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KŪKAI AND ZENTSŪJI

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By

Steven Alan McCarty

Thesis Committee:

Alfred Bloom, Chairman

Robert Bobilin

George Tanabe

ABSTRACT

Kūkai (774-835), who transmitted Shingon Buddhism from China to Japan, was born in the outer province of Sanuki on the island of Shikoku. The role of his home town of Zentsūji has not been investigated thoroughly, even by Japanese scholars of religion. Since previous studies have emphasized Kūkai himself, this study tries to contribute to a fuller understanding of the environment, institutions and people surrounding Kūkai. This is attempted by raising questions concerning Kūkai and Zentsūji, shedding light on them with historical and archaeological evidence, maintaining the viewpoint of local scholars, and discussing the implications.

The history of what has become Zentsūji City, Kagawa Prefecture, is traced from the beginnings of human habitation, in case it should bear on the reception of international Buddhism and the advent of Kūkai in this particular location. It is found that from the Yayoi Period about 2,000 years ago the area did enjoy a relatively high level of culture as evidenced by bronzeware, with religion central to progressive stages of social organization. Furthermore, Buddhism spread rapidly to Sanuki compared to other provinces remote from the capital areas. There is evidence that then-unsystematized elements central to Shingon were already present in Kūkai's youthful environment. A recent archaeological discovery that Kūkai's

family home included a clan temple also brings Buddhism more deeply into his background than was previously thought.

Such factors pre-dating Kūkai and continuing after his return from China suggest, but do not prove, that the influence of Buddhism and local history in the case of Kūkai and Zentsūji was mutual. With the dearth of information before Kūkai became famous, and with his extant writings devoted to impersonal themes, the influence of Zentsūji on Kūkai can only be surmised. On the other hand, influences by Kūkai on Zentsūji and Japanese history are well documented and form the larger part of this research. We find an emphasis on certain divinities enshrined in the temples as well as personifying sacred mountains above Zentsūji, but while the chronology of these patterns is explored, the direct role attributed to Kūkai remains unverified. However, the writings of Saigyō, Honen and Dōhan provide a glimpse of Zentsūji in the Heian and Kamakura Periods not long after Kūkai's time. They show that beliefs remaining today go back at least that far: that Kūkai worshipped the mountains above his home, equated their five peaks with the Five Wisdom Buddhas, and in meditation atop the highest peak had a vision of the Buddha.

Yet both local historians and priests cited place Kūkai as part of a family and social movement of his times, which embraced Buddhism as the representative of Asian mainland culture. While the flow of history differed in each period,

there was also a continuity maintained by generations living in the same place, and in priests inspired by Kūkai's example.

KŪKAI AND ZENTSŪJI

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I. INTRODUCTION

Thesis Statement

Traditionally there has been a tendency in studies of religion to focus on doctrine, with all but the most famous individuals and locations scarcely investigated. Kūkai is one of those who have been well researched by such scholars as Joseph Kitagawa, Yoshito S. Hakeda and Allan Grapard. Yamamoto Chikyō and Donald Keene have also translated some of Kūkai's writings from classical Chinese into English, so his thought is relatively well known. Moreover, a summary of his career can be found in any world encyclopedia. Yet what do we know about the environment out of which such a religious founder emerges, the actual institutions and people surrounding Kūkai?

In a country where proximity to the capital and court were so important, the outer islander Kūkai had the rare opportunity to join an exhibition to T'ang Dynasty China. This is but one indication that Kūkai's rural birthplace may merit investigation, especially if the process of interacting with Buddhism is found to be mutual. Traditional research has perhaps overemphasized the capital cities where historical records are conveniently located, whereas religion is found wherever people are. For these and other reasons, the place as well as the time and thought of individuals has begun to receive more attention in

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research, and here we investigate Kūkai from the viewpoint of his home province.

Kūkai lived in a time of great ferment, reaching adulthood just as the Nara Period turned to the long Heian Period. Many people historically famous in Japan lived at the same time. Therefore an investigation of the people surrounding Kūkai, in addition to his place of origin, may provide a perspective on the background and development of his religion. If Kūkai's home town has made a contribution to the development of Shingon Buddhism, with over 13 million members in Japan today, and if the careers of the individuals investigated here have both reflected and contributed to that history, then this research may be considered a priority in Kūkai studies, while also offering some observations on Japanese religion that may be of value to other researchers.

The goals of this thesis are formulated in terms of the following questions to be accounted for: Was Kūkai an isolated phenomenon bringing Shingon Buddhism to transform Zentsūji into a temple town, or did factors in the local history mutually influence Kūkai and the forms assumed by Buddhism in Zentsūji? If the latter, what were some of those factors and their results, in terms of temples, divinities and people, which are considered historically significant by Japanese scholars?

Did religion have a strong influence on the cultural level of Kūkai's native province from pre-historic times to the introduction of Buddhism? Did Buddhism spread rapidly to such an outer province of the young nation, even before the nationwide temples were first established in the Nara Period? What is known about Buddhism in Sanuki before Kūkai's time, according to local histories?

Were there already Buddhist institutions in his village that could have had a formative influence on Kūkai? If so, did the Nara Buddhism of Kūkai's youth contain any precedents in terms of divinities later emphasized in Shingon or in Zentsūji temples?

Did Kūkai's clan support Buddhism? Did they maintain high educational standards that prepared Kūkai for international eminence? Did Kūkai have any relatives who were also famous in Japan, strengthening his influence? That is, who were some of the people around Kūkai or later inspired by his example? Did Sanuki and Zentsūji produce an unusual number of saints or priests appearing in nationwide references? Were Sanuki priests instrumental in establishing the Kūkai faith (Kōbo Daishi shinkō) predominant in later Shingon? Did their lives reflect historical changes after Kūkai's time?

What temples in Zentsūji still exist from Kūkai's time or earlier? Do a disproportionately large number appear in nationwide reviews of temples, for a city of 37,000 people?

Did their histories reflect national trends in the periods after Kūkai's time, influenced by popular religious movements or adversely affected by medieval civil strife? Are there any unusual patterns in their objects of worship, compared to other areas in Shikoku? Could any such characteristics of Zentsūji temples stem from before Kūkai's time?

Were the mountains above his birthplace considered sacred and identified with Buddhist divinities by Kūkai, or to what extent were they later accretions? Were the temples in Zentsūji closely related to the sacred mountains? Has a kind of mountain worship existed from earliest times to the present?

After evidence is brought to bear on these questions and summarized, it will be asked what the implications of the research findings are, briefly what they teach us about historical developments in Shingon and Japanese religion, and the value of viewing the flow of history from one location will be discussed, along with suggestions for similar research.

Methodology

The research presented here began in 1982 with visits to Buddhist temples and Shintō shrines in the Zentsūji area, interviews with priests, and the study of Japanese sources in the Kagawa Prefectural Library.) Research has also been

conducted at the three regional centers of Shingon Buddhism, Mount Kôya University in Wakayama Prefecture, Tôji Temple in Kyôto City, and Zentsûji Temple in Shikoku. On location there is hardly any access to English sources, but on the other hand, only in the local prefecture is an adequate amount of information available on its history. As Zentsûji commemorates the birth of a religious founder, the Zentsûji City Library tries to acquire everything written about Kûkai domestically. Cross-checked for partisan exaggeration with national references also available in the local libraries, the local histories provide the most detailed information. Researches into the formative periods in history seem to offer the most contribution to religion studies in this case, and with the auxiliary discipline of archasology, the approach selected toward the material is the history of religion.

The documentation available to confirm events of the distant past in the countryside is naturally limited, so the findings are a reflection of the information available in scholarly references. Yet this involves selectivity. The local histories will list all the villages to which temple fiefdoms extended, yet few sources can present intangible religious phenomena without intruding the authors' opinions and speculation. Also what historical sources consider worthy of inclusion tend to be the high points of cultural

achievement, and they do not therefore offer an explicit picture of religion in everyday life.

There are also cultural differences in scholarship between Japan and the West, greater in the Humanities than in the Sciences. Generally speaking, Japanese scholars are trying to be objective, but different norms are at work. While Western scholars react to uncertainty by insisting on greater precision, Japanese scholars meet the same problem with greater ambiguity. Even the Japanese reader cannot tell if the proof for one sentence or clause is still binding for the next. Norms of attribution are a conspicuous difference, not in journals or dissertations but in published books. It is difficult to trace sources which are often unlisted, thus we have to rely on the degrees of certainty expressed in the subtleties of the language in which assertions are couched. For example, we are quite concerned which of the actions credited to Kūkai were really his doing, and the documentation is not identified, but we can discern a spectrum of certainty ranging from the weak endorsement of "the founder" to "Kūkai himself," the suffix mizukara emphasizing that he made it with his own hands. Within Japanese norms it is possible to read the sources critically.

The dating of temple origins is another difficult problem in historical research which requires a critical examination of sources. But histories tend to quality the

dates asserted by the temples, by stating the information unequivocally, as transmission, what is thought to be so, and so forth. We try to convey this level of certainty in the translation, omitting doubtful statements or those in conflict with other sources.

Time limits for the research and the great differences between Japanese and English have had some consequences for which the writer must apologize. There may be more analytical sources available, but concise reference works have been favored over prosaic sources. The many so-called dictionaries are encyclopedic, sometimes consisting of articles on themes arranged alphabetically in iroha order, offering terse and reliable information. Secondly, footnotes are avoided for background information peripheral to our argument. Often the dates for a man's lifetime, the reading of Chinese characters, the names of people and temples have been looked up in reference books other than the source quoted. Thirdly, indirect quotation is utilized throughout for translation, even when it is more or less exact. To attempt or claim exact translation would raise linguistic issues, whereas indirect quotation can convey the same information descriptively in context. Unless otherwise identified, the method adopted for indirect quotation is simply the following: anything previous to a footnote within the same paragraph is credited to the source; the information or value judgments have come from the book

footnoted. Commentary and background information come after footnotes, in paragraphs without footnotes, and in parentheses within indirect quotations.

General Introduction

Japan consists of four main islands, very close together, as well as many small islands and islets, until modern times removed from the Asian mainland not so much by distance as by treacherous seas. Between three of the main islands with the longest history shared by the ethnic Japanese lies the Seto Inland Sea (Setonaikai), a calm and heavily traveled waterway since ancient times. West and south of disproportionately populous Honshū lie Kyūshū and Shikoku, the smallest of the three islands, with 4 million of Japan's present population of 120 million.

Zentsūji City rests near the northern coast of Shikoku, within sight of Honshū. It is a very small city of only 37,000 inhabitants, in western Kagawa Prefecture, formerly called Sanuki Province from the 5th to the 19th Century. Not only is Kagawa one of the tiniest prefectures in Japan, but the counties the Zentsūji area has been part of were the smallest in Sanuki Province.

The word Zentsūji as used in this thesis refers to the area of the present city limits at any time in history, to Kūkai's home town, or to the temple named after Kūkai's father Saeki Zentsū in 813. When it is clear from the

context that the temple is referred to, we would like to avoid a redundancy by declaring that names suffixed by -ji, -in, -dera or -dô are temples, while names suffixed by -san, -zan or -yama are mountains, unless otherwise indicated.

Japanese sources use the word Zentsûji in these same ways, sometimes even to describe ruins of a much earlier temple on the same site, linked with Hôryûji in Nara, one of Japan's first temples. For lack of a name, this recent discovery is properly called Kyû-Zentsûji or Zentsûji in the sense of the place.

The significance of Zentsûji City being named after the temple has to do with the type of town it has been since the early Heian Period when Kûkai came back from China. Some temples and Shintô shrines have been the chief infrastructure or government of fiefdoms later becoming towns. The Japanese classify their cities by how they developed, such as castle towns, wayside towns, and harbor towns. Of the five or six categories accepted by historians, Zentsûji City and its neighboring Kotohira Town, site of Kotohira Shrine, are known as monzen-machi, literally towns in front of the gate (of a major temple or shrine).

