

CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT IN SŌTŌ ZEN BUDDHISM

-An investigation of the publications and teachings of the sect in the light of their cultural and historical context.

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This thesis examines the contemporary thought and themes in the teachings of the Sōtō Zen Buddhist sect in Japan. It first seeks to draw the parameters within which the sect functions, at the interstices of an historical tradition in Buddhism and a national and religious culture in Japan. The sect has remained within the Mahayana Buddhist mainstream in its assimilation of Japanese traits, and it is this ability to assimilate and adapt that has been at the core of the sect's growth as a Japanese religious sect of Buddhism. This ability to adapt is shown in the modern age and is seen to have had a formative influence on the structure of the sect's belief and teaching for the modern age: this trait is one that has been part of the sect since its very earliest days in Japan.

In this context, the contemporary publications of the sect are analysed. An appendix provides a detailed summary of them. Methodological works, aimed at the specialist priesthood, are analysed to show the basic intent of the sect's thinkers, and the aims they espouse. These focus on two areas: those who are members of the sect in a social setting and those who have no interest in the social side of religion but have in the more specialist (e.g. meditational) aspects, and the major themes and ways of talking to these different categories are examined, as are the overriding themes of the sect's publications, such as the failures of modern society (criticised for its materialism) and the decline of traditional feelings of community. The sect's answers are set out, and the possible contradictions between the sect's basic teachings and its social roles are examined, along with the sect's answers and explanations of such discrepancies. It is shown that there are a number of concurrent themes in contemporary Sōtō publications and that these co-exist because the sect seeks to speak to different categories of people at the same time: it is an all-encompassing sect, not one with a rejectionist stance. This diversity, alongside the unity of structure, organisation and teaching, which in themselves are able to accommodate diverse currents, forms the basis of the sect's size and continued stability in Japan's rapidly changing society. The divergent themes within the sect are typified not only by the sect's own imagery but by the writings of some of its leading figures, and a comparison is made of two priests who have held leading positions in the sect, to show this. The conclusion reiterates the theme of unity and diversity, while pointing to possible sources of weakness within the sect's thinking, while suggesting that its history of adaptability provides grounds for believing that the sect will resolve such weaknesses and problems.

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NOTES ON PRESENTATION AND CONVENTIONS USED

Throughout this thesis, all quotes are given in English. When these have been taken from Japanese sources, they have been translated by me and the Japanese text has been given in kanji in the footnotes. In order to maintain an uncluttered main text, I have kept all Japanese to the footnotes glossaries and bibliography.

All quotes directly from English have been given with double quotation marks "...", while those translated from Japanese have single marks '...'. In order to maintain a uniformity of translation, I have used my own translations of seminal texts such as Dōgen's Shōbōgenzō and Keizan's Denkōroku. This is in no way a criticism of such translations as are available, for they have in turn been helpful in my understanding of the texts, but is a reflection of the desirability of maintaining one standard of translation style throughout. Most, if not all, modern translation of Dōgen, whether into English or modern Japanese is in itself an interpretation as much as a translation, in part at least because of the often obscure and poetic style Dōgen used at times. For the Shōbōgenzō, I have used the edition of the text compiled by Dr. Ōkubo Dōshu published by Chikuma Shobō, Tokyo in 1971, as it is the most authoritative version and the most widely accepted edition in the Sōtō sect.

In the footnotes, the Japanese text of quotes has been given without romanisation: Japanese speakers will work from the kanji and romanised script will be of no more help to the non-Japanese speaker than would kanji. In the bibliography I have given both the kanji and the romanisation of the work, author and publisher's names, along with a translation of the title, designated by the sign (i.e....); this is so as to give the non-Japanese speaker some idea of the titles of works which form the source material from which I have worked. In the footnotes I have only used romanised script for names of author and work. In using Japanese names I have maintained the Japanese convention of family name first. When the work is in English, Japanese names are at times given in reverse (i.e. Western) order, and in these cases I have used the name as it appears in the work. This means that, for example, the Sōtō academic Masunaga Reihō, who has authored a work in English is cited as Reihō Masunaga in that work. In the bibliography, I have given the author's name as it appears in the work and have indicated the family name, i.e. the name under which the book will be classified in catalogues and library indexes.

Japanese names always seem to pose problems. There have been one or two instances where an author's name kanji have been given without indications as to how the kanji should be read: this is a problem familiar to all Japanese speakers. When there has been no indication of the reading of the name, I have used P.G.O'Neill Japanese Names (Weatherhill, New York 1972) as a reference. The Buddhist practice in Japan of using on readings for given name kanji has enabled me to fathom many names that do not occur in O'Neill's book.

Chinese names have been given in their Japanese reading. The only exceptions are those who are more widely known by their Chinese name: in such cases both the Japanese and Chinese have been given in the following manner:

the Sixth Patriarch in China, Enō (in Chinese: Hui Neng).

All Sanskrit names or words derived from Sanskrit have been given in the most standard romanised form without diacritical marks (i.e. Shakyamuni rather than Śākyamuni, etc).

Temple names have been given as they occur in Japanese: thus, I refer to Eihei-ji rather than to Eihei temple (the -ji suffix means temple) as I feel this is more natural. Throughout this thesis, as with all works on Japanese religion and with generally accepted attitudes, the word 'temple' refers to a Buddhist institution and 'shrine' to a Shinto one.

There are two glossaries at the end of the thesis. These are for terms and names. They are as follows:

i) general terms : all terms relating to Buddhism, to Japanese religion in general, or to Japanese things, e.g. amazake (sweet drink made and drunk at temples at hanamatsuri) and so on.

These are marked with a single asterisk * the first time they occur in the text. In the glossary, an explanation of the term will be given.

ii) names : people, temples, deities, texts, sects, etc. These will be marked with a double asterisk ** the first time they occur. In the glossary, temple locations, etc, have been given. No geographical names have been given.

Where a Japanese term has occurred in the text, it has been underlined (e.g. p.4 kami). Text names also have been underlined (e.g. Shushōgi).

I have used diacritical marks in the text when using Japanese words and names (e.g. Sōtō) except in cases of cities which are well enough known in English without (e.g. Tokyo, Osaka and Kyoto).

One or two very common words such as zazen, which have come to have common currency in the West, have been used without being underlined, and one or two similar words from the Sanskrit (dharma, karma and so on) are similarly used.

Certain words and terms that occur frequently and that require a standardised form are as follows:

Shinkōshūkyō: this I have always designated as 'New Religions' as this is the term most widely used for this term in English, complete with capital letters.

So: in the Zen context, this is invariably translated as 'Patriarch' with a capital letter, to designate those teachers considered to be parts of the Zen lineage.

Sōtōshūshūmūchō: this is the name of the central office and headquarters of the Sōtō sect in Japan. I have translated this as 'Sōtō Head Office' in the thesis, partly because of brevity and partly because the title sums up a certain nuance of feeling about the Head Office in a corporate sense, one that will become clear on reading Chapters Four, Five and Six in particular. In the footnotes and bibliography, this title has been abbreviated to SSSMC.

Throughout the second part of the thesis, reference has been made to Appendix One, which is a table summarising sect publications. Each has been numbered (see introduction to Appendix One). In the text, where reference is made to them, it will be by number as follows:

'....(Appendix One, no.45)' Or

'....(number 45)'.

There is one long quote from an English work produced by the sect which I have used as it is (on p.130). I mention this solely because the English used therein is perhaps a little peculiar to the English ear: it is, in short, what many who have lived in Japan have come to know and love as Japlish (or "English as she is Japped", in the words of Basil Hall Chamberlain).

Long quotes have been indented in 1½ spacing: the rest of the main text is in double spaced type. The table in Appendix One is, for reasons of space and convenience, in single spacing, while the bibliography and glossaries are in 1½ spacing.

Normally, I have not translated titles of Japanese works that occur in the text except where such translation helps to illustrate a point: in such cases, the translation is marked by (i.e....).

The translations are done with a regard for literal accuracy rather than literary style, so as to convey the closest possible meaning. I apologise that in doing thus I may have made the quotes at times somewhat stilted and wooden. In the longer translations given in Appendix Four I have attempted to use a more flowing style, in keeping with the style of the leaflets translated. All errors and inaccuracies are, needless to say, mine alone.

Throughout this thesis two words that could pose problems are 'monk' and 'priest'. Although there is no differentiation in the use of the Japanese word(s) used to denote the category of ordained cleric there is a general difference in the general meaning in English. I have attempted to maintain uniformity by using the term 'monk' to denote those who are single and training at temples, and 'priest' to denote those who run danka temples and who as a rule have a family. As there is no formal difference between these types in Japan, occasional confusion may arise: suffice to say that, whereas the word 'priest' is more often used herein, where the description 'monk' is applied it pertains to an unmarried trainee.

Various abbreviations have been used in the footnotes and bibliography: these have been set out in the introduction to the bibliography on page 502.

P A R T O N E

THE SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

CHAPTER ONETHE JAPANESE CONTEXT

The Sōtō Zen sect has, according to its own estimate,¹ some 15,000 temples and eight million adherents, while figures issued by the Japanese Agency for Cultural Affairs² cite 14,763 temples and 6,871,720 adherents. One must, however, be wary of such figures with regard to adherents, for surveys have a tendency in Japan to produce statistics that do not tally with the actual population. In a 1976 study³ there were 191,026,130 adherents of religious groups in Japan, yet the 1975 census shows that there were only 111 million people in the country.⁴ The survey of the Agency for Cultural Affairs notes that figures are distorted both by the practice of religious groups counting all members of a household as adherents if that household is traditionally or theoretically affiliated to the group, and by what it terms "the syncretistic orientation espoused by the traditional religions"⁵: in other words, the traditional religions of Shinto and Buddhism do not form rigid and exclusive entities, but may overlap to the extent that people may declare themselves to be both Shinto and Buddhist at the same time without feeling any sense of contradiction.

Historically, there has been a continuous theme of interpenetration and co-existence between Shinto and Buddhism and this has formed one of the major features of Japanese religious history since the sixth century A.D. when Buddhism first made its appearance in Japan. It is this long process of interaction that has produced the environment in which an affirmative response may be given to both without any notion of contradiction. Buddhism, which came to Japan from China by way of Korea, entered the country at first as an alternative magico-religious system used by the emergent ruling classes of the developing Japanese state as a means of support and way of welding together that state, rather than as a spiritual system in its own right. It gained the support of the rulers at the Emperor's court and became, in Hōri's words, "the spiritual principle of the empire system".⁶ The Buddhistic ability to take on, encompass and co-exist with local traditions, deities and beliefs, taking on what Conze (1980) has described as "the colouring of the social conditions in which it lived"⁷ has been demonstrated in the works of Tambiah on Thailand⁸ and of Ames on Sri Lanka⁹ and has been expressed in the Far East by the honji suijaku* (i.e. true nature/trace manifestation) theory which, as Alicia Matsunaga has pointed out,¹⁰ had its origins in India and which explains that deities are trace manifestations of the true nature of Buddha and hence are to be assimilated and accommodated rather than attacked and expunged. While Buddhism on the one hand was able to accept and accommodate local

customs, Shinto, on the other, by its intrinsic polytheistic nature, was able to admit new deities from outside, and the Japanese, according to Sahashi Bunju:

'having explained Buddhas as
'foreign gods', brought them
into the midst of the time
honoured gods as new members',¹¹

With such a background, it was not long before Shinto deities began to indicate their approval of the teachings of Buddhism by moving (or being moved) into the precincts of Buddhist temples: for example, the deity Usa Hachiman, according to the Shinto priests who tended his shrine, expressed a desire to protect the newly-built Great Buddha Hall of Tōdaiji in Nara, and so was moved to a shrine in the temple grounds.¹²

Buddhism and Shinto have in such ways co-existed for the last 1400 years, and at most Buddhist temples in Japan a shrine dedicated to a Shinto guardian deity may be found. More fundamental are the complementary roles that they have taken on in everyday life, especially in the life of the household, and this is expressed by the common phrase: 'the marriage ceremony is before the gods, the funeral ceremony before the Buddha'.¹³ This exhibits the mutual relationship of the two, showing both the similarities and the areas of differentiation. In the eyes of the household, the Shinto kami* (i.e. deities) perform one task, the Buddhist pantheon another,

but both are necessary. Both the Shinto kamidana* (shelf for household deities) and the Buddhist butsudan* (memorial altar for the dead) can and do occur in the same house, and in this area the two religions can be viewed as parts of a whole rather than as separate entities. Religion in this context is part of the life-cycle of the individual and family and can be termed non-differentiated religion, concerned with social events and stages of life, as well as ways of doing things, concerned with the calendrical cycle and responses and reactions to change within the community, rather than with theological and philosophical concepts of "truth", "reality" and so on.

In such a situation, it is not too difficult to understand the ability of the Japanese to give such seemingly dualistic responses to surveys: yes, they are Shinto, for they have a kamidana, and yes, they are Buddhist because they have a butsudan in the house, and the family visits the temple on the occasion of deaths and to have services said for the dead. It is also possible to understand how some two-thirds of those interviewed in the same survey could state that they hold no religious belief.¹⁴ Actions performed at a shrine or temple may in truth be social actions performed in the traditionally prescribed setting and manner (e.g. funerary rites at the temple) for reasons connected to social customs and the welfare of the community, as with the belief that it is necessary to adjust the

relationship between the living and the dead and to carry out the rites deemed necessary to transfer the dead to the ancestral realm. Because such actions have, by custom, to be performed in a particular setting, the participants are acting in accord with social rather than spiritual or religious principles, and so those who describe their households as Buddhist may be indicating a social fact, while holding or espousing no belief in Buddhist teachings as such.

At this point, it must be pointed out that, for some two hundred years during the Tokugawa** regime, Japan was closed to the outside world and that, during this time, temples functioned as village or local offices, keeping records of all citizens, showing that they were not adherents of the proscribed kirishitan (i.e. Christian) religion. Everyone was compelled to belong to a temple and to pledge allegiance to it, and this caused the development of an hereditary system whereby succeeding generations of a family belonged to the same temple. Such family-temple connections are rooted not in belief but historical necessity, amalgamated with hereditary tradition and local availability, for people naturally were registered at the nearest temple. From the period of the sakoku* (i.e. closing of the country) onwards, everyone in Japan has had, at least formally, a family connection with a temple and, in the words of Nakamura, "that connection has chiefly been through funeral services"¹⁵ for, as has already been mentioned, the area where the temple

most directly comes into contact with the social system is through such services. The link between household and temple therefore does not imply any spiritual allegiance: rather it shows that the figures cited (above, page 1) really mean that some six to eight million people now alive in Japan are likely to have their, and their family, funeral services performed at Sōtō temples. Size, in numerical terms, has a close relationship to the catchment area of temples, and of course to the number of temples a sect possesses and has affiliated, dating from previous centuries, and it also has a relationship to the wealth of individual sects, because, as Smith, Embree and Hōri have all pointed out¹⁶ the bulk of temple and sect income comes from the performance of these funerary services.

It would, however, be wrong to write Japanese Buddhism off as no more than a system for dealing with the dead (an analysis Smith makes)¹⁷ and as an adjunct of the social system, for this disregards the many contributions Buddhism has made to Japanese culture¹⁸ and neglects the wealth of philosophic thought that has developed in the Japanese Buddhist world (and later in this thesis some consideration will be given to this with regard to Sōtō). This view also ignores the many who have over the centuries devoutly practiced and believed in the Buddhist way in Japan. At another level, it also overlooks the role the temple has traditionally filled as a centre of entertainment and as a centre for petitionary prayers. Watanabe states that it is

common for the Japanese to visit temples for purposes of enjoyment, to hold a picnic in quiet surroundings and so on, and he considers that 'it may be one of the distinctive features of the Japanese is that they do not distinguish between religion and enjoyment'.¹⁹

Certainly, this custom of visiting temples for enjoyment is one that can be commonly observed in Japan, especially, one may note, in the modern age when, with the rapid growth of industry and population, there are less and less tranquil places to visit within easy reach of the cities. To cite one example, the small temple Jōkōji** of the Myōshinji** lineage of the Rinzai** denomination, is situated on a quiet hillside some 15 miles from Nagoya. In the week, it is quiet, but at the weekend there is a continual stream of visitors, who come not so much to pray or worship as to enjoy the scenery and peace in the hills, yet only a few miles from the city. According to one of the priests who live at Jōkōji, the major use of the temple precincts is for activities such as picnicking: the 150 or so families affiliated to the temple, who will probably have their funerary rites performed there, rarely, if ever, come to the temple.²⁰

Temple visits are not solely confined to such excursions, nor to the historically related tourist visits to the old capitals of Nara and Kyoto; visiting temples has a close link to other events related to the calendrical cycle and to fairs and prayer festivals that occur at regular intervals in the precincts of

numerous temples. Not all temples are concerned solely with the performance of household rites for affiliated families: there are other temples that can be classed not as danka* (i.e. family-member) temples but as prayer temples. These may in fact have a number of families (danka) attached to them, but their primary function and importance revolves around the belief that they, for some reason, are considered to be able to intercede and have prayers and petitions granted. This power may have been acquired in a number of ways and for a number of reasons: the possession of a statue held to be powerful, especially on special days, is a common one. An example of this would be the recently constructed wooden statue of the Bodhisattva* of compassion and mercy, Kannon**, at Chōkokuji**, a branch temple in Tokyo of the Sōtō head temple Eiheiji**. On the 18th of every month, there is a special prayer day when the statue is said to be receptive to prayers: at other times it is receptive but this day is most efficacious.²¹ Connection with a powerful figure from the past is another reason for a temple's having a reputation as a prayer temple: for instance, the Sōtō temple Saijōji** at Mount Daiyū near Odawara in Kanagawa prefecture, whose protective deity is Dōryō**, once a practitioner of Shugendō** before coming to Saijōji to study under Ryōan**, the founder of the temple, in 1394. Dōryō developed spiritual power so great that, as the temple leaflet suggests, it would be beyond the comprehension of the modern world.²²

When his teacher died, Dōryō considered that his work in the world was finished and, according to legend, vowed that he would become the guardian of the temple; he then turned himself into a tengu* (a long nosed goblin with magical powers) and vanished into the forest, where he is said to still protect the temple. Statues of tengu abound at Saijōji and there is a constant stream of visitors seeking his help. They come throughout the year, but especially on the 27th and 28th of each month, to present their prayers: these days are regarded as auspicious.

Prayers and petitions are felt to have great efficacy in many areas of life in Japan, and there are many places at which it is considered useful to present them. According to the Lotus Sutra, the bodhisattva Kannon has vowed to listen to the prayers of all and, for this reason, is a much petitioned figure. Statues of Kannon are common at temples and they often become the focus for prayers and entreaties. Moreover, statues of Kannon are often erected independently of temples at, for example, cross-roads to guard passing travellers, or as giant figures to guard a whole area. At Ōfuna, near Yokohama, a giant figure of Kannon, erected with support from the Sōtō sect, presides over the town, while at the small town of Nirasaki in Yamanashi prefecture there is a statue of Kannon erected by the town's citizens to protect the town from floods. Kannon has a multi-faceted power, manifested by her appearance in various guises and forms which fit with the needs and demands of the environment.

At Zempōji**, a temple of the Sōtō sect near Tsuruoka in Yamagata prefecture, which is also, like Saijōji, a training centre for Sōtō priests, there is a statue of Kannon holding a fishing basket; she is able to grant prayers for safety at sea and for good catches of fish. Zempōji is situated close to the sea in an area which historically depended to a great degree on fishing. Although modern development has alleviated the dependence on fishing, the temple is still a centre for prayers concerned with the sea and also with agriculture, for it says prayers for rain (shin-u*) whilst, in keeping with the changing nature of Japanese society, it also has become a centre for prayers for road-safety (kōtsū anzen*), an aspect of the machine age which seems to concern the Japanese a great deal; kōtsū anzen prayers are one of the commonest forms of activity at temples these days. At Zempōji, prayers may be proffered at any time, but there are special festival days when they are most efficacious: for example, at the spring festival, held between April 15th and April 20th, the 15th is the day for prayers related to gaining large catches of fish (tairyō*) and April 17th is especially for road safety and also for abundant cereal crops (gokokuhō juku*).²³

Saijōji and Zempōji form, along with Kasuisai** in Shizuoka prefecture, the three great Sōtō prayer centres but, despite their sectarian affiliation and their status as training centres for priests, they are

in no way sectarian in terms of their function as prayer temples; all who wish to submit a request to the temple may do so and no questions are asked as to affiliation. The essential point is, of course, a belief in the efficacy of the prayer and of temples to grant it. Figures such as Kannon transcend any sectarian boundaries, and statues and images of her in various guises are found throughout Japan. Mizuno (1978a) points out that some 700 Sōtō temples have names connected with Kannon, including 207 called Kannonji,** and that over 2300 have a separate Kannondō** (hall where a statue of Kannon is enshrined) while more than a thousand Sōtō temples have a direct connection with Kannon.²⁴ Kannon is worshipped by other sects also, and there are even sects which are specially formed to worship her, such as the sect centred on Sensōji** at Asakusa in Tokyo and also societies devoted to the veneration of Kannon, such as the Nihon Kannon Shinkōkai** (i.e. Japanese Kannon belief society), but these groups do not claim any exclusive hold on the worship of her. Belief here transcends sect and, if one were to look at the publications of the Nihon Kannon Shinkōkai, this would become clear. In the society journal Kannontayori (i.e. Kannon News) there appeared an article on aspects of Kannon worship by Nakai Shinji, the priest in charge of the second temple on the Chichibu pilgrimage route. In fact, Nakai is a priest of the Sōtō sect, but this is not mentioned; he writes as a follower of Kannon. He has close connections with both Sōtō Head Office and with Sōjiji**, one of the sect's head temples where

he did his training, but, as he informed me,²⁵ the pilgrimage and the worship of Kannon have absolutely no connection with any sect. Although the Chichibu temples are run respectively by Shingon**, Rinzai and Sōtō sect priests, at no time did any make any claims that Kannon was anything other than pan-sectarian; and this holds true for the other numerous pilgrimage routes in Japan. Many of these focus on the figure of Kannon, the most famous being those of Saikoku, in the Kyoto-Osaka region, Bandō in the Tokyo area, and Chichibu in Saitama prefecture, which three together form a round figure of 100 temples. There are 33 in both Saikoku and Bandō and 34 in Chichibu; the figure 33 corresponds to the number of bodily manifestations of Kannon for, as Matsunami points out, 'it is explained in the Lotus sutra that Kannon Bodhisattva manifests 33 bodily forms in order to save human beings',²⁶ while the extra temple at Chichibu brings the number up to one hundred. While all these temples are affiliated to sects, their focus cuts across sectarian lines and, in truth, Kannon worship and pilgrimage can be viewed as phenomena of Japanese religion in general rather than of specified groups.

To continue this field of enquiry, the area of activity which encompasses prayer and Kannon-worship as well as pilgrimage also connects with the use of special religious chants and texts, the most common of which is the Hannya Shingyō* (the shorter Heart Sutra). The use of chants on pilgrimage is widespread and most temples have their own one to be intoned as the pilgrim

approaches the temple, but the most universal text, which is used by many Buddhist sects,²⁷ is the Hannya Shingyō; according to the Shingon priest Takubo Shūyo, it 'is a Buddhist text used and read by all Japanese Buddhist sects',²⁸ whilst it is also chanted at Shinto shrines in the pursuance of prayers. Indeed, the chanting of the Hannya Shingyō is a common sound at places of worship in Japan. At the famous Shinto shrine of Toyokawa Inari** in Aichi prefecture, which is dedicated to the fox-god Inari, originally a harvest god who has become also the deity concerned with business prosperity, people come to make requests for such fortune; indeed the shrine is listed, in a guide of religious places that attract prosperity, as being especially important.²⁹ What is interesting is that the shrine actually stands in the grounds of a Sōtō temple called Myōgonji** which functions as a priests' training centre; one of the duties of the priests is to run the shrine and to say prayers requested by petitioners, and the method they use is to chant the Hannya Shingyō.

The Hannya Shingyō is connected to another pan-sectarian activity which has a long history in Japan and this is the practice of shakyō (i.e. copying the sutras). This practice functions both as a form of meditation and as an act of devotion. It has its origins, in Japan, in the necessity, in the early years of Buddhist development, of transcribing the texts of Buddhism to make them available to a wider audience. This started in the early seventh century.³⁰ Nowadays shakyō is one of the most widespread religious practices in Japan

and the most commonly transcribed text is the Hannya Shingyō, which, it should be noted, is presented as a teaching of Kannon, rather than of the Buddha. Doubtless, the brevity of this text (it can be easily copied in an hour or less) has had some influence on its popularity in shakyō but its efficacy as a prayer also makes it an obvious choice. It is a common pilgrimage practice to do shakyō of the Hannya Shingyō and leave it at every temple on the route; in other words, the practices of pilgrimage, shakyō, prayers, Kannon and the Hannya Shingyō are part of an interrelated area of religious activity, which forms a theme and common part of the general Japanese outlook rather than of a specifically Buddhist or sectarian one.

In order to further develop this theme and to show both the inter-penetration of Buddhist and Shintoist currents and the ability and tendency of the Japanese religious melting-pot to fuse and weld these seemingly disparate elements into a commonwealth of acceptance and experience, three further examples from Japan will be examined in greater detail and the first centres on the above-mentioned Toyokawa Inari. As has been stated, this shrine forms a part of the Sōtō temple Myōgonji but, despite the fact that it is only a part of a wider complex, it has become known as the whole. The majority of people in the area are broadly unaware that the official name is Myōgonji, for it is always referred to as Toyokawa Inari. Moreover, the running

of the shrine and the offering of prayers at it comprise the major activity at the complex. In the grounds there are, besides the Inari shrine and countless smaller Inari shrines and statues, a main Buddha Hall, wherein is enshrined as the main effigy a 'thousand handed Kannon' (senju Kannon*), and several other small temples and shrines dedicated to other figures in the Japanese pantheon, including Daikokuten**, one of the seven gods of fortune and, interestingly, one to Kōbō Daishi**. Kōbō Daishi is ^{the} posthumous title granted to the philosopher and founder of the Shingon sect in Japan, Kūkai**, but it is by the name Kōbō Daishi that he is most widely known to the Japanese. He is, according to popular theory, the founder of the pilgrimage of 88 temples around the island of Shikoku and is also reputed to have possessed magical powers. As Kōbō Daishi, he has transcended the historical role of Kūkai the philosopher-priest and, in this guise, has entered the realm of popular legend. Although, in theory, the founding father of a sect, he has assumed a status beyond this (unlike such as Dogen and Shinran**, who may be studied as religious thinkers or venerated as sect founders, but whose status does not rise to the popular and revered level of Kōbō Daishi) and is the focus of a worship that goes beyond the boundaries of Shingon. According to legend, he has not died, but is simply immersed in meditation in his mausoleum at Kōyasan, the centre of Shingon; legend also attributes the carving of innumerable statues and the creation of temples to him. Kōbō Daishi is not of a particular sect; rather he has become a part of a wider world,

part of a general consciousness in Japan. There are even temples dedicated to him, such as the one at Toyokawa, and in the countryside one may find shrines or temples (and at times it is difficult to differentiate between the two, for a small hut dedicated to 'Kōbō-sama' could be either) to him, as well as Kōbō images enshrined in small temples alongside Kannon³¹ within the perimeter of Shinto shrines. One also finds in the courtyards of temples, not just of Shingon, but also of later sects such as Sōtō (as at the Sōtō temple Sanmyōji** at Toyokawa) fascimilies of the Shikoku pilgrimage, with 88 statues to mark the 88 temples, all with figures of Kōbō Daishi. The priest at Jōkōji, which also has a Shikoku replica, was perhaps closest to comprehending this phenomenon when he remarked that Kōbō, who lived before the development of most Japanese sects, belongs not to one sect but to all Japanese;³² certainly he is a figure in the common, rather than the specific, realm of religion. Not only, then, does one find a Shinto-Buddhist fusion at Toyokawa, but also a pan-sectarian Buddhist imagery in which the founder of one sect has become enshrined as a figure of worship in a small temple under the aegis of a Sōtō temple—surely as clear a case of religious sycretism as one could find.

The second example concerns one of the largest and best known temples in Nagoya, the Sōtō temple Tōganji**, which was built by the family of Oda Nobunaga in the sixteenth century to the memory of the father of the

Nobunaga clan.³³ This temple has as its main image in the hondō* (i.e. main hall) a Buddha image from Thailand, while a Sri Lankan scroll painting of the Buddha is also enshrined. In a side temple there is a reclining figure of one of the seven deities of fortune, Benten** (also known as Benzaiten**). This figure lies in repose and is known as 'nemuri Benten'* (i.e. sleeping Benten). Benten is the Japanese representation of the Indian goddess Sarasvati and has become absorbed into the Japanese pantheon along with the Buddhist religion which derives from India. The Tōganji image is Indian in style, rather than Japanese, and is complete with sitar, peacock feathers and other Indian accoutrements. Once a year, on the 7th and 8th of May, the statue is opened to the public to receive prayers. At this festival, because Benten is, like Sarasvati in India, the goddess of music and the arts, various Japanese artists, musicians, flower arrangers, etc., come to the temple to perform. Tōganji is well-known for its links with the arts and many come to make prayers for the development of artistic talents (geidōzōshin*), especially at this festival, when the main hall of the temple is transformed into a display of the arts of Japan; there are musicians giving recitals on the koto and other instruments, dancers perform classical fan dances, while there are also displays of ikebana* (flower arrangement) and the tea ceremony (sadō*).

At all times, Tōganji has an "open-door" policy towards artistes, who may use the rooms at the temple should they wish.

Above the Benten hall, there is a strange shrine, to a "Lama-Buddha" (despite the name 'Buddha', there is a Shinto-style gateway to the structure) which consists of two grotesque wooden figures, one male with a huge penis and one female with a huge vulva; these are symbols of fertility and, according to popular belief, if a couple pass their hands from the penis to the vulva, they will be blessed with a child. There are other fertility symbols as well, including many giant phalluses, and this has contributed to Tōganji's reputation as a temple efficacious for the fulfilment of various family-oriented desires. At the May festival, many of the petitions are for katei enman* (family fulfilment, i.e. plentiful children) and for ryōen* (i.e. a good marriage, which is usually sought by mothers for their daughters).

There is also another Indian influence in the (perhaps, in Japan, unique) lingam, which in Hindu culture represents the god Shiva and is a fertility symbol. At Tōganji, it is a mizugo* shrine. Mizugo are aborted babies, far more common in Japan, where the birth control pill is not legally available, than in England; abortion is a prime means of birth control. Many temples have Mizugo Jizō* statues to which offerings are made to the souls of mizugo (it being the role of the temple to deal with death, the temple provides the means to expiate the wrong done to the mizugo by saying prayers for its soul) but Tōganji has, instead, the lingam as the focus for these prayers. Once a year there is a special prayer festival for mizugo at the lingam, which is attended by several hundred people.

The Indian influence manifested by the lingam and the Benten statue reflects the links that have grown between Tōganji and South Asia; the current head priest, Oda Baisen, has continued the contacts forged by his predecessor who travelled extensively in the Indian sub-continent, and has developed a deep interest in Theravada Buddhism. This has revived the traditional flow of Buddhism, which of course originally came from India, and Tōganji supports Indian and Sri Lankan Buddhist groups; furthermore, Sri Lankan monks come to Tōganji to train in the Japanese tradition.³⁴ The lingam and the Benten statue are fairly recent innovations (from the early 1960's) and point to a continuing process of syncretism.

At festivals such as the mizugo and Benten ones, Tōganji functions as a prayer temple: whilst it has affiliated temple supporters (danka) these do not necessarily come to the temple at such times. The head priest asserted that the great majority of those who came to Tōganji to make prayers were unconnected with the temple while any that did come did so not as danka but as private individuals.³⁵ In contrast, at times of year which have a particular importance with regard to the family and social obligation systems, such as o-Bon*, in August, the time at which families are supposed to tend their ancestral graves and to make offerings to the departed, the danka members of Tōganji come to the temple to perform their obligations.

The contrast between the attitudes manifested at these times is quite striking. At the two festivals I attended (the Benten one in May 1981 and the Mizugo one in July 1981) the petitioners seemed concerned, aware of the prayers being said, and of those being said for people other than themselves. It has to be remembered that they were there because they sought something, and that attendance was non-obligatory in a social sense. In contrast, at o-Bon in August 1981, there seemed to be little sense of piety or of concern for the activities at hand. Families, or representatives from the family, would come to have a prayer said for the dead souls and to have a sotoba* (a carved wooden board with the name of, and a prayer for, the dead written on it) blessed by the priests and then placed on the tomb. The blessings were done for each petitioner in turn and it was noticeable to the observer that no one manifested any interest in the dedications of other than those which directly concerned them. Indeed, social conversations were carried on, while some people even idly whistled as if to help pass the time until their turn came. The social obligation which surrounds the death process and the saying of prayers and performance of ritual for the dead of the family was clearly shown as such: the concern was with the enactment of an event in the pursuance of duty, divorced as much as could be deduced from any manifestation of belief in its efficacy in religious terms. While the petitioners at the festivals were there of their own choice, motivated by a belief

in the efficacy of their actions, and thus prompted to follow the religious proceedings attentively, those at o-Bon were carrying out familial duties and so were unconcerned about any event other than their own particular ceremony: once that was finished they were free to go, freed from their duties.

Tōganji, then, presents both an example of that syncretistic nature which permeates Japanese religious life and a picture of the dual nature of many temples, as prayer and as danka temple at the same time. It is Buddhist with Shintoist elements, Japanese with Indian influences, Mahayanist with Theravadin tendencies and links; further it is a centre for the arts, and the prayer festivals show not only the aspect of Japanese religion which holds a belief in the efficacy of prayer and entreaty, but also the Japanese tendency to merge religion and entertainment, in this instance by the presentation of the prayer festival in the context of, and against the background of, the performing arts. At the same time it has a role as a danka temple, tied to the social and family system of duty and obligation, and this role co-exists with that of prayer temple.

The third example throws further light on the distinctions made in the roles of danka and prayer temples, while showing the social and calendrical nature of Japanese religion and of temple and shrine visits. It also shows the closeness of shrine and temple and the basic non-differentiation between them in the mind and actions

of the majority of Japanese people. This centres on one of the most important events in the Japanese calendar, that of Shōgatsu* (New Year) and the customary first visit of the year to a temple or shrine. According to figures published in the Japanese press, it is estimated that between 70 and 75 million people make such a visit in the first three days of the year, and that the numbers are rising year by year.³⁶

This is primarily a family occasion, which involves at least the young children and sometimes the younger women in dressing in the traditional kimono; the older women may also do this, but it is extremely rare to see any men so attired. At this time it is customary to buy lucky charms and amulets which are said to bring to good fortune during the coming year, to ensure health, prosperity, road safety and a host of other benefits. These charms replace those bought the previous year. Traditional foods such as mochi (rice-cakes) are eaten at Shōgatsu, while the custom of ringing the temple bells 108 times to herald in the New Year is observed. The visit takes place at a religious centre, i.e. a temple or shrine, but the atmosphere and attitudes manifested do not have any close connection with Buddhism or Shinto as such. This is, rather, a time to go out with the family, to enjoy and to celebrate - just as Christmas in the West has become a secular, family-oriented affair, celebrated by many who neither profess to a belief in Christianity nor go to hear Mass.

It is customary to visit only certain temples and shrines at this time: although, for instance, most temples will ring their bells at midnight on December 31st, there will be little or no further activity. In any area there will be a small number of prominent centres associated with Shōgatsu which will be visited. In the region around Sendai, the largest town in the Tōkoku (North-East) area of Japan, there are three main places that are visited (Atago hill, Ōsaki Hachiman shrine, and Aoba shrine) and also, a few miles distant, the shrine at the port town of Shiogama. At such places, there is a constant stream of visitors, which contrasts with the deserted aspect of the majority of temples and shrines. On January 2nd 1982, I visited Rinnōji**, one of the best-known temples in Sendai, famous for its ornamental garden, to find the temple silent and the driveway, which was covered in snow, showing no trace of either tyre marks or foot prints. In contrast, at Atago hill, where I had spent New Year, there was a stream of visitors from the night of December 31st until late on the evening of January 1st, and again right through the 2nd and 3rd.

Atago hill is on the outskirts of Sendai, facing the town across the Hirose river. It is approximately 250 feet high, and on its summit there are two religiously affiliated places, one Shinto and one Buddhist, that are not formally linked or connected to each other. One is the Atago shrine and the other, which backs onto

the shrine, is a small temple called Kōkūzōdō**, dedicated to the Buddhist figure Kokūzō. This temple is regarded locally as having special power and for being charmed, for in the Second World War the locality was almost entirely fire-bombed; only the temple was left untouched. Later, in the Miyagi prefecture earthquake of 1978, it was again unharmed, while the neighbourhood was badly damaged. Consequently, the guardian Kokūzō is seen as having special importance and power by people in the region. This temple is not an independent one, but one under the aegis of another temple, Daimanji**, which belongs to the Sōtō sect. Daimanji is a large danka temple, whose priest, Nishiyama Kōsen, trained at the head temple Sōjiji, and who has published two volumes of an English translation of Dōgen's** Shōbōgenzō**.

He is, by reason of being the priest at Daimanji, the guardian priest of Kokūzōdō, and it is he who officiates at the prayers and ceremonies which take place at this temple. Although Nishiyama is in charge of both, which have an historical bond, he officiates at each in different ways: at Kokūzōdō he offers up requests and prayers for visitors, while at Daimanji, he carries out mortuary rites and duties for the danka of the temple.

During the evening of December 31st, people make their way up the hill, usually in family groups, but also in groups of friends. At midnight the temple priest chants the Hannya Shingyō thrice and then strikes the bell; after this, people take turns to ring the bell

once each, while making a private wish. After this, both shrine and temple receive visitors. What is immediately striking to the observer is that people invariably visit both the shrine and the Kōkuzōdō and that, moreover, they behave in exactly the same way at both. On approaching the building, they toss a small coin into the offertory box and, clapping their hands twice, join hands in prayer, bow slightly and make a brief prayer. In theory, this procedure is only for Shinto shrines, whose kami are considered to sleep much of the time (the clapping wakes them up, so that they can hear one) whereas the Buddhist Bodhisattvas are supposed to be ever-watchful and hence do not require awakening. In practice, however, Japanese people do not make such differentiations, and act at both shrine and temple in the same way.

Shōgatsu being the time to replenish charms and amulets and to say prayers for fortune in the coming year, there is a solid trade at both places in such goods. These amulets vary in price (between 300 and 2000 yen, i.e. between about 70 pence and £5) according to their alleged efficacy, and cover most of the areas (health, safety etc) that concern the family. Many are bought as souvenirs, much as people may buy bookmarks and pictures in the souvenir shops that can be found in many English Cathedrals, and this is especially true of the omikuji* (slips of paper which tell one's fortune); these are bought (often at the bidding of small children) read and then tied to the branch of a nearby tree or

bush. A large amount of the buying shows the essential social and entertainment-oriented side of such places.

The charms sold are similar at both shrine and temple, both in aim (warding off ill, bringing in good luck) and in design (either paper on which a prayer or auspicious spell has been written, placed inside a pouch bearing the shrine or temple name and the aim of the charm, or some similar charm made of wood). Most common at both were the fuda*, a paper charm whose price varies according to size, and the o-mamori*, which are amulets aimed at warding off traffic accidents and other disasters. Also on sale at both were hamaya* (arrows that destroy evil spirits and misfortune) and Daruma** dolls, which depict the traditional founder of Zen in the Far East, the Indian monk Bodhidharma, who, according to legend, sat so long in zazen* that his legs dropped off. The dolls are round based, designed to righten themselves if pushed over, and are meant to bring success in specific projects. Daruma (i.e. Bodhidharma) is traditionally associated with Buddhism, but the shrine also sold these dolls, while the hamaya, which have a closer Shinto link, were also sold at the Buddhist Kokūzōdō.

Besides buying these charms for prosperity, people could, if they wished, make more specific entreaties directly, through the priest, to the shrine or temple deity. For a stipulated sum, in 1982, 5,000 yen (about £12), the priest concerned would, using the special prayer-chant

associated with the deity, and accompanied by rhythmic drumming, present the prayer to the deity. The style is similar at both though, of course, the officiant is different. The Kokūzōdō has its own mantra, which the priest alone can intone, and after this has been chanted, the priest hands the supplicants a fuda, on which his/her name and wish have been written, and tells them to place it in the household butsudan or, if the house did not have one, in the (Shinto) kamidana. The procedure at the shrine followed the same course and while (for reasons of expense alone) it was unlikely that anyone used both, the nature of entreaty was the same. As has been stated previously (above p. 10), such prayers centre on the realisation of this-worldly aims and, after the end of Shōgatsu, the priest of Kokūzōdō and his wife gave me a long list of the requests that were commonly made at the temple - all concerned with the well-being and material gain of the seeker. To cite one example, a middle-aged woman whose son was studying at a local college, had come to ask a prayer for his academic success in his forthcoming examinations, which were vital to the continuance of his course. She was worried that he might fail and had accordingly bought an amulet for academic success at another temple but, fearing that this would not be enough, had come to Kokūzōdō, of whose reputation she was aware, in order to have a specific prayer made for him to the deity. She had faith, she told me, in the temple's power, and so her worries had ceased and she left, at ease and assured.³⁷

Like all those who came, she had no connection with the temple as such, and this mirrors the point made about Tōganji about the functions and nature of temples in Japan. Those who came did so as private individuals: that they might have also been danka of Daimanji is beside the point. Daimanji, as a danka temple, is a particularly strong one, but its members do not necessarily go to Kokūzōdō - they may go nowhere, to Atago shrine or elsewhere. They visit, not as a danka of Daimanji, nor as a follower of Buddhism or of Shinto, but as a Japanese, performing a Japanese action in a Japanese setting at a Japanese festival time. The Shōgatsu festival at Atago demonstrates not only the similarity of activity in Shinto and Buddhist places but, further, the continuum of action between them; it shows the seeming³⁸ lack of differentiation in the outlook and behaviour of the participants between the two and points to the existence of a large area of non-sectarian, commonly accepted action and attitude in the world of religion (if one may use the word religion here to denote activity at shrines and temples).

Not only are the Japanese heirs to a long history of religious interpenetration, which has made their religious parameters of an inclusive, non-differentiated type, but the very history of development of those places at which such activity occurs is replete with cases of such interpenetration. As has been noted (above p. 4) from the outset shrine and temple have co-existed

but, even within the specifically Buddhist realm, there has been a long process of changing affiliations which have transferred the allegiance of temples due to local factors, as well as a pattern of development which has caused temples to be affected by regional conditions and local needs more than by any universal attitudes of Buddhism as a religion.

This is not to imply that a Sōtō temple, for instance, has no true connection with Sōtō doctrine, belief or practice, but it is to assert that the temple's activity as such is conditioned by its situation and has as much to do with the historical and cultural tradition in which it is set as with the theological foundations of its sect. A temple belongs to a sect due to the affiliation of its priest or founder; hence Eihei-ji, which was founded by Dōgen, is of his lineage and is, like the nearby temple Hōkyō-ji** which was built as a branch temple of Eihei-ji, of the Sōtō sect. The successors to Dōgen at Eihei-ji have remained in the Sōtō lineage and thus both Eihei-ji and Hōkyō-ji have continued to function as temples of the sect. In contrast, the religious centre of Osorezan** in the Shimokita peninsula at the northern tip of the main island of Honshū has changed its affiliation due to a change in the lineage of the priests that have run it. At the same time, however, the activities of the temple, which are bound up with its geographical and cultural situation, have not changed. This centre was founded by the Tendai** priest Ennin** in the ninth century according to local tradition³⁹, though the documented history is somewhat imprecise. Osorezan is regarded as a reijō * (a place to which the souls of the dead are said to return to earth at certain times) and functions as such today. Situated in an area of former volcanic activity, it is surrounded by sulphur springs and volcanic lakes and rocks, and its desolate aspect

is punctuated by small cairns of stones and by statues of Jizō**, the Buddhist guardian of dead souls in the Japanese view. To this place thousands of people come, especially at the summer and autumn festivals (in winter, the area is deserted and cut off due to deep snow) to say prayers for the souls of their ancestors and to try to make contact with them. At Osorezan, the temple which conducts the prayer services for the dead is run by Sōtō monks, who are affiliated to the temple Entsūji** in the nearest town, Mutsu: the Tendai connection died out many centuries ago, for reasons that are not clear, but which probably were connected with the decline of the Tendai lineage in the area at a time when Sōtō was actively expanding and able to take over the administration of the centre. Sectarian links are, however, of no significance here, for the importance to those that come is that the place is a reijō; its connection is with that aspect of Japanese religious life which centres around the area of death, and which is not affected by sectarian attitudes. The priests act as administrators and as mediators (by activities such as the blessing of sotoba) but this is a non-sectarian activity, dictated by local historical factors. The monks at Osorezan state that there is no formal Sōtō connection: it is a place for all sects, because it is a reijō. With Sōtō Head Office, as one informed me, 'there is no connection'.⁴⁰ The major attraction at Osorezan at festival times are the itako, who are blind female mediums from villages in Aomori prefecture, who gather at these

times to act as links between the living and the dead souls they wish to contact by going into a trance and enacting a form of seance. These women are the major point of interest at such times, but the temple itself denies any connection with them: according to notices prominently displayed at the area, the temple asserts that the itako are allowed to use the temple area because of an historical arrangement, but this does not mean that the temple approves of or endorses their activities.⁴¹ Nonetheless, the temple does not actually denounce the itako and the visitors to Osorezan seem, to the observer, not to differentiate on these lines: they invariably go to the priests to get their sotoba blessed, and to the itako to make contact with the dead soul for whom they have prayed.

It may be argued that this temple is a special case, but this type of sectarian change, which has no effect on the actual functions of the temple, is by no means uncommon. At Osorezan the monks have inherited an historical tradition which they merely serve to continue, and this pattern holds elsewhere. Many temples in Northern Japan have changed from Tendai to Sōtō, including Kanmanji**, a temple mentioned in Bashō's** work "The Narrow Road to the Deep North" (Oku no Hosoi Michi) as the most northerly point of the poet's travels in the seventeenth century. Bashō does not inform us of the temple's sect at the time of his visit, but it is known that this temple, now of the Sōtō sect, was founded by Ennin,

as were many temples in the north, and run by his followers, until Tendai declined in the region.⁴² It was left with no resident priest and this vacuum was filled by the expanding Sōtō sect which, from the early fourteenth century onwards, had, under the leadership of Keizan** and his disciples, spread its influence across the country. This expansion tended to follow along certain geographical lines, and the take-over of Kanmanji, which is at the seashore village of Kisakata in Akita prefecture, occurred during its move up the coastal regions from the Hokuriku area, where Sōtō first developed in Japan, along the western seaboard of Japan in the sixteenth century. Sōtō expanded, as will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Two, both by opening new temples and by taking over deserted temples of other sects, and this is what happened at Kanmanji. As the priests of the Keizan lineage moved across the country, they accommodated themselves to local traditions and, accordingly, took on the customs and practices of the temples they moved into. One of the most famous Sōtō temples, Daijōji** at Kanazawa, was a Shingon temple until it was converted to Sōtō by Gikai**, head priest of Eihei-ji in the late thirteenth century, while the head temple of Keizan's lineage, which became joint head temple of Sōtō, Sōjiji, was a dilapidated Shingon temple until 1321, when Keizan assumed responsibility for it. The Shingon mikkyō* (esoteric) practices and ceremonies used at these temples influenced their later development and helped encourage the growth of such influences not only at these two, but in Sōtō in general - a point which will be discussed

at length in the following chapter.

The overall picture that emerges from a general examination of Japanese religious activities, attitudes and events that can be observed at temples and shrines is one wherein such concepts as sect and philosophic differences between sects and, indeed, between Buddhism and Shinto, do not exist for the greater part. The surveys that delineate sect and sub-sect in many ways give a misleading picture if one is to accept them purely at their face-value for there is, in the everyday sense, no great exclusivity to sects and no hard and fast boundaries for the general Japanese public with regard to religious groups. Although people may be counted as members of one sect, they are not therefore excluded from using Shinto shrines, or from saying prayers wherever it suits them: there is no fixed commitment to belief or practice and no fixed membership, except in the terms spoken of, the most likely situation for the performance of mortuary rites.

A word of caution must be added here, for there are, within the flow of Japanese religion, many currents which, both in terms of philosophy and practice, differ: although there is a common base to the Japanese religious culture, there are numerous different paths that the committed religious seeker may follow. There has been a deep development of religious philosophy along with the founding of various schools and methods of practice, by such as Shōtoku Taishi**, the accredited instigator

of Buddhism's early development in Japan, Kūkai, founder of Shingon, Hōnen** and Shinran of the Jōdo** (Pure Land) schools, and so on. To characterise all Japanese religion as one, undifferentiated level would be to do disservice to these people and to the generations of religious devotees who have earnestly followed specific paths and ways of action and belief within the guidelines of their respective sects.

That these are however, in a minority has already been implied for, as has been seen, the normal manner in which Japanese people use their places of religious activity shows not differentiation but, rather, consensus. If one were to draw a diagrammatic representation of this picture, it would be of a mountain range, in which the foothills and base of all the mountains were the same, but in which the peaks were different and corresponded to the separate and diverse philosophies. The foothills in which there was a general consensus represents what may be termed the "Japanese religious commonwealth" which all, by and large, accept as part of an historic cultural and social background and which enables Japanese people to be Buddhist, Shintoist and not religious at the same time. (see Figure, One, below)

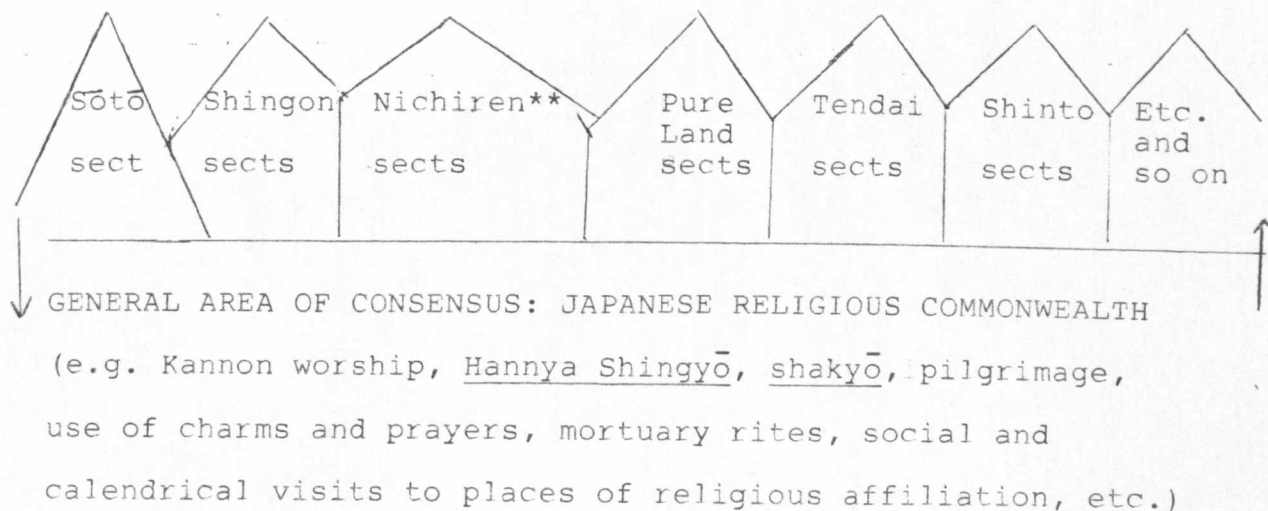


FIGURE ONE

Accordingly, each of these peaks rests on a common base and, even though many Buddhist sects originally entered from China, brought by Japanese pioneers such as Saichō** (Tendai), Kūkai (Shingon) and Dōgen (Sōtō), those that grew did so by growing in Japanese soil; those that remained close to the form in which they entered have failed to grow to any appreciable degree (as witness the Nara schools of Buddhism, which were primarily philosophic in nature and, making no real attempt to adapt, remain numerically insignificant).⁴³ Because the peak rests on the base, it forms a continuum and, importantly, relies on the base to provide its support in material terms. The examples in this chapter of Sōtō training centres, such as Saijōji, that are also prayer centres, illustrate this point, for these temples depend for their ability to support a number of priests who may need, for the purposes of training, to devote

themselves to years of meditation and other such practices, on the income they receive both from danka and from petitioners. It is a point which will be discussed later, but it is a common emphasis of those priests and thinkers who try to equate the seeming paradox of meditational practice and prayers for material welfare that there is a continuity from base to apex and that there is, at least in intent, an upward, uplifting tendency to it.

Although, then, sect affiliation does not count for much in terms of belief, the presence of supporters is necessary to sects and, whilst the majority do not have any conception of the differences of various schools, they cannot simply be ignored. The ways in which Sōtō talks, through its publications, to its temple supporters and to the Japanese public can only be understood in the light of the preceding discussion. While Sōtō is, in terms of its basic philosophy, as delineated by Dōgen, a compact and highly defined movement, it is, in terms of size, large and broad-based, consisting of 15,000 temples, all of which may have some connection with local traditions. As such Sōtō has a broad base and it needs to both remain aware of and communicate with it if it is to maintain its position, in a social sphere, and also if it is to encourage the expansion of its own specific attitudes. As the Sōtō priest historian and critic of the Sōtō organisation, Sahashi Hōryū, has observed:

'The basic major force which upholds the prosperity of a religious group is never religious principle: this is clear. It is the force which *appeals to* people's basic instincts'.⁴⁴

Although this may sound cynical, it does express the problem facing Sōtō as a mass organisation in Japan, and in the following chapters, the means by which Sōtō, as an organisation, and through the medium of its publications and those of Sōtō writers, attempts to express itself while remaining in harmony with its potential audience, will be examined and discussed. Before this can be done, however, the position of Sōtō as a sect in the Buddhist world and its origins, development and growth in Japan, which have brought it to the present age with such a large infrastructure, need to be examined, in order to show the historical roots from which its current teachings derive, and this will form the scope of the following chapter.

C H A P T E R T W O

PART ONE: THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE SŌTŌ ZEN SECT
IN THE BUDDHIST WORLD

Dōgen is generally regarded as the founder of the Sōtō sect in Japan and the sect itself claims this, referring to him as its 'father figure' in its publications.¹ Dōgen, however, forcefully rejected sectarian names and classifications, regarding the way of the Buddha as whole in itself, beyond the limits of such divisive terminology as the application of names. As Ōkubo Dōshu, one of Sōtō's leading academics in the modern age and one of its acknowledged authorities on Dōgen, has commented:

'Dōgen Zenji* greatly abhorred sect names from the viewpoint that the Buddhist law must never be fixed on sectarian lines'.²

In Shōbōgenzō Butsudō, Dōgen states that 'we must not call the great way of the correct transmission of the Buddhas and Patriarchs the "Zen sect"',³ emphasising the inappropriateness of such names when dealing with the universal nature of Buddhism. Dōgen scorned any attempt to apply names, no matter what justification might be used: to those who, maintaining that their (Zen) sect was at the heart of Buddhism, advocated the use of titles such as 'Buddha's heart sect' (Busshin-shū*) he commented that, if there can be one so named, there must be others, remarking ironically:

'if there is a Buddha's heart
sect, there must be a Buddha's
eye sect, there must be a
Buddha's ear sect (and so on)
...'.⁴

Dōgen had left the environs of Kyoto in 1244, to seek peace and a tranquil place to build a temple away from city areas, partly in order to escape the sectarian disputes, arguments and persecutions to which he had been subjected in Kyoto by the established Buddhist orders of the time. Critical of the worldly ways of the city, Dōgen had retreated to the mountains in order to build up a small and strong Buddhist lineage and order which would be able to preserve the monastic disciplines he considered to be at the core of Buddhism and which would establish a strong platform for the growth of a truly monastic Buddhist way in Japan, untainted by the corruptions he had seen in Kyoto. A fugitive from the city, a rejector of sectarian names and separatism in the Buddhist world, Dōgen today is revered by a specific sect as its founder, and that sect not only has thousands of temples in towns and cities, but is centrally administered from a modern office block in the heart of Tokyo, one of the largest metropolises in the world. At first, this paradox may appear to be inexplicable but, if one were to glance briefly at the 2500 years or so of Buddhist history, and to look at the development of Zen in particular, one would find that the type of re-interpretation and revision that has occurred with regard to Dōgen is quite commonplace: indeed,

there exists a tradition not only of revision, but also of outright invention of data and stories which, by entering the realms of accepted fact, serve to adapt the past to the needs of the present and to provide justification and legitimation for the present. Paradox would, in retrospect, exist only if history were at all times factually recorded, documented and interpreted in the Mahayana Buddhist world, but it has not been so. Instead, history has been the tool of the Mahayana and has served to modify the past to suit the needs of the present, rather than to provide a factually accurate record.

It is, then, no great paradox that Dōgen has been so claimed by the sect in its publications and tenets⁵ as well as by its academics and writers, especially in the twentieth century. It has only been in the current century that Dōgen's works have become widely available to and read by people outside the sect. When he was first studied by non-Sōtō academics, there were accusations that the sect had monopolised one of Japan's most seminal thinkers and had entrapped his thought within the confines of a restricted group when he in truth belonged to the Japanese as a whole. In the first non-Sōtō essay, which is generally accepted as having brought Dōgen out of the Sōtō enclave, Watsuji Tetsurō stated, in 1926:

"thereby Dōgen is no longer Dōgen
the founder of the sect, but our
Dōgen ... I know Dōgen has been
killed thus far in the Sōtō sect".⁶

This opinion and the studies it provoked stimulated a movement within Sōtō to strengthen and re-affirm the sect's claim on him. He was shown as (or argued to be)

a specifically Sōtō thinker and sect founder, most importantly by Etō Sokuō, a leading academic figure of the Sōtō establishment. Etō, in a book published in 1949,⁷ interpreted Dōgen as a sect founder (its title Shūsō toshite no Dōgen means 'Dōgen as a sect founder') and in doing so attempted to reclaim him for the sect and to argue that Dōgen intended to form a specific organisation. If one is to consider that Dōgen, bearing in mind his strong attack on sectarian classifications, has been misrepresented by later generations, however, one should bear in mind that such procedures are quite the norm in Buddhism in general and in Zen in particular - and that Dōgen himself acted in this way, building his claims to centrality in the Buddhist world on historically dubious revisions and interpretations.

The very fact that there are no historical records of the time of the Buddha and that no records of his teachings were made (at least until some centuries after his death) has meant that no reliable account of the actual teachings of the Buddha exist. As Conze (1977) has pointed out, there exists, in Buddhism, no clear definition of what is "initial" and what is "continuing" tradition in the canon.⁸ Whereas one may make surmises as to what the Buddha taught his disciples, there is no way of actually knowing what in the Buddhist scriptures represents his words and what represents the additions and revisions of those who transcribed the texts. For centuries, the teachings were passed on orally and, while one may deduce

from the early history of Buddhism that the Buddha's primary concern was in the teaching and not in the development of a cult centred on his person, there are no clear-cut indications as to the scope of this essential teaching. As records were made in later centuries, large quantities of writings, purporting to be the Buddha's teachings, appeared but, as these often bore the colouring of specific group interests and outlooks, it is hard to define the original core. One may try to do this but, unfortunately, no criteria exist to provide a totally accurate methodology.

Alongside the development of a written canon came the appearance of images to provide a face and figure to the source of the teachings and to embody them. The Buddha had left no tangible legacy in the form of images and this gave later generations a free hand to provide ones of their choice; such images naturally fitted and reflected the outlooks and concepts of their creators. As a written canon with teachings and events that pointed to a transcendent Buddha figure developed so did the artistic expansion produce larger-than-life images and supranormal scenarios. There was a growing move away from the image of the prince-turned-ascetic, who had left his palace to enter the forest and seek the root causes of man's suffering by his own efforts and who after years of austerities and meditation had found a human solution to these causes. In its place grew the image of the transcendent Buddha, who always has and always will be preaching and embodying the Buddhist law. Whatever the underlying

reasons for this movement (and, like much of early Buddhist history there is little hard evidence and much room for conjecture: Conze (1980), for instance, suggests that Buddhism by the early centuries A.D. had begun to stagnate and that the need to revive it and create new input was the basic cause of such developments)⁹ the shift in emphasis is clear. From the earlier images of Buddha as a man, one moves to the realms of the Mahayana sutras in which he enters transcendent worlds. In the Lotus Sutra, one of the most widely influential of these texts, especially in the Far East, one finds parables, vast celestial gatherings, apparitions, such as that of the jewelled stupa in Chapter Eleven (in the Kumarajiva text), and myriad miraculous happenings, as for instance when the Buddha "emitted a glow from the tuft of white hair between his brows that illuminated eighteen thousand worlds".¹⁰ More important than these colourful scenarios is the contention in the Lotus Sutra that there is in truth only one Buddhist way, not three, and that this way is the way of the teachings expounded in the Lotus Sutra. In this, the Buddha explains to his followers that he had had to teach them in a piecemeal way, leading them gradually to the true and highest teachings (which are found in the Lotus Sutra), because they were incapable of understanding and assimilating the totality of his message at once, and that his earlier teachings were a 'skilful means' to pave the way for the real essence. By this explanation, the Lotus Sutra both asserts its own pre-eminence and subtly denigrates other texts and schools of thought that have preceded it

historically. This development is particularly important in Japan, which received its influence from the Mahayana and especially from the schools spawned by the Lotus Sutra, and the Buddha images in Japan are largely of the transcendent type: there is the figure of Amida Buddha, the Buddha of the Pure Land, who saves all who call out his name, and who is the focus of the Jōdō (Pure Land) schools, and Dainichi Nyorai,**the Cosmic or great Sun Buddha of the Shingon sects, who is the eternal enlightened body of the universe. Shakyamuni,** the historical Buddha, is seen as a manifestation of this Cosmic Buddha who is, in Kiyota's words, "an eternal enlightened body transcending the historical Shakyamuni".¹¹

In the specific case of Zen, this process of historical modification manifested by the developments of the Mahayana also occurred in China and Japan. The figure of the historical Buddha has been retained more coherently, however, than in most of the Buddhism of the Far East, and takes its place alongside the transcendent to form a dual matrix that lies at heart of the Zen tradition and outlook. Buddha the historical man is the ultimate arbiter of the Zen tradition, the physical representation of man's inherent ability to realize his own enlightenment, and in this the Buddha is the teacher by example. With this matrix of the historical and the transcendent come two events which function as images at the core of the Zen creed. The first is that of Shakyamuni the Buddha sitting in meditation at Buddh Gaya and, in doing so, becoming the

enlightened Buddha. This image portrays the basic practice of Zen, that of zazen, sitting meditation. By focusing on this meditation and enlightenment, a direct relationship between the two is postulated. In the Sōtō Zen school, in particular, the equation that sitting in meditation is itself enlightenment is drawn, and this forms a paramount plank in the thought of Dōgen and the sect. By a direct emphasis on the actions of the Buddha in this way, Zen by-passes doctrinal controversies; in putting the actions rather than the words and teachings at the centre of its focus, Zen avoids the scriptural debates and textual constructs inherent in such as the Lotus Sutra. This is not to say that Zen does not use scriptures, for texts do play a part in the activities of Zen temples: in Sōtō, for example, the Lotus Sutra is read and two chapters of it are often chanted at morning services and are included in the sect sutra-books,¹² as are many other texts. However, the legitimation of Zen practice occurs not, as in the schools directly spawned by the Lotus Sutra, in the written word so much as in the very act of enlightenment itself.

It is here that the second image becomes important and it is here that a shift occurs from that which is basically historical (i.e. the Buddha as man) to that which is non-historical and transcendent in nature. Zen, like other schools of the Mahayana, claims to have inherited the true essence of the Buddha's message, and this claim has its justification in an action, rather than in a verbal or textual teaching. This incident is said to have occurred

at Vultures Peak near Rajgir in Northern India, the setting in which the Buddha is said to have delivered many of his sermons: it is, for example, the setting for the Lotus Sutra. The incident is known, in Sōtō, as the nengemishō* (i.e. 'the raising of a flower, and a smile') and relates that one day the Buddha faced the assembled throng who had gathered to hear him preach. The Buddha, however, remained silent and merely held up a flower. The crowd was puzzled, but Mahakashyapa, one of his prominent disciples, perceived the innate meaning of the Buddha's gesture and smiled. The Buddha saw that Mahakashyapa had understood the essence of his teaching, which was beyond the realm of words and which rested in direct experience, unmediated by content, scripture or thought, and which was experienced in direct face-to-face, mind-to-mind contact of master and disciple. The Buddha, on recognising Mahakashyapa's understanding, certified that he alone had attained the true essence of Buddhism, and passed on the transmission of the Buddhist way to him. Mahakashyapa later passed this essence on, in similar non-verbal fashion, to Ananda, and this transmission continued through a line of Indian Patriarchs (so*) to the 28th, the monk Bodhidharma, who journeyed from India to China and passed the transmission to a line of Chinese Patriarchs. From China, according to Sōtō, it was brought to Japan by Dōgen.

This incident shows two fundamental Zen notions, those of Kyōgebetsuden* (i.e. teaching outside the scriptures) and ishindenshin* (i.e. mind-to-mind transmission) which

explain that the essence of the teaching cannot be expressed in and goes beyond the limit of words, and that it is to be found in the contact of teacher and disciple: it is a living thing, not something buried in the written page. The incident forms the basis of the Zen claim to having inherited the true way of the Buddha, and to its claim to centrality in the Buddhist world. It also provides the foundation and legitimation of the lineages which Zen has formed and which claim direct descent from the Buddha via this non-verbal, mind-to-mind communication, which has come down to the present day, the same in totality as when the Buddha first raised the flower, in the same way that water remains the same as it is passed from one vessel to another - : an analogy much used in modern Sōtō writing. The vessels are the Zen Patriarchs, the water the true way of Buddhism expressed by kyōgebetsuden and ishindenshin.

The practice of Zen, which has its roots in the historical, thus has its legitimation in the transcendent and, as seems to be the case with many of the developments of the Mahayana,¹³ the transcendent aspect has a dubious historical background. It may in fact be a later and retrospective means of justifying a doctrinal position. The alleged founding incident of Zen, the nengemishō, has, as far as one can tell (and, while one can never be absolutely sure, for there are no records of the time to either prove or disprove it, there is nowhere in the written canons of Indian Buddhism any mention of such

an incident) no historical basis, but rather seems to have been invented in China, where it first came to light in a scripture of doubtful origin, whose purpose was to emphasise and give weight to Zen teachings. As the Zengakudaijiten, a comprehensive dictionary of Zen studies compiled by the Research Institute at the leading Sōtō university, Komazawa, puts it:

'this story was compiled in China: it is found in a false scripture (the Daibontennō-mombutsu-ketsugi***) and was circulated among the Zen sects from the Sung era onwards'.¹⁴

The former head priest of Eihei-ji, and former head of the Sōtō sect in the mid-1970's, Yamada Reirin, in an account of the outlines of Sōtō written for a compendium volume on Japanese Buddhist sects,¹⁵ describes it as a 'story' which gained wide circulation in the eleventh century.¹⁶ Despite this dubious origin, the nengemishō story, even though it is a story, has a vital position in the derivations and development of Chinese and, later, Japanese Zen. It provided a legitimation for the methods and practices of the Zen sects (much as the Lotus Sutra did for its followers) and, in the words of Takeuchi Michio, a Sōtō priest and historian of the modern age:

'in reality, the details of this story were circulated from the Sung era onwards and became the basic essence of the legitimation

of the Zen sects. According to the Zen view of this nengemishō story, it is not simply a story. It has come to be grasped as a living historical fact which expresses the truth of the Buddhist way by the 'transmission from mind-to-mind' (ishindenshin)'.¹⁷

Another academic priest of the sect, Sahashi Hōryū, described it to me as 'only a story'¹⁸ in historical terms, but one which has transcended history, in the same way that the Buddha of the Mahayana has passed above and beyond the limits of historicity.¹⁹ He feels that, in the Zen context, it has to be believed along with its resultant viewpoints for, otherwise, 'the Zen position does not hold true'.²⁰ Although, in modern times, its historical licence has been recognised, its existence as a key foundation stone of Zen is such that it is both a sine qua non and a reality in terms of its being accepted in the Zen world as an event. Modern Sōtō as an organisation accepts this story of the transmission at Vultures Peak and of its passing to Bodhidharma and on to Dōgen and the Sōtō sect, as a fact:²¹ whether this transmission did actually happen or not is of no relevance in this light, for in these retrospective terms, it is as real as if it had happened.

