 1800 to 1920 show the mountain attended by monkeys, and some of them (especially from 1860 and 1920) evoke Fuji as a heap of rice—an ultimate image of plenty—attended by three or more monkeys (IWASHINA 1983, 20–26). The image of Fuji as rice, or the source of rice, is prominent also in the *Book*, particularly because of the teachings of Jikigyō Miroku (261–62, below).

No doubt Kakugyō, too, knew about the special importance of the Kōshin years. In fact, he probably first came to the mountain in 1560 because that was a Kōshin year. However, it does not necessarily follow that the next Kōshin year, 1620, should have marked—as it does in the *Book*, reportedly on the express declaration of the Fuji deity—the

end of his practice. The sixty-year span from 1560 to 1620 could have been defined by Kakugyō himself as the period of his ascetic career, but since he lived twenty-five years longer than that, and since this sixty-year period does seem excessively pat, one may entertain some doubt. This doubt is increased by the three monkeys who reportedly helped Kakugyō once he had entered the Hitoana and by the *Book's* identification of Tokugawa Ieyasu with the deity Sarutahiko.

Naturally, the story of the three monkeys is implausible in itself. Beyond that, however, it appears that *three* monkeys do not begin to figure on Kōshin monuments (*kōshin-tō* 庚申塔) associated with Mt. Fuji until the latter half of the seventeenth century. In fact, the earliest such monument showing monkeys at all is dated 1641 and has only two (IWASHINA 1983, 27). This suggests that the three monkeys of the *Book* belong to the late seventeenth century or after.

As for Sarutahiko, the link between him and Ieyasu is special to the *Book*. Ieyasu in the *Book* clearly participates in the genius of the mountain, so that the link between him and Sarutahiko is a link between Kōshin/Mt. Fuji and Sarutahiko. It is uncertain when this link was made, but it seems to have been first promoted by the Shinto-Confucian syncretic scholar Yamazaki Ansai (1618-1682), ca. 1660 (KUBO 1976, 410). In other words, this motif may well date from about the same time as the appearance of the three monkeys.

3) *The identification of the "eight lakes."* Kakugyō's "practice of the eight lakes," prominent in the *Book*, survived into the modern era, but the list of the lakes changed somewhat over time. The one in the *Book* names a lake that probably was not included until, at the earliest, the late eighteenth century. This matter is discussed below under "The Practice of the Eight Inner Lakes."

4) *The elimination of the dragon deities.* In his autobiographical note, Kakugyō spoke of having "worshiped the Sun, the Moon, and the Dragon Deities." There are no dragon deities in the *Book*, although the *Book* contains many passages where they might suitably be mentioned. This deliberate omission must have to do with the direction in which the Fuji cult developed during the eighteenth century and with its growing tendency to deplore remnants of old-fashioned *kaji-kitō* 加持祈禱 beliefs and rites.¹³ Dragon deities belonged to the medieval religious world in which Kakugyō was at least partly formed, but they had no place in the formal teachings of the Fuji cult in the late eighteenth century and after. However, they did survive in folk worship. A list of the "eight lakes" visited by Fuji pilgrims in 1860 (a Kōshin year) not

only names the dragon god of each lake but gives each dragon god's "hymn" (*go-eika* 御詠歌) (IWASHINA 1983, 443–44).

The absence from the *Book* of any yin-yang vocabulary is probably related to the absence of dragon deities. This vocabulary, too, belongs to the language of medieval mountain religion. In a passage on the mountain translated below under "The Fuji Deity," Kakugyō himself wrote of the mountain in yin-yang terms; but although what he wrote otherwise resembles passages in the *Book*, the *Book* omits his yin-yang interpretation.

5) *The influence of Jikigyō Miroku.* Certain passages of the *Book* speak of the "Miroku practice" or say things like, "[We go astray] because we do not understand the notions of 'lot in life' and 'food'." Such passages provide the most convincing evidence of all that the *Book* cannot have been written, or at least cannot have reached its present form, earlier than the second half of the eighteenth century. The name Miroku, as it is spelled and interpreted in the Fuji cult, could not possibly have been foreseen by Kakugyō or his disciple Nichigan.

The extraordinary career of Jikigyō Miroku cannot be treated adequately here. Summaries of it can be found in TYLER 1981, 155–58 and, especially, TYLER 1984, 109–17. Jikigyō was a small Edo merchant who received his name Miroku 身禄 by direct revelation from the Fuji deity. "Miroku" alludes of course to the Miroku 彌勒 (Skt. Maitreya) of Buddhism—the Buddha Who Is to Come. However, even the Buddhist Miroku had become, at the folk level, a deity of future plenty who was invoked particularly in times of famine. Spelled as Jikigyō spelled it, the name also conveyed the injunction to live modestly and honestly (*roku* [ni] 陸に), in accordance with one's "lot in life" (*mi*[bun] 身分). For living such a life, one would naturally reap the reward [*roku* 禄] of ease and plenty.

It was Jikigyō Miroku's death that really launched the Fuji cult as a mass movement. Inspired by intense revelations from the Fuji deity and distressed by the spectacle of the Kyōhō famines (1732–33), Jikigyō fasted to death on the heights of Mt. Fuji, and it is clear from what he did and said that he died to feed the world. In becoming the perfect vessel of the Fuji deity, he made himself into food—rice—for all.

Fuji had long been acknowledged to resemble a heap of rice and was sometimes called Kokushūzan 穀聚山, "Mountain of Heaped-Up Grain." Jikigyō taught that rice was both the bounty and the essential nature of Mt. Fuji, and he read the single character for "rice" 米 as *makoto no Bosatsu*, or "the true Bodhisattva." "Bosatsu" here meant the deity of the mountain. This usage of the character "rice" can be found

in the *Book* as well. Moreover, according to Jikigyō, since people eat “the true Bodhisattva” daily, they partake of the deity’s nature; and it is this divine life-force that becomes, in the mother’s womb, a shining light that is then born as her child (Jikigyō’s words reported in *Sanjūichinichi no maki* 三十一日の巻, MURAKAMI and YASUMARU 1971, 428). In the *Book*, ideas like these are particularly evident in the deity’s commentary on the “Utterance of the Spiritual Self.”

6) *The character of the Book’s moral teaching.* With respect to moral example and instruction, the *Book* does not tally very well with Kakugyō’s *Hibi no kokoroe*. The *Book*’s position in this area (analyzed below under the heading “The Concepts of ‘Great Practice’ and ‘Path of Practice’”) is similar to that of Jikigyō Miroku, but it has no unique connection with Jikigyō, and at this level of popular assimilation it is probably typical of the late Edo period. One does read in *Hibi no kokoroe*, it is true, statements like, “If one aspires in accordance with Sengen’s teaching, the world will flourish and the realm will be at peace.” However, this somewhat disjointed text also claims true knowledge for the writer, warns against false teachings, and warns also against rather individual sins: lust, vainglory, neglect of one’s practice, slandering one’s companions in the faith, and so on. It does not assume nearly so plainly as the *Book*, if it does at all, the ideal of a well-knit, hierarchically ordered, stable social structure in which each person, and even the sun and moon themselves, have a characteristic role.

7) *The bond between Kakugyō and Tokugawa Ieyasu.* When Tokugawa Ieyasu at last brought peace and order to Japan after more than a century of wars, a new era began for Japan. Profound relief and gratitude were widespread. According to the *Book*, it was Kakugyō’s “great practice” that made Ieyasu’s achievement possible.

Early in the *Book*, Kakugyō’s parents pray for a son able to quell the wars that are raging throughout the land, and in due course the Polestar announces to the young Kakugyō that “when the time comes, both you and the Lord of the Realm will see your efforts rewarded.” This “Lord of the Realm,” although rather lamely inserted at this point in the text, is Ieyasu. Much later, Kakugyō tells Ieyasu himself:

Although Heaven might relieve the distress [caused by these internecine wars], it was not within human power to do so. My parents therefore prayed to the Father and Mother of us all that this distress might be relieved, and that a King of Power should be sent down to pacify the realm and lessen the suffering of the people.

Then the Sun, Moon, and Stars of Heaven sent a message, saying: "You will be granted a son who, when he grows up, will seek divine power; and when the time is ripe, a Lord of the Realm will appear and calm the raging waves."

In the *Book*, Kakugyō's practice—in which he effectively incarnated Mt. Fuji as the axis and quickener of the world—prepared the field for Ieyasu, allowing Ieyasu to actualize the cosmic harmony that Kakugyō had already achieved on a deeper level. In other words, Ieyasu appears in the *Book* as the active manifestation of the power of Mt. Fuji itself, a power realized in the person of Kakugyō.

So extraordinary an interpretation of Ieyasu's achievement obviously emerged much later than the time of Kakugyō, a figure poorly known to his contemporaries but upon whom grand imaginings could readily be projected by subsequent generations. In any case, in order to support this story, the *Book* invents history. Late in the *Book*, Ieyasu visits Kakugyō three times in the Hitoana and receives from him, at somewhat tedious length, the teachings of the Fuji deity. It would be hard to prove that these encounters never took place, but no evidence confirms that they did, and it is therefore safe to assume that they are fabrications. Moreover, the event alleged to have prompted Ieyasu's first visit to the Hitoana, in 1583, is a manifest fiction. The *Book* says that Ieyasu came to thank Kakugyō for having saved him from peril, a peril that the Fuji cult identified as pursuit by a superior force from the province of Kai (IWASHINA 1983, 52). On Tenshō 10. 4. 13 (1582), Ieyasu allegedly sought refuge in the Hitoana and was protected by Kakugyō. However, Iwashina has proven that this pursuit is highly implausible and that, in any case, Ieyasu was nowhere near the Hitoana on Tenshō 10. 4. 13.

8) *Kakugyō and Nikkō*. In 1616, as Tokugawa Ieyasu lay dying, he assembled three trusted counselors to tell them, among other things, "Build a little sanctuary in the Nikkō mountains and enshrine my spirit there" (TAKAFUJI 1979, 139, citing *Honkō Kokushi nikki* 本光国師日記, the diary of the monk Sūden 崇伝, 1569–1633). This "little sanctuary" materialized as the Nikkō Tōshōgū, perhaps the most elaborately executed shrine in Japan. Ieyasu's spirit was enshrined there as Tōshō Daigongen 東照大権現, "The Great Deity Who Shines in the East." The shrine is in the town of Nikkō, in present Tochigi Prefecture.

Ieyasu's wish to be enshrined in the Nikkō mountains, which he had never seen, no doubt shows the influence of his chief religious adviser, Tenkai 天海 (1546–1643)—the only person, according to the *Book*,

who accompanied Ieyasu into the Hitoana when Ieyasu came to see Kakugyō. In 1613 Tenkai became the abbot of Rinnōji 輪王寺, the headquarters temple for the whole religious complex of the Nikkō mountains (TAKAFUJI 1979, 140). Ieyasu's enshrinement in Nikkō merged his identity with that of the sun, not only because the sun "shines in the east" but because "Nikkō" means "sunlight."

Within the *Book's* frame of reference, the identification of Ieyasu's spirit with the sun encouraged a similar identification with the Fuji deity, who is in large part a solar divinity. It also allowed the identification of Ieyasu with Kakugyō. Kakugyō's second name, Tōbutsu, has already been discussed as meaning "Mt. Fuji Buddha" or "Fujiwara Buddha." However, the element *tō* in Tōbutsu is also homophonous with the *tō* of Tōshō Daigongen; and this homophony becomes identity in another name, Tōkaku 東覚, which Kakugyō also bore and which appears repeatedly in the *Book*. According to the *Book*, the Fuji deity gave this name to Kakugyō in 1560, explaining that the two characters *tō* and *kaku* (which mean "awakens in the east") are signs of the Divine Grandchild who, in Japanese mythology, was sent down by the sun deity to rule the earth. Kakugyō, the Fuji deity explained, was acting as this Divine Grandchild. However, "awakens in the east" recalls "shines in the east," and the *Book* strongly affirms Ieyasu as the one who actively imposed government upon Japan. When, during Ieyasu's second visit to the Hitoana, Kakugyō called him the "second coming of the Sunlight Buddha (Nikkō Butsu)," his words hinted once more at the indivisibility of the two men.

THE FUJI DEITY

Although the *Book* is in many ways a less-than-faithful account of Kakugyō's ascetic career, its conception of the Fuji deity is probably little different from that of the ascetic himself. First of all, it is important to stress that this deity, like the deity of any Japanese sacred mountain, is not distinct from the mountain as a sensible object. When En no Gyōja 役行者,¹⁴ early in the *Book*, instructs Kakugyō to go to Mt. Fuji, he says:

The Deity Fuji Sengen Dainichi, whom you will find westward from here in the province of Suruga, is the pillar of the world after the parting of Heaven and Earth. This Deity is the source of the Sun and Moon, of the Pure Lands, and of the human body.

This identification of deity and mountain is so obvious that Japanese texts seldom state it plainly. It is also easy to forget as one becomes

lost in the complexities of a mountain deity's identity. As far as Mt. Fuji is concerned, the deity's identity throughout the history of the cult is quite complicated, more so than the following discussion may suggest.

In his speech to Kakugyō, En no Gyōja called the deity "Fuji Sengen Dainichi 富士仙元大日." "Sengen" and "Dainichi" both need to be explained.

The name Sengen. The oldest name for the Fuji deity, dating at the latest from the early ninth century, is Asama Daimyōjin 浅間大明神, "The Great Deity Asama." According to Endō Hideo (ENDŌ 1978, 30), *asama* means simply "mountain that spouts fire." Certainly, other volcanos in Japan are named Asama, and perhaps it was in part to distinguish the Fuji deity from them that in time the characters used for purely phonetic reasons to write *asama* came to be pronounced with an alternate reading, *sengen*. In this way, the deity Asama became the deity Sengen. However, once the deity was Sengen, the characters originally used to write *asama* came to seem unsatisfactory, since they meant nothing in particular. Therefore, the spelling of the name was also changed. People began writing "Sengen" with the characters for "immortal" 仙 and "see" 見, thus acknowledging the widespread view that the heights of Mt. Fuji were a realm inhabited by immortals. However, it was also possible to replace the "see" character with one meaning "origin" 元, and this is the version used in the *Book*. When, early in the *Book*, Sengen gives Kakugyō an account of the creation of the world, the deity says, "To be born into the world is to issue from Sengen." In the original, this statement is a concerted interpretation of the characters used to write the deity's name.

The name Dainichi. "Dainichi" belongs to the Buddhist history of the mountain. Whereas non-Buddhist religious interest in Fuji no doubt goes back to very early times, the Buddhist dimension of the mountain's cult seems to have truly begun only in the first half of the twelfth century¹⁵ when a monk built a temple named Dainichiji on the summit (ENDŌ 1978, 31–35). Thenceforth, Dainichi (Skt. Mahāvairocana), the cosmic divinity of Japanese esoteric Buddhism, was regarded as the main Buddhist identity of the Fuji deity. That "Dainichi" should have been retained in the *Book* probably has to do above all with the meaning of the name: "Great Sun." It reconfirms the deity's solar nature.

The cosmic mountain. The opening lines of Kakugyō's *Hibi no koroe*, which contain several of Kakugyō's special characters, can be

translated approximately as follows:

This Mountain is born from between Heaven and Earth. It is the origin of yin and yang. It is the In-Breath and Out-Breath Source-of-All Sun and Moon. It is the Wondrous Sovereign Sengen. It is the original substance of all things. It becomes Person and all people are born from it. This Mountain is the yin-essence and yang-essence of the three luminaries: the Sun, the Moon, and the Shining Stars. (IWASHINA 1983, 64)

This statement is related to the diagrams, transcribed from those originally drawn by Kakugyō, that are reproduced in the pages of this translation. These show that the divine genius of the mountain includes far more than the mountain's commonly visible form, for they evoke, above the summit, a larger cosmos indicated by heavenly bodies (sun, moon, and stars), the elements, and the winds. Some of them show against the body of the mountain, on the sun side, a three-legged crow in flight, and this motif is prominent in similar diagrams by later cult leaders (IWASHINA 1983, 61–62). This crow is in East Asia a well-known symbol of the sun.

The “three luminaries” are particularly prominent in the *Book*, although in practice the text often omits the stars and mentions only the sun and moon. It is hard to be sure which luminaries the “stars” are. The “Utterance of the Stars,” the last of the diagrams reproduced below, suggests that they may include the “five stars” (Mars, Jupiter, Mercury, Venus, Saturn) associated in China with the “five phases” (*gogyō* 五行: fire, wood, water, metal, and earth). However, they probably include the polestar as well, since Kakugyō's birth is announced in the *Book* by a message from this star, an obvious celestial analogue for Mt. Fuji as the *axis mundi*.

The primordial Parent. If the trinity of sun, moon, and stars (or planets) seems sometimes less prominent than the duality of the sun and moon, that is because sun and moon as a pair have an especially important meaning. They are the most potent sign of Sengen Dainichi as the two-in-one primordial Parent of all things. The beginning of the “Utterance of the Washing in Water” can be paraphrased as follows: “Try as I may, I cannot repay the debt of gratitude that I owe the Dual-Spirit Parent who has given us life, born of water and the seal of the breath.” In Mt. Fuji, sun and moon are united as the source of life.

In truth, the play of two and three (2+1) is an expression of the generative power of Sengen Dainichi. The deity tells Kakugyō:

I am called Konohanasakuya-hime, the beginning of the world and the origin of the human body. When the body of Konohasaku-o opens, the female's body receives this flower and likewise opens. After she has taken it into her body she gives birth. I begin from the body that opens. Moreover, when the rice is sown, Sun and Moon conjoin and become the Single-Grain Bosatsu [i.e., rice]. [This Bosatsu], born from my body, is the root of life for the people of the world.

Konohanasakuya-hime ("Lady All-the-Trees-Are-Blooming") and Konohasaku-o ("Lord Leaves-Are-Open-on-the-Trees")¹⁶ make a primordial pair whose child seems to be both the mountain and the life-giving rice. Analogously, it was Kakugyō's own parents, in the *Book*, who prayed for a son, thus enacting the role of sun and moon; the Polestar then lodged in the mother's womb and was born as Kakugyō himself. Kakugyō, the One child of the Two, therefore stands like the mountain itself between Heaven and Earth, just as the Son of Heaven (*tenshi*) did in the East Asian concept of kingship. That is why the deity told Kakugyō that he filled the "office of the Son of Heaven." Perhaps Kakugyō and Ieyasu, in turn, acted as sun and moon to bear a world renewed.

The Mountain as Person. The motif of the child and the world renewed under a divinely appointed ruler recalls Kakugyō's statement, "[This Mountain] becomes Person and all people are born from it." The face of this Person (*hito* 人) seems to be shown over the mountain in the diagram that accompanies Kakugyō's "Spell to Hasten Safe Childbirth." In the story as told in the *Book*, this Person is no doubt first of all Kakugyō himself, whose title, Tōbutsu, is suggested by the large characters that appear under the crater's mouth in this and other diagrams.¹⁷ Kakugyō himself, the vessel of Sengen Dainichi, is the child of the "In-Breath and Out-Breath Source-of-All Sun and Moon." In him, born of parents both particular and universal, the mountain's cosmic being breathes with earthly breath, filling him with power to renew the world and heal the sick.

THE CONCEPTS OF "GREAT PRACTICE" AND "PATH OF PRACTICE"

Through his practice Kakugyō carried out the admonitions of Sengen Dainichi and at the same time approached union with the deity, the more perfectly to realize the deity's intention. Two words, common in the *Book*, help one to grasp the Fuji cult's understanding of this intention. These are *taigyō* (great practice) and *gyōdō* (path of practice). The latter is particularly important.

The *Book* uses the term *taigyō* 大行 constantly. All of Kakugyō's endeavors are, singly or together, *taigyō*. Although the word *gyō* (practice) exists by itself and in various other combinations, Kakugyō's practice is always a "great" one. This insistence on vastness of scale and difficulty is thoroughly consonant with the spirit of the *Book* as well as with the magnificence of Fuji itself. Moreover, *taigyō* may be meant also as a play on words, for another *taigyō* 大業 (great endeavor) refers particularly to the heroic task accomplished by someone who establishes a (Chinese) dynasty. This meaning would be thoroughly appropriate to the accomplishment claimed for Kakugyō.

The term *gyōdō* 行道 (practice-path, path of practice) occurs repeatedly throughout the *Book*. An example is the following, from Sengen's commentary on the "Utterance of the Spiritual Self":

The path of practice of the Sun and the Moon is boundless. It is vast. Thus, there can be no doubt that each person receives this truth of the spirit. When a single person becomes truly a human being, the assistance he gives sentient beings in bringing them to salvation is identical with the Sun and the Moon's own path of practice, and his spirit is vast indeed.

No doubt a human's "path of practice" includes procreation, as it did for Kakugyō's own parents, on the pattern of the sun and moon; the commentary on the "Utterance of the Spiritual Self" says, "This utterance is the path of practice in which Sun and Moon unite and a single human being is born."

Since "the Sun and Moon's own path of practice" is surely the normal course of the sun and moon through the heavens, to the benefit of all sentient beings, a truly human person's "path of practice" must be that person's own normal course through life. Ethical teachings of all kinds in the Edo period were intensely concerned with precisely this problem: the need for each person to understand his (or possibly her) "normal" role in life and to play it out with unselfish devotion, for the benefit of all.

To do so was, above all, to serve one's parents, and to serve one's fellows by helping to preserve social stability and harmony. Filial piety was greatly honored during Edo times. Kakugyō's own practice, as it appears in the *Book*, can be described simply as devoted service to his parents. In a message directing Kakugyō's successor Engan (Nichigyō Nichigan) to seek Kakugyō at Lake Chūzenji, the Nikkō deity urged Engan to undertake the same service: "Furthermore, you must understand the deep cause-and-effect bond between parent and child, and take

the principle of this bond for your master on your own path of practice.” Therefore, when Kakugyō finished the “practice of the eight lakes,” he received this communication from Sengen Dainichi:

Now that you have completed the great practice of the Eight Lakes, you have repaid the weighty debt that you owe your father and mother. By means of this mighty practice, disorder has ceased throughout the provinces. Now, therefore, for the sake of harmony and obedience among the people, you shall perform the great practice of the Outer Great Sky-Seas.