The development of such towns accompanied a religious organization's worldly, political and economic development in ancient society. In the late Heian and Kamakura periods, the temples developed fiefdoms which speeded the development

of monzen-machi, but the process receded in the Edo Period with the strengthening of local lords (Daimyô). Kotohira is included among ten examples in Japan.¹ Local histories of Kotohira often entitle it as a monzen-machi.

Today Zentsûji, head temple of a ha or sect of Shingon Buddhism, has over 200 employees, some highly paid. Since the temple was even more predominant economically in the past, it created the infrastructure for a town of the same name to develop. A famous temple on a pilgrimage route, with occasional patronage from the central government, along with the custom of making an offering whenever visiting a religious site, gave extra impetus to the town's development compared to other agricultural areas. Travelers would go to the town of the farmer, artisan and merchant outside the temple's gate, bringing an influx of wealth. The town would then prosper, the governing class receiving more tax revenues, resulting in more patronage for the temple. With these resources available, the temple could finance new buildings or repairs, employing the townspeople. In addition to such worldly benefits, the townspeople might receive unusually good medical help, education or advice from the clergy, as well as sharing in the recognition of the fame of the place.

II. ZENTSŪJI AND KŪKAI

Pre-Buddhist Zentsūji

To give some indication of the setting Buddhism entered, let us first explore the area that became Zentsūji from the earliest human settlements to the organization of Sanuki Province in the unification of Japan. Local historians interpret archaeological findings in the prefecture, comparing them nationally. Implicit in their high evaluation of the findings is a comparison with the cultural assets of equivalent prefectures far removed from the ancient capitals. However, we shall pay particular attention to the role of religion in the progressive organization of society.

In geological terms, Japan has been rapidly fragmenting even after splitting off from mainland Asia. So this fragmentation of an already populated piece of Asia, along with easy boat travel between the close islands, dispersed people throughout the archipelago. Only 10,000 years ago the Setonaikai was formed by the dropping down of previous land, thus the many conical islets seen today were once mountain peaks.

Off Shōdoshima, an islet near Takamatsu, an ivory doll was found, confirming the existence of man as well as mammoths near Shikoku in the Old Stone Age.² Moreover,

Zentsûji has the oldest history in Kagawa Prefecture, with Old Stone Age culture found on Ôsayama and at the foot of the Gogakuzan.³ At the back of Zentsûji City on 600 meter Ôsayama, some tens of thousands of years ago, there were Old Stone Age culture human beings, and within the city area remains have been found of late New Stone Age culture.⁴ The first listing in a historical table for Sanuki (Kagawa) shows 1st Century Zentsûji having had bronze bells (dôtaku), bronze swords (dôken), and other ritual implements (sai-kishû, sai-matsuri).⁵

The New Stone Age culture of the Jômon Period is explained as follows: following the Old Stone Age and lasting from about 10,000 years ago to 2,300 years ago, the Jômon Period lifestyle was characterized by hunting, fishing and gathering. Earthenware, arrows and stone implements are among the tools that have been excavated in Kagawa Prefecture near the Setonakai coast. The characteristic rope-design Jômon style of pottery was found intact in Takuma (near Zentsûji). Any difference in race between Jômon and present-day Japanese is denied.⁶

In the Jômon Period iron and rice had not yet been brought into Japan, but at the end of the period swamplands throughout western Japan were gradually opened up to rice cultivations, and this soon occurred in Zentsûji along with other forms of agriculture, proven to exist 2,000 years ago in the Yayoi Period. During that period people united as a

village in worshipping the gods (kami-matsuri), summoning their grace with bronze swords and bells (dōtaku). It was an original idea of the Japanese to use bronzeware they made in this manner, and the excellence of Yayoi culture is a source of pride and art objects treasured today. The number of flat bronze swords found in the Zentsūji area overwhelmingly the greatest in Japan. Two bronze bells have also been found in Zentsūji. Compared to other villages without bronzeware, they must have conducted an enviably fine religion and government.⁷

One of the dōtaku mentioned above, with a running water design, dating from 2,000 years ago in the Yayoi Period, was found on Gahaishizan (the tallest of the Five Peaks behind Zentsūji Temple). For it to be found at the symbol of Zentsūji (i.e. coincidental with the site supposedly of most sacred significance to Kūkai) surprised archaeologists all over Japan. Since one exactly the same has been found in Ōsaka, the author believes it was made in Ōsaka and brought to Zentsūji. He calls it a great discovery in dōtaku research when a tangerine farmer stumbled on it in 1966, particularly important among the 12 or 13 dōtaku unearthed in Kagawa Prefecture. As for its use, the author notes that it was found on the mountain above the plain where people lived, so it could not have been meant for everyday use. He suggests that it was used on special occasions for purposes such as rice-cultivating festivals (matsuri),⁸ that is, to

accompany prayers for success in the newly introduced rice farming of the Yayoi Period.

Tumuli of the following Kofun Period found in Zentsūji number about 400, the most in Kagawa Prefecture.⁹ Another author asserts, as above, that matsuri and village government were united in the Yayoi Period. Government was conducted according to the mind of the gods. The village mayor, placed between the villagers and the gods, at death would be buried near the gods as a clan deity. Similarly, the kofun were elevated above the plain to represent the closeness of leaders to the gods. Village leaders meant to transfer merit to the next world while eternally ruling this one. There is thought to have been a connection between the sea and the afterworld, with boats to carry the departed there drawn on Zentsūji kofun. However, the introduction of Buddhism in the following Asuka and Nara Periods changed burial customs, and there came to be such a thing as the clan temple (ujidera).¹⁰

It is left to the reader with more knowledge of Shintō and ancient Japan to follow up on the many implications of the above disclosures based on archaeological evidence. We would add only one thing, admittedly overheard in a barber shop near Zentsūji Temple, but confirmed by observation of kofun in Zentsūji. Several kofun have been turned into Shintō shrines, with the actual tumulus considered the shintai or conduit to the gods.

As Japan started to become a unified country, Sanuki came under national administration in the mid-5th Century. Kūkai's ancestors, the Saeki clan ruled western Sanuki, later the smaller country of Tado-gun, and Zentsūji was its central village.¹¹

Formative Influences on Kūkai

Now let us consider the time period between the introduction of Buddhism into Japan and Kūkai's return from China with the system of Shingon Buddhism. An examination of the spread earlier Buddhism to Sanuki may disclose direct or indirect influences on Kūkai and on the course of Shingon Buddhism particularly in Zentsūji.

We therefore ask such questions as: what temples and religious phenomena in the Zentsūji area pre-date Kūkai and therefore could have influenced him? A corollary question is: were there elements emphasized in Shingon already present in his early environment? Were his ancestors and family exclusively Shintō or is there evidence that they also embraced Buddhism?

To answer these questions to any extent we need to examine the local histories for pre-Heian Period Buddhism in Sanuki and Zentsūji, at least in terms of temples, including ruins, and Kūkai's family tree, which is further detailed later.

Soon after Japan was first unified with provinces under a central government, Buddhism entered the young nation formally around 538, and in its wake brought literacy and welcome models of Asian civilization. But did it spread very rapidly from the capital to outer provinces, particularly Sanuki, even before the Kokubunji temples were established in each province during the Nara Period?

The following results are based on the study of ruins, and they cast doubt on the claims of some of the temples introduced later, but some of them may lack concrete evidence while their transmissions are accepted by other historians.

In the Asuka Period there were 46 temples in Japan, with two in Sanuki, Kaihōji and Myōonji. In the following Hakuho Period (645-710), the number of temples rose to 545, with around 11 in Sanuki.¹² Around 694 Sanuki temples started to become numerous.¹³

There were about 30 or 31 temples in Sanuki by the Nara Period, which local histories claim is a sign of the height of Buddhist culture in Sanuki at the time, in comparison with other provinces far from the Capital. Among the pre-Heian Period temples were two in Zentsūji, Kyū-Zentsūji, with Hōryūji-style roof tiles, and Nakamurahaiji, with different tiles, both dating from the Hakuho Period.¹⁴

Kagawa University researchers write that from ancient times Sanuki has had a deep connection with Buddhism (fukai

Butsuen). The great Nara temples such as Hôryûji and Tôdaiji established a disproportionate number of branch temples in Sanuki. It may be no coincidence that Nakatadogun (Zentsûji's present county), with the most temples in Sanuki in the Nara Period (five), also produced the most famous priests in the Heian Period, six of the ten listed.¹⁵ The biography of all ten appears later, but clearly the researchers see a link between the Buddhism before and after the advent of Kûkai, and they place Kûkai not as a lone phenomenon transforming the outer province, but as one of the ten priests indicative of the relatively high level of Buddhist culture in Sanuki from the Hakuho Period onward.

The Zentsûji City History says much the same as the above, that 31 temples were built in Sanuki between the Hakuho and Tempyô periods (672-749), including (Kyû-) Zentsûji and nearby Dendôji (=Nakamurahaiji). Among ruins in Zentsûji, though they add a Gochinyoraidôato, whose Gochinyorai images were attributed to Gyôki of the Nara Period, later transferred to nearby Yônenji,¹⁶ which temple still stands in Zentsûji.

The high priest of the Zentsûji-ha also refers to a Gochiin as having existed in front of the present Zentsûji Temple in Kûkai's childhood.¹⁷ Gochiin, Temple of the Five Wisdoms, may be the same site referred to as Gochinyoraidôato, Ruins of the Hall of the Five Wisdom Buddhas. If such central elements of Shingon Buddhism did pre-date Kûkai in

Zentsūji, then it would strengthen the possibility, which is discussed later, that the equation of the Five Peaks behind Zentsūji with the Five Wisdom Buddhas was directly related to Kūkai rather than a later accretion. Moreover, it would be evidence that it was the fullness of Shingon Buddhism that Kūkai transmitted from China rather than its central religious elements, which may have already been worshipped in Nara Period Buddhism in Zentsūji, before Kūkai encountered them as central to Shingon belief, possibly influencing his readiness to accept Shingon among the many alternatives available in Chang-an.

Abbot Hasuo continues: Zentsūji had been a political, economic and cultural center of the county area since the Yaei Period. Many great priests along with Kōbō Daishi (Kūkai) have been born there. Its ancient culture is celebrated, thus it was a fitting environment for the advent of Kōbō Daishi. While many stories remain about the deep Buddhist connection between him and his birthplace, clearly his family environment was religious. Moreover, on the present temple grounds Nara Period temple tiles and foundation stones have been found, thus there is thought to have existed a Saeki ujidara,¹⁸ a clan temple of Kūkai's family on their property.

When he came back from China, Kūkai evidently expanded an already existing temple rather than starting from scratch. This finding controverts the accepted fact that

Zentsūji Temple was founded by Kūkai in 813, as well as the ubiquitous notion that Kūkai's family did not support Buddhism. It is quite understandable for them to have opposed his dropping out of the university to become a wandering mountain ascetic, and then later to become devoted to the Buddhist sect led by Kūkai. But at an earlier time they may have participated in Buddhism as a well-educated family, and they might not have ever opposed Buddhism if Kūkai had waited for graduation and then joined a major temple in Kyōto. As we shall see later, the family of Enchin in Zentsūji also had a gilders at his birthplace that he expanded upon his return from China, like his uncle Kūkai.

It is remarkable that Hasuo, whose father was also the head priest of Zentsūji, like the Kagawa University researchers, eschews hero-worship in his latest book to place Kūkai in a context of relatively high cultural achievement in Sanuki since the Yayoi Period, only one among the great priests of his time, and points to the religious influence of Kūkai's family on him, including their support of Nara Buddhism.

Hasuo continues: His uncle Ato no Ōtari, tutor of Prince Iyo, and both parents being from scholarly backgrounds, were formative influences on Kūkai. The other great Buddhists emerging from the Saeki clan were also favored by this family influence. Kūkai's father's cousins

included famous scholars and nobles such as Saeki Inaenishi, governor of Dazaifu and supervisor of the project to build the Nara Daibutsu at Tōdaiji. The whole Saeki clan was faithful, and of course at that time Buddhism was embraced in Japan as the representative of Asian mainland culture.¹⁹

When Kūkai left Zentsūji to enter the equivalent of a university in the Capital, people in that environment were seeking the truth. While at the university he learned mental concentration practices rendered to Kokuzō-bosatsu, and Hasuo sees these as similar to Shingon practices. When he left the university to continue these practices in the mountains of Shikoku, his relatives cited to him the various social obligations, but his commitment to finding out the truth was stronger.²⁰

In an Asian society valuing continuity, especially for someone in a privileged position to defy his family and abandon all security must have been an agonizing decision, but a choice perhaps at the heart of Asian religious reform, because that was precisely what Gautama Buddha had done.