Dōgen, who encountered this story of the nengemishō when he was in China, accepted it as true and in turn used it to underline his view that the lineage in which

he had studied in China had received the 'true transmission' (in Japanese, shōden*) of Buddhism, and that he had brought this to Japan. He speaks of the nengemishō thus:

'the unsurpassable Buddhahood of the 'true eye and treasury of the law' (shōbōgenzō*) of Shakyamuni was correctly transmitted only to Mahakashyapa and not to the other disciples.'²²

and goes on to state that this truly transmitted Buddhism is centred in the kyōgebetsuden as follows:

'this truly transmitted mind is called 'teaching outside the scriptures'.²³

Dōgen constantly refers to the nengemishō as the intrinsic legitimation of the Zen position above all others²⁴ and in this episode one finds another focus of his teaching, that of 'face-to-face transmission' (menju*), from master to disciple. He received this outlook from his master, the Chinese monk Tendō Nyōjō**, who taught that all encounters of master and disciple in which this transmission took place actualise all meetings of all masters and disciples, thus placing the menju on the transcendent as well as the historical plane. Dōgen cites the following words spoken to him by Nyōjō on the occasion of the transmission between them, as follows:

'The dharma gate of the face-to-face transmission of all the Buddhas and Patriarchs is actualized. This (encounter) is none other than the raising of the flower on Vultures Peak, it is the receiving of the essence at Sūzan, it is the receiving of the kesa (robe of the Patriarchs) at Ōbai, it is the face-to-face transmission of Tōzan**. This is the face-to-face transmission of eye and treasury of the Buddhas and Patriarchs'.²⁵

At Sūzan, Bodhidharma is said to have transmitted the essence of Zen which he had brought from India, to Eka**, the second Buddhist Patriarch in China; at Ōbai, the robe which symbolized the patriarchal succession was said to have been passed to Enō** (in Chinese, Hui Neng) and Tōzan was a Chinese master through whom the Sōtō lineage passes and who forms a vital link in the Sōtō line of transmission. To Dōgen and Nyojō, their encounter was an eternal re-enactment of all such encounters, and it has its roots in their acceptance of the Vultures Peak transmission story. The historicity of it was of no concern to Dōgen: he met it in Zen temples in China where it had become accepted fact.

The story soon became so in Japan as well, and continued to be passed on as truth in the Sōtō line. In the fourteenth century, the fourth Zen Patriarch of the Sōtō lineage in Japan, Keizan, who is revered along with Dōgen as one of the founders of Sōtō in Japan, reported

the episode as fact in his major work, the Denkōroku** a record of the lineage of the Zen Patriarchs and the nature of the transmission from one to another. Keizan wrote as follows:

'The Buddha raised a lotus flower. All, not knowing his meaning, kept silent. At this time, Mahakashyapa alone gave a broad smile. At this, the Buddha said 'I possess the true eye and treasury of the law, the wonderful mind of enlightenment, the one clear unequalled gateway to the law: all this I bestow on great Kashyapa'.²⁶

Keizan's Denkōroku elaborates on the original story (the smile has grown into a broad one) and presents it unquestioningly as fact; indeed the whole work deals with stories of transmission which have no recorded validity, but which are given as if they did, complete with the conversations that allegedly took place, alongside Keizan's interpretation of them. Keizan, like Dōgen, did not cast a critical eye on the history of Zen, but then his outlook did not concern itself with historical validity (indeed, he even misreports commonly accepted data, stating that Shakyamuni was 19 years old, when he fled the palace, rather than the more commonly accepted 29 years)²⁷ but with expressing the spirit of Zen. Accordingly the Denkōroku, ostensibly an historic record full of inaccuracies, is an exposition of Keizan's perceptions in the

framework of a record: he presents each meeting (of Patriarch and successor) as a kōan* and gives a solution to it.

Such a non-historical approach is prevalent in Zen. Keizan, inheriting the story of the nengemishō, was concerned with the teaching that could be extracted from it, not whether it was true or false. His liberal reading of the Zen lineage's transmission is also in accord with the prevalent pattern in Zen. Although great importance was placed on these lineages, which "prove" a direct link to the Buddha himself - and hence to the true teachings - the lineages are themselves dubious. As has been argued, their origin, at Vultures Peak, is almost certainly fiction, and the subsequent development of them follows in a similar ilk.

The Indian lineage of 28 Patriarchs down to Bodhidharma is probably total fiction though, of course, the lack of historical evidence makes absolute proof impossible. However, in the Indian lineage, there are such figures as the great Madhyamika philosopher Nagarjuna, counted as the 14th Patriarch, who is also included in Tibetan Buddhist lineages²⁸ to show their connection to the Buddha, and in Pure Land lineages.²⁹ Vasubandhu, another seminal Indian Mahayana philosopher, also appears in Tibetan and Pure Land lineages. This is perhaps not altogether surprising: in order to legitimate the claim of belonging to the mainstream in the Buddhist world (in terms of the Mahayana) it was necessary to show a connection with the Buddha via a succession of Buddhist figures. The finer

the pedigree, of course, the weightier the claim, and it was only natural that all schools and branches of Buddhism that set store by the process of legitimation by descent from the Buddha should, at a distance (i.e. from China or Tibet), incorporate the great figures of the Indian Mahayana.

This lack of historicity is not confined to the lineage in India but asserts itself in the history of Zen in China as well. One of the most graphic of all Zen stories, that of the meeting of Bodhidharma and the Second Patriarch, Eka, in which Eka, standing in the snow silently waiting for the Indian monk to teach him, cut off his own arm and presented it to Bodhidharma in order to prove his sincerity and commitment toward the teaching, may be no more than a fiction. Although this has become "fact" in the Zen view, there is no evidence to support the story and, according to Chen, there is "a more reliable account (which) indicated that it was cut off by some robbers".³⁰ The arm, however, serves a purpose in the guise of this tale, for it not only enhances the narrative, but also acts as a metaphor to show the level of commitment and personal sacrifice that is necessary for the sincere seeker of the Zen way, whilst also underlining the importance Zen places on non-attachment (to an arm, to physical hardship, or, in an allegorical sense, to any thought or conceptualisation). Eka's arm thus becomes a categorical Zen teaching in itself: the actual circumstances of its detachment cease to be of importance and,

as with the nengemishō, the purposes of Zen transform it into essential fact.

The transmission of the robe that symbolised the Patriarchal office to Enō is another of those events that could well have been invented for the purposes of retrospective validation of a doctrinal viewpoint. The gist of this event is that the Fifth Patriarch asked his disciples to write a poem to show their understanding of Zen: whoever thus showed the correct understanding would be his successor as Patriarch. The head monk, the literate and articulate Shen-hsiu, wrote his poem, only for an illiterate who worked in the temple kitchens, Enō, to produce one that in essence was the contradiction of Shen-hsiu's. The Fifth Patriarch, recognising Enō's true understanding, bestowed the Patriarchship upon him. Recognising that this action was likely to cause anger and jealousy among the senior and literate monks, he advised Enō to secretly flee the monastery.

The underlying doctrinal argument here was that between the doctrines of gradual enlightenment (espoused by the Northern school of Chinese Zen) and of sudden enlightenment (of the Southern school). The Southern school's view rests on the importance of direct experience and of non-verbal comprehension, i.e. beyond the fetters of scriptural and conceptual structure, in which the Northern school (of Shen-hsui) was seen to be imprisoned. In the event, the Southern school was ultimately triumphant for, from the eighth century onwards, the Northern school lost ground and influence. It is from the Southern school

(of Enō) that most subsequent Zen sects, such as Chinese Sōtō, have developed and, accordingly, Enō occupies a paramount position in their lines of transmission. Enō's transmission itself, however, is itself unverifiable: it seems that in the eighth century (i.e. about a century after the alleged incident) a monk of the southern school (of sudden enlightenment) named Shen-hui attempted to wrest the validity of legitimation from the Northern school by suggesting that the true transmission did not go to Shen-hsiu, but to a monk of the school which taught sudden enlightenment.³¹ In such a way, the secret bestowal of the robe and the flight of Enō fitted into the narrative, showing that, despite outward appearances, the true transmission had for long been with the Southern school. The story has the effect of denigrating the Northern school, not only for doctrinal error but for sham and deception. Because Shen-hui was successful, and because the Southern school gradually outgrew and eventually overwhelmed the Northern school, the mantle of legitimation entered the Southern school and it was able to consolidate Shen-hui's re-writing of history. By Dōgen's time, this version of the transmission had become accepted fact, and both he, in Shōbōgenzō Bussō, and Keizan, in the Denkōroku,³² accept it as such and use it to show the direct inheritance of their lineage of the 'true transmission' (shōden) and spirit (seishin*) of Buddhism which, according to Dōgen, passed via Gyōshi** and Tōzan Ryōkai** down to Tendō Nōyō and hence to Japan with Dōgen.

The inheritance of Dōgen is thus founded on a history riddled with inventions and stories which provide post-facto legitimations for doctrinal arguments. One must bear in mind that the Mahayana in general recognises a distinction between relative and absolute in terms of truth. The concept of skilful means expressed in the Lotus Sutra justifies the use of statements and teachings which may not be true in an absolute sense, but which lead on to higher and deeper truths, and this in itself helps to create the climate in which such manufactures as the nengemishō story, the story of Eka's arm and that of Enō's poem can be set forth as truth. Dōgen, whose early Buddhist training was in the Tendai school, which used the Lotus Sutra extensively, had, in his background, a view of history which had as its chief concern the effect that could be produced from interpreting the past, rather than the authenticity of the events themselves, and in his writings he also displayed an inclination to interpret according to his own needs and views. Thus, in Shōbōgenzō Sansuikyō (i.e. the river and mountain sutras), Dōgen, who urged his disciples to retreat to mountain solitudes in order to practice meditation for long periods, states that the Buddha 'practiced austerities for 12 years in the mountains',³⁴ until his enlightenment, yet it is generally accepted that Shakyamuni's ascetic practice prior to enlightenment was six years, and that time was spent in the region between his birthplace of Lumbini and the place where he sat under the Bodhi tree at Buddh Gaya - an area of low-lying flat plains. Dōgen himself, elsewhere, talks of the Buddha's

practice as being six years.³⁵

In fact, Dōgen's historical outlook is most clearly expressed in his discussions of the figure of Buddha, the example most used in Dōgen's writings. In the words of the Sōtō academic, Masunaga Reihō, "for Dōgen, the object of adoration is the historical Buddha ... (who) is the source of our teaching and the guarantor of our belief".³⁶ However, as has been seen above, Dōgen does not always report the Buddha's life accurately and, moreover, he intermeshes the historical with the transcendent, centring on such topics as the nengemishō, which he interprets as ever-present (as witness the quotation from Menju, above, p. 52). Furthermore, Dōgen equates the historical with the transcendent Buddha and considers that the Buddha is in himself the manifestation of the totality of all Buddhas of all times. Dōgen's doctrine that 'this mind is itself Buddha' (sokushinzebutsu*), which points to the inherent Buddha nature in all things, is personified by the historical Buddha who is at the same time the transcendent. In Shōbōgenzō sokushinzebutsu he states:

'that which we call all the
Buddhas, Shakyamuni Buddha, is
'this mind itself is Buddha'.
All Buddhas of past, present
and future, when they become
Buddha are, without fail,
Shakyamuni Buddha'.³⁷

Shakyamuni thus becomes, in Dōgen's writings, two images in one, uniting the two actions (the historical

act of enlightenment, which is in itself and through the medium of Shakyamuni, transcendent, and the transcendent act of the nengemishō, which is, at the same time, historical) that lie at the core of the Zen view. In this meshing of the two, Dōgen is showing himself to be very much a figure of the Mahayana, displaying the Mahayanist approach to the world of fact. This is, after all, his own cultural background and the modus operandi of the religious currents in which he studied and practised.

If this perspective is borne in mind, the paradoxical nature of Dōgen's position in Sōtō disappears: that Dōgen the sect-denying recluse has been interpreted as the founder of a large, urbanised sect is in keeping with the pattern of revision in the Mahayana in general and Zen in particular, and has something of a parallel in Dōgen's treatment of the figure of the Buddha. Dōgen, like Shakyamuni, led a troubled search for truth, wandering from teacher to teacher, until attaining fulfilment. He then established an order and a way of practice, while refusing to establish cult, sect or categorisation. And, just as Dōgen claims, due to a particular manner of interpretation, to be the true heir of the Buddha's way (though the Buddha did not form a sect as such) so has Sōtō Zen in Japan claimed that it is the heir to Dōgen's way, and so named him as the founding father of the sect.

The arguments and debates stimulated by critics such as Watsuji, while legitimate in the complaint that Sōtō for too long monopolised Dōgen and kept him from a

wider audience, have no valid argument against the Sōtō view of Dōgen as a sect founder, if one realises that Sōtō, being of the Mahayana, is using its, and Dōgen's, methods of historical revision. Indeed, to paraphrase Takeuchi's words about the nengemishō (above p. 50) the notion of Dōgen as the father of the Sōtō sect has become a 'living historical fact', without which, to use Sahashi Hōryū's words (also on the nengemishō, above, p. 50) 'the (Sōtō) position does not hold true'. By its use of the concept of relative truth and of the patterns of interpretation it has inherited from its cultural background, Sōtō has built its modern platform upon concepts which are, in strictly historical terms, untrustworthy (for example, Dōgen as inheritor, via a chain of transmission, of the essence of Buddha's teaching, and Dōgen as founder of the sect) yet which remain, in the Sōtō context, to be necessary and, ultimately, accepted truths which have served it in the society in which it has grown from narrow beginnings into the large-scale organisation of the current age.

PART TWO: THE EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF SŌTŌ ZEN IN
JAPAN

The name and tradition of Sōtō both have their origins in China although, in keeping, perhaps, with the lack of definitive historical evidence in Zen, the actual derivation of the name is unclear. The two syllables of Sōtō come (in Japanese) from the readings of the first kanji of the name of the Chinese Zen master Sōzan Honjaku**, or from that of Sōkei** Enō (i.e. Hui Neng), about whom, as has been shown (above, p. 56) there is much speculation but little in the way of concrete fact, whilst it is agreed that the second syllable 'tō' comes from Sōzan Honjaku's teacher, Tōzan Ryōkai (807-869). Dumoulin states that "it has not been positively established whether the first character came from the name of the monastery of the Sixth Patriarch Enō, namely Sōkei, or whether it refers to the monastery of Ryōkai's follower Sōzan Honjaku".¹ The Sōtō sect itself is undecided on this issue: Takeuchi, for example, states that the likelihood is that it derives from Sōzan² whilst Iida Rigyō, in a booklet published by Sōtō Zen headquarters in Tokyo designed to provide a basic introduction to Zen, affirms strongly that the name comes from Enō.³ In any event, Sōtō traces its lineage back through Dōgen and Nyōjō to Sōzan and Tōzan and, beyond them, to Enō.

Despite the Chinese background as manifested by its name, the roots of Sōtō in Japan are, in the eyes

of the sect, seen as coming from the Japanese monk Dōgen, who journeyed to China and brought the Sōtō message and lineage to Japan. Kōdera has pointed out that much of Dōgen's thought was derived from and taken from the teachings he inherited from his master's lineage,⁴ thus countering the notion that he was an entirely innovative teacher (the normal presentation of him by Japanese commentators). It has, indeed, been shown that Dōgen received and accepted such concepts as the shōden, kyōgebetsuden and ishindenshin, directly from China, but it must also be understood that Dōgen's position in Japan is unique, in that it was he who brought these teachings to Japan, established them and, embellishing them, expounded them as a coherent system of teaching in Japan. Before Dōgen, Sōtō was all but unknown in Japan: the Sōtō which developed from his time onwards was that established and taught by him. Consequently, besides becoming, in hindsight, the father of the sect, he became the innovator, and this is certainly the image conveyed by modern Sōtō publications and writings which will be examined in later chapters⁵ and, as has been stated above (p. 41) in the current century, Sōtō academics have, in response to the challenge set in motion by Watsuji, specifically interpreted and emphasised Dōgen in this way.

Sōtō's Japanese origins can be dated to the return of Dōgen from China late in 1227, at which time he wrote the Fukanzazengi** (i.e. the Principles of the Practice of zazen), an enunciation of the manner of practice and

the underlying philosophy of zazen as taught by Nyojō, which Dōgen, by his own practice in China, had verified. It was not for some years, however, that a specific group developed centred on Dōgen and his teachings, for he first stayed at the Rinzai temple Kenninji** in Kyoto, where he had resided prior to his departure for China, until, weary of the internal quarrels of the monks there and of the decline in monastic discipline which he felt had occurred during the years of his absence, he left Kenninji and moved to Uji, near Kyoto, where he inhabited and restored a run-down temple then called Gokurakuji. This was reopened in 1236 as Kōshōji**, the first independent Zen temple in Japan.⁶ The group crystallised and developed into an order on the move in 1244 from Kōshōji to Eihei-ji, a temple built on a tract of land donated by a lay follower in a remote valley in the Echizen (modern Fukui prefecture) region, a move stimulated both by Dōgen's desire to leave the urban environment and by the hostility of the established Buddhist orders in and around the city. Eihei-ji remains today one of the two head temples of the Sōtō sect in Japan.

Because one of the cardinal points of Dōgen's teaching was his assertion of having inherited the 'true transmission' of Buddhism from Nyojō's lineage, he considered it unnecessary for his followers in Japan to go abroad in search of further teaching. The 'true transmission' was now in Japan and those who sought the true way of Buddhism should come to Eihei-ji rather than wander afield.

While there was no immediate closing of channels with China (and one or two monks, such as Gikai, who eventually became the third head of Eihei-ji, did go across to China to study) Sōtō developed from this time onwards in Japan as a Japanese order and lineage. Dōgen's Zen was, in style, formally Chinese, and his insistence on the use of the formal practices and customs that he had seen in China was later to cause some difficulties and contribute to the fragmentation of the Eihei-ji group after his death but, due to his centring the movement in Japan and teaching his followers to study there rather than go to China, he opened the door to Japanisation. As those who had had personal contact with Dōgen died, the links which bound the order to formal, Chinese style methods of behaviour gradually loosened and external Chinese characteristics gave way to Japanese ones, under the influence of those followers who wished to not only prevent the order from falling into a decline due to an adherence to foreign, rigid formalisms, but also to transform it into a living reality in a Japanese context. While this changed many of the external characteristics of Dōgen's order, it held to the core of his teachings while preparing the ground for the growth of the large sect that Sōtō has become in the Japanese context.

It is fundamental to the understanding of Sōtō as a sect in modern Japan to realise that it is, and for some seven centuries has been, a Japanese sect of Buddhism based on the experiences and teachings of Dōgen, which it has developed and modified. While Dōgen is the father

figure of Sōtō, he is not the sole founder in the Sōtō view: this accolade is also given to the great proselytiser of the order, Keizan. It was the achievement of Keizan and others associated with him to make the Sōtō teachings available to a wide audience in Japan and it was his group which was instrumental in developing an order attuned to the needs of its Japanese context. The legacy of such work can be seen today in the expansion and in the modern day reforms of the sect. It is, accordingly, at this point necessary to briefly examine the early period of Sōtō's development after its importation from China.

As has been stated, this development followed from Dōgen's return from China, where he had gone in search of a true and pure way of Buddhism. Initially, he had studied at the major centres of Buddhism in Japan, being ordained at the Tendai headquarters of Hieizan, near Kyoto, and, afterwards, had spent time at other temples in Kyoto. He had been angered by the venality of the monks at Hieizan and had come to the view that Japan had failed to receive the real essence of Buddhism, and had fallen into corrupt ways. It was this conviction that stimulated his desire to go to China to seek a true master and teaching. Nonetheless, Dōgen never lost his faith in the essential Tendai teaching of the Lotus Sutra, which formed a part of (to use a phrase I have used in Chapter One) his own "religious commonwealth", and in his magnum opus, the Shōbōgenzō, he frequently refers to the Lotus Sutra.⁷ When Dōgen went to China, he eventually found the answers he had sought, by meeting Nyojō and receiving transmission

in the Sōtō lineage. He brought its essential teachings, including that of shikantaza*, (i.e. pure and single minded sitting in meditation) back to Japan and in his works, commencing with the Fukanzazengi, and the teaching he gave at Kōshōji and later at Eihei-ji, instituted the basis of a separate Buddhist order founded on the principles he had studied in China, expounded in his own way, and based on his own understanding and satori* (i.e. enlightenment). Dōgen had the ardent enthusiasm of the recently converted for, after his disappointments at several Japanese centres before, and at several Chinese ones during, his stay in China, his period of study and practice at Nyōjō's temple of the Sōtō line had enabled him to end his search. Consequently, he held the customs and ways of behaviour of the (Chinese) Sōtō order to encompass the truth (which was backed, of course, by the legitimations of the nengemishō) and tried to institute them in toto in Japan. He considered the model he had seen in China to be the true Buddhism, the correct monastic way as instituted by the Buddha, and by transposing it to Japan, felt he was preserving the true letter of the law. By doing this, while simultaneously teaching and writing in the Japanese, rather than the Chinese language which was the lingua franca of Buddhism in Japan up to that stage, he took the first steps towards the development of the order as a Japanese system.

There is a wealth of material available which deals with Dōgen's life and teaching,⁸ including translations of much of his work into English and commentaries on it, as well as a growing amount of work carried out by Japanese scholars, to the extent that a Japanese academic of the Sōtō sect remarked to me that "Dōgen studies are something of an industry in themselves",⁹ and it is not within the scope of this work to further investigate his life or teachings as such. Rather, what is important in this context is the use that has been made of him and the interpretations that have been put on his work by the Sōtō sect, as well as the position he holds in the eyes of Sōtō as the source and authority of the sect in Japan. Dōgen refuted sect names but he did establish a temple, a tradition and an order, albeit of limited size at his death in 1253. Dōgen's rather premature (he was only 54) death had left the group gathered around him at Eihei-ji somewhat confused, for he had not managed to establish a succession and lineage as such, nor had he precisely indicated the nature of the order he wished to develop in the long term. There remains some dispute as to whether he intended to broaden the order or to keep it as a narrow-based, highly specialised monastic community. Certainly, in his period at Uji, he had given talks to lay people and had accepted lay disciples¹⁰ and an examination of the teachings he gave at this time reveals a more liberal outlook than that expressed in the later works produced at Eihei-ji, where he stressed the need to renounce the world and seek solitude and the monastic path under a true master.

It seems that, in this later period, his intention was to set up a firmly based monastic community rather than opening out and building a wider organisation. According to Sakurai Shūyū, a leading Sōtō academic of the present era, Dōgen at Eiheiji considered that:

'now was not the time to spread the Buddhist way, which depended on him, to the common people; first of all he had to train true disciples,'¹¹

One must assume that his intention was to found such an order run along the lines he thought to be those of the Buddha's community, supported by benevolent laymen, much as kings and merchants had maintained the early Buddhist order, rather than that which has developed, with a wide populist base of several thousand temples financially supported by such methods as selling amulets and performing burial services, using the common currency of Japanese religion rather than the restricted currency of monasticism. His early death, however, coupled with the diverse nature of those who had gathered around him, mitigated against the establishment of such an order. As D. and A. Matsunaga have stated, "from its origin, Dōgen's Sōtō order, unlike other Buddhist sects, was composed not only of direct disciples, but also of groups with similar views that chose to affiliate with his movement".¹² At Kōshōji, and later at Eiheiji, many of those who came to hear his teaching, and at times to remain there, had some prior sectarian affiliation, which was not always

broken. Ōkubo stresses the connection that many of his disciples, including Gikai who was to become the third head of Eihei-ji, had with the (now-defunct) Daruma** sect; many of them had taken the preceptual vows of monkhood in the Daruma sect and, though they moved to Dōgen, never made a clear break with the sect.¹³

The cement of the group was Dōgen's teaching and person, and his demise was a severe blow: Ōkubo states that, 'after Dōgen Zenji died, the original monastic group became extremely fragile.'¹⁴ His immediate successor as head of Eihei-ji was his closest disciple, Ejō**, who had stayed by Dōgen's side from the time they first met in 1234 until Dōgen's death some twenty years after. In this time, Ejō transcribed many of Dōgen's teachings and subsequently compiled them in a coherent fashion. He also was the prime cause of the institutionalised veneration of Dōgen which is an intrinsic part of Sōtō and the life of Eihei-ji today. For the next 28 years until his own death, Ejō tended Dōgen's grave daily and made offerings to it. Today, Ejō is widely revered in Sōtō as a prime example of devotion and pious loyalty, and this forms a recurrent theme in the speeches and talks of the current (1982) head of the sect, Hata Ekyoku. In an interview in the Sōtō monthly periodical Zen no tomo of January 1981, Hata cites Ejō's close devotion and his tending of the grave as great examples of piety (Kōjun*).¹⁵ By his deference to the letter of Dōgen's law and by his worship of the deceased master's grave, however, Ejō

simultaneously helped to freeze the organisation in the form, rather than the spirit, of that law, while opening the gate to the whole range of ancestral rites and to the process of funerary services which are part and parcel of the general Japanese religious commonwealth but which were antithetical to the pure spirit of Dōgen's outlook. Today, Eihei-ji is little different from countless other temples in its performance of such ceremonies, and its regular services for deceased temple heads (monthly for the first five, yearly for the rest) take up a large part of the monks' activities. Ejō, either despite his inherent conservatism and loyalty to Dōgen or, unwittingly, because of it, let open the narrow gate of Dōgenist monasticism to many general traits of Japanese religion; shortly after, the gate was opened to others which have radically affected the manner in which Sōtō has developed.

Ejō had originally retired from the day-to-day affairs of the temple to concentrate on looking after the grave of Dōgen in 1267. At this time, he installed Gikai, a monk whose prior affiliation and ordination had been in the Daruma sect (above, p. 70), as his successor. Gikai had, at Ejō's encouragement, spent 4 years (1259-1262) studying in China and had also spent much time observing the practices at other Japanese temples, especially of the Rinzai lineage.¹⁶ As a result of his eclectic background, Gikai attempted to introduce changes at Eihei-ji, and these met with resistance from many of the more conservative monks at the temple. Accordingly, Ejō was led

to re-assume the position of head, which he held until his death in 1280, at which Gikai succeeded him again. This time, there was no Ejō to act as mediator or arbiter, and the dispute known as the Sandaisōrōn* (i.e. the dispute over the third head (of Eihei-ji)) erupted. Ejō, although a guardian of the strict letter of Dōgen's law, had helped create the conditions for the development away from the original Dōgenist position and structure by designating the eclectic Gikai as his successor and by encouraging his travels to other Buddhist centres. It is possible that Ejō himself realised that a move beyond the narrow lines of the Eihei-ji system was necessary but felt, due to his closeness to Dōgen, unable to instigate it himself, instead enabling Gikai to assume that role. At any rate, their areas of concern were different: Ejō's prime concern was with the maintenance of the rules of and what was considered to be the 'pure Zen' (junsuizen*) of Dōgen, while Gikai's was to develop the order and to promulgate the message of Sōtō to a wider audience.

On assumption of the leadership in 1280, Gikai instituted various reforms and innovations learnt from his contacts with other orders. In 1280, prayers for the safety of the country were said for the first time at Eihei-ji¹⁷ - a move which had nationalistic implications contrary to Dōgen's view of Buddhism as being non-sectarian and universal - and in general an eclectic form of Zen, which took practices from other traditions if it felt that they were of value, and which was known as

mikkyōzen* (i.e. esoteric Zen), began to develop under his leadership. There was opposition to this from the hard core of monks who had studied under Dōgen and who were intent on preserving his system in toto. Led by Jakuen**, a Chinese monk who had come from Nyojō's temple in China,^{and} who had opened the temple Hōkyōji at the nearby town of Ōno in order to help preserve the form of Dōgen's 'pure Zen', and by the Japanese monk Gien**, those monks of the old order, feeling that Gikai was intent on secularising the whole system,¹⁸ opposed such reformist moves.

Dōgen of the Kōshōji period and in his early teachings contained in the Shōbōgenzō Zuimōnki** had been open to the idea of lay participation to a far greater degree than in the later years at Eihei-ji, when he taught that it was essential to renounce the world and become a monk, and this shift in view was an underlying factor in the dispute that arose. Gikai's position was close to the early, Gien's to the later Dōgen, and the question of ultimate affiliation (i.e. whether it was to be a Buddhist order whose aims were to teach the common populace and to thus become a broad sect, directed at least in part to the laity, or whether it was to be a narrow order of monastic discipline concerned with the ways of the monk and of the letter of the teaching) is one which has a continuing history in Sōtō. The conflict between Sōtō as a lay-oriented and as a monk-oriented sect surfaced again at the beginning of the modern (i.e. the post-Meiji Restoration) era in terms of the development of the sect

in the modern age, and remains today as a potential area of dispute.¹⁹ It is interesting to note that it has its roots in the very earliest days of Sōtō in Japan, and in the changing attitudes of its founding father. At any rate, the dispute unsettled the Eihei-ji order, and there being no solution other than a split, the fragile group broke up. Gikai and his close followers moved to Daijō-ji*, a Shingon temple in Kanazawa, in 1282, and converted it to the Zen order (a change of affiliation commented on in Chapter One) while retaining many of its Shingon accoutrements and ceremonials. The immediate result of the Sandaisōron was, then, the division of the Eihei-ji group into two largely separate orders, the one holding on to the form of Dōgen's practice and monastically oriented, the other, while centred on his teachings, attempting to make them more widespread and diffused, and attempting to develop beyond the confines of the monastery, by such methods as the espousal of lay-oriented teachings and practices. In short, the dispute revolved around the maintenance of the order as an entity in itself, unaffected by the customs and outlooks of the society that surrounded it, or the evolution of that order in the context of the society, i.e. whether it should become a Japanese religion (and as such open to the factors discussed in Chapter One).

One of the monks who accompanied Gikai to Daijō-ji was Keizan Jōkin (1268-1325), revered as the second founder-figure of the Sōtō sect, who had gone to study at Eihei-ji

when only 8 years old. He had become Gikai's pupil and, at Gikai's instigation, had travelled extensively, visiting many temples and studying with many teachers in order to broaden his knowledge and understanding. According to Ōkubo (1976) he had both Daruma and Sōtō affiliation, but ultimately chose the Sōtō and abandoned the Daruma sect link.²⁰ Imaeda shows that Keizan had a background not only in these sects, but in others as well, for the teachers he studied with had themselves either dual affiliation or links to two lineages at once. Keizan's teachers (other than his Sōtō ones such as Gikai) were Rinzai masters such as Tōzan, who had Jōdo (Pure Land), and Muhon** and Hakuun.** who had Mikkyō (Shingon) affiliations as well.²¹ It was with the Sōtō line that Keizan had his closest links, for he received ordination as a Sōtō monk and it was to Sōtō that he remained committed and to which he returned when his travels had finished.

It was to Gikai that Keizan offered proof of his own understanding and enlightenment, using a phrase which has become an intrinsic part of the overall philosophy and outlook of Sōtō. It was:

'when drinking tea, just drink tea;
when eating, just eat.'²²

This emphasises the implicit meaning of Dōgen's Genjōkōan (i.e. the kōan of existence), one of the earliest chapters of the Shōbōgenzō, dating from the Uji period. In this

chapter, which has provided much of the basic fuel for later Sōtō writers wishing to argue with the kōan systems of the Rinzai sects, Dōgen shows that the kōan is not an essential tool in the pursuit of enlightenment, for all life is, in and of itself, a kōan which requires solution. For Dōgen, the essential is total involvement in each moment of existence and, in understanding and being involved in each moment, one has to solve the problem which each separate moment poses. In this view, life itself is a constant kōan, and so one has no need of specific kōans, the solution of which accordingly involves one in the solution of merely a particular problem rather than that of the totality. It is a constant criticism forwarded by Sōtō thinkers that the Rinzai method, of specific kōan study and solution, is a step-by-step path (one hears echoes here of the Southern/Northern school dispute in China over sudden or gradual enlightenment!) and that once one has solved one kōan, one merely advances to another. In contrast, in this line of argument, the Sōtō method, by seeking total involvement in the present, is a path of total enlightenment in the moment, a sudden rather than a gradual path.²³ Keizan's answer underlines Dōgen's doctrine of total commitment while, in an important development of it, places it wholly within the sphere of the everyday, for he is implicitly stating that enlightenment occurs within the world of daily actions and nowhere else. Dōgen's teaching, while encompassing this view, was so radically aligned in later years to the monastic order that his emphasis moved away from the mundane.

Keizan, following on from Gikai's lead, turned the focus back to the way of the world, not simply by the adoption of aspects of populism in the structure and practices of the growing order, but in the insistence that enlightenment was in and of, rather than apart from, the world.

On Gikai's death in 1309, Keizan became head of the order centred on Daijōji, and he later transferred its focus to an old Shingon temple in the Nōtō peninsula which he made into a Zen temple and re-named Sōjiji. This was to become one of the two head temples of the Sōtō sect, eventually being accorded equal status with Eihei-ji, a position still held today, although the temple now stands in a new location. After a fire had destroyed much of the original temple, it was moved to Tsurumi in Yokohama (at the gateway, as it were, to Japan, for this was the port at which the bulk of foreign ships docked), in 1898. Keizan's accomplishments in the field of thought, which helped bring Sōtō from the temple confines into the daily world, were more than matched by his achievements in transforming it from its narrow regional base (it was at the time still confined to the Echizen region) into a widespread, national sect - and, indeed, into a sect at all, rather than a fragmented temple group. Ōkubo states that:

'it was with Keizan Zenji that that which we call the Sōtō religious group was first fully crystallised'.²⁴

It is for the achievement of planting the seeds of the sect as an entity, with a firm base, more than for any accomplishments in the realm of doctrine as such, that Keizan is so highly regarded and given equal status with Dōgen by the sect. Yamada Reirin points out that Keizan 'considered that all human beings should be saved',²⁵ and so, accordingly, set up precept-taking ceremonies (jukai-e*) for lay followers of both sexes, thus enabling them to affiliate to Sōtō and make a commitment towards a Buddhist way of life. His was an inclusive way, and Keizan's legacy, in the form of his openness to new methods and in his emphasis on the laity and on the Buddhist path focused in the world, can be found in the outlooks of modern Sōtō which, as will be examined in detail in later chapters, places great stress on the jukai-e for its lay adherents.

Keizan also trained a strong succession of monks, whom he encouraged to travel and to spread the words and messages of Sōtō across the country, and the achievement of this succession was to found innumerable temples and to come into contact with large numbers of people in Japan. Foremost among these disciples was Gazan**, whose work, especially in the area of organisational reform and temple regulations, made him almost as focal a figure in the growth of Sōtō as Keizan. Takeuchi, for instance, considers that Gazan 'can be called the Sōtō sect's third founding teacher',²⁶ - although, due both to symmetry, for the two founder figures form a trinity in Sōtō imagery with the Buddha, and to Keizan's having founded one of the head temples, he is not officially so venerated.

Kim describes the era from 1253 until 1660 as one of "the insitutional expansion of the Sōtō sect", while noting that the methods so used "were not in accord with their founder's style of Zen".²⁷ 1253 was the year of Dōgen's death: in other words, Sōtō developed as such after the founder had gone. While it is true to say that the methods of Gikai, Keizan, Gazan and others of their school were not directly in the mould of Dōgen, it is not necessarily correct to imply that these methods and approaches were in essence contrary to his teaching or, indeed, to the flow of the Mahayana tradition of which they were heirs. They continued to base the exposition of the Buddhism that they propagated on Dōgen's teaching and, as Takeuchi says of those who spread the Sōtō influence across the country:

'each strove for the development
of Dōgen's Zen from his own
respective viewpoint'.²⁸

It was the vehicle, rather than the inner content, that underwent the greatest change.

The assimilative and inclusive nature of Buddhism has been noted, in Chapter One, and the territorial expansion of Sōtō is broadly in keeping with this pattern. As Imaeda has pointed out²⁹ most of the sects of the later Kamakura age took part in populist evangelisation, and Sōtō was no exception to this, concentrating especially on rural areas and farming communities.³⁰ By the process of assimilation, by incorporating local customs, and general

aspects of Japanese religious activity such as sōshiki* (services for the dead) and prayers, Sōtō expanded, in direct contrast to Rinzai Zen which remained largely an urban-based (most of its great temples were around the political centres of Kyoto and Kamakura, unlike those of Sōtō) practice of the leisured and warrior classes, with its emphases on artistic and militaristic disciplines. The popular phrase Rinzai shōgun Sōtō domin (i.e. Rinzai for warriors, Sōtō for farmers³¹) expresses succinctly the contrast by which, while Rinzai remained comparatively small and metropolitan, Sōtō, as promulgated by Gikai, Keizan and their followers, expanded into a proselytising religion with relevance for, and access to, the general populace.³²

Sōtō's pattern of expansion was based on opening large new temples in every area as the focal point for local development and by converting old and disused temples to the Sōtō lineage.³³ These methods, mainly emanating from the Keizan-Gazan grouping, helped develop the loose federation which was the basic organisational structure of Sōtō before the modern age, and which still exists today in that temples, while owing allegiance to a body of teaching, are independent in terms of activity from the central channels of control in the sect. As has been previously noted (above, p. 70) Dōgen's early group had a somewhat mixed lineage, and this pattern continued along with its expansion territorially. Regionally powerful temples were opened, which would form the focus of Sōtō

in that area and which would, though nominally affiliated to either of the head temples, be de facto head temples for the region. To cite one example, in 1384, the priest Tenyō Soyū**, who was seventh in his particular lineage in descent from Dōgen,³⁴ opened a temple called Unkōji** in the hills near the famous pottery town of Seto in Aichi prefecture. This temple was the centre of Sōtō activity in the area, and in time it opened other temples, as branch temples of itself, and in the present age there are 30 temples thus linked to Unkōji³⁵ and, through it, to Eihei-ji. Due to this mode of growth, Sōtō emerged less as a coherent unit than as an ever-expanding federation of temple groups. The famous prayer temple, Saijō-ji, which has been discussed in Chapter One, stands at the head of a sub-sect of 3,683 temples³⁶ and forms a link from these temples to Sōjiji with which it has a special, direct relationship (it is a jikimatsu*, which denotes a temple with close affiliation with the head temple of a sect). Another jikimatsu of Sōjiji, the training centre Shōbō-ji** in Iwate prefecture which has 78 branch temples,³⁷ is often, partly due to the size of its buildings, having the largest hattō* (i.e. Dharma hall) in Japan,³⁸ and partly due to its pivotal role in the expansion of Sōtō in Northern Japan, referred to as 'the third head temple of Sōtō!':³⁹

According to Yokozeki's detailed work on Sōtō administration in the Edo period⁴⁰ there were, by the seventeenth century, 39 sub-sects (ha*) in Sōtō, all of which were related to the head temples of the main sect via their respective (local) head temples in a loose

federation. As a rule, the majority of these links were with Sōjiji's founder, Keizan, and although Sōtō is officially one sect, temples still to this day continue to express allegiance as a rule to one or the other head temples.⁴¹ A monk at Eiheiji estimated to me that over 90% of all Sōtō temples were connected to Sōjiji,⁴² and Kōhō Chisan, a Sōtō historian and priest who was head priest of Saijōji and, later, in the mid-1960's, of Sōjiji, states that in the Edo period (the figures are from the reign of Emperor Enkyō (1744-47)):

'the Eiheiji group had only 1183 branch temples, while in fact the Sōjiji group numbered 16,391 temples!'.⁴³

He further goes on to note that the Tokugawa government, wishing to broaden Eiheiji's financial base and support, had persuaded two sub-sects in Kaga prefecture to amalgamate with Eiheiji, and that:

'if these two groups were not part of it, the Eiheiji group would probably not have numbered even one hundred temples'.⁴⁴

This is a reflection on the conservative nature of Eiheiji, which by and large tried to stay true to the form of Dōgen's Zen, as it does today, attempting to run its daily schedule as close to the original as is possible,⁴⁵ although it must be remembered that such events as funerary rites which occur at Eiheiji have little in common

with the monastic way envisaged by Dōgen. At any rate, Eihei-ji did not follow the expansionist and evangelistic ways of Sōjiji, but although the sect is, in terms of size, largely a result of policies carried out by the Sōjiji line, its standing as a single sect revolves around a sometimes acrimonious and strained relationship between the two which^{are} today acknowledged as joint head temples (daihonzan*) of Sōtō in Japan.

In a country where sectarian fissure seems to be the norm (there are, for example, 15 sects in the Rinzai denomination, while Tendai sub-divides into 20 sects and Shingon into 45)⁴⁶ it is, according to Nara, a 'rare occurrence'⁴⁷ - if not indeed a unique one - for a sect to remain as one in an organisational sense. Certainly the existence of two equal head temples, as well as a separate central administrative office, is unique. The normal pattern in Japan is of a head temple and office combined, as exemplified, for example, by Nanzen-ji**, the head temple and administrative centre of the Nanzen-ji Rinzai sect. Paradoxically, it may be that relationships between different factions within Sōtō might be less harmonious than those between different sects in the Rinzai group⁴⁸ for there has been a long history of strife between Sōjiji and Eihei-ji factions, from the Sandaisōron onwards, but nonetheless the two have remained linked in one organisation. The cement, as has been mentioned before, of the early group was Dōgen's teaching, and this continued to be the case after his death. Although Dōgen's teachings were at the core of Sōtō, he is, in Sahashi Hōryū's words,

'not titled "the sect founder"',⁴⁹ for he and Keizan are placed together as 'the two founders' (niso*), but at the same time he is beyond reproach in terms of his teaching. Despite all the secessions and disputes within the original group, none were over the content of his teaching; rather they were over the mode of application and over the question of modification.

Despite the development of lineages and temple groups separate from Eihei-ji, the temple that Dōgen founded continued to have a special status in Sōtō in general. There remained among the secessionists what Sahashi Hōryū has termed 'a feeling of reverence which surpassed reason',⁵⁰ for Dōgen and his temple. Accordingly, when Eihei-ji fell into a period of decline, culminating in a disastrous fire in 1473 which destroyed much of the temple complex, the richer and more powerful Sōji-ji helped in its reconstruction. Eihei-ji had never had a firm economic base, being much more dependent on the goodwill of land owning patrons and supporters, while Sōji-ji, due to the large number of branch temples under it, had a broad and extensive financial infrastructure and was thus able to help Eihei-ji, to which it felt a bond and a reverential obligation, in times of difficulty. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries saw the deepening of the uneasy bond between the two, for while Sōji-ji had fiscal power, Eihei-ji had the status and honour of being Dōgen's temple and, indeed, the first one of the new order he established. In 1507, it had been granted the title 'Japanese Sōtō Sect's chief training centre' (Nihon Sōtōshūdaichidōjō*) by the Emperor,⁵¹

a title it still lays claim to, although in the modern age it tends to use the term 'basic (or fundamental) Zen training centre'.⁵² While Eihei-ji needed the help of Sōji-ji to enable it to continue to maintain something of that 'narrow gate' of Buddhism that its founder had espoused, and to repair its physical decline, Sōji-ji, bound by its feelings for Dōgen, sought the legitimation that Eihei-ji, by virtue of its connection with Dōgen, possessed.

The relationship, however was in no way a simple and easy one: the history of dispute, after all, started in the thirteenth century, and long standing wounds had been sustained, which were at times aggravated by rivalry. In the sixteenth century, this rivalry was especially intense over the issue of titles. Eihei-ji had been granted the title mentioned above, and, in 1535, proclaimed itself to be the head temple and chief training centre of Sōtō: this title was confirmed by a proclamation of the Emperor, after much lobbying from Eihei-ji, in 1574.⁵³ This caused a great deal of resentment at Sōji-ji, not only because of the implied superiority it gave to Eihei-ji, but also because, at the time, Sōji-ji was financing the re-building of Eihei-ji, which had suffered extensive fire damage. Yet when Sōji-ji advanced a petition to the Emperor asking for a similar honour, it was refused, partly as a result of the strong objections voiced by Eihei-ji. One has to note here that the rejection of worldly ways that was fundamental to the founding of Eihei-ji seems to have fallen into disuse by the sixteenth century- at least, that is, as far as such matters as titular status are concerned!

The Tokugawa government went some way towards soothing these disputes in 1614 by decreeing that both were jointly head temples,⁵⁴ but yet again, after more lobbying for Eiheiji, a new decree, whilst according the title of head temple to both, placed Eiheiji above Sōjiji in the sect.⁵⁵ At this time the reform mentioned above (p. 82) was enacted, thus enabling Eiheiji to gain a degree of financial security and independence from Sōjiji. The relationship continued to be uneasy and subject to the stresses of rivalry and inter-dependence, even in the post-Meiji Restoration era, when a formal agreement was made to establish a status quo and to make both equal head temples.

The development of Sōtō was founded on the work of two main figures whom the sect today venerates, and each in their way filled a vital role: Dōgen as teacher, Keizan as proselytiser and developer. The temples they are associated with equally form a similar function, one as the focus of the monastic way, the other as the focus of the expansionist impulse. Probably without external support, the 'narrow gate' of Dōgen and, later, Gien, might have collapsed from lack of funds, or would have remained as a minor and insignificant sectarian grouping: instead, it is part of a large and wealthy organisation. Much of the credit for this lies with the Sōjiji grouping which continually worked to prevent the demise of Dōgen's temple and teaching. Indeed, in line with this, there was, in the seventeenth century, a reformist move emanating

from the Keizan lineages, aimed at reviving the decline of Eihei-ji and, more specifically, at re-awakening interest in the Shōbōgenzō, which had been neglected since the fourteenth century. Under leaders such as Manzan Dōhaku** (1636-1714), the Shōbōgenzō was reprinted and academic studies of it encouraged and developed, while a drive for unity was made, centred on a move to Eihei-ji as the focus of Sōtō unity.⁵⁶ In this age, the tradition of academic research, and that of respect for academic work, was founded, at Eihei-ji as well as in the more liberal Sōjiji lineages, and the concept of the shugakusō* (i.e. the priest who is versed in both religious practices and academic studies) was formed. This respect continues today (as witness the number of Sōtō priests who are academics, and vice versa) and Sōtō now maintains universities (Komazawa in Tokyo, Tsurumi in Yokohama, Aichi Gakuin in Nagoya and Tōhoku Fukushi in Sendai) as well as several colleges and schools. It was in the seventeenth century that the moves which led to this situation were started and in which the foundations of what Imaeda has termed 'the great gate which we see today'⁵⁷ (of Sōtō) were laid.

The growth of Sōtō as a nationwide sect has been the result of the activities of Keizan and his Sōjiji-centred lineages and yet its pivotal core always remained the teachings of Dōgen and his temple (the 'basic Zen training centre') Eihei-ji. Though the two temples have had a largely unharmonious relationship, they have worked in a complementary manner, enabling both to develop

along different lines. In chapter One, a model has been made of Japanese religion as a two-tiered structure, of the "religious commonwealth" and the specifically sectarian, and in some degrees, the Eihei-ji-Sōji-ji relationship has mirrored this. One must stress that Sōji-ji is, in its own right, one of the largest and most disciplined training centres for monks in Japan, and is, of course, in this manner a specifically Sōtō temple, but it has been in the vanguard of the populist movements in Sōtō and has functioned as its major centre of dissemination. Moreover, Sōji-ji has been most active in adapting and adopting non-Sōtō Japanese religious practices and customs, while Eihei-ji has symbolised the specifically Sōtō/Dōgenist nature of the sect (and also its dependence on, and support from, the underlying commonwealth).

Sōtō has grown as a federation of sub-sects loosely held together via affiliations to two head temples, which themselves stand apart yet linked by historical and functional factors. That Sōtō has remained as one sect in organisation, with over 15,000 temples, rather than fragmenting along the lines of other Japanese Buddhist sects, is due in part to this pattern of development which, growing from a central core and a unified teaching, has expanded, in characteristic Mahayanist fashion, in accord with local and temporal factors, while maintaining a loyalty to the centre. In its basic philosophy, as espoused by its founding teacher, it is unified and centralised; in its expansion and development, it has become diverse and federated.

The two complement each other, and just as the ever-feuding Eihei-ji and Sōjiji are held together in the same organisation,⁵⁸ transcending the paradox of Dōgen's rejection of sects and the growth of a sect based on his way, so do the unity and the diversity of Sōtō go hand in hand. The modern development of a centralised administrative organisation has done little to alter this, for in order to continue to hold the various parts of the federation under one roof, there has had to be a continued adherence to what Imaeda terms 'the great gate', an acceptance of the historical evolution of Sōtō which underlies its modern structure and form, and a respect both for the unity which has held the various factions in Sōtō together and the diversity which has held the key to its size and growth. It is in this light that the modern historical development of the sect and the concomitant outlooks expressed by it have to be examined.

C H A P T E R T H R E E

THE EMERGENCE OF SŌTŌ IN THE MODERN AGE
AND THE COMPILATION OF THE SHUSHŌGI**

The Sōtō priest Nakane Senshō, writing in 1968 on the 100th anniversary of the Meiji Restoration and commenting on its impact on Buddhism in Japan, wrote that it was 'a turning point for the Japanese people and for Japanese Buddhism',¹ in which both 'woke up from 300 years of peaceful dreams of the Tokugawa era'.² That era had seen 215 years, from 1639 until 1854, in which the country was closed to outside contacts, during which time the government sought to centralise the Japanese political system, basing it on a Confucianist ethic, and eradicating all traces of the foreign Christian religion. In doing this, it used Buddhism as a tool of government, making temples into the equivalent of local town halls at which everyone had to register and swear allegiance; everyone thus became members both of temples and of the sects to which the particular temple belonged. This, at least in theory, broke the growing influence (in the seventeenth century) of Christianity by making its adherents apostasise and swear allegiance to another religion. It was also the foundation of the danka system and, by giving the temples an assured clientele, served, along with the patronage of local daimyō* (local feudal lords) who, especially by grants of land, provided a major source of economic support, to give temples in the Tokugawa era a firm

financial footing.

All this was, however, to the long term detriment of Buddhism, for it tied it to a particular political system and, when that system fell from grace, Buddhism suffered in the backlash. Moreover, temples, although they benefited materially, by and large declined in spiritual terms. As they were used as an instrument of the government in its persecution of another religion, and as they had numerous bureaucratic duties to carry out in line with this role, time spent on Buddhist practices as such was limited, especially as the link with a number of danka, coupled with the role of temples in the sphere of mortuary rites, meant that much time had to be spent on the performance of ceremonies. More radically, the prevailing governmental ethic was Confucian, and although Buddhism was used as an arm of control, it was given no spiritual role: in fact, spiritually related Buddhist teaching among the people was prohibited.³ Accordingly, the Buddhism of the era was in religious terms emasculated, confined to a bureaucratic role divorced from ^{the} spiritual needs of contemporary society, becoming, in the words of Mizuno (1978b):

'a specialist in dealing with people after they had died'⁴

Temple-parishioner links were merely formal and, there being no scope for teaching as such, the Japanese people of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries grew up largely unaware of the actual beliefs and attitudes of Buddhism: for them it was merely an instrument of control and a

mortuary centre. In terms of actual practice, there was little or no scope: accordingly, Buddhism, denied the necessary stimulus of continuing debate, teaching and contact in the spiritual sphere, stagnated, lapsing into a formalism centred on the execution of rituals for the dead. This was as true for Sōtō as for other sects and Ōuchi Seiran, a Sōtō monk of the later nineteenth century, who had left the priesthood in order to help develop lay Buddhism, and who was to be singularly influential in the formation of Sōtō outlooks toward the laity, wrote that pre-Meiji Sōtō 'had ended up completely formalistic, and had no time to pay attention to such things as lay teaching'.⁵

When the sakoku (i.e. closed country) system broke down due to outside pressure in 1854, it led to extensive culture contact with the West, and this in itself helped alter the internal political set-up of Japan. The Tokugawa era all but ended at this time, though it was not until the political upheavals of 1867-68, when the Emperor was restored to the centre of the political stage, that the feudal regime fell. The disbandment of the feudal system and the growth of a modernistic one with different ideals were great blows to a Buddhism that had been economically cushioned and made spiritually moribund by its close attachment to the fallen regime. Murakami considers that there was a current of "extreme anger of the masses toward Buddhism as the basic link of authority in the hierarchy of the feudal control system:"⁶ certainly, there was a period after the Meiji Restoration when the government,

acting on guidelines controlled by a Shintoist ethic, attempted to disestablish Buddhism. A Department of Shinto was set up in 1868, and the haibutsu kishaku* (i.e. to exterminate Buddhism) movement grew with governmental backing. In the Tokugawa era, many Shinto shrines had come under Buddhist control, and there followed a spate of attacks by Shinto priests on such places; for example, the Shinto priests of the seven shrines on Hieizan drove out the Buddhist priests and destroyed the Buddhist images in the shrines.⁷ Government ordinances decreed that national religious ceremonies were to be carried out by Shinto priests and that Shinto shrines were to be supported by central and local governments. The decisive blow in many ways was the confiscation of temple estates, which had been a prime source of temple wealth. This hit the Shinshū** (one of the Pure Land sects) less than, for example, Shingon, for the Shin sect had a lay organisation on which it relied in the main, in contrast to Shingon which had the greatest dependence of all sects on feudal estates.⁸ Sōtō, which had developed a large temple network, had had close links with daimyō but had no organised lay system at this time and, though it was not so radically hit as was Shingon by this measure, its economic base was severely depleted.

The attack on Buddhism after the Meiji Restoration, whilst restoring control of many shrines to Shinto priests and undermining its economic foundations, did not so much eradicate Buddhism as alter its structure and position in Japan. In many ways the effects of the haibutsu kishaku

were beneficial, for the shocks administered to the body of Buddhism by the Meiji Restoration not only caused it to awaken from its 'peaceful dreams' but also forced it to embark on a process of reforms that have transformed Buddhism from being monk-oriented into being concerned far more with the affairs of the laity. Ōuchi points out that temples could no longer afford to support large numbers of monks after their estates had been confiscated⁹ and thus a necessary internal process of reform evolved. In fact, it seems that many monks voluntarily returned to lay life¹⁰ so that there occurred what Kishimoto has termed "a kind of voluntary weeding-out process which unexpectedly helped Buddhism".¹¹ While the haibutsu kishaku undermined Buddhism's economic power base it also helped stimulate internal reform movements which aimed to awaken the spiritual side of the religion neglected in the previous centuries.

The 1870's were a period of much turbulence and activity in the religious sphere, and it is interesting to note the movements of reform within the Sōtō sect that accompanied the external developments in the Japanese religious world. Although it found it impossible to eradicate Buddhism, which had developed an important social role in the realm of mortuary rites so basic to the whole Japanese household system, the new regime took other measures to erode the foundations of Buddhism in Japan. In 1872, a decree was enacted which permitted priests to grow their hair, eat meat and marry.¹² Such a decree of course hit

at the roots of monasticism, especially such as that advocated by Dōgen, and it is a matter of some debate as to whether this item of legislation has not had a profounder effect on the nature of Japanese Buddhism in the modern age than any other act or decree. Certainly as the move towards more extensive lay teaching developed, there also evolved a growth in the numbers of priests who married, raised families and thus transformed the nature of the temple into something resembling a family domain. This was not true of the large temples such as Eihei-ji, Sōji-ji and Saijō-ji, which were training centres for monks, but did affect the smaller local temples. Indeed in many cases, as monks returned to lay life, it became necessary for the remaining temple priest(s) to take a wife who could help perform the day-to-day tasks involved in running a temple. Indeed, the wife of one temple priest wryly informed me that prior to the Meiji era, head priests had a number of pupils to do the temple work for them, but that nowadays there were few pupils and so priests had to marry and get a wife to help do the work.¹³ As priests married and raised families, there evolved the seshū* (i.e. hereditary transmission) system, whereby temples were passed from priest to son, rather than master to disciple. Figures are not available to show exactly how many temples in the current age are inherited in such a way, but the vast majority of temples have married priests. Indeed, Oda Baisen, the head priest of Tōgan-ji in Nagoya, which is a temple passed always from master to unmarried disciple, estimated that close to 99% of Sōtō temples in Nagoya are under the seshū system¹⁴ and

a brief examination of some of the material published by the Sōtō sect serves to underline this modern aspect of the temple as a family centre, where there is not only a priest but a wife and probably children. In a book published by the Soto Head Office in 1980, directed at temple families and entitled Jitei no sho (i.e. 'book for a temple family') it says that:

'in any temple nowadays, generally,
there is a wife. There are
children. The family lives
happily centred on the temple
priest',¹⁵

and goes on to evaluate the importance of the temple as a 'family training centre' (Kazokudōjō*).

It is not unique that Japanese Buddhist priests marry (certain of the Tibetan Buddhist sects also do so) but the move to allow this has had profound effects on the nature of the temple in Japan, and also on the structure of the priesthood. As the majority of temples now are subject to sesū it follows that the greater part of the priesthood consists of sons of priests, who have been brought up in a temple and who have been trained to follow their father's footsteps. The underlying dangers of such a situation have been pointed out to me by critics of the system, such as Oda Baisen and Sahashi Hōryū, who argue that the system means that the priest is not totally committed to the service of others, for he has to take care of his family first. It must be remembered that Ōda's temple, Tōganji, has been discussed in Chapter One

in its aspect of helping in the development of family fortunes (e.g. the connection with the notion of ryōen (i.e. good marriage), fertility and the like), and in an interview with Nakagawa Toshio published in 1979, Oda stresses the importance of the relationship between a man and a woman, stating that they must live together in harmony: if one lives alone, he considers that the natural way of the world is disturbed.¹⁶ In another interview in the Buddhist periodical Daihōrin of April 1982, he also emphasises such views¹⁷ and at the same time criticises Japanese priests as being concerned with business (he used the phrase 'Japanese priests are businessmen' in a newspaper interview¹⁸) and not committed to the problems they should be dealing with. He relates this to the seshū system, for young priests, by succeeding their fathers are, in effect, taking over a family business: moreover they do not spend long years of religious training in the manner of priests in earlier times. He has elsewhere quoted his teacher, his predecessor as head priest of Tōganji, as saying:

'It is absolutely wrong for
Zen priests to have wives!
One walks the Buddhist way
on behalf of other people and
on behalf of the world'.¹⁹

and he himself strongly believes that as a priest one must devote oneself totally to the service of others; hence marriage, while the norm for the laity, is not for the priesthood.²⁰

Sahashi Hōryū, although he himself was brought up in a temple and has followed the custom of marrying, has criticised the current system on the grounds that heirs to temples are, in his view, prone to spend their times on learning ceremonies (as the performance of these is the major economic source of the temple) and do not study the creed and religious practices of the sect. He complains that most only spend 6 months or a year on such actual practice,²¹ in contrast to long years in former times, and that, as a result, most temple priests cannot speak from their own experiential awareness of Buddhism. As seshū controls most temples, any aspirant with no hereditary connection finds it increasingly difficult on becoming a priest to find a temple to take care of. Temples with any income are monopolised by the sons of priests, and good priests with no such family connection are wont to leave the sect, unable to find a temple which can support their studies.²² This same complaint has been relayed to me by a former monk of the Sōtō sect, whose interest was in running a danka temple, but who found that this avenue was blocked because he was an outside entrant to the priesthood. As a result, he left and returned to lay life. The roots of such problems lie in the post-Meiji legislation which opened the Buddhist priesthood to such previously prohibited practices.

At this time also, the government, having failed to uproot Buddhism, attempted to create a national religious code centred on the state, by fusing Buddhist, Confucian

and Shinto elements. Three articles of faith (the sanjō*), which stressed patriotism and loyalty to the Emperor, were drawn up and issued as a national standard of belief and practice; all religious sects were expected to teach them. Accordingly, in 1873, Eiheiji published the Sanjō Benkai (i.e. an explanation of the three articles), explaining them from a Sōtō point of view. Other, similar, works were published at the same time, which formed the beginnings of Sōtō publications, printed explanations and interpretations. As the original attempt at the creation of a syncretically organised national religious movement failed to gather any momentum, it was abandoned²³ and the various Buddhist sects were encouraged to form amalgamations. At first the government tried to combine all Zen sects into one, but this proved impossible, so that, eventually, two sects were recognised, Sōtō and Rinzai.²⁴ However, the Rinzai amalgam did not last, breaking up into small sects in the next year, 1876. By this time, state intervention in religious affairs had failed to accomplish much, and attempts to reform (or eradicate) Buddhism gave way to acknowledgements of religious freedom, allowing the various sects to manage themselves. However, the momentum had been stimulated and, largely in the first instance a result of governmental ordinance, the way to lay-oriented explanatory publications had been opened up.

Various reforms were instituted within Sōtō in order to counteract the blows suffered by the sect in the aftermath of the Meiji Restoration and to provide

the sect with a firm organisational bulwark against repeated attacks. In 1872 a pledge of unity between Eiheiji and Sōjiji was signed, declaring that:

'Eiheiji and Sōjiji are both head temples of one sect',²⁵

although at first Eiheiji retained seating priority at sect councils. This at least, however, paved the way towards a unified front in the sect resolving, at any rate superficially, the long-standing dispute that had rent Sōtō over the centuries.

So far, the sect as a whole had had no power base or representative as such in Tokyo, the central political and, increasingly, economic and geographical focus of the country. In such turbulent times as the early Meiji era, this was remiss, for it left the sect, centred as it was in the rural regions and temples, distant from the currents of an era which was making large incursions into its means of support. Moreover, at a time when centralisation was vital (to co-ordinate publications which the sanjō movement had made necessary, to maintain communications between Sōtō's diffuse regional centres and to provide a focus for coherent action) there was none. Sōtō needed some form of representation and co-ordination in Tokyo, and so in December 1872, an office was opened in Tokyo for this purpose. This at first seemed to be an unimportant event for Sōtō as a whole, for the office was simply designated as a 'service agency',²⁶ for the cohesion of the sect, and it was to act as a representative in the

capital for the power bases of the sect-almost, as it were, an embassy. It was also to co-ordinate the publication and distribution of literature in the sect and was purely bureaucratic in function. However, just as Japan itself has become more centralised, so too has Sōtō. The unique position of this office, holding a central co-ordinating function in a loose, rural based organisation which was prone to internal feuds and was riddled with historically rooted disagreements, enabled it to gradually expand its own role and develop into a power centre in its own right.

Nowadays, it bears the title Sōtōshūshūmūchō** (i.e. Sōtō Head Office) and has been termed, by more than one priest, 'the third head temple'.²⁷ It is the chief source and publisher of literature in and about the sect, controlling the content of all the material it publishes from within the Head Office.²⁸ The process of its development to this position of power has been slow and gradual, aided by the fragmented nature of Sōtō as a whole. Takeuchi dates the origins of the modern sect to the opening, in 1872, of the Tokyo office²⁹ and there is much accuracy in this assessment, although this was not the intention at that time. Providing a neutral ground between two generally unharmonious head temples, the office formed a focal point for those within the sect who sought reform and rationalisation of the loosely federated and largely unco-ordinated sect. Situated in the capital in an era of great social change modernisation and democratisation, the office grew as the centre of those forces within the sect. Destruction of the traditional bases of economic

support had led Buddhist sects in general to seek alternative means of maintenance, and this involved making efforts to enlist support from the general populace, or at least from those who were legally affiliated to the respective temples. Some form of co-ordinated teaching and action was necessary for such purposes, and it needed to be in tune with the feelings and attitudes prevalent within the changing society of the Meiji era. The office opened by the sect to act as a functional agency and as a channel of information in Tokyo was gradually, due to this central position, able to expand its role, acting both as a barometer for Sōtō in society and as a force in its own right, ultimately becoming an arbiter of the policies of the sect.

In 1874, the head of Sōjiji, Shogaku Ekidō, was installed as the first head (kanchō*) of the Sōtō sect, and this position was then taken the following year by the incumbent head of Eiheiji. This annually alternating style of office was discontinued in the 1920's and since that era the office of kanchō has been passed on as the incumbent died or retired from office. In this era, the first sect Council (kaigi*) was held, in 1875, which was also the year when, in November, a special, Sōtō, school was founded at a temple in Tokyo.³⁰ This was the first Sōtō educational establishment and it later developed into Komazawa University, one of the leading universities in the religious studies field in Japan. The latter years of the nineteenth century were years of great change in Japan, seeing the development, in 1889, of the Japanese parliament, as well as the numerous technological innovations and economic results of the encounter with the culture

of the Western world. Mizuno (1979) describes the general feeling as that of a 'new age',³¹ which affected religious life and the whole outlook and activities of Buddhist sects. It was also an era in which new religious movements (shinkōshūkyō*), as Offner and Von Straelen have demonstrated,³² began to grow, thus taking potential followers from the Buddhist camp, as did the once-banned but, in the new era of religious freedom, now-tolerated, Christianity.

In such an era, change was perhaps inevitable, but it was also necessary due to the altered circumstances that Sōtō found it had to face. As it had lost its accustomed support with the loss of feudal estates, it had to seek elsewhere. Previously unaccustomed to missionary activity (at least in the Tokugawa era) Sōtō, like other Buddhist sects, had of necessity to seek its support from a general populace which had little idea, due to the restrictions on teaching in the Tokugawa era, of the actual standpoint of the different sects and which had at least some degree of resentment at Buddhism's close identification with the previous regime. Proselytisation was essential and as the Sōtō priest Andō Bunei remarks in the prologue to his commentary on the Shushōgi:

'thus, the Sōtō sect was carried along, in the same way as the other sects, by the developments of the age, and had to embark upon widespread missionary activity among the general public.'³³

The establishment of the publications office in Tokyo and the unity of the head temples were steps forward, but many Sōtō activists felt that more coherence was necessary. The early Meiji era attempts to spread the message of Sōtō were, according to Mizuno (1978b), rather unsuccessful, for the sect had no practice in doing so and was out of its depth in such matters.³⁴ However, at this stage, the emergence of a concerted lay movement within Sōtō, equipped for the task of lay teaching, served to provide not only renewed impetus but also the basis of a coherent policy and teaching, which is still held to be the standard guideline of the sect. This is the Shushōgi, an edited compilation from the writings of Dōgen, which is described by the Shūryō Hikkei (i.e. Handbook for priests, published by Sōtō Head Office) as 'the standard guideline of teaching for the sect.'³⁵

It may be noted that the Jōdo Shin sect, which had, as has been mentioned (above p. 93) a lay organisation on which it always depended for support, was in the vanguard of the responses to the challenges posed by the Meiji era; it was the Higashi Honganji** Shin sect which first sent members to the West to view and to study in 1873. In 1876 it sent Fumio Nanjō to England to study with Max Muller, the first step towards the development of a Japanese scholarship of Buddhist thought and languages.³⁶ Until this time, Japanese Buddhism had had contact to any meaningful degree only with China, and the Sanskrit and Pali texts of early Buddhism, as well as the Theravada traditions of South-East Asia, were virtually unknown.

The successful responses of the lay-oriented Shin sects provided a viable model for the concerned lay followers of Sōtō who wished to help organise the sect's necessary adjustment to the times. In 1887, a lay society called the Sōtōfushūkai** (i.e. the Sōtō sect aid society) was formed after prolonged discussions on the nature of the problems facing the sect and the policies needed to tackle them, by three prominent laymen, Ōuchi Seiran, Kitayama Zessan and Hayashiken Kichirō. Formed in April 1887, it was originally a private group, but as its aims were of course relevant to the sect as a whole, it attracted many influential figures in the sect's priestly hierarchy, and its numbers grew quickly. By mid-1888, the membership stood at 6086, of whom 5,844 were priests, 184 were lay and 58 associate members, and these members were, according to Mizuno (1978b), 'important figures connected to the sect',³⁷ who were in control of the greater part of the sect's activities. The chief aim of the society was 'guidance for the laity', as Ōuchi noted in his work discussing the content and background of the Shushōgi³⁸; this grew from its discussions of the problem of the form and manner of teaching and propagation to be used.³⁹ Sakurai states that the era of the Shushōgi's compilation was one in which all sects were competing with each other in their attempts to spread their teachings to the general public, and that Sōtō 'reformed the structure of the sect in accord with the times',⁴⁰ but remarks that:

'the basic problem was to decide first what was to be the watermark of the sect's belief'.⁴¹

It was to this issue that the Sōtōfushūkai addressed itself, and it was Ōuchi in particular whose opinions carried weight. Ōuchi had been a Sōtō priest, but had returned to lay life in order to study Buddhism from a broader base; he spent time studying at Nishi Honganji**, the head temple, in Kyoto, of one of the Shin sects, and generally had a background in all the Buddhist teachings prevalent in Japan.⁴² It is clear, however, from Ōuchi's own writings that he always considered Sōtō to be at the very heart of Buddhism, and that he never left his original Sōtō affiliation. He considers that while other sects have their basis in different sutras, which show a sectarian bias, Sōtō's tradition is entirely different, being based in the Kyōgebetsuden, and that as such, it is the essence of the Buddha's teaching. In fact, he states that:

'Because the Sōtō sect is the one which has transmitted the Buddha's heart as it is, it has been called since ancient times 'the Buddha's heart sect' (Busshinshū) and and is said to be the teaching of the heart of Buddha'.⁴³

He also goes on to relate the nengemishō story,⁴⁴ showing that his grounding in Sōtō tradition had led him to view Sōtō as the key to all Buddhism. He was anxious to strengthen its foundations and to increase its lay support, as well as to try to introduce its teachings

to a wider audience, and this led to his involvement in the formation of the Sōtōfushūkai. He felt that the first priority was to formulate a standard, agreed teaching for the sect, which could provide the basis for a regeneration of Sōtō, and at first he advocated practices along the lines of the Shin sects. According to Mizuno (1978b), Ōuchi:

'asserted that a Shinshū-style recitation (i.e. like the Namu Amida Butsu*) should be done and a Pure Land rebirth sought'.⁴⁵

as the basis of Sōtō lay practice, because he felt that such practices were easy for everyone to follow. It was an age when the Shin sects and Christianity provided, in Ōuchi's eyes, an easy-to-enter belief and practice, which he saw as being at the core of their successful growth. Thus he sought a comparable Sōtō method. Although Sōtō had a definite focus, in the practice of zazen, Ōuchi felt this to be specifically a way for the monk, requiring many years of disciplined effort, and hence too difficult for (and rather unappealing to) the layman. His unease at the concept, put forward by Dōgen in his later years at Eihei-ji, that one had to renounce the world and become a monk, which he saw as having become an intrinsic attitude in the Sōtō monastic environment, was caused by his conviction that 'Religion is a necessary part of human life'⁴⁶ and that it was vital to broaden its scope to encompass and interest all people.