Kakugyō, of course, did only his “great practice.” He no more shared in the normal functioning of society than did Mt. Fuji itself, although thanks to him and Mt. Fuji society was restored to normal functioning. The Fuji devotees themselves, however, were not full-time ascetics but ordinary members of society. They were the ones of whom Sengen Dainichi spoke in this injunction that follows the “Utterance to Consolidate the Material Body”:

“Kakugyō Tōkaku, by your enlightenment you shall accomplish the salvation of sentient beings; nor shall any practice be permitted them beyond the Four Practices, to wit, warrior, farmer, craftsman, and merchant. [These practices] are the source of all the Deities.” And the divine communication continued: “These are the functions of the Five Practices [apparently, the “five phases” or “five elements”], which reach Heaven. These I permit.”

As Kakugyō was to pursue his “path of practice,” they were to pursue theirs, according to their “lot” in the four social classes officially recognized in Edo times. A moralist for the shogunate would have said much the same thing, although in slightly different language.

It is interesting that the Fuji cult, in appearance so powerfully unusual, ended up teaching the same fundamental social morality as nearly every other group, especially in the cities, that addressed these issues at all. Thanks to Ieyasu’s triumph, which renewed Japan by giving it lasting peace, universal (in Japanese terms) social and moral order at last became a plausible ideal, and thinkers embraced this ideal with enthusiasm. The Fuji devotees did so too, in their own way. In scope and value, their founder’s “great practice” was worthy of this grand vision.

THE ELEMENTS OF KAKUGYŌ’S PRACTICE

To understand Kakugyō’s practice, one must understand what he did

and where he did it. The following discussion will treat: 1) the Hitoana; 2) Kakugyō's standing practice; 3) the Shiraito Waterfall and Kakugyō's basic water practice; 4) the ascent and descent of the mountain; 5) the practice of the Eight Inner Lakes; and 6) the practice of the Eight Outer Seas.

1) *The Hitoana*. A striking feature of the *Book* is that when the supernatural visitation from En no Gyōja first tells Kakugyō to seek out Mt. Fuji, it directs him specifically to the Hitoana; and that when Kakugyō arrives, he does not climb the mountain but instead goes straight to the cave. This seems odd, for one would expect Kakugyō to have wanted to climb the mountain first. Sure enough, Kakugyō's autobiographical note says that on reaching the mountain he went up it immediately from the north side and walked the Mid-Path around it. *Fusō nenpu taigyō no maki* adds that he could not go higher than the Mid-Path because of the snow. It also specifies the date on which he began to climb as Eiroku 3. 4. 8 (1560), and states that while he was on the Mid-Path a miraculous sign directed him to the Hitoana. The *Book*, in contrast, says that Kakugyō first climbed Mt. Fuji only in 1572. In short, the *Book* heavily stresses the Hitoana, rather than the heights of the mountain, as the central locus of Kakugyō's exemplary practice.

On some of his diagrams of Fuji, near the foot of the mountain and to the viewer's right of its center line, Kakugyō drew a small, rough circle and wrote next to it, "This is the Pure Land Hitoana (*jōdo hitoana nari* 浄土人穴也)" (IWASHINA 1983, 62). The Hitoana is on the west side of the mountain, but so far down that it hardly seems to be on the mountain at all. Its low mouth also faces west. At present, thirty-one steps lead down from it to the cavern floor. The ceiling is roughly four meters high. Some dozen meters in, the cave widens into a chamber with a central pillar. This deeply sheltered yet still habitably ventilated place is probably where Kakugyō lived and practiced. Further in, the cave narrows again and water often covers the floor, or if not water, mud; and the oppressively high humidity turns to a sort of fog. About sixty-five meters into the cave, one comes to a final recess containing a tiny shrine to Sengen. A passageway about a meter in diameter continues on further, but whatever lies beyond this point no longer belongs to the world of the Fuji cult (IWASHINA 1983, 70-71).

Practice in caves was an integral part of Japanese mountain religion; Kakugyō himself was practicing in a cave when he received the order to seek out Mt. Fuji. There is no need to enlarge on the mysterious "otherness" of the space within a cave or to develop at length the possibility that a cave mouth might be seen as the entrance to another

world—perhaps the world of the dead. Kakugyō's term "Pure Land Hitoana" makes the point. Since the Hitoana is to the west of the mountain and opens toward the west, it faces the Western Paradise of the Buddha Amida. And since Amida was understood to come forth from his paradise to welcome the soul of the deceased, the immensely popular Amida cult itself would have confirmed the suitability of using the Hitoana as a place to dispose of the dead.¹⁸ No documentary evidence confirms that the Hitoana was used that way,¹⁹ but in the *Book*, the local villager had a telling reaction when Kakugyō asked him the way to the Hitoana. In answer to Kakugyō's question the villager replied, "Yes, there is a place called the Hitoana, but it has always been our village deity [*kono tokoro no ujigami* 此所の氏神] and one must not enter it. No one who has gone in has ever come out again." The cave was central to the locality's ancestral cult.

The earliest surviving mention of the Hitoana occurs in *Azuma kagami* 吾妻鏡 (late 13th c.–early 14th c.; KUROITA 1932), a chronicle of the shogunal government in Kamakura, under the date Kennin 3. 6. 3 (1203):

The third day . . . The Shogun [Minamoto no Yoriie] and his men proceeded to the hunting lodge below Fuji in Suruga Province. On the lower slopes of this mountain there is a great hollow place (it is known as the Hitoana). The Shogun commanded that it should be explored and ordered Nitta no Shirō Tadatsune, with five of his men, to do so. Tadatsune received from the Shogun a sword (a great treasure) and entered the Hitoana. He did not come out again that day. The sun set.

The fourth day . . . At the hour of the serpent [ca. 10 a.m.] Nitta no Shirō Tadatsune reemerged from the Hitoana. In all, he had been gone a day and a night. The cave being so narrow, he had been unable to turn around in it or even readily advance, and the darkness was terrifying. Carrying torches, he and his men waded on through water while millions of bats flew in their faces. Eventually they came to a great, tumultuous river. Having no way to cross it, they were exceedingly perplexed as to what to do. Then a light shone before them, and on the far bank of the river they saw a wondrous sight. Four [sic] of Tadatsune's men died instantly. Tadatsune, however, in accordance with the spirit's admonition, threw the sword he had received from his lord into the river and returned to his lord safe and well. The elders [of the locality] say that that is where Sengen [or Asama] Daibosatsu [Great Bodhisattva] dwells and that no one since time out of mind has ever managed to see that place . . .

Tadatsune had apparently seen, across an imaginary "tumultuous river," Sengen in person. However, the *Azuma kagami* account of his experience pales beside that given in *Fuji no hitoana* 富士の人穴 [The Hitoana of Mt. Fuji] (YOKOYAMA and ŌTA, 1938, 318–37), a work datable to no later than 1527 (NIHON KOTEN BUNGAKU DAJITEN HENSHŪ IINKAI 1984, 5: 257) and popular through the Edo period.

According to *Fuji no Hitoana*, seven *chō* (700–800 meters) into the cavern, Tadatsune saw the moon and stars, pine forests, and streams. A little further on, he came to nine palaces, brilliantly illuminated by the strings of jewels hanging from their eaves and ringing with the music of heavenly bells. Beyond them he found a lake with an island in the middle, and on the island was another palace. The inhabitant of the palace was a sixteen-headed serpent with bright red, flickering tongues, who said, "I am Fuji Sengen . . . Give me the sword you carry. I will keep it in my own body."²⁰ Having swallowed Tadatsune's sword point-first, the serpent offered to show Tadatsune the six realms of incarnation. It then reappeared as a youth and took Tadatsune on a prolonged "tour of the hells" (*jigoku meguri* 地獄巡). The text dwells at such length on the torments to which sinners are subjected in hell that it has little time for the slightly less awful realm of hungry ghosts and barely mentions the realms of beasts or warring demons, while the sixth realm, that of celestial beings, is omitted entirely. Finally, seven days after entering, Tadatsune reemerged from the Hitoana. Although he had been warned not to tell the shogun what he had seen, he did so anyway. A voice from heaven then condemned him to death, and he died.

Kakugyō's "Pure Land Hitoana," the Hitoana villager's protest that the cavern was "our village deity," and Tadatsune's exploration of the cavern all mark the Hitoana as a realm of the spirits and the dead. However, this realm is obviously not just a cave far down the western slopes of Fuji. Instead, it is the interior of the mountain proper. In so emphasizing Kakugyō's practices in the Hitoana, the *Book* ends up assimilating the Hitoana to the heart of the volcano itself.

The imaginary heart of Mt. Fuji figures in a story that is related to *Fuji no Hitoana* even though it does not mention the Hitoana at all. The 1431 work *Sangoku denki* 三国伝記 [Tales from the Three Lands], book 12, no. 43, tells how Prince Shōtoku (574–622) flew on his horse to the summit of Fuji (BUSSHO KANKŌKAI 1915, vol. 128).²¹ The summit was all made of precious stones, and at the bottom of the "eight-petaled lotus" (the crater) the prince found a cave. Descending a thousand leagues into the cave, he came to a great river bordered by golden mountains, and on the far side he arrived before a jeweled pavilion guarded by terrifying serpents. Undismayed, he declared, "I . . . transmit the

Water of the Teaching of the Western Sky; relying on my practice through seven lives, I smooth the waves of the Eastern Sea.” This “Water of the Teaching” is the Buddhist teaching, the “Western Sky” is India and the “Eastern Sea” is Japan. The prince meant that he had come from the west—like Amida—to bring peace to Japan (“smooth the waves”) thanks to the beneficent influence of Buddhism. His purpose resembled that of Kakugyō himself. However, his mission, being a Buddhist one, was more to nurture peace in the minds of individual sentient beings than to bring forth, like Kakugyō in the *Book*, a peaceful social order.

From that place, Prince Shōtoku flew on to a tower made of the “seven treasures” and guarded by dragons who let him through the gate. In front of him, he saw a lake with a rock in the middle of it, and on the rock a coiled serpent of fabulous length, with a tongue like a sword and eyes like the sun and moon. When he knelt before the serpent and declared his mission, the serpent became the Buddha Dainichi, who said:

I come from the emptiness of the limitless Dharma-realm to live forever in the palace of this peak and save all sentient beings. When sentient beings commit evil karmic deeds, the smoke of compassion arises in my breast. When they commit good deeds and are born into the Good Realms, then I rejoice. Therefore the smoke and flames that tower above the peak of Fuji are the fire within my own body. If you raise up the Buddha’s Teaching in the Eightfold Land of the Sun-Domain [Japan], the fire in my breast will die out.

Thus the *Sangoku denki* turns an awesome volcano (one that had ravaged a wide area in 864, for example, and was to do so again in 1707) into a materialization of Buddhist compassion. However, this compassion does not actually appear until the prince has saluted a fabulous serpent (the Asama/Sengen deity) at the very heart of the mountain.

Kakugyō, too, was surely understood to have practiced deep inside the mountain proper. In the *Book*, the “real” Hitoana (as distinguished from the blandly material one) seems to be a space fully within the body of Fuji, one probably deep in the mountain along its central axis. The fourth of Kakugyō’s diagrams reproduced below shows the name of the Hitoana written vertically, in large characters, along this axis. Centrality was a key theme of Kakugyō’s endeavor.

2) *The practice of the block.* As soon as Kakugyō had well and truly arrived in the Hitoana, a celestial child came to him and said:

I must tell you that you will do the practice [to which you aspire]. First, you must place here a block [of wood], four and a half *sun* 寸 [about 14 cm.] on a side. You must stand with both feet upon it, on tiptoe, and thrice daily and thrice nightly—six times in a day and a night—perform cold water ablutions.

Kakugyō then set this “Pure Land block” in place and did his practice for a thousand days. Devotional pictures of him (IWASHINA 1983, 31) show him steadying himself with a long staff. After the thousand days were done, Sengen explained to him:

[The block’s] size is the origin of the human body. It is the source of the land. To stand upon it and do your great practice, O Ascetic, is to act as the Son of Heaven. . . . You are the Polestar.

Kakugyō standing on the block in the Hitoana, *inside* the mountain, was therefore the “unwobbling pivot” (as Ezra Pound put it) of the world. A Buddhist pagoda is built around a “heart pillar” that rests upon a relic of the living Buddha. Kakugyō, the vessel of Fuji Sengen Dainichi, became on the block the living heart and pillar of Mt. Fuji. In the imagination (the seat of “reality”), he stood where the great serpent Sengen had coiled in *Fuji no Hitoana* or *Sangoku denki*. Sengen once told him, “Your great practice, O Ascetic, is the pillar of the world. Therefore, O Ascetic, you, doing your great practice on the block, are the pillar of the world.” Kakugyō’s vow never to sleep makes more vivid still his assimilation to the unchanging, unmoving, all-seeing *axis mundi*.

3) *The Shiraito Waterfall*. Having first charged Kakugyō to perform the practice of the block, the celestial child continued, “Some way below here, at a place called Kamiide, is Shira[ito] Waterfall. It is with water from there that you must purify yourself.” In other words, Kakugyō was to perform the practice of *mizugori* 水垢離 at this waterfall, which is about five kilometers south of the Hitoana. *Mizugori*, a basic ascetic practice in Japan, involves dashing buckets or dippers of cold water over oneself.

The Shiraito Waterfall is wide and about twenty-five meters high. “Shiraito” 白糸 (“white threads”) is a descriptive name applied to many Japanese waterfalls of this kind, in which the water falls more in threads and veils than in one narrow rush. Actually, this one does not flow from an exposed rim, but issues instead from between two layers of lava rock (IWASHINA 1983, 72–73).

On the surface, above the waterfall, there is a deep pool fed by over-

flow water from the underground stream. Beside it, there is a cave. This is the "practice place" (*gyōba* 行場) mentioned in the *Book* after Kakugyō had finished his first thousand days of standing practice: "Kakugyō went down to his practice-place and gave thanks." This is where he did his regular *mizugori*. However, one may speculate that at times Kakugyō, at least the ideal Kakugyō of the *Book*, also received the water of the Shiraito Waterfall directly on his head, as so many religious practitioners in Japan have done and still do under other cascades. This conjecture is supported by a tradition concerning the death of Kakugyō's first disciple, Taihō 大法 (IWASHINA 1983, 74). Both men had tied themselves to vines and lowered themselves down the face of the waterfall to this end, when Taihō's vine broke and he was dashed to pieces on the rocks below.

Mountain cults in Japan are in part water cults because the life-giving waters run down from the mountains to the fields below. Simply by insisting that Mt. Fuji is the source of food, the *Book* makes it clear that the Fuji cult, too, is partly a water cult. The waters received by Fuji on its summit and slopes run down to quicken the rice and feed Japan. Therefore, Kakugyō's practice of the block in the Hitoana still achieved only half the fullness of the mountain's being.

Kakugyō in the Hitoana was hidden, like the great serpent Sengen on its watergirt rock, in the "other world" within the mountain. There he became the mountain's unseen heart. However, he had also to enact the mountain's blessings in the daylight world. He did this with his water practice. The Shiraito waters, running down his body, repeated the waters of heaven running down the flanks of the mountain; and Kakugyō's practices of the "eight lakes" and the "eight seas" make a similar point on a vaster scale, using this time the mountain's own body. By drawing "the other world" and "this world" together in the full cycle of his practice, Kakugyō realized the complete presence of the mountain and gave life to the mountain's realm.

4) *The ascent and descent of the mountain.* According to the *Book*, it was only in 1572, after four successive "thousand-day" periods of practice in the Hitoana, that Kakugyō at last set foot on the mountain proper. The *Book* describes, rather as a guidebook might, his route up it and the principal sites he encountered along the way. The summit of course receives special attention, but there is not a word about what Kakugyō, in particular, did there; and this is all the more curious since, according to *Fusō nenpu taigyō no maki*, Kakugyō performed a "salutation to Heaven" (*tenpai* 天拝) there on the several occasions when he climbed Mt. Fuji. In short, this passage confirms the impression that

Kakugyō's ascent, although impossible to omit, was not of primary interest to the author of the *Book*.

The *Book* returns to life only when Kakugyō descends, encountering on the way perils from which he must be saved by supernatural aid, and doing practices at specific sites. Most of the account has to do with his progress along the Mid-Path. Kakugyō "spent thrice seven days visiting every site on the Mid-Path," and at a key point on it "accomplished a great fast for a hundred days and a hundred nights." The main significance of his descent is therefore to be found in this circuit of the mountain. After it he returned immediately to the Hitoana and received from Sengen the order to perform the "practice of the eight lakes." This practice, too, approximated a circuit of Mt. Fuji, as long as one understands that in doing it, Kakugyō confined himself to bodies of fresh (nourishing) water.

The reason why the *Book* makes so little of Kakugyō's ascent, stressing instead his descent and circuit of the mountain, is probably that his descent emulated the descending flow of water and his circuit passed through all "the eight directions" in which this water could run down to the land below. The common expression "the eight directions" (the four cardinal and the four intermediate directions) does not occur in the *Book*, but it is appropriate, as the *Book* shows.

The summit was associated with the number eight because of Dai-nichi, the Buddhist identity of the Fuji deity. In the Taizōkai 胎藏界 (womb realm) mandala of Japanese esoteric Buddhism, Dainichi appears at the center of an eight-petaled lotus. For this reason, the summit itself was often described as "eight-petaled" (*hachiyō* 八葉), and eight particular peaks were identified around the rim of the crater (*Fujisan no honji*, YOKOYAMA and ŌTA 1938, 300). In the *Book*, the "Utterance of the Washing in Water" speaks of "the Eight-petaled Sengen Dainichi of Fuji, the august source of rice." This "source" (*minakami* 水上) means specifically the source of a stream.

After Kakugyō had first entered the Hitoana and the celestial child had instructed him on his future practice,

three monkeys [the Kōshin monkeys] came. One brought the block of wood mentioned in the divine message, one a wooden water dipper, and one berries. Having given these things to Kakugyō, they passed on into the cave. On tasting the berries, Kakugyō found that they had all the five flavors, for they were at once sweet, sour, bitter, hot, and salty. . . . Once, Kakugyō asked the monkeys, "Where do these berries grow?" They pointed to the Mountain and replied, "By the Eight Ravines."

These ravines (*nagare* 流, elsewhere called *sawa* 澤) carry snowmelt water down from the heights, and, as Kakugyō's adventures on the way down the mountain show, they also channel slides of volcanic boulders. The number eight, applied to them, is topographically arbitrary but symbolically inevitable. Beside them grow berries described as a universal food. Far below, in a rough arc from the northwest to the southeast side of Fuji, the "eight lakes" may perhaps be imagined as receiving the water of the "eight ravines."

5) *The practice of the Eight Inner Lakes.* Once back in the Hitoana from the mountain, Kakugyō received this order from Sengen: "You shall do the great practice of the Eight Lakes in order to requite the debt of gratitude that you owe your mother and father." This "great practice" was for Kakugyō to stand in each lake, dashing its waters over his body and calling on Sengen, and to fast there for a hundred days and nights. It is as though, by realizing in the lakes the presence of Sengen, he quickened the life-giving virtue of their waters. At each, the sign of Sengen's descent into him was a supernaturally revealed utterance or spell with the power to order the world, to relieve suffering, and to heal.

In the *Book*, Kakugyō went first to "the lake in Ōmi Province" and from there to Ana Lake (*ana-umi* 穴海). The former is Lake Biwa, just east of Kyoto; according to legend, it had appeared as Fuji rose (*Fujisan no honji* in YOKOYAMA and ŌTA 1938, 299). Ana Lake, in contrast, is unknown. The name may refer simply to the water in the Hitoana, since it was from there that Kakugyō set out for the eight lakes proper. Another possibility is Kakugyō's "practice-place" at the Shiraito Waterfall. Although the *Book* mentions ten lakes in all, Lake Biwa and Ana Lake seem to be preliminary and not to count among the eight.

The *Book* names as the eight lakes Lakes Yamanaka, Saido (Kawaguchi or Funatsu), Nishi, Shōji, Motosu, Shibire, Ukishima, and Shōga (Ashinoko or Lake Hakone). The first five are the famous "Five Fuji Lakes," which appear in order from east to west. From the small Lake Shibire, in the mountains northwest of Lake Motosu, Kakugyō then retraced his steps all the way past Lake Yamanaka to Ukishima, a shallow body of water that once lay in present Shizuoka Prefecture. Finally, he continued on to Lake Hakone in present Kanagawa Prefecture. Since he fasted for a hundred days and nights at each place, including Lake Biwa and Ana Lake, his practice would have taken him over three years.

Two documents on the practice of the eight lakes survive in Kakugyō's hand. Both speak of visitations and revelations at the lakes. What is probably the earlier one (Itō 1971, 647) is dated Tenshō 8. 1. 3

(1580). An approximate translation follows.

- [1] Funatsu [=Saido or Kawaguchi]. One hundred days' great practice. Received Utterance(s) of Water.
- [2] Yamanaka. One hundred days' great practice. [Received] Utterance of *awatatashi* [?].
- [3] Nishi-no-umi. During one hundred days' great practice, received Spell of Wind.
- [4] Shōji. Before one hundred days' great practice, received [?].
- [5] Motosu. One hundred days' great practice. Received [revelation of?] my rebirth(s).
- [6] Ōmi [Lake Biwa]. One hundred days' great practice. Sat upon [?].
- [7] Yoshiwara [Ukishima]. One hundred days' great practice. The moon fell from Heaven and entered my breast.
- [8] Hakone. Did one hundred days' great practice. Met Sengen Dainichi Bosatsu face to face. During one thousand days' great practice in Hitoana, received [?]. During great practice, wrote one thousand scrolls of KŌKŪ-DAI-SOKU-MYŌ-Ō-SOKU-TAI-JIP-PŌ-KŌ-KŪ-SHIN²² and saved eighty thousand people. Also, during forty-nine days' great practice on Mid-Path, met Sengen face to face; utterances and dispensations to save eighty thousand sentient beings²³

Compared to the ten lakes named in the *Book*, this list lacks Ana Lake and Lake Shibire.