Influences by Kūkai on Zentsūji

In this section we shall consider the lasting influence of Kūkai on Zentsūji in terms of temples and their sacred objects. Subsequent sections also deal with influences by Kūkai, but in terms of sacred mountains and then priests inspired by him. We shall be particularly concerned with

the relation of the temples to Kūkai and to events before his time. With the exception of Enchin and Konzōji, we are examining the temples in Zentsūji founded or expanded by Kūkai after his return from China, and which still exist today. We shall also compare the major temples in Zentsūji for common patterns that might be explained by events before Kūkai's time.

As a measure of the sustained influence of Kūkai's home town, five of the 88 sacred places along the Pilgrimage of Shikoku are clustered in tiny Zentsūji City. At one point in its evolution, the pilgrimage began at Zentsūji Temple and circled the island clockwise to walk in his footsteps from birth to release. But the salient point here is that the inclusion of these five temples was on the criterion of their stemming from Kūkai's time. No other temples but ruins in Zentsūji claim such antiquity, and the claims of these five are accepted as genuine by historians. Thus inclusion in the pilgrimage is one indicator of historical significance that can be called upon, as seen later, to provide grounds of comparison.

The close relation of the temples to the sacred mountains above Zentsūji will be developed in the next section, but here we need to explain how temples have up to three names, according to Professor Nakamura: Large temples tend to have a *gango*, a mountain for a place name, even if on a plain. However, Mikkyō (Shingon or Tendai) temples of

the Heian Period were always placed by or on mountains. Next they may have an ingō, an institutional name. Finally, they have a jigō, the temple name per se.²¹

Gahaishizan Enmeiin Mandaraji was originally named Sesakaji or Yosakadera when it was founded by Kūkai's ancestors, the Saeki clan, in 596, as their ujidera. Documentation for this origin goes back at least to the 11th Century.²² The extreme antiquity of this date gives pause, but all the national and local histories are unequivocal about it. If true, Kūkai's clan would be one of the earliest supporters of Buddhism outside of the capital area. It would not be inconsistent with the description of the Saeki clan as noble and scholarly, and it would possibly indicate that they were sent from the capital to rule the area in the 6th Century. We have seen evidence that Buddhism played a role in Kūkai's upbringing, and the earlier ujidera would push back even further in time the assertion of the Saeki clan supporting Buddhism before Kūkai's time. Kyū-Zentsūji in the 7th Century would then be the second Saeki ujidera, a reaffirmation of support for Buddhism, so that it would already be a long family tradition by the time of Kūkai.

Comparing different sources to corroborate the possibility of the 596 date, the most ancient temple on the outer islands is Shidoji, also in Sanuki, founded in 593.²³ However, another review of temples nationwide places Rakanji

in Kyūshū first on the outer islands, transmitted to have been founded in 645; the first in Shikoku, 665; in Sanuki, 703, with Sanuki's Kokubunji built in 741.²⁴ The 645 date mentioned here would imply that the founding of Rakanji and other temples accompanied the Taika Reform and administered the lands lost to private ownership, an earlier origin of Monzen-machi than cited before. Yet another review of temples nationwide accepts the 596 data for the origin of the predecessor of Mandaraji without the qualifying language he uses in other cases.²⁵ Amid the conflicting evidence, we can observe that the year 645 is rather late, over a hundred years after the formal introduction of Buddhism into Japan, whereas local researchers have examined the evidence more thoroughly and assert the earlier dates.

Sesukaji became Mandaraji when Kūkai enshrined a Renge Mandara there which he had brought back from China. He also spread relics of the Buddha transmitted from India (by the Indian patriarchs of Shingon in Chang-an), carving and enshrining a Shichibutsu Yakushi (a set of seven Buddha images with Yakushi instead of Shaka as the seventh). Mandaraji was the hōdaiji (memorial temple) to Kūkai's mother as Jentsūji was to his father.²⁶

For the Main Hall Kūkai had a Dainichi-nyorai statue made and he enshrined it. Mandaraji was completed after three years of work in 810. It is transmitted.²⁷ When the Ryōbu Mandara scrolls (noted above) were enshrined, Kūkai

gave the temple the new name Gahaishizan Mandaraji. The Golden Hall was modeled after that of Shōryūji (Hui-kuo's temple in Chang-an). Mandaraji was not surpassed by Zentsūji at that time, but gradually declined and was burned down in the violence of 1558. It is #72 of the sacred places of Shitoku.²⁸

Gahaishizan Kumonjin Shusshakaji, #73 of the sacred places, has a weather-worn stone image of Shaka-nyorai (the historical Buddha as later exalted in Mahāyāna Buddhism), but most of its treasures were burned in 1919.²⁹ To commemorate his religious experience of seeing the Buddha atop Gahaishizan, Kūkai made and enshrined a Shaka-nyorai image, naming the mountain and temple Gahaishizan Shusshakaji. The mountain was previously named Washinoyama (only the character hai meaning worship really new in the name change). It was because of Kūkai's worship for the mountain that he gave it the name Gahaishizan. Saigyō wrote the name as Wagahaishi (almost the same, waga and ga being alternative readings for the character meanings "I"), and the shi (meaning "teacher") refers to the Buddha.³¹ Gahaishizan Mandaraji and gahaishizan Shusshakaji are considered further in the next section on sacred mountains.

Kōyamaji (or Kōzanji), #74 of the sacred places, was placed equidistant between Mandaraji and Zentsūji by Kūkai (reminding us that these two temples were considered the hōdaiji of Kūkai's mother and father), who made its honzon

of Yakushi-nyorai,³² it makes an unusual triad, and we wonder why Yakushi receives such emphasis in Zentsūji temples. Dainichi-nyorai is usually the central figure, in Shingon theory as well as practice, but the honzon of Zentsūji, Konzōji, and Dōryuji, i.e. all of numbers 74 through 77, plus the extra pilgrimage temple (banqai) of Jinnōji at Mannō-ike, are of Yakushi-nyorai, with Yakushi also displacing Shaka in the Shichibutsu-Yakushi of Mandaraji.

A clue to why Yakushi is so emphasized in Zentsūji area temples, even Enchin's Konzōji of the Tendai sect, may lie in Zentsūji history prior to Kūkai. According to Zentsūji City Hall, in the late 7th Century a disease was spreading around the village area, and an image of the Medicine Buddha Yakushi was made by an ancestor of Enchin and housed in a Yakushi-dō.³³

Kōyamaji was built with part of the Imperial compensation to Kūkai for building the Mannō-ike (still Japan's largest earth-wall agricultural reservoir). Kūkai made a stone image of Bishamonten (one of the 12 Guardians of Yakushi-nyorai), and founded the temple in 821, it is transmitted.³⁴

Continuing along the pilgrimage route, #75 is Zentsūji, which as we have seen is not the only temple of historical significance in the area. But its administrative as well as symbolic roles have been weighty, as the only headquarters

temple in Shimon far from the ancient capitals,³⁵ and at the same time commemorating the advent of Kūkai, as the birthplace of a religious founder is considered meaningful in Eastern cosmology including Buddhism. The temple has always housed many priests and pilgrims, therefore it has been the gathering place of people, compared to the other temples in the area. Spawning a monzen-machi with its economic might, administering a large medieval fiefdom and branch temples, Zentsūji has traditionally taken on worldly functions in everyday life, whereas some of the nearby temples surrounding the Five Peaks seem to serve as portals to sacred tradition for those who could emulate Kūkai in meditation, beyond the institutional structure into nature.

First let us examine the sweep of history concerning Zentsūji per se, as we have already taken up its predecessor on the same site. It therefore begins with the birth of Kūkai, and the author relates all of the important events in Kūkai's life to this temple. The religious practices of Kūkai are considered historically significant along with tangible events. Priests of the temple itself seem to be eclipsed by eminent pilgrims, a device which preserves Zentsūji's modesty while the presence of famous priests confirms its importance.

In 774 Kūkai was born (Saeki Mao) to Saeki Zentsu and Tanaki Goren. In 792 he practiced Buddhism in the mountains all over Shikoku. A year after he returned from China he

initiated construction of a Shingon dōjō (a center of teaching and practice) modeled after Shōryūji in China. In 813 it was completed and named after Kūkai's father. In 821 Kūkai returned to the area to supervise construction of the Hamaoka reservoir. In 835 he died on Kōya-san.³⁶ Then for the rest of the Heian Period either the temple activity is not that significant or else it is not well enough known to be acknowledged by the researcher. Next it is the eminent priests who go to Zentsūji around the Kamakura Period who reconfirm its importance and contribute to its history.

In 1183 Saigyō stayed at Zentsūji. In 1207, Hōnen went to Toosa Province (in southernmost Shikoku), and on the way built a sort of inverted pagoda (gyakushūtō) for Zentsūji in honor of Kūkai. In 1245 Gyōren built a statue of Kūkai for the temple. And in 1249 Dōhan came from Kōya-san and built the Tanjō-in (an expansion of Zentsūji) to commemorate the birth of Kūkai.³⁷

Around 1275 the temple's fortunes started to decline and there was unspecified destruction in the temple area. From 1278 to 1288 Emperor Go-Uda sponsored repairs. In 1331 Yūhan (a head priest of Zentsūji who was born in the vicinity) supervised repairs of the Five-Story Great Pagoda (close to 50 meters high; Japan's largest is at Shingon's Tōji in Kyōto). Yūhan also had the Golden Hall and other buildings repaired. In 1344 the Muromachi Period Shōgun

Ashikaga Takauji (when he was placing one in each province as a consolation for his violent rule) had Yūhan build him a stone pagoda (risshōtō). But in 1558 Zentsūji served as a fortress for the Miyoshis in a clan war against the Kagawas and was put to the torch, burning down again in 1575 of the Sengoku Period. Between 1744 and 1748 a statue of Shinran Shōnin was brought to Zentsūji and a Shinran Hall established. In 1871, after the Meiji Restoration, reformation of the temple's system of governance united the Tanjō-in with Zentsūji. And in 1184, reconstruction of the present Five-Story Great Pagoda was completed.³⁸

From the above it is clear that Zentsūji was buffeted by various nationwide historical trends, losing more and more of its original form but rebuilding itself into the important institution it still remains. As early as the Kamakura Period Zentsūji was affected by the wave of Pure Land Buddhism that was sweeping across Japan and appealing to common people, untypical of Asian Buddhism before. Shingon sect leaders could not very well oppose Pure Land Buddhism for practical reasons, such as losing support, and history has vindicated their restraint, Shingon being by far the largest of the early sects remaining today. Among the theoretical or spiritual reasons, even Kūkai had written a scroll rendering worship to Amida-nyorai who governs the Western Pure Land emphasized by the Pure Land sects. For Kūkai to write "Namu Amida Butsu" in calligraphy shows that

unsystematized elements precede sect formation, with a sect being a certain systematization of Buddhism, emphasizing certain divinities and practices, but never mutually exclusive in the minds of most Japanese. Their multiple religious affiliation today, usually both Shintô and Buddhist, reflects that eclectic tradition.

It is not clear from the above history when the Five-Story Pagoda was first built. The Great Pagoda of Zentsûji contains the Gochinyorai, the Five Wisdom Buddhas, which are resonant with Gogakuzan or Five Peaks behind Zentsûji being equated with the Five Buddhas, as discussed in the following section. However, according to Dôhan's testimony and a map of the temple drawn in 1307, the original pagoda was of two stories. If the Five-Story Pagoda was repaired in 1133, then it was probably built shortly before that time, with difficulty, and Yûhan probably had a hand in its origin. As Yûhan was the only priest of Zentsûji mentioned in the history, his biography appears hereinafter.