Ōuchi himself records that he had originally sought to establish a Sōtō recitation on the formula Namu Shakamuni Butsu* (an invocation of the Buddha's name), but that this did not get any backing from the sect, and he himself could not find the authority for such a move in the writings of Dōgen.⁴⁷ He thus re-examined the whole matrix of Sōtō and Buddhist thought and came to the view that the cement which linked priests, laity, the Zen Patriarchs and the Buddha together in one continuum was that of the Buddhist precepts, for in the act of taking the precepts (jukai*) one was entering the mainstream of the Buddhist transmission that had been passed on from the Buddha to his disciples, and from them on to the present day. Ōuchi's examination of views held by Buddhists of all denominations had convinced him that on points of doctrine there could be no universal agreement, yet he considered that universality was essential to religion.⁴⁸ Therefore, the basis for universality would have to be found in a process of action and faith rather than in a point of doctrine. He noted that Dōgen himself had given precept-taking ceremonies at Kōshōji in his early days of teaching, and had taught monk and layman alike⁴⁹ while this practice, as has been pointed out in Chapter Two, was much used by Keizan and his followers in the early era of Sōtō expansion. Moreover, he was able to find, in Dōgen's writings, authority for basing a practice on belief in the Buddha.⁵⁰ On this basis, he received a mandate from the Sōtōfushūkai to work on an edited selection from the Shōbōgenzō and produce a short text which contained the essence of Dōgen and the

sect's teaching, centred on the issues of belief in the Buddha and the precepts, which could be used, not only as a Sōtō text, but as one with appeal to, and relevance for, all Buddhists in Japan.

Ōuchi's text was first published, under the aegis of the Sōtōfushūkai and entitled Dōjōzaike Shushōgi** (i.e. Sōtō sect lay followers Shushōgi), in February 1888, and contained 4000 kanji in 32 paragraphs. In April of the same year, the society standardised a method of lay practice which involved paying homage to the Buddha, to Dōgen and to Keizan, making an act of repentance for all one's wrongdoings, and reciting the Shushōgi.⁵¹ At this time, the text was for lay followers but the sect itself was seeking a means of giving coherence to its teachings, and the Dōjōzaike Shushōgi proved to be a suitable blueprint for this. The sect's administration had attempted to hold explanatory classes and meetings on basic points of Sōtō teaching every three months for its priests, in order to give them a firm grasp of the message that was to be spread and to educate them in the manner of its propagation, but these classes had been poorly attended.⁵² In consequence, in July 1887, a decision was taken to make all Sōtō priests take an examination in order to stimulate study in the sect, but the Sōtōfushūkai obtained a postponement of this for its members (one must remember that it had a great deal of influence in the sect) and this, not surprisingly, caused a sudden increase in its membership. It was necessary to have a standard criterion

on which to judge those who took such examinations, and as the Dōjōzaike Shushōgi was available, and because it provided a succinct compilation of many important points in the Sōtō outlook, and because it was devised for lay teaching, the second Sect Council decided, in November 1888, to forward it to the heads of Eiheiji and Sōjiji, to seek their approval for its official adoption.

The head of Sōjiji, Azugami Baisen, was at that time the head of the sect and too busy to be able to devote any time to it, but Takiya Takushū, the head of Eiheiji, revised the text thoroughly, doing much zazen as he did so,⁵³ excising 1750 and inserting 1600 kanji, though keeping largely the same structure. This revised edition was then sent out, under the names of the two head priests, to ten leading figures in the sect for comments, which were sent to Takiya. He revised his draft accordingly and then sent it to the Tokyo office, where it underwent further revision before being issued in the form it has today, with five paragraphs and 3737 kanji. It was printed in this form in October 1890 by the Tokyo office press, and issued as the Sōtōkyōkai Shushōgi** (i.e. Sōtō sect teaching society's Shushōgi). The Sōtōshūkyōkai had been formed by the heads of the two head temples in 1877 to provide a link between priests and laymen, and was in this way an official, sect-organised parallel of the Sōtōfūshūkai. The text was then sent out to all the major temples of Sōtō in December 1890, with the proclamation under the names of the head priests of Eiheiji and Sōjiji, that it was 'the standard teaching of the sect',⁵⁴ and on January 1st 1891, it was distributed by the sect's office to all temples and was made available to all Sōtō lay followers.

The revised edition, though it followed the original in structure, was a little shorter, and was cut from six to five sections. Ōuchi's first, explanatory, paragraph, which stated the aims of the text, was cut out, and the text's focus was changed. The original had been entirely for lay people, but the revised copy, mindful of perhaps of the need for Sōtō priests to be aware of the basic teachings, and to provide a standard text for the qualification examinations for priests, was aimed both at priests and the laity. It was, in short, for the whole sect. Thus one or two areas of Dōgen's thought, which Ōuchi had omitted, such as the discussion of the nature of birth and death in the first paragraph, and the concept of sokushin-zebutsu in the last paragraph, were included. This was largely for the erudition of the practitioners of zazen (Mizuno (1978b) in his commentary on the Shushōgi, which is published by Sōtō Head Office, considers that these points can only be understood by those who had long experience of Zen practice and hence are for specialist monks only),⁵⁵ while the simple explanatory passages designed for the layman who knew nothing of the sect were left out.

In such a way, the sect in the space of a few years acquired a central office in Tokyo, which itself grew in stature because of its pivotal position - as has been shown by its role in the editing and printing of the Shushōgi - as well as a standardised teaching and doctrinal focus for the whole sect, aligned to the gradual development of a sect Council and a designated sect head (kanchō). Such developments were especially rapid if compared to

the long years of stagnation in the Tokugawa era, yet show also that aspect of Sōtō tradition, which largely emanated from the Keizan lineage, of adaptability and response to situations. In Keizan's time, this involved, as has been discussed in Chapter Two, aligning Sōtō teachings to local customs and attempting to expound (in the interpretative manner of the proselytisers) Dōgen's philosophy in this light. In the same way, the heirs of Keizan and Gazan in the latter part of the nineteenth century, facing a radical challenge from government, the collapse of the old base of the sect's fortune, the rapid development of a society throwing off centuries of feudal rule and encountering concepts such as public education and democracy, as well as meeting competition from other religious groups, duly responded, modifying the sect's aged structure, developing a central office and adapting Dōgen's teaching, editing it in the light of the contemporary situation, to provide a core and consensus of doctrine for that new age and situation. Sōtō has of course changed in the last century since the Meiji Restoration, having made a major shift in its direction by its focusing on the importance of the laity, and in allowing committed lay members such as Ōuchi to assume a degree of authority in policy-making terms, while evolving a centralised teaching standard and a centralised administrative agency, which preceded it historically, but which grew in prominence with the emergence of an agreed doctrinal focus. Such developments are indeed responses to a particular situation, but they are also in line with the traditions of the sect

and those who laid the foundations of its 'great gate'.

This era, then, saw the foundation of the sect's first administrative centre in Tokyo, and the beginnings of its role as a publishing concern. It should be mentioned that, in August 1894, the office published the first sect periodical and that the process thereafter was one of continued centralisation, in as far as the exposition of the attitudes of the Sōtō sect via the printed page is concerned. In May 1921, the office moved to its present site in Tokyo, on which it has since built a modern headquarters called Sōtō Biru (i.e. Soto Building) and its name has been changed to Sōtōshūshūmūcho (hereafter referred to as Sōtō Head Office), with seven departments, whose names are, as of 1980 (the names have been changed at least once, though the functions remains the same) as follows:

- Sōmubu** (i.e. administration)
- Zaiseibu** (i.e. financial)
- Kyōgakubu** (i.e. education)
- Kyōkabu** (i.e. culture)
- Dendōbu** (i.e. missionary/propagation)
- Shuppanbu** (i.e. publishing)
- Jinjibu** (i.e. personnel)

These function as parts of a whole, and perform complementary functions, following the general guidance, style and outlook of the Head Office as an entity. All form vital components of one organisation which, due to the sect's development

in the last century and in this, has come to occupy a central role and pivotal position in the sect as a whole, especially in the fields of dissemination of information and propagation of attitudes and teaching regarded as representative of the sect, at the same time as carrying out the administrative functions which were (and in theory still are) the reason for its creation.

Sōtō has always had a somewhat loose-knit structure, of numerous sub-sects, feuding power centres and autonomous teachers who extended their influence while preaching Dōgen's teachings in their own interpretations, but in the years since the Meiji Restoration, it has acquired a centralised power base, in the capital of an ever-developing industrial society. This represents, at an interval of some seven centuries, a reversal of Dōgen's departure from the city to the silence of the mountains, and a readiness to respond to the changing state of Japanese society which has undergone rapid change since the opening of the country and the fall of the feudal, enclosed society of the Tokugawa era. Symbolic of this response was the move, in 1898, of the site of Sōjiji, from its position in the remote regions of the Nōtō peninsula, to the urban environment of Tsurumi in the major Japanese port city of Yokohama. The Nōtō Sōjiji had been destroyed by fire and this provided the opportunity to move its situation to the heart of the developing nation. The sect itself sees this move in somewhat symbolic terms, as manifesting its readiness to welcome newcomers and to open its gates to the world. In the era prior to the advent of aeroplanes, Yokohama was the main port of entry to Japan, and the

buildings of Sōjiji, situated on Tsurumi hill, overlooking the harbour and visible to all who entered it, showed the sect's attitude to the modern world. Indeed, in a recent sect publication, an introductory explanation of the two head temples describes Sōjiji as being 'proud of its reputation as an international Zen training centre situated at the gateway to our country.'⁵⁶ The imagery is clear: Sōtō has transformed itself from a sect with its centre of gravity in rural areas, linked to a feudal system and monkish ways, to one focused on the modern world, prepared to accommodate its outlooks to that world and to open its doors to it.

This move towards modernisation and rationalisation, bringing all the diverse elements within Sōtō under one administrative roof and (at least in theory) one code of conduct and belief, has been accompanied by a revision and re-interpretation of Dōgen (for any selective editing of his writings is necessarily a re-interpretation) and this in itself follows a pattern prevalent in Sōtō throughout its history. No organisation or thought-system is static of course, and even in its very earliest days the position of that which is now termed Sōtō (i.e. the religious grouping started by Dōgen) shifted and indeed moved in a temporal sense as its outlook, at that time determined wholly by Dōgen, changed and evolved. As Dōgen's thought became more oriented towards renunciation, the focus of his group changed, and it moved away from the urban to the remote rural environment. Later developments

saw the fragmentation of the original group, the founding of other temples and factions, with diverse rites and practices, the revision (and often selective use) of Dōgen's teachings, and the growth of a sect as such. Thus, fluidity and movement were present from the outset, and the developments of the nineteenth century, which led to a standardised teaching, a formalised organisation and a central administration, follow rather than go against the patterns of Sōtō history. The sect entered the twentieth century in a far different situation from that in which it entered the nineteenth (as indeed did Japanese society in general), having modified its position in tune with that age. The twentieth century was to pose new problems and, especially in the era after 1945, to stimulate fresh approaches and responses in the sect, and these will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FOURTHE POST-WAR ERA: NEW CHALLENGES, NEW RESPONSES

The post-war era has seen great changes in the whole of Japanese society and Buddhism has been much affected as a result. War defeat led to a period of Allied Occupation and government, which in turn produced social effects and legislation of direct concern to Buddhist sects such as Sōtō. The formal termination by law of the danka system took away from the established sects their previously captive clientele who had provided, due to this connection, an income through the use of temple mortuary services. It is not, however, certain whether this legislation caused any deep problems, for people continue to need mortuary rites and services and even though families may have no legal obligations to a particular temple or sect, tradition often decrees that they follow the customs of their ancestors. Buddhist temples today still have formal records of danka who are considered to still belong to the temple even though the record dates prior to the abolition of the formal danka system of Tokugawa creation.¹

Far more serious was the reform of the land tenure system. This had the effect of depriving temples of lands formerly bequeathed to them and rented out to tenant farmers. Such lands had been the source of much financial support, and the loss was drastic. Sōtō in all lost

some 49,000 acres of rice and vegetable producing land and over 3,000 acres of forestry land,² a loss of revenue which severely affected many temples. Many priests were no longer able to support their temples and families. The decree of 1873 which enabled priests to marry, and which stimulated the development of the seshū system, had resulted in most temples being family concerns, and it was such temples which felt most acutely the financial difficulties caused by loss of revenues. Having to support a family and to raise a successor (a duty incumbent on seshū priests and stipulated under Article 28 of the sect's rules) in such a situation caused many priests to seek a second occupation, such as school teacher or social welfare worker. Nowadays, some 80 per cent of Sōtō priests have a second occupation,³ and this has in itself weakened the pastoral capabilities of the sect as a whole. Financial hardship even caused some temples to close completely, to be sold as dwellings⁴ or to be converted into restaurants.⁵ It is reported that the Kōyasan-based Shingon sect was led into further financial disaster due to a failed business venture, the aim of which was to counteract the loss of revenue caused by land reform.⁶ Many large temples began to charge admission fees to tourists in order to recoup money, and much of the seemingly venal activities of Buddhism (admission fees, sale of trinkets, etc) must at least in part be seen against the background of this post-war hardship and need to seek alternative resources.

The laws affecting religious groups in Japan, encapsulated in the Religious Juridical Persons Law (Shūkyōhōjinhō***) of 1951, established freedom of religious practice in Japan, and safeguarded religious organisations from political control. This was a welcome benefit, in the light of the continual governmental incursions into the religious sphere since the Tokugawa era, but it also had the result of throwing the Buddhist world into further confusion. Woodward, who worked for the Occupation government in its Religious Division, describes the result of the decrees on religious freedom as "a rash of secessions",⁷ as many factions within sects sought to secede and form independent sects, largely for financial reasons. Large, rich temples in particular were prone to secession, thus escaping the financial commitment of supporting poorer temples in the sect by the payment of sect taxes. Within Sōtō there was no large secession as such, but factions within the sect fought a year long battle for control of the administrative headquarters in 1948-9.⁸ Under the Religious Juridical Persons Law, a sect can register as a separate, self-governing body, receiving tax concessions and protection, and is obliged to have a legally established board of representatives who form its highest decision making body. Its decisions alone are recognised as the will of the sect.⁹ This thrust great power on the administration and headquarters of Sōtō which, in contrast to the general pattern of Japanese Buddhism, has a Head Office separate from its head temples.

If the post-war era was one of turbulence and disarray for Buddhism in general, there was at least the prospect that, with Shinto discredited by its involvement with the fallen military regime, and discriminated against by the Occupation government, the Japanese people might turn towards Buddhism as a means of solace in the aftermath of war defeat and the shock effects it had had. However, the legal recognition of religious freedom opened the door to the growth of new religious groups, many of which had, like Sōka Gakkai**, been proscribed before the war. Religious freedom enabled such groups to compete openly with the older sects and proselytise in a nation readily respondent to new religious impulses. Less shackled by any taint of involvement with the discredited past government and system, many of those groups which are generally termed the 'New Religions' (Shinkōshūkyō) began to make rapid advances, threatening to undermine the potential and traditional support, i.e. Buddhist households, of the established sects. For a Buddhism already weakened by the loss of estates and revenue it was a great problem, and in the responses to this problem in the Sōtō sect are to be found some of the keys to the present day attitudes, teaching and techniques of the sect.

In 1957, Sasaki, the head of the Sōtō administration, wrote in his annual report to the sect:

"Buddhism is now beset by a danger such as it has never known since its beginning. The danger comes

from the new religions and their astonishingly effective propaganda methods. To survive it will take all our financial resources."¹⁰

With hindsight, this may seem to be a slight exaggeration; Buddhism had, after all, faced attack before, most noticeably from the Meiji government. However, its weakened position after the war had left it particularly vulnerable to attacks on its potential sources of income and support and, at the time of Sasaki's report, the growth of these New Religions¹¹ was extraordinarily rapid. Sōka Gakkai alone had, in half a decade in the 1950's, increased its membership from 5000 to over one million, had had its candidates elected to the Upper House of the Japanese Parliament, and was considered to be growing at the rate of some one hundred thousand members per month.¹² Other groups, while not quite as successful, were growing rapidly. As the number of such groups was in the hundreds, this means that a sizeable number of people were turning from the older orders to the new.

The reasons for this growth are not so much in the post-war legislation, which simply loosed the bonds of New Religions and enabled them to take advantage of a ripe situation, as in the aftermath of the war itself, compounded by enormous shifts in the demographic structure of Japan. Less than 10 per cent of the population had lived in cities at the end of the Tokugawa era; in 1912 the figure had risen to 17 per cent, but between 1935 and 1960, it increased from 30 to 64 per cent¹³ and it

has continued to increase. The social effects of this have been great, especially in the resultant weakening of traditionally oriented family and community ties. Alongside this, the shock-effect of war defeat, occupation by a conqueror, undermining of the established order (the introduction of parliamentary democracy and the reduction of the Emperor to human status being parts of this process) and collapse of the nationalist ideology of the war regime, created a spiritual vacuum while stimulating the need for spiritual solace. At times of stress in Japan, the phenomenon of New Religions has arisen, in response to popular needs, as it did in the Meiji era after the ending of the sakoku (see above, p.103) to threaten the Buddhist sects of that age. In the post-war era, the threat was that much greater because of the weakened nature of Buddhism and because the freedom given to religion gave greater room for manoeuvre while modern technologies enhanced the scope of potential activity and proselytisation. The commitment to counter the influence of the New Religions taken by Sōtō in 1957 necessitated that the sect understand the reasons for the success of such groups and it will be seen that Sōtō, in its attempts to solidify its position and constituency from deeper incursions, has benefited from the very techniques and factors that caused the initial challenge. It is therefore important to look at some of the factors involved in the 'New Religions phenomenon', since they have had a necessary influence on Sōtō's responses, teachings and attitudes in recent decades and have, indeed, served

to shape modern Sōtō policies.

McFarland suggests that in the traumatic situation in which most Japanese found themselves at the end of the war, defeated and impoverished the old religions were ill-equipped to offer solace, and indeed seemed incapable of doing so.¹⁴ Thomsen contrasts the optimism that typified New Religious movements with the seeming pessimism of Buddhism, which was essentially linked in the minds and social system of the Japanese with the death process.¹⁵ Stressing concrete goals to be attained in the present rather than goals to be attained after death is a common current in Japanese religion (as the activities of temples which offer prayers for material rewards, described in Chapter One, show) and the thrust of New Religions was to emphasise this concrete end, whilst promising and offering a sense of community and identification, which was especially important to the growing urban population, cut off from its community roots in rural Japan. Both Thomsen and McFarland stress this aspect, in which the individual is given a feeling of identification and a sense of belonging to a group, gaining a feeling of dignity which counteracts the problems of identity-loss suffered by separation from a traditional, family-oriented background and transposition to a fundamentally rootless urban environment.¹⁶ These religious groups tend to possess highly centralised organisations, which in the carrying out of mass functions (rallies, etc) convey a sense of dynamism and strength, and which, in the skilled use of media channels, emit a constant

stream of information to expand and consolidate the groups' empires. Their pronounced missionary nature (e.g. Tenrikyō** has its own radio programmes, makes films and prints and distributes books and pamphlets) has furthered the cause of such movements, by making widely available an easily-understood explanation of doctrines whose bases are, by and large, straightforward and accessible to all.

McFarland quotes a friend of his, a scholar of the Jōdo Shin sect, as placing much of the blame for the rise of the New Religions on the inadequacies and shortcomings of the older, established sects, which had lost much of their power and truth.¹⁷ In this, and in the above factors, there was much to concern the established sects such as Sōtō, and the remark of the Sōtō Secretary-General Sasaki quoted above underlines both this concern and the determination to do something about it. That the sect was prepared to meet the challenges posed it by the changes of post-war Japan should not be of any surprise, given the history of Sōtō and its pattern of adaptation and fluidity.

It should not be assumed that the problems came from New Religions alone: rather they were symptomatic of a wider societal problem facing Japanese religion as a whole, and the seeming successes of New Religion were obvious signposts for other sects who wished to emulate them. The twentieth century, besides seeing the erosion of the old social and economic structure of Japan, has placed new tools in the hands of society,

and has provided scope previously unknown. Rapid technological advance has speeded the rural exodus, helped break down long-enduring social bonds and increased those feelings of alienation and depersonalisation which seem to be its concomitants on the one hand while, on the other, it has provided the means of mass communication and dissemination of information which enable governments and other interest groups to speak directly to, and influence, a wide populace. One of the major characteristics of Japanese society is a sense of conformity to the group, according to Ishida,¹⁸ and, in past ages, this was largely manifested as loyalty to the family system and as communal co-operation in the agricultural community. In the wake of industrialisation, urbanisation and defeat in war (which seriously undermined traditional loyalties to the state and to the Emperor as a divine figure of unity) such consensus-oriented outlooks were shaken. Even in farming communities this was so; the development of small machines and fertilisers enabled the farmer to work his land alone, rather than be dependent on the mutual co-operation of all in irrigation schemes and the like, as was the case in the pre-industrial age. Such undermining of the traditional norms and bases of the individual's world necessarily left a vacuum, which could be filled by alternative foci of group loyalty and harmony. Ishida considers the sense of devotion to, and feeling part of, the group has, for the Japanese, been largely transferred to and filled by the company for whom the individual works. Certainly, the "employment for life" characteristic

of many Japanese firms bears this out, as does the stress on the group or company ethic, which Rohlen (1974) describes in his investigation of one Japanese company.¹⁹ In this work, he examines the policies and techniques used by the company, a banking organisation, to foster a sense of belonging in their employees, aimed at creating an image of the company as "one great family".²⁰ Induction ceremonies, company songs, contacts with the higher echelons of the management, all aim at giving the employee a feeling of identification with, and belonging to, a particular group. At the same time, according to Sethi (1975), the decision-making process in Japanese firms tends to be a group-centred one whose aim is to avoid disharmony and to work on the lines of consensus.²¹

All this is relevant to the discussion of Sōtō and its approaches to the general crisis which affected post-war Japan, in which the rise in strength of New Religions as a whole was not so much (for the sect) the crisis itself, but part of the effect. In the discussion, above, of the major reasons advanced for the successful growth of various New Religions, there is a continuum with the remarks that have been made about the company system and its importance. The techniques of both are similar (one might also point to the practice of many companies of sending employees to Zen temples for the purpose of meditation, in order to strengthen their devotion to work),²² aiming at the creation of a unit akin to the family, which boosts the individual while strengthening

the group ethic. Rohlen comments on the large amount of information published by the company into which he was researching, which dealt not just with aspects of financial performance, but which included training pamphlets, personnel guidebooks, company magazines and the like.¹³ The company is, in such ways, geared to using the technological and communication sources at its disposal to further the development of a corporate ethic and the climate of feeling that it seeks for and from its employees. The possession of company ideologies, the induction ceremonies and so on form part of a technique which has served to provide an identity and a community of belonging for the employee. This has parallels in other societies; Ogot and Welbourn, discussing the growth of independent sects in East Africa (a situation which, in terms of such factors as breakdown of traditional systems and the emergence of new religions groups in response has similarities with the Japanese situation)²⁴ have used the phrase "a place to feel at home"²⁵ to describe what these emergent groups offered to individual participants. It is a community of belief and focus of attention which provide a sense of identity and belonging for the individual in a society whose traditional frameworks have been eroded by factors such as urbanisation, industrialisation and alienation, and in many ways it is not unreasonable to suggest that what major companies and New Religions attempt to do, and what is a factor in their success, is to provide their employees with such a "place to feel at home".

Sōtō had, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, moved towards a restructuring and realignment of its teachings and framework in order to counteract encroachments on its position from the upheavals of the Meiji era. It had tried to attract the support of a previously passive lay membership by standardising its code and offering an accessible gateway, via the precepts, to the sect's aims and practices, rather than via the previous, difficult, way of zazen. The development of the Shushōgi, which heralded this move, has proved to be a point of departure rather than a final position, and the process of laicisation concretised by the compilation of the Shushōgi has proceeded in the post-war era. This is especially so since the threat posed by New Religions was recognised by Sōtō and a commitment to counter it was made, and is borne out by such currents as the continued modernisation of the administration, in the examination of teaching techniques and, concretely, in the building of a new and prestigious headquarters in Tokyo. Both McFarland and Thomsen consider the construction of large, modern headquarters, which act as a focus as well as a symbol, of success - and thus of the sect's efficacy - to be a common feature of the growth of New Religions.²⁶ Further, in the control of the literature disseminated within the Sōtō sect, which is largely held by the Tokyo Head Office, and in its content, one can see evidence both of a continued process of lay proselytisation and of the absorption of the lessons to be learnt from the growth of the New Religions, as

the methods which have figured in their growth have been assimilated to the benefit of Sōtō.

The Tokugawa era provided Sōtō and other Buddhist sects with a theoretically captive membership, which even post-war legislation to end the danka system did not entirely change, but repeatedly since the Meiji era that traditional base of support has come under attack, occasioning the need for responsive action, and Sōtō has been prepared to so respond. Just as it was ready and able to learn from more progressive (in terms of response to the crisis of that era) Shin sects in the era following the Meiji Restoration, so too has it learnt the lessons and techniques of both the New Religious movements and the Japanese business world in its approaches to its potential supporters and members in the post-war era. The control of an outlet for Sōtō publications has existed since 1873, but it is only in the last two or three decades that the use of the channels made available by the development of the technology of mass communications and the media, which is a feature of New Religions such as Tenrikyō, has come into prominence in the Sōtō sect.

At this point, it would be appropriate to quote the following, which comes from the introduction to a selection of stories from the Jataka Tales, which the Sōtō sect were publishing in an English translation. The words are by Otagawa Kinei, whose function is described as Chief of the Evangelisation Division at Sōtō

headquarters, and were written in March 1952:

"It is as a means of the propagation and evangelisation of Buddhism towards Japanese boys and girls that I now publish the 'Jataka' in English.... Lately they (Japanese boys and girls) have come to be greatly interested in English writings...though they are apt to be indifferent to things written in Japanese. Availing myself of this tendency, I wish to present them with a book to make them appreciate, unawares, the moral really Buddhistic."²⁷

This statement makes it clear that the sect's central organisation was aware of, and prepared to make use of, trends and movements within society and that the methods of propagating Buddhist and Sōtō messages were attuned to these trends. Three decades later, in a society where well-produced magazines which have plenty of good quality photographs and numerous short, informative articles (the publication Taiyō being a representative example) are popular and in great evidence in bookshops, the sect Head Office has begun to publish a yearly magazine on these lines, of some 120 pages, entitled Zen no Kaze (sub-titled in English, 'Zen Forum'), which contains short articles on a variety of subjects to do with Sōtō Buddhism. This magazine's first edition came out in March 1981, described by the sect's publication catalogue as:

'a colour magazine which links
the sect and society in general.
The refreshing breeze of Zen
which sees with its own eyes and
shows 'the principles of living'
for people in the present day'²⁸

and was sold in bookshops as well as through the sect's own channels of distribution. Normally, books and pamphlets of the sect are sold and distributed via the sect's own system, and this generally involves either the individual going to the sect's offices (either in Tokyo or to the regional offices) or ordering books, etc, by mail. The Sōtō monthly magazine for its affiliated members, Zen no Tomo, is also, as are the short explanatory leaflets which Sōtō prints for specific events in the yearly calendar (such as, e.g., o-Bon in August), distributed via Sōtō temples, although the onus of whether to take and distribute them rests on the temple priests. In fact, according to an informant, who worked at the Tōhoku Sōtō regional office in Sendai, much of the material published by the sect has a small and limited readership, in certain cases almost exclusively confined to temple priests. This is due in part to the specialised terminology of some of the publications, and in part to the method of distribution.²⁹ The value, however, of such publications (he was speaking especially about a series of three volumes, entitled Oriori no Hōwa (i.e. Occasional Dharma Talks) produced by the Tōkaidō regional Sōtō office) was that they showed, to the ordinary temple priest, the essential outlooks of the sect, which he could then transmit to his parishioners and, in the specific case of the

Oriori no Hōwa series, model talks that could be given to parishioners on a variety of occasions, were provided.

The first edition of Zen no Kaze sold over 300,000 copies, according to this informant, representing a success for this alternative form of distribution. It typifies a growing movement in Sōtō towards an awareness of marketing techniques and image-creation which, as has been mentioned, have had a seminal effect on the growth of the New Religions, and towards the development of a "group consciousness" (the Hōwa books, for example, help create a uniformity in what temple priests will say to those who come to functions and ceremonies at the temple) within Sōtō, especially for affiliated temple members. In November 1978, the first film made by the sect, an animated cartoon titled Terepasu Kumara, about the exploits of a small Indian boy named Kumala (in Japanese transcribed as Kumara) was issued and shown at temples all over Japan.³⁰ The sect Head Office has since produced a number of other films, which are available for loan by temples and by companies for showing to their danka or employees respectively, and these are aimed at propagating a Sōtō image and consciousness, without necessarily stressing the tenets or name of Sōtō. The film about Kumala, for instance, shows a boy finding five jewels, each of which has a name of relevance to Buddhism. The first is called hōshi* (i.e. giving service to others) and they lead on to the fifth, called Zen, which is both meditation and, of course, the generic name of the sect. On finding and utilising this fifth jewel, Kumala, along with friends

(a blonde girl and a lion) ascends into the sky, where he encounters the Buddha seated at the top of a huge flight of stairs in a palace. The Buddha, in body vast and transcendent, explains to Kumala the significance of all the jewels, as keys to his way, and that they all lead to wisdom and happiness. The film ends with Kumala and the blonde girl happily riding off, on the lion, into the sunset of a new world. Although the film was made by the sect, it does not, except in the credits at the end, mention the Sōtō sect as such but it does, by its message, stress the importance of moral behaviour (service, etc.) and a structured path of action leading to the fifth jewel of meditation and thence to fulfilment (meeting the Buddha). The film is aimed in particular at children and transmits a simple message while offering the possibility and prospect of reward and recompense in the here and now for following the Buddhist way, in its closing scenes.

Zen no Kaze, of which two volumes have, up to the end of 1982, been issued,³¹ represents the most sophisticated piece of Sōtō media usage so far, for it not only appeals to a wide audience but also is easily available. Its contents are such that the casual browser in a bookshop might be tempted to buy it, for it carries many articles related to travel (e.g. to Europe, in Volume One, and also to India, along with many photographs of India), reviews of records by American popular musicians, and articles about Japanese cultural topics, such as the tea ceremony (in Volume Two) interspersed with more directly

Buddhistic subjects aimed at the layman, such as a modern translation of the Shushōgi against a background of Indian photographs. The packaging of this magazine shows a definite attempt to appeal to the young who may be interested in modern music, travel (especially to India), and also in zazen itself. There is a long pictorial section on the practice of zazen, showing a young man in western clothes, demonstrating the correct way in which to enter the meditation hall and to sit, followed by a sequence in which a young woman moves from the kitchen of her home to the living room, where she proceeds to sit in zazen. This sequence shows that zazen is not just a temple/meditation hall activity, and ends with the question:

'would it not be good to try sitting in you own room?',³²

Although the front cover bears the publishers name (the Sōtō Head Office), there is very little evidence of sectarian bias inside the magazine: indeed, the first mention in Volume One of the Sōtō sect is on page 60, and is an incidental one, giving the title ('head of the Sōtō sect's specialist nun's training centre')³³ of Aoyama Shundō, whose temple the author of the article was visiting. Even the brief explanation of the Shushōgi on Page 19, which follows the translation of it, does not mention the Sōtō sect nor the relevance of the text to the sect: it talks of Dōgen and the Shōbōgenzō without any remarks about the sect. Equally, in a potted history of Zen, the nengemishō story is told,³⁴ and a narrative

describes the history of Zen including both Dōgen and Keizan. Only towards the end of this section is there any mention of Sōtō, when it is stated that Keizan 'spread the Sōtō style of Zen across the country',³⁵ - the sect as such is not mentioned. Dōgen is referred to as 'our Dōgen',³⁶ though this does not indicate whether it means 'our (i.e. Sōtō)' or 'our (i.e. Japanese)'. In a feature on temples at which one may stay and practice zazen (on pages 96-99), apart from the remark that Sōjiji 'along with Eiheiji is a head temple of the Sōtō sect',³⁷ there is nothing to indicate that the 14 temples listed are of Sōtō (or any other) sect - other, of course than any inference that the reader might make.

This type of approach is in tune with what has been described by many Japanese commentators as a 'Zen boom'. This phrase occurs repeatedly in writings about religion in Japan. The Sōtō historian Mizuno (1979) comments that the Shushōgi was compiled in an era in which zazen was not practiced widely, and so it was omitted from the text, but that, in the modern era of the 'Zen boom', any similarly-designed text would need to place a strong emphasis on zazen to suit the current of the times.³⁸ Nara and Nishimura reprint figures from the sect's publications which show that, between 1965 and 1975, there was a 12.1 per cent increase in the number of sanzenkai* (meditation societies held at temples for laity) held under the aegis of Sōtō temples.³⁰ There seems to be an increasing number of young people attending these: the predominance of the young was affirmed by

the priest at Kanmanji in Akita prefecture, who holds a sanzenkai thrice a month,⁴⁰ and by observations made of the members and participants of the sanzenkai at the Sōtō temple Rinnōji in Sendai, between November 1981 and February 1982, along with remarks on similar lines made by the priests at Rinnōji who run the society.⁴¹

In such sanzenkai, there is no definitive sectarian affiliation, nor any relationship as such between a temple's sanzenkai and its danka. This was confirmed by the priest at Kanmanji, who stated that there was no formal connection between those who came to the sanzenkai and the temple: indeed, there were few, if any, affiliated temple members amongst the participants, most of whom were not actually Sōtō sect members.⁴² Sahashi Hōryū estimated that only one or two participants at the sanzenkai at Chōkokuji were actually danka members, and made a differentiation between those who were formally members of the temple (danka) and those who actually believed in the temple and its teachings (shinto*).⁴³ An informant at Sōtō's Tōhoku regional office confirmed the existence of a general division between danka and active participants in meditational practices at temples,⁴⁴ citing this both as a reason why Sōtō had to stress other activities and practices, such as the taking of the precepts advocated in the Shushōgi, for its membership, and as an issue which Sōtō had to counter by taking such non-sectarian approaches. At the Sōtō temple Daimanji in Sendai, there are over 500 affiliated families, yet over a period of five months not one of those who attended the regular

morning zazen period was from a Daimanji household.⁴⁵

That many, if not most, of sanzenkai participants are young Japanese who, in line with the attitudes manifested by their counterparts in the West, evince little interest in the formalisms of the traditional religions of their culture, is highly relevant to the line of approach that the sect has begun to take, and which Zen no Kaze symbolises. Those interested not in the social processes as such of religion, i.e. not concerned about Buddhism as a funerary system, but wishing to participate in the practice of zazen, are not to be attracted by sect names and appeals to the ancestral ties of the family so much as by the efficacy of the practice itself. During a period of one year of research in Japan, in which the author visited a number of sanzenkai and talked to a large number of people who had visited Sōtō temples to do zazen, many reasons were given for such attendance. For the most part these could be summarised under the heading "peace of mind"; at no time did anyone put forward membership of the Sōtō sect as a reason for practicing zazen or visiting a Sōtō sanzenkai.⁴⁶ Sectarian appeals, then, hardly provide an efficacious means of inducing people to enter Sōtō temples for the purposes of meditation.

This perhaps explains the recent publication and format of Zen no Kaze as a magazine which has gone beyond the sect's traditional boundaries in its aims and scope, appealing to those with an interest in zazen but not in the sectarian or ancestral aspects of Japanese Buddhism.

It is as yet too early to know whether this will be the pattern of all future Sōtō publishing, but it does serve as a prime example of the usage Sōtō makes and its awareness of societal currents and trends. An examination of the materials published by the sect over the past three decades will show this, and in Appendix One a detailed survey of these publications has been set out and summarised. The content of such publications will be analysed in Part Two but a brief summary of the scope they cover is necessary here to illustrate the comprehensive nature of Sōtō's media activity.

The Head Office has published numerous books, pamphlets, leaflets, handbills, postcards and posters and, in recent years, has instituted a telephone service, which one can dial and hear a recorded talk about Buddhism. This service is run from Head Office, from area offices and Sōjiji. The subject matter of talks and publications is comprehensive, reaching to every area and aspect covered by the sect in its Buddhist and Japanese contexts. There are, for example, detailed and academic works on ceremonial and ritual in the sect, aimed largely at the priests who perform them. The author, a Sōtō official, of one of the most academic of these works⁴⁷ which covers funerary services, has also produced a guide to such services of the sect for the layman, on illustrated cards, published independently but sold at Sōtō temples.⁴⁸ Guidebooks which delineate the norms and beliefs of Sōtō danka and works which explain, in everyday language, these beliefs

and the teachings and texts which underpin them are produced in some number, while short explanatory leaflets provide information on Buddhist events and on the most important figures for Sōtō, Buddha, Dōgen and Keizan. Many of these are written for children. Cassette tapes have recently become available as economic prosperity and technological advance have made the cassette recorder a widely owned commodity in Japan, and services and chants recorded at both head temples, along with speeches and talks by former heads of the sect Satō Taishun and Yamada Reirin are also available.

The volume and breadth of this literature shows a developing use of media channels such as has been identified as being one of the hallmarks of other groups which seek to catch and retain the loyalty of the Japanese. Some of the literature is of a distinctly academic nature but the larger proportion, and this is especially so of the handbills and leaflets, is aimed at the average danka who has no grasp of the intricacies of Buddhist philosophy or history. It aims not so much to teach the thought that lies behind the sect as to create a mood and attitude in the danka which will tie them to Sōtō and produce a community of feeling. There are special songs (shades of New Religions and business corporations!) for the sect - one of them written by Ōuchi Seiran - and in the Kenshū no Techō, (i.e. Study and training diary), a handbook for young members of the sect, five sect songs are given.⁴⁹ The Head Office also produces a number of posters for display at home or in the temple.

Those for the temple are the larger of the two (usually about 2½ ft. by 1½ ft.) and give details of Sōtō activities such as the relief work that the sect is financing in Cambodia, while those that are aimed at and designed for the home, which generally cost only 20 or 30 yen (about five pence) have pictures of Buddhist figures, flowers, Japanese artefacts and the like, coupled with a caption which seeks to convey some form of message and mood. There is, for instance, a poster showing a mother duck and eight ducklings, with the caption: 'think of parental love',⁵⁰ while another which shows two small children with their hands in gasshō* (the traditional form of greeting and also of prayer), is titled 'to join hands (in prayer)'.⁵¹ These two images (of family life, especially seen through the mother-child relationship, and of joining hands in prayer and veneration) form recurrent themes throughout Sōtō literature of the present age and will be met again in the course of this thesis.

Another poster, depicting a scene of natural beauty, bathed in morning sunlight, is entitled Asa no Inori (i.e. Morning Prayer) and translates as follows:

'in maintaining a mind that thinks of others
 have the strength to control the self,
 in seeking the way to live in truth
 turn to face the light of Buddha.'⁵²

The sect also publishes a booklet, Mihotoke no Sugata (i.e. forms of the Buddha) which shows some of these

posters and gives an explanation of them (especially those which contain Buddha images) and a brief background comment to underline the message of each poster. The comments that go with the above poem-poster, for example, point to a unity between the present day and the ancestors who also gazed on such scenes of beauty and were moved by them, and asks whether it is not the teachings of Buddha which deepen one's love for nature and feelings of unity.⁵³ Such appeals to the spirit of the past, and to feelings for the ancestors (and one must always be aware of the importance of the deceased in Japanese social and family life) along with attempts to instil feelings of harmony in the present (and of the present with the past) are also themes of contemporary Sōtō.

Indeed, the sect makes a number of kakejiku* (hanging scrolls) of the three main foci of Sōtō worship, the Buddha and the two founder-figures of the sect in Japan, Dōgen and Keizan, for its danka family homes. These were designed originally in 1965, and a drive to spread the Sōtō teachings amongst its danka in the following year had as its focal point this kakejiku which was, in words of the Head Office:

'the three honoured Buddhas
(one Buddha, two Patriarchs)
to be enshrined on the butsudan of
every household of the sect's
affiliated temple members'⁵⁴

A larger kakejiku of a similar design was made for temples, thus signifying an attempt to unify the imagery of home

and temple, and to create an object of worship for the household, reminding one of the gohonzon* of Sōka Gakkai, which is a akejiku representation of the sacred mandala said to have been drawn by Nichiren and kept at the headquarters of Sōka Gakkai's parent body, Nichiren Shōshū**. This representational gohonzon is bestowed on a person when he or she becomes a member of Sōka Gakkai and acts both as a symbol of identification (with the group/sect) and as the focus of worship and prayer within the house. All recitations of the daimoku*, the invocation to the Lotus Sutra, which is the standard practice of the Nichirenist groups such as Sōka Gakkai, are done before a gohonzon.⁵⁵ A point to note here is that in Sōka Gakkai and in most other of the New Religious groups, there is a definitive movement towards expansion by proselytisation conducted by lay members of the group: this is most pronounced in Sōka Gakkai's concept of shakubuku* (literally, to break and subdue, i.e. to forcibly convert) but is seen in, for example, the expectancy that each member of Tenrikyō should act as a missionary for it, besides its trained teachers.⁵⁶ In contrast, the attempts that have been made in Sōtō have largely been aimed at the theoretically affiliated, the households historically linked to the sect, rather than at those who have had no prior connection. The content of Sōtō material and the manner in which Sōtō handles the media channels at its disposal point to an intent to create a climate in which those who already have a connection to a temple of the Sōtō sect, and who are thus liable to go to a

Sōtō temple at some point (whether for a funeral, at o-Bon, etc, or another of the calendrical events of the Japanese socio-religious year) may feel at home, part of a group and organisation, and thus perhaps take concrete steps to enter more fully into the Sōtō way by taking the precepts, which are at the core of the Shushōgi and the teachings of Sōtō in the present age. Accordingly, whilst there is much in the contemporary Sōtō technique that resembles the methods used by many of the New Religions, there has as yet been no real drive to take over members of other groups, or the uncommitted, such as has occurred in movements such as Tenrikyō and Sōka Gakkai; the focus has largely remained within the bounds of Sōtō, as the methods of literature-distribution show.

Sōtō does not use only media-channels for these ends; it also runs a number of societies aimed at different sections within its membership. Thus, there are both Boy Scout and Girl Guide groups for the children, a society for young men (Seinenkai**), a Ladies Society (Fujinkai**), a travel society, a 'study and practice society' (kenshūkai**) and others. The largest and most successful of all, however, is the Baikakai** (literally, 'the plum blossom society') which is a poetry society. Numerically the strongest of all Sōtō societies in 1965, it has also increased its membership by the largest percentage between then and 1975⁵⁷ and today is by far the most active of all these societies, maintaining a steady and voluminous stream of publications of poems written by its members.

The Baikakai represents the most overtly lay/mundane part of the Sōtō organisation in that it is first and foremost a poetry group, rather than a Sōtō one. As such, it perhaps bears out the opinion of Sahashi Hōryū (above p. 38) that that which appeals most to people is not religion as such, but something which caters to more worldly feelings, such as enjoyment.

There has been a gradual move away from purely sect-danka oriented societies, which has followed from what has been described as the 'zen boom' in the formation of the Zen no tsudoi* movement. This has its origins in 1958 in Shizuoka prefecture, when a gathering was organised to provide an opportunity for young people to spend a few days at a Sōtō temple, practicing zazen and other temple activities. It was a success, and from these local origins, a nationwide movement, entitled Ryokuin Zen no Tsudoi (which literally translates as 'Zen gathering beneath shady trees') has grown under the aegis of the sect's central organisation, which provides teachers and lecturers for these occasions and publicises them in the sect's magazine Zen no Tomo and elsewhere. Such gatherings last either three or four days in the hottest months of summer, July and August (hence the imagery of shady trees) and are aimed at young people, generally of school age. Lectures, zazen, temple work (samu*) and services form the order of the day, and so far there seems to be a gradual growth, in the number of locations,

of such gatherings every year.⁵⁸ The lectures and talks at certain of these meetings have been collected and published by the sect and since June 1976, a series entitled Ryokuin Shinsho has been published, so far with five titles, from Zen no tsudoi or similar, meetings. Nara states that this movement is a propagation activity which has new characteristics (i.e. it goes beyond the traditional temple membership and represents a move to harness currents and trends in Japan (as does the publication of Zen no Kaze)) but he also points to its possible pitfalls. As it occurs once a year, there is a danger that it will take on the feeling either of a holiday activity or of a "once-off" affair which 'ends up being a once-a-year festive meeting'.⁵⁹ Indeed, this is partially the impression conveyed by the sect's publicity for it, for it is stated that:

'The Ryokuinzen gathering is a meeting centred on zazen. In addition, since it is also an occasion to make good friends one's life, please take part readily.'⁶⁰

Such somewhat light-hearted approaches show the prevailing techniques in Sōtō media usage, of appealing in large part to group ethics and senses of belonging and community, albeit in a sphere removed from the traditional danka orientation of the sect, at least in theory. One has to use such a qualification because, as the bulk of all publicity for these gatherings is done through the Sōtō media, especially through

Zen no Tomo, it is hard to know to what degree outsiders get to hear of them. Even so, this form of gathering does represent a departure for the sect, the beginnings of a move away from danka spheres, harnessing the trend among young Japanese for zazen, while appealing also to feelings of group participation.

This is true not only of the 'zen boom', but also of the growth of the practice of shakyō, which is (see Chapter One) a pan-sectarian practice in Japan. Although this has a long history, it seems, according to the Shingon historian and commentator Miyazaki Ninshō, 'that a quiet boom in shakyō of the Hannya Shingyō is taking place'⁶¹ in present Japanese society. Certainly, one of the most noticeable features of temple activity in Japan (and here one is talking not only of Sōtō, but Rinzai, Shingon, Tendai and Pure Land sect temples in general), is the practice of shakyō; it often seems that temples will hold regular shakyō meetings, even if there is no other organised temple activity.⁶² As a general observation, this appears to be a modern phenomenon; a number of temple priests have remarked that either the shakyō activities or societies at their temples were of recent origin, or stated that they intended to start them in the near future.⁶³ The Sōtō Ladies Society, which was formed in 1976, has as one of its main activities and aims the practice of shakyō⁶⁴ and in the last few years the sect has begun to discuss and issue material about the practice. The leaflet Shakyō no Susume (i.e. 'an encouragement to do' shakyō) was first published in 1976, and in it a very

brief history of shakyō in Japan is given, along with its merits. The link with one's ancestors is mentioned ('it is a pure practice which has been inherited from our ancestors')⁶⁵, and it is stated that 'the mind of shakyō transcends the generations and is a great support for people who are seeking the way'.⁶⁶ It exhorts people to do it for the sake of their peace of mind, and recommends the Hannya Shingyō as the text to be copied for the normal reasons why it is so advocated, i.e. it is short and thus can be copied carefully without taking an abnormal amount of time (an hour being the recommended time) and because it is a succinct account of Mahayana philosophy. The four Buddhist vows (Shiguseigan*) or the Hannya Shingyō itself should be chanted before writing, and afterwards, one should add one's wish (should there be one) and dedication of the merit of the shakyō, and then gasshō and finish. Similar instructions, and comments are given in the sect's Bukkyō Tokuhon Volume Three, which comments on and explains the Hannya Shingyō and the Shushōgi for the general Sōtō follower.⁶⁷ In neither is there any sectarian outlook nor any mention of the sect as such: rather shakyō is treated as an activity in itself, part of a Japanese, rather than Sōtō, area of belief and practice. It appears that the sect is concerned to open the temple door without attaching direct sectarian strings in order to encourage the development of this Buddhist practice, and thus to encourage Buddhism itself.

This attitude is expressed and expanded by Nishimura Kijō, a Sōtō priest who, besides running a temple at Hachiōji near Tokyo, is head of the international section at Sōjiji, in a book titled Shakyō Nyūmon (i.e. the gateway to shakyō). He argues that Buddhism has, for the Japanese of today (the book was published in 1980) become just a household/mortuary religion, and that most Japanese are unaware of the name and head temple, let alone any teachings, of the sect to which they supposedly belong. Because of this, he states that:

'in order to make more people,
or even just one more person,
familiar with Buddhism, I
started a shakyō society',⁶⁸

He considers that just to pick up a brush and start copying a holy text will teach something of the content, as well as producing a sense of calmness, and suggests that those who copy will then read a little, and perhaps understand as well. He cites cases of short-tempered people who, after becoming involved in the practice, have become tranquil, amongst many other virtues and benefits.⁶⁹ He states that, for busy people in modern Japan, with its noise and distractions, shakyō provides a readily-accessible means to peace of mind and considers (in an echo of the views of Ōuchi Seiran and his search for an 'easy gate' for Sōtō) that the practice of zazen is a difficult way of attempting to enter a state of deep and peaceful concentration (sanmai*) but, in contrast, by use of the practice of shakyō:

'it can be said that it is easy to enter the state of deep concentration'⁷⁰

Nishimura does not emphasise any sectarian line as such, advising people to start with the Hannya Shingyō, suggesting that as interests deepen and one's practice of shakyō becomes more advanced, one could use different texts, including those by great Japanese Buddhist teachers such as Dōgen, Nichiren and Shinran. He does at this juncture mention the Shushōgi as a suitable text to copy⁷¹ but his focus is on encouraging people to practice shakyō rather than to get them to join the Sōtō sect. He views shakyō as an easy gate to Buddhist practice, especially valuable in modern society, not as a means to enhance a sectarian position.⁷² It is a practice with a long history in Buddhism and is, in terms of its development in Japan, and in its connection to other Japanese practices such as pilgrimage and the use of the Hannya Shingyō, a specifically Japanese religious practice unconnected to any sect as such. Consequently, it has developed in Sōtō temples and has been encouraged by Sōtō priests and by leaflets from the Head Office whilst remaining uninvolved with sectarian concerns: it is a feature of modern Japanese religious consciousness and for this reason has come to have a place in the assimilative Sōtō outlook. As with the 'Zen boom', Sōtō has shown its willingness to move away, if need be, from the temple-danka axis to accommodate and go along with contemporary movements.

In the handbook published by the Head Office for families living at Sōtō temples (Jitei no Sho), there is a section entitled 'the course of the new era'⁷³ wherein it is argued that Japan since the Second World War has seen the development of a new national policy, following the nation's surrender in 1945 and the Emperor's renunciation of the concept of his divinity. This new policy has been democratic and constitutional, and along with it there have been economic, social and educational changes. The underlying implication of this is that religion, too, has been affected, and has changed with the rest of society, and that, moreover, it must be ready to change and adapt if it is to continue to exist and remain relevant for that society. In recent years, the sect has devoted time and energy towards the formulation of policies and teaching methods and approaches which would have relevance for Japanese people as a whole, as well as for the sect's danka, and meetings have been held for the purpose of training missionary teachers for the sect and books published to suggest possible methods that such teachers should take. There have also been guides to help Sōtō teachers to deliver talks to their parishioners - not just the Oriori no Hōwa (above, p. 131), which provide blue prints of speeches, but also a work entitled Hōwa no Kenkyū (i.e. Studies on Dharma Talks), which was written by Nakano Tōei in 1952 and reprinted by the Sōtō Head Office in 1973. In this work, Nakano gives numerous instructions on the way to deliver such talks, concentrating initially on the voice and intonation, after which there is a section

on the attitude and frame of mind necessary for the speaker. The work goes on to deal with different scenarios and requirements that such talks might have to cope with, and finally provides a number of blueprint talks for different occasions.⁷⁴

The sect's concern with the problems facing it in a society which has become more secularised, more urbanised and less concerned with traditional ties, in which the older religious sects have faced particular discomforts and challenges to their standing, is shown by the efforts it is making to combat such problems and to re-appraise its methodology in tune with the changing situation. Within the central administration of the sect there are now bodies whose function is to monitor change and to formulate approaches in line with such change: schemes are run to educate priests in the ways of teaching and to encourage them to actively pursue a missionary role in their work, rather than to simply hold services for the dead and carry out the formal ceremonials to which Buddhism has always been linked and which provide the bulk of temple income. The importance of fluidity, of adjusting methods to fit the times, is a common theme in contemporary Sōtō works that deal with methodological problems. In 1981, the head of the sect's Education Department (Kyōgakubu), Tanaka Ryōsan, asking what should be the direction in which Sōtō should travel in the current age, stated his view as follows:

'In the present day, known as the mass communication era, we must set forth more positively in society, talking with many people, and we must possess a pliability to grasp the contradictions of society as our own problems.'⁷⁵

In the same publication, which reports the proceedings of an in-service training symposium for Sōtō priests, Matsuhara Taidō underlines the notion of pliability by suggesting that were the Buddha or the Sōtō Patriarchs to re-appear today:

'they would probably come, not using the difficult terminology of former times, but able to speak in the words of the modern day.'⁷⁶

and continues by considering that while the fundamentals of what they would say are unchanging, 'the angle from which to put them into use changes according to the age.'⁷⁷

This recognition of a "new age" needing new methods is, of course, not in itself new, as the post-Meiji attitudes of Sōtō show, but the sect has moved more positively in the last decade or so towards dealing with problems confronting Japanese society as a whole, which are of concern to Sōtō as a sect, and towards building a future for itself in a society in which its traditional roles and protection have gradually been demolished. In a work first published in 1972, and subsequently re-published

in 1978, a team of Sōtō thinkers priests and academics working at the Head Office, set forth a programme for spreading the message and teaching of Sōtō and for instilling them in the minds of Japanese people in the modern age. In this, it is argued that the traditional temple-danka relationship had finally lapsed (the death blows to this started with the abolition of the formal legal ties between temples and danka after the end of the war; subsequently, of course, the movement to the cities and towns helped to undermine the system further) and that it was thus necessary to construct a new base for the sect. The work advocates the 'necessity of returning to being a religious belief group held together by the faith of individuals',⁷⁸ and stresses the need to make Sōtō temples 'training centres of faith',⁷⁹ in which the members of families that live at temples are all practitioners who live a life which 'raises the value of temples in the new age'.⁸⁰ The focus of the book is on the methods of instituting and running groups which meet to develop knowledge of Buddhist, and especially Sōtō, teaching, and the ways in which priests can teach and inform those they encounter about Sōtō. As with Nakano's work on Dharma talks there are a number of set-piece examples of talks which can serve as models, but the main thrust of the book is in its advocacy of new approaches for Sōtō propagation.

Commenting on contemporary Japanese society, it argues that this is an age of individualism in which all the previous rules and conventions, which have held

people together and kept them united in a coherent framework of ideals and order, have broken and that 'moreover, there are no fixed rules...one hundred million Japanese have ended up all having different value-systems'.⁸¹

Viewing the age as one where individual isolation and alienation have become overriding problems, it suggests that the formation of group meetings, which provide a short talk on Buddhism, a little meditation and a discussion time in which people can tell their problems and have the priest answer them, would both give people a pleasant and useful entry into Buddhism and act as a counter to feelings of alienation. Because such group meetings (hōza*) would appeal to the individual who could discuss his or her own problems, they would be in tune with the individualistic currents of society. In an age which stresses individualism, the methods of propagation must be individual, aimed at individuals rather than groups such as the extended family with formal ties to a temple on a social basis.⁸²

This approach, it is argued, is not new, but ^{has} its roots in the earliest days of Sōtō, in the face-to-face encounters of teachers and pupils, but its novelty is in its application to the laity and, moreover, to all lay people. There is no suggestion that hōza should be the domain of Sōtō danka members alone, although it is realised that temple priests tend to have more contact with them, due to services, visits to the temple at set times of the year such as o-Bon, etc. The focus is not on danka but on the creation of danshinto* of the temple.

Danka has the meaning of families who are affiliated to a temple, while the word danshinto incorporates the idea of belief (shin*) and implies something more than a purely formal relationship to a temple. It should be recalled that Sahashi Hōryū used the term shinto to denote those who took part in the Chōkokuji sanzenkai as opposed to danka, those who were formally attached to the temple but did not participate. (see above, p.136).

The process is seen as a gradual one, which involves the priest in setting up hōza groups (ideally of between five and ten people; anything larger would cause the individual to lose a sense of identity) and talking to all who visit the temple, all who attend services there and all who belong to danka families. It also envisages the participation of the priest's wives', who can engage in discussions on Sōtō topics while having tea with the wives of temple members;⁸³ indeed, courses of study in Buddhism have been set up to enable priests' wives" to study at home for such purposes.⁸⁴ Ultimately, it is suggested that temples set up branches of the poetry society (Baikakai), zazenkai and other groups: the temple should act as a focus of various social functions as well.⁸⁵ The work is aimed at priests, and suggests that they must intensify their studies of Buddhism in order to fulfil the needs of people who will come to seek their help, and it urges that:

'we must build the foundations
of a new religious propagation
-group adapted to the age'⁷⁶

Further, it aims to counter the pattern of temple activity, and Buddhism in general, as being primarily formal and centred on rituals and social ceremonies: these have, it states,

'ended up being the greater part of temple activity in the sect (and)... we must not allow them to finish up being simply calendrical events and places for social intercourse'.⁸⁷

In other words, the study group that produced this work is urging that Sōtō transforms its internal temple structure and starts to construct a new approach based on belief rather than formal rituals, in which temple priests will form the vanguard, studying and teaching, making the temple the focus of activities and providing an alternative to the growing isolationist feelings of individuals in a society which has had its former bases undermined. The book is designed as a manual for priests and seeks to develop changes in Sōtō methods through the medium of its temple priesthood,. It provides a follow-up to a work originally published by the sect in 1970, entitled Seishin eno joshō (i.e. introduction to true belief), a collection of answers to common questions posed by Sōtō followers on all aspects of Buddhism, chosen from a number of works on Buddhism and edited by the same research section that produced the work on hōza. In the forward to this book, the decline in belief in the modern age is deplored⁸⁸ and is, in part, blamed on the development of a materialist culture. A commitment

to the formulation of true belief in the sect is made,⁸⁹ and, to provide a basis for this, a selection of widely asked (or potentially asked) questions are given, under various sub-headings, along with standard answers, taken from works generally available on Buddhism. This enables the follower to seek the answers to the problems he or she faces, and the priest to familiarise himself with blueprint answers to such questions, should they be asked.

Thus, by the early 1970's, the Sōtō administration was displaying attention to the question of its relationship to its membership and to the problem of the methods by which the sect could maintain its strength and deepen the commitment of its followers in the face of threats posed by various forces in Japanese society. This process of the analysis of teaching methods and of the needs of the sect's followers is a continuing one, and to illustrate the currents of opinion within Sōtō over the last decade, two further publications of the Head Office which deal with the background to, and methodology of, propagation will be examined.

The first of these was published in 1977 and written by Hattori Shōsai, a lecturer in the Education and Propagation departments of the sect, who had been one of the contributors to the work on hōza and to the Seishine no joshō compilation. The work is intended for priests of the sect and seeks to establish ways in which Sōtō priests can answer the problems of society, which is seen as being in a state of 'spiritual desolation'.⁹⁰ Hattori regards the solutions to this turmoil as coming from within the religious sphere

and suggests that a first stage to this is in the growth of a strong and motivated priesthood, ending the introduction to the book with these words:

'We wish to meet the needs of people in this age by developing more and more our diligence as ^{priests} living in the present age'⁹¹

The title of the work, Jōgu to Geke, is an abbreviation for jōgubodai gekeshu jō*. Jōgubodai has the meaning of elevating oneself by aiming at the attainment of Buddhahood, while gekeshujō is to save sentient beings from suffering and, in the words of Daitō Shuppansha's Japanese-English Dictionary:

"Bodhisattvas elevate themselves on the one hand, but on the other, they also descend to the level of the unlightened men to save them."⁹²

Hattori makes the point that there is, in truth, no division in time between the two ('there is no graded division which says that jōgu comes first and geke comes after')⁹³ for they are one continuum, one simultaneous process. Thus, by developing a strong and aware priesthood, one helps the laity: the action of training a priest is an act of alleviating the turmoils of the world. It also implies the legitimacy of a graduated approach, in which people may may be brought, by a number of stages if need be, towards the Buddhist path, and in which their belief and practice may be developed in a number of stages.

Although this does not fit very easily with the Sōtō notion of its practice (of shikantaza) being a totality and with Sōtō's criticisms of Rinzai Kōan study as being a step-by-step process (above, Chapter Two), it has some justification within the terms of Dōgen's view of faith as being a continuing, growing component of enlightenment. He, in Shōbōgenzō Bendōwa, cites the case of two people who, though stupid, became enlightened due to faith; throughout his work, the concept of true faith is important. Indeed, it cannot be removed from the process of spiritual training, as Takashina Rōsen, former (1944-1968) Sōtō head priest, has stated: on the path of spiritual training "the first thing is faith".⁹⁴ Hattori sets forth a programmed path towards the development of a strong body of Sōtō followers based on a graded introduction of practice, dependent on the different levels at which those led towards the Sōtō way were, ultimately, leading to the levels of zazen practice. In this, one of the major starting points is the degree of contact that the layman might have with the temple, and the degree of faith he or she might have in the efficacy of Buddhism: these are levers to induce deeper understanding and involvement. He asks 'what is the ultimate aim of the sect's educational activity?'⁹⁵ and concludes that it is to lead people to non-attachment and enlightenment. As to how this may be done, he states that 'what is necessary is a belief which completely puts this into practice'.⁹⁶

Hattori is seeking to provide a process by which Sōtō priests and the Sōtō sect may bring people into a deeper involvement with the sect, and in this he speaks largely of those who already have some contact with it. Thus, he advocates the deepening of contact with those who come to Sōtō temples for ceremonies and social functions, and analyses the differing levels of belief and contact of those who visit temples. The most prevalent, he finds, are those who go to temples to seek protection and help (in the form of prayers and pilgrimages), those who go with some form of belief but no deep practice (in this group he places those who go to shakyō societies, poetry societies and who go to listen to talks), those who take part in services such as the yearly festivals centred on the grave, and in the memorial services, and lastly, those who seek Buddha's providence (butshuen*) by getting married at a temple, and by actively supporting the temple.⁹⁷ He sees all these as areas of contact and arenas which can and should be used by the priest to further lay-priest relationships and to bring people closer to the sect. He realises that the majority of people who use temples are self-seeking and that 'the greater part of them are confined to the level of self-satisfaction'.⁹⁸ Education is an essential matter, and he outlines a strategy to deal with this, which takes on the needs and limits of each category of temple user, leading each from one level to the next. In this, the role of the priest is vital as an educating force.

His structure necessitates the use of the teachings of the Shushōgi as an early step, for it gives the basic tenets of belief in an easily-understood way and 'in showing the stages of human development, it explains clearly the difficult points'.⁹⁹ From the world of the Shushōgi, one 'is beckoned forward to the beautiful scenery of Zen',¹⁰⁰ and he suggests that it is the sect's intention to make the activation of the teachings of the Shushōgi into zazen: indeed, all practices become zazen, whether they are shakyō, poetry groups, etc.¹⁰¹ The teaching necessary does not just deal with belief but with the understanding which permeates zazen, and he sees the chief aim of belief as being to enable people to 'throw away their egotistical selfishness'.¹⁰² In this, he is envisaging a long process of action and education, welded to the daily lives of Japanese people and rooted in their character,¹⁰³ but he stresses that this method, although it involves the acceptance of stages and limited truths, 'must never be thought of as selling Buddhism as a foreign adulteration',¹⁰⁴ but rather as 'an excellent means to lead (people) to the truth'.¹⁰⁵ He defines this method as 'a course from Buddhist ceremonies to Buddhist precepts, from Buddhist precepts to zazen',¹⁰⁶ asserting that as society changes, so too must Buddhism seek new ways to teach its truth. He stresses that there is an underlying, unchanging side to Buddhism, a truth which exists at all times, and this truth is the final end and aim of Sōtō, but the matter in which it can be realised and taught depends on the historical and social circumstances

of the age: methods thus have to change in accord with the times.

Much of Hattori's methodology is present in the second publication to be considered. This is entitled Genshoku Kenshū (i.e. in-service training) and consists of lectures given by teachers from the Head Office to a group of priests at a training symposium and subsequently issued by the Head Office, in 1981, as a guide for priests in the methods of propagation. The head of the Education Department in the sect, Tanaka Ryōsan, in his introduction, uses a virtual carbon copy of Hattori's introductory words quoted above (p.157) by stating that: 'we seek to respond to society by developing more and more our diligence as priests living in the present age'.¹⁰⁷ He proceeds to stress the mission of memorial services to widen their relationship with people. In a postscript to the book, it is remarked that over 80 per cent of Sōtō priests have occupations besides their duties as priests and exhorts those priests to a spread the word at their workplace, for:

'if we realise that our workplace
is a great classroom for the
propagation of the sect's teaching,
surely this must raise our own
nature'.¹⁰⁸

and states that if people in the sect made efforts to meet and talk to others, the true needs of society could be met and a religious value-system could grow. While this follows along the lines envisioned by Hattori, there

is further the implication that propagation should move out beyond the realms of the temple and those who have some form of contact with temples. Hattori talks of creating danshinto in the first instance from those (danka) connected to the temple, while the Genshoku Kenshū work, four years later, is specifically urging priests to use workplaces and non-temple, non-Buddhist scenarios for propagation. Buddhism is to be taken out of the temple and placed more directly before people.

This point is expanded by Matsuhara Taidō, who, as has been mentioned (above, p.151) had also talked of the need to adapt teachings to fit circumstances. He talks of people who are 'separated from the temple but are not separated from the Buddhist way',¹⁰⁹ and contrasts them to:

'members of danka households who, surprisingly, do not come to propagation meetings at the temple, but who diligently take part in funeral and memorial services. In other words, they are not separated from the temple, but they are separated from the Buddhist way',¹¹⁰

This contrast, between formal participation and interest in the means of spiritual growth, he sees as a contrast between age groups, the older people being involved in the formal and ceremonial aspects and the younger in a spiritual search, which might use the practices of Buddhism but does not necessarily involve them in

its system of belief and participation. Accordingly, the task for Sōtō priests is two-fold: to educate one group in the spiritual while encouraging the other group's spiritual impulses and channelling them into more directly Buddhist ways. Amongst the young, he argues, there is a predominant feeling that belief is unnecessary, but he considers that 'we must explain belief even to those who say that a believing mind is unnecessary'.¹¹¹ He sees the role of the priest as a missionary one, part of which role must be to make the young familiar with the religion of Buddhism while avoiding the pitfall of simply becoming an 'explaining priest',¹¹² i.e. one who can answer question of a formal nature but who does not show the spirit of Zen. It is incumbent upon the priest to study and to strive always for improvement.

Matsuhara discusses a project started in the late 1970's by a Nichiren sect priest who, in an attempt to reach young people with the word of Buddhism, founded a discussion group which concerned itself with general Buddhist principles, unimpeded by any sectarian bias, at a coffee shop in Tokyo. Arguing that the temple was neither a meeting place nor an area of relevance for young people, this priest had said:

'the place where young people
today gather is the coffee shop!
the coffee shop is the crossroads
of human life'¹¹³

and, accordingly, had made a coffee shop the focus of his attempt to draw the young to Buddhism. This method

seems to have had some success, for it has encouraged the development of other coffee shop meetings (Matsuhara says that there are (writing in 1981) three such groups in Tokyo and one in Yokohama) and an increasing number of people attend,¹¹⁴ Matsuhara himself has become involved, attending meetings of the founder-group. Recently, the strictly non-sectarian nature has been modified and the group has been divided into three groups, one doing zazen, one following nembutsu* (Pure Land) practice and one daimoku (Nichirenist) practice, each under the guidance of young priests.¹¹⁵ His experience of this experiment has led Matsuhara to comment on the differences between the young who are interested in Buddhism and alienated from the temple and the older generations who maintain formal temple associations. He notes this alienation ('they will not gather at a temple but they want to hear talks about the Buddhist way')¹¹⁶ and wishes to act to end this alienation. Teaching is necessary, making young people used to religion and to the notion of religious belief is vital: in short, what is demanded is a renewal and improvement of missionary activity.

The tenor of Matsuhara's lecture, as of Tanaka's introductory comments, is of an exhortation to Sōtō priests to take the word out of the temple, to their work place, to a coffee shop, to any place where they can spread it and bring those who are sympathetic to the spiritual nature of Buddhism but divorced from its social formalities in Japan into the orbit of Buddhism. He concludes that 'we must copy the zeal of the people in the New Religions'¹¹⁷

in the field of propagation. Over a quarter of a century, Sōtō has moved from warnings of the threat posed by New Religions, to adoption of their techniques and, lately, their missionary zeal. The adoption of their methods, of course, began earlier but, as the recent methodologically oriented publications of Sōtō have shown, this has been a gradual process. It has moved from the development of publications and methods intended to strengthen and give identity to Sōtō danka and to encourage them to be part of a temple-centred organisation, via skilled use of the media, to the creation of a belief-centred group (in the danshinto notions of the hōza and Seishin e no joshō works) of the early 1970's, to the structured approach of deepening the faith of all those who come into contact with the temple (Hattori, 1977) and eventually to the views expressed by Tanaka and Matsuhara which advocate taking Sōtō beyond the temple environs into the world of the workplace and the coffee shop, into the everyday realm wherein the recruitment agencies of New Religions have had their success.