The second list, although undated, is taken from the sixth scroll of the long *Shoshinbō no maki* (IWASHINA 1983, 58). Although very like the other, it omits Lake Biwa and has instead, in the first position, "Asumi. One hundred days' great practice. A [or the?] star descended from Heaven and entered my body." Asumi is a tiny lake situated roughly between Lakes Yamanaka and Kawaguchi.

These two documents suggest that Kakugyō may have done the practice of the eight lakes more than once. The most interesting discrepancy between them and the *Book* is the latter's inclusion of Lake Shibire, which confirms that the *Book* belongs to the late Edo period.

The practice of the eight lakes lived on in the Fuji cult, although surely not in a form as severe as Kakugyō's own. The earliest reliable mention of it, outside the Kakugyō documents, is dated 1746 (IWASHINA 1983, 446). An undated list of nine lakes (IWASHINA 1983, 442-43) seems to be relatively early too because it omits Shibire while apparently including Ukishima twice (as "Yoshiwara Ukishima" and as "Sudo-no-

umi”)—Ukishima had been drained and turned into fields by the first part of the nineteenth century. In contrast, Shibire appears in a list of the eight lakes from the Kōshin year of 1860 (IWASHINA 1983, 443–44), perhaps as a replacement for Ukishima.²⁴ It is true that the *Book* names both Ukishima and Shibire, but its author could easily have retained Ukishima in order to support his work’s claim for an implausibly early date. At the same time, since Shibire was definitely a part of the practice in 1860, the *Book*’s author might well have wished to lend it the authority of Kakugyō’s own presence.

6) *The practice of the Eight Outer Seas.* While Kakugyō was performing his “great practice” at Lake Hakone, Sengen addressed him as follows:

Now that you have completed the great practice of the Eight Lakes, you have repaid the weighty debt that you owe your father and mother. Thanks to this mighty practice, disorder has ceased throughout the provinces. Now, therefore, for the sake of harmony and obedience among the people, you shall perform the great practice of the Outer Great Sky Seas.

And the text continues, “Accordingly, for three years, until Tenshō 3 (*kinoto-i*) [1575], he performed the great practice of the Eight Seas.” The significance of this practice is further illuminated by a passage from Sengen’s discourse to Kakugyō on the mountain and on the creation of the world. Sengen said:

First of all, there is the summit, above; and, immediately below, there are the lakes. These are the origin of my sixty and more provinces [of Japan]. The three thousand major worlds in the ocean have all flowed out from me. In the east is the Sea of Compassion; in the south, the Sea of Ochi; in the west, the Sea of Shōzu Isle; and in the center, the Great Sky Sea. Thus the whole world is portioned out from my body.

These “seas,” the names of which I have translated because they cannot be identified with particular places or bodies of water, are, with perhaps one exception, those named by the *Book* as the eight seas where Kakugyō practiced.

The purpose of Kakugyō’s practice was therefore to bring the living presence of Sengen Dainichi to the furthest reaches of the world (Japan) and so to deepen “harmony and obedience” among all its inhabitants. In fact, it was while performing this practice that Kakugyō acquired his

two disciples, one of whom became his successor. However, the practice as described in the *Book* remains somewhat shadowy, as though this vast region tended to merge indistinctly with the far horizon. Even the expression "Outer Great Sky Seas" (*soto ōzora umi*) is indeterminate, leaving the impression that the "great sky" (*ōzora*) and the distant waters (*umi*) are all one undifferentiated expanse. Moreover, *umi* itself is thoroughly vague, since it refers here to any water—ocean, lake, stream, or spring. I have translated it arbitrarily as "sea" only in order to convey the scale of the practice.

Despite the mention of eight seas, the *Book* actually names only six: the "Isle of the Middle-Great-Sky-Sealane," the "Shōji Sea in the province of Ōki," the "Ōchi Sea," Lake Chūzenji, the Takkoku River Cave, and the "Sea of Compassion." The first three apparently have to do with the Japan Sea, since the second involved a crossing to the Ōki Islands and since, after visiting the third, Kakugyō followed a mountain trail in the province of Echizen (present Fukui Prefecture). Lake Chūzenji, his fourth stop, is associated with the Nikkō mountains; and the Takkoku Cave, his fifth, is in Iwate Prefecture near Hiraizumi. Judging from the hints given in the *Book*, Kakugyō's sixth stop, the "Sea of Compassion," must have been somewhere along the Pacific coast of northern Honshu; perhaps it was near Kashima in Ibaraki Prefecture. These locations, like those of the eight lakes, are all north and east of Mt. Fuji.

In contrast to the *Book*, *Fusō nenpu taigyō no maki* contains a relatively sober, quite different list for what appears to be a second "practice of the eight seas" that Kakugyō began in 1592. This time, he went far west to Tsushima. Starting with Izu Ōshima, where En no Gyōja was exiled, he continued on to a shore in Awa Province (a part of Chiba Prefecture); several spots in Shimōsa (straddling modern Chiba and Ibaraki prefectures), including a "spirit cave"; Lake Suwa in Shinano (Nagano Prefecture); several spots in Ise Province (Mie Prefecture), including a sacred spring and Futami-no-ura; and Lake Biwa. He then visited his parents' graves in Nagasaki before going on to Tsushima and the Ōki Islands. At last, after a retreat at a sacred spring on the Noto Peninsula, he once more toured the northern provinces before returning to the Hitoana.

A late nineteenth-century version of the practice confirms that it was not nearly as regular as that of the eight lakes. No doubt this is because the possibilities were so many, and also because the practice was so ambitious that few people performed it. In 1876, a confraternity from Kanagawa Prefecture went first to Futami-no-ura (Mie Prefecture), then to Chikubushima, an island in Lake Biwa; Lake Hakone; Lake

Suwa (Nagano); Lake Haruna (Gunma); Lake Chūzenji; Lake Sakura (Shizuoka); and the sea at Kashima (Ibaraki) (IWASHINA 1983, 447–48). Their route coincided at only one or perhaps two points with Kakugyō's in the *Book*, and at three points with his route in 1592.

FINAL REMARKS

It would be proper, after discussing the content of the *Book*, to be able to give some historical explanation for Kakugyō and his career. What precedents can be cited for the “practice of the block” or the “practice of the eight lakes”? Unfortunately, I know of none. Where, in earlier Japanese religion, might one find a mountain honored as a triune, universal god? Nowhere, as far as I know. In Shugendō, any sacred mountain may be honored as a world center, but this claim does not deny the same claim made on behalf of other sacred mountains. Despite the customary seniority enjoyed in Shugendō by the Ōmine mountains south of Nara, the Shugendō world has no doctrinal center. In this respect alone, it differs radically from the Fuji cult founded by Kakugyō.

It is intriguing that Kakugyō was born in Nagasaki, a city where he might have absorbed influences quite different from those current elsewhere in Japan. Saint Francis Xavier reached Kagoshima in 1549 and Christianity spread first in Kyūshū. Perhaps Kakugyō, in his teens, heard missionaries preach ideas that helped to shape his own view of the world and of the divine. In a way, his teaching resembles a sort of Judeo-Christian monotheism nativized almost, but not quite, beyond all recognition. Whether or not so perilous an idea is even faintly plausible, however, is difficult to decide.

Another possibility is direct Taoist influence (as distinguished from Taoist elements present in Japan long before Kakugyō's time), since Nagasaki had a considerable Chinese community. However, initial indications are not encouraging. Kakugyō's diagrams of Fuji do not recall the “true chart of the Five Peaks” (*gogaku shinkei to*) tradition in China (SCHIPPER 1967), nor does the Fuji evoked by the *Book* have anything striking in common with Taoist sacred mountains as they can be found in China today (HAHN 1988).

In short, Kakugyō's Mt. Fuji seems, at least for the moment, to surge into being rather as a magic mountain might rise from the sea. Popular lore roughly in Kakugyō's own time did in fact sometimes treat Fuji as Hōrai (Ch. P'eng-lai), the Island of the Immortals imagined by the Chinese (*Nippon Hōraizan* in YOKOYAMA and SHINODA 1961; *Fujisan* in SANARI 1930). Various other connections between Kakugyō's Fuji and the earlier cult and legends of the mountain have been discussed

above, but much work remains to be done in order to clarify the relationship between the mountain's medieval past and its Edo-period present, let alone the other influences (if any) that might have helped to form the practice and faith upheld by the Fuji confraternities of Edo.

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

1. In the date "Keichō 10. 6. 3," the first number indicates the year (the tenth year of the Keichō period), the second the month, and the third the day. All dates will be given in this format, with the corresponding year in the Gregorian calendar following them, as here, in parentheses.

2. These two transcriptions occasionally disagree with each other.

3. This spot cannot be easily identified, though *tawa* means a saddle between two mountains.

4. The "sevenfold" probably means that he did the practice each time for seven consecutive days. Standing immobile on a wooden block was one of Kakugyō's basic practices.

5. *Chūdō* 中道, a path around the mountain about halfway up. It was believed to mark the boundary between heaven and earth.

6. "Seven-foot" (*nanashaku*) makes no apparent sense. The dimensions of the block are described below under "The practice of the block" and in the *Book* itself.

7. The plural may also be meant, in which case Kakugyō may have written this note to go with a collection of his *monku*.

8. The end of this sentence, although unintelligible, surely has to do with the requester (who may equally have been a woman) being reborn in a desirable place.

9. In Buddhism, one of the "six paths" (*rokudō*) of reincarnation. A subhuman realm, close to hell.

10. This document is translated below, under "The Practice of the Eight Inner Lakes."

11. See, for example, Anne-Marie BOUCHY's study of the *nenbutsu* ascetic Tokuhon (1983).

12. Triads of deities or divine figures are common in Japanese religion, Buddhist or otherwise. In normal Buddhist iconography, both Amida (Skt. *Amitābha*) and Shaka (Skt. *Śākyamuni*) commonly appeared as the center of a triad. In the case of Mt. Fuji, the summit of Mt. Fuji was almost always painted, in Kakugyō's time and after, and in the teeth of all topographical plausibility, as triple (NARUSE 1980, TAKEUCHI 1987). Moreover, Kakugyō worshiped, as an aspect of the Fuji deity, the "three luminaries" (*sankō*): the sun, the moon, and the polestar.

13. *Kaji-kitō*, a term associated with esoteric Buddhism and with Shugendō, has often been translated into English as "magic and incantation."

14. The half-legendary founder of the Shugendō tradition of mountain practice, active in the late seventh century.

15. This is remarkably late, since many important sacred mountains were "opened" by Buddhist monks already in the eighth century. Fuji was simply too imposing to be approached so soon.

16. Konohanasakuya-hime is a figure in standard Japanese mythology, but Konohasaku-o is not. Elementary information about Konohanasakuya-hime is given in note 18 to the translation.

17. These characters read [MYŌ-]TŌ-KAI-ZAN 明藤開山, which mean in the language of the Fuji cult something like “marvelous Fuji/[and Fujiwara?] mountain realization.” The MYŌ character appears not in its normal form but as the shape of the mountain itself (MURAKAMI and YASUMARU 1971, 457, note).

18. Since Kakugyō called the Hitoana the Pure Land, it is likely that even he did not reject Amida and his paradise. A poem known in the Fuji cult goes, “At the root [or upon the peak] of Fuji, illumined by the morning sun and gleaming in the evening sun, there is, they say, the Pure Land of Namu Amida Butsu” (IWASHINA 1983, 62). *Namu Amida Butsu*, the invocation to Amida, was often treated *in toto* as this Buddha’s name.

19. Gorai Shigeru, in an oral communication in 1978, speculated that the Hitoana had indeed once been used for this purpose.

20. This is what the apparition must have said in the *Azuma kagami* account.

21. Prince Shōtoku, who acted as regent for his aunt, Empress Suiko, is credited with having established Buddhism in Japan. A standard passage in his legendary biography tells how he flew over Mt. Fuji on the “black horse of Kai,” but versions of the story that are centered on Fuji instead of the prince—including *The Book of the Great Practice*—naturally have him stop on the mountain. In *Sangoku denki*, the prince’s horse has become the “horse of the four snows,” alluding to the snow that crowns Fuji in all four seasons.

22. An invocation containing Kakugyō’s special characters for the in-breath and out-breath, and for *moto-no-chichihaha*, the “primordial parents.” It appears, in a slightly longer form, in all but the last of Kakugyō’s diagrams reproduced below in the translation of the *Book*.

23. The few lines that follow are hard to understand. They appear to be general in content.

24. This list of course omits Ukishima, but it also leaves out Lake Hakone. One has been replaced by Shibire, the other by Senzu-no-umi, a spring on the mountainside itself.

TRANSLATION

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The Book of the Great Practice is at times unreliable in its grammar, spelling, and word usage, so that translation inevitably becomes interpretation. Moreover, Kakugyō’s “utterances” and “spells” are not normal language at all. I have tried to give an idea of their content, to the extent that I can divine it, but I doubt that the word “translation” should be applied to my (often incomplete) renditions.

In translating direct speech, I have indented all speeches made by or addressed to the Fuji deity; I have also indented the major exchanges between Kakugyō and his two disciples, or between him and Tokugawa Ieyasu. For more casual conversations, I have simply used quotation marks within the body of a normal paragraph. In addition, most of the paragraph divisions are mine; there are few in the original text.

Matters explained in the Introduction will not be explained again in the notes to the translation. The corresponding notes simply refer to the appropriate places in the Introduction. I have not inserted any Chinese characters into the translation because so many would be useful that it would simply be impractical to include them all. For characters, I can only refer the reader to the original.

I should make it clear that many of the notes below rely on those provided by Itō Kenkichi in his published edition of this text (MURAKAMI and YASUMARU 1971, 452–81).

Finally, I wish to thank Iwanami Shoten for permission to reprint the four transcribed diagrams from pages 457, 458, 466, and 468 of the published edition just named. They appear below on pages 290, 291, 300, and 302.

THE BOOK OF THE GREAT PRACTICE¹

The Fuji ascetic Kakugyō Tōbutsu Kū, a native of Nagasaki in the province of Hizen, descended from the Palace Minister Taishokkan Lord Kamatari.² His father was Sanmi no Chūjō Sakon'e Tayū Fujiwara no Hisamitsu of the Hasegawa clan, while his mother was the daughter of Nijō no Jūni-i Fujiwara no Kiyoyasu.³ He was born on Tenbun 10.1.15 [1541].

Kakugyō's Conception and Birth

Now, ever since the Ōnin era, the Realm had been in turmoil and in every province there had been ceaseless war.⁴ For this reason the Sovereign above, the Shogun in the middle, and the people below were all in great distress; yet there was no martial leader to quell these troubles. Kakugyō's father reflected that, although born into a warrior house, he himself was not equal to the task; and therefore, during a seven-day retreat, he besought Heaven that by the might of the Gods of our land it might quell these wars. This was his prayer.

In the hundred years and more since Ōnin, the Realm has been in turmoil and there have been endless battles in every province. This distresses me profoundly, yet I am not equal to the task [of restoring peace] and have not the courage to undertake it. I cannot quell these troubles by force of arms. May the Sun, Moon, and Stars, in their compassion, grant me a son [able to succeed where I cannot].

So he besought Heaven for seven days, and the prayer of his heart was granted. That night, a message⁵ from the Polestar announced that [the Star] would borrow [his wife's] womb so that his desire should be fulfilled. Therefore a son was born.

The boy, whose childhood name was Takematsu, was later called Sakon.⁶ In his eighteenth year he began a life of ascetic endeavor and undertook the great practice of renouncing sleep all the 18,808 days of his life.⁷ He was known as Kakugyō Tōbutsu Kū. Indeed, he was a manifestation of the Sun, the Moon, and the Divine Stars, and of Sengen Dainichi and the Polestar. Never doubt this. For this is the reason why he bestowed upon me the great practice to which I have devoted my own life, and why I now record his career as he himself described it to me.

His Purpose Is Divinely Revealed to Him

Now, when Takematsu was in his seventh year, there came a message from the Polestar.⁸

You were born into this life in order to quell the troubles that now beset the Realm, to assist the people and to save sentient beings. However, the time for peace in the Realm is not yet come. Peace cannot be given the Realm by the power of man. You must therefore pray to Heaven and destroy the bandits⁹ in every province.

Understand that you were born in answer to the prayer of your mother and father. You must therefore keep your purpose in mind after you grow up and pray always for its accomplishment. If you do not pray for the divine power of the Sun and Moon, you will not be able to bring about this peace. When the time comes, both you and the Lord of the Realm¹⁰ will see your efforts rewarded.

He Sets Out and Receives Instruction from En no Gyōja

Consequently, it was in Eiroku 2 (*tsuchinoto-hitsuji*)¹¹ [1559], his eighteenth year, that he resolved to pursue his goal.¹² Aspiring to follow the practice enjoined by the Nikkō Deity,¹³ he traveled into the depths of the East, to [the province of] Hitachi; and there, reckless of his own physical well-being, he performed his great practice for the sake of the debt he owed to his parents and for the sake of the people. Then he continued on to the fastnesses of Kita-Ōmine in Mutsu and entered the Takkoku River Cave, where he fasted for thrice seven days.¹⁴ No wonder occurred. While he was then doing another fast of thrice seven days, he received an oracle from En no Gyōja.¹⁵

“What purpose, O Ascetic, what vow moved you to undertake the great practice that you are performing here?”

Kakugyō replied,

“I am acting as my father and mother charged me to do. In the world as it is now there is endless war, so that heart of the Sovereign above has no rest and the people below groan aloud. Although I would ease their distress, the task is beyond the power of man to perform. I am therefore doing this great practice because I wish, by the power of the Sun, Moon, Stars, and the Three Treasures, to come to their aid and to save sentient beings in a Realm both peaceful and secure.”

En no Gyōja replied,

"That is a most worthy ambition, but you cannot accomplish it here. The Deity Fuji Sengen Dainichi, whom you will find westward from here in the province of Suruga, is the pillar of the world after the parting of Heaven and Earth. This Deity is the source of the Sun and Moon, of the Pure Lands,¹⁶ and of the human body.

"From the body of this Deity spring wood, fire, earth, metal, water,¹⁷ and the five deities of mind and body, thence to fill Heaven and Earth; likewise are born the divinities of mountains and seas, of the six directions, and of grasses and trees. Thirdly, there come forth [from this Deity] the Sun Deity, the Moon Deity, and the Rice Deity. These having emerged, Heaven and Earth are brightly illumined. From them issue the body and mind of all the Gods, in whom the human body has its origin. [Thus this Deity] is the source of all things.

"Ever since Ōyamatsumi, the descendant of the Divine Grandchild, first took to wife Konohanasakuya-hime,¹⁸ their godly lineage has continued unbroken. It is the origin of the Human Sovereigns¹⁹ of Japan. Now that Human Sovereigns reign here, they therefore do so by this Deity's divine power; so that [this Deity] is the pillar of our Realm and a sacred mountain without peer in the Three Lands. That is why Yamato Takeru-no-mikoto, when he chastised the Eastern Barbarians, undertook his campaign thanks to [this Deity's] own might.²⁰ Consequently, O Ascetic, for the accomplishment of your heart's prayer you must seek the aid of Fuji Sengen Dainichi.

"Now, to the west [of the Mountain] you will find a place to do your practice. It is called the Hitoana. Go there and labor at your task. Never doubt that the Deity will help you."

He Enters the Hitoana; Monkeys Come to Serve Him

Kakugyō then left Mutsu and went to Suruga.²¹ When he asked a villager [where to find] the Hitoana, the villager said, "Yes, there is a place called the Hitoana, but it has always been our village's deity (*kono tokoro no ujigami*) and one must not enter it. No one who has gone in has ever come out again. For this reason, none of the local people would dream of going into it. If you do so, sickness will immediately strike our village, plagues will blight the crops on wet fields and dry, the five grains²² will fail to ripen, and no one will come near the place again. Of old, when Lord Yoritomo was hunting below [the Mountain], Nitta no Shirō Tadatsune went in; but although he did come out again, as his lord had ordered him to do, a slanderer brought his life to an end and his lineage died out.²³ That is why Lord Yoritomo's own line did not continue.²⁴ No, you must not enter this cave." Kakugyō, wondering what to do, spent that night where he was.

Then [the villager] said: "A little way from here, O Ascetic, there is a place called Shiraito Waterfall.²⁵ Since that is a good place for practice, you ought to go there." So Kakugyō sought out Shiraito Waterfall and spent

seven days there, praying for a dispensation to enter the Hitoana. And lo, on the last night of his retreat, a celestial child appeared and said: "Ascetic, you wish to enter the cave. Please come with me." The child led Kakugyō to the mouth of the Hitoana and said: "Ascetic, you must enter from here. Make sure the villagers do not see you." Then he vanished.

Kakugyō then understood that he was to enter the Hitoana. However, it was blackest night and he had no idea how to do so. So he made a vow: "If my prayer is answered, I shall by the power of Sengen Dainichi enter the Hitoana. If it is not, I shall offer up my life here on this spot." He ran toward the Hitoana and soon fell into it, but, wondrous to tell, suffered no injury. However, it was pitch dark. He therefore sat in meditation there where he had fallen and vowed that for seven days he would not open his eyes.

For seven days he performed his great practice without sleeping. When the time came he opened his eyes, and lo, the interior of the Hitoana was illumined as by the Sun and wondrously bright. He therefore arose from his seat, prostrated himself thrice to Sengen Dainichi and, accompanied by the light, penetrated into the depths of the cavern.