Before the destruction mentioned above, Dôhan's Wanka, Rurô Ki provides the most vivid view available of Zentsûji as it was originally. Dôhan (1184-1252) was commissioned from Kôya-san to teach at Zentsûji from about 1243 to 1249 of the Kamakura Period. He is known as Dhan Ajari, from the Sanskrit gacarya, meaning a teacher of adepts.

Dôhan wrote that many temple buildings were already in ruins, some scrolls written by Kûkai already in tatters.

But among the buildings still intact was the Golden Hall, fourteen meters wide (converted from traditional measures), which was modeled after the Golden Hall of Green Dragon Temple in Chang-an. It held a Daishi Sanzon (a triad of statues centered on Kūkai), a Shitennō-zō (statues of the Four Guardian Kings), and a Yakushi Sanzon. There was also the Lecture Hall under renovation, and the Two-Story Pagoda built by Kūkai. There was a Seven-Story Stone Pagoda on one of the mountaintops behind Zentsūji, and a stone inscription marking Kūkai's birthplace. Two documents written by Kūkai were still intact, each a single page of calligraphy, as well as a family tree of Kūkai's ancestors. Dōhan shed tears of love for all these things as he paid them his deepest respects.³⁹

Konzōji, #76 of the 88 temples and the fifth in Zentsūji City, is said to date from 714 with the name Jizaidō. Then it was established as an ujidera by Enchin's grandfather Wake Dōzen in 774, the year of Kūkai's birth. The founder was a village chief, and the temple took his name: Dōzenji. In 851 it ceased to be an ujidera of the Wake clan and became a kanji (public temple).⁴⁰ It took the village name in becoming Konzōji in 928.⁴¹

Konzōji is considered Enchin's birthplace, and still belongs to the Tendai Jimon-ha⁴² that Enchin founded. Enchin's given name was Wake Kōyū. The year he returned from China he expanded the temple on the site of his father

Wake Yakanari's house. The Zentsūji City History expresses astonishment at the fukai Butsuen, the deep connection with Buddhism, for two such great saints who studied in T'ang China to have been born in Zentsūji.⁴³

The Yakushi-nyorai honzon of Konzōji was made by Enchin. The temple burned down in the mid-16th century then was renovated under the patronage of the provincial Lord Matsudaira in 1642. A number of treasures still remain that were made by Enchin.⁴⁴

Enchin apparently established his independence by joining his uncle Kūkai's rival Mikkyō sect of Tendai, then studied in China much longer than Saichō or Kūkai. Enchin (Chishō Daishi), along with Kūkai's loyal young brother Shinga and Saeki clan member Jichie, was one of four members of Kūkai's family among as few as 20 in Japanese history to receive the highest Imperial designation of Daishi. On the one hand these findings show the generally high aspirations of the Saeki and Wake clans even before the time of these saints, while on the other hand it shows the influence of Kūkai in raising many members of his family to prominence, thereby multiplying his influence.

Sacred Mountains above Zentsūji

Now let us examine the history of a complex religious phenomenon, a matter more of faith than of knowledge. We shall describe a configuration of mountains associated with

Buddhist divinities, and present evidence indicating the periods in which the designations diachronically originated. These apostrophs would surely not receive so much attention if they did not loom over the birthplace of Kūkai, so we are concerned to what extent the designations could be attributable to Kūkai himself.

A number of questions may remain unanswered because of the absence of documentation, but we present the information available on two premises: that the designations were the effect of Buddhist activities toward a sort of naturalization in Japan, and that they rested on and reinforced a deeper stratum of indigenous mountain worship. Both of these processes have been shown in studies of Japanese religion, but what is relevant to our argument here is the particulars of the configuration, which cannot be found elsewhere, their relation to Kūkai or later embellishment of his birthplace, and the close relation of temples, mountains and divinities. Here again we may find factors in the local history that have influenced the specific forms taken by Buddhism in Zentsūji.

The setting is as follows: there is a small mountain range running north to south from the Setonakaï coast to Kotohira, with Zentsūji in the middle. Zentsūji Temple is perpendicular to the mountain range in its layout, with the Gogakusan (Mount Five Peaks) to the west. From the viewpoint of the temple, to the right or north is Amagirisan

(Mount Heavenly Mist), but there is a temple at its base named Shishizan Mampukuji (Mount Lion Temple of Ten Thousand Blessings). To the left or south is a long mountain named Ōsayama whose southernmost tip is named Kōpira-san (from Skt. Kumbhira, a Ganges crocodile god who became first among the 12 Guardians of Yakushi-nyorai, and a Shintō-Buddhist hybrid known as Kōpira Daigongen) or Zōzusan (or Zōzu-san, Mount Elephant's Head, a mountain in the hagiography of Gautama Buddha, believed to have flown to Kotohira with its guardian Kumbhira). Before the Meiji Restoration shunted it off the mountain, there was a temple named Zōzusan Konkōin Matsuoji, a shrine-temple complex that has been turned into a Shintō shrine (Kotohira-gū) dedicated to Kōpira Daigongen as a protective god (kami) of seafarers.

Here we are simply concerned with the Buddhist names of the mountains: Shishizan, Gogakuzan and Zōzusan, which facilitated the addition of Buddhist divinities, eventually forming a unique configuration (not implying any superiority) which was yet quite in accord with norms of Shingon Buddhist iconography.

The elements of the array when it reached its complete form are, as explained by the Kagawa Library Association and other sources: Gogakuzan, also known in ancient times as Byōbu-ga-Ura because of its resemblance to a folding screen, was likened reverently by Kūkai to the Gochinyorai (that is, the Five Peaks were associated with the Five Wisdom

Buddhas), and this faith still continues today. From east to west, Dainichi-nyorai is revealed as Kōshikizan, Ashuku-nyorai is Fude-no-Yama, Hōshō-nyorai is Gahaishizan, Amida-nyorai is Nakayama, and Shaka-nyorai is Higamiyama. Gahaishizan (the tallest of the Five Peaks) was the site of a miracle of Kūkai's self-abandonment at its peak, and down its slope are such sacred sites as Shusshakaji and Mandaraji.⁴⁵

One source offers an explanation why the Gogakuzan were thus exalted, while completing the description of the array: it was because the Gogakuzan fronted the land owned by Kūkai's father. The author also finds confirmation of the Gogakuzan-Gochinyorai equation in the Nankai Ruroki, by Dōhan Ajari. Amagiri-san is identified with Shishizan, the abode of Monju-bosatsu (Skt. Manjusrī Bodhisattva, often portrayed in Buddhist iconography as riding a lion), and Zōzuzan is in turn the mount of Fugen-bosatsu (Samantabhadra Bodhisattva, often portrayed as riding an elephant). Citing scriptures in which these divinities appear, the author explains that in their role as guardians of the Buddhist law, Monju and Fugen protect the Five Buddhas between them.⁴⁶

The above explanations can be corroborated as far as they go. In the Shimpitsu Hōnen Shōni Ki, noting his pilgrimage to the birthplace of Kūkai, Hōnen wrote in the Kamakura Period that Kūkai built Zentsūji for his father's

sake, and that pilgrims there will surely become friends of all the Buddhas of the Pure Lands. In the Nankai Rurô Ki, Dôhan wrote that to the west of Kôya-san and again of Kûkai's birthplace stand the Five Peaks which are the Five Buddhas (actually, Gogaku to Gohutsu).⁴⁷

At the end of the Heian Period, Saigyô wrote that Kûkai renamed his birthplace Byôbu-ga-Ura.⁴⁸ In his Sangashû, Saigyô mentions Fude-no-Yama (Calligraphy Pen Mountain), and wrote that it was a hard path up to Mandaraji at the peak of Wakabaishi (now Gahaishizan). It was said that Kûkai used to climb up there every day, and Saigyô saw a huge stone pagoda built by Kûkai at its peak.⁴⁹

Similarly, Dôhan later wrote that he climbed the steep mountain where Kûkai had practiced, and there was hardly any grass on the trail. When Kûkai was practicing meditation there at the highest point of the Five Peaks, the Buddha appeared to him above a green pine tree, riding a cloud. The mountain was named Gahaishizan because Kûkai worshipped it.⁵⁰

Thus we see evidence of the Five Wisdom Buddhas and also the historical Buddha in supernatural form being associated with Mount Five Peaks. Moreover, at a fairly early date we see Kûkai asserted to worship and adorn the mountains in several ways. But we see no evidence that nearby Tôzuzan and Shishizan, surmounted by Fugen and Monju, were part of this claim for a direct relation to Kûkai. It

make sense in terms of Shingon Buddhist iconographic conventions, such as the widespread motif of Buddha triads with Fugen and Monju on the left and right as guardians, for them to be added as guardians of the central mystery, but we can show that they were probably later embellishments, sacralizing more and more of the area around Kūkai's revered birthplace.

It is also not unknown for the Five Buddhas to have guardians. In Tōji, the first temple assigned to Kūkai's charge in the Heian capital, he supervised an arrangement of 21 statues, and the majority that remain from his time are now national treasures. Surrounding the Gochinyorai are protective guardians, in benign form to establish good as well as in malevolent form to combat evil. It is considered by Tōji priests to be the most complete expression of Shingon. The animal mounts and other pedestals give it a sense of movement, from another dimension to this one, of an active salvific force. What is most striking to us, however, is that the guardian on the extreme left is Taishakuten (one of the most ancient and durable Hindu deities, Indra), riding an elephant. We noted earlier that Fugen is at the extreme end of the mountain range, riding Mount Elephant's Head.

We have not been describing an array of mountains and divinities alone, but the sacred tradition of each has been ministered to by temples. In terms of sangō, Shishizan

Mampukuji, Gahaishizan Mandaraji, Gahaishizan Shusshakaji, Gogakuzan Zentsûji, and Zôzuzan Matsuoji were involved with these mountains, and dedicated at least in part to their divinities. Shishizan is unknown to the public and did not catch on as a name for the mountain to supercede Amagirisan, unlike Zôzuzan which became a pilgrimage destination in itself, synonymous with Kôpira-san as the place name. People do not say they are going to Kotohira-gû, the institution, but rather to Kôpira-san or Zôzuzan, the mountain itself. Whereas Mampukuji is a minor temple, compared to the others, thus Shishizan may be little more than a sangô which facilitated the addition of Monju to complement the enshrinement of Fugen on Zôzuzan.

The evidence for the above interpretation of a synchronous development of the array is based on the dates of origin of the temples at Zôzuzan and Shishizan, compared to each other and to those around the Gogakuzan, some of which are certain to date from Kûkai's time or earlier.

Historical references to Matsuoji begin from the year 999 of the Heian Period when it received government patronage, but it is certainly an ancient temple (kosatsu).⁵¹ Whereas Mampukuji was originally the ujidera of the Kagawa clan of Amagiri Castle, which in turn was founded in the Muromachi Period⁵² in the Middle Ages, it was much later that the prefecture came to be called Kagawa, and we saw how the Kagawa clan rose to supremacy in the area in the 16th

Century at the expense of Zentsūji Temple. We can thus surmise that by the period of civil wars the Saeki and Wake clans had been eclipsed in temporal power. At the same time, of course, Buddhism in Zentsūji was in decline, and in subsequent history of the prefecture there is no further claim to extraordinary cultural achievement.

There is some ambiguity in the case of Matsuoji and Zōzusan, since we cannot rule out a temple at the site from Kūkai's time. But judging from other temples around Zentsūji, those which are strongly asserted to have been founded by Kūkai are all included among the 88 temples, whereas Matsuoji is not. Therefore we can posit that the attributions to the Gogakuzan (including Gahaishizan) came first, as early as Kūkai's time, then to Zōzusan sometime in the Heian Period or later, and lastly to Shishizan, which completed the array of sacred mountains and divinities.

How such a phenomenon could come about and remain an object of faith for 12 centuries up to the present has to do with a primordial substratum of mountain worship in Japanese religion. To some degree a worldwide phenomenon, it is often discernible in Asia. Elsewhere in Japan it has been studied in connection with proto-Shintōism and Shintō-Buddhist syncretism, as it served as a common denominator between indigenous and Buddhist religious forms.