It is too early to assess the extent to which this call will be taken up, for it is being made in an organisation many of whose members, due to the sesshū system, are more inclined to carry on a family business than a religious campaign, but the seeds have been sown and a declaration of intent sounded. Tanaka's call for more in-service training groups for priests, at which such lectures as Matsuhara's could be delivered, augurs for a continuation of this policy, as does the move away

from the sectarian channels of distribution of literature manifested by the publication of Zen no Kaze, coupled with its non-sectarian approach and appeal to the young. It is part of a continuing trend within Sōtō, which has followed a process of assimilation in the field of propagation methodology and has gradually moved, of necessity, from its old established bases and sought to develop new and more secure ones.

The priesthood is, as always, the agency of these movements (even the Sōtō shūfushūkai of Ōuchi largely consisted of priests (above, p.105)) and it is through the agency of priests that the various programmes of action outlined are intended to be channelled. This makes the Sōtō literature that either does not reach the public at large or that is mainly bought by the priests of the sect as important as the more widely available publications. Whatever is taught to the priest and whatever methods are planned and devised for the purpose of training the priest as an active advocate of Sōtō will have, or are intended to have, a resultant impact on the message received by the laity, whether historically affiliated to Sōtō and thus target of attempts to develop their sense of belonging, or alienated from the formal structure but seen as open to the essence of Buddhist spiritual teaching. One may perhaps suggest a possible parallel to the early stages of Sōtō in Japan, with Dōgen laying emphasis on the formation of a strong group before any widespread attempt at proselytisation was made, followed by the expansionist activities of Keizan's lineage which carried

the message across Japan. The early post-war years saw the growth of a publications industry aimed at temple members, followed by a growing move to teach priests more thoroughly while attempting to develop a core of believers, and eventually led to more directed attempts to take Sōtō out of the temple confines in response to an age and generation which found the temple of little use. The traditional danka are not being jettisoned and the methods by which they are encouraged are not being abandoned: rather, the field of activity is being expanded to take in more people and to teach to a different public as well.

Such activity is in keeping with the pattern of response and flexibility which has been noted as being inherent in Sōtō from its earliest days. The move towards individualisation, mirroring a move which Sōtō sees in Japanese society in the current era, is taking place not at the expense of, but alongside, the continuing relationship Sōtō seeks with its danka who are its major source of economic viability, and these two currents flow simultaneously in the contemporary publications of the sect. This, in the light of Sōtō history, is to be expected: the history of seven centuries has provided a strong legacy of adaptation, flexibility and movement with, rather than dogmatic rejection of, the changing processes within society. If the final ends may be unchanged and unchanging, as Hattori and other writers have pointed out, the manner by which they may be made available to the general populace may change, and it is a feature

of Sōtō (and inherent in the Mahayana views of relative and absolute truth) that, as an entity and sect, it has continually moved with the times. There may always be those who object (the Sandaisōron was the first, not the only, dispute on this score) but there has always been an attitude of methodological analysis within the sect which provokes debates over the methods used and produces adequate responses. The acquiescence of Sōtō with the feudal regime of the Tokugawa era, by and large neglecting spiritual teaching, is as much part of this process as is the sect's ability to turn towards lay propagation at its downfall, in tune with the requirements of the Meiji era: the post-war events also form part of this continuum.

In examining the contemporary teachings and outlooks manifested by the Sōtō sect, especially those made available through its media activities, one has to be aware of the whole field in which they must operate. The general background to Japanese socio-religious consciousness is as important as is Sōtō's position in the historical development of Buddhism and the ways in which it (Sōtō) took root and spread in Japan. These factors form the basic parameters within which Sōtō functions as a sect and from them come the attitudes which have led to the development of what has been termed 'the great gate', broad enough to encompass the academic, the monk, the petitioner for good fortune, the danka concerned with the correct forms of treating the dead and (as the sect now hopes) the disenchanting young. It is an encompassing rather than a rejectionist

stance, underpinned by historical and social factors. From this understanding one can turn to a more direct examination of the content and form of contemporary Sōtō materials in order to draw out the images and attitudes that the sect is seeking to set forth and promote; this, in turn, will indicate the prevalent channels of thought within Sōtō and forms the basis of Part Two of this thesis.

P A R T T W O

THE CONTEMPORARY AGE: PUBLICATIONS AND THEMES

C H A P T E R F I V E

THE BASIC GUIDELINES OF BELIEF AND ACTION

The contemporary structure of the sect, according to various Sōtō writers, is similar to that of the Japanese political system¹ and the diagrammed structure of the sect given in Appendix Two shows that there are similarities. There is an overall representative, the head priest, who acts as a 'head of state',² as the guide to the structure of the sect published by the Head Office terms it, and a legal representative who is head of the administration of the sect based at the Head Office. The two head temples act more as models for the sect, 'the fountainhead of belief in our sect',³ than as power blocks involved in the decision making process. This is carried out by the Head Office Council (Chōgi**) which has an executive role, headed by the administrative head (who is nominated by the representatives of the accredited teachers of the sect and has a role akin to a Premier) and consisting of the heads of the seven Departments at Head Office, plus one representative from each head temple, and by the sect Council (Shūgikai**) of 72 members elected from the sect's teachers, which performs the role of the legislative.

There is an independent review body (Shinjiin**) to mediate in disputes and, below the executive council, there are the various departments of the sect which carry out policies and liase with the area offices. It will

be seen from the diagram that liason between temples and the centre goes through the Head Office system, as does all teaching in the sect (carried out by the Kyōgaku (i.e. education) Department in the main). The various regional and central bodies which function to upkeep and maintain the sect and its temples (Shūmongojikai**, Jiin gojikai** etc.) are administered through the Head Office via its various departments. A similar situation exists in the financial sphere, with taxes and levies from temples and services paid to the sect through the administrative channels and dispensed by the Head Office (for the upkeep of temples which are poor, for the publication of literature, and other proselytisation, as well as for social welfare projects). Sōtō has been more involved in such social welfare activities than most Buddhist groups in Japan;⁴ indeed, it maintains a university (Tōhoku Fukushi (i.e. social welfare) university) specialising in training social workers, and it has also in recent years financed and carried out extensive relief work on behalf of Cambodian refugees.⁵ Such welfare work is a legacy of Keizan and his disciples, who expanded the sect hand-in-hand with welfare works and a desire to help all people.

From this view of the Sōtō structure, it can be seen that the major force within the sect as a body is the Head Office, for it controls the decision making and fiscal processes and is the agent of their execution. It alone maintains official agents and representatives throughout the country. Many temples, of course, have an affiliation to one of the head temples, or to a regional

head temple, although the channel of liason, according to the official structure, is via the Head Office.⁶ Although the head temples can call on the loyalty and historical links of local temples, they do not have a central role in the teaching processes of the sect. This is held by the Head Office and, accordingly, because it publishes the bulk of material available about the sect's contemporary thought and attitudes, and because it has the means of distribution, via the system it controls, the greater part of information available about the nature of Sōtō thought today is that of the Head Office.

Besides the administrative structure, the sect has a constitution, which sets out the basic parameters of thought and aim of the sect, as well as the duties, functions and obligations of the various bodies within it. The constitution, in setting out the cardinal foci of the sect's belief and practice, encapsulates the themes and outlooks which have been discussed in Part One, and underlines both its historical perspective and its contemporary awareness. The fundamental guidelines and principles are contained in the first five Articles as follows:

'NAME

Article One The sect is called the 'Sōtō sect'

Article Two The sect has directly inherited from Shakyamuni Buddha the true law passed from mind to mind (shōbō* isshindenshin) and it possesses the

traditions which have been passed to it by the unbroken lines of inheritance of all the successive Patriarchs.

TENETS

Artical Three The sect, obeying the true law directly transmitted from the Buddhas and Patriarchs, holds as its tenets adherence to 'pure and single minded sitting in meditation' (shikantaza) and to the view that 'this mind itself is Buddha' (sokushinzebutsu).

MAIN OBJECT OF WORSHIP

Article Four (i) The sect has as its main object of worship Shakyamuni Buddha, and it holds Kōsojōyō Daishi** (i.e. Dōgen) and Taisojōsai Daishi** (i.e. Keizan) as its two founders (ryōso*).

(ii) In temples where a main image has already been enshrined it is possible to make an exception (to this rule).

DOCTRINE

Article Five The sect holds, as the basic principles of its doctrines, the practice of the cardinal tenets of 'meditation and the precepts are one' (zen kaiichinyo*) and 'practice and enlightenment are indivisible' (shushōfuni*), in accordance with the four point programme of the Shushōgi (i.e. the principle of practice-enlightenment).

There follow a number of articles that relate to the regulation of activities (e.g. Article Six states that all services have to take place in accordance with the procedure and form given in the special rule-book for ceremonials published by the Head Office) and teaching. Article Eight affirms the aim of the sect to educate people to be teachers of Buddhism while Article 11 states that the sect's teaching is to be carried out through zazen, discourses, broadcasts, publications, ceremonies and 'by whatever methods are suitable for the situation'⁸ - an affirmation of the methodological views discussed in the previous chapter. Later articles define the role and duties of the priest (he can add or remove people from the list of danshinto according to Article 27, and he must teach the followers of the temple and educate his own successor, under the terms of Article 28) and temple followers (to believe in the teachings of the sect and the temple priest, to help maintain the temple and sect etc.). Administrative matters, the role of the head priest and other branches of the executive and legislative, are set out, and the financial regulations and duties of the sect and temple are expressed in Articles 42 to 45.

The constitution covers every area pertinent to the sect, but its crux, in terms of actual religious stand-points is in the first five articles. The essential legitimation so vital to Dōgen's thought (the transmission of the true law from mind to mind), which is the starting point of his teaching, forms the basis and legitimation of the modern sect which asserts its inheritance of the law

(Article Two). This is aligned to the cardinal points of Dōgen's thought (the concepts of shikantaza and sokushinzebutsu, which go together: in single-minded zazen one is Buddha) in Article Three to provide the foundations (legitimation, ultimate purpose and practice) of the sect. Article Two is founded in the Buddha's action and person, Article Three in those of Dōgen. These are its universal principles: Articles Four and Five provide the structure which makes Sōtō not simply a Buddhist, but also an essentially Japanese system of belief and action and which provide it with a programme of action applicable to all people.

Article Four furnishes the sect with a focus of worship and faith, in the trinity of Buddha, Dōgen and Keizan (source, teacher and propagator) who are linked by the continuity of the ishindenshin transmission. This is a symbolic union and, simultaneously, a continuity between the source and universal legitimation (the Buddha), the true transmitter, legitimation and source in the Japanese context, the father of Sōtō (Dōgen) and the developer of the 'great gate', the mother of Sōtō (Keizan). Source, father and mother: this forms a coherent image, symbol and focus of worship. One can understand why Gazan (whom Takeuchi called the sect's third founder, above p.78) is not so well-known in Sōtō: the image of a trinity is compact and potent as it is⁹ and recently, as has been mentioned (above p.141), has been utilised as the focus of drives for unity and for increased lay participation, in the form of a hanging scroll depicting this trinity, designed to be installed in temples and in household

butsudan.

In so uniting the persons of Dōgen and Keizan with the Buddha, the sect creates a further symbolic link. Sōtō's diverse currents, manifested in the lives and actions of the two founders and in the temples they opened, are united in this image of the three, generally referred to in Sōtō as 'one Buddha, two Patriarchs' (ichibutsuryōso*). The diverse natures manifested by Eihei-ji and Sōji-ji, symbolising the way of the monk and the way of popular propagation, and by their founders, the world-renouncer who exhorted his followers to go into the mountains, and the outward-looking eclectic who asserted enlightenment in the mundane actions of life, are thus joined in a continuum, as parts of one whole object of worship and unity. Simultaneously, through the persons of Dōgen and Keizan, the intrinsically Japanese nature of Sōtō is stressed: one passes from Buddha directly to Dōgen with no mention of Nyōjō, Bodhidharma or Enō.¹⁰

Article Five, which has its historical origins in the events of the Meiji era, asserts the principles expressed in the Shushōgi and in the underlying principles that the practice of zazen and the practice of the preceptual path are one and the same. In this view, the precepts are the gate to enlightenment just as much as is the practice of zazen. The assertion of this notion was one of the major aims of those who compiled the Shushōgi, for it provided an entry to Sōtō that was more accessible than that

of zazen for the laity. The fifth article, then, has its foundations in a particular situation and circumstance, and it functions as a guide and way of practice for the sect's followers and members, both monk and lay, in the modern age. At first, it was intended as a guide for the laity alone, as an alternative to the strict practices of monastic Zen, but as the era of its compilation was one of a laicisation, as it were, of the clergy (marriage, the economic pressures of running a household, etc.) coupled with the need for the clergy as a whole to relate to laity to a greater degree than had been customary, in terms of teaching, in earlier eras, the text was constructed to suit both clergy and laity, to standardise Sōtō practice and belief in the post-Meiji era.

In their framing, the underlying principles of the Shushōgi were expedient, a product designed to fit the times, even though they are taken from the writings of Dōgen. Mizuno (1978b) in his commentary and explanation of the text published by the Head Office, details where each phrase and sentence of the Shushōgi has been taken from in Dōgen's writings. Paragraph one, for example, is constructed from four separate sentences or clauses taken from three different chapters of the Shōbōgenzō, welded together into one sentence of seven clauses.¹¹ Paragraph two is taken from four different chapters and five clauses.¹² Not all paragraphs are such elaborate constructions, however; paragraph five, for example, is taken in toto from one chapter,¹³ and

several of the paragraphs in the middle sections (in all, there are 31 paragraphs) are taken from one or two sources. The later paragraphs, however, which basically sum up the contents and emphasise the theoretical teachings of Sōtō (paragraph 31, for instance, introduces the sokushinzebutsu principle), are complex: paragraph 30 is constructed from seven clauses extracted from one chapter, and paragraph 31 from three clauses from three separate chapters.¹⁴ In all, there are 107 separate phrases or clauses, taken from 27 chapters of the Shōbōgenzō plus two clauses (in paragraphs 14 and 16) from elsewhere in Dōgen's writings, making 109 clauses in all welded into a text of 31 paragraphs.

It will be seen from this analysis that the Shushōgi is a highly selective and selected document, a product of the times and the views of those who edited it rather than of Dōgen himself. It must be remembered that Ōuchi had sought the development of a practice along the lines of the nembutsu (above, p.107), considering it to be an excellent 'short-cut' entry to Buddhism¹⁵ but had failed to find in Dōgen's work a legitimation for this view. His later construct, which depended on belief in the Buddha and precepts, for which he did find suitable justification within the Shōbōgenzō, was, he considered, an excellent gateway to Buddhism and, comparing it favourably to the nembutsu practice, wrote:

'for entering the path of becoming a Buddha in one lifetime, they (the Pure Land sects) use the attainment of rebirth in the Pure Land by recitation of the nembutsu as a short-cut ... but now the Buddhist gateway of the Shushōgi in our Sōtō sect has, without depending on this nembutsu, separately taken a short-cut to the attainment of one's original nature in one lifetime and to entering enlightenment in one lifetime, by means of what may be termed the special transmission (betsuden*) of the Buddhist precepts'.¹⁶

The use of the words 'special transmission' (betsuden) forges a direct link to those basic concepts of Zen, the nengemishō and the mind-to-mind transmission outside the scriptures which place Zen, in its view, at the heart of Buddhism. Ōuchi is stating that there is a preceptual transmission passed on in the same way, which joins all Sōtō followers and all who take the preceptual vows in the sect to the Buddha and Patriarchs. There is, admittedly, no nengemishō - type story to illustrate this but one can see the beginnings of a new legitimation and a new view of transmission justifying a new teaching and approach that has been put together for specific, temporal purposes. Today, the text is the standard of practice and belief of the sect and the crux of its theory, that the precepts are the same as the practice of zazen, and the structured programme advocated in the text, are incorporated, under Article Five, as the basic doctrine

taught by the sect. In such a way, the sect has incorporated, in its teachings, the promise of reward and recompense (for taking the precepts, which is a short-cut to Buddhahood) which is itself a feature of, and cause of success of, many New Religions.

As has been seen, in Chapter Four, the sect is always seeking ways to adapt its approaches and style to the times, but it is also stressed that the ultimate ends of all its teaching remain constant. Hattori (1977), while discussing new methods, states that the final aims of the sect must never change, 'for they are based on the tenets which are the fundamental life of the sect'.¹⁷ He discusses the relationship between the tenets (shūshi*) and the doctrines (kyōgi*) of the sect: the tenets are the basis of all teaching, while the doctrines 'show a unified criterion of belief in order to drive home the propagation of the tenets'.¹⁸ In this relationship, Articles Three and Five are seen to be working together in tandem, the former expressing the fundamental truths, the unchanging teaching of Sōtō that has been inherited directly from the Buddha, and the latter manifesting the form in which that teaching is expressed in the present. There is an interplay between that which is absolute and unchanging and that which is relative and changing - an interplay that is intrinsic to Mahayana Buddhism in general, as has been discussed in Chapter Two.

The current teachings of Sōtō are relative, of the contemporary age and designed to open the door to the

universal. The relationship is defined by Hattori as follows:

'Accordingly, the tenets are the fundamental standpoint which does not change with the times, while the doctrines ... can be thought of as things which it is permitted to change, if it is necessary, in the manner of their presentation as a concrete guide.'¹⁹

This shows that there is a dialogue of the unchanging and the changing which, in Sōtō's teaching and rules, forms a continuum - one which is present in the concept of Jōgubodai Gekeshujō, elevation to Buddhahood while reaching out to the level of the unenlightened in order to save them (see above, p.158). The view that all things change, decay and die, that the nature of all things is transient, is a basic standpoint of Buddhism which Sōtō, in one of its explanatory works for its followers, summarises as:

'All existence in this world is in a state of continuous change which does not stop even for a second.'²⁰

While all is thus transient, however, there is a fundamental, absolute and inherent truth which is unchanging. It has been passed on (just like water can be passed on from one vessel to another, to use a favourite Sōtō analogy²¹) from Buddha to the Patriarchs and is the unchanging truth

of enlightenment which is inherent in all beings and existence. The nature of all existence is thus changing and unchanging at one and the same time, and this is true for the sect's teaching as it is for all else.

Such an approach, then, is encapsulated in the Sōtō constitution's third and fifth articles. It is also mirrored by the seeming duality of Sōtō practice and in the underlying structure of that practice. The practice of shikantaza, in which one is enlightened in the practice, in contrast to the kōan practice of Rinzai, criticised by Sōtō as a step-by-step process, is an unchanging one: in contrast, the way of practice outlined in the Shushōgi is a structured one, which basically has four stages (these are the four points mentioned in Article Five). There is of course an overt discrepancy here between the critical view of Rinzai meditation and the affirmation of the modern Sōtō path as outlined in the Shushōgi, but this is only a discrepancy on the surface, if one is to follow the logic of Sōtō belief.

The title of the text, Shushōgi, means 'the principle (gi*) of practice - enlightenment (shushō)' and indicates the Dōgenist principle that there is no division between practice and enlightenment: they are one, not two. This is expressed in the phrase 'practice and enlightenment are indivisible' (shushōfuni) and incorporated in Article Five. Accordingly, the practice of shikantaza is itself enlightenment, is itself the realisation and manifestation of the principle that 'this mind is Buddha' (sokushinzebutsu).

As, however, enlightenment is inherent, and as it is, indeed must be, found in this world, in the everyday life of people (in drinking tea, as Keizan showed), it is manifested in all practice which is itself enlightenment. Following this line of logic, the practice of preceptual virtues and the leading of a pure life based on the daily observance of them is in itself a pure and total activity and hence is the same as the pure and total activity of shikantaza. Thus, precepts and meditation are one. The apparent graded path of the Shushōgi is a path of action which (just as, for Dōgen, the element of complete faith was necessary, above, p.159, in enlightenment) increases the actual awareness and faith of the participant, but its underlying principles are unchanging. The actual, total practice of preceptual awareness is in itself an action as complete and unseeking as shikantaza or of Keizan drinking tea, and is thus in and of itself enlightenment: the programmed path is merely an aid to the absolute and unchanging which is in, and may be realised at, any point.

The Shushōgi itself, in these terms, is what the Sōtō academic Nakano Tōzen calls 'a systemisation of belief';²² in other words, it shows true belief in terms of a process which all people may assimilate and follow. To clarify this, and to link all the themes under discussion and brought into focus in Articles Three and Five, it is useful to quote the following extract, which comes from a book published by the sect which gives a basic explanation, on a paragraph-by-paragraph formula, of the text.²³ This explanation is largely taken from two of the numerous

commentaries that have been made of the Shushōgi, those by Satō Taishun (1970a) former head priest of the sect, and Mizuno Kōgen (1978b), a leading Sōtō academic from Komazawa University. Satō's work is a commentary, concerned with the way one should live one's life, which uses the Shushōgi as a model to teach correct living, while Mizuno's more academic work details the origins of the clauses of the text and the meaning of important terms and concepts, largely from the point of view of early Indian Buddhism, complete with Sanskrit terminology. The compilation is a simple and straightforward work, which concentrates on daily life aspects while, in a series of footnotes, providing a general and comprehensible explanation of some of the more academic terms used in the text. The commentary is preceded by the following section, inserted by the editors to explain the underlying principles of the text:

'The Teaching of the Shushōgi

(I) The tenets of the Sōtō sect

The Shushōgi is the teaching which explains to people in general the tenets of the Sōtō sect. Therefore, before we read the Shushōgi, it is necessary to get to know a synopsis of the tenets.

Normally the word 'tenets' (shūshi) has the meaning of doctrine or principle but here it may be taken as the sect's aims and articles of faith. According to our sect's tenets, all people live their daily lives in accord with the 'true law' (shōbō) which is the teaching transmitted from the Buddha by the successive generations (of Patriarchs) (rekidai*), and receiving it in its turn, this

society holds, as its ideal, the concept of being 'a peaceful world based on the true law'. One may ask what this true law is, and the answer is that it is a way of life in which all practice 'pure and single minded meditation' (shikantaza) and believe that 'this mind is itself Buddha' (sokushinzebutsu). These are the two fundamental pillars, and the standard guidelines (one may also say teaching) of how and in what way these tenets may be practiced in one's daily life are shown by the Shushōgi.

Shikantaza is the simple and straightforward practice of zazen which has been practiced from the Buddha onwards by the successive generations of Patriarchs. Zazen is not something which is done for the purpose of one's own religious practice, nor is it done with the aim of attaining enlightenment. It is just sitting understanding that 'true Buddhism is zazen'. And, moreover, daily life activity is that which strives to be a way of living practicing the mind of zazen in its entirety. In such a way, zazen is not an activity of sitting believing that such activity has efficacy and value, but is one of just sitting believing the teaching which guides us.

Sokushinzebutsu is the mental attitude of zazen which expresses its contents. Although we, not being fully realised, are incomplete, we are, by following a pure life by keeping the precepts given to us by the fully realised one (Buddha), by believing in the exalted life which exists eternally (Buddha nature), and by striving diligently in our daily way of life, on the path of full realisation.

When we have fully understood this principle, we, rather than simply never doing bad deeds, will not be able to do them and, of

of course, will be unable to do other than good ones. In this way, we will be able to have the mind of a fully realised person, just as the Buddha. This is called sokushinzebutsu.

(II) Its doctrines

The Shushōgi is divided into 5 sections and 31 paragraphs. Of these, the four sections entitled sangemetsuzai* (i.e. repentance and release) jukainyūi* (i.e. receiving the precepts and entering the ranks (of the Buddha) hotsuganrishō* (i.e. making vows and living a valuable life) and gyōjihōon* (i.e. maintaining practice and showing gratitude) are called the four-point programme. This four-point programme is the basic teaching of the Shushōgi and it is imbued with the concept that 'meditation and the precepts are one' (zenkaiichinyo) and they further show clearly the view that 'practice and enlightenment are indivisible' (shushōfuni).

Although shikantaza is the great standard of practice of the tenets, many people cannot normally devote themselves to zazen. Accordingly, it is necessary to bring to life the mental structure of zazen in the daily life activity of those who are unable to devote themselves to zazen, and this is expressed by the principle that 'meditation and the precepts are one' which states that the 'practice of the precepts' (kai no jissen*) which is shown by the Shushōgi is the same as the practice of zazen.

The word practice-enlightenment (shushō)²⁴ comes from the words 'religious practice' (shugyō*) and 'enlightenment' (shōgo*). Normally, these are used with the implication that, by building up the practice of zazen and

other austerities, one is able, as a result, to achieve enlightenment. Dōgen Zenji, however, considering that one could not divide practice-enlightenment in this way, saw it as one entity. That is to say that, we must not seek any kind of good fortune (enlightenment) from the continuous performance of the Buddhist way of life (practice) in our daily lives. When one strives to gain enlightenment, that striving is a step towards the realisation of an aim, and thus that practice cannot be said to be a pure one. What is important is to practice correctly in one's daily life activities, truly understanding this principle and simply and earnestly concentrating on listening to the teachings. In this respect, the Shushōgi is the teaching which clearly explains the principle that 'practice and enlightenment are indivisible'.

The Shushōgi was published in October 1890 for the purpose of showing people in general the correct way of family life activity. The text has all been taken from Dōgen Zenji's Shōbōgenzō and was edited by the then heads of Eihei-ji, Takiya Takushū, and Sōjiji, Azegami Baisen, and issued as a proclamation for the whole sect.²⁵

What this passage shows most clearly is the basic manner of thought which underpins modern Sōtō in its methods and in the information and teaching it passes out to its regular and affiliated followers. The tenets are the basic pillars, the Shushōgi the means by which to activate them. The fundamental Dōgenist concept of the 'true law' is essential to the structure, as is the

interpretation that this present society, having received it, seeks a 'peaceful world' - in other words, Sōtō is positing harmony and mutuality as the ideals it wishes to promote. What it sees as important are attitude and correct behaviour (i.e. adherence to the moral laws encompassed in the precepts). In these are the roots of full realisation: by observing the laws given by the Buddha, who is of course the main object of worship and the source of the Sōtō claim to centrality in the religious world, one is on the path of full realisation - a phrase significantly underlined in the text, for it emphasises that the concept of sokushinzebutsu is not solely linked to that of shikantaza but has a unity also with preceptual behaviour. By understanding this principle one will do only good: there will be no capacity for bad deeds and this is in itself realisation, sokushinzebutsu. The Shushōgi is then set forth as the guided course to such realisation. Significantly, the inability of people to practice zazen or to devote sufficient time to it is seen as acceptable in these terms and the 'meditation and the precepts are one' principle is introduced as a justification for such people to follow a different path, i.e. the preceptual one. By explaining that zazen which seeks an end is not pure practice and hence not enlightenment, while true zazen is practice for its own sake and is in itself enlightenment, the Dōgenist view of practice-enlightenment as a single entity is underlined. This leads directly to the equation that practice of the precepts, since it is the same as zazen, is itself enlightenment.

The importance is not in any practice such as zazen which seeks to attain some result but everyday practice in one's daily life activities - a phrase underlined to emphasise the gravity of its content. By this yardstick, according to Sōtō logic as expressed in this section, Rinzai zazen, for example, is a less complete and efficacious practice than Sōtō preceptual awareness.

Such, then, is the logical structure that the Shushōgi expresses. It is a guide to life, a programmed approach to realisation of one's Buddha nature. It sets out a four-point programme which centres on the taking of preceptual vows and on belief in the Three Jewels (sanbō*) of Buddha (the teacher) Dharma (the law) and Sangha (the Buddhist community) inherent in all Buddhist thought. This programme is expressed in another guidebook for Sōtō followers, the Kenshūtechō, as follows:

'We, being children of the Buddha, are imbued with the same pure mind (the virtue of Buddha) as Shakyamuni but in reality we lead a way of life which is not imbued with the everyday mind of Buddha. When we have truthfully perceived that we are children of the Buddha, a deeply meditative mind is born and we must repent (sangemetsuzai i.e. repentance and release from sins). In this way, the mind of repentance arises, and when one faces the Buddha and performs the ceremony of repentance, at that moment the virtue of Buddha is manifested. This is taking the precepts of Buddha

(jukai nyūi i.e. taking the precepts and entering the ranks (of the Buddha)). Living one's daily life correctly, one clearly finds this life worth living and joyfully wishes to be useful to the world in general (hotsuganrishō i.e. making vows and living a valuable life). Here, one is blessed with a gasshō lifestyle (i.e. one of gratitude) and a way of life in which one gives thanks and gratitude. One can devote oneself to this in the present and can live a fulfilled daily life (gyōjihōon i.e. maintaining practice and giving gratitude)'.²⁶

This explanation also proceeds to state that zazen is hard for many people and thus the practice of preceptual vows is important as a means to show the true law to such people. The Shushōgi, then, is a guide to Sōtō followers in terms of lifestyle, practice and attitude. Its opening paragraphs (numbers 1 - 6) are an exposition of basic Buddhist views taken from Dōgen's works, while the next four sections (7 - 31), deal with the four points discussed above. There have been numerous commentaries written on the Shushōgi: Mizuno (1978b) remarks that there have been more than 40 commentaries in less than 80 years,²⁷ chiefly by Sōtō writers, which cover many approaches and interpretations, and it is worthwhile to briefly look at the scope of them, for it sheds light on the text and its relative importance to the sect.

Although the text was designed in part to be an easily-understood one which gives the essence of Dōgen (although, as has been shown, this is a selective, edited and interpretative essence) to those unable to delve into the complexities of the Shōbōgenzō, and although the sect still describes it today as 'easily-understood',²⁸ Sōtō commentators have, since its publication, felt obliged to issue commentaries, textual explanations and modern Japanese translations. The former head priest of the sect, Yamada Reirin describes his commentary as 'a colloquial translation',²⁹ while an informant at Sōtō Head Office stated that contemporary Japanese can comprehend the meaning of the text because there are modern translations and explanations.³⁰ Indeed, the two major figures in the selection and editing of the text, Takiya Takushū of Eihei-ji and Ōuchi Seiran, saw fit to produce their own commentaries on the text soon after it was issued, Ōuchi's giving a great deal of information regarding the background attitudes and philosophy which contributed to the idea of publishing such a text and to the reasons why certain approaches were taken.

A review of the works summarised in Appendix One shows that there are a number directly related to the Shushōgi. Numbers 22 and 31 are textual commentaries, the first being the one quoted at length above, and the second that by the academic Mizuno, which deals with terminology, occurrence of the clauses in the Shōbōgenzō and interpretations from a pan-Buddhist, rather than a

specifically Sōtō view. Numbers 35 and 36 are not so much commentaries as discussions of modern life and the lessons that one should learn. Each takes the Shushōgi as its basis, using it as a pointer to the correct way of life: Machida (number 36) for example, goes through the text paragraph by paragraph, not explaining them in terms of meaning, but using each one to provide a message for contemporary society. Many of the leaflets and pamphlets issued by the sect use the Shushōgi as a springboard or base from which to develop their theme. Number 46, for instance, entitled Ai no Kotoba (i.e. loving words) develops the theme of the importance of kind and loving words (expounded in paragraph 21 of the Shushōgi), number 64 explains the importance of the precept-taking ceremony, which is one of the foci of the text, number 69 stresses the Shushōgi as a guide to daily life and numbers 70 and 72 deal with the application of the precepts in daily life, which is a major aim of the text. Besides these, there are brief remarks on, or summaries of, the text in many of the explanatory guides (e.g. numbers 17, 18, 20, 21) and the text itself is widely published (e.g. in numbers 19, 20, 22, 23, 31, 35, 36) besides being included in all the various collections of sutras published by the Head Office. Parts of the text, with comments accompanied by photographs, have appeared in both volumes of Zen no Kaze and serialised articles on the text often appear in Zen no Tomo. Number 35 for example, first appeared as serialised articles in the magazine, while another series by the same

author, Hattori Shōsai, explaining some of the terms and phrases used in the text was published monthly in Zen no Tomo from April 1980 to March 1981.³¹

Not only the Head Office has published such works: the deputy head priest of Sōjiji, Matsuura Eibun, has produced a paragraph-by-paragraph discussion of the text entitled Ikiru Shihyō o Shushōgi ni Motomete (i.e. seeking guidelines for living in the Shushōgi) which was originally serialised in the Sōjiji monthly periodical Chōryū** and is now published by Sōjiji. Many other Sōtō commentators have published works based on the text independently, and there has been at least one such commentary published by the Eihei-ji press. This is by Satō Taishun who, at the time was a leading priest at Eihei-ji and who later became its head priest on January 7th 1968, shortly after becoming head priest of the sect, on January 22nd 1968.³² Satō's work is notable in that it is his major work in the Sōtō sphere (he has also published detailed academic works on the history and philosophy of Chinese Buddhism),³³ one which has been highly praised by such as the leading Sōtō scholar Ōkubo Dōshu³⁴ for its lucidity and for its value as a guide to Dōgen and to Zen. It is also much used by the sect in its published explanations. The standard explanation published by the Head Office of the Shushōgi for lay members, in Bukkyō Tokuhon Volume 3, has, as has been mentioned (above, p.185), largely been taken from Satō's work, while other books, such as Kenshūtechō, quote Satō's words when dealing with

the topic.³⁵ The book is further interesting because it shows not only the outlook of the head priest of the sect, (although written before he became head priest, it was published after he did), commenting on the text as a guide for daily living and using it as a focus for teachings designed to be relevant to the laity and to introduce Sōtō attitudes into their lives, but also the more directly academic aspect.

Satō was, prior to his period of monkhood at Eihei-ji, to which he went at the end of the war, a full-time academic who had taught at Komazawa and Tōyō Universities before spending three years (1931-34) studying in Europe and then teaching at the Imperial University at Seoul in Korea.³⁶ His subject was Buddhism, especially that of China, and it was as an academic that he first came into prominence in Sōtō before moving over to the realms of monkish practice at Eihei-ji.³⁷ At Eihei-ji, he acted as assistant to the then head priest of the temple and was given the task of propagation of Sōtō throughout Japan. He was thus in close contact with the methodological attitudes of the time which sought to widen the sect's base, and this makes his commentary on the Shushōgi, as a text designed for such purposes, all the more pertinent. As head priest of the sect at the time when methodological re-thinking was going on (the complementary works Hōza and Seishin e no Joshō commented on in Chapter Four were produced whilst he was in office as head priest) his commentary is useful in showing the

prevalent thoughts and outlooks of the sect as expressed by its head priest in 1970, the year the book was issued, while its centrality to later Sōtō explanations of the Shushōgi makes it all the more important. Equally, Satō combines the two roles of priest and academic in the work by giving, as it were, two commentaries, the one a teaching based on the relevant points and factors in the text for the laity, using the text as the base for a wider teaching, and the other an academic analysis of the text and its functions. One can see here the concept of the Shugakusō (priest who studies and practices) discussed in Chapter Two as being so vital to the development of the 'great gate' of Sōtō, brought into practice in a modern example, and for this and other reasons already expressed, a detailed analysis and description of Satō's commentary will be made: this will also show the contents of Shushōgi.

The book is in three sections, the longest of which is the first (p.I-316), a paragraph-by-paragraph commentary on the text accompanied by Satō's teaching concerned with everyday life aspects touched on by the text. The second, much shorter, (p.317-336) is an academic analysis of the text and its structure, while the third brief (p.337-348) section entitled 'Ichinichi Issetsu: Shushōgi Himehuri no Bunrei' (i.e. One day, one paragraph. A calendrical model of the Shushōgi) spells out in simple language the basic contents of the text to be read on a day-to-day

basis throughout the month as a guide to correct living.
The basic structure of the Shushōgi itself is as follows:

Section One	<u>Sōjo</u> (i.e. general introduction	Paras.1-6
Section Two	<u>Sangemetsuzai</u> (i.e. repentance and release from sins)	Paras.7-10
Section Three	<u>Jukainyūi</u> (i.e. receiving the precepts and entering the ranks (of Buddha))	Paras.11-17
Section Four	<u>Hotsuganrishō</u> (i.e. making vows and living a valuable life)	Paras.18-25
Section Five	<u>Gyōjihōon</u> (i.e. maintaining practice and showing gratitude)	Paras.26-31

Section One of the text deals with basic philosophic problems and views of Buddhism, starting with the issue of birth and death, and moving to discussion of transience, which is linked to muga* or 'non-self', the lack of a fixed entity which can be called 'self', for all things are in constant flux. This is incorporated with the discussion of inga* (karmic forces, cause and effect) and states that all actions have consequences which have to be faced in the future. The first part of the text is a basic exposition of many standard Buddhist viewpoints: indeed Mizuno (1978b) considers the text to be the best discussion of basic Buddhism available in Japan, one that is relevant to all Buddhists, regardless of sect.³⁸

Satō introduces these themes as he goes paragraph by paragraph through the text, and, as he does, the general themes of his outlook become clear. First of all, he is insistent that Buddhism is a living way, for those in the world; criticising the prevalent attitude of the Japanese who see death as something which is 'explained by the temple',³⁹ he places Buddhism squarely in the world, asserting that:

' never abandoning the world,
indeed living clearly in the world
is the principal aim of
Buddhism',⁴⁰

He insists that man must understand death, not evade responsibility for it, and sees death as 'the single most important problem of Buddhism',⁴¹ - one which is explained in the Shushōgi.

In his criticism of the tendency to neglect the spiritual, leaving that side of things for the temple to sort out, he introduces a theme recurrent in modern Sōtō writing. Satō and later writers may be attempting to place Buddhism in the world, but this is never to imply that they concur with contemporary activities of society which are materialist in nature. Rather, the way of the world that he advocates and which he terms a 'fulfilled life',⁴² is a spiritual one, in which he includes academic and artistic pursuits but which is mostly centred on religious practice. This he contrasts to 'unfulfilled life',⁴³ which is materialist and subject

to the laws of transience (all things pass, so it is futile to try to build a world solely on materialist bases which inevitably disappear) and is the cause of trouble in the world. The Shushōgi, having set forth its basic philosophy, turns to discussion of a programme of action which is designed to take man out of the materialist abyss and into the true world of fulfilment and, for this reason, because it is a 'teaching for a fulfilled life',⁴⁴ Satō declares his intention to give a detailed exposition of the text. Starting from the base provided by section one, which he interestingly calls 'the true form of human life seen through the Buddha's eyes'⁴⁵ - interestingly, because the words are Dōgen's, edited by others of the Sōtō sect - he proceeds to deal with the active programme of sections two to five. Dōgen has become the surrogate Buddha, his words the 'true form of human life' which, though seen by Dōgen, is seen 'through Buddha's eyes'. This is one of the clearest instances of the fundamental nature of Sōtō philosophy and interpretation that one could find in Sōtō writings. The notion of 'true transmission' which came to Dōgen from the mind of the Buddha by direct face-to-face transmission through the successive generations of Patriarchs underpins this statement: Dōgen, according to Satō's words here, directly sees as the Buddha because he has directly inherited the Buddha's mind.

Section Two deals with the importance of repentance (sange), which is the gateway to the religious

path. Dōgen's words, from Shōbōgenzō Bendōwa, which introduce this section, speak of the Buddha and Patriarchs having opened 'the great gates of compassion,'⁴⁶ a theme which Satō develops, stating that it is in fact easier to enter the religious path than to enter a school, university, job, etc., because of these great gates, which allow all to pass. To enter necessitates repentance for all one's past errors, so that one enters in a pure state, and to repent is to pass through the gates which in itself is to be awakened. Repentance, according to Satō, has great power which he defines under three headings as follows:

- '(i) to save man from previous sins
- (ii) to arouse concentration and belief in an unobstructed and resolute manner
- (iii) to purify one's surroundings and, indeed, the society in which one lives.'⁴⁷

In the manifestation of repentance is pure belief which transcends the duality of self and other: in reality, Satō asserts, there is neither self-power (jiriki*) nor other-power (tariki*), but one single entity. Satō asks people to put this notion of repentance into practice and to view the results, rather than seeking theoretical explanations. This approach, asking people to try something for themselves, is one which runs through Satō's work; he considers that the Buddhist way can be directly experienced by everyone, and continually exhorts all to learn, not by books, but by their own practical experience.

By repenting, all sins will die, and in the act of repentance, pure belief which dissolves all obstructions and divisions will appear. There will be no differentiation between the 'I' who believes and the Buddha who is believed in. Repentance, then, is pure belief, is non-duality, is, in itself, Buddha nature. It is a power which will infuse the whole environment, cleansing society as a whole, and Satō appears optimistic that this can and will occur if people followed the teachings of the Shushōgi. In the moment of repentance, all sins die; there is no duality or time-scale involved. Man's original mind is pure and complete: all defilements are transient, disappearing at the moment one repents of them. Thus, repentance (sange) and release from sins (metsuzai*) are not two, but one entity - just as practice and enlightenment are one, not two.

The third section of the Shushōgi deals with the act of taking the Buddhist precepts, which follows from that of repentance, which is vital to the action of taking the preceptual vows. Faith and belief are essential prerequisites of taking the precepts, and are manifested in the action of repentance. Satō considers that the important concept in this section is the word kie*, belief in the Buddha, Dharma and Sangha, the Three Jewels of Buddhism, which are in truth, despite their separation in these terms, but one. Satō describes them as 'one body, three jewels',⁴⁸ and stresses the fundamental importance of belief in them, which he sees as the essential and

special characteristic of Buddhism, which distinguishes it from other religions.⁴⁹ He feels that this belief is vitally important because there are many types of false belief, including fanaticism, and such false belief is a pitfall of those who have neglected religion until the latter part of their lives. Such people tend, he warns, to waste their lives in materialist pursuits and then panic at the approach of death and turn to incorrect belief systems which may comfort them but which, in reality, merely worsen their plight. Religion is not a matter simply of the death process: it must be a matter of life activity. Religious education is essential, according to Satō, to show man where true belief lies, to stop him from such false practices as tree worship (kikamisama*), which merely serve to evade the truth by attempting to shift any blame or responsibility onto external forces.

Belief in the Three Jewels is, in itself, 'to unify self and others'⁵⁰ and leads to 'the realisation of Buddhahood'⁵¹ and salvation from suffering. It is 'the foundation of Buddhist life'⁵² which all who wish to follow the Buddhist way must have. Section Three speaks of the necessity of formally taking vows, and Satō underlines this: taking the formal precepts in a ceremony is an essential step, although it should be supported by other practices such as zazen. As with the concept of repentance, above, the action of belief is an ever-growing one which affects all who come into contrast with it, and this he terms the 'work (hataraki*) of belief in

the Three Jewels'.⁵³ The solution to societal problems is not in the attempt to escape from restrictions, which he sees as being an attempt to grasp a false freedom, but in the growth of what he calls 'real freedom',⁵⁴ which is found by taking the precepts. On the surface, he admits, this sounds paradoxical: taking vows, which seemingly restrict one's actions, in order to gain freedom, but in truth this is not so, for the precepts open the way to Buddhahood which is true freedom.

Satō considers that this section is the most important of the whole text and its centre is paragraph 15 in which the actual precepts are set out. There are in all 13 preceptual vows and prohibitions, consisting of three pure precepts and ten prohibitions. According to the Shushōgi, they are as follows and are taken in this order:

'...one must take the three pure precepts.

These are:

- (1) is the precept of always upholding the law
(i.e. do no evil),
- (2) is the precept of always performing good actions,
- (3) is the precept of serving all people.

Next, one must take the ten grave prohibitions, which are:

- (1) Not killing,
- (2) not stealing,
- (3) Not committing adultery,
- (4) Not speaking untruths,

- (5) Not dealing in intoxicants,
- (6) Not spreading false opinions about others,
- (7) Not boasting of oneself nor denigrating others,
- (8) Not being mean with the teachings or with one's property,
- (9) Not getting angry,
- (10) Not slandering the Three Jewels.⁵⁵

The action of formally taking these is itself important for form (i.e. the outward ceremony of taking the precepts) and essence (i.e. the inner attitude manifested by belief in them) are one and the same, mutually interdependent 'just like two wheels of a chariot'.⁵⁶ In taking part in the ceremony, one is receiving the transmission of the Buddha and is united with the Buddhas of all times (a point made in paragraph 16), and the ceremony is the concretisation of the ideal expressed in the precepts, which acts as the basic guideline of one's life.

The fourth section teaches the way of life necessary for all who have entered the gates of compassion by repentance and have entered the Buddhist way by taking the precepts. The major factors in this section are the vow or wish to help others (hotsugan) and the development of this in order to lead a valuable life (rishō*). Satō here equates the Buddha mind (Bodaishin*) with the act of helping others with no sense or desire for gain, either materially or emotionally (via praise), and as an

example of such action, cites the manner in which a mother cares for her baby. This is an act of helping but is a selfless one: the mother acts not from self-interest but from total love for the baby. This image (mother and child) is one which occurs on a number of occasions in his writing. Satō considers that 'anyone can do it'⁵⁷ (i.e. act selflessly) and in acting on behalf of others, one is planting the eternal seeds of the Buddha mind. These seeds are nurtured by the process of repentance and taking the precepts and he ties up all the themes of the text and his commentary with the following words:

'This (Buddha mind) is germinated
by the good karmic forces of repen-
tance and receiving the precepts'⁵⁸

At this point in his commentary, he returns to the importance of taking the preceptual vows at the earliest possible time, emphasising the transient nature of all things and implying that, by delaying, one is risking the inevitability of death thwarting one's wish. There is a constant theme of action in the present, which permeates both the Shushōgi, from its early paragraphs on transience and Satō's commentary on it. With this admonition, he moves on to a discussion of the four types of helping stated in the text, in paragraph 21, which he terms 'the practice of Buddhism, the practice of Buddhist believers and the basic principle of living in society'.⁵⁹ These four are:

- (i) Fuse* (i.e. giving alms)
- (ii) Aigo* (i.e. loving words)
- (iii) Rigyō* (i.e. benevolence)
- (iv) Dōji* (i.e. reciprocity)

and they are discussed in paragraphs 21 to 25 of the text. Satō expands these themes by talking of the importance of giving rather than taking, while stating that Buddhism is concerned with such things as economic progress, which enables people to have adequate food, medical care, etc., and political matters, which concern basic human rights and peace. In such areas, the action of the above four ways of helping are of great value. Dōgen had said that such deeds as building a bridge, supplying a ferry or making goods were in themselves ways of giving (this comes from Shōbōgenzō Bodaisattashishōbō originally, and is contained in paragraph 21 of the Shushōgi) and Satō modernises this by extending the sphere of action to working for public concerns (e.g. the Post Office). All such actions are actions of giving: - as long as one is not motivated by feelings of profit and gain. If one is, one's work becomes a battleground of greed and self-centred activity, and one cannot benefit others.

Compassion (jihi*) is the basis of all these four activities, which are in truth but one whole activity. Compassion, whether it be in the form of kind and loving words, benevolent action or reciprocity (which implies treating all people as one would oneself), is vital for dissemination of good, for 'it melts the ice of the heart

and turns bad into good'.⁶⁰ He criticises the modern, materialist world for its basic lack of compassion, which throws man against man in competition, contrasting it with the religious world which seeks to benefit all. Actions such as benevolence (rigyō) are acts for all people regardless of reward, and the aim of them is 'to get others to realise the Buddhist way'.⁶¹ All selfish thought must be abandoned, for there is no difference between self and others: all are basically one, which is the meaning of the vow of the Bodhisattva, who will not leave the world of birth and death until he has helped all to do so. By forsaking what Satō terms 'the isolation of the small 'I',⁶² one can enter into the wider world, and become one with it, and in this expression of compassion, the problems of modern society will be resolved.

Satō's enlightened view of man, as basically good, runs through his entire work, and even though he admits that there is much sorrow in the world he says that, nonetheless 'it is in this very world of human existence... that the Buddha mind can be awakened'.⁶³ Moreover, there is no man who does not inherently have Buddha nature, no matter how evil he may appear to be, and none who cannot realise it. Accordingly, although the world may seem a corrupt place (he uses a word common to Japanese Buddhist terminology, Shaba*, which is used for 'this world' but has connotations of corruption, sadness and decay attached to it) he tells man not to despise it, but to care for it compassionately, helping to develop good, just as the

Buddha has done. This leads him to the last section of the text, which is concerned with the continuation of practice (gyōji) and with giving gratitude (hōon*) for having received the teachings of Buddha. One should always be grateful to the Buddha for showing mankind the path that leads away from suffering and this gratitude should extend to all who have made it possible for this message to have reached the present day. Satō considers that it is fashionable in modern times to denigrate past ages but this is, he says, an erroneous view. This age rests on foundations built by earlier generations; indeed, 'our present day is completely due to the virtue of people of former times and is a gift of our ancestors'.⁶⁴

On*, gratitude, is first and foremost gratitude for the Buddha's teaching, but it extends to all things: to the bequests of ancestors, for help given, etc.; - and it involves the necessity of repayment. The two (receiving and repaying) are in fact one single action performed in this world, in the present moment. The last three paragraphs of the text are concerned with the necessity of practice in daily life, which is the only sphere in which one can follow the Buddhist way, with this one body, which is the only realm in which the Buddhist way can be realised. Satō titles his discussion of these paragraphs 'this one day'⁶⁵ and turns the focus back to the notion of transience, stating that time does not return, and that realisation must come in the present, for otherwise one will 'miss the value of this one day'.⁶⁶ In paragraph 30, Dōgen's harsh

phrase, taken from Shōbōgenzō Gyōji, states:

'to have lived a hundred years
purposelessly is time one must
regret: to do so is to become a
pitiably wreck'⁶⁷

and the importance of not wasting the present body (the only form in which one can realise the way) is stressed. This is the importance of maintaining one's practice: even after enlightenment, one must continue to practice the Buddhist way. Satō states that one should use all actions to the best of one's ability, seeing in each activity, whether it be zazen, worship, reading the sutras or, naturally, drinking tea, the true meaning of life and Buddhism. This is daily life practice, which is the daily life of the Buddha: by acting so, Satō states, 'our way of action in itself is the Buddha's way of action'.⁶⁸

The paragraph that brings together all the themes of the text is the last one, which expresses the sokushinzebutsu concept: this not only states that all people are in themselves inherently Buddha, but also places the focus of Buddhahood in the living present. Buddha-mind and nature are in all things, according to this, and Satō sees them in 'the echo of the wind, the sound of the rain and the song of the birds'⁶⁹ (this echoes the ideas and imagery of Dōgen's Shōbōgenzō Keiseisanshoku, i.e. the sound of the valley, the colour of the mountain). This notion of living in the present is vital for, in Japanese the kanji for Buddha also has the meaning of a dead soul, and the word hotoke*, being both 'Buddha' and

'dead person', has led to the concept that in Japan one becomes Buddha (hotoke) after one dies. This is erroneous, states Satō, concluding his commentary with the following words:

'becoming a Buddha and achieving Buddhahood are not things which occur after death; it goes without saying that this is a question for the individual being in the present time',⁷⁰

which are followed by an exhortation to practice the precepts, to show repentance and to give and repay gratitude.

Having thus developed the themes of the text, Satō proceeds to analyse it and to discuss its structure and value. Most specifically, he deals with the concept encompassed within the title, i.e. the unity of practice and enlightenment, which are united also with the underlying concept of sokushinzebutsu stated at the end of the text. He divides the titles of the four stages in the programme set out in the Shushōgi into two, the first relating to practice, the second to enlightenment, and if one were to transpose Sato's divisions into a table, the following results:

Japanese	English	Practice (Shu)	Enlightenment (shō)
<u>Sangemetsuzai</u>	repentance and release from sins	<u>Sange</u>	<u>Metsuzai</u>
<u>Jukainyūi</u>	receiving the precepts and entering the ranks (of Buddha)	<u>Jukai</u>	<u>Nyūi</u>
<u>Hotsuganrishō</u>	making vows and living a valuable life	<u>Hotsugan</u>	<u>Rishō</u>
<u>Gyōjihōon</u>	maintaining practice and showing gratitude	<u>Gyōji</u>	<u>Hōon</u>

As practice (shu) and enlightenment (shō) are indivisible, the notion that there is any gradation in the path of the Shushōgi is incorrect. As has been shown, there is no time difference between repentance and release: they are one and the same, and this is the same for each of the other three points. In taking the precepts, one enters the ranks, not after taking them, but in the very act and instant of taking them. The same holds for the vow to live a valuable life: in the moment of making the vow one lives a valuable life, while the very act of maintaining practice is in itself the act of showing gratitude. There is a path which begins with repentance, but full realisation is not something which comes at the end of the path - indeed, there is no end, for one must always maintain practice - but part and parcel of the path, present at every stage. Enlightenment is in the

practice of repentance and receiving the precepts, just as practice is in the enlightenment of entering the ranks of Buddha and showing gratitude. This is the fundamental principle (gi) of the Shushōgi, which unifies the text: the first six paragraphs dealing with the principles of Buddhism represent gi, the last four sections represent shu and shō, and together they form one whole, unified in the conclusion which states that 'this mind is itself Buddha' (sokushinzebutsu). It is a unified teaching which deals with the whole of human life, and he cites its merits as a teaching under the following three headings:

- '(i) a text which shows a general plan for religious peace of mind
- (ii) as a textbook for taking the precepts
- (iii) as a guidebook for human life'⁷⁷

The first six paragraphs give the general principles on which (i) is built, while the rest of the text gives the detailed programme for the realisation of it. The four-point programme is a continuous one: repentance leads directly to the precepts which awaken the wish to help others which maintains one's practice. The text thus provides a guide to correct living (iii). Further, in emphasising the importance of the precepts and the vows one takes when receiving them, it is an excellent guide to the actual process and ceremony of taking the precepts (ii), serving to develop the correct mind necessary for this action. Thus it is a coherent text which is vital for all stages of life, relating to the general (the realm of principle) (i), to the applied (the ceremonial (ii)) and the practical

(the way to live in the world (iii)), which are in themselves one unity. To use it as a general guide for religious peace of mind is to take the precepts; to use it as a textbook in the ceremony of taking the precepts is to use it as a guide to human life, which is manifested in taking the precepts, and to use it as a guide to human life is to use it as a teaching which shows the basis of religious peace of mind.

In such a way, the composition of the text and its uses, which Satō has set forth, can be seen to have coherence and to possess a totality. Satō briefly concludes the book with a short section which, as has been mentioned, divides the text up into its 31 paragraphs, and applies them individually one to each day of the month, to be read on that day, to be studied and applied to the activities of that day. In doing this, he is asserting once more the practical nature of the text and its relevance to the realm of the everyday, for which it was, indeed, constructed.

Such a detailed commentary explicitly shows the use that the text of the Shushōgi has for Sōtō as a simplified explanation of its principal teachings allied to a path of action. It, in this way, shows that the interrelationship of the unchanging and the changing, of Article Three and Article Five of the constitution, is transcended within the actual working of the practice of the text. The focus of modern Sōtō is, in line with Article Five and the decisions taken in the Meiji era, on the taking of the precepts, which has become part of that 'true transmission' claimed

by the sect, and which is equated with the tenets of Article Three. The central section of the Shushōgi, as Satō has stated, is the section dealing with the precepts: this is also the focus of Mizuno's (1978b) analysis. He states that 'the central core of the Shushōgi is in taking the precepts'⁷² and that the precepts set out in the text are central to Sōtō.⁷³ The text and the commentaries make no or little mention of zazen (although Satō suggests that it should be practised if possible) because the editors of the Shushōgi had left this out, considering it to be impractical and unappealing to the age for which they were compiling the work but, by the inner logic of Sōtō, based on the twin pillars of the unity of practice and enlightenment, which is in itself shikantaza, and sokushinzebutsu, the central practice of the precepts becomes zazen, is the same as zazen. In these terms, the text unites Articles Three and Five in order to provide the basis of Sōtō teaching and action for the modern age, applicable to all people, crossing all sectarian boundaries (according to Mizuno), and showing a concrete path to the goals of the sect which can be achieved by all.

The Shushōgi provides an accessible structure on which Sōtō commentators can, as it were, hang their own teachings and outlooks: Satō, for example, while academically analysing the content and logic of the text, devotes most of his book to the practicalities of practice in the modern world, using the text as a guide and arbiter of his viewpoint. It must be remembered that the words of the

text are all Dōgen's, albeit somewhat edited, and this is a vital factor in the importance of the text. Dōgen is always the source of all teaching in the sect, as witness the importance Ōuchi placed on finding justification for the approach he wished to take in Dōgen's work and, just as Article Three states the tenets of the sect, which are the pillars of his thought, so does Article Five provide the doctrines or teaching methods of the sect, which are seen as the practical application of his thought taken from his own writings. From this viewpoint, which underpins the modern outlooks of the sect, the Shushōgi unifies Sōtō thought, providing the practice of Dōgen's way which is enlightenment, drawing together the basic strands expressed in the early articles of the constitution, and acting as the focus of unity for all, priest and laity, in the sect in the contemporary era.

C H A P T E R S I XSŌTŌ PUBLICATIONS: A GENERAL SURVEY(1) Areas of focus: groups

Through the channels of publication and distribution controlled by its Head Office, the Sōtō sect disseminates a wide range of information and material aimed at a number of different types of recipient, with a variety of different standpoints. Accordingly, the material itself is of a diverse nature and, in Appendix One, a detailed survey of the bulk of the material currently available has been made. In the introduction to the survey, the materials have been classified into various general groups, although such classification has not been overtly made by the sect itself and is by no means exclusive: nonetheless, it does indicate the prime areas and foci of attention of the sect's publishing and proselytising efforts. The bulk of all such materials are printed: books, pamphlets and leaflets - although there has been an increasing number of cassettes issued in the last few years (see above, p.139) as well as a number of films, such as the cartoon film Terepasu Kumara described in Chapter Four, which are intended for showing at temples and companies.

The printed material ranges from the highly specific and academic to the most general and simple, from complex works on matters of interest only to priests and those who are familiar with the terminology of Buddhism in its Indian and Chinese, as well as its Japanese, context, to one-page leaflets which tell simple stories related to a particular calendrical event, such as o-Bon or Shōgatsu, without overt reference either to the sect or its teachings in the text. Most are in Japanese, although a small number are in English, designed, as has been mentioned in Chapter Four, to appeal to young Japanese who are interested in reading English language materials. In drawing out major areas of focus and special groups for whom the various publications were designed, three overlapping strands emerge. These are:

(1) Priests of the sect whose duties occasion them to meet with the lay members of the sect. In this broad category, the wives of temple priests are included, for they are a focus of some of the works (e.g. Appendix One, No.18) which relate to priests and laity, and because they are regarded as agents and representatives of the sect. The more academically inclined, including the academically inclined laity, are also to be included in this area, as potential readers of the academic works of the sect and as potential disseminators of information contained in them.

(2) Affiliated members and households linked to the sect by historical factors. These are families who use

Sōtō temples as the situation of their family mortuary rites and who maintain the relationship, originally forged by their ancestors during the Tokugawa era, between temple and danka. Legally this relationship has ended, but many families continue to have a relationship with a particular temple, and hence with a particular sect, largely because their ancestors did so, and for matters of convenience, for the social obligations occasioned by the situation of death need to be observed. Not all such families maintain such a casual relationship; there are those who are active to some degree in the activities of the sect and who follow some of its teachings.

(3) Those who are interested in the teachings of the sect and who follow some of its teachings and practices, notably that of zazen, although not necessarily having any formal relationship with the sect or its temples. In this category are those young people whom Matsuhara (above, p.163) described as being interested in the practices of Buddhism but alienated from the temple, and people who are attracted by Sōtō practices, especially zazen, although not necessarily holding any formal affiliations with the sect. It includes members of families affiliated to the sect who are involved in practices such as zazen (e.g. those who attend the Zen no Tsudoi gatherings) and who are involved in activities of the temple which go beyond the realms of socially obligatory functions.

These three groups are not, of course, exclusive. There is nothing to stop someone from group two purchasing

a work aimed at those from group three, nor to stop the specialist of group one from picking up leaflets designed for those from group two, for example, although it is generally difficult for those from either group two or three to come into contact with the methodologically-oriented works published for the priests of the sect, which have been described in Chapter Four. Many of these are not readily available even through the normal sales channels of the sect: numbers 11, 12, 13 and 14, for example, are published by the Head Office but do not appear in the publication catalogue distributed by the sect which shows the material currently purchasable by use of the attached mail order form. Such works, which are often (e.g. No. 14) reports of symposia held exclusively for priests of the sect, are generally only accessible to priests and to academics and students of the sect. Copies of such works were obtained in the course of the current survey either through the offices of contacts at various Sōtō area offices (e.g. nos. 14 and 15) or from the specialist bookshop at Komazawa University (nos. 11, 12, 13) which is the primary training ground of the sect's academic priests and lecturers and which, though not out of bounds to outsiders, caters for Sōtō specialists.

Group one acts as the major conduit of information for the sect's members as a whole, for it is members of this group who meet danka at the temple and who carry out the grass-root activities of Sōtō. It is through the

temple and the priest that the bulk of Sōtō publications filters through to the laity and it is the priesthood who are expected to preach Sōtō doctrines to the faithful as well as to spread the word to those beyond the sect. The nature of publications most directly aimed at this group tends as a rule to delineate doctrines and tenets while providing the individual priest with compact distillations of the sect's teachings and attitudes which can be easily disseminated to the laity. The background to such works, their focus and intent, has been discussed in Chapter Four and this is in itself revealing for it indicates the aim of the Head Office to create a uniformity of belief among the sect's followers through the medium of the priesthood. This theme, the creation of a uniformity of belief, runs throughout the whole range of publications aimed at the second group, the affiliated temple followers who have formal connections to the sect while not necessarily having any deeper relationship. The prevalent concerns of the sect towards this group seem to be two-fold, judging by the manner in which the publications are presented. These are, first, to create a sense of belonging and community to bind the individual and the household more coherently to the sect, deepening the relationship beyond that of a purely formal, socially obligatory, businesslike one and, secondly, to provide a comprehensive structure of belief, practice and activity pertinent to every sphere of individual and family behaviour, teaching everything from the correct way to

pray at the family but sudan to the manner in which one should educate and rear one's children. Those in group one are expected to show to those in group two the correct way to act, and to provide specific teachings and explanations of the sect's attitudes. The handbook Jitei no Sho, for example, which has been produced for families of priests living at Sōtō temples, not only stresses the importance of the temple as a 'family training centre' (see above, p.96) but also emphasises the importance of the temple family as a model for all families. The temple is not just a place for religious austerities or funerals: it is a centre of family activity and of educational activity as well. The book makes the point that the Buddha was the product of a family environment, as were the various Patriarchs: 'the influence of the family on human life is truly great'.¹ However, in modern times this has been forgotten. The contemporary education system has neglected moral and spiritual teaching for scientific and materialist goals (a recurrent theme of Sōtō publications which will be discussed at length later) and this places greater responsibility on religious groups to provide such education. The temple family is seen as providing a working example to all danka and to all temple visitors of the ideal and harmonious family group, centred on the father, the temple priest, with the wife an active participant in the temple's life and the children providing model examples of dutiful obedience. The temple should be kept spotlessly clean (this being

the duty of the children and the wife) and this in itself will provide a great lesson for those who visit it.

Cleaning the temple is the same as cleaning the mind, and those who come to the temple seeking peace and mental tranquillity will be soothed by the nature of the tidy and restful environment into which they are entering.²

Thus, those in group one are prevailed upon to act as guides to those in group two, especially in such areas as daily living, providing a concrete example of the model family, while the priest is expected to act as the major proselytising agent of the sect, talking about Sōtō at his workplace and at temple gatherings, organising talks and so on. As has been shown in Chapter Four, the methodological approach of the sect has been to emphasise the role of the temple as the focus of activity, encouraging each temple to set up its own poetry groups, sanzenkai and so on. Nara and Nishimura quote a Sōtō slogan used in its educational campaigns which says 'one temple, one teaching group',³ and the whole slant of Sōtō publications intended for group one members is in this direction.

This downward dissemination of the aims and outlooks of the sect as manifested by the publications and methods advocated by its Head Office is complemented by the general tenor of the instruction given to those in group two. Besides being furnished with comprehensive information about most areas of temple and sect practice and belief, those in this group are referred to their temple priests for further information and instruction.

In the guidebook for Sōtō's affiliated members, Danshinto Hikkei (Appendix One, No.19), such temple members are asked, with regard to the correct way to practice zazen, to 'please ask the priest at your family temple'⁴ and the temple is described as 'guiding the temple followers (danto) in their belief based on the principles of the (sect's) teaching'.⁵ The lay follower is encouraged to look to the temple and to the temple priest as the source of teaching and example of guidance: he acts as the representative of the whole sect and as the link which binds the lay follower to the higher echelons and, ultimately, to the whole Sōtō tradition of transmission which leads back to the Buddha. Relationship with the local temple is in fact a microcosm of relationship with the entire Buddhist universe and the numerous works that attempt to explain the nature of this relationship to the general lay member tend to emphasise the connection of temple and danka at the local level, very largely centred on the formal and social aspects of that relationship (i.e. mortuary rites and yearly, ancestrally related customs such as o-Bon). The Shushōgi, as has been seen in Chapter Five, provides a structured path for the laity of the sect, and a number of publications aimed at those in group two are focused on its nature and contents. The central platform in this programmed approach is that of taking the precepts, which involves making a formal commitment to the sect at a special ceremony of induction, and it is the task of the local priest to prepare the laity for such ceremonies. Moreover, the taking of the

precepts is the action of belief and commitment to the sect most sought from those in group two: the formal, historical relationship by way of ancestral ties is to be deepened by preceptual vows and ties taken by the lay person under the aegis of the sect to which his or her ancestors belonged. A continuum of action and belief is thus established, from formal links, occasioned by the traditional connection of Buddhist temples with the performance of death rites, to explicit belief symbolised by the preceptual ceremonies which make the participant a member of the direct Sōtō tradition and recipient of the essence of Buddhism.

There is not the same form of relationship between groups two and three as exists between one and two, nor necessarily is there between groups one and three. Many of those who can be counted under group three may well come, originally, from group two although, as has been pointed out in Chapter Four, there is often little or no relationship between a temple's danka and its sanzenkai. The publicity for Zen no Tsudoi meetings is largely through Sōtō channels and thus is more likely than not to attract members of families which have connections with Sōtō temples and see such publications as Zen no Tomo, but the participants at Sōtō sanzenkai, along with those who attend the more rigorous sesshin and those who visit the head temples for the purpose of doing zazen, do not attend because of any formal connection with the sect. Of 20 people interviewed who had been to Eihei-ji for the purpose of experiencing zazen and temple life

for a number of days, the large majority came for reasons unconnected to the Sōtō sect. 10 had come in a group as part of a business training scheme and had no relationship to Sōtō (nor, indeed, any voluntary wish to do zazen, coming because it was incumbent upon them due to their jobs!). Three were students of judo and had been sent by their judo teacher to learn the inner discipline of meditation as an aid to their martial discipline: they, too, had no Sōtō connection as such. Two girls, both of whom had visited Eihei-ji on a number of occasions, were interested in the practice of zazen and the way of temple life: both had Sōtō family connections and, although they had visited a number of Sōtō temples in the Hokuriku region to do zazen, had never visited a leading Rinzai temple, Kokutai-ji**, which was in their home town and which runs a regular sanzenkai.⁶ This was, they stated, because their interest was in Sōtō temples. The other five had all come individually, for the purpose of zazen and to experience temple life. One, a man in his mid-forties, had come from Osaka, some 200 miles distant in order to experience zazen and the way of life at Eihei-ji: his family sect was Shingon. One young man in his late twenties, from Nagoya, regularly practiced zazen under the direction of a Sōtō teacher and wished to experience the practice at the head temple of the sect. The other three had come because they wanted the experience of zazen and sought some form of mental solace in face of adversity, one having just returned after three years research work in the U.S.A. with no job and severe culture shock, one (a girl in her early twenties) had

just failed her college examinations and the third, a man of 31, had lost his job, was single and seeking a change of direction. None belonged to the Sōtō sect; none had any experience of zazen. All had either heard of Eihei-ji through books or had seen a television documentary on the temple broadcast some time previously, and had come largely on impulse.⁷

In the above cases, only three out of 20 had any formal connection or commitment to the Sōtō sect, while 13 had come as a result of some form of compulsion (from teacher or employer) and four simply to experience zazen at Eihei-ji. This last is a not untypical reason for visiting temples: many people seem to visit temples, especially famous ones such as Eihei-ji, not so much for the practice of zazen itself, but for the experience of having done zazen there. Although in theory zazen practice depends on long-term and continuous pursuit of the practice, it is viewed by many as a 'once-off' practice to be experienced in special circumstances, such as at a visit to a leading Zen temple. This seems to bear out the views of such as Ōuchi who saw zazen as too difficult or unappealing to the average layman. Certainly, one is given a picture of many people who might experience zazen once and, having done so, can claim to have had the experience, thus alleviating any obligation in their minds to practice it again. There are a large number of books available in Japan that narrate their authors' experiences of zazen at various Zen temples and temples of the

reputation of Eihoji . figure prominently in such works, and also receive each year numerous visitors whose aim seems to be to have done rather than to continue to do zazen. This also holds true for a number of those that attend sanzenkai once or who go once to sesshin, although there is no clear indication as to the extent to which participation is of a casual, rather than a committed, nature. Observations made at two sanzenkai regularly attended, along with interviews with a number of participants at an eight-day sesshin at a Sōtō temple in Tokyo, point to a relationship between most of the participants and the sect,⁸ although this is not an essential ingredient. The relationship has not necessarily developed out of family connections, however: many were drawn by the practice of zazen and entered into active belief and participation in the sect and its teachings due to their zazen experience and practice.