As he did so, a celestial child appeared and said: "Ascetic, no one who has entered this cave has ever survived. Are you now entering in full knowledge that this is so, or do you enter in ignorance?" Kakugyō replied: "I am entering because I have long since dedicated my life to Sengen Dainichi. Your words leave me undisturbed." "Ascetic, why have you come?" the child asked. Kakugyō answered, "I am entering now because of my vow, made to Sengen Dainichi." "Are you then offering up your life for this great practice?" said the child. "If my vow [to enter the cave] is accomplished," replied Kakugyō, "I certainly will offer my life to perform this great practice."

"Then," [said the child], "I must tell you that you will do your practice. First, you must place here a block [of wood], four-and-a-half *sun* [about 14 cm.] on a side. You must stand with both feet upon it, on tiptoe, and thrice daily and thrice nightly—six times in a day and a night—perform cold water ablutions. There is a deep benefit to your standing on such a block and doing that many ablutions. Exert yourself diligently. Some way below here, at a place called Kamiide, is Shira[ito] Waterfall. It is with water from there that you must purify yourself. And, from within, you must in a day and a night purify your six sense-roots with thirty-three waters.²⁶ In a thousand days you will accomplish your great practice. Since you have true resolve, your prayer will be answered. Never slacken your effort!" And the celestial child went on into the depths of the cave.

Next, three monkeys came. One brought the block of wood mentioned in the divine message, one a wooden water dipper, and one berries.²⁷ Having given these things to Kakugyō, they passed on into the cave. On tasting the berries, Kakugyō found that they had all the five flavors, for they were at once sweet, sour, bitter, hot, and salty. When he had finished them all, the

monkeys brought more.

Once, Kakugyō asked the monkeys, "Where do these berries grow?" They pointed to the Mountain and replied, "By the Eight Ravines."²⁸ Years later, when Lord Ieyasu came to the Hitoana, he ate some of these berries, and to this day they are sent as an offering to the Shogun.

His First Period of Great Practice

Then, on the first *saru* day²⁹ in the fourth month of Eiroku 1 (*tsuchinoe-uma*) [1558],³⁰ he set up the Pure Land block³¹ and stood upon it. Thrice daily and thrice nightly—six times in a day and a night—he did cold water ablutions; and from within, by means of the thirty-three cups of water, he purified his inner mind and his six sense-roots. Unsleeping, he performed his great practice for one thousand days.

In Eiroku 3 (*kanoe-saru*) [1560], on the first *saru* day in the fourth month, his vow to perform the practice was accomplished. Then, for the first time, he received a direct communication from the Deity Sengen Dainichi. Upon hearing a voice calling, "O Ascetic Kakugyō!" Kakugyō went down to his practice-place [the Shiraito Waterfall]³² and gave thanks. The Deity then addressed him as follows.

Ascetic, you have renounced your body and dedicated your life to your great practice. This is the true spirit. Therefore, I have a message to impart to you.

You see, Ascetic, the ultimate goal you have set yourself to attain is not rightly conceived, and that is why the Realm is not at peace. The true spirit is the vow to help sentient beings by pacifying the Realm. There are bandits in the land who sow disorder in the land. There are bandits in the home who sow disorder in the home. This is because lord and subjects are at odds with one another. And the disorder in Heaven [proceeds from] lack of compassion [for the lowly] above and from lack of respect for superiors below.³³ Thus there is no harmony between Heaven and Earth. The Sovereign neglects his salutations to Heaven³⁴ and bestows no blessings on those below; and from the Sovereign down to the common people, there is no accord. That is why the land is not at peace.

The harmonious unity of Heaven, Earth, and the Gods is the origin of all things. Therefore, O Ascetic, if you will fundamentally renew your goal and seek the harmony of Heaven and Earth, the Realm will surely have peace. Then, as you do your great practice here, the bandits throughout the provinces will be destroyed by their own karma. Peace cannot be achieved only through force of arms. When it is time, those who oppose [the future martial leader] will all wither away. Although the moment is not yet come, in years to come [he] will pacify the Realm and relieve the distress of the people. He is no ordinary man, but Sarutahiko-no-mikoto.³⁵

When this land subsided into peace, [Sarutahiko-no-mikoto] cleared

the pathway for the Gods; then the Divine Grandchild descended from the High Plain of Heaven to the land of Fusō and brought peace to the Realm. And the Divine Grandchild's lineage continues even now, so that although Gods and land are two, they are at one.

Having once brought peace, the Divine Grandchild did not remain in the land. Instead the Sun Deity, from his own heart,³⁶ bestowed [upon the land] a King of Power³⁷ who brings peace to the Realm forever and assists the people. His many descendants govern like Gods. He is the Sunlight Star.³⁸

The time is therefore coming. Ascetic, you are resolved that the Realm should be in harmony and at peace. However, so great a practice as this is beyond human strength. Know that the land will be at peace when Heaven, Earth, and Man are all three in harmony with one another. Henceforth, O Ascetic, your name shall be Kakugyō Tōkaku.³⁹

Now, regarding your great practice of standing upon a square block of wood, the size of four-and-a-half *sun* on a side [signifies that this block] is the origin of the human body.⁴⁰ It is the source of the land. To stand upon it and do your great practice, O Ascetic, is to act as the Son of Heaven.

Heed me well, O Ascetic. For you to do this great practice even briefly, in the Divine Grandchild's stead, is to do something no other could do. You are the Polestar. That is why I permit you this great practice. You receive directly from the Sun and the Moon your prayers for peace in the Realm, security throughout the land and ease for all the people. You act as the Divine Grandchild. That is why you are to be called Kakugyō Tōkaku. The two characters *tō* [east] and *kaku* [awakening] are the sign of the Divine Grandchild.

The Utterances of the Harmony of Heaven and Earth (Fig. 1 and 2)

Now, you chant these secret utterances. They are the harmony of Heaven and Earth. These utterances of Sun and Moon rule the Realm. These are the heart and substance of the harmony of Heaven and Earth. I grant them to you in recognition of your great practice. These utterances that I grant you are the pillar of the world. And your great practice, O Ascetic, is the pillar of the world. Therefore, O Ascetic, you, doing your great practice upon the block, are the pillar of the world.

This is a *kanoe-saru* [i.e., Kōshin] year because it is causally linked to the parting of Heaven and Earth. It was in a *kanoe-saru* year that the land first appeared. When [the Age of the Gods] yielded to [the Age of] Human Sovereigns, it was in a *kanoe-saru* year that the clouds and mists first cleared from around this mountain, and in a *kanoe-saru* year, too, that all the provinces settled into peace.⁴¹ It is a sign of peace that the provinces should revere Kōshin [i.e., *kanoe-saru*]. In the sixty years that follow this *kanoe-saru* year, the whole Realm will come to be at peace.

Having thus instructed him, point by point, the Deity retired to the inner

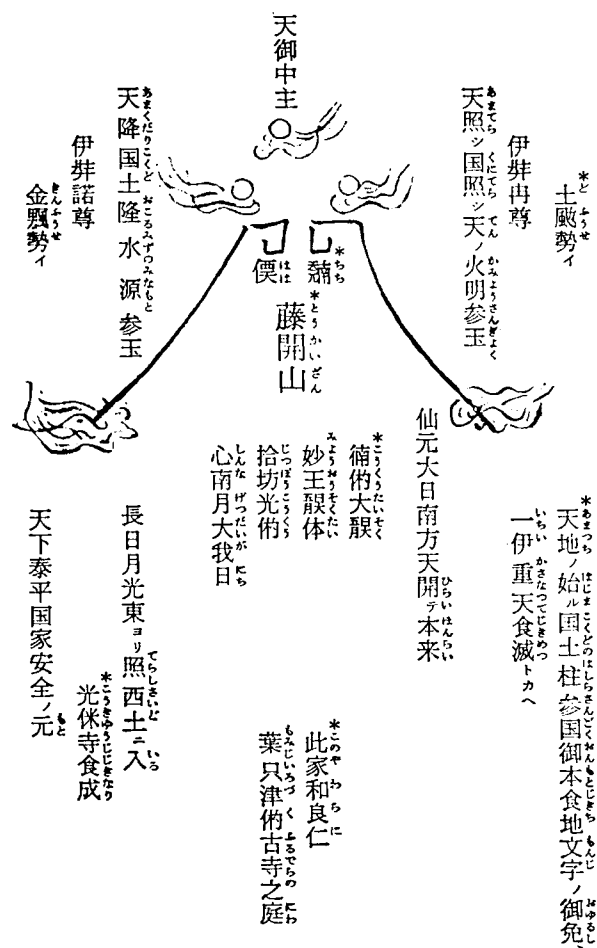


FIGURE 1

fastness [of the Mountain].

Kakugyō Tōkaku then did repeated thousand-day great practices, purifying himself and not once opening his eyes. He did four thousand-day periods in all.

Then, on Eiroku 8.6.3 (*kinoto-ushi*) [1565], Sengen Dainichi appeared and gave him direct instruction as follows.

The Creation

This Mountain is the pillar of the land [after] the parting of Heaven and Earth, and the source of all things. In the time when the cosmos was void, water congealed and this Mountain appeared. It did so because from each of the four directions, east, south, west, and north, there came a wave, and these waves collided. They then rose up as Izanagi and

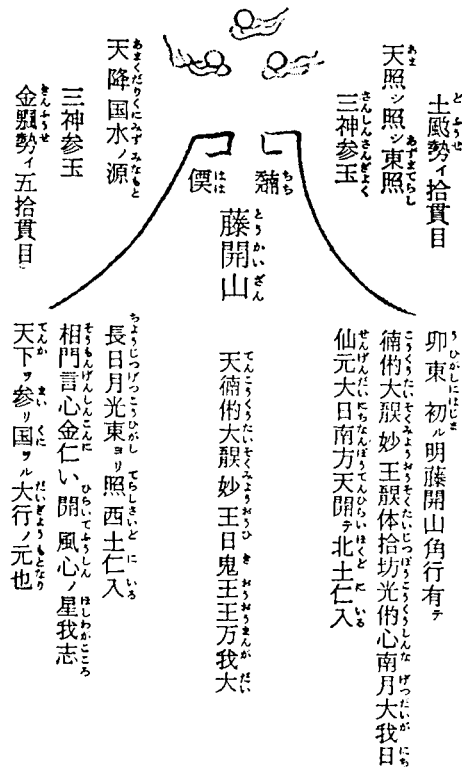


FIGURE 2

Izanami, and withdrew to the four directions. This is called Amano-minakanushi-no-mikoto.⁴²

First [Izanagi and Izanami] produced the Mountain, Ōyamatsumi-no-mikoto. Then they brought forth the sea and formed it into the Three Sea Deities.⁴³ Next, they gave birth to the land and the Seven Land Deities: the deities of moors, trees, plants, water, and sky.

The five deities of wood, fire, earth, metal, and water are the Five Earth Deities.

From my body was first born the body of man. It was I who first gave birth to three ears of rice, to silkworms, and to the seeds of the five grains. All these were therefore born within my body. To be born into the world is to issue from Sengen. All things spring from water and have water as their source.

The Mountain

First of all, there is the summit, above; and, immediately below, there are the lakes. These are the origin of my sixty and more provinces.⁴⁴ The three thousand major worlds in the ocean have all flowed out from me. In the east is the Sea of Compassion, in the south the Sea of Ochi,

in the west the Sea of Shōzu Isle, and in the center the Great Sky Sea.⁴⁵ Thus the whole world is portioned out from my body. Moreover, this Mountain is the pillar of the world. It is therefore the Pure Land of Sun and Moon,⁴⁶ and the origin of the human body.

I am called Konohanasakuya-hime,⁴⁷ the beginning of the world and the origin of the human body. When the body of Konohasaku-o opens the female's body receives this flower and likewise opens. After she has taken it into her body she gives birth. I begin from the body that opens. Moreover, when the rice is sown, Sun and Moon conjoin and become the Single-Grain Bodhisattva.⁴⁸ [This bodhisattva], born from my body, is the root of life for the people of the world.

[In thanks] for this blessing and for the sake of peace in the Realm, you must climb the Mountain. In truth, mountain pilgrimage was Shaka's practice for twenty-two years.⁴⁹ You, Ascetic, shall do this practice for twelve years so as to bring stability to the Realm. You must climb the Mountain from the north, from Kita-guchi.⁵⁰

Accordingly, on Genki 3.6.3 (*mizunoe-saru*) [1572], he first set foot on the Mountain and climbed it from Kita-guchi.⁵¹

Stations on the Journey up the Mountain

The First Peak of Kita-guchi is Toyouke Daijingu and the Second Peak is Omuro Goshō Sengen Ōhigami; these are the chief shrine of Kita-guchi.⁵² [Next come] Kama-no-ishi Gonaisho-dokoro,⁵³ the upper boundary of the zone of shrines,⁵⁴ Chūgū Goshō⁵⁵ and Kyō-ga-take, where Nichiren practiced.⁵⁶ In truth, Nichiren performed a hundred-day practice here, chanted the *Lotus Sutra* and built a chapel. In a later year, in accordance with an oracle from Sengen Dainichi, he opened Mt. Minobu.⁵⁷ For indeed, Nichiren, during his own lifetime, entered onto the Mountain and awakened to the meaning of the two characters *myō* and *hō*;⁵⁸ and of old, Shaka upon this Mountain received texts, preached the myriad sutras, realized the inner meaning of the Buddha-Dharma, and became the great teacher and saint of the world. All of this was thanks to the blessing of Sengen Dainichi. It is also due to Sengen's compassion that Nichiren, too, should have confined himself for one hundred days on this Mountain and become the great saint and teacher of the [Lotus] Sutra.

After [Kyō-ga-take] come Kama-iwa⁵⁹ and Koma-ga-take, to which Prince Shōtoku climbed when he first established Buddhism [in Japan].⁶⁰ Turtle Rock is the Eight Great Dragons, the deities who ward off fire.⁶¹ At [dawn,] the hour of the rabbit, [the Deity] appears on the rock of Hinomiko no Gozen.⁶²

[Next come] Mukō-Yakushi;⁶³ the summit with its Eightfold Peak;⁶⁴ Ken-ga-mine, above the Sanctum;⁶⁵ the Sanctum of the Paternal Body; to the right of the Maternal Body, Shaka's Split Rock⁶⁶ and, to the left, the Sanctum of the Non-Dual Diamond and Womb-Realm Mandalas;⁶⁷ the Celestial Rock Cave;⁶⁸ the Eightfold August Bodies [, that is to say], the Four

Buddhas and Four Bodhisattvas;⁶⁹ the Eastern Sai-no-kawara; the Western Sai-no-kawara;⁷⁰ the Diamond Water;⁷¹ the purifying Konoshiro Pool;⁷² and Mummy Bridge.⁷³

His Descent and Return to the Hitoana

From there, [Kakugyō] descended to the Chūgū.⁷⁴ To the north of him were Otonashinaru Ravine and Yohai Water.⁷⁵ Going round toward the east, he found to the south of him Ōara Ravine⁷⁶ and Myōō Cave,⁷⁷ and, to the west, Hannya Ravine.⁷⁸ This ravine descends from Shaka's Split Rock at the summit. Its roar fills Heaven and Earth and it is immeasurably deep.

Before the Sanctum is Iwa-Fudō, where there is a rock bridge that one cannot cross with merely human power.⁷⁹ En no Gyōja and Shōtoku Taishi crossed it of old, but no one has done so since. Wondering how he himself was to make the crossing, the ascetic devoted a moment to prayer. A monkey then came and stood before him, and showed him the way.

His practice, on his way down into the ravine, was a very great and life-risking one, for he had no foothold or handhold at all. The monkey let down a vine [for him to grasp]; or, at other times, he clung to rocks and tree roots. Thus he finally reached the depths of the ravine. Just then, rocks began tumbling down the ravine in unspeakable numbers; but when he called upon Sengen Dainichi, they stopped. Then, with his eyes upon the ravine, he called with all his heart on Sengen Dainichi and leapt.⁸⁰ Lo! he fell a long way down but suffered no injury at all.

From there he climbed once more up onto the Chūtai,⁸¹ where he accomplished the great practice of keeping vigil day and night for seven days. Then he continued on down into the ravine again, until at last he climbed out on the opposite side of the ravine and gave thanks. After that, he came to another ravine, with walls all of blue-green rock. It was the one by which the Gods ascend on pilgrimage to the Sanctum at the summit. Beside it there is another, named Buddha-Rock Ravine. All the rocks in it have the shape of Buddhas. The bridge here was generously laid across by Emperor Kanmu.⁸²

Beside these, there occurred on the Mid-Path other miracles and prodigies that it is beyond the power of writing to describe.

Now, the Omuro [Shrine at] Kita-guchi and the Omitake Shrine offer protection against fire, wind, and rain.⁸³

He spent thrice seven days visiting every site on the Mid-Path, and at the Chūgū, the boundary between Heaven and Earth, he accomplished a great fast of a hundred days and a hundred nights. Then, having given there thanks for everything, he returned to the Hitoana and continued his great practice. And when he thanked Sengen Dainichi he received this command: "You shall do the great practice of the Eight Lakes⁸⁴ in order to requite the debt of gratitude that you owe your mother and father."

He Sets Out on the Practice of the Eight Lakes

After this, in Tenshō 1 (*mizunoto-tori*) [1573], he left the Hitoana and went for the first time to the lake in Ōmi Province;⁸⁵ and there he performed the great practice of fasting for one hundred days and one hundred nights. As he did so, Sengen Dainichi gave him the instruction, "Now, for the good of all the world, I will give you a secret utterance to relieve sickness. With it you shall relieve the suffering of those who are ill."

Then Sengen bestowed upon him the Spell⁸⁶ against All Sicknesses, by means of which he saved sentient beings.

Ana Lake; The Utterance to Consolidate the Material Body

From there, Kakugyō repaired to the moors below the Mountain, and at Ana Lake⁸⁷ performed the great practice of fasting for one hundred days and one hundred nights. And as he did so, there came to him another visitation in which he received directly the Utterance to Consolidate the Material Body, also known as the Utterance of the Land of the Five Winds.⁸⁸ This utterance is as follows:

TŌ TENJIKU NI HAYACHI KATAMARU TŌJIN FŪ, NAN TENJIKU AITE O MOTOMURU SAI AKU FŪ, HOKU TENJIKU NI JI O KITAOKAISU KOKU FŪ, JI TENJIKU NI KŌKŪSHIN NO MICHİ NARI CHŪSEI FŪ

(*In East Tenjiku, the Swift-Earth [or Blood?]-Congeals East Man Wind.*

In South Tenjiku, the Body-Congeals Southern Fire Wind.

In West Tenjiku, the Partner-Seeking West Evil Wind.

In North Tenjiku, the Earth-tempering and Earth-overturning Black Wind.

In Earth Tenjiku, the Way of the Spirit of Kō and Kū:⁸⁹ the Middle-Birth Wind.)

Thus the Deity of the Pillar day and night follows the path of his practice, and all beings who live between Heaven and Earth, all who are born each day, receive the comfort of his blessing. There is none whom this blessing fails to touch.⁹⁰

Kakugyō Tōkaku, by your enlightenment you shall accomplish the salvation of sentient beings; nor shall any practice be permitted them beyond the Four Practices, to wit, warrior, farmer, craftsman, and merchant.⁹¹ [These practices] are the source of all the deities.

And the divine communication continued:

These are the functions of the Five Practices⁹² that reach Heaven. These I permit.

And [there came] the utterance:⁹³

U HIGASHI [east] FUKUMON-SETSU, TATSU-MI [southeast] TŌSHŌ-KOKU, UMA-MINAMI [south] REIIMAN-KOKU, HITSUJI-SARU [southwest] KIMON-KOKU, TORI-NISHI [west] KŌKŪ-TAN, INUI [northwest] SŌSHO-TEN, NE HOKU [north] SHŪSAI, USHI-TORA [northeast] KŪ ROKUTEN SHIN NAN SANKŌ,

TENCHI-WA [harmony of Heaven and Earth] ROKUKAI TEN JITTEN HACHI TEN ITTEN.

Thus Heaven's path of practice is to bless all things on Earth. In the morning, [the Sun] issues from the Fukumon-setsu at the start of the hour of the rabbit,⁹⁴ blessing the Son of Heaven on high and assisting the people below until all things—plants, trees, and the whole Realm—attain fulfillment. To include this utterance in your present prayers for the Realm is therefore [to encourage] the harmony of Heaven and Earth. And when Heaven and Earth are in harmony, all things are nurtured and the Realm is at peace. The condition of paradise will be achieved. Kakugyō, you must pursue your practice with reverence.

Lake Yamanaka; The Utterances of Water; Aka-mi-kū and Shiro-ni-kū

After that, Kakugyō proceeded to moon-crescent Lake Yamanaka,⁹⁵ where he performed the great practice of fasting for one hundred days and one hundred nights. And there the Utterance of Water and the Utterance of the Washing in Water were revealed to him. He received them directly by divine inspiration.

The Utterance of Water

(One performs the Mudrā of the Three Luminaries.)⁹⁶

TENCHI-WA MIZU, TSUKI NO MIKO SHIROTSUYU NO MITAMARU, HI NO OTERASHI, ANZEN JIPPŌ GANZEN-MON, BANSEI KŌMYŌ FŪ JITSU FŪ RAI, YŪTOKU SŌSHŌ JITSU ICHINEN SHŌ NO SASHIKŪ NO SHŌ, KAKO MIRAI GENZE
(*Water of harmony of Heaven and Earth, Moon-child, life-drop of silver dew, Sun-brilliance illumining in all ten directions the Gate of Radiant Goodness,*⁹⁷ *the day of the wind of pure brightness comes, born together . . . in past, future, and present.*)

Thus, when a human being is born, Heaven and Earth conjoin in harmony, split [the new child] off from the body of Sun and Moon, and send it forth into life. Therefore the good man and the bad man always exist together. At the Gate of Radiant Goodness, [the new child's earlier deeds] are examined and recorded; then [the child] lodges in the bodies of a provisional mother and father⁹⁸ until at last it is born. This body is something borrowed from Sun and Moon, and while one has it, one must make at least a little progress.