One of the mountains investigated in this section, Zōzusan has been considered a case of shintazisan shinkō, the

belief in mountains as the bodies of gods. The mountains themselves were worshipped along with the gods dwelling thereupon.⁵³ The mountain as a shintai also seems to enter the Buddhist context in the persistent story of Kūkai seeing the Buddha above the highest point of the Gogakuzan. There may even be a relation between the rounded mound type kofun serving as shintai, and the volcanic mountains they resemble. In an identification through resemblance such as we saw at Zōzuzan, the conical, flat top kofun could be seen to assimilate the power of mountains originally demonstrated in active volcanoes. These would be mutually reinforcing indications of the antiquity and continuity of mountain worship in Japanese religion.

Priests Inspired by Kūkai

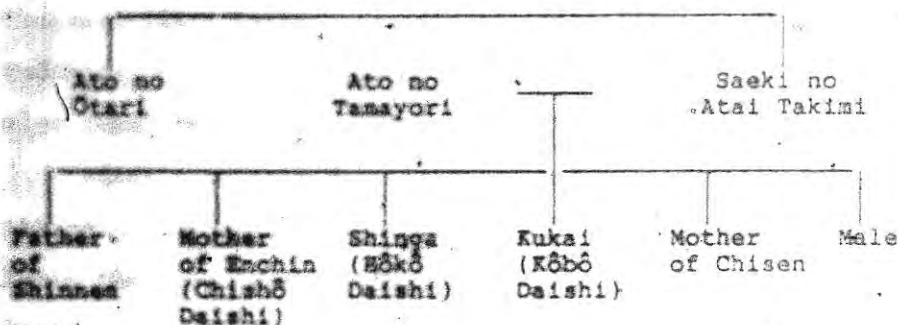
It was pointed out at the beginning that all but the most famous individuals in Japanese Buddhist history have scarcely been investigated, and that Kūkai lived in a time of great ferment which produced many famous people in Japanese history. Arguing against the study of Kūkai in isolation, we inquired about the people surrounding Kūkai, those influencing him as well as those influenced by him, during his time or later. We have already seen an inquiry into Kūkai's place of origin providing a fuller perspective on Kūkai's background, finding unexpected continuity with events before his time in Sanuki. To investigate the people

around Kūkai may provide a further perspective on the development of Shingon Buddhism, for many were his representatives and image-makers.

We inquired who among the people surrounding Kūkai were considered historically significant by Japanese scholars, and whether Sanuki and Zentsūji produced a disproportionate number of Buddhist saints and others appearing in nationwide references. We have already seen that Kūkai had influential relatives among the formative influences on his whole clan, and that among his younger relatives at least Enchin clearly merits further investigation. In this section we shall therefore introduce a considerable number of people surrounding Kūkai, particularly those from his home province and Zentsūji, adding representatives of later periods.

The advent of Kūkai had an especially great influence on his home province of Sanuki. It is often pointed out by local historians that of as few as 20 great saints ever designated by Imperial decree, five were natives of tiny Sanuki, the so-called Go-Daishi of local usage. However, these turn out to include three of Kūkai's relatives as well as himself. Earlier we found that Kūkai's ancestors and older relatives played a role in Japanese Buddhist history, and that his whole clan was considered religious, accounting for the emergence of other Buddhist saints along with Kūkai. There are also indications of Kūkai's parents converted to his side, such as the Lotus Sūtra scroll co-authored by

Kūkai and his mother, now a national treasure at Zentsūji.
Let us therefore begin by examining Kūkai's family tree
during this period.



Although Otari was Kūkai's uncle, under whom he studied the Chinese classics, the Ato family, lacking a male heir, adopted him, thus the arrangements with Otari on the side of Kūkai's mother, but with the blood line connected to his brother, Kūkai's father.⁵⁴ The latter, as head of a ruling clan, had a number of names culminating in Zentsu (Chinese reading) or Yoshimichi (Japanese reading of the same characters). A map of the Byōbu-ga-Ura Zentsūji Temple area made in Kyōto in 1893 by Ishida Aritoshi uses the latter kun yomi,⁵⁵ but that is not necessarily contradictory to the temple using the on yomi in consistency with -ji, whose kun yomi is tara. The map incidentally presents the unreliable view that Yoshimichi was descended from Emperor Keikō and received the name Saeki from Emperor Ōjin. These were prehistoric entities in the sense that a written language had

not yet been introduced to record events. Similarly in India, Gautama Buddha is retrospectively viewed as having been a prince. In any case, Kūkai's parents were both aristocrats, as commoners did not have family names until a thousand years later. Despite the classless elements in Buddhism, note the disproportionate number of saints who also come from name families when they are introduced later.

Kūkai's parents had six children, with the eldest to the youngest going from right to left in the above chart. Among Kūkai's closest relatives, his much younger brother Shinga and nephew Enchin became great saints, while two other nephews, Chisen and Shinnen came to be included among the Ten Great Disciples of Kūkai. They form a significant part of the core group who established Mikkyō Buddhism in Japan.

Among the Imperial family, Emperor Saga (786-842) was an actual disciple of Kūkai who composed a memorial poem for him. Emperor Junna (786-840) gave a racoon hair calligraphy pen to Kūkai. Prince Takaoka (? -862) became Shinnyō Hō-shinnō, one of the Ten Great Disciples of Kūkai. And Prince Iyo was tutored by Kūkai's uncle Ōtari. Among courtiers, Fujiwara Kadonomaro (765-818) led the expedition to China (with Kūkai on his boat). Fujiwara Fuyutsugu (775-826) was introduced by Emperor Saga and corresponded with Kūkai. Fujiwara Yoshifusa (804-872) aided the founding of Tōji (Shingon headquarters in Kyōto). And Tachibana Hayanari

(779-842), who went to China with Kūkai, was considered one of the Sambitsu or Three Great Calligraphers of the time along with Emperor Saga and Kūkai.⁵⁸ Where religion was such a state function, such connections were necessary to establish Shingon Buddhism in Japan. Whereas Saichō came back early from the same China expedition, reached Emperor Heizei, and Kūkai was held up for three fallow years upon his return. The slightest Imperial favor, such as noted above, was a form of official recognition assuring the necessary co-operation of the central government.

The authors then present a version of the Jūdaiseshi or Ten Great Disciples of Kūkai, which we shall present in greater detail shortly. Among other priests of Kūkai's generation influenced by him were Ginyō (Japanese reading), a Chinese disciple of Hui-kuo along with Kūkai and Shōryū. Saichō (Dangyō Daishi, 767-822) is noted as having gone to China with Kūkai (but on a different boat). Gomyō (750-834) is noted for breaking with Saichō over doctrine. Also Kōjō (Bettō Daishi, 779-858), a disciple of Saichō, entered Takasanzji (a Shingon temple) and received baptism.⁵⁹ The context of rivalry with the other Mikkyō sect implicit here further underlines the necessity to compete for favor at the Heian court. In any case, it would not present a full picture of Kūkai's human environment to consider only his loyal disciples, so we have added court members and rivals to the previous consideration of Kūkai's family and relatives.

Next let us examine what is known about the Jūdai-deshi, and inquire if any of them were from Sanuki. As the Buddha was said to have had Ten Great Disciples, similarly Jūdai-deshi were retrospectively formulated from among Kūkai's disciples.⁶⁰ Versions of Kūkai's great disciples have numbered as many as 16, so we shall not attach much significance to the number except as it likens Kūkai to the Buddha. Leaving the great saints Jichie and Shinga for fuller treatment with the Go-Daishi of Sanuki, let us introduce 12 other of Kūkai's disciples.

Shinzei (800-860), from the Ki family of Kyōto, was a priest of Takaoji, Jingoji and Tōji temples. He presided over the construction of the Five-Story Pagoda of Jingoji and the enshrinement of the Godaikokuzōzō (now a national treasure, five Bodhisattva statues corresponding to the Gochinyorai of the Kongōkai Mandara). He was the second high priest of Tōji after Jichie. He and Shinnen tried to go to T'ang Dynasty China but were turned back by a typhoon. He received Emperors Nimmyō (810-850) and Montoku (827-858) into the priesthood. Kūkai gave him the title Daisōjō (Great High Priest).⁶¹

Taihan was also considered a disciple of Saichō who broke with the latter. With Jichie, Taihan (778-825) preceded Kūkai to Kōya-san to prepare for its founding (as central headquarters of Shingon Buddhism since that time).⁶²

Chisen (789-825) was from the Sugawara family of Shintō priests, but his mother, Kūkai's elder sister, nevertheless became a Buddhist nun named Chienni. Chisen founded Kōyasan Tōnan-in and Yamashiro Hōon-in. As well as being a writer, he learned painting from Kūkai.⁶³ Kūkai wrote a sad elegy for Chisen's early death at 37.⁶⁴

Shinnyō (? -862) was the third son of Emperor Heizei. Shinnyō was in line to become Emperor himself but, foiled by strife among the Fujiwara clan, became a priest.⁶⁵

Dōyū (? -851) was the uncle of Enchin and belonged to Kūkai's Saeki clan. He founded Yamashiro Kainji and was posthumously conferred the rank of Sōjō (High Priest).⁶⁶

Emmyō (? -851) was a priest of Tōji and Tōdaiji, who first studied Sanron Buddhism in Nara Period sect in the curriculum at Tōdaiji.⁶⁷

Gōrin (or Kōrin 767-837. Some names are read differently in different eras) was eight years older than Kūkai (but in a departure from the custom of seniority was nevertheless the latter's disciple). He studied at Tōdaiji and later accompanied Kūkai at the founding of Kōyasan. Kōrin founded Shugakuji in Kyōto and Ise Shuzenji in his home province.⁶⁸

Chūen (? -837) was possibly a descendant of the Fujiwara regents. He was a priest of Takaoji, Jinguji and Tōdaiji, as well as making pilgrimages to many other temples.⁶⁹ He was called Dantō Daihōshi (Great Priest) in a

report by Shinga (Kūkai's brother). Kūkai was moved by his many religious offerings to his departed mother.⁷⁰

Dōshō (798-875, the 11th researched by Kushida) was from the Hata family of Sanuki. He founded Yamashiro Hōrinji⁷¹ at Arashiyama in Kyōto.

Shinzen (804-891), a nephew of Kūkai in the Saeki clan, became head priest of Kongōbuji (the head temple on Kōyasan).⁷²

Shinshō (797-873) founded Yamashiro Zenrinji.⁷³

Shinkyō (Unknown), from the Yuge family, is known only from Kūkai's writings.⁷⁴

The above biographical data may be sketchy, on the one hand, or on the other hand it could be considered that a remarkable number of priests in self-effacing Buddhism so long ago are remembered. While we tend to see concretistic achievements such as founding or heading major Shingon temples, they each left writings, normative commentaries on the Buddhist scriptures revered in Shingon. So besides their association with Kūkai, their writings probably contributed in their own right to their inclusion among the select in history.

Now, turning to the Go-Daishi, the five Imperially Designated great saints from Sanuki, a formulation local to Kagawa Prefecture, the four besides Kūkai will be introduced here. Usually they are presented in the order in which the title Daishi was conferred, with Jichie second, but

sometimes Enchin is placed second to indicate the order of importance.

