Abstract of Doctoral Dissertation Title:

The Kitano Shrine Organizations in the Sengoku Period: As the Still Remained *Kenmon Taisei*

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The aim of this dissertation is to explicate a theory of the influence of temples and shrines in the Sengoku period by investigating temple and shrine organizations in that period and discussing their ties to various authorities.

Kuroda Toshio's *kenmitsu taisei* (exoteric-esoteric structure) theory, still the mainstream approach in studies of medieval temples and shrines, asserts that Sengoku period temples and shrines continued to exert an influence, albeit one diminished by the impact of rising powers, until Oda-Toyotomi powers decisively put an end to it. However, Kuroda's theories do not clearly address Sengoku period temples and shrines, and a theory of medieval temples and shrines remains to be developed. Also, the *kenmon taisei* (structure of the influential powers) theory that serves as a foundation for the *kenmitsu taisei* theory asserts that not even the Muromachi shogunate toppled the *kenmon taisei* and that it was the Ōnin War that effectively ended it. Based on the premise that the post-Ōnin War shogunate organization had already collapsed, Kuroda takes the view that the Ōnin War spelled the end of the *kenmon taisei*, but recent studies of the Sengoku period shogunate indicate that it continued to serve as an arbitrator of disputes in Kyoto and the surrounding area even after the Ōnin War, and that it continued to function as a unifying force upon the *daimyō* (feudal lords). That is, it is necessary to determine the unique form the ruling elites assumed in the Sengoku period (in this case specific to temples and shrines).

This paper, then, carries out an investigation focused on Kitano Shrine in the Sengoku period.

The first part, "The Organization of Kitano Shrine as a Sanmon *Massha*," investigates Kitano Shrine as a Sanmon *massha* (a small shrine under the control of a larger one), focusing on the relationships between Kitano Shrine and Sanmon Hieizan Enryakuji Temple and Manshuin Monzeki. Here, both the "holy" aspects of Kitano Shrine, specifically the personnel affairs of its *bettō* (superintendent) and *shikan* (priest), and its "secular" aspects, specifically information concerning the *jinin* (low-ranking priests) of Kitano Shrine used in the economic activities of a Sanmon temple (Honzan Enryakuji Temple), are described. With regard to personnel affairs, the question "Why did the organizational structure of Kitano Shrine, which was headed by *bettō* Takenouchi Monzeki, not change until early modern times?" is taken up as a theme. The Shōbaiin family of priests effectively managed Kitano Shrine in

the Sengoku period, but the personnel affairs of Monzeki and Shōbaiin qualitatively differed. That is, the personnel affairs of Monzeki regulated the fundamental role of the *shikan*, and the personnel affairs of Shōbaiin functioned on the level of a particular location. No matter the extent of the authority held by Shōbaiin at the level of a particular location, without the fundamental role of the *shikan* which was secured by Monzeki, it could not function within the shrine. It seems that this role of the *shikan* was analogous to the role of the emperor and the shogun in the Muromachi period, and the role of the shogun and the various *daimyō* in the Sengoku period. Also, with regard to the "secular" aspects, the control of Sanmon over *massha* shrines is investigated with reference to the *sake kasu* (a byproduct of sake production) monopoly litigation of the Tenbun period. To Sanmon, this litigation was both a strategy for excluding the Hokke sect and a means of regaining economic power, which had diminished markedly in the Sengoku period, and it may be said that it was a case in which the main temple-sub-temple relationship structure continued to function in the Sengoku period.

The second part, "The Organization of Kitano Shrine's priests and the *Daimyō* Powers," investigates the *daimyō* powers as the ruling elites of the Sengoku period, describing how the *daimyō* powers served as supports for the *shikan* of Kitano Shrine in the Sengoku period as well as the process leading from the reorganization of the *shikan* to their downfall. Here, bearing in mind the structure of the conflict between factions of *shikan* at Kitano Shrine, we investigate the relationship between Shōbaiin and the Hosokawa family (Hosokawa Keichōke) and the relationship between Hōshōin and the Ōuchi family. The post-Ōnin War political situation, that is, the conflict between the Hosokawa Keichōke family and the Ōuchi family, was represented within Kitano Shrine as a conflict between Shōbaiin and Hōshōin. In other words, the conflict between *daimyō* after the Ōnin War was reproduced in miniature within Kitano Shrine. Also, as this conflict played out, *shikan* from outside Shōbaiin experienced economic difficulties and struggled to survive, and certain *shikan* families died out, merging into those that survived. As a result, Shōbaiin and the associated *shikan* families survived, as they had a superior economic position as authorities within the shrine. That is, the path to the dominance by the three families associated with Shōbaiin in early modern times was paved in the Sengoku Period, and the Sengoku period was a period of transition toward a dominance by Shōbaiin.

Returning here to the problem of why an organizational structure headed by Monzeki was maintained as Kitano Shrine came under the Shōbaiin dominance, which was supported by powerful figures of the time, it is apparent that the identity provided by the highest authority within this structure (Monzeki) shaped Shōbaiin itself. This is a concept that permeated Middle Ages society, just as Ashikaga Yoshimitsu did not attempt to replace the emperor, for instance, and just as Sengoku daimyō prior to Oda Nobunaga did not attempt to replace the shogun. That is, even in the Sengoku period, which according to Kuroda's kenmon taisei/kenmitsu taisei theory was "a time of collapse," this structure remained unchanged. At the same time, the diffuse, uneven nature of authority under that constant structure characterizes the kenmon taisei of the Sengoku period.