There is, then, no direct relationship between those of group two and those who can be counted as being in, or liable to join, group three, although there usually is some connection between group one and group three because those who wish to join sanzenkai will meet the priest of the temple which runs such a society and because many of them will need to seek out a priest who can teach them the way to practice. Much depends on the priest and the degree to which he is prepared to organise and run such societies: many people who wish to practice zazen do so at a Sōtō temple because it is the only temple in the area which has facilities for this, while others may get

involved in Rinzai Zen practice because, in their locale, the only temple which holds sanzenkai is a Rinzai one. Many do not know the difference or make an active choice between Sōtō and Rinzai, but seek only to achieve peace of mind through zazen and go to the most convenient place for this. One informant had started his zazen practice at a Rinzai temple in his home town because it was the only temple there with a sanzenkai, had changed to a Sōtō one when he left home to go to university, for similar reasons and, at the time of interview, was living in Tokyo, where he visited two temples, one of each sect, at different times for zazen and sesshin.⁹

This looseness of affiliation indicates the general problem facing Sōtō with regard to the section of its membership and potential membership who fall into group three. As Matsuhara has observed, the gulf between the young and the temple is, as a rule, great, even though they may be keen to become involved in meditational practices: to press home sectarian points of view to such people would be counter-productive. Matsuhara has (see above, p.194) divided the necessary areas of activity of Sōtō proselytisation into two: education of the formally aligned and development of the spiritual impulses of the spiritually inclined. For the former, for those of group two, there have to be explanations of the sect's belief and teaching which serve to develop a sense of identity, while for the latter, for group three, there need to be talks about zazen and works which stimulate spiritual wishes and feelings. For the priesthood, there have to be methodological explanations

of the differing approaches plus volumes which help to back up the role of the priest in either situation. The approach that is the most appropriate for group two is likely to be the least so for group three: for those whose major concern is a formal and social relationship, there may be little more likely to cause unease than enforced zazen practice, while there is nothing more certain to make large numbers of sanzenkai participants distance themselves than sectarian dogma and household-related ritualism. Eventually, those in group two, who have a belief in and sense of belonging to the Sōtō sect, may wish to practice zazen (although the first focus of the sect for these people is to get them to formally take the preceptual vows) while those in group three who are not of Sōtō families may eventually be prevailed upon to take Sōtō lay ordination and preceptual vows and to support the local temple in formal ways, even to the extent of holding family funerals there, but these are end stages in a vital process and cannot be achieved by rapid means. A structured and diverse approach is vital and, accordingly, an examination of Sōtō publications will give the impression that the sect is attempting to be all things to all people. In fact, its publications are broadly geared to different strata and take on the colouring appropriate to each, while each stratum is related to each other in a continuum that runs most obviously from group two to three, from formal participation in funeral rites to zazen, but which is designed to go the other way as well. Hattori (1977)

has delineated a programme of 'from Buddhist ceremonies to Buddhist precepts, from Buddhist precepts to zazen' (above, p.161) but he considers that this programme must also operate in reverse: if one enters via zazen, one must penetrate the world of the precepts and from there pass to that of Buddhist ceremonies.¹⁰ This two-way continuum always passes through the preceptual stage, which is at the centre of modern Sōtō teaching and is explicitly set out in the Shushōgi and in the commentaries based on it and, ultimately, its aim is to create complete Sōtō followers, who are one with the sect in belief, ceremonial and practice.

There is therefore diversity in the nature of Sōtō publications, along with an underlying unity of purpose. Later, in Chapter Seven, consideration will be given to the specific teachings and instructions that the sect produces for its affiliated membership (i.e. those publications that apply to group two) and following this, attention will be focused on the nature of teaching aimed at group three alongside the possible dichotomies involved when compared to that which is told to group two, but first it is necessary to draw out lines and currents that run throughout Sōtō literature, which are common to all aspects of sect teaching. This will show the basis of the underlying unity of Sōtō outlooks in the contemporary era, upon which the diverse currents, aimed at specific areas of opinion and attitude, are constructed.

(II) Areas of Focus:- Themes

The first theme which emerges from a reading of a large number of Sōtō publications, and which emerges strongly from works intended for all of the above mentioned groups, is a potent attack on modern materialist culture, with concomitant criticisms of modern education, urban rootlessness, societal confusion and various other social ills. This theme can be found in some degree in nearly all publications, including those concerned with explanation of temple ceremonies, beliefs, temple images and the like. Of the items listed in Appendix One, those from Number 1 to 33 largely deal with explanatory books, both for priests and laity, while those from 34 to 56 are guides to daily life related to Sōtō topics, transcripts of talks by Sōtō teachers and transcripts of talks given at sanzenkai and Zen no Tsudoi. These all fall within the range of commentary rather than explanation, and are aimed at those who wish to develop their lives in religious ways, rather than at those who seek formal knowledge of sect activity, symbolism and ceremony. Those from 57 to 81 are leaflets of different types, either explanatory (aimed at all categories) or connected to a calendrical event, such as o-Bon, when many people will visit the family temple, and provide a simple story or reflection designed to create a mood of piety for the occasion.

The theme of modern decline (in moral standards, religious feeling and so on) occurs to a degree in the explanatory works (e.g. in numbers 7, 8, 10 and 12, and in

the explanatory leaflets 69 and 70), but comes into striking prominence in the guides to living and in the talks. It is a theme of numbers 35, 36, 37, 40, 41, 42, 44, 47, 48, 53 and 54, besides being the theme of a number of articles in numbers 55 and 56, and occurs as a theme in some of the calendrically-based leaflets (e.g. numbers 78 and 79). More specifically, this whole theme of decline and its concomitant ills is the major focus and theme of several works, notably numbers 39, 43, 45, 46, 49, 51, and 52. It occurs with such regularity and with such force that it is fair to say that it is the prime constituent factor in modern Sōtō teaching.

This major theme, of decline in standards, of the pitfalls of materialist culture, sets up a major and all-embracing problem, which is seen as being at the root of the problems faced by individuals (e.g. feelings of urban isolation and anomie, lack of mental peace and so on). In doing this, it prepares the ground for the second major theme, which is that there is a solution to the first and that this is a religious solution, taught by Sōtō. This theme involves a change in attitude away from the materialist towards the spiritual and, while showing a structured (as in the Shushōgi) approach and a variety of levels of such religious and spiritual solutions (whether through zazen, the precepts, through strengthening ties with the family temple, etc.), the underlying view is that there must be a change of mind, away from the individually motivated, self-centred ego, towards the selfless and dutiful attitude, which is symbolised by the gasshō

posture. This is the hands-joined gesture which is used as a greeting and as the manner of prayer in Japan as in much of Asia. The underlying feeling created by this gesture is of piety, veneration of the recipient (whether Buddhist image at a temple, kami at a shrine or human being met in the course of daily life) and gracious thanks, whether for specific acts of benevolence or for the wonders that exist in the world. To gasshō is to respect and honour the Buddha nature in all; one pamphlet (number 44) gives the example of the Buddha who performed a gasshō at an elephant, for the Buddha mind is in all,¹¹ and quotes Dōgen's 'one must worship the Buddha nature which is present even in a single grain of rice'.¹² The gasshō posture and gesture acts as a symbol in Sōtō writings to represent all that is good and enduring in Japanese and Buddhist cultural attitudes and it is emphasised as an everyday act (performed before the family but sudan, at the temple or on meeting people) whose inner nature transcends the external form of the everyday and points to the universal which exists within the everyday. It is related to other Sōtō themes, such as the importance of daily life activity, which the gasshō itself symbolises, and the action of belief in the Three Jewels, along with strands of thought more closely related to group two category members, such as veneration of one's ancestors, which is encapsulated by the gesture of gasshō before the family altar.

All categories of Sōtō follower, both actual and potential, from those who retain a sense of veneration for the traditional beliefs and loyalties of their ancestors to those disaffected young who seek peace of mind in a turbulent and fragmented society, can find much to agree

with in the Sōtō critique of modern society, and much to interest them in the potential solutions that it posits. Accordingly, whereas Sōtō publications have many diverse themes, they also have a constant unity to them, which holds true for society in general and all the various groups within it that the sect seeks to reach with its message. These dual themes, which are parts of a whole (the failures of modern society necessitate a solution, and thus the solution is contiguous with the problem), bear closer examination in order to clarify the common thread that runs through Sōtō's contemporary outlooks.

A common theme is that of suicide, especially suicide of young people and schoolchildren. This is increasing in Japan, according to Osada Gyōitsu, a Sōtō priest and lecturer, in a book published by the sect in 1981,¹³ and he echoes a recurrent criticism of society by Sōtō authors by linking such suicidal tendencies to the increasing isolation of man in society. Uchiyama (1979) talks of young schoolchildren who commit suicide, as well as older people who become neurotic and have suicidal tendencies. All this, he states, is a result of 'the struggle for existence which starts in the kindergarten'.¹⁴ This struggle is a materialist one, caused by the pressures caused by a materialist society, geared to individual success and wealth, which measures a man by his money and position, rather than by his moral and spiritual worth. Such a society, Uchiyama considers, will destroy its children in this rat-race, and he bleakly states that:

'thus, primary and secondary school pupils will end up being utterly

pessimistic and, truthfully, since such pessimistic and suicidal people are emerging, this has become a rueful age'.¹⁵

Such gloomy statements are typical of Sōtō publications, and can be found to a greater or lesser degree in many of those listed in Appendix One. The primary focus of attack is not society as an entity but the ethics which govern this particular one. This is a materialist ethic which neglects the true nature of man and seeks endless physical and material gains and achievements. The results of such economic progress are all too stark, according to Sōtō. Osada points to the pollution of air, water and all of nature: this pollution extends to the words and minds of people and, for those who grow up in such an atmosphere, such polluted attitudes become the norm. He comments that 'it seems that a spoilt attitude is the fashion among the young people of today'.¹⁶

Suicide, neurosis, the growing isolation of the individual, the breakdown of the family system and neglect of old customs and ethics are all parts of this overall shift away from spiritual to material values. Kamata Shigeo, in booklets discussing the Buddhist (number 32) and the Zen (number 33) view of man, argues that man and Buddha are one unity, but man tends to destroy that unity by seeking fame, fortune and sensual gratification.¹⁷ This is, of course, basic Buddhist philosophy: what has made this human tendency so much the worse in the modern age, however, is the increased material prosperity, which enables man to fulfil his desires, while encouraging him

to seek increased gratifications. By this materialist view (kachikan*) and ethic, society has flourished economically, but this has been at the expense of human beings. It is a society with highly developed scientific skills, one of industrialisation and economic growth, but one in which 'the lack of humanity becomes stronger and stronger and in which the pollution problem is gnawing away at our minds and bodies.'¹⁸ Religion in the modern age has followed this theme: Kamata attacks modern religions (implying, though not specifically citing, New Religions) for being 'religions of this-worldly profit (which are) completely utilitarian in character'.¹⁹

This theme of economic progress having brought spiritual disaster in its wake is common in Sōtō but perhaps the most virulent attack in this vein comes in a booklet (number 39) by Tanaka Tadao, a lecturer at Komazawa University. He contrasts the Japan of earlier days, in which children obeyed their parents, to the present age in which children are pandered to by their parents and grow up having had no discipline. Whereas pre-war children were obedient, he sharply remarks that:

'this is becoming rare in the present age; are we not spoiling our children, rearing plump and obese babies?'²⁰

The results of such over-indulgence will be children with no forbearance, unable to face up to the future. Tanaka's polemic turns to the subject of democracy, which

he considers is attempting to make all people the same, by 'levelling down',²¹ i.e. by making everyone conform to a low general standard. He states that this is an 'easy living age' (bonkurashii jidai)²² and develops a play on words between the words bonkurashii (easy living) and bonkura, which means stupid, shiftless or half-witted. He states that 'modern Japanese democracy ... is trying to make everyone stupid (bonkura)',²³ and further says that 'democracy is bonkurashii', underlining the first three syllables, so that the statement that democracy is good living (the meaning of the whole phrase) becomes, simultaneously, 'democracy is stupid'.²⁴

Such a severe assault on democracy is rarely found in Sōtō, which talks of working with the currents of the age, but is symptomatic of a strongly held opinion within the sect, that modern, i.e. Western value and thought systems, which have been adopted by Japan, may not be to its advantage in the long run and may be ruinous to the country as a whole. Kamata (1977) asks:

'have we not virtually abandoned
our education as Japanese people?',²⁵

since the development of Western-style education and sciences following the Meiji Restoration and, more particularly, since the American Occupation that followed the Second World War. The growth of a technological civilisation is seen as having largely developed from these influences: this civilisation is also portrayed as having escaped from man's control. Uchiyama (1967) draws the simile of a

man astride a galloping horse, who replies to a neighbour's enquiry, that he does not know where he is going, because he is not the horse, only the rider who has lost control of his mount. Similarly, man with society and technological civilisation: Uchiyama says that "we lack the power to control it."²⁶

The uncontrolled growth of the technological, mass-production society is killing the true, living society of the world, according to the priest Sakai Daigaku. The world is a living organism, all things live and breathe and man must remain in harmony with this:

'if we cannot breathe in harmony
with the world, illness will
naturally increase.'²⁷

Nowadays, the living earth is being stifled by concrete, inanimate materials. Roads are built everywhere, fences are built instead of hedges being planted, and new synthetic substances are rapidly taking over from more traditional building materials, such as wood, which is a living entity. Schools are no longer built on traditional patterns, but with modern (i.e. Western) specifications. Even temples are made of concrete and iron girders. Houses are full of 'things which have no life'²⁸ such as plastic, which he calls 'repulsive'.²⁹ Somewhat despairingly, he laments that 'the modern world is full of insane things!',³⁰ criticising the development of instant foods as a symptom of the general demise into which the human spirit, surrounded by inert substances, has fallen. He further

criticises the attitudes of people who seek only comforts and fame, citing the example of famous calligraphers (unnamed) who, thanks to their fame, have acquired money and pupils, left their traditional houses and built new, concrete ones. One needs trees, plants, living things, around one: these act as a reminder of transience, of decay and mutability, and help to show man the need for a religious frame of mind. In contrast, inert substances serve only to anaesthetise man to the inherent nature of his situation and help to divert his attention elsewhere, into the escapist worlds of materialism. The whole process is one of brutalisation, of increasing indifference to other living beings: as shops get larger, for example, 'they tend to forget the feeling of making the individual customer important'.³¹

Again, these are extreme views, not entirely at one with the concept of 'moving with the times', and here there is a seeming paradox, between the methodological theme of non-rejectionism and the expressed theme of anti-materialism. Such a paradox may be seen, however, in the teachings of Dōgen himself: the early years, at Kōshōji, contrast with the later Eihei-ji phase when Dōgen was more concerned with the monastic order than the lay world. Dōgen being the source and legitimation of the sect, both the encompassing and the rejectionist point of view may be expressed by the sect with equal validity, for both can be found in Dōgen. The paradox, however, is not so stark in actuality: by attacking modern societal ethics, modern

Sōtō is not attacking man as such, nor is it denying his salvation in any form. Rather, it is suggesting that his present ethic is wrong, and that this should be changed. Man is not bad, nor is his world intrinsically evil: society is not to be rejected but used, for it is the world in which man lives. Sōtō seeks to improve the moral tenor of that society by appealing to a change of ethical standards: societal activity will continue, but in a state of mutual co-operation rather than struggle and exploitation of people and the environment. There is, then, no real paradox between encompassing (accepting society and seeking to work through it, to improve it and create the ideal within the realm of man) on the one hand and rejectionism (seeking to eradicate the wrong values that harm man and distort society, leading man into unhappiness) on the other.

In criticising the modern materialist ethic, Sōtō writers do not deny the potential inherent in modern society: the increased communications that enable them to talk to large numbers of people can be used for the betterment of man and society. To encompass is to make use of the good points to facilitate the removal of the bad and to transform the whole into good. Within this criticism, there is a consistent harking back to a past in which more traditional, Japanese, customs held sway, and which is seen to hold a number of keys to the solution of contemporary problems. Kitagawa has criticised Japanese Buddhism for a tendency to live in the past, in the following

words: "Buddhism as a whole tends to live with a nostalgia for the past",³² and there is much truth in this, although it must be set against the simultaneous openness to modernity in the use of techniques and the determination to work within this society in the present. In the Sōtō case, the relevance of the statement is manifested in the sect's analysis of the wrongs of contemporary society coupled with the underlying view that reform necessitates a return to values of pre-modern (i.e. pre-Westernised) traditional Japanese attitudes.

This is epitomised by the word furusato** which basically means one's native village, but has connotations of 'spiritual home', especially in the phrase kokoro no furusato** (literally, the native village of the mind). The implication of the word and concept is of something of the past, traditional, a world apart from modern urban society and, indeed, something lost. The word is often used by rural areas in Japan to emphasise their tourist potential, particularly to those from the large cities. To be furusato is to possess a charm lost to society as a whole: not surprisingly, one finds the word used in countless tourist brochures and magazines.³³ This form of advertising, appealing to a nostalgia for a lost, and hence more attractive, past which was more tranquil and harmonious than the present, is a common and effective technique, and it is one which finds ample expression in Sōtō writing.

Soto uses the furusato concept both as a stylistic device, using the everyday concepts aroused by the word to underline its criticisms of modernity, and as a means of teaching in itself, pointing to an alternative ethic for society, an ethic that existed and worked (according to the idealised memories contained in the furusato idea) in previous eras. The pamphlet Kokoro no Furusato (i.e. one's spiritual home) published by the Head Office, centres on this theme, discussing the isolation of the individual in modern society. This is due to the breakdown of traditional relationships (mother and child, teacher and pupil and so on) in a society where increased urbanisation is undermining family, village and community ties.³⁴ The pamphlet emphasises the vital need to strengthen human relationships and criticises modern education for its failure to teach people how to relate to each other. The furusato concept is expressed in a number of publications (e.g. numbers 73, 77, 78, 79, 80 and 81), often being used in direct contrast to the ills and uncertainties of modern society. Many of these references come in leaflets issued at specific times of the year (e.g. at o-Bon and Shōgatsu) for danka who visit their family temples at such times in order to carry out the traditional obligations and customs of the time of year. It is a device, then, most commonly used with regard to group two members, though not exclusively so: the 'nostalgia' approach permeates works in the group three category, as shown by the tenor of Sakai's work, cited above, which is taken from a series of talks to Zen no Tsudoi meetings.

The use of the furusato concept relates closely to traditional temple practices and seeks to create a deeper link between danka and the temple, by playing on the concept of the ancestors. Number 77, for example, recalls childhood memories, aroused by the New Year's festivities, to suggest that times were more enjoyable then, and to stress the gratitude owed by children (i.e. by modern society) to parents and ancestors, while Number 78 deals with the Urabon** festival, when people make offerings to the ghosts of their ancestors, talking of the sense of harmony created by such traditional festivities, in contrast to the competitiveness of modern society and the suicides of the young that typify contemporary unease. Number 79, entitled Jinsei no Yasuragi (i.e. peace of mind in human life), starts with the following words:

'when o-Bon comes, every year I
think of the way of life of the
countryside,³⁵

and goes on to paint an idyllic picture of tranquillity, viewing fields once planted by one's ancestors, in contrast to 'the present society, which has lost sight of peace of mind...':³⁶ the festival of o-Bon is described as 'an event which provides a vital spiritual home (kokoro no furusato) for Japanese people'.³⁷

By use of such conceptual terminology, Sōtō underlines the theme that there is something distinctly wrong with modern society, and suggests that the solutions to such wrongs lie within the traditional realms, i.e. in the

Buddhist world which is intrinsically linked to traditional society. The assaults on modern societal values particularly concentrate on education, and the basic Sōtō suggestion is that modern (i.e. Western) education, while being strong on scientific subjects, neglects more spiritual aspects and produces unbalanced children, who have been ingrained with a materialist streak but lack any moral or spiritual depth. Kamata's question 'have we not virtually abandoned our education as Japanese people?' is asked because he sees the modern educational system as being entirely a foreign (American) import. In the pamphlet Ai no Kotoba (number 46), the Sōtō priest Fujimoto Kōhō writes that:

'Present-day education does
not teach us how to greet people
...in present-day education, the
education of the 'greeting mind'
has completely died out,'³⁸

and continues by saying that traditional manners, as manifested by such actions as saying grace before and after meals, have begun to die out, due to there being no emphasis on etiquette of any sort in education. He contrasts the advances on a technological level with the decline in standards of caring for others that he considers have accompanied it. The failures of education are much to blame for this, for concentrating on one aspect (materialist) while not dealing with inter-personal relationships.

Okura Genshō, (number 54), continues this theme, by stating that the Japanese have taken over Western education in toto, and along with this Western school uniforms. However, they have not taken any pride in the form of the uniform, just as they have lost the form of eating (i.e. they fail to say grace and to observe traditional etiquette): form has been disregarded and abandoned, and along with it have gone spiritual and physical health. He contrasts the Japanese with the Chinese education system, which places emphasis on physical health and discipline (echoing Tanaka's complaints that modern Japan is rearing fat and weak children) and criticises modern education for its concentration on one area (mind, i.e. mental learning) while neglecting the vital concomitant of form, by which he means such things as etiquette.³⁹

The theme of criticism of modern education is found throughout Sōtō works, and there have been a number of books produced by the sect, intended to be guides to home education (of a religious nature) to balance the uneven nature of school education (see Appendix One, Introduction). The most powerful attacks on modern education come in a special feature on education in Zen no Tomo in March 1980, and in a book in the Ryokuin series by the Sōtō educator Muchaku Seikyō. The Zen no Tomo feature is titled Kyōiku no Kōhai wa Sukueru ka (i.e. can the ruin of education be redeemed?) and takes as its starting point the assumption that modern education is in a state of ruin or desolation.⁴⁰ It cites various explanations that have

been advanced for this state of affairs (e.g. due to incompetence at the Education Ministry, due to post-war democracy, due to economic expansion) but considers that all these are subordinate to one prime reason, which is that 'it lacks the point of view of a single, innocent child'⁴¹ - in other words, the system is fixed and unbending, so involved in teaching facts that it fails to take note of the individual's needs. Citing the case of a young schoolchild who had committed suicide in Tokyo because of failure to make friends at school and because of a sense of helplessness and isolation in face of the system, it attacks the lack of personal communication in the education of children. Rather, education is too concerned with 'the examination-taking competition and the omnipotent materialism'⁴² to worry about people as living, feeling beings. The second part of this feature is a discussion between two Sōtō educators on the nature of modern education and in this both participants, Muchaku Seikyō and Yamamoto Ekyō, echo the lines of thought in the first part of the article. Materialist education cannot construct an individual, its only aim being economic: such is the tenor of the discussion. Muchaku states that 'the concept of educating human beings is non-existent'⁴³ and that only answers, i.e. only mechanical solutions, are required in modern Japan: there is no room for questions, for the seeking mind. The system is totally rigid and structured: the teacher 'teaches the pupil while looking down on him from above'⁴⁴ when he should be a companion in a mutual search for truth.

The book by Muchaku, entitled Zen ni Manabu (i.e. to learn from Zen), contains Sōtō's most comprehensive critique of modern education. Muchaku is a trained priest, brought up in a temple and graduated from Komazawa, as well as a trained teacher. Having tried to be both at once, and having found this to be divisive and unsatisfactory (a rare occurrence: most priests perform two roles and jobs without allowing such considerations to trouble them), he left the priesthood to develop his educational theories. He has founded, and continues to run, an independent school where he can pursue his ideas of education, which are somewhat different from accepted norms as taught in state schools. The basis of Muchaku's critique is that education in the current Japanese (and, hence, the Western) system is one-sided, immersed in the material to the detriment of all else. There is a great contrast between this form of education and Buddhist education: the former has no place for wisdom, while the latter sees wisdom as the crux of the Buddhist path.⁴⁵ Indeed, he considers that:

'Japanese people all have a contempt for understanding, which has been caused by government policies'⁴⁶

The present system is geared to tests and examinations (a competitive struggle contrary to the principles of Buddhism) and concerned only with remembering facts, not with true understanding. Drawing an analogy with a famous Zen saying he charges that:

'Instead of saying 'look at the moon', the modern Japanese school is rearing children who can only see the finger pointing at the moon',⁴⁷

He traces the roots of the problem back to political decisions taken in the early years of the Meiji era, when it was decided that the course for Japan to follow would be the Western one, involving the assimilation of Western techniques and thought in all fields. Education was totally given over to Western (i.e. materialist and technologically oriented) patterns, and total faith, which Muchaku describes as 'a politically manufactured belief in schools',⁴⁸ was placed in the new education system, copied from Western models, to develop Japan economically and transform it into an industrial society on a level with societies in the West. The result was an abnegation of true (i.e. Buddhist) thought and education in favour of a materialist, scientific ethic which had no room for individual flair and thought, but taught only that 'skill in imitation was good'.⁴⁹ The development of the company system in Japan, which demands that employees (and hence the schoolchildren who are being educated for it) should only understand and see company views, has caused endless disasters: he points out that the pollution disaster at Minamata, which caused many deaths and illnesses, had its origins in this blind following of company and material profit, which resulted in neglect of basic safety procedures and cost-cutting,

leading to the poisoning of the waters around Minamata by industrial waste. This material ethic, which derives from political decisions carried out through the education system, has led to the despoliation of natural resources: the use of chain-saws, for example, has caused widespread deforestation. Here, his views are close to those expressed by Sakai (above) on the decline of nature and living things in the modern world.

In this emphasis on materialism and imitation, which seeks only passive compliance from people and stifles understanding and individual thought, he charges that:

'Modern Japanese education completely denies the thought that all is Buddha nature'⁵⁰

and states that such a form of education goes against the necessity, shown by Buddhism and the Bodhisattva vow, to save all people and to help all to develop their Buddha nature, which is found through wisdom. His solution to such ills is in the adoption of a Buddhist-oriented education: 'the government must, without fail, adopt the guidance of Buddhist law'.⁵¹ Buddhism teaches the true nature of life, is larger than the state and thus not prone to short-sighted nationalist views, and is not absorbed in the grasping material world. Muchaku cites the Buddha's leaving his palace and turning his back on the world of 'things' to seek the true nature and essence of life. This action is commonly cited by Sōtō writers, for it is, of course, the starting point of the Buddhist way,

the turning away from the material world towards the world of spirit, and this provides the basis of the complementary theme of Sōtō publications, the solution to the modern malaise.

If the major problems of society are fundamentally no different from those of Buddha's day, then the solution will be similar. Modern society may be different in size and scope from that of centuries ago, but its root problems are the same and to be found within the world of desire which manifests itself in materialist cravings and egotism. One may note that the wish to discard Western education and thought, reverting to traditional Japanese practices, becomes, in this light, nothing but nostalgia: if the Buddhist analysis that Sōtō is using is correct, then previous ages in Japan are just as likely to have been ages of materialism and desire. The one factor most prevalent in the contemporary age is the scale of consumption and acquisition available to a widening social milieu, coupled with the increased emphasis on a materialist rationalisation of societal ethics, and it is in this area that Sōtō is most critical. Individually, people are not castigated for materialist views: indeed, there is generally much sympathy for the individual's predicament but, in contrast, society as an entity is severely attacked for its mass desires and underlying principles.

Sōtō's contemporary critique of society, and the solutions it proposes, are thus no different in fundamentals from basic Buddhism as manifested by the earliest scriptures that narrate the Buddha's mental turmoil as he perceived the existence of suffering in the world and found its root causes in the world of man. Its basic solutions, which in philosophic terms can be summed up in the notion of seeking the true self, i.e. the original self which is Buddha nature, which is not egotistical, not grasping and not seeking material cravings and desires, follow basic Buddhist patterns, although the manner of their application and expression has a distinctly Sōtō flavour to it. If there is one statement that can encapsulate the Sōtō attitude, it is the following one, from Dōgen, in Shōbōgenzō Genjōkōan:

'To learn the Buddhist way is to
learn the self. To learn the self
is to forget the self.'⁵²

This is quoted in numerous Sōtō publications (e.g. Numbers 41, 42, 49) and in many talks by Sōtō teachers,⁵³ and forms the basis of many other similar statements: Ikeda, in a lecture on zazen, speaks of 'throwing away the self in zazen',⁵⁴ and this image (throwing away or forgetting the self) forms the basis of exhortatory talks concerned with the practice of zazen. The concept of shikantaza, sitting earnestly with no seeking of reward or recompense, is just this: throwing away the (seeking) self, and allowing the true (unseeking, selfless) self

to emerge. This is the basic, original self, the self which has been obscured by transient defilements and passing events - just as the moon is temporarily obscured by fog, but is always the moon (a common analogy used by Dōgen).

Although not all Sōtō writings deal specifically with the concept of throwing away the self in shikantaza, they do uniformly present the concept of selflessness in some manner, often illustrated by everyday examples. The programmed path of the Shushōgi has, as its initial step, the act of repentance, which is in itself a throwing away of the old, selfish self, and the taking on of the selfless self, emphasised in the action of taking the precepts. This is underlined by the four-fold path of selfless actions (giving alms, loving words, benevolence and reciprocity) detailed in paragraph 21 of the text, all of which are enlightened actions, i.e. actions of the true, original self. As Satō has shown, (Chapter Five, above) such actions help to dissolve the bad in the world and create good: Satō's conviction that, by such actions, man can eradicate evil and transform the world into a world of truth and good, in which all will realise their inherent Buddha nature, is typical of the attitudes shown in Sōtō writings. Fujimoto, for example, in Ai no Kotoba, enlarges on the theme of loving words, and states that the most precious treasure in the universe is not material, but is 'harmony';⁵⁵ it is the action of selfless alms giving, of speaking kind words and performing selfless

actions for others, as shown in the Shushōgi.

Like Satō, Fujimoto (1978) gives an example of selfless love, and like Satō he chooses that of a mother caring for her child. In this action there is no seeking from either side: the mother gives (milk, love etc.) naturally, because she loves the child, and the child responds with love.⁵⁶ This image is also used by Miyazaki Ekiho (Appendix One no.48), who states that 'child and mother are one',⁵⁷ and occurs in works aimed at group two: the Danshinto Hikkei, for example, has a section entitled 'Father and Mother and the compassionate mind'.⁵⁸ This analogy is taken further in the imagery of the sect which describes Dōgen as the father and Keizan as the mother of the sect,⁵⁹ both of whom compassionately gave their teachings to the sect with no thought of reward. This selfless giving is linked also to the ancestors: according to Sakai, 'we have without fail received our blood from our ancestors',⁶⁰ and, to Kamata (1977), Buddhism itself is a gift from the ancestors, who have passed it down the generations without any thought of selfish gain.⁶¹ The link with ancestors is one that comes across strongly, especially in works directed at group two, and will be discussed more thoroughly in Chapter Seven.

A story that is often narrated in Sōtō writings, which illustrates the true manner of acting towards others, the selfless way, is that of Dōgen and the Chinese monk who was a temple cook (tenzo*). The story revolves around

Dōgen's meeting with the aged cook of a temple (the temple at which Dōgen later studied with Nyojō) and Dōgen's wondering why the old monk had walked so far, to the ship aboard which Dōgen was staying, in order to purchase foodstuffs. Dōgen asked why the cook, who was a senior temple official, had not sent out a younger minion on this expedition, rather than tire himself walking long distances in the heat of the day. At least, he asked, stay overnight at the ship, so that he (Dōgen), would have the chance to learn some of the wisdom of the old monk. The tenzo replied that it was his duty as cook to search out the finest foodstuffs for the temple, and that to have sent a minion would have been a dereliction of duty. Only he, as head cook, could buy food, and he selected every item of the monastic menu personally: this was his work, his contribution to the Buddha way. He could not stay aboard the ship because his vows necessitated that he stay each night in the monastery unless he had prior permission to stay out and, as head cook, he had to supervise the evening and morning meals. To leave this to the underlings would be to evade his responsibilities and would risk causing the monks to receive poor food, which he had not tasted and tested. To Dōgen's subsequent question, why was he merely a tenzo, and did he not mind being unable to practice meditation, as did most monks, because he was always busy in the kitchens, the monk replied that Dōgen was young and had much to learn. Meditation was not everything in the monk's life: all work was in itself meditation, and he was honoured to be a cook, able to

perform the meditation of cooking while serving his fellow monks.

The encounter is said to have had a seminal effect on Dōgen: it was partly responsible for his eventually going to Nyojō's temple, to study and to continue his discourses with the tenzo. Moreover, it made him realise that all aspects of temple life are equally important - an outlook which comes through in his writings, which deal with every form and aspect of monastic life. There is a volume devoted to the duties of the temple cook (Tenzo Kyōkun) in the Eiheishingi, Dōgen's rules for Eihei-ji, whose contents was directly influenced by these meetings with the tenzo. The meeting also showed to Dōgen the importance of duty and doing one's best for one's fellows, and it served as an example of piety, fidelity and selflessness, views which became part of his overall philosophy. The tenzo story has a place of honour in Sōtō writing, for it acts as an example of selfless action on behalf of others, rather than the more common (and heavily criticised) working solely for oneself. Hata Egyoku, in an interview with the journalist Ehara Yukiko, uses the story as an indication of such action and recommends that all should read it.⁶² It is mentioned in a number of Sōtō publications and pamphlets (e.g. numbers 29, 37, 41, 48, 53, 58 and 60) as an example of selflessness, and forms the basis of Uchiyama Kōshō's work Jinsei Ryōri no Hon (i.e. a cookbook for human life) which is a commentary on the Tenzo Kyōkun and the story behind it.

Images such as the mother with her child and the old tenzo faithfully carrying out his duties provide the illustrations for the general theme that all turmoil in the world can be eliminated by way of human action which is directed for the benefit of others and which transcends the self. Philosophically, this may be seen as 'non-attainment' (mushotoku*), action not seeking any gain; true zazen is shikantaza, which is done without idea of reward or recompense in any way. Thoughts of gain would be delusive, seeking attainment (hence further criticisms of Rinzai: it is argued by Sōtō writers that by seeking an answer to a kōan, one is seeking attainment). Kamata (1977) states that Zen is 'a religion of non-attainment',⁶³ a point he contrasts with modern religions, which he sees as strictly utilitarian. Okura also talks of non-attainment in his lectures on zazen,⁶⁴ stating that there are many good reasons for practicing zazen, such as health benefits, increased peace of mind, etc., and that this has caused many people to go to temples for zazen: it has led companies to send their employees there for the same purpose. This is not true zazen, however, for it is zazen with a purpose, while real zazen is non-seeking, just sitting in meditation for the sake of sitting in meditation.

Zen is a way of non-attainment, not seeking personal satisfaction. Rather, it is a way of helping others, of saving others. The importance of working for and of saving others, implicit in the Buddhist vows, are repeatedly stressed (e.g. in Muchaku's critique of education, above, p.250).

This is in accord with the basic philosophy of Sōtō in the modern age as manifested in the Shushōgi, and it is not surprising that a number of the publications of the sect are elaborations on the themes of the Shushōgi, showing an alternative to the present materialist ways of society via individual and selfless action for the benefit of all mankind. The most prevalent image of all, however, is that of the gasshō, and it can be taken as the prime image of Sōtō's ideal follower as seen through the sect's eyes. In the act of the gasshō, the total purity of selflessness is manifested: it forms an image of prayer, as in the poster cited in Chapter Four (above, p.140), and reciprocity.

As has been said, this concept occurs throughout Sōtō literature, at every level from the academic commentaries to the simple pamphlets, and in order to show its ever-present meaning and significance, a few selected examples will be given. In fact, the Sōtō priest and Komazawa lecturer Nakahisa Gakusui, in an article in the Buddhist periodical Daihōrin, has made out a case for calling Dōgen's way not a religion of zazen, but 'a religion of gasshō and worship'.⁶⁵ He bases this argument on the fact that Dōgen's following was very small, due to the severity of his practice and the harsh rules of his temple, and on the assertion that it grew into a large scale sect not because of such practices as shikantaza, which remained unattractive to the general populace, but for more mundane reasons. Thus, he argues, one cannot use the term zazen

religion, for Sōtō was (and is) not, in terms of size and development, a religion of zazen. Rather, it is the reverential feelings engendered by the ever-present gasshō gesture and the accompanying emphasis on worship that have enabled Sōtō to flourish. He admits that, while Dōgen wrote several chapters about zazen, he wrote none specifically on gasshō, but, and here he conforms to a standard pattern in Sōtō style and writing, he has found in Dōgen's writings a justification for his assertions. Ōuchi, it will be remembered, looked at Dōgen's work in order to find a justification for the introduction of a nembutsu recitation; Dōgen is always the ultimate source of teachings and the legitimator of all practices in Sōtō. If a suitable source can be found in his writings, the practice can be justified (as with the re-alignment of Sōtō in the Meiji era, based on belief in the precepts) and, if not, rejected, as with the nembutsu. Nakahisa rests his case on the argument that, although there is no chapter in the Shōbōgenzō on gasshō, it in fact has permeated every facet and activity of Dōgen's Zen. On entering the meditation hall, on approaching the altar, on meeting another monk and so on, one performs a gasshō. Although not specifically mentioned as a separate chapter, the feeling of gasshō is found in numerous different chapters: without it, such chapters as Jukai and Menju would not stand up.⁶⁶ In all of the rules Dōgen wrote, in the Eiheishingi, such as the manner of eating, the action of gasshō starts and finishes every activity.

Accordingly, Nakahisa argues, Dōgen's religion is one of gasshō, which is 'the spirit of gratitude and thanks'.⁶⁷

The repeated use of the gasshō image and the state of mind (reciprocal, devotional, thankful) it evokes gives weight to to this viewpoint. The Danshinto Hikkei speaks of 'the form (sugata*) of gasshō'⁶⁸ which is 'one mind'⁶⁹ and goes on to suggest how efficacious it is in solving problems, as follows:

'if we make the form of gasshō
often in our daily lives, family
life will be happy and complete,
and spiritual life will be rich'⁷⁰

Fujimoto (1977) has written a booklet published by Sōtō Head Office, titled Gasshō no Seikatsu (i.e. a gasshō way of life) and this sums up all the themes involved in the gesture and in the Sōtō use of it. The first half of the pamphlet catalogues, in familiar fashion, the ills of society and their causes, while the second half attempts to set out a solution, in the lifestyle evoked by the gasshō posture and mind. Symbolically, this evokes the trinity of Sōtō (the right hand is Dōgen, the left Keizan, and the two joined are Buddha) while practically, it 'is the highest form of humanity...its form is, in itself, the form of the Buddha'.⁷¹ He considers that 'the practice of the head temples' monks' hall is the practice of continuous daily gasshō and worship',⁷² thus evoking the injunction that the head temples should be seen as models of behaviour for the sect. (above, p.172).

Fujimoto links the materialism of the age to a loss of belief in the gasshō ethic, and calls this 'the contradiction of the age';⁷³ nowadays, one only uses one's hands for working and acquiring things, not for making a gasshō. Citing the reciprocity of the mother and child, he states that all should make their work and the people they meet into Buddha and treat them so: the shop assistant should consider the customer as Buddha and so on. This will develop a sense of interrelationship and a reciprocity of feeling symbolised in the gasshō, through which true peace will arise. All this comes from the gasshō, in which one must have faith; Fujimoto states that:

'the form of this belief in making gasshō is in itself the Buddha'⁷⁴

There are a number of influential teachers in Sōtō, such as Aoyama Shundō, head of the specialist Sōtō nuns' training centre in Nagoya, and Uchiyama Kōshō, former head priest of Antaiji** in Kyoto, who have trained under the well-known Sōtō master Sawaki Kōdō, who died in 1965. Sawaki is famous in Sōtō circles for his incessant zazen practice and for his readiness to go anywhere to conduct sesshin,⁷⁵ and is credited with having inspired many people to practice zazen: his words to his disciples on his imminent death are often quoted:

'It is not necessary to read the sutras and perform services for me. Zazen is the very best memorial service possible!'⁷⁶

His pupils and successors such as Aoyama and Uchiyama have been active in teaching zazen and running sesshin, as well as in giving lectures on Sōtō Zen throughout the country, but an investigation of their works published by Sōtō shows that they too place great emphasis on the themes of selfless reciprocity and gasshō: these are at least as prominent as the zazen theme in their works. Uchiyama's major publication by the sect, Jinsei Rōyri no Hon, as has been stated above, is a commentary based on the tenzo story, which is also cited by Aoyama.⁷⁷ The gasshō ethic and form comes through repeatedly: Aoyama, for example speaks not only of gasshō⁷⁸ but also of the action of joining one's hands together (in prayer and thanks), which is, of course, to gasshō. She speaks of 'the form (sugata) of living continually joining the palms (i.e. gasshō-ing) to the Buddha'.⁷⁹ Such uses of the concept indicate the degree to which it, and the whole notion of selfless activity, are important in all areas of Sōtō teaching, whether amongst the teachers of zazen or in books such as the Danshinto Hikkei aimed at group two members.

If these two complementary themes, of modern decay and the means to correct it, run through all Sōtō publications, it should be added that there is a further theme which is universal to all such writings. This has been alluded to on a number of occasions and is the use of a common language and style. This has been illustrated by the images of mother and child and by appeals to the

spirit of the past and by the common use of stories, such as that of the tenzo. The Buddhist transmission, likened to water passed from one vessel to another (see, above, p. 48), is another image of common use: the water image occurs frequently (e.g. number 46 page 13, number 20 page 56, and in leaflet number 73). Besides the images themselves, one can point to a similarity in the style of many books: there is a tendency to present most books as a series of interrelated stories akin to parables. This is an elliptical approach, not directly tackling the subject of, for example, zazen but dealing with it through the medium of short stories and illustrative remarks with some moralistic content (often citing the ills of modernity!). Many of these parable-like stories are based on encounters with danka and with casual temple visitors. This style of writing can be most clearly discerned in numbers 15, 16, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40 and 41. Another device already discussed at some length is the use of the Shushōgi as a peg, as it were, on which to hang an argument.

It is not just images and style, but terminology as well, that help form a bond of unity within the field of Sōtō publications. Terms such as gasshō and furusato have been discussed and described as universal in application, but there are others which, while not occurring in every publication, form part of a common language that becomes familiar to all who read a number of such works. The term sugata has been introduced in the general discussion of gasshō (e.g. 'the form (sugata)

of gasshō', above, p.260), and this term is a common one. It refers to 'form' and 'shape' and is applied to both the tangible, as in 'our living form' in the leaflet Umesōshun o Hiraku (number 75)⁸⁰ and to the intangible, as in Miyazaki's statement 'the form of enlightenment itself'.⁸¹ It is equated to enlightenment here, and in its application becomes enlightenment: the leaflet Butsudan no Matsurikata (number 66) uses the term 'the worshipping form which is in itself Buddha',⁸² while the pamphlet on Dōgen (number 58) talks of zazen as 'the splendid form of the Buddha'.⁸³ In other words, the term sugata is used to express the concept of form which is the Buddha nature itself. Sōtō teaches that enlightenment is in the present moment, a view encapsulated by the recurrent use of phrases such as 'Buddhism is a teaching of enlightenment in the present moment':⁸⁴ this quote comes from Aoyama SHundō and sums up a prevalent, indeed vital, notion of Zen, that realization has to occur in the here and now - in the act of drinking tea, as Keizan taught. Sugata represents the form taken, in which enlightenment occurs and, because man is in himself and in his very essence, enlightened, form itself is enlightenment.

Closely related to form (sugata) is the term hataraki, mentioned above, p.203, in 'the work (hataraki) of belief in the Three Jewels'. This word, and the verb it comes from, hataraku, mean 'work', but they have a wider meaning in the Sōtō context.⁸⁵ Hataraki has the implication of functioning: Ōta, for instance, in a

discussion of various states of consciousness, remarks that the 'mind continues working all the time',⁸⁶ while Hattori (1977) talks of 'the working of the Shushōgi'.⁸⁷ Zazen, too, also works in terms of functioning, as Uchiyama (1980) states in the following remark:

'Zazen functions (hataraku)...
within daily life activities',⁸⁸

Functioning is in itself enlightenment; it stands for the universal life principle, as Aoyama Shundō says:

'without original name, without form,
completely filling the whole universe,
enabling me to continue living, this
hataraki,'⁸⁹

In this universal principle⁹⁰ are manifested all such notions as transience and selflessness on which Buddhism in general rests. Hataraki is thus an underlying concept of Sōtō which points to the ultimate nature, the Buddha nature of things: it is, thus, sugata (form) in another form, as it were, for sugata is in itself enlightenment. Indeed, Satō Taishun (1970a) talks of 'the one, united, unhindered body of form (sugata) and work (hataraki)',⁹¹ and states that taking the precepts (which is of course both practice and enlightenment, according to the Sōtō view):

'is form (sugata) and is work (hataraki)',⁹²

In other words, the two are practice and enlightenment in themselves. The two are thus parts of the one whole, the form (practice) being in itself, as it functions, enlightenment (hataraki).

Satō in particular uses these two terms extensively, and they will be discussed later, in a wider investigation of Satō's writings and influence (below, Chapter Nine) and have been, due to the special way in which Satō applies them (by using different kanji to write them with, for example), analysed more closely in Appendix Three. Their importance in the present context is to illustrate the incidence of special terms of significance in Sōtō writings. These are terms used frequently, but they are not in any real sense technical terms. Despite the connotations of words such as hataraki, the words themselves are everyday words in Japanese. Unlike such terms as, for example, shinkantaza, which necessitate some explanation when they are used, and which can be found in Buddhist and Zen dictionaries, words such as hataraki and sugata are not found in technical Buddhist dictionaries and are not deemed to need special explanation. Rather, they are common to Japanese people as everyday words (although nuances have been put on them, which become apparent when one reads a number of works containing these words) and thus are comprehended by the general reader. The word hataraki is by no means a Zen, or Sōtō, word: indeed it can be found in the publications of other Buddhist groups in Japan (see footnote 85).

What this indicates is that, besides speaking of problems that face all Japanese (in the troubles of the modern age) and offering solutions to them, Sōtō uses language appropriate to the general populace. There is a unity of image, style and terminology within Sōtō writings, and this is emphasised by its use of everyday

words, readily recognised by Japanese readers, to clarify its concepts and ideas. In the use of readily accessible words to illustrate the philosophy and ideas it is setting out, and in the use of common and easily recognised images and symbols to emphasise the points made, Sōtō is making its teachings available to all who pick up one of its publications. While there are a number of specialist works aimed at experts, the bulk are more general, and it is a theme common to publications aimed at groups two and three that all speak the language of the general reader, whether danka or unaffiliated young sanzenkai members.

In Chapter One, the analogy of a mountain range was drawn in order to describe the overall picture of Japanese religion, with the base of the range representing the commonwealth of Japanese religion, and the peaks representing the specific sects and their individual philosophies. Throughout this thesis, it has been shown that Sōtō has, from its early days, supported itself by making use of currents of universal, rather than restricted and sectarian, interest in Japan, and an analysis of contemporary Sōtō publications confirms this view. In advancing their arguments against contemporary ills, in order to persuade people to turn back to Buddhism, Sōtō writers advocate Sōtō remedies, which are both Buddhistic (selflessness, etc) and Japanese (the return to traditional Japanese values and materials), using terminology and imagery common to all Japanese, rather than restricted to a sectarian group. At the same time, they are inducing those from group two to solidify their allegiance at the base, as it were, of the Sōtō peak, while encouraging them to climb into

group three, and inviting those in group three to climb the Sōtō peak itself. The main themes that are found throughout Sōtō publications, especially to groups two and three, form a continuum with the commonwealth and the peak, functioning as a link and as a means of upward movement along the lines suggested by Sōtō methodologists such as Hattori and Matsuhara. From this general overview, it is now necessary to turn to the more specific area of teachings directed at group two, to show the manner in which the sect, through its Head Office and publications, seeks to solidify its base and create committed Sōtō believers.

C H A P T E R S E V E N

THEMES, GUIDELINES AND APPROACHES FOR THE DANKA

Notices posted outside two Sōtō temples, several hundred miles apart, by their respective priests, are indicative of the general tenor of Sōtō teaching and approach to its affiliated followers, those who use Sōtō temples as the setting for the social events that surround the death and ancestral process in Japan. One, outside Kōzenji** near the town of Date in the northern island Hokkaidō, states:

'if the mother worships the child
worships. The form of worship is
beautiful'¹

while the other, outside Kannonji** in Nishijō, a small village in the countryside in Nagano prefecture, bears the following words:

'the prosperity of the family comes
from worship of the ancestors: let
us meet them serenely before the
statue of Buddha!'²

Both these express, at the local level, the focus and inclinations of Sōtō's teaching for its group two membership. The major area of such teaching centres on the family and on the development of a family system of belief which is extended to incorporate the sect as a whole. Such teaching starts from the family concept and

seeks to develop family-temple connections, working through the temple, as advocated by Sōtō methodologists (above, Chapter Four), to strengthen the base of the sect and to widen the circle of Sōtō believers. The above notices are examples of this family-oriented approach manifested at small danka temples, at the most direct point of contact between the general populace and the sect.

This general theme, centred on the family, permeates much of the material published by the sect. The Danshinto Hikkei, a handbook for temple supporters, exemplifies the above theme for it concentrates on ceremonies and family life rather than on more specific Sōtō teachings and practices. The book has 122 pages, of which the first 30 are taken up by various scriptures, such as the Hannya Shingyō and the Shushōgi. The following 92 pages of the book deal with areas of teaching, ceremony and practices, and in this, one chapter sets out the general teachings of the sect (in 17 pages), the second delineates the structure of the sect and discusses the head temples (5 pages), while the third describes the nature of the temple-danka relationship (7 pages). The fourth and fifth chapters deal with different types of service, including those in the home and before the but sudan, (in all, 39 pages) and the sixth centres on the ideal way of family living, which is a 'life of belief',³ and comprises 23 pages.

Thus, well over one-third of the book is concerned with ceremonies and one-quarter with model household

living, compared to only one-sixth with the actual teachings of the sect. Zazen, discussed as part of the teachings, rather than as part of the daily life of belief, is given just two pages, with instructions to ask the temple priest for information about it: hardly a forceful promulgation of the subject. This is quite normal for such publications; the general tenor of publications for those in group two is related to the traditional and social areas of activity that have brought temple and follower together, i.e. on the ancestral and funerary aspects, rather than to the special practices of Buddhism and Sōtō, such as meditation, which are more overtly spiritual exercises. In such publications as the Danshinto Hikkei, Sōtō is seeking to create a sense of participation in and belonging to a sect and group, encouraging the development of feelings of piety centred on the social arena of Japanese Buddhism, which will draw the follower more closely into the realm of the sect and deepen faith in and adherence to the specific views and beliefs it holds, ultimately leading to complete immersion in the life of belief of the sect by taking its precepts.

Concentration on formal and ceremonial aspects of Buddhism, especially the ancestrally related aspect coupled with the calendrical cycle, comes through to a great degree in Zen no Tomo, which is issued monthly and invariably follows a theme dictated by the time of year. At o-Bon, there are articles related to the ancestors, including, in the 1981 o-Bon editions (Numbers 7 and 8), a series of

reminiscences entitled o-Bon no Furusato. At Shōgatsu, there are New Year's reminiscences and resolutions, and so on. In contrast to Zen no Kaze with its articles and instructions on zazen (see above, Chapter Four) and its neglect of traditional and household-related practices, Zen no Tomo focuses more on calendrical events and those aspects of them which hold most interest for the average danka household. There are, to be sure, interviews with leading Sōtō teachers, but these have the tendency to centre more on the time of year (the interview with the deputy head priest of Eihei-ji, Niwa Denpō, in 1981, Number 7, concentrates very much on the historical aspects of o-Bon and the relevance of it for Japanese households), rather than on more specifically Sōtō-related practices.⁴ This is the tone of the Sōtō periodical produced monthly for temple supporters and available at many Sōtō temples. Providing a large amount of general information, stories and strip cartoons, sometimes simple explanatory commentaries of texts such as the Shushōgi, giving news and events, such as Zen no Tsudoi meetings, it is designed for the formally or historically affiliated member who comes into the group two category, rather than for those more interested in zazen practice and the like. Articles such as the ones in Zen no Kaze giving pictorial instruction for, and verbal encouragement of, the practice of zazen, either at the temple or at home, are not to be found in Zen no Tomo (see Appendix One, No.55 for a general discussion of the structure and articles found in Zen no Tomo).

There are, as has been discussed in Chapter Four, few Sōtō temple supporters who are interested in, and who actively participate in, zazen practice. In Chapter Six, it has been shown that formal sect affiliation is by no means a pre-requisite of such practice. There is thus a gap between formal sect affiliation and active practice which results in the ostensible paradox that those people whose sect is Sōtō, and who may read the monthly Zen no Tomo, may never perform the definitive Sōtō practice of shikantazazen, while those who do this may never refer to themselves as Sōtō members. Zen no Tomo caters for the first of these categories as a rule, and an investigation of the questions asked of the magazine by its readers provides an indication of the areas of concern and interest of its readership. There is an enquiries page, aimed at providing information for the reader and at deepening knowledge of the sect, and this feature appears frequently, though not in every edition of the magazine, to answer questions sent in by the readership. Usually, it deals with three or four questions in each issue and, of 39 questions in 11 issues covering the period July 1980 to April 1982,⁵ there was the following breakdown of questions:

Explanatory (terms used in inscriptions, services etc.).....	15
Connected with the <u>butsudan</u> , ancestors and funerals.....	10
Historical questions.....	5
Philosophical and theoretical questions.....	3
Temple images/how to behave in front of them.....	2

Meaning of implements (e.g. rosaries).....	2
Questions related to practice (zazen and <u>shakyō</u>).....	2
in all.....	<u>39</u>

This table shows that the chief areas of information sought by Sōtō danka from their sect's magazine are those of a factual nature (what does a particular word mean, what is the meaning of the name Kannon-this question was asked in the September 1981 issue- and so on) and those concerned with family practice and social obligations (the correct way to pray before the butsudan, what preparations should one make before visiting the graves of ancestors, etc.). These two areas covered virtually two-thirds of all questions asked. Another nine questions concerned other factual questions, such as the meaning of the Buddhist rosary, the history of the Buddha's family and how to light incense before Buddhist statues. Only three were concerned with any form of philosophy or theory (e.g. in the April 1981 edition, a reader asked whether all people were capable of salvation, and in September 1981, a reader asked what the nature of hell and death were). Only one question was directly philosophical in nature, asking why the non-discriminating mind was so valued in Buddhism when, in everyday thought, the discriminating mind was regarded as paramount. Only two related to areas of practice, one asking what sort of attitude is necessary in doing shakyō and the one zazen-related question asking the reason for the particular hand posture used in zazen.

Concern, then, is almost entirely with concrete answers,⁶ rather than theory or practice - a finding which seems to back the assertions of various Sōtō critics of modern education, such as Muchaku, that only answers and mechanical solutions are required and sought in modern Japan. The very problems that the sect highlights in society and education are thus manifested through the questions asked by its affiliated membership. Besides this concern with factual answers and explanations, there is a strong focus of interest on the social and ancestral nature of Japanese Buddhism, manifested by the number of questions seeking clarification of procedures to follow when praying to the ancestors at the family butsudan and so on. From this, it may be ascertained that the primary importance of Buddhism, and in this case Sōtō Buddhism, for the bulk of its formal and historically related membership is in areas related to the commonwealth of Japanese religion, rather than to that which is specifically Sōtō.

This concern is mirrored by the manner in which the sect deals with its traditional membership and by the ways in which it seeks to develop that membership. Appeals to deeper belief and practice are mitigated by the ways in which they are set out, working on the preoccupation of the household with the ancestral side of Buddhism, as shown by the importance given to such services and mortuary rites in the Danshinto Hikkei. Sōtō publications tend to centre on explanations of ancestral and mortuary practices

so as to create the conditions whereby those interested in such practices, who form the bulk of the theoretical strength of the sect and who provide, via temple services and mortuary rites, the larger part of its income, can penetrate further into the life of belief of the sect. To illustrate this technique, and to show the standards the sect seeks to instil into its danka, one could examine any number of the publications listed in Appendix One, but here special emphasis will be given to two booklets, numbers 24 and 25, which are, respectively, a guide to yearly events in the sect (Sōtōshū nō Nenjūgyōji) and a calendrical almanac for the sect (Sōtōshū Hōreki). Both of these, being constructed on a calendrical basis, are in line with the traditional yearly calendrical cycle of Japanese religion, related to the agricultural cycle and to the occurrence of fixed yearly events (o-Bon, etc.) and both, from this starting point, attempt to establish fixed guidelines to belief for the reader, while imparting some relevant information about the sect. There are, for example, brief resumés of both head temples and their founders. The chief fixture of both is a 10 point guide to belief (Shinkō jūkun*), originally printed in the Sōtōshū no Nenjūgyōji, but reprinted, with a short exposition and explanation of the points it raises, in the Sōtōshū Hōreki. The 10 articles of the belief are as follows:

- ' (1) Let us always clean the butsudan and, every morning, making gasshō and worshipping, let us give thanks to our ancestors.
- (2) At the dining table, let us gasshō before eating.
- (3) At the temple, when we are passing in front of the main hall, let us, without fail, gasshō

and bow.

- (4) Let us enshrine our household mortuary tablets (ihai*) at the temple and let us without fail visit it on the various death anniversaries.
- (5) On the first morning of every month, let us all go to the temple to pray for the safety of the family.
- (6) When our children are born, let us have them named at the temple, and on the one hundredth day (after the birth) visit the temple and report this news to our ancestors.
- (7) When they enter school and come of age, let us without fail visit the temple and report this to our ancestors.
- (8) Let us celebrate weddings before our ancestors at the temple. On occasions when this is not possible, let us visit the temple afterwards and report the news to our ancestors.
- (9) On Buddha's birth day (Hanamatsuri*), let us visit the temple together with our children and commemorate this by drinking amazake*.
- (10) On Jodo-e* (Enlightenment day) and Nehan-e* (Buddha's death day), let us all gather at the temple and, listening to talks about Buddhism (hōwa) and doing zazen, remember the Buddha.'⁷

The explanation added in the Hōreki underlines the points made in the above, illustrating some of them with simple drawings. There is, for example, one of a family group at the dining table, in the gasshō posture, prior to eating, to illustrate the second article, and one of boys in their school uniforms, bowing before the steps of the main hall of a temple to illustrate number three. (See Appendix Four for a photocopy of the relevant pages of this booklet, plus a translation of the text: this

will show the style of such pamphlets, the nature of the illustrations and the simple and easy to follow manner in which the ten articles have been expanded upon and clarified). One interesting point to note is that in the explanation of the tenth article, there is no mention of zazen.

Indeed, zazen is only included in the articles as part of the last one, to be performed once or twice a year. In contrast, actions of worship before the butsudan are to be performed daily. The prevailing ethic of these articles is the gasshō ethic, which is specifically mentioned in the first three articles and which underpins the rest, in such activities as prayer. Eight of the articles involve visiting the temple, six concern the ancestors, three involve stages in the individual's life and one is concerned with prayers for safety; all in all, this is a catalogue of belief more closely related to Japanese religious and traditional social life than to the specifics of Sōtō Zen Buddhism as propounded by such teachers as Dōgen. The primary focus is on the family and on the creation of a family belief group connected to the temple and hence to the sect.

The ancestral connection is stressed repeatedly: blood is a gift of the ancestors, as is Buddhism, as has been mentioned in Chapter Six (above, p. 254), and this is extended by the Danshinto Hikkei which says that the temple is 'the resting place of our ancestors and the place of rest of our own souls'.⁸ Most of the leaflets connected with the calendrical cycle (numbers 74-81) centre on feelings for one's

ancestors, especially the four (numbers 78-81) which have been produced for distribution at times such as o-Bon. The importance of family worship in the home, before the butsudan, is stressed often. The Danshinto Hikkei gives instructions on the correct way to arrange the various objects on the altar and describes the butsudan as 'a most important place, where we venerate the spirits of our ancestors and the Buddha, who is at the centre of our belief'.⁹ Instructions on how to worship before the butsudan, emphasising the importance of daily worship and piety, appear in numerous publications (e.g. numbers 24, 25, 66 and 68). The importance of fulfilling one's obligations to one's ancestors by the performance of the correct rites and services is another concomitant theme: one explanatory leaflet, Kuyō no Imi to Sono Kokoroe (i.e. the meaning of memorial services and their rules) explains the correct mode of behaviour and thought at these times, while further instructions may be found in the Danshinto Hikkei (pp.60-69), the Sōtōshū nō Nenjūgyōji (especially pp.4-9) and in leaflets such as Anata no Bodaiji (i.e. your family temple). This leaflet, describing the relationship that one has to a temple through one's ancestors, a relationship which makes one a member of a Buddhist household ('your household is an affiliated household (danka) of a family temple'),¹⁰ expresses the sect's aims, described in Chapter Four, to transform affiliated members into believers, in these words:

'we wish to make you, at the same time as being an affiliated member of a family temple, into a believer of that family temple'¹¹

The concept of furusato plays a large part in this development of deeper involvement with the temple: the appeal to one's sense of family and to the ancestors of the family is enhanced by the inter-related appeal to the spirit of bygone days, an appeal most pronounced in the o-Bon leaflets (see Appendix Four for the translation of one such leaflet, which shows the manner in which ancestors, furusato and the time of the year are interwoven to create a particular feeling of belonging, which is set against and contrasted with the unease and disturbances of the modern age). Family imagery is important here; the mother-child relationship provides an example of co-operation and selfless help which the sect uses as a device to illustrate the ideal. The family group as a whole, from ancestors through parents to children and on to future generations, is joined to the sect through its ancestors, and united by its belief centred, in the house, on butsudān and, beyond the house, on the temple. Beyond and through the temple, the family is linked to the sect, and here the sect brings into play a further family image.

This image is of the sect as a family in itself. Fujimoto (1977) writes that, as each house has a father and mother, so too does Sōtō:

'if Dōgen is seen as the father,
Keizan is the mother'¹²

The leaflet 'Michi no Shirube' (i.e. guide to the way) pursues this analogy,¹³ as does Butsudan no Maturikata, which likens Dōgen and Keizan to 'a strict father and a gentle mother'.¹⁴ By extending the concept of family from the extended unit of the blood-lineage to that of the spiritual family of the sect, Sōtō is creating a community of belonging for its members. The analogy is further developed by the often-used image that all are children of the Buddha (e.g. Appendix One No,72,80) and by the use of the word kechimiyaku*, which means blood vessel or blood stream. This is used to indicate one's joining into the mainstream of Buddhism by taking the precepts: the leaflet o-Jukai-e no Susume (i.e. a recommendation to take the precepts) states that in taking the preceptual ceremony, one 'receives the 'bloodstream' which is the certification of seeing the mind of the precepts'.¹⁵ The word is used frequently in Sōtō circles with regard to the precept-taking ceremony¹⁶ and in its use there is contained the Sōtō view of the special transmission of the sect directly from the Buddha. By taking the precepts, one enters into a family of a special kind, a family not only related to one's own by one's ancestors who were members of it and whose graves are at Sōtō temples, but by a bloodstream-relationship through the Sōtō Patriarchs (the kanji so* used to describe Dōgen and Keizan also can mean 'ancestor') who become one's own ancestors, to the Buddha who is one's father.

In developing the family image, the sect has widened the Japanese practice of venerating the ancestors at the but sudan into one of venerating the three great teachers of the sect, Buddha, Dōgen and Keizan, turning the practice from one of general Japanese religious behaviour to a specifically Sōtō act of worship. This move was highlighted in the proselytisation centred on the kakejiku of the three (see above, p.141) and is extended by the various publications of the sect which deal with the but sudan. Such publications encourage the installation of the images of the three founder-figures of the sect alongside family mortuary tablets in the but sudan, and the Danshinto Hikkei instructs as follows:

'at the front of the but sudan,
 enshrine the Buddha as the main
 object of worship and, on either
 side, enshrine images of Dōgen and
 Keizan (One Buddha, Two Patriarchs).
 And, on their right and left,
 install the mortuary tablets
 and death registers of the ancestors.'¹⁷

In such ways, the 'One Buddha, Two Patriarchs' image has been utilised to enhance and intensify the historical relationship of household and temple. This is seen, at least from the sect's viewpoint, as a two-way process. The graves and mortuary tablets of the household's ancestors are at the temple while images of the sect's ancestors are in the household, thus creating a link between the two. The importance of the family image is shown by the prominence given to the 'One Buddha, Two Patriarchs' concept in Sōtō

publications: in the Danshinto Hikkei, of 17 pages concerned with the sect's teachings, 10 are devoted to the concept and to the lives of the three. There is much information available on the three founder-figures in the various publications: leaflets 57, 58 and 59 provide a simple introduction to each, largely for children, and there have been various articles and series in Zen no Tomo on them, including a recent strip cartoon serial of the life of Dōgen for the young children of danka families.²⁰ Also, the first two volumes of the Bukkyō Tokuhon series concentrate on their respective lives and teachings.

The Buddha, as the ultimate source of worship, is treated both as an historical figure in, for example, the leaflet o-Shaka-sama (i.e. Lord Buddha), which is primarily intended for children and relates a straightforward account of the Buddha's life, practice and travels in which he spread the Buddhist law, and as a transcendent figure, as the film Terepasu Kumara, described in Chapter Four, clearly shows. In the historical accounts, the important term is zazen, which is always used to describe the Buddha's meditation under the pipal tree when he became enlightened. This meditation, in Sōtō accounts, was zazen, and this creates a direct link between the current practices of the sect (albeit hardly discussed and advocated for the Sōtō danka) and the Buddha, one that is re-inforced by the concept of the true law and transmission. This, founded in the transcendent image of the nengemishō story, is presented as historical fact, as in this passage from the

Danshinto Hikkei, which brings together the concepts of true law and its transmission with the figures of the three major teachers of Sōtō:

'the essence of Buddhism - the true law (shōbō) - received by successive generations of Patriarchs from the Buddha was brought to our country some seven hundred years ago by Dōgen Zenji and flourished here due to the Fourth Patriarch (in Japan) Keizan Zenji!²¹

Sōtō does not transmit to its followers any explanation of Zen history other than that accepted by Dōgen, centred on the concept that the Buddha's meditation was zazen and that the essence of his teaching was passed, outside the scriptures, to the Zen lineages and thus to the Sōtō sect in Japan. This historical perspective shown by the above quote can be found in the sect's explanatory literature (see above also, Chapter Two) and helps to forge a unity in the eye of Sōtō followers with the foundations of Buddhism. The two Japanese founders are accorded treatment in keeping with their respective images of strict father and gentle mother: the leaflet dealing with Dōgen relates his early misfortunes (becoming an orphan), his great doubts during his Buddhist practice in Japan, his failure to find answers in Japan and his journey to China. It proceeds to narrate the tenzo story and tell of Dōgen's zazen practice with Nyojō before his return to Japan with the true teachings. The leaflet talks of the numerous rules Dōgen wrote for daily life activities (washing the

face, eating, etc.) and of his 'zazen mind'.²² Keizan, in contrast, according to the leaflet about him, grew up in a 'warm household';²³ the deep devotion of his mother, and, subsequently, of Keizan, for Kannon is stressed and his 'mind of gratitude'²⁴ is described.