Jichie (also Jitsue, 786-847) was the first head priest of Tōji, and became Dōkō Daishi by decree of Emperor Gomomozono.⁷⁵ One of Kūkai's 16 disciples, Jichie was from

Kūkai's Saeki clan of Tado-gun, Sanuki. He studied at Taianji in Nara under Taiki, then joined Kūkai upon the latter's return from China. He became head priest of Takaosanji, then of Tōji, where he handled many practical matters such as agriculture and financing. He received the wife of Emperor Junna into the order of Buddhist nuns. Jichie introduced a system for lectures to be held at Shingon temples, and he taught the Dainichi-kyō scripture to Shinnen and Shinshō at the Gold Hall of Kōya-san. By helping to organize and propagate Shingon teachings, he contributed to establishing a foundation for the sect.⁷⁶

Shinga (801-879), Kūkai's younger brother, left Sanuki for Kyōto at age 9, and he studied under Kūkai at Tōdaiji and Tōji. He was the third high priest of Tōji⁷⁷ (while there was still only one head priest. Sometimes the lineage of Tōji is presented as Kūkai, Jichie, Shinzei and then Shinga). Renowned as a reciter, he was invited by the Imperial family to the birth of Seiwa, who became Emperor. With the co-operation of Fujiwara Tadahito he built Taikanji. Shinga ultimately became the high priest of the Shingon sect, and received the title of Hōkō Daishi.⁷⁸

Enchin (814-891) founded the Jimon-ha (branch) of the Tendai sect, and was named Chishō Daishi by Emperor Daigo. At 19 he had his head shaven to become a monk, and at 20 entered Hieiizan Enryakuji (Tendai headquarters on the mountain to the northeast of Kyōto). However, he spent 20 years traveling and practicing elsewhere. He became famous by winning a doctrinal debate against Meisen of the Hossō sect. At 40 he went to T'ang China, first entering Kaigenji in Fukushū Province (Japanese readings), learning Sanskrit from an Indian priest. Then he entered Mount T'ien-t'ai (after which the Tendai sect was named, in southeastern China far from the Capital of Chang-an). Enchin also went to Chang-an where he studied Mikkyō (Chse. Mi-tsung, Esoteric Buddhism). He was in China for six years, and brought back many scrolls of scriptures and commentaries. Upon returning to Japan, he entered Sannō-in on Hiei-zan. Later he became head priest of Enryakuji, conducting lectures and ceremonies for the Heian court. Like Kūkai, he rated the Dainichi-kyō (the Chinese version of the Sanskrit Mahāvairocana-sūtra) highest among scriptures.⁷⁹

Shōbō (832-909) was a Shingon priest of the Ono-ha. Said to be both from Yamato (Nara) and Sanuki, he was also said to descend from Emperors Kōnin and Saga. A disciple of Shinga, he also studied under Heiji at Tōdaiji, studying Kegon Buddhism under Gen'ei, as well as Sanron Buddhism (these two, along with Hossō, were among the six sects of

Nara Period Buddhism). But he returned to Shinga and became a Shingon adherent. He is said to have been a practitioner who favored high mountains. Shôbô is credited with having made a boat harbor on the Yoshino River in Shikoku. He founded Daigoji as a place of rigorous Buddhist practice (shûgyô no dôjô). At the recommendation of Shinnen, he succeeded Shinga as head priest of Teiganji. He became a head priest of Tôji and received the title Sôjô (High Priest.) Shôbô supervised repairs of many temples, and the building of a gate for Tôdaiji (already having the colossal Daibutsu) with 6.6 meter high Nitennô (Two Guardian Kings protecting the temple entrance). The opening ceremony for this Central Gate was said to have been attended by 1,200 priests. He founded the Tônan-in at Tôdaiji as headquarters for the Sanron sect. Finally named Rigen Daishi, among his disciples was Kanken⁸⁰ (see below).

The fact that the great saints from Sanuki introduced above were either Shingon leaders or relatives of Kûkai shows the coattail effect of their association with Kûkai, but there are also indications of how they came to be leaders in their own right. Jichie was apparently a skilled organizer in establishing the new sect in Japan. Shinga, although advantaged by being Kûkai's brother, was a lifelong priest and famous for his reciting skills. Enchin, although Kûkai's nephew, joined a rival sect and is therefore not included among the great disciples of Kûkai. There is no

indication of his motives, but his being skilled as a debater of Buddhist doctrine, and his spending far longer than Kūkai or Saichō studying in different parts of China, may show his independence in being a leader in his own right. As a founder of a sect within Tendai, he was not subordinate to Saichō, either. Shōbō, although a generation removed from Kūkai, shows some characteristics Kūkai was noted for, being a mountain practitioner who could also organize public works projects. Versatile and ecumenical as he apparently was, his origin cannot have it both ways of being from Sanuki and descended from emperors. But as with Kūkai, embellishments of his memory are a tribute to his genuine accomplishments.

Among the more eminent priests associated with Kūkai, who left valued writings and appear in national sources, the number of Sanuki priests presented above were about eight, most of whom had family ties with Kūkai. Others in his family and lesser known priests from Sanuki could also be added. In any case, although the family and provincial loyalty are not surprising, we see a considerable number of Sanuki people following Kūkai into prominence and multiplying his influence.

Up to now we have tended to focus on the formative periods in history, and in this section we have presented a synchronous picture of people directly influenced by Kūkai. Earlier we did see how the flow of later history affected

temples in Zentsûji, the diversification of religious influences from the Kamakura Period and the decline in Shingon due to civil strife and fires, which also devastated Kôya-san more than once. Although it is beyond the scope of this thesis to deal with the whole of history, it may be helpful to glimpse the flow of later Shingon history in terms of individuals.

Let us therefore introduce some eminent priests from Sanuki, representative of the eras after Kûkai, who were indirectly inspired by him and contributed to continuing faith in Kûkai (Kôbô Daishi shinkô) up to the present. They, too, have left writings and have received national recognition despite their provincial origins. It was apparently no handicap to come from Kûkai's province, in contrast with other rural areas. The priests are presented in chronological order, spanning about 900 years.

Kanken (853-925) was from the family of Sanuki. Shôbô brought him to the Heian capital. He also served Shinga (Kûkai's much younger brother, but even Shôbô was born too late to meet Kûkai). Kanken founded Hanyaji (from the Skt. Prajñā-pāramitā-sûtra recited in Shingon ritual). Kanken succeeded Shôbô as head priest of Tôji, and was the first head priest of Daigoji (named after Emperor Daigo, a temple in Kyôto with dozens of national treasures). Kanken was also an administrator and teacher at Kôya-san, while at the same time head priest of Ninnaji in Kyôto. Famous for

his learning and virtue, he was considered an incarnation of Monju-bosatsu. When Kūkai was posthumously designated Kōbō Daishi, Kanken laid the foundation for Kōbō Daishi shinkō. He strengthened some important Shingon temples which had declined upon Kūkai's death.⁸¹ While Kūkai introduced the concept of sokushin jōbutsu (attaining Buddhahood in one's lifetime), Kanken was the first to attribute its realization to Kūkai. This was the 86th year after Kūkai's death (using the volitional term nyūjō. Kanken was the main disciple of Shōbō (Rigen Daishi). He petitioned to Emperor Daigo that Kūkai be designated a great saint.⁸²

Yūhan (1270-1352) was born in what is now Zentsūji City, and at age 62 became the head priest of Zentsūji Temple. He was called the second coming of Kūkai (not the only one so honored). He had traveled to many famous temples, learning the teachings of various sects. He wrote a commentary on the Dainichi-kyō in 80 volumes. He founded the Sanuki-kata (a forerunner of the Zentsūji-ha). He also promoted worship of Kōmpira Daigongen⁸³ at Kōmpira-san in Kotohira when Shingon Buddhism and Shintō were coalesced there.

The latter finding shows that the Kōmpira faith goes back at least to the Kamakura Period. Since the Kotohira-gū claims no such early documentation, it may be a case of the Buddhists, being among the few literate, providing the only historical evidence available, even for Shintō research.

For the study of comparative religion, we have also found terms that can only be translated as "baptism" and "second coming" in Buddhist usage. Earlier when we treated the history of Zentsūji Temple, to add to the above, Yūhan was credited with extensive renovation of the temple and its Five-Story Great Pagoda, as well as accommodating the Shōgun Ashikaga Takauji. He was the only head priest of Zentsūji who was put in a league with its famous visitors by that source.

Zōun (1366-1452 of the Muromachi Period) was a confidant of Emperor Gokomatsu, a painter and sculptor whose learning and virtue were also of a high order.⁸⁴ Born in Sanuki; along with Ranken he is also credited with forming the Daishi shinkō. He studied at Kōya-san, then moved to Kyōto where he learned the skills of painting and sculpture of Buddha-images, absorbing new knowledge in the Capital. Temples and shrines in all the provinces were laid waste by the civil war associated with the brief northern and southern courts (1336-1392), and so the return of Zōun to Sanuki when his master fell ill led to refurbishing many temples and shrines in Sanuki and (its neighboring) Awa Province (now Tokushima Prefecture). Zōun was made a Sōjō (High Priest) by Emperor Gokomatsu. Zōun is the author of "Zentsūji Gyo'ei," a portrait of Kūkai with an image of the Buddha in the upper right inspiring him, which has given great impetus to the Kūkai faith.⁸⁵

Through the career of Zōun some historical changes after the Kamakura Period can be seen. It is implied that not every province had a Zōun to restore the religious institutions damaged in the Namboku Period. It is not uncharacteristic of Shingon priests to also support Shintō as Kūkai did, but Shingon would have declined like the other seven Nara-Heian Buddhist sects if men like Shōbō, Kanken, Yūhan and Zōun in the generations after Kūkai had not maintained the vitality of Shingon. Perhaps in face of the challenge of temporal power to religious authority in the centuries of civil strife it became necessary to elevate Kūkai into a more supernatural being. First Kanken asserted that Kūkai had attained Buddhahood, and the death of Kūkai came to be regarded as something like the Buddha's Pari-Nirvāṇa. Then Zōun gave visual form to the story that Kūkai had seen the Buddha above the mountain behind Zentsūji. Indeed, the way the hagiography of Kūkai tends to coalesce with that of the Buddha, we can be sure that many legends and biographies such as the Chinese version of the Buddha-carita entered Japan along with the Chinese Buddhist sects. Kūkai himself may have been inspired by the story of the Buddha's Great Renunciation to follow Gautama's example.

After Zōun's time the civil strife evidently worsened, and even Zentsūji Temple was not spared. It may be indicative of the religious decline at the hands of violence that here we find the largest gap where Sanuki does not

claim a major Buddhist figure. It is well into the pre-modern Edo Period, whose peace was an uneasy truce between the Tokugawa Shōgunate and provincial Daimyō, that we again start to find Sanuki priests canonized. There was the priest-poet Jiun, a revivalist of Saigyō, and finally his disciple Chikurin.

Chikurin (1760-1800), from the Tada family of Sanuki, was designated a saint (Shōnin) by decree of Zuishin-in in Kyōto.⁸⁶ At age 11 he became a Shingon priest named Dokuyū, and was inspired by Kūkai's Sangō Shiiki (a treatise comparing Buddhism favorably over Confucianism and Taoism, written when Kūkai was only 24). Chikurin entered Kōya-san at age 19. His father was reputed to have been descended from Minamoto Yorimitsu (younger brother of the first Kamakura Period Shōgun), and his mother was from a family of Shintō priests. Chikurin was a disciple of Jiun, who advocated the fusion of Buddhism with Shintō. Chikurin was a Shingon practitioner of zazen meditation, the Shingon Zen of Kūkai, devoting oneself to the attainment of Buddhahood. Even now his devotees chant Namu Chikurin Daibosatsu ("Hail to the Great Bodhisattva Chikurin") along with the Namu Daishi Henjō Kongō of the Kūkai faith. There is still a Chikurin Chakai tea ceremony group that was formed in his honor.⁸⁷

Here we see eclecticism even more than before, almost in proportion to the passage of time since the Heian Period

and to the introduction of new sects of Buddhism. Although it is possible that Kūkai contacted Ch'an Buddhism in China, the assertion of a Shingon Zen attributed to Kūkai before the introduction of Zen Buddhism per se in the Kamakura Period would have to rely on a generic interpretation of Zen as meditation to attain Buddhahood, which was retrospectively credited to Kūkai. But for Chikurin to also be involved in the tea ceremony, it is clear that he participated in Zen Buddhism as well as Shingon. His family background, with a Samurai father (the high class with their Bushidō being attracted to Zen Stoicism as well as the tea ceremony) and a mother from a family of Shintō priests (of equivalent rank to the Samurai for the purposes of marriage), may well have contributed to Chikurin becoming such an eclectic priest of the Edo Period. Like the circumstances of birth of many others in Sanuki, Chikurin Shōnin may have been a Shingon priest primarily because he was born in Kūkai's province.