The ripening of the five grains resembles the [development of] the human body. First, at the equinox in the second month, the spirit of sentience descends from Heaven and sustains the life of all things. This is when the Earth puts forth shoots. It is [the moment] called *bansei kōmyō fūjitsu* [day of the wind of pure brightness]. This is when the shoots of the five grains unfurl.

Then comes autumn. From the day of the equinox in the eighth month, all things ripen and leave their seeds. Under the influence of the [divine] wind, all things come into being. Thus, all is the gift of

Heaven. The bodhisattva is the heart of the Sun and Moon, and the source of life for the Lord of the Realm on high and for the people below. It is the bodhisattva's beneficent virtue that keeps the land at peace and sustains the Realm. All things that come into being do so in harmony.

[The Utterance of the Washing in Water]⁹⁹

MIZU NO GENSEI ICHIDAI NO KŌKŪ NO AJI O HIRAKI KUDASARE, NISHIN NO SHIN NO GO-ONTOKU HŌ-JITE MO HŌ-JI-GATASHI. GO-SHISHŌ NO GO-HŌON, HŌ-JITE MO HŌ-JI-TSUKUSHI-GATASHI. O-KOME NO ON-MINAKAMI FUJI HACHIYŌ SENGEN DAINICHI, NAMU CHŌJITSUGETSUKŌ-BUTSU NO ON-CHIKARA O MOTTE MINA SHINGAN TATEMATSURU. JITSUGETSU MOROTOMO NI NISHI U NO GO-ONTOKU, HŌ-JITE MO HŌ-JI-GATASHI. HAPPO NO SŌ MANRIKI.

CHŪYA KAIGYŌ SAIGYŌ O YURUSASERARETE, HŌE NO GI WA MŌSU NI OYO-BAZU, KONJŌ MIRAI FUBOKO SEI NO ARAN KAGIRI, TENCHI NO ARAN KAGIRI, YOYO KŪNANKU HITOSUJI NI NEGAI-TATEMATSURU.

(Try as I may, I cannot repay the debt of gratitude that I owe the Dual-Spirit Parent¹⁰⁰ who has given us life, born of water, and the seal of the breath.¹⁰¹ Try as I may, I can never repay the debt of gratitude that I owe my teacher. To the Eight-petaled Sengen Dainichi of Fuji,¹⁰² the august source of rice, and to the might of the holy and eternal Buddhas of the Sun, Moon, and Stars, I offer up this devout prayer. Try as I may, I cannot repay the debt of gratitude that I owe the Sun and Moon.¹⁰³ O might of [Sengen's?] manifestations in all eight directions.

Having been permitted to serve the Deities, both Buddhist and otherwise,¹⁰⁴ by day and by night, I vow that not only in the course of ritual observances, but in this life and the next, as long as Parent and Child shall live, as long as Heaven and Earth shall endure, I shall pursue this service with single mind, age after age without end.)

Thus, Heaven and Earth being in harmony, the path of practice for Night and Day begins; thenceforth all is a path of practice, even to the Golden Disk beneath the world, and sentient beings are nurtured each and every day.¹⁰⁵

Kakugyō, receive this instruction with awe.

Then came a further transmission:

Aka-ni-kū is the virtue of the Sunlight Father. Shiro-ni-kū is the virtue of Moonlight Celestial Mother.¹⁰⁶ They are the two-body, non-dual Dainichi.¹⁰⁷ The single-mind, single-body Shining Star is my own body.¹⁰⁸ The Monthly Leader and Official¹⁰⁹ brings down the source of the water from which the human body is born and so nurtures the entire world. Know, therefore, that the grace of conception and pregnancy is bestowed by the Sun and Moon.

Lake Saido; The Utterance of the Spiritual Self

Kakugyō thanked the Deity for each boon he had received. Next, at Lake Saido¹¹⁰ he performed the great practice of fasting for one hundred days and one hundred nights. Then there came another visitation and Kakugyō received directly the Utterance of the Spiritual Self.

JIPPŌ JISSOKU NO YAMI NI MO SANZEN CHŌ NO TSUKI NI WA AKARUSHI,
SANZEN CHŌ NO TSUKI NI MO SHICHIJŪ NINTEN CHŌ OBORO NARI, SANDAI
O YAMI TO MIRU KOTO MO, MI KŪGŌ ITTAI O SHIRAZARU GA YUE, SANDO
MIYO AKARUKU MIRU KOTO CHI O YUKU GA YUE, FUBOKO MYŌRI MONNA
YUKU TOKI, MURYŌ NO NASAKE GO-MYŌRI, TENCHI WA MIZU, WAGŌ NASAKE,
SHOKU WA MOTO, TAKARA WA HAKARI, SUJI WA NIOI, HONE WA KI, MANAKO
WA UTSUSHI, HATARAKI WA YORU HIRU, IKI WA KAZE

(Even amid the primordial darkness of the cosmos, in the month of the pre-birth space it shines abroad; even in the month of the prebirth space the seventy human heavens are dim. Because we do not know that we are one with the Deity, we see the three ages as darkness. Because . . . Heaven and Earth are water. Harmony is sympathetic feelings. Food is the origin. Riches are the goal. The key principle is the fragrance. The bones are trees. The eyes are all that is. The functioning is night and day. The breath is wind.)

This utterance is the path of practice in which Sun and Moon unite and a single human being is born. Ponder this well.

When father and mother conjoin, the white dew of the new moon begins to wax until, after ten months, the moon is full; and when the moon rises, the human is born. The final month of pregnancy is called the prebirth space. Because the spirit inhabiting the [new] human body is upright, its light pervades the Triple Chiliocosm. And even in the month of the prebirth space, the seventy human heavens¹¹¹ are dim. They remain dim for seven years after the person is born. The good and the evil [karma] from past lives have not yet appeared, nor are the good and evil of this present life yet known: therefore all is dim. When, following this period, uprightness is first established, the spirit's brilliance illumines the entire Triple Chiliocosm,¹¹² and this is the origin of Gods and Buddhas.

The three ages—past, present, and future—are at this time in darkness. This is the single character of the bodhisattva that is present within us. "One with the Deity" refers to the food within us. Not to recognize in this one's true lot, but to act from selfish desires¹¹³—whether one be the shogun, the lord of a province, a magistrate, a peasant, a craftsman, or a merchant—and so destroy oneself: that is [the contrary of] "one with the Deity." It is eating that keeps us, and to grasp that is to know one's proper lot in life. [We go astray] because we do not understand the notions of "lot in life" and of "food."

Look thrice! There is in this life a practice of looking thrice—of

looking with bright glance.¹¹⁴ It is the practice by which the Sun and Moon share out their body with sentient beings: the practice by which they share out the practice of father and mother. It is the practice thanks to which the body [of the child] is born. It is because of the path of practice of the Earth that they change body thrice and this bright world is born.

Below the Earth is the light of the Sun, and we do not realize that [this light?] works within us thrice each day.¹¹⁵ It is the evil in our own mind that causes us to do evil, perverted deeds and so leads to our own destruction. This evil is not something that comes to us from outside. It is within us. But the Gods and Buddhas, too, are within us. They are not outside us. This truth sheds boundless light upon our practice.

The path of practice of the Sun and Moon is boundless. It is vast. Thus, there can be no doubt that each person receives this truth of the spirit. When a single person becomes truly a human being, the assistance he gives sentient beings in bringing them to salvation is identical with the Sun and Moon's own path of practice, and his spirit is vast indeed.

The water of Heaven and Earth is the blood in the human body. Harmony means active sympathy with others. Food is the root of all things. The thread [that runs through all things] is the tie between the Five Agents, or between good and evil. Good is properly called "fragrance"; evil has no fragrance. Further, the bones [of the human body] are wood [*ki*], while life-force [*ki*] is the foundation and is itself founded upon the Way.¹¹⁶ The eyes are a reflection of Sun and Moon, and in them are reflected good and evil.

Vast, indeed. The functioning [of the world] is night and day. You must know the principle of the practice-path of Sun and Moon.

Further, the breath is the wind of Heaven and Earth. When this breath first appears, it nurtures all things, and when it ceases, life comes to an end.

The spectacle of the Five Agents' cyclical transformations arises from insight into the origin of the mind, the body, and the myriad dharmas.¹¹⁷ All these things you must likewise grasp, each and every one.

Such was the Deity's instruction.

Lake Nishi; The Utterance to Dispel Sickness

Kakugyō gave thanks and went on from there to Lake Nishi, where he performed the great practice of fasting for one hundred days and one hundred nights.

An epidemic was then abroad in the village and the people were suffering greatly. The villagers came to Kakugyō and told him, in acute distress, how things stood. Kakugyō therefore prayed to our Deity Sengen Dainichi and for seven days performed the great practice of unbroken vigil. Then the Deity Sengen Dainichi appeared to him and taught him the Utterance to

Dispel Sickness.

NISHIN NO O-KAGE FUJI HACHIYŌ SENGEN DAINICHI NO ON-CHIKARA, NAMU
CHŌJIKKŌ-TEN NO HŌBEN WA BANPŌ NO AKARI NITE, ZEN'AKU SEJIN NO
ON-TASUKE MONSHŌ, KŌKŪ DAISOKU NO FUSEGI, MYŌŌ SOKUTAI SEGI, NAJI
E AINARI, NINGYŌ E KAERUBEKI KANA, ECHIGO NO KUNI IZUMO-SAKI YORI
MATA AKUFŪYŌ O ICHINEN MOTTANAREBA HITOSUJI NI KAERUBEKI, KONO
MON O TAMOTANEBA HAPPŌDŌ HITOTSU NITE, NAN NI GYŌDO KŪ MIZU
FUMI-SHIZUMEBESHI. DAIHA HIRAITA MOTOSHŌ NI KAERU.

HI HI HI HI HI HI HI

SAN JITSU KŌKŪ TAISOKU GATSU IRU KI

TSUKI TSUKI TSUKI TSUKI TSUKI TSUKI TSUKI TSUKI

*(Grace of our Two Parents, might of Eight-petaled Fuji Sengen Dainichi:
the tactful means of the Holy One of Eternal Sunshine is the light of all
things . . . O return to human ways! . . .)*¹¹⁸

SUN SUN SUN SUN SUN SUN SUN

MOUNTAIN-SUN-BREATH-GREAT-SOURCE-MOON-VANISH-DEVILS

MOON MOON MOON MOON MOON MOON MOON

Kakugyō received this utterance by direct inspiration. With it he completely dispelled the epidemic and all the villagers rendered thanks to him.

Lake Shōji; The Utterance to Dispel Evil Influences

From there, he went on to the Lake Shōji,¹¹⁹ where he performed the great practice of fasting for one hundred days and one hundred nights. Sengen Dainichi visited him there and taught him the Utterance to Dispel Evil Influences: SŌMON GENSHIN KON NI I KAI, FŪ SHIN SHIROKU UMARURU WARE WA. And the same meaning expressed in a poem:

<i>kikoku yori</i>	The wind that blows
<i>fukikuru kaze wa</i>	from the demon-land
<i>aku kaze yo</i>	is an evil wind!
<i>sore fuki kaese</i>	Blow it back again,
<i>fuji no kamikaze</i>	divine wind of Fuji! ¹²⁰

After he had received the direct transmission of this utterance and finished his great practice, he gave the utterance to many people, so saving those afflicted by the [evil] wind.

Lake Motosu; The Utterance of the Dividing of the Body and the Spell to Hasten Safe Childbirth (Fig. 3)

From there, he went on to Lake Motosu where, during his great practice, he received by direct inspiration the Utterance of the Dividing of the Body and also the Spell to Hasten Safe Childbirth. These are:

Mind.)¹²³

Kakugyō received these utterances directly so that sentient beings could enjoy easy delivery. In truth, this Mountain is the source of water and the origin of the human body; and the great practice of the Eight Lakes was [done in] thanks for the beginning of the human body.

Lake Shibire; The Spell against Epilepsy

From there, Kakugyō went to Shibire,¹²⁴ where he performed the great practice of one hundred days and one hundred nights. As he did so, here too there came a visitation and he received directly the spell against the disease known as epilepsy.

Although many people have suffered in the past from this illness, there has been no effective remedy against it. Ten out of ten, a hundred out of a hundred of those afflicted have found no relief. Therefore I now give this to you so that you should help the people. You must do your great practice well and bestow [this spell] upon them; and all [those who receive it] must pray singlemindedly, according to their faith. The utterance is as follows:

ON-FUSEGI RYŌMON SUIKA

The Dual-text Spell, Water and Fire

OSU FŪ FU	IMYŌ JŌBUTSU FU	SHIN FŪ FU
Breath-Wind That Pushes	Bright Buddha-Breath	Mind Wind-Breath
BIRTH WIND BLACK WIND	EVIL WIND	FIRE WIND HUMAN WIND
FU	FU	FU
breath	breath	breath
FU	FU	FU
breath	breath	breath
ICHI HIRAKU FŪ FU	JŪNI-TEN BOSATSU	SHIN FŪ FU
Awakening Wind-Breath	Twelve Bodhisattvas	Mind Wind-Breath
BIRTH WIND BLACK WIND	EVIL WIND	FIRE WIND HUMAN WIND

Lake Ukishima; The Utterance of the Stars

From there, Kakugyō went to perform the same practice of one hundred days and nights at Lake Ukishima, at Yoshiwara.¹²⁵ As he did so, there came a visitation and he received directly the Utterance of the Stars (figure 4).¹²⁶

The Utterance of the Stars of the Path of Heaven's Practice [shows] the stars of the twenty-eight lunar mansions that govern the four directions. In the center are the Earth Star and the Seven Stars [of the Big Dipper, including the Polestar]. These stars, thirty-five in all, tell of all things in the world. Their meaning is that there are in the year 365 days. The number of daily songs [in praise of the stars] makes up one year and describes one complete circuit of the heavens. This utterance honors each of those stars and offers thanks for peace in the Realm and the ripening of the five grains.

The Death of Kakugyō's Parents

Accordingly, for three years, until Tenshō 3 (*kinoto-i*) [1575], he performed the great practice of the Eight Seas. Before he began, however, he went straight home to Hizen where he visited his father and mother. He told them how he had completed his great practice; how he had fasted; how he had received the grace of Sengen Dainichi; how he had lived off berries; and how these berries had tasted of the five flavors. His father and mother were extremely happy [and said]: "I had prayed to Heaven, and now, by the grace of Sun and Moon, and to the great benefit of all the people, the disorders that plagued the provinces have come to an end. All this is thanks to the Ascetic's perfect purity of intent. I and mine, from my ancestors on down to my descendants, will surely enjoy this bounty forever. Now I have nothing further to wish for in this life. My great vow is accomplished."

So they spoke in prayer and gave thanks for each boon they had received. Then, on the third day of the second month, they passed away.¹²⁹

Accordingly, Kakugyō Tōbutsu performed their funeral rites and for their sake did a great practice of one hundred days and one hundred nights of fasting. He also rendered thanks to them and did a great service of thanksgiving, saying, "Hail to the Father and the Mother, to Sengen Dainichi Bodhisattva, to the Buddha of the Eternal Light of Sun and Moon."

The Practice of the Eight Outer Seas; Kakugyō Finds His First Disciple

After that, he did the great practice of fasting for one hundred days and one hundred nights at the Isle of the Middle-Great-Sky Sealane. He then went to the Shōji Sea in the province of Oki,¹³⁰ where he performed the same great practice. Next, he traveled south to the Ochi Sea, where he performed the great practice as before.

After that, he was following a mountain trail in the province of Echizen when he came to a house and entered it so as to ask for lodging.¹³¹ Now, the master of the house was away. The wife said: "Although I would gladly lodge you for the night, I am embarrassed to say that I have no food to offer you. But do rest here, if you wish. Please come inside."

She went to the back door and then, after a little while, came and asked him to follow her. She led him into a shed. "My husband will return later," she said, "and he will have friends with him. They will disturb you. Please rest here." So she detained him with every mark of kindness. [Kakugyō] Tōbutsu Kū understood that the master of the house was not an ordinary man.

That night he sat in meditation and, as he did so, toward dawn the master returned. "I got nothing tonight," the master remarked, then looked at his wife and said, "A traveler must have come yesterday at sundown. Where is he?" "Oh no, no traveler came," his wife replied.

The husband jumped up and went out the back of the house. "You see," the wife explained, "this traveler is no ordinary person. He is a wandering ascetic. Just leave him in peace and let him rest. You belong to a

warrior line—why, the miserable work you do is an insult to all warriors. Besides, if you are ever to succeed in this world, your disease will have to get better first, and treating him decently might help.” So she did her best to stop him, but he paid her no heed and went to the door of the shed.

How strange! The shed was filled with brilliant light! But when he peered in through a knothole in the door, he discovered to his consternation that his eye was now stuck. He could no longer get it off the knothole. Though he did his best to struggle, even trying brute strength, his arms and legs were paralyzed and would not move. He was helpless. Realizing that his predicament would embarrass him before his servants, he drew his sword, slipped the blade between his eye and the boards of the door, and attempted to cut [his eye free]; but his limbs refused to move.

Now the mountain bandit's eye was sticking more and more tightly to the door, and it hurt horribly. With a desperate cry, he summoned his wife. Rushing to him, she saw that he was beyond her help. Then she spoke to him. “You never pay any attention to anything I say,” she reproved him, “and you persist in your evil ways, and now Heaven is punishing you for it. If you will try to be good for a change, I will speak on your behalf to the ascetic.” But when all her husband could answer was, “Please help me!” she went into the shed and told the ascetic what had happened.

Kakugyō replied: “If he will stop doing evil and follow my teaching, I will let him go.” “I implore you again,” she begged him, “in your kindness, come to his aid!” “Very well,” Kakugyō replied, “I will release him.” Suddenly, the husband's eye came free and he could move as before. Then he saluted Kakugyō, pressing both hands to the ground, and invited him to enter the house. In this way, husband and wife together welcomed Kakugyō into their home.

Kakugyō Kū then asked the master of the house whether he had been born in this same province. The master replied, “Yes, I was born in this province. As for my ancestors, I am ashamed to tell you about them, but I will do so since you ask. I am descended from Saitō Sanemori, who was himself of the lineage of Tamura, a descendant of Taishokkan.¹³² Sanemori served Akugenta Yoshihira and fought beside his lord in the Taikenmon'in night engagement, when with only seventeen mounted men he and Akugenta routed the more than five hundred horsemen of Shigemori.¹³³

“In time, the Heike destroyed the Genji and [Sanemori's] whole house followed the Heike. Sanemori came to serve Taira no Koremori.¹³⁴ At the battle of Shinohara in Kaga Province he destroyed a great enemy but was himself killed in the fight.¹³⁵ However, his young son¹³⁶ managed to hide himself away, and he and his descendants lived on for several generations as local squires. Then the family declined so sadly that I, who would gladly take up again the profession of arms, have no hope of doing so because I live deep in the mountains and do miserable work. Besides, ever since my third year I have been ill and so cannot be a warrior. I simply do this terrible work of mine to make a living. And now that by extraordinary chance I have met

you, O Ascetic, all the evil in my mind is revealed and I fear for the future. Please, henceforth, give me your aid!"

And he went on, "I have no longer any hope of being a warrior. I beg you, in your compassion, accept me as your disciple! I will follow you anywhere. Please teach me the practice that will save me!"

"I am performing a great practice of devotion to Fuji Sengen Dainichi," Kakugyō replied, "and I am presently traveling through the provinces. Change your heart and your way of life, follow me henceforth, and learn the truth of how all things are nurtured. I will heal your disease for you."

When Kakugyō asked what the disease was, the man replied that it was leprosy.¹³⁷ Kakugyō determined the appropriate spell and for seven days did a great practice, after which the disease was healed. The man then took the name Taihō and became Kakugyō's disciple.¹³⁸

Then the wife, too, implored Kakugyō that he should allow her to join her husband. Kakugyō, however, replied: "You are still young, and I am performing a great practice. Having a woman with me would hinder my practice. Therefore, go home to your parents and remarry with whomever you please." But the wife insisted. "A woman is deep in evil karma," she said. "How could I possibly remarry? If my husband is now your disciple, then let me, too, serve your worship all my life and enter the path of nurturing all things." Kakugyō answered: "If that is your wish, then stay here, perfect your faith and perform your great practice. I will come to you again."

Kakugyō Kū also said [to the husband]: "You are the descendant of Taishokkan and so am I." The husband's lay name had been Saitō Tauemon Sukemori. He was in his twenty-eighth year when he became Kakugyō's disciple.

Again, Kakugyō addressed the wife, saying: "Since your resolve is true, I accept you as my disciple. Perform your great practice diligently."

Lake Chūzenji; Kakugyō Finds His Second Disciple

Then he went far from there to Lake Chūzenji [below] Mt. Nikkō in eastern Shimotsuke Province, where for seven days he performed a great practice.¹³⁹

Now, in Teppō-chō, in [the town of] Utsunomiya,¹⁴⁰ there lived a man named Unpei¹⁴¹ who was doing a water practice in the lake. At this time, Unpei received the following divine message from Mt. Nikkō:

You are afflicted with a strange disorder and you are an extraordinary man. That is why your prayers to the Gods and Buddhas of place after place have gone unanswered. The difficulty is that you have no tie [with these divinities]. Just now a certain ascetic is here, doing a great practice. Apply to him and become his disciple, and your strange disorder will be cured. Thanks to your uprightness of heart, you will be rid of it completely. Furthermore, you must understand the deep cause-and-effect bond between parent and child, and take the principle of this bond for your master on your own path of practice.

Unpei went to the lake, as he had been instructed to do by this divine communication, and there he found the ascetic doing his great practice. He therefore told the ascetic his story. The ascetic acknowledged Unpei, left off his great practice and went from there to Unpei's house, where he questioned Unpei in detail.