The two images are thus contrasted: the stern zazen practice and rules of Dōgen, the orphan fuelled by doubt and rejection of the worldly corruptions he had seen at various Buddhist centres and in the world, and the warm, maternal upbringing of Keizan which brought him to a total acceptance of the teachings and to the mindful gratitude of having received them. The image is broadened by the use of the two head temples as models for the sect, as has been described in Chapter Five. As Dōgen is the strict father and Keizan the gentle mother, so is Eiheiji the austere and Sōjiji the accomodating temple. A film made by the sect, called Eiheiji, Sōjiji underlines this imagery. In the film, the emphasis is on the practice of the monks at Eiheiji focusing on the rigourous side of their lives, and on the open nature of Sōjiji. The section on Eiheiji shows the early rising of the monks (3.30 a.m. in summer), the formality of life (deep bows and gasshō every time two monks meet in the corridor), the hard work (monks scrubbing floors and so on) and the harsh zazen practice, with monks being struck extremely hard by the kyosaku*, the wooden stick used in Zen temples to strike those who are either falling asleep in zazen or whose posture is poor. There is a scene when the snow is

falling heavily, piling up on the roof of the main hall, showing the monks, in none too heavy clothing, on the roof with shovels and brooms, sweeping the snow away. The section on Sōjiji, in contrast, barely shows the monks lifestyle, rather concentrating on Sōjiji's position in a park in Yokohama city, close to the centre of Tokyo. The film states that Keizan opened Zen to the general populace, and proceeds to demonstrate the accessibility of Sōjiji. There are swings and playgrounds for children in the grounds around the temple, where all can go and sit, including foreigners: a shot of two obvious non-Japanese enjoying a relaxing seat in the park suggests the internationality of the temple. There is a scene in which a young mother sits rocking a baby in a perambulator as she rests in the temple gardens - yet another use of the mother-child image. Sōjiji presides over a girls high school and a university college which are both situated in Tsurumi Park along with the temple, and the film switches to the laboratories and libraries of the college, focusing in particular on the school of Dentistry, for which the college has a high reputation (as has, interestingly, Aichi Gakuin University, another Sōtō university). These scenes emphasise the up-to-date technological accomplishments of Sōjiji, stressing its position as a family centre where the parents may stroll in the grounds while the daughter goes to school or receives a scientific education and degree at the college.²⁵

The film has been shot at two different seasons: the Eihei-ji section in mid-winter, the time of year when the Hokuriku region where the temple is situated receives

snowfalls, and the Sōjiji section in early summer when the flowers in the park are blooming and the weather is conducive to taking one's children to the playground. Thus, the contrasts of the two temples are exaggerated by the manner of filming: the heavy snow of Eiheiji and the warm sun of Sōjiji, the concentration on the austerities of Eiheiji, symbolised by the kyōsaku cracking down on innumerable shoulders, and the familial aspects of Sōjiji, symbolised by the rocking baby in the perambulator. As an exercise to create an image, it is highly proficient and its image-creation is backed up in sect publications by contrasting descriptions given to the two temples, such as those in the Sōtōshū Hōreki, which emphasises Eiheiji's severity ('even today about 200 priestly practitioners are striving from morning till night in religious austerities')²⁶ and which, making use of Eiheiji's situation, in a deep valley surrounded by high trees, states that 'one can feel the ravine to be the ground of Zen law'.²⁷ Sōjiji's status as a training centre is mentioned, but it is the symbolic position of the temple, overlooking the harbour and gateway to the country, its educational establishments and its nature as 'an open Zen garden'²⁸ that are featured most prominently. The austere image of Eiheiji is underlined by its deputy head priest, Niwa Denpō, in an interview in Zen no Tomo, in which he asks people who wish to know what goes on inside temples to go to Eiheiji, because there they will see 'many priestly practitioners (who) all get up at 3 o'clock in the morning to do zazen'.²⁹

Such forceful imagery is carried on by the temples themselves: Eihei-ji is proud of the complexity and severity of its mealtime rules, more difficult than anywhere else in Japan.³⁰ The use of the kyōsaku in the meditation hall for visitors to Eihei-ji is excessive, compared to its use in most Sōtō temples.³¹ A number of Sōtō priests have criticised this aspect of Eihei-ji privately; one of them, Moriyama Daigyō, head priest of Zuigakuin**, a temple with no danka which is run on the rules set out by Dōgen in Shōbōgenzō Bendōhō and which has a steady stream of lay visitors, considers that this (Eihei-ji) approach is not conducive to the practice of zazen, especially not good for beginners. The monks in charge are, he feels, generally not highly trained, performing a role and duty at the temple: they, and the temple in general, are concerned with the severe (kibishii*) image of the temple above all else.³² This concern with a severe image is perhaps most clearly shown by an article in the Eihei-ji periodical Sanshō of January 1982, which reports on the activities of the visitors meditation hall (sanzendō*). The article starts with the (unnamed) author hearing the sound of the kyōsaku as he approached the sanzendō, explains the purpose of the centre ('so that people can perform the practice of zazen separate from the mundane world in the same manner as the unsui* (trainee monks)')³³ in terms that suggest Eihei-ji's distance from the materialist world, and finishes with the observation that the sound of the kyōsaku would doubtless continue to be heard through the corridors of the temple in the future.³⁴

Such articles as this manifest the concern of Eihei-ji to maintain the image it has in the sect, one which by and large contrasts with that of Sōjiji.

This contrast may be seen through the pages of the monthly periodicals of the respective temples, Chōryū (Sōjiji) and Sanshō (Eihei-ji). Both these are issued through the temples to priests who have affiliations to them; they are not intended for the layman.³⁵ It is noticeable that the general tone of Chōryū is more open and eclectic than that of Sanshō.³⁶ There are, for example, strip cartoon stories about Buddhism, for children (presumably of temple priests)³⁷ and articles about interesting temples in the mountains, titled Yamadera wa Kokoro no Furusato (i.e. mountain temples are our spiritual home) - again one notes the use of furusato-serialised monthly.³⁸ The periodical has special features in which contributors may be from outside the sect and carries reports of Jukai-e, (precept-taking ceremonies) which are held at Sōjiji. In contrast, Sanshō tends to carry articles concerned only with the Dōgenist current in Sōtō, seemingly disregarding Keizan (in contrast to Chōryū which frequently quotes Dōgen); concentrates more on the angle of separation from the world, as the quote from the feature on the sanzendō, above, indicates, does not feature cartoons and does not deal with precept ceremonies. Sōjiji also produces a book about the temple and Keizan which tells his life story, and the history of the temple, with the help of strip cartoons, for children. This takes the

form of a father (presumably, a model Sōtō danshinto) taking his children around the temple, explaining its significance as he goes.³⁹ The gasshō posture is much in evidence as they bow before the altars, and they meet a friendly priest who narrates to them the story of Keizan's life, with much stress on his happy home life and devotion to Kannon.⁴⁰ Eihei-ji does not produce any equivalent about Dōgen for children: its whole outlook, a legacy from Dōgen and the Sandaisōron era when it rejected the moves of Gikai to open the gates, as it were, of Sōtō to non-Dōgenist currents, goes against such publications.

The long-term historical dualism of the two temples, Eihei-ji representing the narrow and Sōjiji the wide gate, has thus carried over to the contemporary age, in their respective publications, in the picture that they themselves create (in which Sōjiji's smiling priest kindly telling the children the story of Keizan shows its self-image as much as the sound of the kyōsaku in the sanzendō shows that of Eihei-ji) and in the imagery used by the sect as a whole to portray the two. The difference in feeling between the two is recognised in an article in a local temple newspaper, of the temple Dorinji** in Sendai, written by Takeda Sumiko, a member of the temple's Protection Society (gojikai*). Describing a visit made by the society members to Sōjiji, she first comments on Eihei-ji as 'a training centre surrounded by ranges of deep mountains!',⁴¹ and goes on to state that, in contrast:

'as we entered the front hall, we clearly felt the difference atmosphere of Sōjiji which is easily accessible to people in general'⁴²

Clearly, the life of the visitor who has come to stay and practice zazen is easier too for she writes that 'even though the corridor we had to clean (during the work period) was long, it (i.e. the work period) seemed quite easy when compared to Eiheiji!'⁴³

In the publications that the sect has produced aimed at those who are in group two, i.e. for general temple-affiliated members who as a rule use Sōtō temples for their family funerals and who go to Sōtō temples because their ancestors' graves are there, there is little encouragement to practice zazen and much to strengthen family practice, around the dining-table and the butsudan, in the daily life of gasshō and gratitude, leading to preceptual commitment. In this, it may be adduced that Sōtō is in fact preaching the way of Keizan and Sōjiji, in terms of its own imagery (one must not forget that Keizan also practiced many austerities and that Sōjiji is a major training centre for monks), rather than that of Eiheiji. Dōgen is always the textual source of all teaching in the sect (despite the importance of Keizan as a proselytiser and founder, one rarely, if ever, comes across textual references to him) but is generally mediated, for Sōtō followers in the contemporary age, by Keizan and the Sōjiji spirit of the great gate of compassion for all people. In such ways, the sect emphasises the family

image and ethic, creating the atmosphere of a vast extended family of the sect, tracing its ancestry back to the Buddha and making Dōgen into a father-figure (admittedly, a stern one), although Dōgen had, in fact, especially in later life, advocated that one should leave one's family and home if one wished to learn the true Buddhist way; this he made into an imperative in such chapters as Shōbōgenzō Shukkekidoku (i.e. the merit of becoming a monk). It is worth pointing out that the word shukke (to become a monk) has the literal meaning of 'to leave home'. To accommodate Dōgen in this family ethic has involved some degree of mediation (not surprising in the light of Zen historical interpretation) through such edited versions of his teaching as the Shushōgi, through the development of the gasshō ethic (and the subsequent re-interpretation, of Dōgen as primarily a teacher of this, by Nakahisa) and through the emphasis on Keizan as a dual founder of the sect. If Dōgen is the textual source and the source of practice for the few who are of group three inclination, Keizan is the source and inspiration of the practice and life of the family affiliated to Sōtō, and it is the way of Keizan, or the way of happy family life, revering the ancestors and guardian figures expressing gratitude and piety in one's everyday activities, that is shown in Sōtō publications to those of group two.'

In the Danshinto Hikkei, the importance of the family unit, which comprises past, present and future members is seen as paramount. One should venerate those past who

have provided one's own blood and who have united the present with the true Buddhist tradition, love and honour those present, teaching them the correct way to live and continue the tradition, and prepare the way for those to come, so that they inherit a peaceful world and a direct relationship to the temple and Buddha. The family is the source of teaching for children and it is the duty of parents to love and rear them correctly, just as it is the duty of children to obey and honour their parents, both in life and after. The parents are teachers of their children in the same way that they (the parents) are children and pupils of the great teachers of the sect. In fulfilling their duties in this way, parents are performing the work of Buddha, and the Danshinto Hikkei states that:

'parental love which thinks of the child is in itself the mind of the Buddha and is the compassionate mind.'⁴⁴

The family is the basis of all relationships and love, though these should not be limited to the family but spread widely, through interpersonal relationships. Nonetheless, the existence of a special love within the family is recognised and this potential, of the mutual feeling which inherently exists within blood and family relationships, is seen as the foundation of family life and as the principle on which to build a wider understanding among people, as follows:

'this (peace and harmony) is not limited just to the family and is something which can be said to exist in the relationship between all people but, in the family between parents and children, brothers and sisters and husbands and wives, because of a natural, tacit understanding (ishindenshin) which is not adulterated by any other feelings, it (i.e. peace) can immediately become one's own possession and be one of the family',⁴⁵

The use of the word ishindenshin is interesting here. It has been used previously in the special Zen sense of the word, to describe what happened between the Buddha and Mahakashyapa at Vulture's Peak and between the successive generations of Zen Patriarchs, transmitting the true essence of Buddhism from mind-to-mind. The word has everyday uses, as well as this particular Zen interpretation, containing nuances of heart-to-heart communication, telepathy and mutual and tacit understanding. Kenkyusha's New Japanese-English Dictionary cites the following phrase as an example of its use: 'there was a tacit understanding between us',⁴⁶ and it is likely that the average reader of this book would take the word in this general manner. There is no use of ishindenshin elsewhere in the Danshinto Hikkei to suggest that it has a particular Zen interpretation and meaning. It is perhaps a small point of little significance for the danka broadly unaware of the finer points of Zen

philosophy and history, but it does provide a useful insight into the use of concepts and philosophy by the sect when talking to its affiliated members.

The Zen claim to validity and centrality in Buddhism rests on its assertion that it inherited a transmission from the Buddha that by-passed all scriptural sources in a mind-to-mind process. Ishindenshin thus validates Zen in its own eyes and shows that the essence of Buddha's enlightenment is to be found in the face-to-face encounters of masters and disciples. From this, it suggests that enlightenment can be found within personal encounters and relationships, and this is the point picked up by the above statement. The tacit understanding (ishindenshin) between members of the family by this yardstick is no other than the mind-to-mind transmission (ishindenshin) of the Buddhas and Patriarchs which is actualised in all face-to-face encounters of master and pupil, as with Nyojō and Dōgen (above p.52). The Sōtō emphasis on the family as the building block of Buddhism and the harmonious society contains the notion that the direct transmission of Buddhism is implicit in relationships within the family and that it can be extended to all inter-person relationships. This, while remaining true to the underlying concepts within the Zen view of ishindenshin, seems to evade the implicit importance of religious practice that underpins the relationships of masters and their disciples: Dōgen, for example, may have experienced ishindenshin in his meetings with Nyojō in Nyojo's room, but he also had to spend hours at a time in the meditation hall under Nyojō's eye, opening himself for such a

transmission and satisfying his master that he was ready for it.

However, in the modern Sōtō interpretation, the life of belief and gasshō is in itself practice, which is enlightenment, and this life of belief and gasshō can be actualised within the family environment by direct relationship. It thus connects with the whole thrust of modern Sōtō teaching centred on the Shushōgi and on the process of repentance, belief in the Buddha and taking the precepts, which is the same as practicing zazen, which is the same as enlightenment. The sect thus uses the traditional Japanese focus on the household and the connection created thereby between household, temple and sect, as the nursery of its long-term aims of bringing all people into deeper contact with Buddhist teachings. Simultaneously, it focuses on the household, seeking to consolidate historical ties in the modern age, in order to realise its more immediate requirements of maintaining its financial support (largely obtained through memorial and similar services) and preserving its numerical power base, both in terms of affiliated members and in terms of temples, which at the local level depend on the support they receive from their danka, through fees for services and so on. This necessity of maintaining support from historically, although no longer legally, affiliated households has been with the sect, as with all Buddhist sects, since the breakdown of the Tokugawa system and, more acutely, since the post-war dismantling of the danka system laws have removed any guaranteed income.

The appeal to the family has accordingly been of vital importance, not just as a means of widening the circle of Buddhist belief, but also as a means of ensuring the continuance of the sect and its temples as a self-supporting concern. Practical and pragmatic considerations have thus played as much part in the sect's manner of teaching as have spiritual concerns for the salvation of people and for the spreading of the Buddhist way. It may be fairly argued (as it is, see below, Chapter Eight) that the two are mutually interdependent, that to concentrate on the wholly spiritual aspect would have led to the decline of the sect, to the loss of the (potential) believers of Sōtō affiliated households and to the return to the narrow gate and the small, isolated group, symbolised by the early years of Eihei-ji, which, like Eihei-ji in that era would be dependent on outside benefactors for its existence. It is not possible for a sect which has developed due to the Keizan lineage to return to the narrow gate: the seeds of the modern decisions (in the Meiji era, with the formation of the Shushōgi and the development of a sect bureaucracy, and in the post-war era with the adoption of modern communication techniques and so on) can be traced to the earliest age of Sōtō in Japan. By the continued use and progressive adaptation of methods of proselytisation inherited from the earliest days of Sōtō expansion in Japan, allied to the historical structure of Japanese Buddhism as a household centred system, the sect has based its appeal to potential support on the family, and on the traditional family system.

This has resulted in the imagery already described, using such concepts as furusato and the growing unrest felt in many quarters about the progression of modernity, highlighted by urban growth, the decline of village, community and the extended family, and by the increase in media communications which enables people to be more aware of rising crime, pollution and other ills of society. Although the sect concentrates to a large degree on the development of family-related practices which will draw the family closer to the temple along the traditional lines of family-temple connections, this is not its sole avenue of action. The Shinkōjūkun may stipulate the basic beliefs necessary for the Sōtō household, but they are by no means the totality of practice, even for those in group two. The Sōtō aim is to lead all those in this group towards taking the precepts, which will formalise their connection to the sect and to Buddhism, and to the concomitant declaration of belief in the Three Jewels of Buddhism. It is here that the structured system of the Shushōgi comes into prominence.

As the family develops its own piety and faith by continued prayer before the butsudan, and as its temple visits at regular times of the year continue, it will grow in its belief in the temple and sect as an entity, according to this line of thought. At the times when the family is most likely to visit the temple as an entity, e.g. Shogatsu and o-Bon, it will find leaflets such as those summarised in Appendix One, which seek to create an

atmosphere of piety and gratitude to the ancestors, in contrast to the unease of the modern age, and which often seek to stress current family relationships. The leaflet Jinsei no Yasuragi, for example, states that o-Bon is not solely for the dead: 'it is a day for venerating one's ancestors and one's living mother and father'.⁴⁷ In Appendix Four, a translation of this leaflet has been given, to show a specimen example of the leaflets that the sect distributes at such times of year for its danka. Such leaflets carry a short resume of the sect, detailing the size, head temples, founders and basic teachings of Sōtō (see the introduction to Appendix One for a translation of this) designed to furnish the temple visitors with further information to encourage their development from formal visiting to active participatory belief.

As belief grows, one enters into the process of the Shushōgi encouraged, according to the sect's plans, by the temple priest who acts as its chief agent of proselytisation, visiting the household, talking to the family at all opportunities such as temple services, o-Bon, Higan* and other important calendrical events and acting personally as a teacher of the Buddhist way and, through his family, as the model example of family life. Eventually, one will be led to take the precepts and declare belief in the Three Jewels, which is, according to the Danshinto Hikkei, 'the central belief of our sect'.⁴⁸ The sect promotes the idea of taking the precepts in a number of its publications (e.g. numbers 19, 21, 22, 35,

36, 40, 64, 68, 70 and 72), and the idea is innate in all the works connected with the Shushōgi (e.g. numbers 31, 44 and 46). The Danshinto Hikkei describes it as:

'the most excellent and greatest ceremonial service in the Sōtō sect...it is a service whose chief aim is the education of affiliated temple followers (danshinto) in order to establish the belief of the affiliated temple followers... by taking these precepts, one is able to perceive that oneself is the same as and equal to the Buddha, and is furnished with the peaceful and quiet spirit of being a child of the Buddha's.'⁴⁹

The structure of the ceremony, lasting five days, is explained, showing that it mirrors the structure of the Shushōgi, a point made also by Satō (above, Chapter Five). There are also shorter forms of the Jukai-e, even one day forms and special ceremonies for various groups, such as for young people, for ladies and so on, all of which are, according to the Danshinto Hikkei, flourishing.⁵⁰ One must never forget that success, and ostensible success (as manifested by, for example, large and prestigious headquarters), are vital to the attraction that New Religions have, and so, too, with Sōtō. Besides referring to its size and number of temples, Sōtō is always prepared to emphasise the popularity of any of its societies or ceremonies such as the Jukai-e.

The leaflet o-Jukai-e no Susume further encourages Sōtō followers to take the ceremony and a translation of this leaflet has been given in Appendix Four, to show the manner in which the ceremony is advocated. Briefly, the major thrust of the leaflet is that the ceremony enables one to realise the Buddha mind which is inherent in all people and that it (the ceremony) has been transmitted from the Buddha to his disciples and down to the present age. Sōtō has developed the ceremony in order to explain to those connected to the sect, priests, temple families and dānshinto, the true daily life activity of Buddhism and the true teachings of Buddha. The precept ceremony is seen as the foundation of the sect's belief and is a reason for the growth of the sect. In the turbulent modern society, the precepts are seen as a means of regulating society: it states that:

'we consider that we must build
the family and society on the
practice, vows and beliefs founded
in taking the precepts'⁵¹

The need to reconstruct the sect, basing it on faith, which was advocated by the methodological work Hōza (above, p153), is thus to be achieved through the Jukai-e, much as it was intended to be reconstructed in the Meiji era on belief in the Three Jewels, on taking the precepts and on the Shushōgi. Since then, of course, the sect has had various problems to deal with, such as the upheavals of the war and post-war years, the demolition of much of its material support with the

ending of the danka system, the advent and challenge of the New Religions and large-scale changes in the structure and demography of society. It has, nonetheless, maintained its belief in the preceptual ceremonies which have been present in Sōtō since Dōgen's stay at Kōshōji and which were widely used by Keizan and his disciples to spread the Sōtō word across the country and, using the Shushōgi as its basic text and as the basis of its structured teaching to its followers, the sect in the contemporary age is attempting to lead those connected to it towards the precepts by using the most appropriate means that are available. This involves the use of the family and represents the first stage in a process whereby the family which visits a temple is to be taught and encouraged to venerate traditional Japanese practices, such as worship before the but sudan, and to develop a sense of family piety and morality, leading on to deeper interest in the teachings of the temple and preceptual practice.

The aim of a large percentage of Sōtō publications is concerned with the creation of a climate in which affiliated members may be turned into actual believers. To further this aim, the publications cover a wide area of ground and provide a wealth of instruction for daily living, as if attempting to create a model follower who, if young, always obeys his or her parents, worships the ancestors, and visits the temple regularly, and, if older, cares for the young whilst tending the but sudan and cleaning the family graves at the temple. Such items as the ten

articles of belief and the Danshinto Hikkei, besides explaining many aspects, especially the formal ones concerned with services, provide a comprehensive guide to a life based on morality and traditional values, in contrast to the trends in modern society and education so criticised by the sect. By the emphasis on family values, by the use of ancestral concepts and the sense of nostalgia (furusato) which is popular in Japan, especially in the leaflets freely available in Sōtō temples at the times of year when people are most likely to visit them, times, indeed, when they are paying homage to their ancestors and thus most susceptible to such appeals, Sōtō produces an atmosphere conducive to further involvement.

This theme of continuity between formal relationship, based on the situation of the family graves in a particular temple's grounds due to historical circumstances, and preceptual commitment ties together all Sōtō publications classified in Chapter Six as directed at those in group two. It is a theme which, for example, relates such leaflets as Mienai Mono ga Mieru (i.e. unseen things are seen), which reports the author's dream-like thoughts by the fireside recollecting his dead parents with no instruction or religious message as such to it at all, and o-Jukai-e no Susume which specifically talks of the precept ceremony. In fact, the former is atmospheric, seeking to build a picture and emotional feeling that leads the reader to contemplate his or her relationship with the ancestors more closely and thus to deepen ties with the

temple, a point from which the latter may beckon the reader on to actual, formal commitment of belief. A similar technique may be seen at work in the Sōtōshū Hōreki, an almanac which goes through the year month by month, detailing important events that occur, both in and outside the sect (for example, the almanac for 1982 details such Sōtō events as the February 8-day sesshin at Eiheiji and the general fact that February 21st is World Friendship Day),⁵² along with various astrological pieces of information. Also, there is a month-by-month guide to Chinese medicinal plants that are of value in that month plus hints for living and instructions on how to conduct oneself. At the end of the booklet, there are the ten articles of belief and an explanation of them.

This is done on a calendrical basis and starts with an injunction to start the year by clearing the mind and making a fresh start. This is a common feature of the leaflets sent out at Shōgatsu and makes use of the Japanese notion that one should tidy up one's affairs, settle outstanding debts, etc., at the end of the year so as to start the New Year with a clean sheet. The Shōgatsu leaflets and the Hōreki all urge Sōtō members not to lose this precious state of mind which occurs at this time of year, the mind which makes good resolutions and is unburdened by debts and so on. It is something to maintain throughout the year. The Hōreki thus utilises a number of devices that should strike popular chords in Japan (Chinese medicine is widely used, astrological charts and

information interest many and the calendar itself is useful)⁵³
 to facilitate the introduction of Sōtō teachings, leading
 on to a programmed set of beliefs in the Shinkōjūkun at
 the end of the work. In its aims and style, it is thus
 typical of this whole area of Sōtō publications, indicative
 of the variety of thematic avenues followed to develop
 true belief in the Buddhist and Sōtō ways. There is a
 wide range of such material, from the quiet musings of
Mienai Mono ga Mieru to the exhortatory commitment of
 pamphlets on the Jukai-e, aimed at a body of people whose
 connections with the sect tend to be formal and in the
 area of the Japanese religious commonwealth, and designed
 to help bring those people more closely into contact with
 the sect as an entity and belief group by working upon
 feelings and attitudes prevalent in the Japanese religious
 and family consciousness.

In conclusion, a practical example of the workings
 of this process will be given. It has been stressed
 that the sect works through its local priests as the
 representative of the sect and as the person who has
 contact on a day-to-day basis with the danka of a temple.
 This has been a major focus of methodological moves in
 the sect's various books and symposia designed to improve
 and encourage temple priests' teaching of their temple
 supporters. In the long run, much of Sōtō's activity
 centred on group two depends on the good offices and commit-
 ment of the temple priest, and this is where the final
 strengths and weakness of such efforts are to be found.

One can gather that the priests of the two temples mentioned at the beginning of this chapter were acting in a manner that the Head Office would find laudable, but one can also visit many temples where no priest can be found for much of the day (because he has another job outside the temple) and where the priest is simply the inheritor of a family business under the seshū system, content to perform mortuary services and the like with no real regard for teaching.

The example to be cited, however, concerns a priest who is involved with the teaching of Buddhism to the temple's supporters, whose temple has an active Gojikai (temple protection, or support, group). This is the temple Daimanji, discussed in Chapter One, in connection with danka and prayer temples, and in Chapter Four, where it was pointed out that though there were regular zazen meetings at Daimanji, the danka of the temple did not participate; nonetheless, Daimanji has an active danka membership, who regularly visit the temple, consult the priest about problems and so on, and who take an interest in the running of the temple. The priest, Nishiyama Kōsen, works closely with his temple's danka, and at the various times of year when they attend the temple in accordance with the social obligations concerned with the ancestors, gives talks about Sōtō to them. At the autumnal Higan festival, which is closely concerned with the traditional ancestral practices of the Japanese, over 200 temple supporters attended a service at the temple at which Nishiyama

presided and then delivered a speech. Its content, as well as the circumstances in which it was delivered (at a well-attended gathering of danka), were well in tune with the aims and intentions of the sect.

The priest began by giving a resumé of the sect's teachings, starting with the Buddha and the two sect founders, stressing the transmission from Buddha onwards, and placing the Buddha at the centre of belief. He then talked of the Shushōgi, as the distillation of Sōtō teaching, and of the importance of face-to-face transmission, which is manifested in the preceptual ceremony, and which links the present to the ancestors and to the Buddha. This is the importance of such times as Higan, and o-Bon. Before the Buddha, one should join one's hands, which is, of course, to gasshō; he demonstrated the correct way to gasshō, and the implicit meanings of the gesture, in terms already described in Chapter Six. He briefly talked of zazen, which is the special practice of Sōtō, stressing that 'our Sōtō sect'⁵⁴ has inherited Buddha's true teaching and form in zazen. The Sōtō sect's emphasis on enlightenment as being in daily life, and that one enters the gate of Buddhism in one's everyday activity, were explained. It was important, he stated, to bring one's children to the temple, so that they could be taught the true way of belief and life. By visiting the temple, one deepens contacts with it and this leads to fuller, true belief.

Such a speech sums up the basic aims of Sōtō publications for group two members, such as those in the audience, who attend the temple, maintain their ancestral practices and duties, but who do not as a rule practice zazen. Such people are not attacked for a failure to follow the highest practices of the sect, but encouraged in more traditional and family-oriented ones, in the hope and expectation that they will become further involved in the sect and eventually take the precepts. The publications seek to create the atmosphere in which this can be done, but at the same time, the sect is dependent on the activity of its priests to further such work at the local level, where it is most vital, in order to cement the base of the sect's support. Meetings such as the one described above are a necessary follow-up to pamphlets and books which explain basic facts and encourage increased participation, while the talk given at it shows the general focus of Sōtō teaching for the particular type of person, the affiliated, though generally non-practicing (in terms of zazen), Sōtō temple follower. It is a comprehensive teaching ranging through all areas of daily activity, centred on the household, and intended to mould the latent and traditional feelings of the Japanese who hear or read it into coherent and committed belief. This is the underlying aim and theme of those publications whose focus is on those who have been described as being in group two.

C H A P T E R E I G H T

PROBLEM AREAS: ZAZEN AND PRAYER

PART ONE: ZAZEN

Zazen, which is fundamental to Dōgen's Zen, presents an interesting problem for the sect. It is the basic practice of Sōtō according to Dōgen, the father of the sect, and it is the very action of the Buddha, the fount of all Buddhism. However, the practice has never been one to attract a widespread following for, as Ōuchi has stated (above, Chapter Four), it involves a long and arduous path of discipline: it is, by and large, a specialist practice. Eihei-ji, which Dōgen intended to be a model training centre for zazen, could scarcely maintain itself in the centuries after his death and needed constant support from the more prosperous Sōjiji. Sōtō did not develop as a large sect due to the practice of zazen, but due to a readiness to assimilate and utilise more popular practices, from the time of Keizan to the present day. As a corollary of this, it has been necessary to change the emphasis inside the sect on zazen, to make it less the sine qua non of Sōtō than another practice, the equal of the preceptual path. As has been seen in Chapter Seven, there is little effort to encourage the average affiliated temple supporter to immerse himself in the practice, and attempts have been made to argue that Dōgen's Zen was not essentially zazen religion

but, as with Nakahisa, gasshō Zen, or as Ōuchi tried to show in the Meiji era, preceptual Zen.

These are, however, interpretations aimed at assimilating the teachings into a more amenable framework and to fit them to temporal factors and considerations. Ōuchi's view that zazen would be unattractive and difficult for the layman, and thus that it would not be a good basis for developing the sect, has held true in modern Sōtō as the bulk of sect publications show by their lack of encouragement of and stress on zazen. Such interpretations run contrary to what Dōgen actually said. In his first tract on his return from China, the Fukanzazengi, he wrote:

'You should practice zazen exclusively,...
even though it is said that there are
innumerable ways (to practice Buddhism)
you must diligently practice zazen alone.'¹

He also remarks that Shakyamuni practiced zazen for six years and Bodhidharma for nine: if such earnest practice was necessary for the sages of the past, 'how can people in the present day manage otherwise?'²

Dōgen did not confine his writings on zazen to the Fukanzazengi, but continued throughout his work to discuss and encourage its practice. Thus, in Shōbōgenzō Zazengi he affirms that 'the correct gate (to Buddhism) is sitting erect in zazen'.³ This emphasis is not solely Dōgen's: Keizan too wrote a tract the aim of which was to encourage the practice of zazen and to advise the practitioner. This, the Zazenyōjinki** , urges the aspirant to seek quiet places

and to devote himself to zazen, distancing himself from the world of everyday affairs. He states that:

'Even though performing Buddhist ceremonies and building great halls (for Buddhist ceremonies) are acts of the greatest good, the man who specialises in zazen should not do them. He should not be fond of preaching and teaching because mental distractions and deluded thoughts arise from such things.'⁴

Keizan further warns the man of zazen not to acquire numerous disciples nor to follow any other practice. Such admonitions may seem strange from one who built up a sect through the use of practices outside of zazen and who had many disciples, constructed temples and held large precept and prayer ceremonies, but one must remember that Keizan is speaking here to a specialist audience, a limited one which seeks zazen teaching. In advocating such practice for the specialist, he is by no means setting norms for the sect as a whole, or for the wider public for whom a diluted teaching related to local customs and centred on preceptual vows was a more amenable method of proselytisation.

It may also be argued that the open policies of Keizan and the Sōjiji group enabled Sōtō to develop not just in terms of size but also in terms of outlook and teaching. Exposure to external stimuli, from such Buddhist sects as Rinzai and Shingon and from local religious traditions, created a continuing movement of thought and

action in the sect, in contrast to the sort of stagnation which seriously affected the Eiheiji group. By distancing itself from the everyday and by closing its mind to continued development in terms of practice and stimulation, Eiheiji limited its own flexibility and ability to remain vibrant. Rather, the closed door approach resulted in decay and decline into a moribund formalism and adherence to the letter rather than the spirit of Sōtō law, with the consequence that, by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Eiheiji was unable to deal with its problems without external help. The decline was such that it caused great distress in the forward-looking Sōjiji group and necessitated its frequent interventions to restore an Eiheiji which a limited community of monks adhering to past traditions and rules could not manage. The maintenance of a 'pure Zen' form failed to develop Eiheiji as a viable community while those who had initially split from Eiheiji because of their wish to widen the gates of Sōtō laid the foundations for a broad and successful sect which was able to support and maintain those who wished to devote themselves to more strict practices.

There has thus been a dualistic nature to Sōtō with regard to zazen from the outset: on the one hand it has been the fountainhead of belief and teaching, and on the other, it has been a liability in the development and, indeed, preservation of Sōtō as a religious sect. Even inside the Sōjiji group there were discrepancies in its practice, for numerous members of the Gikai-Keizan lineage

had learnt their Buddhism in other sects, whether Rinzai or Tendai, and elements of these had become fused with Sōtō meditation. The historian Sahashi Hōryū suggests that silent, shikantaza zazen had been supplanted by kōan zazen in Sōjiji and that it was only with the reformist moves of the seventeenth century and with the re-printing of the Shōbōgenzō that Dōgen's teaching on zazen became known to the sect as a whole again, after centuries of misrepresented belief that kōan Zen was Dōgen's Zen.⁵

The problem of what (if any) emphasis to place on zazen has been with the sect from early in its history, and in the modern era this problem has been compounded by the changing structure of Japanese society, which has undermined the former bases of support of Buddhist sects and forced them to seek elsewhere, amongst the laity, for help and maintenance. It has been shown that the major responses by Sōtō to the threats posed to it have studiously avoided zazen rather than actively publicising it. This is as true for the era of the compilation of the Shushōgi as for the post-war years when the sect sought, and is continuing to seek, to re-build its strength based on the support of affiliated temple families. Mizuno (1979) has argued that, were the Shushōgi to have been compiled the 1970's, it would contain references to zazen, as the recent decades have seen a 'Zen boom' (above, p.135), but this remains a speculative theory, not entirely borne out by events. An analysis of Sōtō publications shows that a very large number of them

do not touch upon zazen, or that they do not deal at any length with the subject. This is especially true of those works aimed at Sōtō danka, as has been shown in Chapter Seven. More recent publications, such as Zen no Kaze, manifest a zazen-based approach, but other publications of the same year (1981) as the first edition of Zen no Kaze, such as Osada's collection of short talks (Appendix One, no. 40), dwell on themes more in line with those publications described as being intended for group two rather than group three, barely mentioning zazen.

The major problem has been stated in Chapter Six: what is attractive and acceptable to one group is not to another, and so a number of different themes have to be followed simultaneously. In the specific case of zazen, this problem has been made the greater by its centrality to the practice of the Zen tradition, and by the resultant necessity for those who seek to expand the sect to create viable alternatives. The result has been a discordance in Sōtō teachings which can be encapsulated by the following statements, taken from modern Sōtō publications and talks by leading Sōtō figures:

- (i) 'everyone can do it (zazen) readily' (from a speech by Hata Egyoku, head priest of the Sōtō sect)⁶
- (ii) 'it is a practice which can be done at any time, anywhere and by anybody, but one is not able to practice zazen all the time' (from the leaflet Dōgen)⁷
- (iii) 'many people cannot, as a rule, readily devote themselves to zazen' (from the Kenshūtechō)⁸

- (iv) 'as a rule, many people cannot focus their attention on zazen' (from Bukkyō Tokuhon, Volume Three)⁹
- (v) 'Zazen is more difficult to popularise than are the ways of gasshō and worship and of poetry' (Hattori Shōsai (1977))¹⁰

These are just a sample of many similar statements that can be found throughout Sōtō literature. From the above, one can perceive that, within the sect, there are a number of discrepancies between, for example, Hata's assertion that everyone can do zazen and the Bukkyō Tokuhon's that many cannot focus their attention on it. Hattori's quotation manages to sum up the problem in saying that it is easier to popularise other practices than zazen, and it is this outlook which has long held true in Sōtō. One may note that at no time is it asserted that there are people who cannot practice zazen: the inability to do so is hedged by remarks such as 'as a rule' (numbers iii and iv) and concepts such as 'devoting themselves to' and 'cannot focus their attention on'. Nonetheless, the result of such statements, especially in the context that the precepts, and the way of gasshō and so on, are the equal of zazen, serves to relegate zazen in the minds of many of those affiliated to the sect to a minor role. This is borne out by the areas of concern shown by Sōtō readers of Zen no Tomo (above, Chapter Seven) and by the general lack of participation in sanzenkai by Sōtō danka, discussed in Chapter Four.

The source of the discrepancies noted above is the problem of lay teaching and proselytisation; it is also rooted to a degree in the traditional relationship of temple and laity. The major function of temples is not, in the public view, to spread the word of zazen, but to service the public's social and household needs. This much is also recognised by the sect in the scope of its publications and is manifested by the Oriori no Hōwa series. This three-volume set of model and sample talks by priests aims to provide Sōtō priests with material for their own talks to various groups, such as those at funerals, to young people's groups and so on. Out of 177 talks given, only two deal with zazen. This is not necessarily and simply an indication of the outlook of the laity, but also of the priesthood. The sesshū system, which has largely transformed the temple into an hereditary business, has resulted in a large number of priests who do not practice zazen and who have not done so since their period of training at one of the head temples. One often encounters such priests, who look back on their training days with a form of nostalgia but who do not wish to revive such days and who openly admit that they do not practice zazen. Trainees at leading temples may only practice zazen because they are obliged to during their training period, and a number that have been interviewed in the course of this research have indicated that they would not continue their zazen practice once they had returned to their family temples at the end of their training.¹¹

There is no uniformity to zazen practice within the sect in terms of frequency, although the form follows traditional teachings laid down by Dōgen. There are leaflets and pamphlets (e.g. numbers 23 and 63) which set out the basic procedures that are to be followed, but there is no instruction which actually defines the frequency and duration of zazen. The Danshinto Hikkei suggests that even 10 or 20 minutes is adequate, although more can be done,¹² once or twice a day, while the leaflet Zazen no Susume, while giving precise instructions as to how to sit, does not stipulate any time or frequency. The implication that to do zazen even once is adequate can be gained from an examination of Sōtō teachings on zazen to its general membership. This may not be the intention of the sect in its teaching that the precepts and Zen are one, or in its view that practice and enlightenment are one and thus that the practice of zazen is enlightenment, but one finds that many people do make this assumption. It has been mentioned in Chapter Six that there is a tendency for people to go to temples for the sake of having experienced zazen, rather than for the actual practice of it, and this is a pitfall of a teaching system which seeks to provide an alternative to zazen for those who find it unappealing and difficult. By doing this, the idea that it is unnecessary to practice zazen, particularly if one is a Sōtō member and thus a recipient of the 'true transmission' of Buddhism, has been allowed to develop in the minds of many connected to the sect.

Neither is there any real difference between those who have taken ordination as priests and the laity in this. In Dōgen's view, there was a great difference, which he expressed most clearly in the later chapters of the Shōbōgenzō which were written at Eiheiji. In Shōbōgenzō Shukkekidoku Dōgen makes his most explicit statements on this, asserting that no-one had become enlightened without becoming a monk and that entry into the monkhood was the highest teaching of Buddhism. He also considers that a monk who has broken the rules of monkhood is, nonetheless, by virtue of having taken the robe, more virtuous than a layman who observes all the lay precepts dutifully. This concept that there is a difference between the priesthood and the laity can still be found in isolated cases¹³ but in practical terms, there may be little difference, if one takes the practice of zazen as a guide.

At different temples, there are different schedules and one cannot delineate any standard practice of zazen at Sōtō temples. A number of examples will be given to illustrate how deeply the discrepancies run. A major temple such as Eiheiji or Sōjiji will have, in theory, longer hours of zazen than a small temple, but even at such temples, there is no real consistency to practice. The visitors schedule at Eiheiji, which is supposedly the monks schedule as well, entails about 5½ hours of zazen, while that at Sōjiji entails approximately 5 hours.¹⁴ One uses the word 'supposedly' because of the

various duties that take the monk away from the meditation hall and limit his practice severely. Monks at both head temples have to perform certain jobs for parts of their stay at the head temple and these may entail absence from most periods of meditation. An informant who trained at Sōjiji stated that he had spent one period of three months based in the meditation hall following its schedule; the rest of the year was spent in the temple offices and in the performance of services, as well as in acting as a guide for the numerous tourists who visit the temple. At all but the time he had spent based at the meditation hall, he had done two periods of approximately 40 minutes each of zazen, and said that this was normal for monks at the temple.¹⁵ He also stated that the large number of danka of Sōjiji meant that much time was spent in the performance of family-oriented rituals. A similar situation holds true for Eiheiji, where the monks also perform many services, show tourists around and so on. Indeed, it is generally accepted in the sect that the head temples, besides being showpieces of the sect (which thus attract visitors and necessitate much time being spent dealing with them), are largely centres for trainees to fulfil their obligations of study and practice in order to become fully-fledged priests who can then graduate to take charge of their inherited family temples. One informant, a monk who had taken ordination for spiritual rather than hereditary reasons, remarked that Eiheiji was an interesting place to visit but not a good place for a monk who was seriously intent on the practice of zazen, because it was in reality a centre of graduation for those

who want certification as qualified priests, and similar criticisms have voiced by other informants.¹⁶

Other training centres have different schedules. Saijōji has two daily periods of zazen, each of 40 minutes¹⁷ as does Daijōji at Kanazawa, which lays great stress on the practice of samu (temple work), which lasts for several hours each day and is of a physical nature (cleaning, chopping wood and so on).¹⁸ Chōkokuji at Nagano also has two periods of zazen a day of some 40 minutes, along with samu and teachings by the temple head. Zuigakuin, which has no danka and which seeks to implement a strict Dōgenist practice, has four periods per day of zazen, each of between an hour and an hour and a half, while the temple Hakuōji in Chigasaki, Kanagawa prefecture, has about six hours zazen a day.¹⁹ These two are exceptional in their practice, however: it is rare for any Sōtō temple to concentrate so much on zazen and it is also rare to find ordinary temples, i.e. those who largely cater to affiliated members, that have regular (i.e. daily) zazen. This depends on the priest of the temple and, as has been stated, few of these actually practice zazen regularly. At Daimanji, in Sendai, there was a 30 minute zazen period every morning, but at most temples surveyed there was no such meditation. A number of temples hold zazen meetings for the laity on a weekly or monthly basis, the normal format of which consists of two 40 minute periods of zazen divided by a 10 minute walking meditation (kinhin*) period.

The majority of temples do not hold meditation sessions for the public, and many do not even have priestly

meditation. It can also be seen that there is no fixed programme of meditation. The most standard pattern seems to be of two 40 minute periods per day, but the schedule depends entirely on the particular temple and its head priest. It is argued that the Sōtō view that daily life practice, manifested in the manner of eating and carrying out one's work, is in itself zazen, and hence excessive zazen practice is not necessary. Hata Egyoku has said, in the same speech when he stated that all could do zazen, that:

'zazen alone is not Zen'²⁰

implying that incessant practice of zazen without the development of the correct mind, which is the mind of the precepts and gasshō, is missing the point of Zen and of Buddhism. However, there has been a tendency in the modern age for the zazen aspect to be side-tracked for the sake of convenience, and though this has been done in order to attract members from the laity, it has permeated through to the priesthood as well.

In fact, the ambivalence has come out most strongly in recent years because of the increased lay interest in zazen, which has necessitated a renewal of zazen-based teaching in the sect. It must be emphasised that there always has been a tradition of zazen practice within Sōtō, both by priests and laity, but that, until the recent 'Zen boom', the sect had not as a whole responded to it in its publications. Teachers such as Sawaki Kōdō had for long travelled around Japan holding zazen meetings and

training followers who have continued the tradition. The book Satori no Honō (i.e. the flame of enlightenment), published independently by a Sōtō temple in Aomori prefecture in Northern Japan, traces the history of that temple's sanzenkai, including those held by Sawaki, over a period of more than 50 years and contains articles from various lay followers of their own zazen experience.²¹ Such a publication testifies to the continuing zazen stimulus within Sōtō but it is a rarity as well: similar works are virtually non-existent.²²

Leading figures in the sect, the head priests of important temples and so on, have always practiced zazen but the practice has not always been seen as suitable for the general laity, with the result that many of Sōtō's leading practitioners have not set out teachings on zazen that have been accessible to the wider public. This has changed somewhat in the last decade or so as a move towards more spiritually oriented practices by those who seek peace of mind in a troubled age and fragmented society has helped create renewed interest in practices such as zazen and shakyō. Sōtō has accommodated this boom by increasing the number of its publications that concern themselves with zazen and with peace of mind, while simultaneously continuing to publish works aimed at the general family followers who, it is still assumed (an assumption borne out by the evidence that has been presented so far), are not inclined to the practice of zazen. This is in tune with Matsuhara's programme of working on two levels, with both the formally affiliated and with the spiritually

interested, and it is this duality which has led to the ambivalence of many Sōtō statements on zazen.

Of the publications listed in Appendix One, a number can be designated as being either centred on zazen or as containing important sections on it, and these can be classified as catering more to those in group three than to group two. A number of these (numbers 20, 23 and 63) contain basic instructions for the practice of zazen, while others (numbers 34, 37, 41, 48, 49 and 56, as well as the leaflets 58 and 69) are commentaries, discussions and pamphlets which at some point advocate the practice of shikantaza zazen. The Ryokuin series (numbers 50-54) all focus on talks given to zazen meetings and contain some instruction on and exhortation to practicing zazen, while Zen no Kaze (number 56) has a number of articles on the subject. Of the English language publications, two (numbers 7 and 8) focus on and urge the practice of zazen. The leaflets, which for the most part are designed to be picked up at the temple by visitors and danka, have a low zazen content: only three out of 25 deal with it in any detail or advocate it as a practice.

It is noticeable that the zazen-related publications are for the most part very recent, in comparison to those aimed at other sections and areas of interest in the sect. Of seven methodological works specifically for priests three were originally published in or before 1970, two between 1971 and 1975 and two after 1976: six of the seven

have been published or re-published since 1976. Of those publications aimed largely at group two, i.e. those that deal with explanation of events, commentaries on texts, definitions of the role of sect follower and so on, out of a total of 29 which are dated (one must exclude all those that bear no date of publication), 14 were published in or before 1970, four between 1971 and 1975, and 11 since 1976. Seven of the pre-1970 and one of the 1971-75 publications have been re-issued since 1976. It may be seen that the rate of publication of works aimed at those in the first two categories of readership, priests and temple supporters, has been fairly constant, with roughly the same number published before and after 1970 in each category, with a theme also of re-issue of important and useful works (the Danshinto Hikkei has been through a number of editions and the Shūryō Hikkei, its equivalent for priests, has also been re-published).

In contrast, zazen-related publications have for the greater part been issued in more recent years. Of 16 such works, four were issued in or before 1970, and 12 since 1976 (this includes the two Zen no Kaze magazines). Of the four published in or before 1970, two have been re-issued since 1976; both of these are Japanese language publications. In other words, the only zazen-related publications that have appeared prior to 1970 and have not been re-issued in recent years are numbers 7 and 8, the two English language booklets. In contrast to the virtual parity between pre- and post-1970 publications in other

categories, the zazen-related sector shows that fully three-quarters were first issued after 1976. Since 1980, the Head Office has published nine such works, including one re-issued from 1970 and four of the Ryokuin series which, although all published since 1976, have already been re-printed.

All this points to a recent move towards the advocacy and discussion of a subject which had been comparatively ignored in the sect's publications until recent years, in keeping with the views prevalent in the upper echelons of the sect concerned with its development. This move to discuss and advocate the practice of zazen is in line with the growing inclination of Japanese people, especially the young, to become interested in Buddhist practices such as zazen. It must be stressed that this is not at the expense of, but in addition to the sect's other publishing activities: in the same period (since 1976) that Sōtō has published or re-published 14 works connected with zazen, it has issued 18 that deal with more general topics. A further indication of the dual manner of publication can be seen by comparing two works which explain various aspects of Sōtō. These are the Danshinto Hikkei, first published in 1958 and subsequently re-printed on a number of occasions, and the Kenshūtechō, published in 1978 and aimed at younger members of the sect. This centres more on temple activities than does the Danshinto Hikkei but it generally covers a similar field, explaining basic Sōtō teachings

and activities. A major difference is that it deals at far greater length with the question of zazen, giving detailed instructions for its practice (the Danshinto Hikkei, as has been seen in Chapter six, advises any who wish to practice to refer to their temple priest for such instructions) and taking 12 of the book's 142 pages on the subject, in contrast to the Danshinto Hikkei's mere 2 out of 122 pages.

It must be noted that the Danshinto Hikkei and the approach it takes has not been supplanted by the Kenshūtechō and similar publications. Rather, the sect is following two different lines at once; the zazen-oriented literature and the danka-oriented works appear alongside each other while, as the Kenshūtechō shows, there is a gradual development of discussion of zazen in the general explanatory works of the sect. Moreover, there is a gradual move towards encouraging the individual to practice zazen outside the temple environment, as the pictorial section from Zen no Kaze cited in Chapter Four shows, and to giving instructions for its practice, as in Kenshūtechō and in the booklet Sanzen no Shiori (i.e. a guide to zazen) published in 1981, rather than referring the reader to a temple priest. It may thus be adduced that the sect is turning its focus more towards those who are neither committed to it through ancestral links nor interested in sectarian outlooks, but who wish to practice zazen without necessarily making or having a commitment to Sōtō in the first instance.

Such a development points to a major theme of zazen-oriented works, which is that, while there is much stress on the importance of a particular form of zazen i.e. shikantaza, there is little sectarianism involved. It has been noted in Chapter Four that Zen no Kaze talks very little of sect, even in its section on zazen practice, and this holds true for the bulk of similar publications which deal with the subject. Neither the booklet Sanzen no Shiori nor the explanatory leaflet Zazen^{no} Susume (i.e. an encouragement to do zazen) which provide descriptions of the methods to be followed, mention the name of the Sōtō sect in their discussions of zazen. The methods described are, naturally, specifically Sōtō (one faces the wall²⁴ which is the Sōtō rather than the Rinzai method) but there is no indication that this technique has any sectarian nature to it. Equally, there is much discussion in the Ryokuin series of 'Zen' but very little, if any, of Sōtō: one finds references to Dōgen in many works but with none of the standard Sōtō remarks found in many explanatory works which talk of Dōgen as being the father of the sect and which emphasise the connection between Dōgen and the sect. This absence of a sectarian line is much in keeping with Matsuhara's analysis of the type of person liable to be attracted to such practices: interested in the practice but not in the formal structure or, indeed, the cultural baggage of the sect involved.

The avoidance of a sectarian line is a prime factor in such publications, and this is quite obviously an attempt to appeal to a wider public intent on spiritual

practice: it is also an affirmation of the sect's view that it possesses the true essence of Buddhism. In Sōtō reasoning, the Buddha's zazen and essence was transmitted to Sōtō via the Patriarchs and hence Sōtō zazen practice is not, in fact, Sōtō as such but Buddhist. It is not a sectarian practice but a universal, Buddhist one and accordingly in works on zazen, one finds frequent reference to Buddhism rather than to Sōtō.²⁵ In Sōtō theory the two are interchangeable, for the latter has inherited the gist and truth of the former; the universal, Buddhism, is referred to when speaking of the practices of the particular, Sōtō. Sōtō is thus stressing its universal nature, equating itself with Buddhism as a whole, and this universalism is most profoundly manifested in its emphasis on the value of zazen.

This is another major theme of all such works. Zazen is, according to Zazen no Susume, 'the true entry to Buddhism',²⁶ while Kurebayashi (1978), describing it as the essence of Buddhism, states:

'outside this (i.e. zazen) there is no true Buddhism...Buddhism's source is zazen and all Buddhism was born from the Buddha's meditation (zazen)'.²⁷

Not only is it the basis of all true Buddhism, but also it is the most direct way to enlightenment. The leaflet Michi no Shirube states that:

'zazen is the very best way for
perceiving the truth'²⁸

and Miyazaki informs the reader that:

'if you truly wish to be enlight-
ened, please practice zazen'²⁹

Takazaki Jikishō cites zazen as the panacea of the ills of the world, stating that it is good for health and posture as well as providing mental peace; it is the gateway to true religion, which is selfless.³⁰ He quotes Dōgen's statement that 'to learn the Buddhist way is to learn the self' discussed in Chapter Six and states that to learn the self 'is the purpose of the practice of zazen which is the Buddhist way.'³¹

Zazen is thus recommended not only as the true way of Buddhism and the most direct path to enlightenment but also as a means to good health. This is reiterated by the Sōtō priest Yoshida Kōzan in a book, published in 1979 independently of the sect, which emphasises the beneficial aspects of zazen. The book, titled simply Shikantaza, asserts the necessity of the practice and also affirms its efficacy in the field of physical and emotional benefits with these words:

'if one does zazen, one's unhappiness
and weariness immediately disappear'³²

He gives a succession of examples from his own sanzenkai which show the manner in which unhappy and nervous people become tranquil and contented because of their practice of zazen. He does not simply present it as a means of attaining peace in a turbulent world: it is the very marrow

and essence of Buddhism which enables one to throw away the selfish ego and realise the true selfless self.

In such ways, Yoshida's book follows general Sōtō patterns of dealing with zazen in recent years: asserting both its benefits as an allayer of pain and unhappiness and its position as the central focus of Buddhism. Although there are material benefits to be gained from zazen, in the form of such health and tranquility, these are not the goal of the practice, however, and this brings out another important theme in Sōtō literature on the subject. Shikantaza zazen is non-seeking zazen, in which one sits wholeheartedly in the moment, devoting oneself to the practice with no thought of reward. As has been seen on a number of occasions in this thesis, there is a tendency among Sōtō writers to criticise Rinzai Zen for its kōan practice which is seen as a step-by-step process of advancing from one goal to another. It is thus practiced for the sake of attainment, according to the general Sōtō critique. In contrast, shikantaza is practiced with no thought of goal or attainment of any sort.

Okura, writing in the Ryokuin series, states that zazen is good for one's health but criticises the tendency of many to stress the attainment aspect of zazen in such ways. He considers that something of a business is beginning to develop centred on zazen, with new meditation halls being opened to cater for companies and those who wish to profit emotionally or even materially from the practice. Okura believes that emphasis on the concept of mushotoku

(non-attainment) is vital to the teaching of true zazen, which is selfless: it is the learning of the self which is the forgetting of the self.³³ Zazen is an absolute practice, according to Hata Egyoku,³⁴ in which there is no seeking of reward: sitting in zazen is practiced for its own sake, as are other practices such as the gasshō and washing one's face. All are complete actions in themselves: Hata states that 'when gasshōing, just gasshō'.³⁵ This is another facet of Sōtō teaching on zazen in the modern day: it does not allow the concept that zazen alone is good practice to develop. Hata's statement that zazen alone is not Zen bears this out, as does Miyazaki's statement that:

'with regard to zazen, one is not saying
'do it from morning until night!'³⁶

Miyazaki asserts that even 10 or 20 minutes a day is adequate if one has only that amount of time to spare, thus allowing for those who have to follow a busy schedule to practice zazen as well.

Uchiyama (1979) attacks the tendency to seek profit from zazen, which he considers is not the intent of true zazen. True zazen is 'to learn truly the self',³⁷ and is an absolute activity, seeking nothing, just sitting with no goal. He asserts the efficacy of this:

'if you just try to do our zazen,
you will doubtless understand fully!'³⁸

This is an interesting statement, for it is one of the few cases where shikantaza zazen is claimed as a possession of Sōtō, albeit not by name, but by use of the word 'our'. Uchiyama sees zazen as the means of solving modern problems, as long as it is pure, i.e. non-seeking, zazen. This zazen is not simply the form of zazen as practiced in the seated posture, but is all activity which is merely zazen in another form. In this view (which is, of course, a re-statement of Dōgen's teaching that practice is enlightenment), one should maintain the zazen mind in all one does. Fujimoto (1977) states that even such actions as placing the toilet slippers for the next person who comes are true zazen: in doing things for the next person, i.e. in acting selflessly, 'there is the mind of Zen'.³⁹ Hata states that :

'the man who practices zazen is the man who does zazen for twenty-four hours of the day'⁴⁰

indicating that the practice is not one of simply sitting in zazen (as he has firmly stated that this is not Zen, see above, p.321) but of activating its spirit in every aspect of one's life.

These, then, are the major themes found in Sōtō publications focused on the practice of zazen. They are basically summarised in one of the Ryokuin series, by Ikeda Kōyū in a work entitled Zazen ni Asobu (i.e. to enjoy oneself in zazen), which not only sets out many Sōtō themes but also tackles the problem of the difference

between the laity and the priesthood, which is a latent problem in Zen but which is hardly ever aired in Sōtō public publications. This is, at least in part, because of the attitudes of Sōtō leaders in the nineteenth century who thought that monkish practices such as zazen would not be attractive to the laity and who thus devised alternative forms of practice based on such as the precepts. With the increased interest of many lay people in zazen, coupled with the general decline in priestly zazen practice of recent years, this distinction between the two has lessened to a great degree. At present, little has been written about the possible differences, with everyone who holds any opinions on the subject able to find answers to their own liking in the words of the sect founders and in the application of their teachings. If one were to wish to support the theme that monks alone are able to become enlightened, one could cite later Dōgen writings such as Shōbōgenzō Shukkekidoku while anyone wishing to state an alternative could point to the early years of Dōgen's teaching at Kōshōji with his holding of precept ceremonies, and could cite his assertion that all people possess the Buddha nature and are inherently enlightened. One could cite the actions of Keizan and the nineteenth century Sōtō teaching of the Shushōgi and so on. It is a problem with no clear solutions on this level, and Ikeda's work is thus of great interest in that it provides a solution which is related to zazen.

Starting from a basic standpoint that there is an enormous amount of suffering and unease in modern society,

Ikeda attacks such as medicinal science and New Religions which attempt to treat illness without employing a total solution. This solution is that of basic Buddhism, designed to root out suffering from within man: medicine only employs physical means and disregards the mind while New Religions often seek personal profit and fail to tackle the basic problem of delusion and greed.⁴¹ He cites the opening paragraph of the Shushōgi which shows that birth and death are an entity which cannot be split into two, and states that one of man's basic problems is his failure to see this: instead, he forever attempts to take the one and close his mind to the latter. One cannot do this, and the means to transcend the gulf of birth and death and the unease that it causes is the practice of zazen. It is thus put forward as the universal panacea, which will eradicate all mental disturbances and enable one to live a balanced and happy life within the world of birth and death. The man who tries to differentiate between them is portrayed as a fool who is avoiding the true reality of existence. In this exhortation, there is no specific mention of Sōtō as such: Ikeda talks all the while of Buddhism as an entity which has been transmitted by the Buddha.

However, Ikeda attacks the notion of the practice of zazen as a means to induce peace of mind. Such seeking zazen is not true zazen and he terms it 'layman's zazen' (zaike zazen*), by which he implies that the practice of zazen at a fixed time and place (as in, for example,

a sanzenkai) is done with a purpose and hence is contrary to the true, non-attaining nature of shikantaza zazen, which he terms 'monk's zazen' (shukke zazen*). He asserts that:

'purposeful zazen...never takes man back to his original being and, since it takes on the form of building up experiences, it instead leads him away from his basic being.'⁴³

He describes the true monk's way (an idealised one, considering the normal state of Japanese monkhood, tied to the seshū system) as being one where there are no family ties and no fixed abode, where there is always poverty, with the monk begging for his food and not clinging to any material advantage or wishes. All such materialist craving is antithetical to the true way of the monk, although he sees it as intrinsic to the world of the laity. Such a true monk can, by the weight of his spiritual practice and authority, help to elevate others (here, one sees the affirmation of the jōgubodai gekeshujō concept discussed in Chapter Four).

All this may suggest that Ikeda is taking a strong line of the sort that Dōgen expressed in later writings at Eihei-ji, making a great differentiation between lay and monkish practice, but the penultimate section of the book makes it clear that Ikeda's chief differentiation is one of attitude. He says:

'Let us abandon the way of thinking that says that, because one does not fit in with the definition of a monk, one cannot practice zazen.'⁴³

A layman does not need to equip himself like a monk to practice the same zazen as the monk for 'true zazen is the same whether done by the monk or by the layman'.⁴⁴ Ikeda states that the true way of zazen is based in the correct posture of zazen (which means either sitting in half- or full-lotus posture, according to the Fukanzazengi) and is a beginningless, endless, non-seeking state. He states that:

'monk's zazen is completely throwing away oneself in zazen'⁴⁵

and states that this is, in Sōtō, called shikantaza and is the eternal zazen of such great sages as Bodhidharma. Ikeda even discusses briefly one of the major problems that all face in the practice of zazen, namely that of pain and numbness, especially in one's legs, a state which often occurs as a result of long periods of sitting in zazen. His answer is simple: if there is pain, there is no abandonment of oneself in zazen, and hence one is doing 'layman's zazen'; to abandon oneself in zazen is to not be troubled by the pain, or by nefarious thoughts such as wondering how much longer the period of zazen will last.

This is the true world of the monk and, in this, zazen is not a task or a duty but an enjoyment (hence the title of the book), in which one sits experiencing eternal

limitless peace within the everyday world in which ordinary humans are forever worrying and hastening, with no time to spare and obsessed by unease and turmoil. Thus, Ikeda's model of true zazen is not an exclusive one, limited only to monks, but a universal one which all, lay and monk, may experience. The use of the word 'monk' and the contrast made with 'layman' are not differentiations of form, stating that a monk is better than a layman for reasons of dress and so on, but of essence, stating that there are two types of zazen. The one is used for a purpose, to give a sense of peace of mind and so on, and is concerned with the world of attachment, while the other is selfless, total and the true zazen of the great teachers of Buddhism. It is this second form of zazen, which is shikantaza, that Ikeda wishes to promote and which he urges his listeners to practice, and it is universal, able to be experienced by monk and layman alike.

Ikeda's book thus shows a new aspect of Sōtō teaching in that it attempts to deal with the monk/laity issue to some degree, but, in its application, it shows very basic Sōtō views, which state that all are originally enlightened and that zazen itself (zazen being shikantaza) is enlightenment. When one truly abandons oneself in zazen, which is in itself gasshō and washing one's face and so on, one is living totally absorbed in the moment, transcending the division of birth and death. This^{is} enlightenment, just as the total abandonment of oneself in the precepts or in any other practice is enlightenment. In Sōtō,

the gate to this abandonment of the self is seen as having a diverse nature: it can be the way of the precepts or it can be the way of zazen. The preceptual path has been with Sōtō for a number of centuries and was for long the way advocated for the lay follower of the sect. Even today, it is still strongly advocated, but alongside this has developed a renewed emphasis on the practice of zazen, fired by the 'Zen boom' of recent years and adopted by the sect, in keeping with its readiness to follow practices in accord with the times.

The current development of zazen-oriented publications has occurred alongside the continued publication of works that maintain the practice of either avoiding any emphasis on zazen or of not giving it any special emphasis. The thematic outlook of such zazen-oriented publications tends to de-emphasise the sectarian aspects of zazen practice while affirming its centrality in the Buddhist way. While the advantageous aspects of zazen (peace of mind, good health and so on) are often promoted as inducements to the practice of zazen, there is a continued refutation of self-centred zazen, i.e. of zazen done solely for such reasons of health, etc., which is seen as a seeking practice contrary to the true spirit of zazen. Zazen is cited as the most direct way to enlightenment and as the core of Buddhism: it is a universal practice. With the publication of Ikeda's book, one finds the beginnings of a discussion of the relationship of the laity and the clergy in terms of practice. The differentiation is one

of internal content rather than of external form and centres on the universal nature of zazen, which in its true form of shikantaza is a total activity of abandonment of the egocentric self, and which is an activity that all, lay and monk, can perform and through which all can realise their innate enlightenment.

The importance accorded to zazen in Sōtō publications is by and large a recent one; for long, Sōtō had considered that zazen was too difficult for the laity and had either sidetracked on the issue or had evolved alternative methods of practice. Although it is fundamental to Sōtō theory, it has not been central to the sect's development (indeed, one could argue that such development has been despite zazen) and this ambivalence has resulted in and been manifested by the divergent nature of many Sōtō statements on the subject, as shown by the examples quoted earlier in this chapter. In recent years, with the increased popularity of zazen, especially amongst the young and in the cities, it has changed from being a practice liable to deter people from the sect to one which could attract them. Accordingly, the sect has focused its attention onto zazen with the gradual development of the Zen no Tsudoi meeting and by the increased production of publications that advocate zazen. This being a recent trend, it is too soon to predict how it will develop in the future, but it is probably safe to suggest that Sōtō will continue with its dual focus of encouraging the practice of zazen, while avoiding any sectarianism, when dealing with those outside its historical

membership, alongside its established programme of building up and re-inforcing the ties it has with its traditional danka, leading them from affiliation to belief and practice. Such diffuse avenues necessitate different ways of teaching, which at times seem to contradict each other, but which must be followed in order to maintain the broad spectrum upon which Sōtō has always built its support and strength.

PART TWO: PRAYER AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO ZAZEN

It may seem inapposite at first glance to discuss the Sōtō attitude to prayer and entreaty (kitō) in the same chapter as zazen, for the two are at seemingly opposite ends of the religious spectrum. Zazen is, after all, in Sōtō terms, a non-seeking and selfless activity, while prayer in its normal Japanese context, as has been discussed in Chapter One, asks for a material or beneficial advantage for an individual or group (as, for example, the lady cited in Chapter One, who had prayers said for her son's success in examinations). Nonetheless, there are links between them for Sōtō operates on many levels at once and is a continuum which runs from the lowest foothills, if one is to continue to use the mountain range analogy of Chapter One, of practices such as prayer and entreaty, to the highest peaks of practices such as zazen which are part of the philosophy of particular Buddhist groups rather than of the general nature of Japanese religion. Hattori (1977) and other Sōtō writers

have recognised this continuum in their formulation of a graduated approach in which the prayer-seeking petitioner may be led from the mundane levels of religious behaviour into more specialised realms and become the precept-taker and eventually the zazen practitioner.

Furthermore, the question of prayer and entreaty, like that of zazen, has posed certain problems for the sect. Zazen was a problem in that it has at times been virtually concealed from the wider public and from the average Sōtō temple member and because Sōtō discussions of it have been ambivalent. Prayer and entreaty are a problem because they, in their general application in temples, run counter to the teachings of the sect, being by and large self-seeking, and yet are an intrinsic part of everyday Japanese religious behaviour which is manifested at Sōtō as at other Buddhist temples. Moreover, there has been an historical link between the sect and prayer, which has been a factor in the growth of the sect, which in turn has enabled the sect to maintain and support those in the sect who wish to concentrate on practices such as zazen. The result has been that Sōtō temples offer prayers for individual welfare, which in Sōtō terms is contrary to the selfless principles of Buddhism, and this has posed a problem in strictly doctrinal terms, between the actual practice of the temple and its theoretical basis.

As has been mentioned in Chapter One, the assimilation of local beliefs has been a characteristic of

Mahayana Buddhism, while Japanese religion in general has always had syncretic tendencies: thus, the inter-marriage of Sōtō practices and traditionally Japanese religious customs was easily facilitated. Prayer has been part of the sect from its earliest days: Minegishi states that Dōgen used prayers at Eihei-ji, although these were of a devotional kind, when lighting incense and such activities.¹ It was, he states, Keizan who expanded Dōgen's prayers for monastic safety to include popular prayers and requests for public welfare.² This was a change in emphasis within Sōtō and encouraged the development in the sect of moves that sought benefit for the general populace; while this may have been contrary to Sōtō's original, Dōgenist basis, it was, according to Minegishi, 'a primary factor'³ in making the sect a large one.

In fact, prayers for public safety and so on were introduced not by Keizan but by Gikai in 1280, when he held a prayer service at Eihei-ji as part of a nationwide campaign of prayer by all denominations, intended to save Japan from the threatened Mongol invasions of that era. It was such prayer services that fuelled the disputes at Eihei-ji, between the traditionalists and those such as Gikai who wished to broaden the sect's base, which caused the break up of the original Sōtō order. By utilising such everyday Japanese factors as prayers and entreaties, the Sōjiji order was able to expand and later was able to rescue Eihei-ji. Historically, then, prayer has been linked to Sōtō throughout its history, while in the

popular eye, leading Sōtō temples have for long been associated with the efficacious saying of prayers. This has been the case for such temples as Saijōji, Myōgonji and Zempōji, all of which have been discussed in Chapter One. Saijōji became known as a prayer temple because of the fame of the ascetic Dōryō and this highlights an important aspect of prayer: that the spiritual power of the temple concerned plays a great part in determining whether it will be used by the public as an intercessor. Dōryō's power gained through his spiritual practices meant that he came to be regarded as being able to grant wishes in his own right as a tengu, and hence Saijōji became a famous prayer centre. This concept can most clearly be seen in a modern guidebook which lists temples and shrines in Japan at which it is efficacious to say prayers for welfare: Eiheiji is listed as being good for prayers concerned with one's promotion within a business company. Eiheiji is efficacious for such prayers because of its spiritual power developed over centuries as a training centre and due to its connection to the figure of Dōgen.⁴ This book describes material favours and benefits as 'acts of charity bestowed by gods and Buddhas';⁵ accordingly, it follows that those deemed to be closest to such beneficent figures were the best mediums of entreaty. Priests and monks, temples and shrines are thus inextricably linked in the popular mind with the saying of prayers for the benefit of specific individuals.