III. CONCLUSION

Summary of Findings

Without repeating what has been written earlier, let us summarize the research findings in response to the questions raised in the Thesis Statement. We shall present conclusions based on supporting evidence in the research, and discuss some of their specific implications which amplify our argument. In the next section we shall attempt to interpret the contribution of these findings to the understanding of longer term historical developments in Japanese religion.

An investigation of the advent of Kūkai from the viewpoint of his home province has disclosed factors in the local history arguing against the study of Kūkai in isolation. Both historians and representatives of Shingon Buddhism cited in the scholarly literature, as distinct from that of the Kūkai faith, place Kūkai alongside many other factors and individuals meriting historical recognition. We could conclude retrospectively that Kūkai was the outstanding figure in a movement broader than the establishment of a new religious sect. It was the culmination of cultural enrichment from T'ang Dynasty China, which involved virtually the whole Japanese intelligentsia, with Buddhism holding the highest ground in terms of educational, ethical and religious standards. Therefore, as

in China, even Emperors became Buddhists, and a particularly gifted individual such as Kūkai could realize his potential through Buddhism while indigenizing the new Buddhist system of Shingon, adding his own interpretations, among the public far from the ancient capitals.

However, we have emphasized that the culmative cultural progress of Kūkai's province, and his background in the Saeki clan of Zentsūji, made a contribution to the national developments noted above. We found that the relatively high level of culture in rural Sanuki Province, and the evident readiness for religious innovation among the leading Saeki and Wake clans in Zentsūji, provided a preparation for Kūkai to achieve international prominence. If there were any doubt about the latter point, in 1982 China erected a monument to Kūkai in its ancient capital to commemorate Kūkai's lasting contribution to Sino-Japanese relations.

Specifically, local historians claim a relatively high level of cultural achievement in Sanuki from long before Kūkai's time. Tens of thousands of years of human habitation in Zentsūji, with the oldest history in the province, could be thought to facilitate social organization and the introduction of rice agriculture and bronzemaking techniques. The number and quality of archaeological discoveries in the area show a relatively high level of Yayoi Period culture compared to other areas far removed from the capitals. We found that when the people united

into villages to co-operate in the new rice agriculture, government and religion were also united in a sort of theocracy, with bronzeware including swords used for religious ritual, a Japanese innovation. Among the implications are that religion was a central means of social organization from the beginning of Japanese history, and in its continued evolution, such as Buddhism representing the influx of Asian mainland civilization.

Shingon Buddhism spread rapidly from India to Japan, that is, in only 90 years, with the lineage of patriarchs going directly from Amoghavajra to Hui-kuo to Kūkai in 805.⁸⁸ We have shown that the earlier forms of Buddhism spread fairly rapidly from the Nara area to the countryside, with Sanuki not typical of temples decreasing with distance from the Capital. After Buddhism was formally introduced to Japan in about 538, the first temple in Sanuki appeared as early as 55 years later, or as late as the year 665, according to different sources. But local historians have examined the evidence more closely and assert the earlier dates. The study of ruins by analyzing temple tiles and so forth has shown that there were at least 30 temples in Sanuki by the Nara Period, somewhat before Kūkai's time, a disproportionately large number for Sanuki's tiny size and outer island location. And local historians have linked the height of Nara Period Buddhist culture with that of the subsequent Heian Period which produced a large number of

saints including Kūkai. Where the temples were most concentrated in the province, in Zentsūji's county, the majority of Sanuki's saints also emerged. Kūkai is thus placed in historical continuity with events before his time.

Rather than Kūkai transmitting an entirely new religion back to his home town, the central elements of Shingon worship may have found resonance with similar objects of worship already present in Zentsūji, which Kūkai might well have seen in his youth. Unsystematized elements later emphasized in Shingon apparently accompanied earlier waves of Buddhism reaching Zentsūji by the Nara Period. But it is impossible to say exactly how they may have influenced Kūkai.

A Buddhist sect is a certain systematization, emphasizing certain scriptures, divinities and practices without needing to deny other systems. The critical classification of doctrines in Chinese Buddhism was not decisive in Japan, and the individual priests investigated here have shown much eclecticism. While Kūkai, for example, emphasized Yakushi among Pure Land rulers, he still worshipped Amida as well. So when Amidism came to predominate in Japan and even to enter Shingon temples, it could be seen as more in continuity than contradiction with Kūkai's Shingon. This is one case of the flexibility and tolerance to be found in the Buddhist world.

Through the sweep of history in this one location, we can thus make certain observations about Buddhism in Japan. More specifically, the researching of archaeological discoveries in the locality of Kūkai's home town has raised the possibility that Buddhism influenced Kūkai's youth more than previously thought. Particularly, evidence that his family maintained a clan temple in their yard indicates that accepted history and views of Kūkai's family background may have to be reconsidered in this light.

Other findings indicate that Kūkai may have encountered divinities emphasized in Shingon Buddhism in his youthful environment, possibly affecting his selection or recognition of Shingon among the many alternatives available in Chang-an. Usually the vague story of Kūkai discovering a copy of the Dainichi-kyō carries the burden of this explanation. Ruins of a Gochinyorai Hall with images of the Five Buddhas would indicate that Kūkai had access to these divinities in his youth. Today the Five Wisdom Buddhas are in the Five-Story Great Pagoda of Zentsūji, and the persistent identification of the Five Peaks behind Zentsūji with the Five Buddhas has been attributed to Kūkai without proof up to now. But we have presented evidence making direct links to Kūkai more plausible, so that the legends surrounding Kūkai's religious experience atop the tallest of the Five Peaks cannot be dismissed out of hand as a later accretion.

The testimonies of Saigyô and Dôhan were also supportive of this view.

Another finding shows the local history of Buddhism in Zentsûji before Kûkai's time influencing its subsequent history even after Kûkai's return from China. An examination of the temples around Zentsûji accepted to date from Kûkai's time or earlier shows a predominance of Yakushi-nyorai images. In the pilgrimage of 88 temples around Shikoku Island, Yakushi images are most concentrated in Zentsûji. The honzon of four of the 88 temples in a row are of Yakushi, and it is not only at Shingon temples but also the Tendai temple at Enchin's birthplace. They were claimed to have been made by Kûkai and Enchin. The explanation for this pattern might be found in local historical records that an ancestor of Enchin in Zentsûji fashioned an image of the Medicine Buddha to combat a plague in the village there in the late 7th Century.

We have not presented the opinion that Kûkai's clan were a branch of the Ôtomo clan who served the earliest emperors with distinction, because the local histories and reference works on family histories are not sure, but it could have been a factor in the level of culture in the area ruled by the Saekis, if they came from the Capital. With the number of flat bronze swords excavated in Zentsûji being the largest in Japan, they could have resisted the first attempts at national unification or required special

measures by the Imperial court. Incidentally, the population density of Shikoku was formerly the greatest among the principal islands of Japan.

What we have presented is a family tree during Kūkai's time, some of his eminent relatives, and we have cited the view that Kūkai and the other saints related to him benefited from the educational and religious background of his family. And we have indicated that the large number of his relatives active in Buddhism, as well as other disciples and Sanuki priests later inspired by Kūkai's example, multiplied his impact and lasting influence. It is often said that the title of "the great saint" belongs to Kūkai. But by the same token his relatives and other Sanuki priests are disproportionately represented among imperially designated great saints and others appearing in nationwide references on famous Buddhists. It was surprising that even the high priest of the Zentsūji-ha, in his latest book on Kūkai as a human being, echoed historians in placing Kūkai among a Zeitgeist of truthseekers at the dawn of the Heian Period, fortunate in his family being well-educated and religious, and in Sanuki having a high level of Nara Period Buddhism consistent with previous cultural achievement since the Yayoi Period. Since Kūkai wrote an authoritative treatise on the major religions long before going to China, formative influences on Kūkai such as noted here deserve to

be played alongside his experience in China when his career is examined.

We have sought to make a contribution more to influences on Kūkai than by him, but we have also endeavored to describe the temples in Ise-tsuji directly influenced by Kūkai. Taking a historical approach also to the abiding faith in sacred mountains above Kūkai's birthplace, we have shown the mountains to be interrelated to temples ministering to their sacred traditions, with the origins of the temples providing clues as to which religious phenomena were directly related to Kūkai and which were later accretions. Again the writings of Saigyō, Hōnen and Dōban provided a glimpse of Ise-tsuji much closer to Kūkai's time. It is a generic issue in the study of Japanese religion, but we also pointed to a substratum of mountain worship that could have animated people's view of the sacred mountains, while norms in Shingon Buddhist iconography made sense of the particular arrangement, even though the same combination of mountain-riding divinities cannot be found elsewhere.

Discussion of Implications

We have addressed all the questions raised as thesis goals, and have discussed some of their specific implications. Here we shall first attempt to discuss the importance of Ise-tsuji to Kūkai studies more explicitly, with a view to a similar approach being applicable to the

study of other historical figures in Japan. Then we shall endeavor to discuss some implications of the research findings toward understanding long-term historical developments in Shingon Buddhism and Japanese religion.

The fact that the findings have contributed to some extent to a fuller perspective on Kūkai and the development of Shingon Buddhism shows the value of researching city and prefectural histories along with archaeological findings in the study of Japanese religion. When we reflect that there is always an implicit viewpoint in a study, whether it be on Japan from the outside or inside, as part of Asia, in comparison with other areas, in some abstract or, doubtfully, universal perspective, the selection of the home province of Kūkai turns out to be in accord with the viewpoint of the Japanese on site. Since only in the local prefecture is such detailed information available on its history, this approach can be applied to the study of other religious figures and movements, which are after all rooted in specific locations.

A place may not appear to be more than an arbitrary area of space, yet human communities founded on consistency of action develop a continuity that gives the area a local character. Capsule introductions of Japanese today start with what prefecture the individual was born in, and in the past, similarly individuals were identified by their province of origin, hence Kūkai was a "man of Sanuki." Our

study may be the first outside of the vernacular to accept the credence the Japanese place in Kūkai's circumstances of origin. Just as the abstract nature of time may be taken for granted by Western people as a parameter of events, the palpable sense of space as place may be taken for granted by Japanese biographers, though its viewpoint is assumed in the local literature throughout. There does not seem to be a Japanese study of the relation of Kūkai to Zentsūji, perhaps because it would constitute a sort of redundancy. Our study makes explicit a connection that has been taken for granted by Japanese authors, and is lost only in abstracting Kūkai from the environment around him.

Here the advent of Kūkai was seen from the viewpoint of his home province, and the later history of Zentsūji temples and Sanuki priests were seen to reflect historical changes in subsequent eras. But what we have said in no way detracts from the study of Kūkai from other perspectives, because his thought, for example, can also be seen to reflect historical trends and find application in the philosophy of religion. The approach we have taken, however, relying on primary sources in the field, uncovers an actual Japanese viewpoint.

Thus, the importance of this study can be seen in its contribution of new biographical information, providing a fuller perspective on Kūkai by filling in the environment and sweep of history preceding and following him, and

reflecting the viewpoint of Japanese scholars toward these issues. Specifically, many questions have been raised pertaining to Kūkai and his place of origin, and while some questions remain questions, to have shed light on them may well have some value for future researchers. The methods practiced here such as using local libraries, augmenting historical with archaeological sources, and so forth, have seemed to be helpful in bringing to light the most detailed information available. At the same time, the selection of Zentsūji would seem to be vindicated by the research being able to shed light on difficult questions concerning the formative stages of Japanese Buddhist history. From this experience it can be concluded that the closer one man and one location are investigated, the more deeply the religion and country they represent can be understood.