Unpei's disorder was that he could not speak intelligibly and could not hear what others said. Not that he was dumb, but he simply could not speak. Accordingly, Kakugyō determined the proper spell and then went back into the lake where, in company with Taihō, he performed a great practice for thrice seven days. The disorder was then healed and Unpei's parents were extremely happy.

"Our karma gave us this son," [they said,] "and we addressed many prayers to the Buddhas and Gods until, thanks to a divine message from Mt. Nikkō, he met you, O Ascetic; and now his strange disorder is gone. This is very wonderful. But, O Ascetic, in what province were you born?" Kakugyō replied: "I am an ascetic devoted to Sengen Dainichi, and this man here is my disciple. You, too [speaking to Unpei], will henceforth be my disciple and your descendants will flourish forever." The couple both begged to become his disciples themselves.

Kakugyō then turned to Unpei and asked, "Are you of peasant or of warrior stock?" Unpei replied: "I was born in Mutsu and am descended from General Tamura and from Lord Uona, the Minister of the Left.¹⁴² We fell in the world until we became local squires, then we became indistinguishable from the commonest of people. This is why I conceal my real name and call myself Kurono Unpei."

On hearing this, Kakugyō exclaimed, "How extraordinary! I myself am descended from Taishokkan and so is Taihō here. We are all of the same lineage. From today on you shall be my disciple, perform single-mindedly the great practice, and render thanks for the bounty of your two parents. And there is no doubt that for your devotion you will in the next life be born into a higher station. From now on your name shall be Engan."

The Conclusion of the Practice of the Outer Seas

Then he bade farewell to the couple and left for Mutsu, where he entered the Takkoku River Cave and did a great practice for seven days.¹⁴³ After that, he went east to the Sea of Compassion,¹⁴⁴ where he performed the great practice of fasting for one hundred days and one hundred nights. Thus he concluded the great practice of all the lakes and seas. He had pursued it for three years in all, throughout the sixty and more provinces of Japan, from mountain to mountain and peak to peak, from shrine to temple and from harbor to harbor and shore to shore, without omitting a single spot. However, it had been most difficult for him, in the guise of an ordinary person, to traverse the battles that were then taking place in the provinces. Yet by the compassion of Sengen Dainichi, he and his two disciples had followed their path of practice day and night; had traveled some one hundred leagues a day; had

crossed mountains and seas; and had seen all the provinces, thanks to the virtue of divine strength and divine wonders. All their labors were for the benefit of the Realm.

Tokugawa Ieyasu's First Visit to the Hitoana

In Tenshō 7 (*kinoto-u*) [1579], he entered the Hitoana¹⁴⁵ and gave his disciples Taihō and Engan the great practice of never sleeping. And as they were so engaged, in Tenshō 11 (*mizunoto-hitsuji*) [1583],¹⁴⁶ he received in the Hitoana direct instruction from Sengen Dainichi as follows:

The one who will come here today is the lord appointed by Heaven to be the Military Commander in this latter age. You shall teach him point by point all that I have taught you.¹⁴⁷

Indeed, in an earlier year, thanks to the beneficent intervention of Sengen Dainichi and the divine power of Kakugyō, he had escaped disaster;¹⁴⁸ and he now entered the Hitoana to thank Kakugyō. Thus Tokugawa Mikawa-no-kami, Lord Minamoto Ieyasu, addressed the great ascetic, "In a previous year my life was in peril here when, O Ascetic, thanks to all you told me, I had the good fortune to prevail. That was due to the divine power of Sengen Dainichi and of yourself, O Ascetic. I have therefore come today in order to thank you."

Kakugyō replied, "My lord, Sengen Dainichi had already told me by direct revelation that you would come today. Now you must listen carefully. I will teach you all that I have learned directly from Sengen." At this time, only Nankōbō¹⁴⁹ had accompanied Lord Ieyasu into the Hitoana. No one else was allowed to enter.

Kakugyō Tōkaku Butsu showed Lord Ieyasu the record of direct communications from Sengen Dainichi and explained that these showed that Heaven in this latter age bestowed the Realm upon him. Then he hung this record on the wall of the Hitoana and Lord Ieyasu bowed with the deepest reverence before it.¹⁵⁰ After that, Kakugyō explained each revelation, one by one.

First, this mountain is the pillar of the land that appeared after the parting of Heaven and Earth, and it is therefore the root whence all things are born. It is the source of the human body and the origin of the land. It is certain, therefore, that the descendant of the Divine Grandchild, the One Heavenly Lord and the Master of the Realm,¹⁵¹ rules the land, generation after generation thanks to the Deity's divine might.

Your first principle in governing the Realm must be to found all your actions on the great practice of compassion. I myself perform my ascetic practice for the benefit of all things. Do not imagine that you fight battles and take control of provinces simply for your own amusement. Consider it as fundamental that you fight and govern for the benefit of all the people.

As for the advantages¹⁵² that Heaven bestows upon mankind, the truly essential ones among them are not being hungry or cold. Aside from rice, salt, and water, all else is vain luxury. He who does not know this is not attuned to the mind of Heaven; nor does he know that the world is filled from a single, source-grain of rice. He who does not indulge in vain show is attuned to the mind of Heaven. He is free from illnesses and lives long, and his children and grandchildren flourish and continue, generation after generation. Such is attunement to the mind of Heaven.

He who lives in comfort, sated with fish, fowl, wine, and food, naturally falls ill and lives a short life. Therefore he has no children and grandchildren, and his blood line dies out. He spends the small wealth that Heaven has given him on vain luxury of food, clothing, and shelter, so that later on he has nothing left, loses his position, and destroys his house.

Reverently practice benevolence, righteousness, decorum, wisdom, filial piety, purity, loyalty, and good faith; do battle virtuously and pacify the land. Then from the Shogun on down to the humblest of the humble, all will cease doing evil and conduct themselves worthily, in simplicity and straightness of heart. In this manner you will be in accord with the mind of Heaven. This mind is the same, both above and below. It is a wonderful thing to keep what one has, not to diminish what Heaven has given one, and to live all one's life without trouble.

For you to stand as Shogun means that you are the fountainhead of all things and the origin of the Gods and Buddhas. Therefore your government of the Realm is the root and source of the worldly law.¹⁵³ Heaven and Earth are in harmony and bless all things when the Sovereign prays to Heaven and brings the people into harmony with one another; when the Shogun governs the Realm, subdues those of evil intent, and dispenses generosity toward loyalty, filial piety, purity, and good faith; when provincial governors bring peace to their provinces; when ministers serve their lord with devoted loyalty; when parents bring up their children with loving care; when the older brother cares for his younger brother and the younger brother respects his older brother; and when husbands and wives, or men and women, observe proper distance and precedence.¹⁵⁴ To uphold these virtues is the source of Buddhas and Gods.

Therefore, it is the source of Gods and Buddhas that the Shogun should dwell in the law and that he should give comfort to a land naturally at peace. It is the source, too, of peace and harmony in the family, and, moreover, the source of the people following the familiar callings they have borrowed as their lot in this life. When both of these are realized honestly, that is the source of bringing peace to the Realm.

That the lord should do battle for the benefit of the Realm and the people, in order to save sentient beings, equals the path of practice of the Buddha of the Everlasting Light of Sun and Moon. The [office of the]

Buddha Shaka¹⁵⁵ himself is entirely the office of the lord. If the Realm is anywhere not at peace, these teachings cannot come into effect.

You must therefore devote yourself wholly to the great practice of the Realm.¹⁵⁶ You must test your courage; save the people with compassion and assist them with kindness; govern yourself with patience; rule the land with frugality; set your house in order with loyalty and filial piety; and make uprightness your mirror. It is in this manner that you must perform all your acts of government.

My lord, you will stand as military commander over the Realm and have many descendants who will govern the Realm without end; of that there can be no doubt. I have practiced and prayed for this these many years, as my father and mother charged me to do. And today, my lord, thanks to the wondrous compassion of Sengen Dainichi, I have met you at last. It is a true marvel that my heart's desire should thus be realized. I shall protect your descendants, my lord, for three generations.¹⁵⁷ Even after you yourself have ceased to govern, I will pursue my great practice and pray for your eternal success at arms. Everything I have told you has been from the oracles of Sengen Dainichi.

Lord Ieyasu thanked Kakugyō Tōkaku Kū, who then turned to Nan-kōbō and said, "And you must take to heart all that I have explained today, follow your lord in my stead, keep Sengen's injunctions and, as the time makes it appropriate to do so, admonish [your lord]."

[Lord Ieyasu and Kakugyō] talked together for several hours until at last, because the sun was setting in the west, [Kakugyō] performed a night of great practice for the benefit of [Ieyasu]. Then they bade each other farewell and Lord Ieyasu withdrew from the Hitoana.

Ieyasu Exempts the Hitoana Village from Taxation

[Lord Ieyasu] was then pleased to visit the local landowner,¹⁵⁸ Zenzaemon. In thanks for services rendered in the past, he gave Zenzaemon his own fan, decorated with lines drawn in gold and silver dust, with a painting of Mt. Fuji resting upon them. It had a fan's customary shape and its pivot was of magnolia wood. And he made Zenzaemon two other gifts as well: a spear twelve feet long and a sword. He also had the following document presented to Zenzaemon:

Concerning Hitoana-mura in Fuji District, Suruga Province

The paddy fields and dry fields of the above are hereby exempt from tax. Residents shall act in conformity with this stipulation. It is so decreed.

Tenshō 12.7.13 (1584)¹⁵⁹

Written by Honda Yahachirō

Presented to Hitoana-mura

This order was issued when [Lord Ieyasu] visited the Hitoana.

Ieyasu's Second Visit to the Hitoana

Later on, in Tenshō 19 [1591], when Ieyasu took over the Kantō, he came again. On meeting Kakugyō, he said, "That I now govern the eight provinces of the East is all thanks to the might of Sengen Dainichi; and also, O Ascetic, thanks to your own might. Therefore, O Ascetic, if you have any wishes, please tell me what they are."

Kakugyō replied:

For myself, there is nothing I could wish for. I simply pursue my great practice as my father and mother charged me to do. It is not for myself that I do it, but for the people of the Realm.

Now my prayer has been answered and all the Realm is at peace. This is a gift precious beyond all others. Time and again, my lord, you have obtained victory in battle and now you are the master of a vast region. All this is due to Sengen's divine might. You must observe every teaching I gave you in Tenshō 11 [1583]. Soon, now, you will be the master of the whole Realm.

I, for my part, shall continue praying to Sengen Dainichi. The trials you have suffered hitherto have all been for the benefit of the people of the Realm; and further trials lie ahead. Go into battle with the thought in mind that you are giving your life to this great practice for the benefit of the people below. In following the path of their own practice and so vivifying with their light the Triple Chiliocosm, the Sun and Moon work a rite¹⁶⁰ to purify the Realm and all the people, and the soil, plants, and trees as well. The light they give forth is the root of all things.

Now you, my lord, undertake a most difficult and painful practice, and ride forth to war for the sake of all the people in the Realm. Your doing so is equal to the path of practice of the Sun and Moon, and it is for the benefit of all the world's sentient beings. It is the practice of a Buddha or bodhisattva. The teachings of the Gods and Buddhas, or of Confucianism and Buddhism, all have their own value; but if the Realm is not at peace, they cannot be applied. That you should stand for countless generations hence as the master of the Realm shows that you are the second coming of the Sunlight Buddha.¹⁶¹

Sengen Dainichi, One Buddha in One Body, is the source of water. Mt. Fuji faces the north because it is the origin of water.¹⁶² And you, my lord, bear the clan name Minamoto [literally, "water source"] and the family name Tokugawa [literally, "virtue river"]. These names are in accord with natural principle. When the Southern Heaven opens, Sengen Dainichi enters the Polestar to the north. The everlasting radiance of Sun and Moon shines from the east and enters the regions of the west; and in this latter age, peace has been restored to the Realm and the people live in tranquillity.¹⁶³ All this is due to the compassion of Sengen Dainichi.

My father and mother pondered these things. Following the Gen-

kō and Kenmu Disturbances,¹⁶⁴ the military commanders of the Ashikaga house were iniquitous and threw the world into disorder. They despised the Heavenly Sovereign above and oppressed the people below. The ways of the noble and military houses declined, and warriors, peasants, artisans, and merchants no longer enjoyed a single day of peace in their lives. These sufferings of all people, high and low, throughout the land, began in the Genkō era. Then, in the Ōnin era, the world lapsed into chaos and the agonized cries of all, from the Son of Heaven down to the common people, filled Heaven and Earth.

Although Heaven might relieve this distress, it was not within human power to do so. My parents therefore prayed to the Father and Mother of us all that this distress might be relieved, and that a King of Power should be sent down to pacify the Realm and lighten the suffering of the people. Then the Sun, Moon, and Stars of Heaven sent a message, saying:

You will be granted a son who, when he grows up, will seek divine power; and when the time is ripe, a Lord of the Realm will appear and calm the raging waves.

This is the Lord who will rule the Realm in the latter ages.

After a martial leader has been sent down from out of the nature of the Deity of the Sun,¹⁶⁵ and after he has quelled the waves, all his sons and grandsons without exception will leave this path and ascend to Heaven.¹⁶⁶ That is because they are officers¹⁶⁷ whose function is to govern the Realm. This being so, Lord Hideyoshi, the present Shogun, will have no sons or grandsons; or, if he has any, they will not have the virtue to rule the Realm. That is because Heaven has bestowed no such virtue upon them. But you, my lord, will restore peace to the Realm, and thereafter your sons and grandsons will continue forever. That is because Heaven has bestowed this gift upon you.

As for myself, after you have governed the Realm, I shall leave to all later generations the Miroku practice¹⁶⁸ vouchsafed us by Sengen Dainichi. Your sons and grandsons, my lord, will endure forever; your dynasty will be everlasting; and the Miroku practice will spread far and wide. This is the source from which springs the harmony of Heaven and Earth, so that all things are ranged in proper order. It is the compassion of Sengen Dainichi. Uphold compassion, my lord, and save the people.

After they had finished talking together, Lord Ieyasu left the Hitoana and returned to his residence.

Ieyasu's Third Visit to the Hitoana

Later on,¹⁶⁹ Lord Ieyasu came to govern a Realm now united. And after he had retired to Suruga,¹⁷⁰ he entered the Hitoana once more to offer thanks

for the boon of his victory at Sekigahara¹⁷¹ and for his having unified the Realm. Upon meeting Kakugyō he said, "I am very grateful that, thanks to the beneficence of Sengen Dainichi and to your own protection, O Ascetic, I now stand as the Master of the Realm. In return, O Ascetic, if there is anything you wish to ask for, it is yours."

Kakugyō then answered:

My lord, it is no private affair of yours that you now govern the Realm. Government is granted to you by Heaven. And I, likewise, do not do my great practice for the sake of name or fame, but for the sake only of the people. In recent years, monks, shrine priests, and others of their kind have done their rites and practices only for themselves, and have sought their own fame in ages to come. The difference between them and me, who do my practice in order to save sentient beings, is, as you know, my lord, as great as that between black and white.

If I now accept the least gesture of generosity from you, no one in the future will follow the practice of Miroku. People will all be hawking Sengen Dainichi and living off the Deity, just like monks and shrine priests; and then quarrels will arise over who possesses Sengen's true teaching. For this reason, I will simply devote myself to my great practice for the people's sake. I cannot accept a single sheet of paper from you, my lord; no, not even half a sheet. And should I do so, my lord, how would you yourself then stand as military commander by the power of my practice? It is thanks to your military prowess, the gift of Sengen Dainichi, that your own will must henceforth overspread the whole land. We have nothing to ask you for.¹⁷² Moreover, no one else even knows that we talk when you come here. All your elders, vassals, and retainers think that you come here simply to pray to Sengen Dainichi. Please keep my name concealed. Do not speak of me.¹⁷³ Only Nan-kōbō knows. All your successes are due to Heaven alone.

In years to come, thanks to the Miroku practice granted by Sengen Dainichi, pilgrims will begin to make the ascent of Mt. Fuji; and as they perform this pilgrimage, the four classes—the warriors, peasants, artisans, and merchants—will assist the Realm and be the source of the order of all things. Therefore, there are bound to arise at last, especially among the three classes of peasants, artisans, and merchants, misunderstandings regarding the principle of working hard night and day, and of performing honestly and fully the calling inherited from one's forefathers. For this reason I wish to disseminate the [Miroku practice], and I therefore beg your leave to do so. I desire nothing else.

Lord Ieyasu then replied to Kakugyō Tōkaku Butsu, "O Ascetic, your heart is the Two Deities themselves;¹⁷⁴ it is the heart of a Buddha and a rare treasure indeed. I shall comply with your wish, in as far as the hearts of the people themselves allow me to do so."

A Final Message from Sengen

Then, after Lord Ieyasu had returned to his castle in Suruga, Sengen Dainichi addressed Kakugyō as follows:

Now I shall call you by a new name. I give you the two characters KAKU and GYŌ. These mean the "office of the Son of Heaven." This refers to the practice [*gyō*] of the block [*kaku*], which, for the benefit of the people of the Realm, directly manifests the Sun and Moon. For you devotedly to do the practice of standing on a block four-and-a-half *sun* square is for you to fill the office of king.

Your prayers [that led Lord Ieyasu?] hither on pilgrimage were a practice for peace in the Realm and quiet in the land. Ever since the disturbances in the Genkō and Kenmu eras, the Son of Heaven has neglected pilgrimage, the Shogun himself has set the Son of Heaven at nought, and Heaven and Earth have been at odds with one another. Because there has been no harmony between Heaven and Earth,¹⁷⁵ the hearts of the people themselves have turned to evil, so that the Realm has been in turmoil. For this reason, I permit you this great practice. For a hundred years and more, thanks to divine protection, all warfare will cease.

The block four-and-a-half *sun* square is the one mind inherent in human beings. It is this garment of white.¹⁷⁶ In the practice of the block, the block's four sides are earth, water, fire, and wind; equivalent to the source of Sengen Dainichi,¹⁷⁷ it stands at the center between east, west, north, and south. It is the land. The practice of the block is the practice of the land. It is thanks to the compassion of Sengen Dainichi that you perform the practice of the land in the place of the Son of Heaven, and inhabit a land where all is at peace and the people happy. To Sengen Dainichi, the central point between Heaven and Earth, all things in the cosmos return; and the true reign of the Son of Heaven is a direct manifestation of the practice of the block.

When the world first begins, it is a robe.¹⁷⁸ For this reason, when the Son of Heaven acts as a direct manifestation of Sun and Moon, he wears a white cloak over his white ritual robe.¹⁷⁹

To stand on the block four-and-a-half *sun* square is to practice for peace and ease throughout the Realm. It is because of its proportional relation to these dimensions that the place where the Son of Heaven dwells is called the Compound Eight *Chō* Square,¹⁸⁰ and this Compound Eight *Chō* Square is the Citadel of the August Mind. From it all the world is extrapolated in proportion. Upon the peak of the Mountain, too, enlightenment is fully present.¹⁸¹ When the mind is set in action with generous honesty, it is the source of all things. It is all the Gods and it is Sengen.

You shall now be known as Kakugyō Tōbutsu.¹⁸² Make plain everything I have given you in direct transmission, record it in writing

and broadcast it for the benefit of all things. Yours is the brush of the subtle body of Sun and Moon. You shall be called Kakugyō Tōbutsu, for the practice-name I granted to you before has now been fulfilled by your practice, which has brought peace to the land and transformed the hearts of the people. The two characters *tō* and *kaku* mean Nikkō-ten Dainichi.¹⁸³ You are the heart and body of the Polestar and of Sengen. You are Kakugyō Tōbutsu. Furthermore, your disciples' names must now be changed, one to Tōkaku Taihō, the other to Nichigyō Nichigan.

So the three men reverently received this direct transmission.¹⁸⁴

*Kakugyō and His Disciples Heal a Sickness in Edo*¹⁸⁵

From Eiroku 3 (*kanoe-saru*) [1560] to Genna 6 (*kanoe-saru*) [1620],¹⁸⁶ for a period of sixty years, he performed his great and wholly dedicated practice, effecting the salvation of all beings; and all he did was the gift of Sengen's compassion.

In this *kanoe-saru* year [1620], on the twenty-third day of the third month, he entered the Hitoana in order to give thanks for all this bounty, and during his intended seven days and nights of waiting for the sunrise,¹⁸⁷ he vowed never to close his eyes. He then vowed to do a forty-eight-day fast; and if, during that period, he emitted so much as a single cough, he would swallow his own tongue. He was engaging in a most arduous, life-risking practice of unbroken vigil.

Meanwhile, a sickness called *tsukitaoshi* was abroad in Edo, in the province of Musashi, and it could not be cured.¹⁸⁸ During three days countless people died, and although the Bakufu tried various kinds of treatment, nothing worked. Then, on the twenty-fifth day of the seventh month, three people who knew about the epidemic came from Edo in Musashi, climbed Fuji, and presented themselves at the Hitoana. They said to the two of us:¹⁸⁹ "A sickness is now abroad in Edo and neither moxa nor acupuncture do any good. Many people are dying. Please, both of you, in your compassion, come down to Edo and help us to escape this terrible sickness."

We spoke to our master Kakugyō, then in the midst of his great practice,¹⁹⁰ and he gave us a spell. Armed with this, we went down to Edo and ministered to the sick, and not a single one failed to recover.¹⁹¹

After that, we set up a notice board at the entrance to Edo, and for three days performed a memorial rite for a thousand people [who had died]. Since 110 sick people came to us in a single day, our presence became known throughout Edo.

The Two Are Interrogated and Released

The news reached the authorities. The Shogun was then Daitokuin-dono Lord Hidetada, who issued an order through the Council of Elders¹⁹² as follows: "Certain strange ascetics who have just appeared in the city seem to be healing the incurably ill by means of a written spell. This is very curious.