This has to some degree forced an attitude on temples and it underlines one of the major problems that the Japanese attitude to prayer causes for Buddhism in general and sects such as Sōtō in particular. Eiheiji has not encouraged the use of prayers for material welfare: indeed, the temple has in the past rejected such practices, despite suffering secessions and material loss as a result. Nonetheless, it is regarded as efficacious for this type of prayer and has been included in a handbook designed for businessmen who are not concerned as to sect and belief as long as the prayer itself produces results. By becoming well-known as a spiritual centre, a temple attracts petitioners: Sōjiji prospered in the fourteenth century due to its links with Emperor Godaigo for, as its fame as a training centre grew, it began to receive the patronage of the imperial court in return for offering prayers for the safety of the country and for the Emperor and his family.⁶

By saying prayers, a temple receives an income in addition to that which it receives for its other major social function of funeral and death-related services, and, with such an income, it can support monks and other temples if it so wishes. As has been seen, Sōjiji supported various temples, including Eiheiji, and this has long been an argument in the sect in favour of such prayer activities. Sahashi Hōryū, whose criticisms of the sect on numerous points have been noted throughout this thesis,

defends the inclusion of prayer, which he sees as populist rather than Buddhist belief, on the grounds that to enable a sect to flourish, and thus have the means to spread its teachings, it is necessary to have a firm base. He argues that Sōtō would have disappeared if it had not broadened its base and encompassed popular beliefs. This meant a weakening of the actual practice of its basic Buddhist teaching but it did enable the sect to support those who practiced zazen in its temples.⁷ This view is found throughout the sect and in conversations with individual priests the same arguments occur again and again. Prayer means income which means an ability to support sincere practitioners of Sōtō: thus zazen and prayer are linked. Moreover, in the process of saying prayers and, indeed, of selling o-mamori and other such charms, the priest is able to develop contacts with people, and such contacts could lead to a deepening of faith and practice. A monk at Saijōji argued that to practice zazen alone was selfish: one needed to help others as well. This was the way of Mahayana Buddhism, which seeks the salvation of all. To practice zazen is 'to elevate oneself'⁸ while to say prayers for others is 'to elevate others'.⁹ The true way of Buddhism is to combine the two, to practice zazen and to help others through prayers and entreaties. By selling o-mamori, he can talk to people and help them: also (and this is a point made by many priests and shows that they too believe in the efficacy of prayer) when people make entreaties at a temple, this will serve to deepen their belief when these prayers are answered. Like all the

priests with whom this matter was discussed, he believed that such prayers could (or would) be answered in some form.

In asking for favours, it is essential that one has a belief in the agency to which one is making supplication, which in the case of Buddhism means the Buddha and the various Bodhisattvas, and, in the case of certain sects in Japan, such Buddha figures as Amida and Dainichi Nyorai. This is in line with other practices in Sōtō, such as the precepts and zazen, in which belief is a vital component. It is also essential not to seek purely personal favours (although seeking one's own success in examinations would seem to contradict this) but to seek favours for all. The textbook of blueprint answers to questions posed to priests discussed in Chapter Four, Seishin e no Joshō, sums up prayer in the Buddhist view as follows:

'believing in the power of the vow
of the Buddhas, abandoning one's
egotistical mind to the wishes of all
the Buddhas and praying for the
welfare of self and others equally
is the right course of prayer in
Buddhism!'¹⁰

This book also emphasises the importance of having one's prayers said at a temple by a qualified person, thus underlining the relationship of religious practice and efficacy of prayer discussed above. This is in answer to the question of whether one can pray oneself or whether it is necessary to go to the temple. The book's answer is that in praying oneself, one requests only for oneself,

whereas it is vital that one seeks for others. Thus it is necessary to ask the help of a priest who can transcend the petty self-seeking of individual prayers and ask for help for all people. It puts it as follows:

'in order to pray for the well-being of both oneself and others together it is important that one requests the saying of entreaties from a person who has learnt the ceremonial method (prayer and practice) of doing this which has been transmitted from the Buddhas and Patriarchs through his practice of the correct Buddhist way.'¹¹

Although such prayers are usually requested by individuals or families and thus involve personal benefit, the sect is very definite in its view that they should be for all without exception. This is in line with the compassionate nature of Buddhism which seeks the salvation of all beings and regards all as parts of the whole. Sōtō writers, when commenting on prayer, repeatedly emphasise this: Nakajima in the Oriori no Hōwa series states that benefit is never for one person alone with these words:

'in the world, good fortune for one person alone is never possible.... one's own fortune is the fortune of the other person'¹²

In the same series, Matsumoto considers that it is important to make entreaties to the 'gods and Buddhas' (shinbutsu*),

but emphasises the necessity of requesting benefit for all. Should one seek only for oneself, there will be bad results:

'when one puts forward requests for one's own personal advantage as entreaties, folly and spiteful anger will come forth ...if one attempts to think of oneself alone, this is truly a lamentable affair.'¹³

The universality of Buddhism's wish for worldly peace and welfare is stressed by Kaneko Kisan in a speech at a prayer meeting: Buddhism has always sought to eradicate the fears of calamity from the mind of man, attempting to make his present life free from the fear of (for example) floods and natural disasters, while alleviating his fears about what will happen after death. He states that:

'that which moves to eradicate man's unease is the teaching of Buddhism'¹⁴

and this is for the sake of all without exception. Kurebayashi (1975) in a lecture discussing what he calls 'enlightenment religions' and 'prayer religions',¹⁵ states that Zen is the former and that there is no concept of salvation as such in it. Nonetheless, there is a connection between the two forms of religion, for there is prayer in Sōtō. This prayer is, he asserts, different from normal prayer in that normal prayers are requests for something, usually for the self, while in Zen this is not done: 'one prays to the Buddha and Bodhisattvas for the welfare of oneself and all other people'.¹⁶

Kurebayashi delineates the focus of Sōtō prayers as being concerned with the welfare of a group, either for the country as a whole, for the temple and its supporters, for the family and so on. One seeks, for example, the flourishing of a temple, not for one's own benefit but so that it can help others in the future. These prayers involve effort, i.e. their efficacy depends on the religious attitudes and practice of the beseecher. Kurebayashi rejects the notion of simply making a request and waiting for it to be fulfilled: if there is no effort involved, it is counter to Buddhist principles.¹⁷

The whole relationship of Sōtō and prayer has been explained in a letter written by Sengyoku Tatsuo, a priest at Myōgonji (also known as Toyokawa Inari) and a Sōtō lecturer, in reply to my letter asking about the apparent contradictions between the temple's position as a training centre and its function as a prayer temple. As this letter encapsulates many of the points so far discussed in this chapter and as it is the direct response of a Sōtō priest at a temple with dual (i.e. prayer and training) status to questions asked about this status, it is worth quoting at length. Sengyoku writes:

'Between Zen and prayer, there is a contradiction. However, Buddhism is academic but the Buddhist way is a path which saves man and the unfeeling world. This path is what one walks along. In a Buddha who cannot save people, compassion is dead. It is useless.... That which seeks to ease

the mind of those who are suffering and unhappy and to enable them to live in truth is none other than the Buddhist way.'¹⁸

This, then, is his answer to the apparent contradiction: it is a contradiction within the structure of an academic Buddhism but not within the framework of the Buddhist way of compassion for all beings. He then turns to the question of the duty of those at the temple to offer prayers and to the issue of efficacy:

'We must offer up entreaties which are earnestly requested by the people to the best of our abilities as human beings ... striving 'on your behalf', gathering together the whole force of our religious practice ... when, thanks to the Buddha's providence, the request is fulfilled, they (i.e. those who made the request) are enabled to perceive the essence (truth) ... and the mind which believes in Shakyamuni Buddha comes pouring forth ... there is no doubt that, if one asks those who earnestly practice zazen to offer entreaties for one, greater efficacy can more readily be received...'¹⁹

It is the duty of priests to perform such actions for the general populace, and to do so to the utmost of their abilities: this is the same as practicing zazen and involves (in the ideal, of course) total dedication and absorption in the action, throwing oneself away in the activity of prayer. He has faith in the efficacy of such

prayers ('when, thanks to Buddha's providence, the request is fulfilled') and unites the issues of zazen and prayer by stating that those who practice zazen can offer prayers more efficaciously than others. The results of this are that people in general will gain deeper faith as a result of successful prayers, in addition to greater peace of mind from the removal of unease and so on, and will thus become stronger believers in Buddhism.

He then turns to the historical development of prayer in Sōtō and states that, while Dōgen's Zen was strongly isolationist, advising those who wished to practice zazen to go into the mountains, and repudiating folkish practices such as prayer, Keizan turned this system around completely and began to proselytise amongst the peasantry and the general populace using such folkish customs. This was the way of great compassion, seeking solace and help for all who were unhappy, poor and disadvantaged in any way. He concludes with the following statement, about Keizan but of relevance to all priests in Sōtō in the present day:

'He strove, by going out into the world and contacting many people, to develop people who could believe in the Buddha and to enable them to affirm positively their belief that they are Buddha in this very body, without using the practice of single-minded zazen alone, to continue to use the spirit of meditation supported by belief, so that all people who are the focus of the Buddhist way, should become residents of the world of Buddha.'²⁰

This started with Keizan but has continued so that, in the modern age, Zen and prayer are joined together. This statement, although it concerns the intent and action of Keizan, sums up the role and duties of the Sōtō priest in the modern age: to develop people who believe in the Buddhist way. One of the means by which to do this is via the practice of offering prayers, which is not a selfish activity but one born out of compassion for all people.

If prayer is ostensibly a problem, in that it contradicts the 'pure Zen' of Dōgen, it nonetheless has a part to play in the Sōtō view of its role in Japan. Because the Buddhist way (as opposed to Buddhism, which Sengyoku sees as academic and theoretical) is a human way, committed to the compassionate helping of all, it must try wholeheartedly to allay fears and unease and to alleviate the human condition. In this, it will help to develop people's faith in, and encourage their practice of, the Buddhist way. Because it is believed that religious practitioners can proffer such prayers with the greatest efficacy, it has always been the role of temples to do so, and thus the sect is, in some ways, merely fulfilling the social role expected of it; because of the duty of priests to the world, they must fulfil this role, which is a duty, to the utmost of their abilities.

Obviously, there is more than this to the prayer relationship: one cannot neglect the prosperity that such practices have brought, to certain temples in particular, and the support that this has given to the monkish order.

There remains the problem that individual prayers can, and do, have the tendency to be solely personal in intent, and at this level it is up to the individual priest to deal with the question. It is thus an issue of the priest's conscience as to whether he would say the prayer or whether he would attempt to teach the beseecher the importance of selfless behaviour. To be practical, however, such instances do not often arise: as priest of a temple whose function is historically determined as a prayer temple, the duty will be to say the prayer. There is, of course, always the possibility, even the suspicion, that the sect and individual priests are constructing arguments that legitimate their use of folk practices which bring in a sizeable income and, especially in the case of the individual, one cannot always be sure that all Sōtō priests, many of whom regard their religion and temple as a business, really believe in the arguments or use the prayer process as a means of developing the growth of the Buddhist way.

This also illustrates the themes developed in Part One of this thesis: that Sōtō has had to come to terms with a general Japanese pattern of interrelated social and religious behaviour in order to function at any level of influence and efficiency as a sect, and that its growth has to a great degree depended on its ability to assimilate and come to a working arrangement with this pattern of behaviour. In many respects, this pattern has left those who seek to operate as a functioning religious body no choice: even if Eiheiji wishes to pursue the 'pure Zen'

line, it will be publicised in popular guidebooks as a good place to offer prayers for self-advancement. As with such developments as the preceptually based Shushōgi, which heralded a new era of Sōtō development, Sōtō has had to, and been prepared to, accommodate and use the means at its disposal, and in some cases this has meant prayers and entreaties. This is a legacy of those who first took the sect out of the restricted valleys of Echizen province in the thirteenth century and spread it across the country, and it illustrates the importance to the sect of lay teaching and compassion for the general populace: it is another aspect of the great gate.

There is a close tie-up with zazen here as well. Not only is it something of a problem, in theoretical terms, which begs some form of justification whether for its inclusion, as with prayer, or its possible exclusion, as with zazen, but further, it is connected economically, for the one, prayer, helps to support the other, zazen. Moreover, those that practice zazen are seen in the popular eye as being the best agents of prayer, a view seemingly shared by the practitioners who see the efficacious results of such prayer as beneficial to Buddhism as a whole. Although they seem to be at opposite ends of the religious spectrum, this is not quite so. Prayer must be done for the benefit of all, in accord with the vows of Buddhism such as the Bodhisattva vow, which commits one to working for the salvation of all, and so must zazen. As has been argued by various Sōtō writers on zazen, if one used zazen for personal reasons of gain, e.g. for one's own peace

of mind, this is counter to the spirit of Buddhism and is a pitfall of the selfish mind. This is equally so with prayer, and thus one of the reasons why one should (or must) ask a practitioner of the true Buddhist way to offer up such prayers is that such a person will be committed to the benefit of all, rather than just to the individual. In other words, the true practice of both prayer and zazen is the same: selfless and non-seeking. To pray purely and completely is to wish for benefit for all without exception and is a total activity in itself, just as is taking the precepts, performing shikantaza zazen or, following Keizan, just drinking tea.

Prayer is an intrinsic part of Sōtō temple life, and has been from the sect's earliest days. Such an historical link, allied to Sōtō's readiness to incorporate general Japanese customs in its expansion, has led to the existence today of the prayer process as an integral part of the life of numerous Sōtō temples. The sect has had to come to terms with this and, although there has been little on this subject in the whole range of Sōtō publications, the arguments found in its favour are of a coherent nature. While coming to terms with prayer and using it on one level to develop the sect's position on a practical level, it has elevated it on a theoretical one to that of a vital practice of Buddhahood. The compassionate nature of Buddhism is stressed in this practice which seeks for the alleviation of all suffering. In its selfless nature, prayer is thus another form of true zazen, of the selfless act of shikantaza. Whereas seeking the providence of the

Buddha or of a similar figure is generally seen as being dependent on 'other power' (tariki), and zazen is seen as seeking salvation through one's own power (jiriki), there is really no such distinction. In the interrelated view of Zen, in which all things are co-existent, self and other are indivisible: thus prayer and zazen are one. As the monk at Saijōji and Sengyoku have both pointed out, it is the vital role of the Buddhist practitioner to unite the two: to practice, for example, just zazen without seeking to help others, is selfish and incompatible with the Buddhist way. Offering up the entreaties of individuals, even if they are self-seeking, for the good of all, is as much part of the Sōtō way as is the practice of zazen.

C H A P T E R N I N ECONTRASTING STYLES: TWO HEAD PRIESTS IN THE CONTEMPORARY
ERA

In this chapter, attention will be focused on two Sōtō priests who have held positions of great importance within the sect over the past two decades and whose teaching has in many ways encapsulated the themes brought out in this thesis. The two are Satō Taishun, former head priest both of Eihei-ji and of the Sōtō sect, and Hata Ekyoku, who became head of Eihei-ji in 1976 and who has served as head priest of the sect during recent years. The opinions and teachings of the sect's head priest are of great interest in a study of the sect, both in themselves and as an indicator of the thinking of the sect as a whole, and it is for this reason, and also so as to provide an insight into the ways of thought of individual thinkers within the sect, to set alongside the broad analysis of sect thought in general which has been made in the preceding chapters, that Satō's and Hata's work will be discussed. Satō and Hata have been chosen because they were each head priest at the turn of successive decades (Satō at the end of the 1960's and beginning of the 1970's, and Hata at the beginning of the 1980's) and because, separated by a number of years in this role, they provide an excellent perspective, through their works, on the attitudes of the upper echelons of the

sect over the last two decades, to set alongside the analyses that have been made of the sect's publications, especially in Chapters Six and Seven and in Appendix One. Furthermore, Satō's influence has been discussed in Chapter Five with relation to his work on the Shushōgi which, it has been shown, forms much of the basis of contemporary Sōtō discussion and understanding of the text; so that it could be argued that he is to some degree a representative of that current within the sect which emphasises the preceptual and lay-oriented (i.e. non-zazen) line, while Hata, as head of a sect which, in his period of office, has intensified its teachings on zazen, could be seen as a representative of this change of teaching focus. In order to shed light on these points, this chapter will look at the two priests and this will be done in three sections: the first will concentrate on Satō's work, the second on Hata and the third will seek to draw out themes that are of importance to the sect as a whole.

(i) Satō Taishun

In Chapter Five, Satō's background has been discussed briefly, along with his analysis of the Shushōgi, and the following investigation of his work must be read bearing in mind the lengthy description of his major work Seikatsu no Shushōgi that has been given in that chapter. Biographically, it should be mentioned that Satō was a practitioner of Zen from a very early age,¹ as indeed was Hata who was brought up from the age of 5 amongst monks,² and it should be

re-emphasised that he was an academic who moved from university teaching to the monkish life of Eihei-ji, where he worked for long in the sphere of nationwide Sōtō proselytisation and propagation. From this, it can be seen that his whole life was devoted to the Sōtō way and to the study and expression of various aspects of it, based on his experience as an academic, propagator and practitioner, and in his work the three themes of his life are all in evidence.

It is indicative of Satō's overall outlook that his major work was centred on the Shushōgi which, although it was intended as a standard for the whole sect, has been in the forefront of Sōtō teaching for its lay following, both actual and potential. In providing a commentary that relates the Shushōgi to the present-day realities of society and in asserting its relevance for that society, Satō affirms that the Zen way as manifested in the Sōtō-sect is a way encountered within daily life, not apart from it in a monastic enclave separate from the world, and in doing so he provides (in the last section of Seikatsu no Shushōgi) a guide for its enactment in daily life which is suitable for all, whether priest or laity. It is this concern for the laity and for the everyday enactment of Buddhist principles in the life of the average follower, underlined by a style of humanity and clarity which sets out Buddhist views in a way that can be understood by the layman and by those who do not have any strong belief in the sect's teaching, so as to lead them towards Sōtō, that permeates Seikatsu no Shushōgi and is its prime feature. This feature can be found in Satō's other works

as well, and a brief description of a number of them will provide the basis on which more general conclusions can be made.

In Hannya Shingyō Kōwa (i.e. lectures on the Heart Sutra), Satō analyses the Hannya Shingyō in a similar manner to that used on the Shushōgi, going through the text on a phrase by phrase basis, commenting on terminology and explaining the importance and relevance of the text in a practical way, i.e. for the reader in daily life. He first asserts the importance of the text (as he did in Seikatsu no Shushōgi) commenting on its brevity (it only has 262 characters in the main text) which makes it easy to remember and to chant. He notes that it is commonly included in collections of pilgrimage songs and that it 'transcends sectarianism',³ having no special sectarian meaning, unlike, for example, the Lotus Sutra which, although widely used in Japan (it is used by Sōtō) has particular connections to the Tendai and Nichiren sects.

Satō states that 'the Hannya Shingyō shows all the important points of Buddhism succinctly',⁴ which is why he considers it an important text to study. He views its basis as being contained in the two words and concepts of hannya* (i.e. wisdom) and kū* (i.e. emptiness), which together form the structural foundations of the text. Hannya is equated to both wisdom (chie*) and to the functioning (hataraki) of the mind which perceives the true form (jissō, which is read as sugata by the use of furigana)⁵ of things. According to Satō, 'the functioning of the mind which sees all things is hannya'.⁶ Kū (emptiness)

is related to the form (sugata) of things: he uses the phrase 'the form of emptiness' (kū no sugata) which is neither being nor non-being (a familiar Mahayana argument). The two concepts, and indeed the concepts of hataraki and sugata, are brought together in the following sentences:

'the true nature of things is reflected in the mirror of hannya (wisdom) by the form of kū (emptiness) ... hannya is the functioning of the mind which sees and thinks, and kū is the form of things which are seen and thought.'⁷

Thus, wisdom and emptiness go together, as do function and form, to provide the basis of true life free from delusion, which is the aim of the text.

Hannya has the power to dissolve all obstructions and to 'prevent the spreading of evil spirits',⁸ while kū is the true nature of form, which is unchanging and yet continually changing: i.e. it is both the principle of transience and of absolute, unchanging truth together. Satō relates the two by saying that 'its changing form is in itself the unchanging form'⁹ and when this principle is understood and the true nature of all things is realised:

'all suffering, all disasters will be eradicated, and the pure land will be discovered in this world.'¹⁰

Satō states that this true form may be found through the practice of zazen, the precepts and through worship

(reihai*), allied to the third major point of the Hannya Shingyō, which is non-attainment (mushotoku). This has been discussed in the discussion on zazen in Chapter Eight and shows that one must not, in practicing zazen or in any other practice, seek any form of reward for one's actions. In the practice of hannya, within which is the realisation of kū, there is the practice of non-attainment (mushotoku), which is in itself Buddhahood, which Satō terms 'the functioning of the wisdom of hannya'¹¹ The last section of Satō's commentary turns to the mantra at the end of the text, which he sees as that which activates and puts into practice the teachings of the text as a whole. He views this as being powerful in its own right and providing a means 'for realising the highest ideals (of Buddhism)':¹² it is the final link in the text, much as the sokushinzebutsu concept was, for Satō, the link and culmination of the Shushōgi. One may note that the recitation of mantras and chants has a place in Sōtō Zen from the days when Gikai and Keizan became interested in techniques other than shikantaza, and incorporated esoteric elements into Dōgen's Zen. Such chants (and the mantra at the end of the Hannya Shingyō is perhaps the best known) are part of a general Japanese belief as well as having a pan-sectarian nature. While Satō's interpretation of the text as a whole may emphasise themes pertinent to Sōtō (e.g. the finding of the true form through the precepts and zazen), his view of the importance of the mantric ending may be viewed as being very much in line with general Japanese attitudes which have a belief in the efficacy of

prayers and incantations, and shows also the legacy of the esoteric Zen of Gikai and Keizan.

Although Satō is commenting on a text which deals with the philosophical side of Buddhism (though it is a popular text in the field of general religious behaviour) he focuses on its importance for everyday life, suggesting that it shows a path of realisation through the concepts of wisdom and emptiness which are activated by zazen, worship and the precepts. It is thus a text which provides the basis for a Sōtō way of action in the sphere of daily life, as does the Shushōgi, and Satō centres his commentary on this aspect, concentrating on the interaction of the concepts of hannya and kū, which are hataraki and sugata, which are parts of one whole. In Appendix Three, an analysis of Satō's use of these two words, hataraki and sugata, has been provided to show the extensive number of ways in which he expresses them (using different kanji and so on) and their importance in his writing, while in the analysis of his writing which follows the summary of his works, the connections between these terms, and the themes of this commentary, and the concept of practice-enlightenment will be discussed.

In Zenkeishū (i.e. a collection of Zen wisdom) Satō declares his intention to explain the spirit of Mahayana Buddhism and to 'eradicate the anxieties of society'.¹³ This book consists of a number of short paragraphs on a variety of topics linked on a calendrical basis, starting with New Years Day, when people have cleared the debts of

the old year and made resolutions to turn over a new leaf in the year that is starting. Satō picks up this theme and argues that this spirit can be activated at any time of year, while urging that it should be continued throughout the year, rather than being allowed to lapse after a few days; this is a theme found in the Sōtō leaflets on Shōgatsu and has been commented on in Chapter Six. This book follows a calendrical pattern, related to the agricultural cycle and using agricultural analogies ('the Zen sects ... teach 'the ploughing of the rice-field of the mind''')¹⁴ which put one in mind of the description of Sōtō as being for the farmers (see Chapter Two). The book centres on everyday images (of work, ploughing the fields and so on) and relates each temple and popular event, such as o-Bon, to daily life, seeking to teach via such images. Thus, the feeding of the hungry ghosts at o-Bon is both a selfless act of service, which should be practiced at all times, and is a reminder to the living of the pitfalls of desire. The suffering of the ghosts is due to their inordinate desires, and this is true for people as well; in order to eradicate suffering, the living 'must first drive away the hungry ghosts within their minds'.¹⁵ The theme of the agricultural cycle is used throughout, as is the image of the farmer working in the fields. Here the term hataraki has its basic Japanese meaning of work, but has the underlying implications of the word when used with concepts such as hannya: the farmer working in the fields has no time for deluded thought and is happy,

and 'simply to work is nothing other than throwing oneself away'.¹⁶ This brings in the concept of abandoning the self advocated in Sōtō writings and has close links with the notion of hataraki as being a total functioning process, as in the functioning of hannya: the farmer who is totally involved in his work is throwing away the self, is practicing in the moment and is realising the functioning of wisdom.

In Reihai (i.e. worship), Satō deals with selfless action and pure worship, i.e. that which does not seek reward. He terms worship 'the basic principle of all religion'¹⁷ which is 'simple and can be practiced by everyone',¹⁸ but warns that it must not be sullied with concepts of aim or gain: 'worship that has an aim is not yet pure and straightforward worship',¹⁹ True worship means that all things in one's daily existence become Buddha (there is a long quote in Reihai which states that all things, the wind, the trees and so on are Buddha, and which resembles the quote from Seikatsu no Shoshōgi on page 210, and the words of Dōgen's Shōbōgenzō Keiseisanshoku). He reviews the concept of death and considers that it is futile to get involved with questions of being and not being (a theme in the discussion of kū in the Hannya Shingyō commentary): rather one must confront the actuality of the situation, realise that someone has departed from one's life and think of that person's good qualities. In doing this, one will perceive the true nature of people as good, and this realisation will be activated in one's life, rather than just at funerals. He asserts that all people are, like the moon, pure and unsullied: they are only temporarily

obscured by clouds, and, in true worship, the clouds disappear. There is unity of worshipper and worshipped, of self and Buddha, and in this, Buddhahood, 'which is the functioning (hataraki) of pure truth'²⁰ is manifested.

Ataeru tame no Seikatsu (i.e. living in order to give) centres on a theme found in Seikatsu no Shushōgi and in many other Sōtō writings, namely the folly of acting for oneself alone and the malaises that occur in society because of such attitudes. When 'man works in order to take and lives in order to take,'²¹ society will be damaged, a situation he sees as existing in modern society, whose sole notion of progress is an economic and materialist one. This destroys man's spirit as he becomes involved in a struggle to take all the time, and Satō sees a causal relationship between such attitudes and illness, neurosis, suicide and turmoil in society.²² He follows his criticisms with an answer to such problems which follows the general theme of Sōtō writings, advocating selfless behaviour. He discusses the traditional concept of barter, which was a reciprocal exchange (again, one notes the nostalgia for former ways of life), and suggests that such a system could be revived in some way. It would not necessitate a change in economic activity, only one of mind and attitude: all should think, not what they could get, but what they could give: the farmer by growing food, the shop assistant by serving well and kindly, and so on. Giving is not solely material, but involves feelings, thoughts and actions aimed at the well-being of all. In this pamphlet, Satō asserts that Buddhism can change man's attitudes and that it can tackle societal problems which

are basically of a spiritual nature and which must be approached from this angle.

In Mizu no Sugata (i.e. the form of water), Satō picks up a theme common to Sōtō imagery: water which passes from vessel to vessel without changing its essence is a common analogy for the transmission process of the essence of Buddhism from Buddha to Mahakashyapa and on to China and Japan. Water is also, for Satō, a perfect simile for the Buddha mind: it is the most adaptable substance, vital to life, able to fit any container, purifying and pure in itself, weak and yielding, strong and firm, as the occasion demands. It can change aspect, from water to ice, to snow, to steam, yet always remains basically water in essence. It is thus, like the Buddha mind and truth, 'changing yet unchanging',²³ and it has no individual principle: one drop of water will always gather with and merge into all others. This is the principle of one united body (ittaifuni*, i.e. one body, not two), which states the unity of all things and is expressed in the sokushinzebutsu concept, where Shakyamuni Buddha is stated to be none other than all Buddhas of all times, and in Dōgen's view of the face-to-face transmission, in which all such transmissions are actualised. By the use of the water metaphor, Satō is able to describe the Buddha mind and nature, in words and by means of similes readily understood by the general reader, as being universal, unchanging yet adaptable and vital to life, indeed, inherent in all life.

In the above writings, Satō has dealt primarily with the application of Zen thought to societal problems and to the relationship of man to the events and turmoils of life; in two further publications he deals more directly with the theories and philosophy of Sōtō. These are Zen no Kokoro (i.e. the Zen mind), the transcript of an interview between Satō and the Sōtō academic Ōkubo, broadcast on Japanese radio, and Zen to wa Nanika (i.e. what is Zen?) an essay in a compendium on Zen in Japan. In the former, Satō emphasises concepts such as ishindenshin to support the Zen view while pointing to its syncretic nature: 'all Buddhism has this characteristic of combining with customs in any region'.²⁴ Dōgen's role as the transmitter of the true Buddhism to Japan is stressed, as is his Shōbōgenzō, which shows the unity of all things (he uses the water analogy again here) and the importance of practice. Here Satō emphasises the precepts and the Shushōgi which, he states, centres on the preceptual path. He also talks about zazen, which is the best means to achieve tranquillity and which is 'sitting throwing everything away':²⁵ shikantaza is in all things (even, he states, watching the television!). At the end of Zen no kokoro is the transcript of another talk Satō has given on the radio, which concentrates on the concept of loving words (aigo from the Shushōgi). This he states, is pure compassion, the highest love, as seen, in a familiar analogy, in the mother-child relationship.

Zen to wa Nanika is an explanation of Zen concepts, especially zazen, which he admits 'is not something readily assimilated by the general public',²⁶ but which is the basis of Buddhism. He discusses Zen from a standard Sōtō historical viewpoint, talking of the transmission outside the scriptures, the wordless nature of it and the equation of zazen and enlightenment, stating that zazen is 'manifested as the natural functioning (hataraki) of enlightenment.'²⁷

This discussion of the merits of zazen is also brought out in a short introduction by Satō to a special edition of the Eiheiji periodical Sanshō which focuses on Dōgen's Fukanzazengi. Satō emphasises the importance of this text as the first to bring the actual instructions of the practice of zazen to Japan. It is vital to have such a practical guide because one cannot gain access to the truth of Zen by logic and intellectual study: it is essential to practice. The Fukanzazengi should be read often (he advocates its reading at sanzenkai and at evening zazen periods) but it must be accompanied by the practice of zazen :

'I believe that simply to read it on its own is useless: using it, we must practice excellent zazen!'²⁸

As has been stated at the beginning of this section, Satō's major concern is for the activation of Sōtō principles in the sphere of everyday life: this is not just manifested in Seikatsu no Shushōgi but in most of his other works (Satō 1963, 1971, 1972a, 1972b, 1972c). All these writings have been published by the Eiheiji press, while those

that discuss zazen and the philosophic side of Zen (Satō 1967, 1970b, 1974) have been either published independently or in the Eiheiji periodical which is not intended for the laity. It must be assumed from this that, in his general writings aimed at a lay audience within the sect, Satō was primarily concerned to emphasise the type of programme of the development of belief centred largely on the precepts and the sphere of everyday life which has been set out in Sōtō publications aimed at group two members and described in Chapter Six. In doing this, he uses many of the analogies, metaphors and images common to such pamphlets and books. One finds, for example, the water analogy (Satō 1963), the mother and child image (e.g. Satō 1970b), the selfless approach, as in Reihai, which contains within it the gasshō concept, the use of agricultural metaphors, which presages the furusato concept that has developed in Sōtō writing and Japanese consciousness, the calendrical style, especially of Zenkeishū, which is found particularly in Sōtō leaflets and the theme of criticism of modern, materialist society coupled with the answer to its neuroses and problems. This, he sees, is to be found through the development of Buddhist principles (and here also there is another common factor: Satō always speaks of Buddhism or of Mahayana, with only rare references to Sōtō). He asserts that Buddhism is a this-worldly religion and that its results are to be found in the world, within everyday life. There is a way here that leads out of the economic mire and the neuroses, suicides and so on, and it is found in the precepts and

in the way of worship, which all, according to Reihai, can do. A change of attitude is needed for this - to the 'giving mind' of Ataeru tame no Seikatsu, which is of course the gasshō mind - which is manifested also in the act of repentance advocated in Seikatsu no Shushōgi. Satō has stated that the religious gate is the easiest of all to enter, in Seikatsu no Shushōgi, and his whole outlook is geared to encouraging people to enter this gate by using easily assimilated images and comprehensible teachings and words.

One must remember that Satō was head of Eihei-ji and thus was an heir of Dōgen's mantle and this comes through in his treatment of Dōgen: throughout Satō's work, Dōgen is quoted, to the exclusion of all else, and is the supreme arbiter of Zen for Satō. This is in keeping with the general tenor of Sōtō writings that have been examined, as has been noted in Chapter Six. In his more specialised writing, as for example in the essay (Satō 1967) explaining the concepts of Zen, and in his article for Sanshō, he states that zazen is very important, indeed essential, while admitting its difficulty for the average person. He is thus following a general Sōtō pattern, of avoiding talk of zazen to any great degree in his general writings for Sōtō followers (although zazen is one of the practices advocated in Hannya Shingyo Kōwa) while setting out alternative and more accessible paths, such as the precepts and worship.

One point of particular note concerning Satō is his discussion and use of the words hataraki and sugata, which has been commented on at the end of Chapter Six and alluded to throughout this section. These words are everyday Japanese words that have special interpretations within Sōtō and especially in Satō's work, as the table in Appendix Three, which shows eight different ways of writing hataraki and seven of writing sugata found in his writings, demonstrates. As has been stated, these terms stand for the functioning of forces and things (as with the functioning of hannya) and for the state of being, or form, of forces and things (as with the form of kū). In Seikatsu no Shushōgi, Satō analysed the basic standpoint of each of the last four sections of the text into practice and enlightenment (see table, p.212) so that, for example, sange metsuzai (i.e. repentance and release from sin) divides into sange (practice) and metsuzai (enlightenment). One can develop this further in an analysis of Satō's own work by adding two further groups of two to this. The first is hannya and kū, which are practice (hannya) and enlightenment (kū), in which the practice, i.e. hannya, actualises enlightenment, i.e. kū, and in which the two go together, as in the statement that 'hannya is the functioning of the mind which sees and thinks and kū is the form of things which are seen and thought' (above, p.361). The two actually are one entity, just as are practice and enlightenment. The second pair is hataraki and sugata. Throughout Satō's work they occur together, with hataraki

being the activating principle (i.e. practice) and sugata being the principle of state or form (i.e. enlightenment): it is the functioning (hataraki) of wisdom which enables one to perceive the form (sugata) of emptiness, according to his analysis of Hannya Shingyō. Just as practice and enlightenment are one and indivisible, so too are hataraki and sugata, as has been stated (above, p.265) in his 'one un-hindered body of hataraki and sugata'.

This use of the dualism of hataraki and sugata, which is practice and enlightenment, and which is in fact a unity, is the major stylistic feature of Satō's work. As has been shown at the end of Chapter Six, these words are part of common Sōtō language, but Satō uses them in his work more often and more coherently than other writers. He asserts the unity that underlies all Zen philosophy by his use of these terms and, by using such words which have everyday functions and meanings, manages to bring Sōtō teaching within the reach of all people, which is the intention that Satō has stated in the commentaries he has written on both the Shushōgi and the Hannya Shingyō. Using the techniques and terminology of Sōtō writing for its danka and advocating the practices that Sōtō has emphasised for its lay followers, such as the precepts and worship, while acknowledging the difficulty of zazen for the general public, Satō can be viewed as an excellent representative of the sect and its teachings in an era, in the early 1970's in particular, when the sect's publications tended to by-pass zazen and concentrate on developing

its lay membership along the lines of belief and adherence to Buddhist precepts.

(ii) Hata Egyoku

As has been noted, Hata also learnt Zen from an early age, living from the age of five in a temple. Ordained as a monk at the age of 21, he became a lecturer at, and was principal of, a Sōtō academic college, before becoming head priest of Chūōji** in Sapporo. Later, in 1976, he became head priest of Eihei-ji and afterwards also took over the mantle of head priest of the Sōtō sect. In this role, he travels extensively in Japan, teaching and holding services, and giving interviews which appear in Sōtō publications and in general books about Zen and Buddhism; the bulk of this section is based on Hata's comments and teaching as expressed in such interviews and speeches in the last few years.

It should be noted that Hata has published a commentary on the Fukanzazengi (see Appendix One, Introduction), which is an extension of an academic and literary analysis of the text, its construction and style, published in the Sanshō edition on the Fukanzazengi to which Satō wrote the introduction (Satō 1974). In this article, Hata breaks down the text along stylistic lines, providing a complex charted diagram which divides the text into related groups of kanji (in groups of four or six, a style which has its origins in China)²⁹ and shows the stress in intonation to be placed when chanting. Such a structural analysis

is in contrast to Satō's commentaries, which explain the text word by word and seek to draw out general meanings and points of relevance to the layman. This contrast should be seen as a guide to the relative differences of emphasis placed by Hata and Satō on their areas of teaching and, also, on the times in which they have taught. The last bibliographical citation for Satō (Satō 1974) is of the same year, and indeed periodical, as the first for Hata (Hata 1974): most of the material on which this section is based has been published since 1978 and much is centred on words spoken or written by him since 1980. As has been noted in Chapter Eight, there has been a development towards publication of zazen within the sect since 1976 along with, as has been seen in Chapter Four, methodological re-thinking that has advocated renewed efforts to spread the zazen-oriented outlook to those previously unconcerned with sectarian views.

The above points will be discussed more fully in the third section of this chapter, but have been briefly given here to provide a background to a detailed description of Hata's speeches and comments. In an interview in the magazine Zen, Hata criticises modern people for a tendency to use too many words, and states that:

'in the Sōtō sect, we never put things
directly into writing'³⁰

but give oral teachings: Sōtō publications are reports of such teachings, not works that are specifically written.

To a degree, this holds true: the Ryokuin series are transcripts of talks at Zen no Tsudoi meetings, Osada's book (Osada 1981) is a collection of his telephone talks, and other books (e.g. Aoyama 1981) are based on lectures and talks. However, the leaflets (Appendix One, numbers 57-81) the various explanatory works for temple followers (e.g. Appendix One numbers 19, 20) and many others are written works, not transcripts of talks, and this contradicts Hata's overall statement. In Hata's case, however, there is an element of truth, for virtually all the recent material in print which expresses Hata's views is based on interviews (e.g. Hata 1978, 1981c, 1981d) or on transcripts of speeches (Hata 1980b): apart from his academic commentary on the Fukanzazengi, there is nothing written by Hata available currently from the Sōtō publications catalogue.

In an interview with Ehara Yukiko in a book published in 1978, Hata talks almost exclusively about monastic life, starting with a brief discussion of the importance of the toilet as one of the basic seven buildings of traditional Sōtō monasteries such as Eihei-ji; this is in contrast to other sects, according to Hata.³¹ He points out that Dōgen has written chapters both on the use of the toilet and on washing the face, in the Shōbōgenzō: in doing this, Dōgen is stating that everywhere is the training ground of Buddhism. Hata states that the 'Buddhist law purifies both body and mind'³² and thus the cleansing of one's body is as important as that of the mind in one's practice.

Such actions as brushing the teeth are actions of cleaning one's whole environment: 'to wash oneself is to clean the world',³³ which is to benefit all in the world. This means that the specialist, i.e. the monk in the temple, is acting for all people and, in doing good, all benefit. Accordingly, all actions must be seen as zazen and treated with such concentration and diligence. In the temple, there is division of time between such activities as samu and zazen, but all are to be seen as one:

'to view them in this way as two is entirely wrong. Zazen is one entity... zazen is no other than living, living no other than zazen.'³⁴

Hata talks of Eihei-ji as a place where one goes to abandon one's selfish self:

'this is a place where one abandons the self, abandons the restraints of self-centredness and penetrates into the law'³⁵

and quotes Dōgen's 'to learn Buddhism is to learn the self' statement used in much Sōtō writing. Many people, he states, contemplate entering Eihei-ji but are put off by its concentration on tasks such as cleaning, preferring instead to enter university, go to lectures and focus on book learning. He is content that such people do not enter Eihei-ji but go instead to the university, for the life of the temple is not one for those who seek the gratification of the self. One notes here that Hata portrays Eihei-ji in the manner of Sōtō publications and images, as an austere and strict environment.

Hata cites the tenzo story and Dōgen's instructions for the temple cook, which all can and should read,³⁶ stating that these show the unity of practice and daily activity and underline the oneness of zazen and eating. This is fundamental to Zen training, which he sees as having brought himself immense joy. As his father died when he was very young, he was sent to a temple for his upbringing and did not see his mother again until he was 20 years old. His monastic upbringing enabled him to learn the way to abandon his ego-centred self and thus, despite the seeming sadness of his childhood, he was very pleased by it.

Hata returns to the concept of abandoning the self in a short article, Hōgejaku (i.e. letting go), in the special edition of the colour magazine Taiyō on Zen in Japan. He cites his experience of practising calligraphy, at which he was poor because, as his teacher explained, he did not relax his shoulders properly. Not until he could relax, 'to let go and abandon the weight on one's shoulders',³⁷ could he practise calligraphy with any competence, and this holds true of all things. Letting go is to abandon the selfish self and to open oneself to the non-self, i.e. the selfless self which acts for the good of all; he states that 'the state of non-self is in itself the way (of Buddhism)'.³⁸ Zen, which is meditation, is the means to realise the selfless nature, and it has been practised for thousands of years. It was Shakyamuni who gave the clearest teaching of this meditation, through his practice of it, and Hata sees this meditation as the core

of all Buddhism, its fount and focus. In zazen, one learns to let go of the self and in this state of non-self and letting go is enlightenment and the Buddhist way. He exhorts everyone to:

'let go! There is only this way forward
for us'.³⁹

In an interview with Setouchi Jakuchō, entitled Zen no kokoro (i.e. the Zen mind) in the magazine Zen, Hata discusses the totality of all things in the Zen view, stating that even enlightenment and delusion are one entity:

'in reality, they are one ...
there is one life'.⁴⁰

In Sōtō, he states, there is no such thing as stages or skilful means (hōben*) such as those expressed in the Lotus Sutra, by which teachings are adapted to bring people towards the true way of Buddhism. In Sōtō's integrated view of the universe of practice and enlightenment which is indivisible, 'stages and skilful means are in themselves the culmination'.⁴¹ The best way to realise this unity is through the Zen way which, as is stated in Dōgen's Shōbōgenzō Bendōwa, emphasises the present moment. Everyone should read this text, according to Hata, for it stresses the importance of the here and now. He emphasises the value of zazen and says that:

'the method which aims to purify both
body and mind is Zen'.⁴²

The most important thing is to have belief, and in this belief is true realisation and eternal peace. He asserts

that in the principle of practice-enlightenment (shushōgi), the vital factor is that practice and enlightenment are indivisible and are founded on belief. Belief is the basis on which true zazen and all life can be built. In this interview, Hata relates the tenzo story to illustrate the selflessness and belief (for the tenzo's attitude to his work was based on his deep faith in the Buddhist way) inherent in the Zen way.

Certain of the themes already noted occur in an interview with Ōhashi Terashi in the first edition of Zen no Tomo of 1981. Hata notes that at the 700th anniversary commemoration of the second head of Eihei-ji, Ejō, he had acted as guide around the temple for the Imperial family's representative and for various Buddhist sect heads, and had shown them, amongst other things, the toilet and bath-house.. This is because they are an integral part of the temple and because they are 'important places for Zen practice'.⁴³ Hata returns to the theme that all actions, whether washing the face, entering the bath or anything else, are in themselves integral parts of the Buddhist way. He then turns to the theme of piety and selfless devotion, which he considers is typified by the example of Ejō, who had faithfully served Dōgen for 48 years, in life and at Dōgen's graveside. He contrasts this with the decline which he sees in the family in modern Japan: 'harmonious family groups are few'⁴⁴ in this age in which the woman works outside the home and in which household work is done by turning a switch and using a machine. Japan may be economically rich, but its richness

is in useless things rather than in any spiritual sense - a common line of Sōtō criticism.

Hata continues the theme of piety and devotion in a speech at Eihei-ji at the 700th anniversary service for Ejō; this speech has been transcribed and published by the sect. In it, Hata explains the importance of Ejō: he is the heir of Dōgen, whom he served faithfully in life for 20 years and whose grave he tended for 28 years until his own death. Ejō also transcribed most of Dōgen's teachings and devoted his life to this, writing only one short text himself. In short, he was not concerned with his own name or reputation, only with serving Dōgen's way. It was Ejō who inherited and passed on the 'true law' of Dōgen's Zen, which he did not through the written or even the spoken word, but through his whole being. Hata states that:

'outside of serving the truth with one's whole body, there is no true Buddhist way',⁴⁵

and this is the teaching of Ejō, who shows the kyōgebetsuden aspect of Zen, the teaching which transcends words, by his example and actions, carried out with the totality of his being. Eihei-ji reveres Ejō as well as Dōgen, tending his grave and making offerings before it every day, in gratitude for his service and teaching by example.

Dōgen's Zen can be summed up in the injunction to earnestly practice zazen, but Hata emphasises that this does not mean that one should only do zazen: rather,

it is that 'the whole of life is actualised within Zen'.⁴⁶
 This is vital and he criticises those who seek answers
 outside of daily life:

'to seek Buddhism and Zen outside
 one's daily life activity is futile.'⁴⁷

Besides citing the case of Ejō, Hata discusses the
 selflessness of Gikai, who for many years devoted himself
 to caring for his elderly mother, and who later devoted
 himself to rearing one pupil, Keizan. In this way is the
 true way of Buddhism, action with one's whole being for
 the benefit of others, which is shown by the selflessness
 of such as Ejō and Gikai. It is 'to work with one's whole
 being for our teacher, to work with one's whole being for
 our parents'.⁴⁸ In this way there is true unity and under-
 standing: thus, Ejō, who did not leave much in the way of
 writing and verbal teaching for posterity, has given
 everyone a vital lesson and example by his selfless action
 and wholehearted behaviour for others. One may add that,
 in placing great value on Ejō's life, Hata is underlining
 his criticism of the modern tendency to dwell in the
 world of words while pointing to the 'wordless' aspect of
 Zen, as manifested by Ejō's service and faithful transmission
 of Dōgen's message.

Hata delivers many talks at temples throughout
 the country, and two of these will be summarised in order
 to illustrate the type of teaching that is given on such
 occasions. The first of these was delivered at Chūōji,

Hata's former temple at Sapporo, on October 31st 1981, at a memorial service for his predecessor at the temple, to an audience that largely consisted on the danka of the temple. In this talk, Hata focused on the two themes of peace, especially peace of mind, and of mushin*, (i.e. no mind), which in Zen thought is a doctrine that asserts that there is no duality in meditation. There is no looking at the mind and receiving from it: rather, meditation is pure seeing in itself. 'No mind', transcending all dualities of the mind which sees and that which is seen, is not looking at reality, but is the direct realisation of truth.

Hata takes these two themes and links them, first by talking about the name of his temple, Eihei-ji, which means 'eternal peace temple'. Eihei-ji is over 700 years old, and in that time it has been tranquil, a place where one can study the truth of Buddhism and realise one's inner peace of mind. At Eihei-ji, one can practise the way of Zen which is 'our sect'⁴⁹ (i.e. Sōtō) and is a pure form, unsullied by any trace of syncretism. Sōtō is thus special, not mixed with deities from other religions such as Shinto. Indeed Hata states that:

'Shinto cannot enter into Buddhism'⁵⁰

asserting a purity that no other Sōtō teacher in modern times has done, interestingly at a memorial service for a dead priest before an audience of danka who acted in the same way as audiences at temple services throughout Japan

seem to do: talking among themselves, lighting cigarettes and so on, in the manner described in Chapter One.

Hata stated that Zen did not stand for a specific group or religious organisation, but was an all-encompassing term which emphasised mushin and zazen. He stated that:

'in mushin, there is Zen. The place of mushin is Zen, it is in the everyday... mushin...is life.'⁵¹

This ties up with Eihei-ji which, due to its long and enduring peace, is an excellent place to realise this 'no mind'. At Eihei-ji, one practices shikantaza zazen, which is at the centre of life, and Hata states that 'everyone can do it readily'.⁵² Zazen is in the lives of all people, as is mushin: he talks of 'one's own 'no mind'',⁵³ asserting that in the realisation of this, there is peace. It is not something special for monks alone: all can realise this and can experience, through zazen and the realisation of mushin which transcends all barriers and dualities and is the direct perception of innate reality, eternal peace which is symbolised by the name Eihei-ji, the temple which acts as a training centre for such practice.

The second talk was at Katsugyū-ji** , where Hata officiated at a commemoration service at the opening of this new temple and training centre outside Sendai, on November 7th 1981, a week after the speech at Sapporo. The themes followed are very similar to those in the

Sapporo talk, explaining the relevance of the name Eihei-ji and the concept of mushin, but expanded to include remarks about Ejō and the notion of piety and service to others. These remarks are similar to those in the commemorative speech at Eihei-ji reported above and assert that in the Sōtō sect, as manifested by the transmission from Dōgen to Ejō, there are no words: 'the way is transmitted by thought'⁵⁴ and has been so transmitted also to Sōjiji, via Gikai and Keizan. Zen is the true way of Buddhism, and Dōgen's religion is 'a religion which has no (external) connections',⁵⁵ i.e. it has no foreign elements and links to such things as local customs and beliefs, but is a pure system.

He then turned to a further discussion of the concept of mushin, stating that Zen is mushin and that 'it is absolute'.⁵⁶ The realisation of mushin is the realisation of one's original, pure mind:

'our original mind is 'no mind'',⁵⁷

and this is activated in the continued practice of the selfless mind in all activities, such^{as} cleaning and sweeping. It is not restricted to sitting in zazen alone: he dropped the syllable za, which denotes the aspect of seated meditation, and talked of Zen, meditation, as occurring in all places at all times. It is an absolute and total practice, in which eternal peace is realised in the present world. Hata states that there is no pure land (jōdo*) anywhere else, nor after life. Asking where the pure land is, he

tapped his chest and said, 'it is here'⁵⁸ - if not in oneself, it is nowhere.

One should note that at the opening of the temple Katsugyūji, where this second talk was delivered, there were many priests, representatives of Sōtō temples, in the audience, and rather less danka (as a new temple, it had none as such, but had the support of a number of active lay people). There was little difference in content between the two talks, and that at Chūōji, where the audience consisted largely of danka, whose behaviour at times showed a lack of interest in the content of his talk, delved into deep areas of Zen thought and advocated strict Zen practices, asserting the ability of all to do zazen. It should be clear from this that Hata does not necessarily follow the standard 'dual approach' line set out by Sōtō methodologists, but instead speaks directly about the strict practices and thoughts of Sōtō at all times.

Hata concentrates to a great degree on the monastic way, talking of the structure of the temple and the importance of its component parts such as the toilets (Hata, 1978, 1981c) and asserting that Eiheiji is a place for deep experience of true Zen practice (Hata 1981a, 1981b, 1981c). His view that all is zazen is common to Sōtō, but one must note that all examples of other activity that he gives concern temple activities, such as samu and cleaning. He emphasises that Zen is a way of action, not words (Hata 1978, 1980b, 1981d), and stresses the importance

of its transmission via the mind (Hata 1981a, 1981b). He holds the concept of piety and devotion to one's master and parents highly, as his frequent citations of Ejō show, and he places great emphasis on the continuity that such behaviour ensures, as the 'eternal peace' of Eiheiji demonstrates. Besides advocating that all can practice zazen, he recommends that all should read Dōgen, considering that this is within the potential of all Japanese, suggesting that one should read Dōgen's teaching on washing (Hata 1978), on the duties of the temple cook (Hata 1978), and Shōbōgenzō Bendōwa (Hata 1981d).

Another major theme of all Hata's work is the abandonment of the selfish self, which is a common theme of Sōtō writing. Hata, however, does not use the gasshō concept nor suggest selfless activity in the realm of the everyday, such as is advocated in most Sōtō writing, but talks more directly of abandoning oneself in zazen (Hata 1978, 1980a, 1980d). Only in the interview in Zen no Tomo does he not specifically stress zazen, concentrating there on Ejō's piety and the importance of practicing at all times, illustrating this with remarks about the toilet as a place for practice. The most interesting factor in Hata's teaching, however, is the continued assertion that Sōtō is a pure way, unadulterated by foreign, i.e. non-Buddhist, elements. This is most explicitly stated in the talks, but comes through in all his interviews which discuss the totality of the Zen way and the direct transmission. In Japanese terms, as in general Mahayana terms, this does not hold true, as has been shown in Chapter One, but in

Hata's terms, in which he focuses on the philosophical aspects and on the aspect of practice, there is an element of truth in such a view. Although it can be claimed that Sōtō, like all Buddhist sects in Japan, has incorporated numerous elements from other religious currents, it can equally be asserted that the essence of Sōtō teaching and practice, which comes from Dōgen, has remained unchanged in itself, even if it has been re-interpreted at times. Hata's assertions on the purity of Sōtō Zen pertain to its inner thought and its essential core, which he, in all his interviews and talks, discusses at length and directly.

It has been noted that recent years have seen a 'Zen boom' and that this has been accompanied by an increase in Sōtō publications centred on zazen. Hata has been head priest of the sect during this period and, while it would be inaccurate to suggest that the move towards zazen-oriented publications has been because of him (as has been seen, the methodological thinkers have been moving along such lines, while the sect has always moved with the times), it would not be inaccurate to suggest that Hata in some ways represents these current moves in the sect. There is one important proviso, however; that is that Hata does not seem to hold any real patience for the Sōtō method of approaching different groups by different means. His speech to a danka audience that did not manifest any great interest in his teaching was little different from that to an audience consisting for the most part of priests, while

his injunctions that all can do zazen and that all should read Dōgen, along with his continued emphasis on monastic life and on the virtues of Eihei-ji (not as part of a dual image in contrast to the way of Sōjiji, but as a fact in itself), are not altered for the sake of the audience or readership, to fit their needs and attitudes. Hata thus may be said to be a purist, asserting basic Sōtō values and practices and emphasising its transmission, philosophy and unchanging essence, speaking in modern society but holding to principles of thought and action which have always underpinned the sect throughout its history.

(iii) Satō and Hata: contrasting themes and influences

It is clear that, in their teachings, Satō and Hata, from quite similar backgrounds of long academic and religious practice and from the same positions of responsibility as head priests of Eihei-ji and Sōtō, have expressed somewhat different attitudes to the teaching of Sōtō in contemporary Japan. The time span between the two, in terms of their periods in office and the dates of the publications that have been cited, is little more than a decade, but it is an era which has seen the beginnings of change within the sect's teaching patterns. In the post-war era and in the years of Japanese economic recovery, Sōtō had to fight to retain its former membership in the face of numerous outside threats and encroachments from such as the New Religious movements, the breakdown of traditional loyalty and value systems and the lure of economic advance. Within the last few years, however, this pattern has changed to

some degree: the sect itself has managed to weather the immediate threats posed to its economic base, and there has begun to develop a renewed interest in the spiritual aspects of Buddhism, especially amongst those who have no interest in the formal aspects of sectarian Buddhism. In tune with this shifting pattern, Sōtō has changed and expanded its scope of teaching, seeking to cater for those attracted by the practice of Zen Buddhism as well as continuing to care for the interests of its danka members.

In many ways, Satō and Hata can be viewed as symbolising these different, yet complementary, aspects of Sōtō, both in their teaching and in the chronological sense, with Satō as the representative of the earlier era when the focus was still on the danka and the uncommitted, non-zazen practicing laity, and Hata as the representative of the current revival of zazen teaching and the era of the 'Zen boom'. This is a convenient model but must not be seen as exclusive and total. One must bear in mind that Satō has advocated the practice of zazen, not only in the article in Sanshō for the specialist audience of Sōtō priests, but in his more general works (e.g. Satō 1971, p.57), while noting that Hata's one interview which does not emphasise zazen is the one for Sōtō danka in Zen no Tomo. Nonetheless, in the attitudes that each of them manifests when teaching and expressing their thoughts to a wide audience, one can use this model with justification.

As has been pointed out, there is a good symbolic contrast between Satō's commentary on the Shushōqi, itself a text that by-passes zazen and teaches a morally based

way of action for the laity, and Hata's on the Fukanzazengi. The first is concerned with taking the text as a spring-board from which to expound a message for the average reader while the latter concentrates on the internal structure and nature of the text and is more relevant for the specialist and practitioner of zazen.⁵⁹ The contrast is underlined by various statements that each has made, on the nature of the sect and on zazen, to cite two areas of difference. If one considers the following statements, already quoted in this chapter:

'all Buddhism has this characteristic
of combining with customs in any region'
(Satō, above, p.368)

'Shinto cannot enter into Buddhism'
(Hata, above, p.383)

'it (zazen) is not something readily
assimilated by the general public'
(Satō above, p.369)

'everyone can do it (zazen) readily'
(Hata, above, p.384)

one can see that there is a great deal of difference in their attitudes. One might also extend this to include the remarks of both talking of complete abandonment of the self in whatever one is doing. Satō states that this can be done in all things, even watching the television (above, p.368) while Hata keeps to traditional temple practices such as samu as his example.

In these statements, one sees the crystallisation of their different lines of discussion and outlook: Satō's centres on the layman in society and on the importance of actions and behaviour in society, while Hata's focuses on the philosophical bases and the aspect of practice, especially of zazen, and generally relates to the temple environment. One notes that Hata talks extensively of Eihei-ji, while Satō barely, if at all, mentions it. Both assert in all that they say and write that enlightenment is actualised only within the sphere of one's daily life activity, but for Hata the place and situation to realise this is the temple, especially Eihei-ji with its long enduring peace. Satō, by contrast, does not emphasise the temple situation, but brings out various images of everyday life (watching the television and so on) to illustrate his point.

In terms of imagery, also, one finds that Satō has a style that fits in with the general tenor of Sōtō writing: one encounters the mother-child image, the water analogy and so on. Hata, by contrast, does not deal with such allegories and analogies to illustrate what is, after all, largely a philosophical approach centred on zazen and temple life. One can say that his is the more direct approach, stating that Zen is a pure entity and that zazen is something that all can do, while Satō takes a more gentle approach, accepting the syncretic nature of Buddhism and the situation that has resulted from its development on these lines in Japan, and working from the basis that zazen is not a readily accepted practice in Japan. One

notes that Hata often tells people to read Dōgen's work, stating that all can understand it, while Satō does not do this. He quotes Dōgen often but invariably provides (as in the commentary on the Shushōgi) a detailed explanation of the terms used and so on.

It can be seen from their respective works that Satō is a gradualist who, focusing on the laity, attempts to draw them forward into Sōtō belief patterns centred on the precepts, while Hata is much more in line with the absolutist approach, advocating zazen for all and, it should be noted, hardly mentioning the preceptual or gradual way at all. It would be too strong an analogy to equate Hata and Satō to Dōgen and Keizan respectively, but there is much in their respective ways that has similarities with the two founders. Hata's line that asserts a 'pure Zen', untainted by Shinto or other religious currents, and his advocacy of the monastic aspects of Zen, are close to Dōgen's viewpoint, while Satō's concentration on preceptual matters and on widening the gates for the laity to enter, while accepting the necessity of assimilation as a factor in the development of the sect's growth and teaching, has much in common with Keizan's teaching and activities.

In overall terms, this shows the broad nature of Sōtō and provides a good example of the encompassing nature of the sect, for the two, who contrast in their expressed outlooks and in their style of teaching, have held the same positions of responsibility and have acted as the figurehead

of the sect within the same decade. Besides acting in some way as symbols of different trends and movements within both Sōtō and the Japanese religious situation in general, with the move towards greater emphasis on zazen fitting in with Hata's own attitudes, they can be viewed as symbolising and acting as agents of the different, yet complementary, channels within Sōtō, which are the foundation of its 'great gate'. Throughout this thesis it has been argued that there are two major currents within Sōtō and that these, the narrow, monastic, Dōgenist line as symbolised by the severe father figure of Dōgen and his temple Eiheiji, and the broad and compassionate, lay-oriented line symbolised by the warm, mothering figure of Keizan and his temple Sōjiji, have both contributed to the building of the sect. It has been suggested that the interaction of these two has enabled Sōtō to teach different groups in different and appropriate ways and that the existence of the two ensures an active and continuing safeguard against stagnation and provides the sect with the means to combat any problems that it faces. In concluding this analysis of Satō and Hata, they can be viewed as representing these two complementary channels that are intrinsic to Sōtō, as well as manifesting the shifting change in scope and attitudes prevalent in the sect at all times in line with the movements and currents of Japanese society which, in recent years, has resulted in an increase in the sect's publication of works on zazen and a revival of the sect's more specialist practices.

C O N C L U S I O N

Sahashi (1980) reports the comment of a young priest at a conference of Sōtō priests some years back as follows:

'the Sōtō sect in the present day has ended up being a trade association of temples.'¹

Sahashi himself agrees with this and considers that this is a trait not only of Sōtō but of other Japanese Buddhist sects. However, despite certain accuracies in this remark, it contains historical errors. As has been demonstrated in Part One of this thesis, and especially in Chapter Two, the sect has always developed along such lines. Its growth has been one of expansion via regional temples and centres, which have a formal affiliation to one of the head temples, but which possess a great deal of autonomy. The proselytisation of the late thirteenth century onwards depended on the ability of monks to teach their own interpretations of Dōgen in accord with local circumstances, and thus the sect grew as a loose-knit federation rather than as a centralised body. The analysis of the Sōtō sect in the Tokugawa era (Yokozeki 1938) cited in Chapter Two demonstrates the diffusion and diversity of Sōtō's sub-sects, a diffusion which still has some relevance today.

In the modern era, there has been a move towards centralisation, with the development of the Head Office in Tokyo, the growth of a bureaucracy and the control of channels of information by the centre. This has not

affected the autonomous nature of the sect's temples, however. This autonomy, founded in the very development process of the sect, has left the modern priest with a great deal of power inside the temple, despite the formal and external affiliation to the sect. Sahashi himself has acknowledged this in answering my question as to why, considering he was a forthright and outspoken critic of the sect's administration and of its modern developments, he could remain the head priest of one of its training temples. He made a distinction between the external and the internal nature of the temple. Externally, a temple belonged to a particular sect, in this case Sōtō, and followed the rites and ceremonials prescribed by the sect and held allegiance to its teachings, but internally, it was the power and indeed the duty of the priest to teach Buddhism in the way he thought best, with the methods he considered to be the most apposite. Hence, he could remain in the sect formally, being incorporated under its wide umbrella, as it were, while pursuing an independent line.²

This affirmation of the independence and autonomy of the temple priest was confirmed by all the priests with which this point was discussed throughout the course of the research into this thesis. Nishiyama Kōsen, of Daimanji in Sendai, stated that in internal affairs he had complete control:³ it was up to the individual priest to decide whether to accept the materials available from the Head Office. What is actually Sōtō in a temple's activity is the ritual and ceremonial form it follows. A temple such as Tōganji

in Nagoya, discussed in Chapter One, which has a long history of independence and of disagreement with Sōtō policies, can remain as a Sōtō temple because its ceremonial form is Sōtō and because the temple accepts basic Sōtō views and affirms a belief in the teachings of Dōgen but follows its own means of practice and teaching. It is formally Sōtō but, practically, it is independent.

Such a situation highlights a basic problem for the sect. The existence of autonomous groupings within the overall aegis of the sect has caused the sect to be an association of temples and to take on such an aspect. In order to maintain its overall position, the sect has had to act as such an association, providing an adequate shelter, as it were, for all such groups and temples, while being unable to control the internal workings of the temple to any degree. This points to a particular weakness in the sect, especially when one considers the recent moves of the administration to develop the sect's teaching base along the lines of 'one temple, one teaching group'. The sect can only hope to influence its priesthood: due to the federated structure and nature of the sect, it cannot directly order each temple to follow these guidelines.

This is not only a problem with regard to those who dissent and who disregard such methodology, instead pursuing their own course of action, but is more problematical still with regard to those who merely view the priesthood as a means of remuneration. As has been discussed with

regard to the seshū system, there are many who have inherited the temple and tend to view it as a business rather than as a spiritual occupation. This is by no means true of all seshū priests, many of whom defend the system on the grounds that it rears priests who have imbibed the temple environment from their childhood, but it does mean that whenever a priest acts as a businessman rather than as a teacher, the sect cannot intervene. It is, after all, the individual responsibility of the priest as to whether he takes Sōtō publications, forms hōza groups, sanzenkai and the like. If a priest is not inclined to do anything other than perform the (income producing) rites incumbent on him, and instead holds another occupation, the Sōtō drive for increased teaching based on the temple falls down.

The phrase 'Cadillac priest' (Kadirakku Obōsan*) is one frequently heard when discussing the priesthood with Japanese people. It denotes those priests who are more concerned with their own material welfare than in the spiritual welfare of the populace. Many Japanese priests hold a second occupation besides that of priest, originally as a means of providing for a family, but, in recent economic boom times, there has been a general increase of income at temples as people have been able to spend more on funerals and other ceremonies. Nonetheless, priests have still followed a second occupation and there are those who, while neglecting all spiritual duties, flaunt their increased prosperity - hence the 'Cadillac priest' tag.

This epithet is not only used by the average Japanese who, despite professing no religious belief as such, demand overt spiritual behaviour from priests, but also by the committed priesthood who object both to what they see as venality and to the bad name that is given to all Buddhism as a result.⁴

There is little that the sect can do to counteract this. As has been demonstrated in Chapter Eight, there are many priests who, once their training is over, will not practice zazen at all, and this does not augur well for the development of any zazen-based teaching. The sect acknowledges that about 80 per cent of its priests have second occupations (see Chapter Four) but, rather than suggesting that they abandon them and concentrate on the affairs of their temples, instead states that they should use that second workplace as a teaching ground. The powerlessness of the sect is demonstrated clearly here: it cannot order, but only suggest and hope to influence. It is a basic weakness when attempting to develop teaching groups and to use the priesthood as the motive force in the propagation of Sōtō Buddhism.

The remark that the sect has become a temple association, while historically inaccurate, shows a clear perception of the problems and weaknesses inherent in the sect. Throughout this thesis, Sōtō's encompassing nature and its ability to come to terms with different situations and to allow the existence of diverse factions within it have been stressed and put forward as reasons for its size

and for its broad base. These are, by and large, strengths, but it must also be stated that they can be weak points at the same time. Because the sect comes to terms with such factions, because it thus tolerates seshū and allows the priesthood to indulge in alternative occupations, without much pressure for change, it also can be seen as, and is criticised sharply by such as Sahashi for, being less concerned with the actual teaching and spiritual propagation of Buddhism than in maintaining a large structure and in developing power and financial prosperity. Because of the all-encompassing nature of the sect and because of its publications, in which it can be seen as trying to present a number of different faces, being all things to all people, as it were, it can be viewed, as its critics generally argue, as presenting a corporate image in which the lowest common religious denominator has become the standard.

This view has been sharpened by the growth of the sect bureaucracy. The corporate image has not only been fuelled by its standardised teachings to its danka in which the ideal family has been portrayed and in which techniques such as those used by Japanese business corporations have been displayed, but has been underlined by the modern corporate office block headquarters in Tokyo, with its developing bureaucracy. Because Sōtō is a large scale organisation presiding over a complex structure, it has of necessity developed a specialist bureaucracy. In this, the traditional shugakusō, the well-versed practitioner-academic, has been supplanted within the power centre of the

sect by the administrator and the bureaucrat. This has caused the growth of such a corporate, bureaucratised image and the development of a modernity at the centre which in many respects outstrips the latent traditionalism of Sōtō's old power bases in rural regions such as Hokuriku.

While it has been necessary for the sect's administration to continue the long-term Sōtō pattern of encompassing diverse factions, its creation of standardised images and a corporate common denominator in its family teaching has served to advance the central administration and the central power base of the sect. As the Head Office has, over the years, taken more power and influence into its hands and has been in the vanguard of policy formation and teaching movements, the role of the regional temples has declined. Even the head temples have become models and images rather than centres of influence in their own right. This centralising process has been complemented by the increasingly important position of Komazawa University. Nowadays, many young trainees for the priesthood go to universities such as Komazawa as part of their training, and Tokyo temples such as Chōkokuji, Eiheiji's Tokyo branch temple, have a number of trainees in residence who go daily to Komazawa for their education. The head temples, due to their name and to lineage connections, still have many trainees, but this move to the large cities and to the universities has denuded regional training centres of potential recruits.⁵ Sahashi Hōryū has commented to me that this process has become a serious threat

to the continued functioning of such regional training temples as Chōkokuji (Nagano): this, the temple at which he is head priest, has now only got five trainees, and he considers that the numbers will decline as the centralisation process continues.⁶

In the introduction to Appendix One, the prevalence of Komazawa lecturers and graduates amongst those who have written for the sect has been noted, and this points to the increased centralisation and to the continuing growth of a Tokyo-based power structure, in which trainees go to Komazawa and then move to the sect's offices, becoming an official in one of its departments. One can see this process continuing and the sect becoming, at the centre, a Tokyo organisation. This may be in tune with the demographic movements in Japan, but could result in the decline of the sect in rural regions if the sect continues to draw all power into the Tokyo region. The recent 'Zen boom' is very much a city based movement of the young, and developments such as the coffee-shop Buddhist groups are focused on the Tokyo region. By comparison, even a town such as Sendai, which is the largest in the Tōhoku region, has very little activity. The local Sōtō Seinenkai (i.e. young men's society) organises occasional talks (about two a year) but there is little other activity. The priest in charge of the Seinenkai stated that there was not the interest in such things in Sendai: in contrast, he said, there were many talks and flourishing sanzenkai at all times in Tokyo.⁷

If there is a developing imbalance in the sect due to the growth of a Tokyo power base, one must remember that Sōtō has a long history of adaptation and coming to terms with fluctuating circumstances. Thus, while noting this current move to the centre and the prevalent growth of a corporate nature, one should bear in mind that the sect's inbuilt traditions of action and response will enable it to counter the detrimental sides of this move. The sect has always been a federation, deriving strength from its broad base, from its comprehensive nature and from its regional diversity, and unless it departs from this tradition, will continue to find ways to accommodate these various factions and areas, rather than allow them to be neglected, to the ultimate detriment of the sect as a whole.