This brings us to the second aim of this epilogue: to discuss the broader implications of the research findings. The most detailed chronologies of Kūkai's life have scarcely any notations about his youth in Sanuki. In Kūkai's rare personal remarks in the Sangō Shiiki, he mentions certain areas elsewhere in Shikoku where his religious practices evidently met success. Outside of Sanuki (Kagawa), the incentive would be to consider Kūkai a man of Japan if not more, the object of the personality cult of Kōbō Daishi shinkō. The scholarly view of Kūkai in terms of abstruse Shingon theory can also do without his provincial.

background. We have augmented these views with that of Kūkai as a man of Sanuki. Without investigating the early history of his home province, it could be assumed that his mind was a tabula rasa absorbing Shingon Buddhism faithfully amid the golden age of T'ang, but we have seen that he contributed to Shingon, and the miracle stories need not carry the whole burden of explaining why he chose or recognized Shingon among all the alternatives in Chang-an. And the local scholars and some Shingon priests, instead of concentrating on Kūkai as would be expected, place so many people among his peers that it becomes clear that he was both a man of the Saeki clan of Zentsūji as well as of the Zeitgeist of his times.

A close view of local history found unexpected continuity between Kūkai's Shingon and events before his time in the villages around his home. Basic tendencies such as mountain worship pre-dated Kūkai, influenced his approach to religion, and have endured to the present in Japanese religion. The finding of volcanic cone-shaped kofun from centuries before Kūkai's time serving as the shintai for shrines in Zentsūji today, underscores both the continuity to be found and the value of close observation in the field to find perhaps hitherto unknown religious phenomena.

Civilisation and culture are cumulative and thus have continuity. Moreover, we have seen that the relative level of cultural achievement can carry over from one era to the

next, though cultural symbols around which societies organize tend to change. We saw that Zentsūji had the earliest human presence in the prefecture, a great number of dōtaku and dōken in the Yayoi Period, then a great number of tumuli in the Kofun Period. Its county area was ruled by the Saeki clan of aristocratic origins, then a large number of temples appeared in the province before Kūkai's time. Along with Kūkai, many other saints emerged from Zentsūji and Sanuki, until civil strife in the Middle Ages damaged Buddhist institutions. After that cultural decline, with a more supernatural image of Kūkai as impetus, again beatified individuals emerged from Sanuki in the Edo Period enforced peace, and Shingon has grown to be a religion of over 13 million people today.

While we have placed Kūkai in the context of that continuity, on the other hand it cannot be doubted that each historical period had its own characteristics. Thus the Buddhism of each period could be prefixed by the period's name. In the case of the historical development of Shingon Buddhism, the perspectives of both temple histories and individual biographies show how Japanese Buddhism was altered with the changing times. Only under the banner of Kōbō Daishi shinkō could Shingon avoid the decline that all of the seven original Buddhist sects of the Nara and Heian periods underwent.

In the Kamakura Period when Pure Land Buddhism swept the country, Shingon institutions absorbed its popular currents rather than holding to the elite Asian tradition. Since the change was permanent, Shingon survived by adapting to it. The traditional monastic austerities which required a wholly Buddhist lifestyle gave way to pragmatic tendencies, folk religious elements, the marriage of priests, and so forth, such that the Indian religion of overcoming desire became an instrument in its fulfillment.

As Kūkai had set up Shintō shrines to worship on Kōyasan, Shingon was in the forefront of eclectic combinations of Buddhism and Shintō, the so-called Ryōbu Shintō closely associated with Shingon. Some of the individuals we investigated continued to support Shintō until the Edo Period, and this may have been another source of Shingon's resilience, having always been allied with the indigenous religion. When the two religions were forcibly separated with the Meiji Restoration, the personality cult probably had to be more emphasized, but it became increasingly possible to travel long distances and experience Kōbō Daishi shinkō directly through the Pilgrimage of Shikoku. Because of its generic appeal and the tolerant precedent set by Kūkai himself, members of all different Buddhist sects join the pilgrimage, whose temples even include those of other Buddhist sects besides Shingon.

Suggestions for Further Research

We have touched upon what the investigation of one area has taught us about continuity within the development of a school of Buddhism in Japan. More evidence could be brought to bear on the research findings and the questions they raise; archaeologists are still digging in Zentsūji City. Instead of the formative history stressed here, the later history or contemporary situation could alternatively be investigated. However, it would seem more valuable if this study gave indications of how to proceed and what to look for in the research of other locations in Japan.

The investigation of the flow of history from the viewpoint of other prefectures would provide grounds of comparison for determining the relative historical importance of uninvestigated locations, institutions and individuals. The question of regional variations versus nationwide historical trends could also be thereby addressed. As one example, did other provinces besides Sanuki witness peaks of cultural achievement during times of peace and cultural borrowing, as opposed to periods of civil strife, by the indicator of Buddhist saints emerging?

There has been a slight overlap with the neighboring town of Kotohira, whose mountain shrine has been called one of the uninvestigated cultic centers of Japan by Dr. Allan Grapard. But today it is difficult to study Buddhism and Shintō together, because of institutional partisanship.

Indeed, the effects of the disunification of Buddhism and Shintô at Kotohira and elsewhere is a little investigated area and one of high priority in understanding modern Japanese religion.

Whatever the investigation, it is advisable to clarify the viewpoint of Japanese historians and interested parties, indeed to make explicit what viewpoint is represented in the study. We have seen that local histories naturally have the viewpoint of their locale in reference to the whole of Japan or to comparable regions implicitly in mind, but that they also provide detailed and documented information not found in the literature on religion itself, because specific religious events and forms are so much of the cultural achievement emphasized in local histories.

In the investigation of formative periods in history, archaeological studies can be very helpful, and they are continuing in Japan. The vernacular newspapers often print archaeological discoveries as lead front page stories which are not printed at all in English language newspapers. The vernacular media, which shows an abiding concern for Japanese roots, is therefore another source for leads, and shows what Japanese scholars are researching now. As one recent example, a 5,000 year old peach seed and hollowed-out canteen discovered in northern Kyûshû provide stronger evidence than ever of Chinese migration.

Field research in cultural anthropology and other auxiliary disciplines to the study of religion would also be useful in reconstructing the role of religion in daily life in ancient times, as the vast majority of people are overlooked in selective historical studies. Only from the Edo Period does the literature of the time start to reflect the daily life of a large segment of the people. Ancient people as an expression of Yamatodamashi is a favorite topic of Japanese writers in search of their soul, so such sources would have to be viewed with caution. Actually, daily religious life and rituals are too little understood in the early eras and could be considered another priority for future investigations.

Finally, it is recommended that an international conference be held on religion in local areas. Of course, this involves many distinct areas such as historical and contemporary, one religion in different areas or different religions in one area or different areas, which could be blocks within the conference. This may help standardize methodological principles to take to the field, which would then permit comparative studies of religion in different areas and countries. In Buddhist studies it may be relevant not to stop at the generalization that Buddhism avoided cultural imperialism, but to show some of the ways this intercultural harmony was realized in various places in Asia.

FOOTNOTES

1. Shimomaka, Kunihiko ed., Sekai Daihyakka-jiten, Vol. 30, p. 345.
2. Matsumoto Toyotsugu et al., Kagawa Shidan: Kôko, pp. 55-57.
3. Shikoku Shimbunsha, Kagawa-ken Daihyakka-jiten, p. 712.
4. Zentsûji-shi Kikakuka, Zentsûji-shi Shi, p. 179.
5. Kagawa Chihôshi Kenkyûkai, Sanuki no Rekishi, p. 380.
6. Matsumoto, op cit, pp. 17-21.
7. Zentsûji-shi, op cit, pp. 179-81.
8. Matsumoto, op cit, pp. 25-27.
9. Zentsûji-shi, op cit, p. 195.
10. Matsumoto, op cit, pp. 40-44.
11. Zentsûji-shi, op cit, pp. 259-66.
12. Kagawa Daigaku, Kagawa-ken Sôgô Kyôdo Kenkyû, pp. 81, 85.
13. Kagawa Chihôshi Kenkyûkai, op cit.
14. Kagawa Daigaku, op cit, pp. 81f, 85.
15. Ibid, p. 70.
16. Zentsûji-shi, op cit, pp. 797-99.
17. Basu Zenryû, Ningen Kôbô Daishi, p. 4.
18. Ibid, pp. 4-7.
19. Ibid, pp. 6-8.
20. Ibid, pp. 9-11.
21. Nakamura Hajime, Bukkyô-go Daijiten, pp. 75, 494.
22. Zentsûji-shi, op cit, pp. 728f.
23. Nakao Takashi, Shikoku, Kyûshû no Kôji, p. 157.

24. Sôga Tetsuo ed., Tampô Nihon no Koji, Vol. 15, p. 187.
25. Kanaoka Shûyû, Koji Meisatsu Jiten, p. 324.
26. Sawa Ryûken, Mikkyô Jiten, p. 305.
27. Zentsûji-shi, op cit.
28. Kagawa-ken Toshokan Kyûkai, Sanuki Mono Shirô Jiten, p. 28.
29. Ibid, pp. 224-26.
30. Zentsûji-shi, op cit, pp. 738-40.
31. Sogô Shinzan, Sanuki Koji Junrei, p. 224.
32. Zentsûji-shi, op cit, p. 736.
33. Ibid, pp. 805f.
34. Shikoku Shimbunsha, op cit, pp. 338f.
35. Moriya Kenrô ed., Kûkai to Shingon Mikkyô, pp. 100ff.
36. Sôga, op cit, p. 59.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. Kajiwara Aisui, ed., Rakun Sanuki Meishô Zue, p. 646.
40. Zentsûji-shi, op cit, p. 795.
41. Zennihon Bukkyô-kai et al, Zenkoku Jûin Meikan, Vol. for W. & S. Japan, p. 110.
42. Nakao, op cit.
43. Zentsûji-shi, op cit, pp. 746f.
44. Zennihon Bukkyô-kai, op cit.
45. Kagawa-ken Toshokan Kyûkai, op cit, p. 22.
46. Inui Santarô, Kôbô Daishi Taniôchi no Kenkyû, pp. 64-66.
47. Kajiwara, op cit.
48. Ibid, p. 646.

49. Sasaki Nobutsuna ed., (Saigyô's) Sangashû, pp. 112-14.
50. Kajiura, op cit, p. 648.
51. Kanaoka, op cit, p. 322.
52. Kagawa Daigaku, op cit, p. 684.
53. Kotooka Mitsushige, Kotohira-gû, p. 43.
54. Matsumoto Seichô, Mikkyô no Suigen o Miru, p. 51.
55. Zentsûji-shi, Appendix.
56. Sawa, op cit, pp. 306, 524.
57. Ibid, p. 55.
58. Wakamori Tarô et al, Kôbô Daishi Kûkai, p. 73.
59. Ibid.
60. Kushida Ryôkô, Kûkai no Kenkyû, p. 367.
61. Sawa, op cit, pp. 217, 414.
62. Ibid, p. 480.
63. Ibid, pp. 496f.
64. Kushida, op cit, p. 408.
65. Sawa, op cit, p. 417.
66. Ibid, p. 524.
67. Ibid, p. 58.
68. Ibid, p. 200.
69. Ibid, p. 499.
70. Kushida, op cit, p. 431.
71. Sawa, op cit, p. 520.
72. Ibid, p. 417.
73. Ibid, p. 463.
74. Ibid, p. 456.

75. Ibid, p. 306.
76. Shimonaka Kunihiko ed., Nihon Jimmei Daijiten, Vol. 3, p. 242.
77. Sawa, op cit, pp. 402f.
78. Shimonaka, op cit, pp. 408f.
79. Ibid, Vol. 4, p. 502.
80. Ibid, Vol. 3, p. 393.
81. Shikoku Shimbunsha ed., Kagawa-ken Jimbutsu Jimmei Jiten, p. 30.
82. Hasuo Zenryū ed., Kōbō Daishi Kūkai, pp. 128-30.
83. Shikoku Shimbunsha ed., Kagawa-ken Daihyakkaizen, p. 944.
84. Sawa, op cit, p. 442.
85. Hasuo ed., op cit, pp. 136f.
86. Shikoku Shimbunsha ed., Kagawa-ken Jimbutsu Jimmei Jiten, p. 54.
87. Hasuo ed., op cit, pp. 132f.
88. Kanaoka Shūyū, Bukkyō Shūha Jiten, pp. 109-14.

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