You will take steps to examine them.”¹⁹³ The two city magistrates,¹⁹⁴ Shimada Jihei and Yonezu Kanbei, then summoned us and took us to an assembly of the Elders under Lord Andō Tsushima-no-kami.¹⁹⁵

The assembled Elders asked us, “Devotees of Fuji, what deity do you honor?” We answered: “Our honor goes to these and to no other: we revere our Dual-spirit Parent,¹⁹⁶ and above our Parent the five grains. Morning and evening we faithfully worship Fuji Sengen Daibosatsu, and Namu Nitten and Gatten.¹⁹⁷ We honor no other deity.”

Lord Doi Ōi-no-kami¹⁹⁸ said: “However that may be, we must commit the three of you to jail.” We replied: “For you to jail bandits, pirates, or the like would indeed be for you to serve compassion above all. And if it is in the best interests of many tens of thousands of sentient beings to jail certain ascetics who call down the compassion of the Sun, Moon, and Three Treasures upon those who are incurably ill, then far be it from us to object. We are at your orders.”

At this point, Honda Kōzuke-dono¹⁹⁹ observed: “Since nothing in what they have just said deserves censure, they should be spared imprisonment. Let the three of them, Kakugyō and his two disciples Taihō and Nichigan, be remanded in official custody.” Kakugyō was therefore entrusted to Lord Doi Ōi-no-kami, Nichigan to Honda Kōzuke-dono, and Taihō to Lord Sakai Uta-no-kami.²⁰⁰

Thus the investigation was pursued, until at last we three thought of mentioning the Divine Lord’s [Tokugawa Ieyasu’s] own visits to the Hitoana. The investigators then decided that the matter was clear and that we were wholly innocent. They informed the Shogun about the Divine Lord’s visits to the Hitoana and the Shogun accepted their recommendation. Accordingly, we three were released and our master returned to the Hitoana.²⁰¹

Kakugyō’s Death

Thereafter, Kakugyō Tōbutsu Kū ascended to Heaven at the hour of the Dragon [ca. 8 a.m.] on Shōhō 3.6.3 (*hinoe-inu*) [1646], in his 106th year.²⁰² He had faithfully persevered with his great practice through the reigns of three shoguns, as he promised Tōshōgū [Ieyasu] he would. During the investigation in Genna 6, he had not breathed a word of his great practice but had spoken only as an ordinary man. One cannot doubt that he was a direct emanation of Sengen Dainichi Bosatsu. It was in the reign of the Shogun Daiyūin-dono, Lord Iemitsu, that he ascended to Heaven.

His two disciples then obeyed the order of their master, Kakugyō Tōbutsu Kū, that each should return to his own native province, requite the obligation he owed to his ancestors and his parents, and leave children and grandchildren. Taihō therefore has children and grandchildren in Echizen, and Nichigan has the same in Shimotsuke. With heartfelt thanks to the compassion of the Deity Fuji Sengen Dainichi.

I reverently wrote down this work at the Pure Land Mountain²⁰³ in order to

pass on the direct teaching of my late master Kakugyō Tōbutsu Kū.

Genna 6 (*kanoe-saru*) [1620], tenth month, ____ day.

Nichigan, Great Guide of Japan and Leader of All the World in Mt. Fuji.
(Seal)

NOTES TO THE TRANSLATION

1. As stated in the Introduction, the title of this particular manuscript of the work is *Kakugyō Tōbutsu Kū ki* [The record of Kakugyō Tōbutsu Kū]. A subtitle, omitted here, reads, "The Birth of Kakugyō Tōbutsu Kū, and His Great Practice."

2. Fujiwara no Kamatari (614–669), the first to bear the Fujiwara surname, founded the Fujiwara clan. Taishokkan is his honorific title.

3. These names mean, respectively, "Commander of the [Palace] Gate Guards of the Left Fujiwara no Hisamitsu, the Middle Captain of the Third Rank," and "Fujiwara no Kiyoyasu of the Junior Second Rank, of the Nijō [district of the Capital]." Such latter-day Fujiwara figures, if they existed at all, are unknown. Moreover, the given names of these two gentlemen, although plausible in themselves, are suspiciously neat for the names of Kakugyō's father and maternal grandfather. (In genealogies of this kind, the mother was not normally named at all.) Hisamitsu means something like "Ever-Shining" and recalls the sun; while Kiyoyasu means something like "Pure-and-Peaceful" and sounds very moonlike and maternal.

4. Struggles between rival barons reached a pitch of intensity in the Ōnin era (1467–1469), when battles destroyed most of Kyoto, and thereafter warfare raged up and down the land.

5. This message (*tsuge*) may refer to an oracle delivered through a medium or to a message delivered in a sacred dream or vision. It might have come, for example, through Kakugyō's own future mother. The same word is used throughout the rest of the text to refer to Sengen Dainichi's direct speeches to Kakugyō—speeches that are probably to be understood as having been delivered in dreams or perhaps in waking visions.

6. According to *Fusō nenpu taigyō no maki*, Kakugyō went through the coming-of-age ceremony (*genbuku*) on Kōji 1. 1. 15 (1555) and received the name Sakon Fujiwara Takekuni. Since this document diverges at times from the *Book*, relevant entries from it will be noted below. Its title will henceforth be abbreviated as *Nenpu*.

7. This number of days corresponds to about fifty-two years, but it is probably not to be taken literally. In his autobiographical note, translated in the Introduction, Kakugyō wrote of making the same number of water ablutions.

8. According to *Nenpu*, this message came in a sacred dream (*reimu*).

9. These "bandits" are the rival bands of warriors.

10. The future Tokugawa Ieyasu.

11. According to a practice common in premodern Japan, the text customarily names the calendrical signs corresponding to the year, in addition to the appropriate year number and era name.

12. *Nenpu* gives the date of this departure as 1558, which is probably correct since that was indeed Kakugyō's eighteenth year. It says that Kakugyō went first to Mt. Ōmine in Yamato Province (Nara Prefecture) and from there to Mito in Hitachi Province (Ibaraki Prefecture).

13. The "Nikkō Deity" (Nikkō-ten) probably refers above all to Nikkō Sanshō Gongen, the triple deity of the Nikkō mountains (Nikkō-san) in Tochigi Prefecture (old Shimōsa Province). Among these mountains, three principal peaks form a triad: Nantai-san or Futara-san (2484 m.), which dominates Lake Chūzenji; Nyohō-san (2464 m.); and Tarō-san (2368 m.). The practice referred to here may be the complex of Shugendō (mountain ascetic) practices current in the Nikkō mountains. (See NAKAGAWA 1979 and MIYAKE 1986, 291.) However, "Nikkō-ten" no doubt alludes also to Tokugawa Ieyasu, whose shrine is in the town of Nikkō; so that the practice enjoined by this deity may also be the pacification of the realm sought by Ieyasu.

14. According to *Nenpu*, Kakugyō left Hitachi in Eiroku 3.2 (1560). Next, he entered the "Dakkotsu Cave in Takkoku village," where his initial fast lasted three days. The Dakkotsu or Takkoku Cave—here, the Takkoku River Cave—is on the north bank of the Ōta River in Nishi Iwai-gun, Iwate Prefecture, about 10 km. west of Hiraizumi and within the precincts of a Tendai temple named Saikōji. The cave's history as a place for ascetic practice goes back at least to the Heian period (MORI 1990, 174–75). Its variant name, Dakkotsu Cave (Cave of the Shedding of the Bones), probably alludes to the shamanic initiatory experience of having one's old bones removed by the gods and receiving new, divine ones. Such an experience is said to have happened, ca. 1590, to the wandering ascetic Tansei (1552–1613) (*Tansei Shōnin e-kotoba den*, kan 1; in JŌDO SHŪTEN KANKŌ KAI 1913, 689). The "Northern Ōmine" mentioned in the text is probably Mt. Kurikoma (1628 m.) in the southwest corner of Iwate Prefecture. Like the cave, it had an ancient connection with the Fujiwara lords of Hiraizumi (GAKKŌ 1977).

15. The half-legendary founder of Shugendō, the major tradition of Japanese mountain ascetic practice. He appears in historical records in the closing years of the seventh century.

16. Perhaps a reference to the paradisaal realm at the summit of Mt. Fuji, which superimposed the paradises of many Buddhist deities. In the original, "pure land(s)" may be either singular or plural.

17. These are the "five phases" (*gogyō*) of Chinese philosophy.

18. This is what the original, in the approximateness of its language, appears to say. However, Konohanasakuya-hime ("Lady All-the-Trees-Are-Blooming") is actually the daughter of the mountain deity Ōyamatsumi. Ninigi, the Divine Grandchild whom the Sun Goddess sent down to rule Japan, met her as soon as he arrived on earth and quickly married her. She is also one aspect of the Fuji deity.

19. The line of emperors starting with Jinnmu, who was believed to have ascended the throne in 660 B.C.

20. Yamato Takeru (*no-mikoto* is an honorific title), the legendary son of Emperor Keikō (r. 71–130 A.D.), undertook a famous expedition to conquer the Ebisu, a non-Yamato people in northern Honshu, but died on the way home. The claim that he was assisted by the Fuji deity is idiosyncratic.

21. Present Shizuoka Prefecture. According to *Nenpu*, Kakugyō, on the way to Mt. Fuji, purified himself in the sea at Kashima in Hitachi. When he reached Suruga, he proceeded straight on to Kai (Yamanashi Prefecture) and, on Eiroku 3. 4. 8 (1560), climbed Mt. Fuji from the Yoshida (northern) entrance to the mountain. This issue is discussed in the Introduction under "The ascent and descent of the mountain."

22. "The five grains" (*gokoku*), a conventional expression from Chinese writings, refers simply to all cereals.

23. Minamoto no Yoritomo's (1147–99) hunting expedition below Fuji in 1193 is famous, but this hunter was really Yoritomo's elder son, Yoriie (1182–1204). The

chronicle *Azuma kagami* reports under the date Kennin 3. 6. 3 (1203) that the shogun (Yoriie) ordered his retainer Nitta no Shirō Tadatsune to explore the Hitoana. Here too, however, there is some sort of irregularity, since Tadatsune actually died in 1202, in a failed attempt to assassinate Yoritomo's powerful widow, Hōjō Masako.

24. Both Yoritomo's sons (Yoriie and his successor Sanetomo) were assassinated and the office of shogun passed out of Yoritomo's line.

25. Discussed in the Introduction under "The Shiraito Waterfall."

26. Since these "thirty-three waters" reappear below as thirty-three *cups* of water, "from within" apparently means that Kakugyō was to drink this water. Perhaps the water was also to be "from within" the Hitoana, which normally has water in it. The "six sense-roots" are the five physical senses plus the consciousness.

27. According to *Nenpu*, these berries were those of the *sanekazura* vine.

28. The "eight ravines" are discussed in the Introduction under "The ascent and descent of the mountain."

29. See the Introduction, under "The *Book* and the Kōshin cult."

30. This date does not make sense since Kakugyō received his communication from En no Gyōja in 1559. However, it does not seem to be a simple slip, because it allows his first period of practice to end exactly two years later—in the year when in fact he first came to Mt. Fuji.

31. *Jōdo kaku*. Kakugyō seems to have called the Hitoana the "Western Pure Land." In most contexts, this pure land is the paradise of the Buddha Amida, but there is no evidence Kakugyō was an Amida devotee.

32. According to *Nenpu*, Kakugyō performed an initiation rite (*kanjō*) under the waterfall.

33. This sentence would make better sense if "Heaven" (*ten*) were actually meant to be "the Realm" (*tenka*). Slips comparable to the omission of *ka* are visible at many places in the text.

34. *Tenpai*. According to *Nenpu*, Kakugyō performed *tenpai* on the summit of Fuji on several occasions.

35. Sarutahiko is the deity who met Ninigi, the Divine Grandchild (see note 18), on his way down to earth and cleared the way for him to his first destination there. See Introduction under "The *Book* and the Kōshin cult." The "land of Fusō" (*Fusō-koku*), below, is Japan.

36. This "Sun Deity" (*hi no kami*) is not exactly different from Amaterasu, the Sun Goddess of Japanese mythology, but its gender is, if anything, male.

37. *Myōō*. In Japanese Buddhism and in Shugendō, a *myōō* (wisdom king, mantra king) is a wrathful deity who destroys obstacles to enlightenment. In this context, however, where only vestiges of Buddhist vocabulary survive, the word alludes more directly to Tokugawa Ieyasu.

38. Although written in what appears to be the present tense, this paragraph of course refers to the future. The name of the Sunlight Star (*nikkō hoshi*) alludes to the mausoleum of Tokugawa Ieyasu at Nikkō.

39. According to *Nenpu*, Kakugyō received this name from Sengen in Eiroku 6. 4 (1563), together with the "Teaching of the Great Harmony of Heaven and Earth."

40. It is not clear what these precise dimensions of the block have to do with its meaning.

41. According to lore current in the sixteenth century, Mt. Fuji first appeared in the reign of Kōan, the sixth human sovereign (r. 392–291 B.C.), or Kōrei, the seventh (r. 290–215 B.C.). The connection between the emergence of the mountain and the coming of peace is unclear.

42. "This" may refer to Mt. Fuji itself; the sentence may also imply that Amanominakanushi-no-mikoto (The lord in the center of the sky) was the author or even the substance of the process described. Amanominakanushi appears only briefly in Japanese myth as a sort of *deus otiosus*. Izanagi (male) and Izanami (female) are the Japanese primordial pair, although their emergence from the four waves is not a part of the standard mythology.

43. These are the deities Sokowatatsumi, Nakawatatsumi, and Uwatsuwatatsumi.

44. "Sixty and more provinces" is a conventional expression in premodern Japanese writing. Japan was then composed of sixty-six provinces.

45. These "seas" are discussed in the Introduction under "The practice of the Eight Outer Seas."

46. This expression may conceivably affirm the unity of Japan (Nichiiki, the sun) and India (Gasshi, the moon), the source of Buddhism.

47. See note 18. Konohasaku-o, below, means "Lord Leaves-Are-Opening-on-the-Trees." This deity, presented here as the consort of Konohanasakuya-hime, does not appear in standard Japanese mythology.

48. The "Single-Grain Bodhisattva" is rice. See Introduction under "The influence of Jikigyō Miroku."

49. "Shaka" is the historical Buddha, Śākyamuni. Here, the term *zenjō* (mountain pilgrimage) means, more specifically, climbing to the summit of a sacred mountain; it may also mean simply the summit itself. As a Buddhist technical term, however, it is a translation of the Skt. word *samādhi*, "meditational trance."

50. Kita-guchi (north entrance) is better known as Yoshida-guchi, the "Yoshida entrance" to the mountain. It was the gateway to Mt. Fuji for the Fuji confraternities of Edo.

51. According to *Nenpu*, Kakugyō began his first climb to the summit on Eiroku 8, 6. 3 (1565).

52. The "peaks" appear to be figurative since the topic of this sentence is Kita-guchi Taisha, the major shrine at Kita-guchi. Toyouke Daijingū refers to Toyouke-hime-gami and Dainichi, who were enshrined as a pair; and Omuro Goshō Sengen Ōhigami refers to an exactly parallel pair composed of Konohanasakuya-hime and Dainichi.

53. A yoni-shaped cave at the second station on the trail out of Kita-guchi. (All routes up the mountain are punctuated by ten "stations," the first being the point of entry and the last being the summit itself.) Pilgrims entered it for a brief observance before going on.

54. *Onmiya-tochi no sakai*. The trail was an almost continuous band of small shrines from the first station, at Kita-guchi, to the fifth.

55. A small shrine at the fifth station, dedicated to Iwanaga-hime. For an explanation of the term Chūgū, see note 74.

56. The great Buddhist monk Nichiren (1222–82) was believed to have practiced at this spot in 1269.

57. Nichiren first practiced on Mt. Minobu in 1274, and in 1281, the year before his death, built there the temple known as Kuonji. Kuonji is a spiritual center for all of Nichiren's diverse followers. Mt. Minobu is in Yamanashi Prefecture, not far from Mt. Fuji.

58. The first two characters, "wondrous" and "dharma" (teaching), of the title of the *Lotus Sutra*.

59. A rocky outcrop near the seventh station and a sacred spot of central importance for the Shugendō practitioners of Mt. Fuji.

60. The rocky prominence named Koma-ga-take is a part of the Kama-iwa outcrop. For Prince Shōtoku, see Introduction, note 21.

61. A "Turtle Rock" (*Kame-iwa*) can be found on many sacred mountains. This one is between the seventh and the eighth stations. There the practitioners invoked the eight Dragon Kings mentioned in the *Lotus Sutra*. The sutra says nothing about them offering protection against fire, but popular faith attributed this power to other mountain dragon deities as well.

62. "Hinomiko" means "Sun Child" or, as spelled in other documents, "Fire Child." This smooth, round rock is at the eighth station. Popular lore had it that in the first rays of the morning sun, it displayed the forms of the "Three Sengen Deities" (*Sengen sanshin*).

63. A spot, near the ninth station, where one prayed to the deities Ōnamuchi and Sukunabikona, and to the Buddha Yakushi.

64. Certain prominences on the rim of the crater, counted as eight in number, allowed the summit to be identified as the eight-petaled lotus at the center of the Taizōkai (womb realm) mandala. This identification was old by Kakugyō's time.

65. Ken-ga-mine (sword peak) is the highest prominence on the crater's rim and on the mountain (3776 m.); while the "Sanctum" (*nairin*) is the crater (INOBE 1973, 261). *Nairin*, a corruption of *naiin*, refers properly speaking to *Tosotsu naiin*, the "inner sanctum" of the Tosotsu (Skt. Tuṣita) Heaven: the sanctum in which the Buddha Miroku (Skt. Maitreya) awaits birth into the world. Especially in the Heian period and before, many mountain summits were identified with the Tosotsu Heaven. This reference to Miroku includes not only the canonical future Buddha but the Fuji ascetic Jikigyō Miroku.

66. The Sanctum of the Paternal Body and the Sanctum of the Maternal Body cannot be identified; perhaps they refer to suggestively shaped rock formations. Shaka's Split Rock (Shaka-no-wariishi) is a large, split boulder on the rim of the crater.

67. The crater was understood as a conjunction of the Kongōkai (diamond realm) and Taizōkai (womb realm) mandalas of Japanese esoteric Buddhism. This conjunction was a characteristic feature of many sacred mountains.

68. Another split boulder on the rim, also known as Ten-no-wariishi (Heaven's split rock). The Ame-no-iwato (celestial rock cave) appears in Japanese myth as the place where the Sun Goddess hid in outrage at the conduct of her brother, Susanoo.

69. The Buddhas of the four directions and the bodhisattvas of the four intermediate directions who surround Dainichi at the center of the Taizōkai mandala.

70. A *sai-no-kawara* is a feature of most Japanese sacred mountains. It is an expanse of small stones and gravel that is assimilated to the stony "riverbank" (*kawara*) in the afterworld where demons torment children who died very young. Edo-period pilgrims tossed coins into the crater from these *sai-no-kawara*.

71. Probably the same as either or both the Ginmei-sui (silver water), roughly on the south side of the crater, and Kinmei-sui (golden water), roughly on the north. These are pools of snowmelt water, not flowing springs. The faithful treasured this water, took it back to Edo, and sometimes administered it as a medicine to the sick, although in fact it was none too clean (ISHIHARA 1973, 89).

72. A pool on a relatively flat area above the eighth station and below Ken-ga-mine. A *konoshiro* is a kind of small fish that was believed (whether plausibly or not) to live in the pool. The present pool is dry in summer, but before the Hōei eruption (1707) it may have been larger and permanent (INOBE 1973, 257-58).

73. A rock bridge from which those who are ignorant (*mumyō*) and without faith fall into the void.

74. The Chūgū (middle shrine) is described below in the text as the boundary between Heaven and Earth. It is at the fifth station on the Yoshida trail up the mountain and is presumably at the spot where this trail crosses the Mid-Path (*chūdō*), a path that goes all the way around the mountain and more completely marks this boundary.

75. Yohai Water is the present Omidake-nagare, a ravine that runs down from the summit directly toward the north.

76. Now known as Omote-ōsawa.

77. A cave in a great outcrop of rock on the Mid-Path.

78. Now known as Ōsawa. The roar mentioned in the next sentence is that of falling rocks.

79. It is unclear what this "sanctum" is. Iwa-Fudō is a boulder that is assimilated to Fudō, a wrathful deity who quells demons and evil powers. The bridge is the point at which one crosses Hannya Ravine.

80. He appears to have leapt to the very bottom of the ravine.

81. A mass of boulders that rises from the floor of the ravine.

82. Emperor Kanmu (r. 781–806) is famous for having transferred the capital from Nara to what is now Kyoto. It is unlikely that this "bridge" had anything to do with him or his time.

83. It is not clear what this sentence has to do with the surrounding text.

84. See the Introduction, under "The practice of the Eight Inner Lakes."

85. Lake Biwa, the large lake in central Honshū, just east of Kyoto. According to *Nenpu*, beginning on Tenshō 1. 4. 8, Kakugyō practiced at Lake Biwa and then at Lake Hakone in Sagami Province (Kanagawa Prefecture).

86. "Spell" is *fusegi*, a term peculiar to the Fuji cult. It appears to be derived from the verb that means "to defend against," "to ward off." *Fusegi* is written with three characters. The first means "wind," the second conveys the idea of "precedence," and the third—a character made up by Kakugyō himself—consists of the elements "man" and "rice." Since the "rice" element, in the Fuji cult, means the divinity, "rice" joined to "man" must refer to the divinity's human vehicle: Kakugyō and, later, his two disciples. The spelling of *fusegi* therefore conveys the idea of a human being who is the vessel of the divinity and who emits (thanks to the spell) a sovereign, healing influence or breath ("wind").

87. Ana-umi means "cave lake" and may conceivably refer to the water in the Hitoana itself. Another possibility is Kakugyō's "practice-place" at the Shiraito Waterfall.

88. The theme and purpose of this "utterance" are apparently those of Kakugyō's own practice: the stabilization of the human social order as the central element in a tripartite cosmos composed of heaven, earth, and man. In a Buddhist context, the "Tenjiku" it mentions would mean India, where Śākyamuni preached, but here it suggests instead a sort of world continent ranged around Mt. Fuji, the *axis mundi*.

89. The "Spirit of Kō and Kū" is probably the cosmic breath that emanates from the mountain and is shown in Kakugyō's own diagrams. The *kū* is the same idiosyncratic character that serves in this work as an honorific title for Kakugyō himself.

90. The Deity of the Pillar seems to be the sun, perhaps as imagined circling the cosmic mountain. The decision to make the deity male in translation is arbitrary.

91. The four social classes—in descending order of rank—recognized by the Bakufu government in Edo and by society at large. See Introduction, under "The concepts of 'great practice' and 'path of practice'."

92. *Gogyō*. This term normally means the "five phases": fire, earth, wood, metal and water. However, *gyō* is the same character as "practice," as in the "four prac-

tices" just mentioned. Moreover, these five *gyō* appear to be equivalent to the five "winds" that figure in the Utterance of the Consolidation of the Material Body. In Chinese philosophy, the "five phases" are also linked with the "five stars," which are Jupiter (wood, east), Mars (fire, south), Venus (metal, west), Mercury (water, north), and Saturn (earth, center). Moreover, the characters used to write *gogyō* can also refer to the five cardinal Confucian virtues.

93. This spell names, in clockwise order, the four cardinal directions and the four intermediate directions, associating with each an unidentifiable "country" (*koku*), "heaven" (*ten*), or locus of some other kind (*setsu, tan*, etc.). It ends with what appears to be an affirmation of the harmony of heaven and earth.

94. The Fukumon-setsu is named in the first line of the spell immediately above. The hour of the rabbit is approximately 6 A.M.

95. The easternmost of the five lakes that lie in an arc on the north side of Mt. Fuji.

96. One hand forms a sun disk and the other a moon disk; the two hands are then brought together in *gasshō*.

97. Ganzen-mon, the gate between this world and the afterworld.

98. These parents are "provisional" because Sengen is the true mother and father of all beings. The original seems to say that the child lodges in the body of both parents.

99. Most of this utterance is in relatively normal language, but some passages are still obscure. A note to the published text (MURAKAMI and YASUMARU 1971, 463) offers this summary: "To man, the source of whose existence is water, the Deity commands that he shall never forget the gratitude he owes the Deity as his two parents and his teacher; and that he shall return this debt of gratitude."

100. Sengen, conceived as *moto no chichihaha*, the "original father and mother."

101. *Kōkū no a-ji*, the "[Sanskrit] letter A of the in-breath and out-breath."

102. "Eight-petaled" (*hachiyō*) refers to the Dainichi of the Taizōkai mandala.

103. The text also mentions a third, unidentified entity called *nishi u* to which gratitude is owed.

104. This interpretation, suggested in two notes (MURAKAMI and YASUMARU 1971, 463), is highly tentative.

105. The "Golden Disk" beneath the world belongs to Buddhist cosmology.

106. Aka-ni-kū is the red mud, more often known as *o-aka*, from under the water in the Hitoana. Shiro-ni-kū is probably the dried medicinal plant *kimuratake*, also known as *o-niku*. Both were treasured as medicines by the Fuji confraternities. The *kū* in both terms is the same honorific title as in the name Kakugyō Tōbutsu Kū. Since *aka* means "red" and *shiro* "white," these two substances constitute a pair (red-male, white-female) that alludes to sexuality and fertility—in other words, to the "original father and mother" character of Sengen.

107. The Dainichi of the Kongōkai and the Dainichi of the Taizōkai.

108. The sentence is obscure. The "shining star" (*myōseiten*) is probably the pole-star.

109. The "Monthly Leader and Officiant" (if this is a fair translation of an exotically spelled expression) is probably the leader for each monthly meeting of a Fuji confraternity. The leadership rotated monthly among the senior members of the confraternity, which met at the leader's home.

110. Apparently Lake Kawaguchi. *Saidō* means "saving [sentient beings]."

111. Perhaps the seventy years of a person's life.

112. A Buddhist term that means, roughly, "all the worlds" or "the entire cosmos."

113. "One's own true lot" is *mi no hodo*, "the measure of one's *mi*." *Mi*, a word common throughout this passage, can mean "[physical] body" and is at times translated that way here. However, it often has more to do with the idea of "person-in-society." *Mi no hodo* is about the same thing as *mibun*, "proper station" or "normal role" or "inherited lot" in life. Edo-period moralists enjoined people to understand their *mibun* and to uphold it faithfully. Those who deviated from their "normal role" in society were charged with yielding to "selfish desires."

114. This paragraph is thoroughly obscure. Perhaps the practice referred to is that of eating, since a major theme of this whole passage is that of the deity as food.

115. Perhaps a reference to three daily meals at which rice ("the Bodhisattva") is consumed.

116. The two Japanese sentences that make up this English one seem to pun on *ki* (wood, tree) and a quite different word *ki* (life-force). In Neo-Confucian thought, the latter *ki* (sometimes translated "material force") is the force that gives material reality to the world in all its discrete manifestations; it is paired with *ri*, the "principle" that underlies any manifestation. The author of this text seems to have heard at least distantly of such things.

117. *Hō*, the Sino-Japanese translation for the Sanskrit term that refers to any seemingly discrete, perceptible event or entity.

118. Little in the rest of this utterance is intelligible. The gloss (MURAKAMI and YASUMARU 1971, 465) summarizes the meaning as follows: "Human beings are assisted by the great blessings of Sengen Daibosatsu and so return to health."

119. By far the smallest of the five lakes on the north side of Mt. Fuji.

120. This poem (crude in diction if classic in form) is written almost entirely in characters, phonetically employed according to Kakugyō's own usage.

121. This spell too, despite its odd spelling and strange language, is actually in the form of a poem. Some of it can be deciphered and made to yield the rendering that follows.

122. These words evoke the ideas of pregnancy (*harami*) and of hastening birth (*san no hayame*), but otherwise are all but impenetrable. They parody the title of the *Heart Sutra* (*Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra*) as it is chanted in Japan: MAKI HANNYA HARAMITTA SHINGYŌ KANJIZAI BOSA GYŌJIN The final syllables speak of light shining throughout the universe (*kōmyō henjō*), perhaps in response to a universal invocation of the Buddha (*jippō nenbutsu sekai*).

123. The "three ages" are past, present, and future.

124. Lake Shibire in Yamanashi Prefecture.

125. Now Ukishima-numa in Fuji City, Shizuoka Prefecture.

126. One can note in this diagram: 1) the groups of *fu* (breath) syllables, surrounded by dotted lines; 2) the clusters of characters in the four directions (south up-permost), surrounding the central swastika—these are: south, "fire-birth" (possibly meant to be "fire-star," Mars); west, "metal star" (Venus); east, "wood star" (Jupiter); and north, "water star" (Mercury; the character for "north" is not actually written); 3) the presence of the characters for "Hitoana Gate-of-Awakening" in the line of large characters that occupy the central axis of the mountain.

127. Ashinoko or Lake Hakone in Kanagawa Prefecture.

128. See Introduction, under "The practice of the Eight Outer Seas."

129. According to *Nenpu*, Kakugyō's mother died soon after his father, and Kakugyō performed funeral rites—apparently for both—on Tenshō 4. 2. 3 (1576).

130. The "Province of Oki" is presumably the Oki Islands, in the Japan Sea off Shimane Prefecture. Perhaps the "Shōji Sea" is the stretch of ocean between the islands

and the mainland. Its name is written with characters that mean "bearing a child," although the word *shōji* is more familiar as a Buddhist term that means "birth and death."

131. According to *Nenpu*, the place was at or near Tsuruga.

132. Saitō Sanemori (1111–83), a warrior from eastern Japan, fought in the wars between the Genji (Minamoto) and the Heike (Taira) clans in the late twelfth century. "Tamura" refers to Sakanoue no Tamuramaro (758–811), a celebrated general who was *not* a descendant of Taishokkan (for whom see note 2). Sanemori is the hero of a Noh play that bears his name, and Tamuramaro is likewise the hero of the Noh play *Tamura*; both figures were then celebrated in the various kinds of theater popular in the Edo period. As a result, Sanemori and Tamuramaro were both familiar on the popular stage.

133. Akugenta Yoshihira (Minamoto no Yoshihira, 1141–60) was a major Genji commander. During the Heiji Disturbance (1159), he defended the Genji, who had taken up a position by the Taikenmon (Taiken gate), the eastern gate of the imperial palace compound. On that occasion he bested a Heike force led by Taira no Shigemori (1138–79), the eldest son of Kiyomori, the head of the Heike clan.

134. 1158–84, the son of Shigemori.

135. Sanemori died at the defeat of Koremori's forces at Shinohara (in modern Fukui Prefecture, where the present scene is set) in 1183. His death, as related in the fourteenth-century epic *Heike monogatari* (Tale of the Heike) became especially famous.

136. This son is a fiction.

137. Other versions of the *Book* name the disease as epilepsy (IWASHINA 1983, 75).

138. Taihō was born in 1549 (INOBE 1975, 145).

139. According to *Nenpu* (IWASHINA 1983, 49), Kakugyō reached Lake Chūzenji in 1578. "Mt. Nikkō" (Nikkō-san) seems to refer specifically to Futara-san (Nantai-san).

140. The location of the *sato-miya* ("village shrine," the one most readily accessible to worshipers) of the Futara Shrine, the shrine dedicated to the divinity of the chief peak of the Nikkō mountains.

141. Kuro no Unpei (d. 1652) succeeded Kakugyō as the leader of the Sengen devotees. (According to cult tradition, Taihō, although senior to him, was too tainted by his bandit past to do so. For the death brought about by this taint, see the Introduction, under "The Shiraito Waterfall.") As Kakugyō's successor, Taihō was variously known as Nichigyō, Nichigan, Engan, Taigan, or Keigan. Some sources identify him as a paper merchant originally from Nagoya (INOBE 1975, 144–45). A grave monument to him can be seen on the grounds of Jōkōji in Utsunomiya.

142. Fujiwara no Uona (721–83), a great-grandson of Taishokkan (see note 2), did indeed occupy the post of Minister of the Left, the senior ministerial post in the imperial government. However, his lineage and that of Tamura (see note 132) are unrelated.

143. According to *Nenpu*, it was still 1578 when Kakugyō, with his two disciples, left for Mutsu.

144. See Introduction, under "The practice of the Eight Outer Seas." According to *Nenpu*, he also practiced at Tsugaru-no-ike (Tsugaru pond), presumably at the tip of the Tsugaru Peninsula in present Aomori Prefecture.

145. *Nenpu* observes that Kakugyō had been away from the Hitoana for four years. It goes on to say that he then climbed Fuji from the Yoshida entrance in Tenshō 8. 6 (1580) and Tenshō 9. 6 (1581). On the latter occasion Kakugyō transmitted to Taihō and Engan (Nichigan), at the summit, the true meaning of the formula *myō-tō-kai-zan* (see Introduction, note 17). Moreover, an autograph document dated Tenshō 8. 1. 3

(1580) says, "Forty-nine days on the Mid-Path. Met Sengen face to face . . ." (see Introduction, under "The practice of the Eight Inner Lakes").

146. Other versions of the *Book* have Tenshō 12 (1584).

147. *Nenpu* mentions a first visit by Ieyasu to the Hitoana on Tenshō 10. 4. 13 (1582). Kakugyō explained Sengen's teachings to him. For the date of the visit mentioned here, it gives Tenshō 11. 7. 13.

148. See Introduction, under "The bond between Kakugyō and Tokugawa Ieyasu."

149. The Tendai Buddhist prelate Tenkai (1546–1643), Ieyasu's senior religious adviser. See Introduction, under "Kakugyō and Nikkō."

150. Kakugyō's "record of direct communications from Sengen Dainichi" is here treated as a *honzon* (main object of worship), that is, as the very presence of the Fuji deity.

151. All three of the preceding expressions refer to the emperor. It was the grandson of Amaterasu, the sun deity, who first descended from heaven to rule the earth, and who therefore founded the Japanese imperial line.

152. *Roku*, rank and wealth. This *roku* is the character used in the name of Jikigyō Miroku.

153. *Sehō*, the law (or teaching) of the world, as distinguished from *buppō*, the law or teaching of the Buddha. It became a commonplace of ethical teaching in the Edo period to affirm that these two, although apparently opposed to one another, were in fact one and the same.

154. The virtues and essential social relationships named here are all familiar from general Confucian discourse.

155. Śākyamuni, the historical Buddha, who was best known in Japan as the eternal preacher of the *Lotus Sutra*.

156. The "great practice of the realm" is probably the labor of founding a dynasty, here the line of the Tokugawa shoguns.

157. Tokugawa Ieyasu died in 1616, his successor Hidetada in 1632, and the third Tokugawa shogun, Iemitsu, in 1651. Kakugyō himself died in 1646.

158. The *myōshu* of Hitoana-mura, the village near the Hitoana. A *myōshu*, who owned fields under his own name (*myō*), was a leading member of the village community and a key point of contact between the village and higher administrative authority.

159. As already noted, *Nenpu* gives Tenshō 11. 7. 13 for this visit of Ieyasu to the Hitoana. "Tenshō 12" here seems to be a simple scribal error. The document itself may be genuine (perhaps it is among those still at the Hitoana), but that does not prove that Ieyasu really knew Kakugyō.

160. They perform *kaji*, a ritual meant to call into action, for a particular purpose, the beneficent influence of a deity. *Kaji* belongs, properly speaking, to the vocabulary of esoteric Buddhism. It was a familiar word at the popular level because of the *kaji kitō* (invocation and prayer) rites performed in the towns and villages by *yamabushi* mountain ascetics.

161. "Sunlight Buddha" (*Nikkō-butsu*) refers of course to the sun itself, but also to the mausoleum at Nikkō where Ieyasu was enshrined.

162. The south side of the mountain has generally been considered its "front" side (*omote*) (INOBE 1973, 250). However, all the Fuji lakes, and many streams and springs, are on the north side of the mountain, and for the Fuji confraternities the mountain did indeed face north, since they climbed it from that side. In any case, north is the direction of water (see note 92).

163. The two preceding sentences, having evoked the sun's south-to-north course through the seasons and the sun and moon's east-to-west course through day and night,

assume a link between these cosmic movements and the prevailing peace. Seen as an abstract pattern, these paths of the sun and moon (north-south/east-west) cross at or over the world center, Mt. Fuji.

164. The Genkō Disturbance (1331) amounted to a coup by Emperor Godaigo (r. 1318–39) against the Kamakura Bakufu; and the Kenmu Restoration (1334) made Godaigo the real ruler of Japan. However, Godaigo was soon overthrown by the general Ashikaga Takauji (1305–58), who established the Ashikaga shogunate.

165. Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–98), whose career in part prepared Ieyasu's own success, was said to have been born after the sun flew down and entered his mother's womb.

166. It is not clear what this sentence means.

167. *O-tsutome-bito* (functionary), a word that is more often pronounced *yakunin*. It is unclear what this sentence has to do particularly with Hidēyoshi or his line.

168. The practice to bring about world renewal, associated especially with Jikigyō Miroku.

169. In the meantime, according to *Nenpu*, Kakugyō had begun in 1592 another practice of the eight seas. His route is discussed in the Introduction, under "The practice of the Eight Outer Seas."

170. In 1605, Ieyasu ceded the title of shogun to his son Hidetada, and in 1607 he retired to Sunpu, the present city of Shizuoka.

171. The crucial battle, in 1600, that determined Ieyasu's final success.

172. Kakugyō is presumably speaking for his two disciples as well as himself.

173. Kakugyō's modesty may also be meant to explain why Ieyasu's visits to the Hitoana remained wholly unknown in later times.

174. The "Two Deities" are presumably Sengen as the primordial father and mother.

175. The original has *tenshin* (the mind of heaven), but this appears to be an error for *tenchi* (heaven and earth).

176. This garment is probably the one worn by the Fuji pilgrims, who, like many other pilgrims in Japan, wear white clothing. Like the block for Kakugyō, the pilgrim's white robe is the mark of his special contact with the sacred and the emblem of his realization of the "one mind."

177. Instead of Sengen Dainichi, the text here and at several places below actually has Ichibutsu Issen (One Buddha One Immortal). This expression refers to the mountain as deity, and therefore is equivalent in meaning to the deity's by now more familiar name.

178. *Moto sekai hajimaru toki wa koromo nari*. This statement, although perhaps meant most directly to explain the pilgrim's white clothing, probably alludes to a Japanese way of understanding the world—the environment that surrounds the subject—as a garment worn by the subject. For the motif in myth, see MILLER 1984. The Noh play *Kureha* (TYLER 1992) makes plain use of it.

179. This sentence (according to Itō Kenkichi in his note to this passage) apparently describes the emperor wearing a white *kariginu* ("hunting cloak"; the text has simply *jōe*, "pure raiment") over his *sokutai* ("ceremonial court dress"; the text has *gyōe*, "ritual garment"). Presumably the reference is to the imperial enthronement ceremony, the Daijōsai.

180. Eight *chō* is about 870 meters.

181. The "peak of the Mountain" is *zenjō*, a term that is primarily the Sino-Japanese translation of the Sanskrit *samādhi* (the state achieved in meditation). *Zenjō* came in Japan to be used for the summit of a sacred mountain, but both meanings seem to be intended here.

182. Henceforth in this work, *kaku* is written with the character that means “to write”; so that instead of meaning “practice of the block,” “Kakugyō” now means “practice of writing.”

183. Since *tō* means “east” and *kaku* “awakening,” both together allude to the morning sun; Nikkō means “sunlight” and Dainichi “great sun.” However, Nikkō is also the place where Ieyasu was enshrined. This sentence therefore fuses Kakugyō, Ieyasu, Sengen Dainichi, and the sun.

184. *Nenpu* does not mention this message from Sengen. However, between 1592 and 1620 (the year of the event that follows), it states that on Keichō 15. 6. 1 (1610) Kakugyō climbed Mt. Fuji from Kita-guchi and, after thirty days of practice at the summit, performed there the *tenpai-shiki* (rite of salutation to heaven) and established Keigan (Nichigan) as his successor. In Keichō 15. 10, Ieyasu sent an envoy to the Hitoana to give thanks for his victory at Sekigahara. In Keichō 15. 12, Kakugyō performed a special practice of thanks for peace. For thirty days he stood naked on a great rock near the Sengen Shrine at Kita-guchi. When his skin cracked and bled because of the cold, his disciple Nichigan gathered his blood and used it to write down a *yurushi* that had been revealed to Kakugyō during his practice. Finally, still according to *Nenpu*, in Genna 3. 4 (1617), Kakugyō began a thousand-day practice of thanks at the Omuro Shrine at Kita-guchi.

Further, a document dated Genna 5. 9. 12 (1619) and believed to be in Kakugyō’s own hand (published in IWASHINA 1983, 57) consists of the following:

Item: Seven days’ standing vigil.

Item: A hundred days’ water practice.

Item: A thousand days’ ablutions at the Hitoana.

Item: Tree-eating [*mokujiki*, abstinence from cereals] on the Mid-Path.

Item: Twelfth month: seven days’ naked vigil.

Item: Seven days . . . on the Mid-Path in a single white robe.

Item: A hundred days’ water practice at the Eight Lakes.

Item: A thousand days’ confinement in the Hitoana.

185. At first, in the text below, it seems clear that only Kakugyō’s two disciples went to Edo. Later on, however, it appears that Kakugyō went with them.

186. Both these years are Kōshin years. According to *Nenpu*, Sengen recognized the completion of Kakugyō’s great practice on Genna 6. 3. 23. On the first Monkey day of the following month, Kakugyō began a seven-day retreat of purification and thanks.

187. This practice is presumably related to the folk practice of *himachi* (waiting for the sun).

188. The name of this sickness means, approximately, “strikes them down.” According to *Nenpu*, it was cholera (*ekirei*). Epidemics were well known in Edo, but no evidence confirms the occurrence of this one.

189. That is, Nichigan and Taihō.

190. This assertion does not square with the information given in the paragraphs above. Kakugyō should by then have finished his forty-eight-day fast.

191. It seems clear from this passage that Taihō and Nichigan went to Edo without their master. Further on, however, it transpires that Kakugyō was with them, or at least joined them soon.

192. The Rōjū, the senior council of advisers to the shogun.

193. The suspicion is that they are Christians. Christianity was vigorously proscribed by the Tokugawa government.

194. *Machi bugyō*, the two officials responsible for administration and law enforce-

ment within the city of Edo. They were directly responsible to the Council of Elders.

195. Andō Shigenobu (1557–1621).

196. Sengen Dainichi as the Original Father and Mother.

197. Nitten is the sun, Gatten the moon.

198. Doi Toshikatsu (1573–1644), at that date the Senior Elder (Tairō).

199. Honda Masazumi (1565–1637), a particularly powerful lieutenant of Ieyasu and member of the Bakufu government.

200. Sakai Tadayo (1572–1636).

201. According to *Nenpu*, Kakugyō was invited to Mito after his release by the great daimyo and scholar Tokugawa Mitsukuni, who asked him for instruction. Alas, Mitsukuni, who lived 1628–1700, was not yet born at the time.

202. *Nenpu* notes that in Kan'ei 9. 2 (1632), Kakugyō did thirty days of water practice at a spot in Shimōsa Province and planted a cherry tree beside the river there. He meant it as a memorial, so that in later generations his teaching should flower like the cherry tree. At his death in 1646, he came forth from the Hitoana and said, "Today, my practice in this life is done. Now I shall return to Heaven and serve at the court of the Great Ancestral Triple Deity." Then he looked up to heaven and, still standing, entered eternal sleep.

203. Probably the Hitoana itself.

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