If the corporate nature, the urbanisation and 'temple association' themes can be viewed as weaknesses, real or potential, they are also at the heart of Sōtō's continued strength. The foundation of the 'great gate' has been the all-inclusive nature, i.e. the 'temple association' aspect, the ability to encompass and incorporate rather than to exclude and reject, and it is this attitude that has ensured not simply the survival but further the prospering of the sect, while its ability to adopt and develop societal movements, as with the current urban 'Zen boom', has been at the heart of the sect's activity and has provided the continual stimulus necessary for it to have avoided becoming static and moribund.

There is thus a duality of weakness and strength within Sōtō: its encompassing nature is a strength and yet a weakness because it allows the existence not only of dissenting factions but, more seriously, of the uncommitted priesthood concerned with economic rather than spiritual advancement. Such 'Cadillac priests' harm the image not just of the sect but of Buddhism in general.

The priesthood is deemed to be the teaching force of the sect but because of the seshū system, there is no guarantee that such priests will be ready to act as spiritual purveyors, while, because of the loose-knit structure of the sect and the high degree of autonomy of its temples, the sect as such has not sufficient authority to enforce its aims on the priesthood as a whole. While there are those such as Nishiyama, whose talk to his danka has been reported in Chapter Seven, there are also many who do not attempt to propagate the Sōtō message. The 'one temple, one teaching group' movement respects this autonomy, by giving the temple priest the authority to decide the manner in which this could be put into practice, but is at the mercy of this same autonomy which enables the priest to ignore or not carry out such plans.

This duality of strength and weakness bears a strong similarity to the various other dualities that have emerged during this investigation. Even the parallel growth of the zazen-oriented boom and its increased teaching with that of the prosperity that has brought forth the figure of the 'Cadillac priest' seems to fit into this dual imagery. Such dual images as that of Eiheiji and Sōjiji

(narrow/broad, and strict/gentle) coupled with parallel images of their founders are at the heart of Sōtō's publication style as well as being intrinsic to its success. This duality, which is one also of unity and diversity, has been fundamental to the sect throughout its history of advance, growth, reconstruction and revival. Over seven centuries, the sect has had to deal with the vicissitudes of history, the fluctuating political situation and various threats such as economic disruption: its ability to weather such storms and to continue to maintain a large scale structure has depended on this dual nature of unity and diversity. There is unity in its basic teachings as expressed by Dōgen and diversity in the manner in which such teachings have been spread and proselytised, from Keizan onwards. There is a duality between the tenets, which are seen as the unchanging essence of Buddhism, and the manner of implementing them, which manifests the changing nature that is inherent in all things and which functions with the unchanging. This duality is also seen in the concepts of self/other, function/form and practice/enlightenment that permeate Sōtō thought and publications, and this ultimately is not a duality at all, but a unity.

It is a fundamental tenet of Dōgen's Buddhism that there is no duality, only unity, and this has most clearly been expressed in the principle of practice-enlightenment (shushōgi) which has formed the basis of the sect's standard teaching for the last century. As practice is enlightenment, so are all things parts of the whole: thus, self and other are not two but one, the changing and the unchanging.

are in themselves a unity, and function and form (i.e. hataraki and sugata) are one. In the specifically Japanese religious world, this underlying unity has been expressed by the continuity that exists between the various levels of religious action and behaviour. This is not a differentiated world but a continuum of activity that is expressed in Sōtō by the interrelationship of zazen and prayer described in Chapter Eight. As the mountain analogy drawn in Chapter One shows, there is a direct relationship between all levels of religious behaviour in the Japanese context, and this forms a unity and whole. Sōtō's view that all is a unity and that all religion forms a continuum has been expressed by its adherence to the general structure of Japanese religion and to the unified nature of the Japanese religious commonwealth, and this, coupled with its readiness and ability to incorporate its own methods and teachings with local customs and practices, has enabled the sect to be numerically successful and to be simultaneously both Buddhist and essentially Japanese in nature. Sōtō as a sect provides an excellent example of the nature of the Mahayana: unified yet assimilative, holding to an unchanging truth but using localised means to propagate this, accepting the vehicle of the changing and transient (a fundamental starting point of Buddhism) as a way towards the unchanging and eternal truth.

In this unity and diversity, in this unified core and assimilative exterior, Sōtō can be seen both as a

Japanese religion and as a Buddhist movement, asserting basic Buddhist tenets and advocating Buddhist practices such as zazen and belief in the Three Jewels alongside traditional Japanese customs such as ancestral veneration. It combines these elements under one roof, thus expressing a diverse nature, as exhibited by the 'great gate' concept, which is also a unified whole: there is no discrimination in the sect's teaching between these diverse elements, and, in Sōtō theory, correct prayer and veneration at the family altar is as much a pure and hence enlightened and enlightening practice as is zazen. At the heart of all this is belief, which is fundamental to all Sōtō practice and which underlies and underpins such Sōtō practices for the layman as the preceptual path. The great gate of Sōtō being the gateway of zazen, the gateway of the precepts and the all-encompassing gateway for all people and all activities, encompasses the diverse and disparate elements of the society and culture in which it functions and brings them into the basic unity that is postulated by the tenets of Sōtō. This great gate coupled with the sect's assimilative and flexible nature, inherent to its development and written into the sect's constitution, allied to the unified interaction of its thought and practice, has formed the basis of the sect's ability to come to terms with and exist and develop as a large scale religious organisation in a society which has at times acted to its disadvantage.

The publications of Sōtō reflect such themes and manifest the themes of unity and diversity that have made the sect into a broad based group of some 15,000 .

temples. In analysing the content of such contemporary publications, one has to be aware of their context and of the historical frame into which they fit: this enables the reader to understand the techniques and thought processes that have gone into their production. Equally, to read the publications enables the reader to gain insights into Japanese religion in general and into the overall nature of the Sōtō sect in particular, as well as providing a view of both its contemporary nature and of the historical processes and the factors that have contributed to its contemporary form. The major themes of contemporary Sōtō have been defined as working on two basic levels at once (again, a duality), of teaching the average lay follower who is interested in the traditional ancestral side of Buddhism in its Japanese context and leading such people toward deeper commitment to and belief in the sect, while promoting practices such as zazen for those with stronger spiritual inclinations. For both groups, the important factor is belief: belief in the precepts and in the efficacy of zazen, belief in the Buddha and in the teachings of the sect.

In recent years, there has been a balance between these themes, with a steady flow of material on the spiritually related theme of zazen and on aspects of household worship and ancestral practices. This dual nature is united through belief and through the continuum that states that formal allegiance leads to the precepts which leads to zazen, just as zazen leads to the precepts and formal allegiance. The publications of the sect thus

manifest the themes that have contributed to its growth and are in themselves expressions of the great gate and of the unity and diversity that forms a continuum fundamental to Sōtō's position as a large scale Japanese Buddhist organisation.

CONTEMPORARY PUBLICATIONS OF THE SŌTŌ HEAD OFFICE: A SURVEY

The publications surveyed in this appendix are numbered from 1 to 81, and consist of the larger part of materials published by the sect in recent years and currently available. The period covered by them is largely the years 1977-1982, although there are items which date back to 1950. All the materials in question have been obtained by myself during a one-year stay in Japan (April 1981-April 1982). Most of those listed between 1 and 56 were obtained at the sect's Head Office in Minato ward, Tokyo, on my visits there. They were either bought at the Publications Office or given to me by an informant at the office. Most of the leaflets (numbers 57-81 in the list) were picked up at temples I visited. Such leaflets had been distributed to Sōtō temples and were invariably left in the hall of such temples with a notice asking people to take them. Thus I obtained this material just as the Head Office would wish its danka to come into contact with it. The two magazines or periodicals (numbers 55 and 56) are probably the most widely read and distributed. Zen no Tomo is sent out from Head Office to all temples and can be collected at most Sōtō temples. I obtained copies at Sōtō temples throughout Japan. Zen no Kaze, as has been noted in Chapter Four, is sold through bookshops as well as via temples.

The usual way to obtain publications is either at the Head Office or their regional offices, or via the mail order form in Zen no Tomo. As a rule, the main clientele is the Sōtō priesthood itself (see Chapter Four). A number of works were obtained at the specialist bookshop at the Sōtō Komazawa University: these tended to be those concerned with methodology and aimed at the priesthood (numbers 11-15, for example). Although the bookshop is open to the public, it is situated in a place where the bulk of its customers will be students, many of whom are trainees for the priesthood. Some of the publications obtained here (for example, number 27) are not in the general Sōtō publications catalogue: other methodological works (for example, number 14) were obtained at regional offices, although these were not in the general publications catalogue.

One must note a bias towards Komazawa in the authors' backgrounds. Of 29 named authors (the rest are accredited to the Head Office as editor)²¹ had been educated at Komazawa, while the authors of eight works listed were lecturers at the University. This seems to back up an assertion often heard these days that Sōtō is becoming more centred on the Tokyo region, at the expense of the regional temples and centres.

This is not simply due to the influence of the Head Office but is also due to the profound influence of Komazawa as Sōtō's oldest and leading academic institution.

It must be pointed out that not all the publications of the sect over the last few years have been reviewed here. Some of the series are missing: not all copies of Zen no Tomo of the past five years have been seen, though most have, and the two pamphlet series Zen no Hōwa and Zen to Seikatsu are incomplete. This was due to problems in finding copies of them: often when a publication is not re-issued, copies become scarce and cannot be found even two or three years after the original publication. I was fortunate to come across a number of older publications in a cupboard at a Sōtō temple in Takayama, Gifu prefecture, and even more fortunate in that the priest was kind enough to give them all to me, stating as he did that no-one else was interested in them.

There are a few books mentioned in the general catalogue that I have not reviewed for various reasons. The most important of these is that they do not necessarily add anything to the information and material already under review and that they cater for a minority area of interest. One can include both the collected works of the poetry society, which run to at least nine volumes, and the various sutra books (at least eight of these). I have included a sample and representative volume in the appendix. Various reference books such as the Jiin Meikan (directory of all temples in the sect) and the Sōtoshū Shūsei, or rules of the sect, add little that is not found in other informative works (see numbers 17-21 in particular). There are a number of specialist commentaries and translations into Japanese of Chinese Zen texts, which do not come into the field of interest of the danka, nor indeed the average priest. The modern translation of Dōgen's Eiheishingi (rules for Eihei-ji) and translations of the Sōyōroku and other texts come in this category. Being of a highly academic nature, these appeal to a very select group of priests as a rule and hold no information as to the sect's attitudes to its followers. In a similar category is Hata Ekyoku's commentary on the Fukanzazengi: an article in Sanshō which contains a summary of this has been commented on in Chapter Nine. Another entry in the catalogue is Sakurai Shūyū's two volume set on Eihei-ji and Sōji-ji: this is a newer version of the work by Sakurai (1964) in the bibliography, published independently; the sect has re-issued it in two volumes with a number of photographs. Finally, there are a number of books and guides to education and curricula for children. Although education offers an important area of Sōtō activity,

this has been dealt with in detail in Chapter Six in particular. There is enough material in the works herein surveyed to show clearly the sect's attitude to education. To have gone further into such material would have put the rest of the material out of focus and would have altered the balance of the survey. The sect's attitudes to education provide ample scope for a separate work altogether.

It will become apparent that, while the majority of these works date from the mid-1970's, the few English works tend to be of an earlier date. With one exception, all these were published in the 1950's and 1960's. The exception (number 9) was, I believe, compiled by a Sōtō priest and later published via the sect: it has been published some 12 years after the previous work in English on the list. Only this and one other (number 6) English work were obtained at the Head Office: the rest were found at various temples. This perhaps helps to explain their age: I found them usually in out-of-the-way cupboards where they had been stored and forgotten about. As the publication of these was also aimed at the Japanese young at a time when such English pamphlets were felt to be in fashion (see Chapter Four), they have been included in this survey. The sole exception as far as I know is number 6, originally published for the Sōtō Mission in Hawaii.

I have tried to maintain some uniformity by listing the works according to category and subject matter (i.e. whether for priests, danka and so on). Within each group, I have kept to chronological order. The sect does not make such overt differentiations of type: I have done so for the sake of clarity. There are a number of 'grey areas' between types and topics but the general format is as follows:

Nos. 1-9.....English language titles.

Nos. 10-16...Methodological guides for priests.

Nos. 17-27...General guides to sect belief and events (for danka).

Nos. 28-33...Guides to Buddhist and Sōtō thought (largely of an academic nature).

Nos. 34-36...Guides for living based on texts (e.g. the Shushōgi).

Nos. 37-41...Books of talks by Sōtō teachers.

Nos. 42-49...General pamphlets (Zen to Seikatsu and Zen no Hōwa series and so on).

Nos. 50-54...Ryokuin series (Zen no Tsudoi talks).

Nos. 55-56...Periodicals (Zen no Tomo, Zen no Kaze)

Nos. 57-81...Leaflets.

LEAFLETS

Virtually all these are undated and, except for numbers 72 and 73 which are published by the sect's Tōhoku area office, have been published by the Head Office. Most are two or three pages long. Numbers

57-73 are what may be classed as 'explanatory', dealing with points of fact or information (for example, those that detail the lives of leading figures in the sect's pantheon, such as Keizan) and with guides for activities in the sect, as with the guides to zazen and shakyō. These also include guides to general Japanese religious practices such as worship before the butsudān. Numbers 74-81 are leaflets sent out to Sōtō temples at special times of the year (e.g. o-Bon and Shōgatsu) when it is customary for danka to visit their local temple to perform the traditional rites connected with the grave and the ancestors. None talks of Sōtō as such in the text but all bear the following paragraph of information:

' Our Sōtō sect.

In the Sōtō sect, we have Shakyamuni Buddha (o-Shaka-sama) as our main object of worship, and we venerate Dōgen Zenji, who correctly transmitted the teachings to Japan, and Keizan Zenji, who spread the teachings in this country, as our two great Patriarchs (teachers of human life).

We have as our head temples Eihei-ji, which Dōgen opened in Fukui prefecture, and Sōji-ji in Yokohama, opened by Keizan. Throughout the country, we have 15,000 temples and eight million affiliated temple followers (danshinto).

In the Sōtō sect, we regard the practice of zazen as life itself and from this we see into the Buddha-mind, which is inherent in us from our birth, and through this we live a fulfilled and satisfied daily life.'

私たちの曹洞宗

曹洞宗では、釈迦牟尼仏[お釈迦さま]を「本尊」と仰ぎ、その教えを正しく日本に伝えられた道元禅師さまと、その教えもわが国に弘められた瑩山禅師さまを両祖大師[人生の導師]としてお慕い申し上げます。

道元禅師さまの開かれた福井県の永平寺と、瑩山禅師さまの開かれた横浜市の総持寺を両大本山と申し上げ、全国一万五千のお寺、八百万人の檀信徒の心のよりどころといたします。

曹洞宗は、坐禅をすることを生命とし、これにより私たちが生まれながらに持っている仏心にめざめ、充実に毎日悔いのない人生を過ごすためのものです。'

Notes on presentation

In the table that follows, all publications have been classed as to author(column one),title,nature and date(column two) and summarised as to main themes(column three). In the first column, after the author's name, the position held, if stated in the work, is given. This is to illustrate the point made about Komazawa above. In the second column, the title is followed by the type of publication(book, pamphlet, leaflet, etc,)and the date of publication. The date in brackets, where it occurs, refers to the first time it had been published,if it had been before. The summary attempts to encapsulate the main themes of the work. This is, of course, of necessity somewhat arbitrary, but I have tried to balance space and relevance as best as possible. Many of the works have been dealt with in detail in the thesis and so need less space than those that have not been directly quoted. All have contributed to the overall picture of Sōtō attitudes that has been derived from reading them and which has been expounded in this thesis.

Throughout this table, the standard abbreviation 'SSSMC' has been used for the Sōtōshūshūmuchō, i.e. Sōtō Head Office.

ENGLISH PUBLICATIONS

Author and Number	Title, nature and date of publication	Summary of themes
1. SSSMC(ed.)	Hana Matsuri(The Flower Festival). Booklet, 20 pages, 1950.	Simple explanatory pamphlet describing the origins of hana matsuri in Japan and stating the basic Buddhist precepts.
2. SSSMC(ed.)	Selections from the Jataka Tales. Booklet, 50 pages, 1952.	English translation of the Jataka Tales, aimed at a Japanese audience, especially the young.
3. SSSMC(ed.)	Handbook of Eihei-ji and Sōji-ji. Booklet, 32 pages, 1952.	Simple explanatory history of the two head temples, lives of their founders and a synopsis of their teachings.
4. SSSMC(ed.)	Zen Culture (No.2) Booklet, 32 pages, 1954.	Extracts from works by two Sōtō academics, Masunaga Rei-hō and Kurebayashi Kōdō, stating basic points of Sōtō philosophy and its teachings.
5. SSSMC(ed.)	The Five Articles for Buddhist Grace at Mealtimes. Booklet, 12 pages, 1960.	Explanatory guide to the grace used at mealtimes in Sōtō temples, with a translation of it and a commentary on it based on Dōgen's teachings.
6. SSSMC(ed.)	A Short Manual of Sōtō Zen Buddhism. Booklet, 26 pages, 1962.	Explanatory guide to the sect's teachings, produced for the benefit of Sōtō's Hawaii Mission. It gives a basic introduction to teachings, services, history, traditions and practices of the sect, as well as to its administration and head temples.

7. SSSMC (ed.)	Zen: the Way to a Happy Life. Booklet, 40 pages, 1964.	Explanatory work compiled from other publications. It deals with the problems facing man in the modern age, arguing that man is no longer master of, but rather is the slave of, the culture he has built. The Zen way is the means to solve such problems.
8. Uchiyama Kōshō (Soto temple priest)	Modern Civilisation and Zen. Booklet, translated from a Japanese pamphlet also available, 60 pages, 1967.	Deals with the theme that man is involved in a culture and a scientific, materialistic civilisation over which he has lost control. The civilisation itself is seen as being based on uncontrolled desires and attachments: until man can learn to control these, he will not be able to be master of his culture. Man must learn to break his desires and attachments, and the way to do this is via the practice of zazen.
9. SSSMC (ed.)	Zen: Paths from One Point. Booklet, 58 pages, 1979.	Explanatory work giving, in simple terms, a potted history of Zen in India, China and Japan and its developments in the West. It is largely the work of Takuzo Igarashi, a priest from Tsuruoka, translated by an American student, although it is classed as a publication edited by the Head Office. It gives a very basic guide to zazen and to the relevance of Zen in Japanese culture.

JAPANESE PUBLICATIONS

10. SSSMC(ed.)	Seishin e no Joshō. Book, 184 pages, 1980(1970)	A guidebook for priests, providing them with specimen questions that might be asked by <u>danka</u> , along with blueprint answers. The prologue talks of troubles and confusion in modern society and of the fall in (moral) standards, and talks of the need to counter this by increased teaching by the sect. A new approach and methodology is needed, based on the activity of the priesthood, who must prepare for this by improving their teaching methods.
11. Nakano Tōei	Hōwa no Kenkyū. Book, 190 pages, 1973(1972)	A methodological guidebook for priests, explaining ways of giving <u>hōwa</u> (talks on Buddhism) to temple followers. It includes sections on delivery and style as well as content: model talks are also given.
12. SSSMC(ed.)	Hōza. Book, 206 pages, 1978(1973)	A methodological guidebook for priests, intended as a companion volume to No.10(above), giving standard examples of how to deliver talks, along with standard models. It seeks to combat the decline of religious feeling in Japan through the concerted efforts of the priesthood whom it seeks to mobilise along prescribed plans of action and models.
13. Hattori Shosai (sect lecturer)	Jōgu to Geke. Book, 96 pages, 1977(1976)	A methodological guide for priests that calls for a new approach to teaching in line with the changing nature of society. It seeks to adapt Sōtō teaching to the contemporary age and to provide the sect's priesthood with methodological guidelines for this purpose.

14. SSSMC(ed.)	Genshoku Kenshū (No.2) Book, 102 pages, 1981.	Texts of lectures given by Sōtō teachers at an in-service training symposium. It calls for a new approach to teaching and propagation in line with the changing nature of society, and calls on Sōtō priests to take the Buddhist message out of the confines of the temple into the everyday world. It provides ideas and models as to how this can be done, and indeed has been done.
15. SSSMC: Sōtōshū Tōkaidō Kanku Kyōkasenta (ed.)	Oriori no Hōwa (3 vols.) Books, Vol.1 516 pages Vol.2 340 pages Vol.3 292 pages 1980 (1979)	Each volume contains a large number of short talks (in all there are 177). These provide both a specimen for all talks by Sōtō priests who are the main readers of them (see Chapter Four) and a potential source of advice for those interested in Buddhism who wish to read easily understood talks on the subject. Vol.1 concentrates on talks at specific times of the year (e.g. Higan, o-Bon) and on funerals and memorial services. Vol.2 has sections on the above and also on talks for various societies and groups (sanzenkai, ladies' groups and so on). Vol.3 covers funerals, services and various study groups, Parent-Teachers Associations, old peoples' clubs and all other areas where a priest might be asked to speak.
16. SSSMC: Sōtōshū Kinki Kanku Kyōkasenta (ed.)	Fureai o Motomete (Kokoro no Denwa Howashū). Book, 197 pages, 1981.	Transcripts of talks broadcast by the Sōtō Kinki area office on their telephone service. The underlying view of this service is that this is a busy age in which people have little free time to visit temples, yet need the help of Buddhism: this is especially so for the young estranged from the temple. Hence the service was started to make the words of Buddhism readily available. The book contains 97 talks which also provide a model for priests

17. SSSMC(ed.)	Shūryō Hikkei. Book, 230 pages, 1978(1954).	Handbook for priests of the sect, giving a brief history of the sect and related events in Japanese history. It gives the structure and histories of the two head temples, their founders, the basic teachings of the sect and the major areas of activity, including services and guides to texts used in them. There is a guide to Buddhist figures and images, lists of leading temples in the sect and educational establishments.
18. SSSMC(ed.)	Jitei no Sho. Book, 211 pages, 1980(1966).	Explanatory guide for families of Sōtō priests. It describes aspects of temple life and functions of the temple, stressing the importance of the temple family as a model for all families. The temple family must learn the fundamental teachings of the sect and so a brief synopsis is given. It covers the lives of Buddha, Dōgen and Keizan and their teachings, and explains ceremonies and functions at the temple, especially those connected to the mortuary process. It includes various texts, including the <u>Shushōgi</u> .
19. SSSMC(ed.)	Danshinto Hikkei. Book, 122 pages, 1976(1958)	Explanatory guide for temple followers. It explains the basic teachings (Three Jewels, three teachers) with simpler explanations than those in the parallel work for priests, above (No. 17). It gives a history of the sect, including the 'outside the scriptures' transmission story, and of the head temples. Brief details of various services and how to behave at them, the duties of <u>danka</u> toward the temple and the correct ways of <u>family living</u> are also given.

20. SSSMC(ed.)	Kenshū no Techō. Book, 140 pages, 1978.	Explanatory guidebook for the young of <u>danka</u> . It gives the essential teachings of <u>Sōtō</u> , including the lives of <u>Dōgen</u> and <u>Keizan</u> , as well as the <u>Buddha</u> , and the 'true transmission', the way to do <u>zazen</u> , the ceremonies and activities of the temple and the meanings of various <u>Buddha</u> images in <u>Sōtō</u> temples. Basic texts such as the <u>Hannya Shingyō</u> and the <u>Shushōgi</u> are given, and there is a section where the reader can check off his/her progress in learning the contents of the book.
21. SSSMC(ed.)	Shiori. Booklet, 20 pages, 1980 (1977)	The aim of this booklet is 'to deepen faith' according to its cover. It gives a brief description of the sect's structure and the societies it runs, with a resumé of the teachings (same as Nos. 19 and 20, but briefer) including the importance of <u>zazen</u> and of the life centred on the attitude manifested by doing <u>gasshō</u> .
22. SSSMC(ed.)	Bukkyō Tokuhon (3 vols.). Books, Vol. 1 112 pages Vol. 2 146 pages Vol. 3 170 pages, 1981 (1964)	A three-volume series which explains the basic tenets of <u>Sōtō</u> and the background to it historically. Vol. 1 deals with the life of <u>Buddha</u> and his basic teachings. Vol. 2 deals with those of <u>Bodhidharma</u> , <u>Dōgen</u> and <u>Keizan</u> and the transmission. Vol. 3 deals with two essential texts, the <u>Hannya Shingyō</u> and the <u>Shushōgi</u> , with commentaries on them taken from works by leading scholars and priests.
23. SSSMC(ed.)	Sanzen no Shiori. Booklet, 36 pages, 1981.	A short guide to the way to practice <u>zazen</u> and the correct way to <u>gasshō</u> , illustrated by pictures: the texts of the <u>Shushōgi</u> and the <u>Hannya Shingyō</u> are given.

24. SSSMC(ed.)	Sōtōshū no Nenjūgyōji. Booklet, 12 pages, 1981.	This describes the yearly events in the sect and its temples, describing the calendrical cycle, and explaining the correct way to visit the temple at such times, how to tend the grave and the butsudān. The ten articles of belief (see Chapter Seven) are given.
25. SSSMC(ed.)	Sōtōshū Hōreki. Booklet, 32 pages, 1981.	Yearly calendrical almanac, giving dates of both Buddhist and general Japanese religious events as well as astrological predictions, month-by-month hints for living and the correct Chinese medicines to take in each month. A brief introduction to the head temples is given, as are the ten articles of belief and an illustrated explanation of them is provided.
26. Eihei-ji (ed.)	Sōtōshū Nikkakyōtaizen. Sutra book, 175 pages, no date.	Texts of the sutras used at Sōtō temples and for worship in the home. There are many editions of such texts: this is just one example.
27. SSSMC(ed.)	Sōtōshūshūmochō Shuppan Annai, No. 9, 1981. Pamphlet, 20 pages, 1981.	A guide to publications of the sect's Head Office that are currently available. This is a monthly publication.
28. Mizuno Kōgen (Komazawa University Lecturer)	Bukkyō Nyūmon. Book, 117 pages, 1971.	A basic introduction to Buddhism for the layman by a leading Sōtō academic who is one of Japan's foremost authorities on early Buddhism. It serves as a companion and introductory volume to the following work.
29. Ifida Rigyō (Komazawa University Lecturer)	Zen Nyūmon. Book, 133 pages, 1975 (1971)	Introduction to Zen Buddhism for the layman, with a discussion of Dōgen's thought and the concept of the 'true transmission' (p. 35). It quotes the Shōbōgenzō extensively and discusses Dōgen's meeting with the tenzo at length. It comments on the post-Meiji trend towards more and more temple services, explaining why this has occurred. The development of the Shushōgi is described and a section on the importance of zazen is included.

<p>30. Sakurai Shūyū (Komazawa University lecturer)</p>	<p>Sōtōshū Ekōbun Kōgi (2 vols.). Books, Vol. 1 173 pages Vol. 2 186 pages, 1980 (1967)</p>	<p>An academic guide to the texts used in Sōtō memorial services, explaining terms and words. This is aimed at specialists, i.e. the priesthood, who conduct these services, and Sanskrit terminology is used. According to the author, this work is necessary because nobody nowadays learns at school the Chinese style of language in which all such texts are written: hence even priests grow up not knowing the meaning of the services they use. Hence an explanatory guide is essential.</p>
<p>31. Mizuno Kōgen (Komazawa University lecturer)</p>	<p>Shushōgi Kōwa. Book, 365 pages, 1978.</p>	<p>An academic explanation of the Shushōgi, describing its historical background, the circumstances which led to its development and structure. Mizuno gives the precise location of each phrase of the text in Dōgen's works. Mizuno approaches the text from the standpoint of what he terms 'primitive Buddhism', i.e. early Indian Buddhism, and argues that the Shushōgi transcends sect and expresses the fundamentals of Buddhism in a way no other Japanese text does.</p>
<p>32. Kamata Shigeo</p>	<p>Bukkyō no Ningenkan. Booklet, 23 pages, 1973 (1967)</p>	<p>An explanatory booklet which explains the Buddhist view of man (albeit from a Sōtō standpoint, quoting Dōgen at length: other Zen texts such as the Rinzaïroku are also quoted). The basic tenet is that man is intrinsically Buddha, as are all things. The change from the Indian view that only man was so, to the Sino-Japanese view that all things are Buddha is traced via the sutras and texts of Buddhism. All beings are interdependent: one must always reciprocate and love others (here he quotes the Shushōgi).</p>

33. Kamata Shigeo	Zen no Ningenkan. Booklet, 58 pages, 1977 (1970)	Explains the Zen philosophy of man, following on from No. 32, above, and largely based on Dogen's <u>Shōbōgenzō</u> <u>Zuimonki</u> , which is extensively quoted. Kamata argues that <u>modern society</u> has failed to help man and has lost sight of his true nature: essence and mind have been neglected in pursuit of the material. He attacks utilitarian trends in modern religion, contrasting this with Zen's concept of <u>non-attainment (mushotoku)</u> .
34. Kurebayashi Kōdō (former head of Komazawa University)	Fukanzazengi o Tataeru. Book, 158 pages, 1978 (1977)	A commentary on Dōgen's treatise on the practice of zazen, this was originally a series of articles in Zen no Tomo. Kurebayashi places great stress on the 'true transmission' and states that zazen is the fount of all Buddhism which comes from Shakyamuni's meditation at Buddh Gava. Buddhism is not just thought but practice, which means zazen. Zazen is equated with <u>shikantaza</u> , which is explained and advocated in the <u>Fukanzazengi</u> . The commentary is in easily understood language, explaining all terms in layman's terms and also provides a modern Japanese translation of the text.
35. Hattori Shōsai	Shushōgi to tomo ni. Book, 100 pages, 1980 (1968)	Originally a series of articles in Zen no Tomo, this is not so much a commentary on the text as a commentary on life related to the teachings of the <u>Shushōgi</u> . Hattori states that the text is about life and enlightenment in the world: Buddhism transcends the present, being unconcerned about material prosperity. In contrast, modern society is totally materialistic and escapist, as the pre-occupation with the television shows. Also, there is a rootlessness in today's world: this is portrayed as dark in which the lights of Buddha and the <u>Shushōgi</u> offer a better way of living. The <u>Shushōgi</u> is recommended as the basis of daily living and as a programme for life: zazen is not mentioned at all.

<p>36. Machida Sōyū (Kyōka Dept. teacher)</p>	<p>Shōji o Hara ni Hairu (Shushōgi o Kataru). Book, 110 pages, 1977 (1975)</p>	<p>A commentary based on the Shushōgi, though not a textual commentary as such. It makes observations about the needs of man, accompanied by quotes from the text, which Machida sees as an explanation of 'human daily living'. He goes through the text paragraph by paragraph, using each to provide a message for the contemporary age. Pointing to the troubles of society (he cites suicides, pollution, etc) he says that people need a teaching about the true nature of life and death (i.e. the Shushōgi). Modern life is rich in things but poor in spirit: things are not important. Buddha left the castle and the world of things to seek the true mind: the Shushōgi is the guide to his way. This book is designed for <u>danka</u> and has no mention of zazen.</p>
<p>37. Uchiyama Kōshō</p>	<p>Jinsei Ryōri no Hon. Book, 237 pages, 1980 (1970)</p>	<p>A series of talks based on Dōgen's Tenzo Kyōkun, but seeking to provide a message for modern society. He states that Japan is striving to imitate the West (he uses the term 'economic animal' (p.18) to describe modern Japanese) but points to the increasing neuroses and so on that accompany economic progress. In contrast, the Tenzo Kyōkun shows the way to a true, spiritual life. Zazen is <u>intrinsic</u> to this and the text is the best one for showing its relevance. Not a commentary as such, it seeks to provide a guide to living using the text as a signpost. A modern translation is appended.</p>
<p>38. Kaneko Kisan (priest, formerly aide to Satō Taishun at Eihei-ji)</p>	<p>Buppō ni Ikiru. Book, 348 pages, 1980.</p>	<p>A collection of 13 talks at all times of year. The major theme is that Buddhism is the way to the perception of the true nature of the self and the world. Much of the work is connected to non-sectarian aspects of religion, as a part of the Japanese lifestyle (talks at Higan, belief in the Three Jewels, about Kannon, etc). Non-academic, non-specialist, he gives guidelines to living and presents a warm and open attitude to Buddhism in general.</p>

<p>39. Tanaka Tadao (Komazawa University Lecturer)</p>	<p>Zen kara no Hatsugen. Book, 63 pages, 1973.</p>	<p>A series of short, parable-like stories on which Tanaka comments are the basis of this work. The evils of the modern society are shown and the indulgences of the age criticised. A play on words between bonkurashii (good, i.e. materialistic, living) and bonkura (stupid) is repeatedly made. Democracy has lowered the standards of all and fails to provide moral teaching. A religious, answer and more moral education is needed to restore true happiness to society.</p>
<p>40. Osada Gyōitsu (Dendō Dept. teacher)</p>	<p>Kokoro e no Yobikake. Book, 152 pages, 1981.</p>	<p>A collection of talks by Osada on the telephone service, it consists of 91 of these short parable-like talks on a variety of themes. These include the evils of contemporary society and the materialist ethic, which have led to such ills as suicides. People should return to the ethics of previous ages, such as the <u>gasshō</u> ethic. Although no programme of change is advocated and although such practices as zazen are barely touched on, he urges all to reflect on their lives and change their minds.</p>
<p>41. Aoyama Shundō (Head of the Sōtō Nun's training centre, Nagoya)</p>	<p>Tenchi Ippai ni Ikiru. Book, 132 pages, 1981.</p>	<p>A collection of talks centring on the theme of living in the present moment rather than in anticipation of some (non-existent) future. Death is ever-present, life is but transitory, and one must accept this. Acceptance is making <u>gasshō</u> and following the attitude therein expressed. Basic desires (food, etc.) are correct, but excess is not: the modern wish for more is grasping and deluded. All life is interdependent and we have responsibility for all and must behave well towards all. She quotes Dogen's 'to learn Buddhism...' (p. 85) and says this is an imperative of the present. The text is illustrated by many conversations with her temple <u>danka</u> and is designed to reach the average lay follower.</p>

42. Takazaki Jikishō	Zen o Kokorozasu Hito e. Booklet, 30 pages, 1977 (1968)	This booklet exhorts Sōtō followers to practice zazen. It criticises the failures of modern civilisation: it has produced much material comfort but at the expense of real peace. Fears of nuclear holocaust and the high number of traffic accidents are but two of these side effects. There is another way and this is the way of the Buddha, which is true religion. This is based in zazen, which all can do. Quoting Dōgen's 'to learn Buddhism...', he states that this is the aim of zazen; also, it (zazen) is good for one's health and is the solution to all problems.
43. Hattori Shōsai	Bukkyō to Kōfuku. Booklet, 32 pages, 1980 (1967)	This deals with the question of welfare and happiness, and states that these are not simply material but mental as well. He attacks the 'if only I had...' attitude and also religious groups that encourage such approaches. Buddhism is a religion for the living, not the dead, but has tended to forget the living in Japan. He points to Dōgen as someone who had an unfortunate early life but overcame this to find true welfare and happiness, and to give these to others, via his teaching: such a way and example is open to everyone.
44. Fujimoto Kōhō	Gasshō no Seikatsu. Pamphlet in the Zen to Seikatsu series (No. 1) 32 pages, 1975 (1967)	This is a question-and-answer explanation of Sōtō (why two head temples?, etc). It explains the 'true transmission', using the analogy of water from one vessel to another and calls Dōgen and Keizan father and mother of the sect. It attacks modern society and values, especially materialist ones: despite economic progress, there is no peace, and the pre-occupation with money leads to evil. He advocates a return to the gasshō ethic, its form and attitudes, as a way to counter these bad influences and improve society.

<p>45. Hattori Shōsai</p>	<p>Mihotoke no Sugata Pamphlet in the <u>Zen to Seikatsu series (No.4)</u> 24 pages, 1973 (1972)</p>	<p>This describes and gives the background to the posters issued by the sect. There is an underlying theme that modern values are wrong and that materialism is creating such evils as pollution which damages nature and people. One needs different values, and the posters depict many of the attitudes that ought to be followed if spiritual regeneration is to occur: worship before the <u>butsudān</u>, parental love, the <u>gasshō</u> ethic and <u>zazen</u> are all depicted.</p>
<p>46. Fujimoto Kōhō</p>	<p>Ai no Kotoba. Pamphlet in the <u>Zen to Seikatsu series (No.5)</u> 32 pages, 1978.</p>	<p>The power of words is stressed and the practice of <u>aigo</u> ('loving words') advocated in the <u>Shushōgi</u> is set forth as a cure for societal ills. <u>Modern education</u> and the values it upholds are criticised for having failed to teach people to care for others. The system is geared to solely materialist ends, and the modern obsession with material culture at the expense of the mind and true peace is attacked. One needs reciprocity (<u>dōji</u>) and loving words to bring harmony into the world and into one's own life.</p>
<p>47. Takimoto Shūhō and Kojima Shōan</p>	<p>Taisetsu ni Ikiru. Pamphlet in the <u>Zen to Seikatsu series (No.6)</u> 19 pages, 1977.</p>	<p>This emphasises the need to do one's best in the present moment. One needs belief in the Buddha and his teaching for this and must always help others. Notions of self-centredness and possessiveness are attacked (the 'it is mine' view) and in their place a life of true belief in which one strives to do one's best in the present for all people is advocated.</p>
<p>48. Miyazaki Ekiho (Sōtō temple priest)</p>	<p>Kataru ni Arazu. Pamphlet in the <u>Zen no Howa series (No.4)</u> 32 pages, 1978.</p>	<p>This emphasises the aspect of Zen which goes beyond words. Zen does not get entangled in verbal knots and the importance of <u>zazen</u> as a way to go beyond words is shown. Dogen is cited as an example of someone who came to the truth via <u>zazen</u>, and his words and search are quoted. He exhorts people to do <u>zazen</u>: materialism is a false way, while the Zen way is true.</p>

<p>49. Uchiyama Kōshō</p>	<p>Jibun to Jiko. Pamphlet in the Zen no Hōwa series (No.5) 28 pages, 1979.</p>	<p>This assails modern society and the materialist ethic which panders to a selfish (jibun) attitude. Children are reared with such material attitudes by their parents and the education system. Fears of failure coupled with incessant desires lead to trouble. Desires are not bad (one needs to eat) except in excess. We fail to see the true self, which is egoless, because of excess desires. One needs to do zazen to find this self (jiko) and the true practice of zazen is Dōgen's <u>shikantaza</u> which is 'our' (i.e. Sōtō's) zazen.</p>
<p>50. Ōta Kyūki (Komazawa University lecturer)</p>	<p>Bukkyō no Kokoro to Zen. Book in the Ryokuin Shinsho series (No.1) 78 pages, 1980 (1976).</p>	<p>A collection of talks to students at Komazawa, this centres on Zen thought and zazen. The nature of the mind is discussed: the way to understand it is via zazen. To attain peace of mind, religious practice is necessary. Consciousness is analysed along Yogacara lines into 8 levels, each of which changes and has the inherent potential of change. Change (flux) is vital to understanding: mind and body are one entity. The discussion is academic apart from a question and answer session at the end, when zazen is emphasised as necessary.</p>
<p>51. Muchaku Seikyō (priest and education specialist)</p>	<p>Zen ni Manabu. Book in the Ryokuin Shinsho series (No.2) 78 pages, 1980 (1976).</p>	<p>Starting from basic Buddhist tenets (Four Truths, etc) he states that Buddhism is beyond boundaries and states, thus criticising nationalist figures such as Nichiren. 'Goals' are wrong, for they lead one to desires and greed: Buddhism and Zen have no goals. We are reared to have goals but the universe is infinite and goalless. He narrates his career as a priest and educator who opened his own school because he was opposed to the competitive ethic taught in schools. The second part of the book is a stringent attack on Japanese educational ethics, which have derived from political goals and teach greed and materialism and stifle individuality. A return to a Buddhist ethic is vital to save society.</p>

<p>52. Sakai Daigaku (Soto priest)</p>	<p>Kaze no Naka o Aruku. Book in the Ryokuin Shinsho series (No.3) 78 pages, 1980 (1977).</p>	<p>A strong attack on modern materialist values forms the basis of this series of talks. He states that man in the modern age surrounds himself with inert substances which have no 'life' (i.e. plastic, concrete, etc.) as opposed to traditional materials (wood, etc.) which have life. These serve to remind us of the transient nature of all things which modern life seems to try to evade. The rush for fame and money destroys all: he cites cases of famous calligraphers who have abandoned their traditional roots as fame and fortune have touched them. People follow the trends of the time without remembering the deep roots all have and the connection with the past and the ancestors. Zen, by contrast, transcends the age and is eternal: it is the way to solve all problems.</p>
<p>53. Ikeda Kōyū (Soto priest)</p>	<p>Zazen ni Asobu. Book in the Ryokuin Shinsho series (No.4) 100 pages, 1979.</p>	<p>The main thrust of this series of talks is the necessity of doing zazen. Attacking both New Religions and modern medicine for treating illness without getting to the roots of the problem, which is based in delusion and greed, he states that the way out of such problems is via zazen which goes beyond the contradictions of birth and death. Death is inevitable and to resolve doubts about it one must do zazen. He differentiates between layman's and monk's zazen: layman's zazen is still rooted in selfish aims, while monk's zazen is a total action, cutting all ties and devoting oneself wholly to it. All can do this monk's zazen—it is not the preserve of robed monks—by throwing away all goals and sitting single-mindedly.</p>
<p>54. Okura Genshō</p>	<p>Katachi to Kokoro. Book in the Ryokuin Shinsho series (No.5) 78 pages, 1980 (1979).</p>	<p>The Japanese like uniformity and now they have Western standards to conform to, in education and so on. Form is important: Western thought dwells too much on mind (kokoro) and neglects form. Zazen is form as well as mind. There are two types of zazen: (1) for peace of mind, (2) to become Buddha; the second is entering the form of Buddhism. We need to put form into our lives in all actions.</p>

55. SSSMC (ed.)	<p>Zen no Tomo. Monthly magazine. Usually 36 pages; magazines cover the period 1976-1982.</p>	<p>A monthly magazine for Sōtō danka distributed via Sōtō temples. It contains a variety of articles, interviews, poems, questions and readers letters. Also there are strip cartoons and features for children. In all, it provides a broad panorama of Sōtō and gives lay followers a channel to the sect and the Head Office a means of communication with the danka. There are many types of articles and a few examples only will be given: Interviews, including one with Niwa Dempō, deputy head priest of Eihei-ji (1981, No. 7), with Hata Egvoku, head priest of the sect (1981, No. 1, 1982, No. 1). Articles on texts appear as series, e.g. October 1981 on, by Takazaki Jikidō on the Hannya Shingyō. Numbers 34 and 35 above were taken from such series. Seasonal articles (e.g. features on o-Bon) and stories (from the Jataka tales) for children also appear. Remarks on calendrical events are featured. In all it is a general magazine for those connected with the sect.</p>
56. SSSMC (ed.)	<p>Zen no Kaze. (2 vols.) Annual magazine, started in March 1981, approx. 100 pages.</p>	<p>This is a glossy magazine available at bookshops and carrying articles on travel, Zen history, zazen, etc. It is designed to attract the young and avoids sectarian bias, carrying articles by those of other religious groups (in Vol. 2). There are many pictures, including ones from India, along with the text of the Shushōgi. How and where to do zazen is the theme of a long illustrated feature in Vol. 1. The whole thrust of this magazine is towards the unaffiliated and young, and it focuses on topics such as zazen, which are generally hardly touched on in Zen no Tomo, and barely mentions the Sōtō sect as such.</p>

LEAFLETS

Title and date, if any	Summary
57. 〇-Shaka sama.	Three leaflets for children. All have pictures of young children on the front and all give potted biographies of the subject at hand. The first centres on Buddha's austerities and travels, his enlightenment and teaching, the second on Dogen's doubt and search, his journey to China and meeting with the <u>tenzo</u> , and the 'true transmission', and the third on Keizan's practice, belief in Kannon, his travels in search of teaching and his grateful mind, as well as the pupils he trained. A correct daily life and the importance of doing zazen are stressed.
58. Dōgen Zenji sama.	
59. Keizan Zenji sama.	
60. Dōgen Zenji.	Two pamphlets in English, virtually the same as nos. 58 and 59 above.
61. Keizan Zenji.	
62. Shakyō no Susume. 1978.	Explanation of the way to practise <u>shakyō</u> , stating (1) the mind of <u>shakyō</u> and its virtues (2) preparation for it, (3) the practice and (4) points to watch when doing it.
63. Zazen no Susume. 1979.	Explanation of the practice of zazen, with pictures. Zazen is defined as 'the correct gate' of Buddhism, the basis of all Buddhism. It shows how to sit and how to do <u>kinhin</u> (walking meditation).
64. 〇-Jukaie no Susume.	Explanation of the precept-taking ceremony, its importance and links to Buddha and to daily life. In Sōtō it is a religious practice leading to enlightenment, linking one to Buddha and making one a pupil of his. It (the ceremony) and the precepts have been transmitted to us from the Buddha via the Patriarchs. It is seen as the base on which to build a new society and people are urged to undergo the five-day training ceremony.
65. Gokan no Ge. 1978.	Explanation of the five articles of grace used at mealtimes in Sōtō temples, with a modern Japanese translation. Each is explained and the importance of care when cooking and eating is stressed as is the need to think of others.
66. 〇-Butsudan no Maturikata.	Explanation of the way to worship at the <u>butsudan</u> . This should be done daily and, if so done, will bring good results. Daily worship helps develop 'Buddha mind'. One should have the <u>kakejiku</u> of Buddha, Dōgen and Keizan, and the correct position of articles in the <u>butsudan</u> is given.

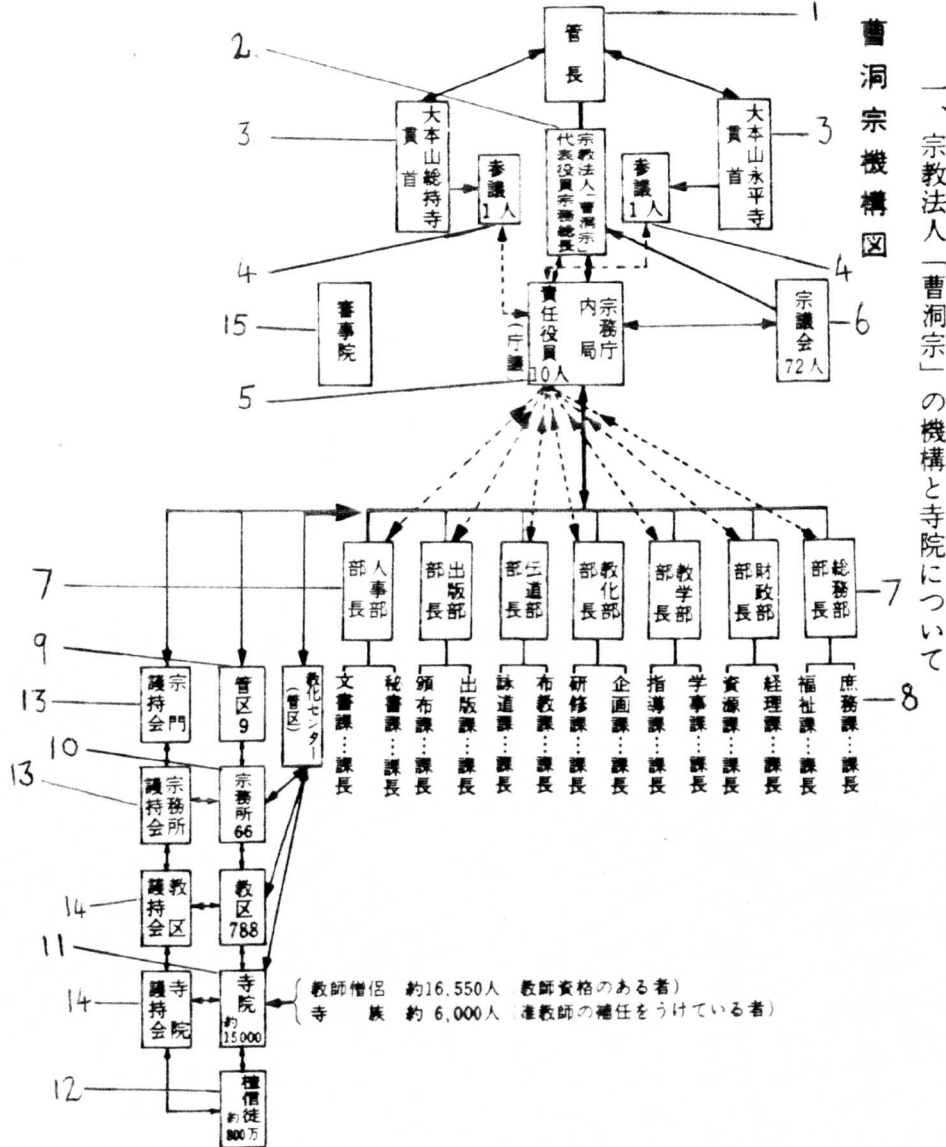
67. Kuyō no Imi to sono Kokoroe	Explanation of the correct way to perform memorial services for the dead. It uses traditional Japanese ancestral concepts and states the need to minister to ancestors by doing the correct ceremonies with the correct attitude (the <u>gasshō</u> mind).
68. Michi no Shirube	Explanatory leaflet outlining the basics of Sōtō, its traditions (the 'true transmission' and so on) and its head temples and main images (Shakyamuni, etc). The main tenets are given (inherent Buddha nature, importance of belief in the Three Jewels and of zazen) and the <u>Shushōgi</u> is given as the guide to daily practice. One should venerate the household <u>butsudan</u> and should take part in temple ceremonies and take the precepts. A short guide to worship at the <u>butsudan</u> and to zazen is appended.
69. Kokoro no Furusato	This deals with the importance of interpersonal relationships, which start with one's parents. This is a vital area of activity but one increasingly neglected in the isolation of modern society which has seen the gradual breakdown of such relationships—even parent-child and teacher-pupil ones. Herein lies a major source of societal ills. Modern education does not teach us how to relate to others, so the pamphlet gives models of ideal relationships as a guide: Ejō's devotion to Dōgen is cited as a prime example.
70. Hotoke no Inochi o Sodateru	This takes as its starting point the popularity of the panda sent by the Chinese to Japan and goes on to cite an old nickname for Zen priests, 'panda', due to their peacefulness and vegetarianism. It then emphasises the importance of precepts such as that of not killing. The modern, selfish, age has caused people to neglect this and to create increased desire. If this continues, a worse world will be left for the coming generations: there is a great need to re-affirm Buddhist principles and to have a more morally ordered education based on the precepts and Buddhist belief.
71. A. ra. karu	A calendrical pamphlet, issued monthly in the 1978-79 era, this has glossy photographs of children playing sports and aims to reach a young audience, giving short explanations of Sōtō life and conduct with matching pictures. A lighthouse sending light across the sea is pictured with a caption about Dōgen (i.e. the light of Sōtō) and ripples spreading across a pond has a caption about Keizan. Eiheiji is depicted in winter (snow-bound) and Sōjiji is depicted as a place where the priests pray for the welfare of all.

72. Kaeriyuku Hotoke wa tada ni Rengedai	This gives the basic 16 articles of belief and precepts for the Soto follower: the 3 articles of belief (in the Three Jewels) and the three major precepts and ten prohibitions. All people are inherently Buddha and this is made clear by the precepts. In taking them, 'the daily life of the Buddha' is materialised and one becomes a pupil of the Buddha's.
73. Anata no Bodaiji	This explains the importance of the family temple: this has been inherited from one's ancestors, whose spirits reside in the temple. Hence, one is linked to them by the temple and sect, and by them to the temple and sect. One should know the sect's teachings and a resumé is given (the 'true transmission' etc) and the <u>Shushōgi</u> is presented as an easily-understood guide to the basics of Buddhism, which shows the true way of living: with true belief, good fortune will result.
74. Kokoro no Chiri o Haratte	This focuses on New Years Eve: the temple bell tolls 108 times to drive out the bad spirits of the old and heralds the new. On New Years Day one has a clear mind and good resolutions, going to pray for all at the temple. 'Zen' is quiet reflection but this is lacking from normal life: only at times like New Year do people get into this frame of mind. One should try to continue this 'New Years mind' in one's daily life and resolve to be a pupil of the Buddha.
75. Umesōjun o Hiraku	New Year: all looks peaceful and new. Everyone wishes for peace, but all changes and there is much trouble in the world. To maintain peace and harmony, one must return to basic principle and re-affirm traditional values. One should enter the New Year's spirit of change by returning to basic beliefs and principles.
76. Kenkō de Nagaiki Shitai	New Year: 'I want to live a long, healthy life' according to the title, and cites Bodhidharma who, it is said, lived more than a hundred years due to his zazen practice. At New Year, one goes to the temple with good intent but this is but one out of 365 days: one should maintain the 'New Year's mind' for 365 days a year, following the example of Buddha and Bodhidharma. This is the way to true health and a good life.
77. Hayaku Koikoi o-Shōgatsu	New Year: this recalls childhood memories of <u>shōgatsu</u> with its traditional games and customs when children help around the house and go to the temple. Links with one's parents and ancestors are stressed: one should give thanks to them and to all life. At New Year, one thinks of such things, but such thoughts should be held to throughout the year, and one should take a new step forward, not just for oneself but also for one's ancestors and for the Buddha.

78. Ōrakana Kokoro no Sekai	<p><u>Urabon</u>:this is when people meet the ancestors and feed the hungry ghosts who return to eat once a year with their kin.This is folk belief but should be respected:the dead should be honoured.We do not live alone,and <u>urabon</u> is the time to remember this.The failures of modern society(suicides,etc)and the competitiveness of the academic treadmill are contrasted with the harmonious feelings felt at <u>urabon</u>.</p>
79. Jinsei no Yasuragi	<p><u>o-Bon</u>:one thinks of one's ancestors.They once trod the same earth and planted crops where one now stands:all is thus transient,In the current age,one has lost sight of peace of mind,and it is important to return to traditional values and ideas,to regain the mind of zazen and of the <u>gassho</u> spirit.At <u>o-Bon</u> one sees that peace of mind:this occurs only once a year and is hence important:it forms a link with the Buddha via our ancestors and should be maintained to form a link to the coming generations.</p>
80. Toshi ni Ichido no o-Kyakusama	<p><u>o-Bon</u>:our ancestors come to meet us at this time,and should be met with respect and care. They should be treated as people and links to Buddha.The privilege of being Buddha's pupil should be felt and honoured at <u>o-Bon</u> and the sense of harmony engendered at this time should be maintained.</p>
81. Mienai Mono ga Mieru	<p><u>o-Bon</u>:reflections of the evening when one's ancestors return to greet one.The writer is seated by the fireside thinking of his dead parents and is able to 'see' his deceased father in the flickering light of the flames. Hence the title('unseen thing are seen'):the words 'form is no other than emptiness'from the <u>Hannya Shingyō</u> are quoted to underline this feeling.</p>

APPENDIX TWO

THE ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF SŌTŌ



The above diagram of the structure of the sect is taken from SSSMC(ed.) Shiori, p.4. This pamphlet gives a brief synopsis both of the sect's teachings and of its structure and administrative system. The various parts of the organisation are as follows (as numbered on the diagram):

1. Kancho - Head priest of the sect, its overall head, likened to a 'head of state' (see Chapter Five).
2. Shūkyōhōjin 'Sōtōshū' Daihōyakuin Shūmusōchō - Administrative head of the sect, who is its legal representative.

3. Daihonzan Sōjiji Kanshu Head priests of the two head
Daihonzan Eihei-ji Kanshu temples.
4. Sangi - Representatives, one from each head temple, to the
executive (the Head Office council).
5. Shūmūchō Naikyoku Sekininyakuin Jūnin- Ten-man executive
council of the sect, based at the Head Office.
6. Shūgikai -72-man sect 'parliament', elected from amongst its
accredited teachers (i.e. qualified priests) on a
regional basis: acts as the legislature.
7. The seven departments of the Head Office, each represented by
a head of department who is a member of the sect's executive
council (number 5, above) along with the head priest and the
two representatives of the head temples.
8. The various administrative sections and branches under the
jurisdiction of the main departments of the Head Office.
9. Kyōkasentā and Area offices- Various regional offices and
teaching centres, controlled by and acting as agents
of the Head Office. These link with:
10. District Offices (66 of these), and:
11. Temples, approximately 15,000, and through the temples to:
12. Danshinto-the members and followers of the sect, some 8 million
according to Sōtō estimates.

There is a parallel system of liaison with the Head Office and:

13. Shūmon Gojikai Sect protection societies and:
14. Regional and local sect protection societies; the aim of these
is the support of local temples.

There is also:

15. Shinjiin- An independent review body, which acts as the court
of appeal and means of arbitration in all disputes
within the sect.

The above shows that the Head Office is at the centre of the entire Sōtō administrative and power structure, controlling the executive and the channels of communication: in contrast, the head temples liaise through the Head Office and through it to the temples and lay followers of the sect. The head temples only have one representative each on the executive compared to the seven of the Head Office. Traditional ties may cause some local temples to have direct relations with one of the head temples, of course, although the main channel of liaison should be as above, through local area offices and regional offices to the Head Office in Tokyo.

APPENDIX THREE

USES OF THE TERMS HATARAKI AND SUGATA, WITH REFERENCE TO SATŌ TAISHUN

This appendix concentrates on the use of the terms hataraki and sugata, with particular reference to the writings of the former head priest of the Sōtō sect, Satō Taishun: these have been discussed at length in Chapters Five and Nine. In the two tables below, both terms are set out with their uses, location and style of writing (kanji, kana, etc.). A short section at the end gives other instances of the use of these terms in Sōtō writing other than Satō's, to complement the examples given in Chapter Six.

1. HATARAKI

KANJI/KANA	MEANING	EXPRESSION	LOCATION
働き	work	standard <u>kanji</u>	In all works; in Satō(1970a) over 40 times.
功德	virtuous acts	<u>kana hataraki</u> in brackets	Satō(1970a) p.124.
功德	virtuous acts	<u>furigana</u> <u>hataraki</u>	Satō(1970a) p.141.
徳	virtue	<u>kana hataraki</u> in brackets.	Satō(1970a) p.146.
業	occupation	<u>furigana</u> <u>hataraki</u>	Satō(1970a) p.151, p.152.
作用	action, function	<u>furigana</u> <u>hataraki</u>	Satō(1971) p.37.
ハタラキ	work	<u>katakana</u>	Satō(1971) p.26.
はたらき	work	<u>hiragana</u>	In all works.

General Meaning

This term can be translated as either 'work' or 'function', and involves the notion of action which has results, such as action or function that opens the way to enlightenment. Inherent in this is the notion of transience, the changing nature of all things, and the nature of the universe itself as enlightenment. All things, all forces 'work' or 'function' and in doing so are in themselves enlightenment. Examples of things or concepts that so function are:

'the work of the Three Jewels' in Satō(1970a) p.118

三宝のはたらき

'the work of the universe' in Satō(1970a) p.173.

天地...の働き...

2. SUGATA

KANJI/KANA	MEANING	EXPRESSION	LOCATION
姿	form	standard <u>kanji</u>	In all his works.
相	form, shape	<u>furigana sugata</u>	Satō(1971) p.46
相	form, shape	<u>kana sugata</u> in brackets.	Satō(1970a) p.290.
実相	true form	<u>furigana sugata</u>	Satō(1970a) p.289.
おすかた	form	<u>hiragana</u> (with honorific)	Satō(1970a) p.260.
すかた	form	<u>hiragana</u>	In all works (e.g. the title of Satō(1963))
スカタ	form	<u>katakana</u>	Satō(1971) p.28.

General Meaning

This can be translated as 'form' or 'shape' and is applied to both tangible and intangible matters, as in the 'form of the awakening mind' and 'the form of water'. It refers in such ways to basic nature, and hence to enlightenment itself, which is, according to Sōtō, basic nature. Examples of its use are :

'the form of the Buddha' in Satō(1970a) p.260.

み仏のおすかた

'the true nature of time' in Satō(1970a) p.290.

時の実相[すかた]

'the nature of the awakening mind' in Satō(1970a) p.321.

発心のすかた

'the form of emptiness' in Satō(1971) p.27.

空のすかた

There are also several cases where the two, hataraki and sugata, occur together. Thus, on page 191 of Satō(1970a), taking the precepts is: 'is form, is function'

姿であり, はたらきである

and on page 240 the phrase 'the one, unhindered body of sugata and hataraki' occurs:

円融無碍一体のすかたや働き

The two terms thus function together and in the ultimate are, like

practice and enlightenment, one body, not two, indivisible. This is a major plank in Satō's thought and his use of these two terms highlights their importance, drawing attention to them and letting them stand out as important.

As has been mentioned in Chapter Six, these terms, although most widely used by Satō, are found in much Sōtō writing, and a few examples are given below to illustrate this further:

1. The 'functioning' (of zazen) in Uchiyama (1980) p.241.

働き

2. 'the functioning of the sixth level of consciousness' in Ōta, op. cit., p.36.

第六意識のはたらき

3. In the Saijōji temple pamphlet, it is stated that, of all the ascetics who trained at the temple, the hataraki (i.e. power, efficacy) of Dōryō, who became the temple guardian, was the strongest, Saijōji (ed) op. cit.

[はたらき]

4. 'the actual form of oneself' in Ōta, op. cit. p.67.

現実の自分の姿です。

5. 'that which enables oneself to return to the original form is Zen' in Sakai, op. cit. p.66.

本来の姿にもしてくれるのか" 禅だ"。

6. 'all existence in its own form possesses the highest and most valued Buddha nature' in Muchaku, op. cit. p.34.

すべての存在があるがままの姿で高貴仏性をもっている。

All these examples show the two terms being used in standard forms; Satō's usage is somewhat more comprehensive in that he uses various forms of expression. The widespread use of these terms shows their importance in Sōtō thought and expression in the contemporary age.

APPENDIX FOUR

This appendix consists of three translations, along with photocopies of, three publications. The intention of this is to provide clear examples of the style of Sōtō publications, especially of the leaflet type, to emphasise the general structure of such works. In this thesis, many such publications have been quoted, but as a rule these have been extracts: the three given here provide examples of complete works.

The three are as follows:

- (1) A section from the almanac Sōtōshū Hōreki: this is an expanded commentary on the Shinkōjūkun (ten articles of belief) translated in Chapter Seven.
- (2) The leaflet o-Jukaie no Susume, which advocates the taking of the precepts.
- (3) The leaflet Jinsei no Yasuragi, which is a leaflet that has been produced for danka and temple visitors at o-Bon.

The significance of these is that they cover a wide area of Sōtō style and interests. Number (1) has been selected because it is both an example of a 'back-up' text, providing added guidance to a set of rules, and because of the drawings, which seek to convey an impression in themselves (as with the family around the table, heads bowed in gasshō). The smiling priest is very similar to the one noted in Chapter Seven in the guidebook Sōjiji no Keizan-sama, and presumably epitomises the ideal priest in the eyes of the sect—homely, jovial, caring and paternal. Number (2) is an example of the first type of leaflet discussed in Appendix One, i.e. the explanatory and exhortatory one which either explains some aspect of belief or encourages people to practice in some way. The importance of the precept-taking action and ceremony has been discussed in the thesis, and so the relevant leaflet seems to be an appropriate one to give in translation. One will note many major Sōtō themes therein: the transmission and so on, as well as themes of social unrest and the view that there is a solution based on preceptual morality. Number (3) is an example of the sort of leaflet sent out to temples at special times of year: this one is for o-Bon. It seeks to convey a specific state of mind and feeling, and one will notice many of the themes enunciated in Chapter Six: furusato, gasshō, devotion to the ancestors, contrast of present unrest with tranquil former times, the importance of mental peace, which Buddhism can bring about and so on. It thus is an excellent example of the tenor of Sōtō calendrical and danka-oriented publications.

(1) From Sōtōshū Hōreki, p.28-29, to be read as a companion text to the Shinkōjūkun (see translation, Chapter Seven, and footnote 6, Ch.7, for the Japanese text of this).

'(1) It is an age-old saying that if a tree cultivates roots it will grow. For we who live in the present age, our roots are our ancestors. Showing concern for the ancestors as if they were alive is the true memorial service.

(2) The food which we are about to eat is the combined product of many people's work and the blessing of nature. The attitude of thanks for this beneficence is the form of gasshō. (picture 1).

(3) At the temple and in its main hall, a number of hotoke (ancestors or Buddhas) are enshrined, and they always watch over and kindly guard us. Our feelings of reverence for the gods and Buddhas guide us in a life of clear belief. (picture 2).

(4) At the temple, in the morning and evening, there is a service in the main hall, and at such times memorial prayers are invariably said for the ancestors of all the households of temple supporters.

(5) If one goes to the temple once a month without fail to speak to the priest of one's joys and sadness in life and the problems of belief, and furthermore, if one were only to try sitting together with one's family in the main hall, a certain feeling of purity of mind would be felt.

(6) To have one's children named by the priest who has for long worshipped and guarded one's ancestors is a great blessing. Such a child will surely grow up to be a healthy and bright child. (picture 3).

(7) On entering school or on coming of age, one first wishes to go to the temple to purify one's mind and renew one's vow of hard work and thanks at the grave of one's ancestors.

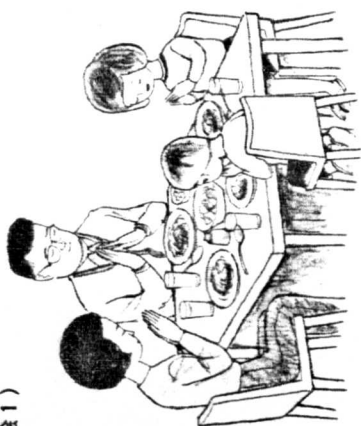
(8) At the place (i.e. the temple) where the ancestors watch over and guard us, the sight of two young people vowing to always worship the Buddha, to maintain purity of mind and join their strengths together in spiritual development, would be warmly welcomed by those around them.

(9) Hanamatsuri is a Buddhist event celebrating the birth of Shakyamuni. All beings exist in relationship to all others, and each one individually possesses a valued life which none can violate. Hanamatsuri teaches the value of this life. It is important to teach people from their earliest years the wonder and value of life.

(10) The teaching which shows what is true and what is false in human life and which has shown the way which all can practise is Buddhism. At Jōdōe and Nehane, one wishes to remember the Buddha with all one's heart.

※ ※ ※ ※ ※

一、昔から根を養えば木は育つといわれております。今、生きている私達の根はご先祖であります。ご先祖に対して、生きているがごとくの心くばりが、まことのご供養であります。



(絵1)

二、今、いただこうとしている食物は、多くの人の力、自然の恵みが寄り集まって出来たものであります。この仕合せに感謝する気持ちが合掌の姿であります。

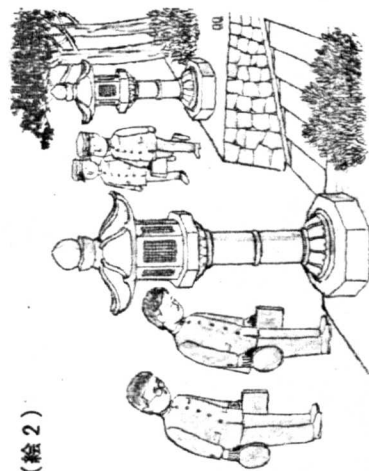
(さし絵1)

三、お寺やお堂にはいろいろな仏様がおまつりしてあります。そして私達をいつも温く見守っていて下さいます。神仏をうやまう気持ちが、明るい信仰生活を導いてくれます。

(さし絵2)

四、お寺では朝夕、本堂でおつとめが行われておりますが、その時には必ず檀信徒各家のご先祖のご供養もつとまります。

五、月に一度は必ずお寺参りをし、人生や信仰問題についての悩みやよろこびをお和尚さんに打ち



(絵2)

明けたり、また、家族そろって本堂に坐ってみるだけでも、なにかしら心の清々さが感じられます。

六、ご先祖様を未来くおまつりし、それを守ってくれるお和尚さんから子どもの名前をいただくこ

とは大変ありがたいことであります。きっとその子は丈夫で明るい子に育つことでしょう。

(さし絵3)

七、入学や成人の時は、まずお寺参りをして心を清らかにし、ご



(絵3)

先祖のお墓に感謝と努力の誓いを新たにしたいものであります。

八、ご先祖の見守って下さるところで、若い二人が、常にみ仏を仰ぎ奉り、清らかな身と心とをたもち、互いに力を合せて精進することを誓い合う姿は、周囲の人達からもあたたかい心で迎えられることと思います。

(さし絵4)

九、花まつりは、お釈迦さまのご誕生を祝う仏事です。すべてのものは、みなかかわりを持って存在しております。そしてその一つ一つには、だれも侵すことの出来ない尊い生命がそなわっております。この生命の尊さを「花まつり」は教えてくれます。小さい時から生命の不



(絵4)

思議さ、尊さを教えることが大切であります。

十、人間が生きていく上で何が真理で何が誤りかを、だれもが実践出来る道すじとして示されたのが仏教であります。成道会や涅槃会には、お釈迦さまを心からおしのびしたいものであります。

(2.) o-Jukaie no Susume (i.e. an encouragement to take the precepts),

'The precept ceremony which opens the flower of the Buddha mind'

In the lives of all people there is lodged a 'beautiful seed', and this is called the Buddha mind, Buddha nature.

Dōgen Zenji, who founded the head temple Eihei-ji, and Keizan Zenji, who founded the head temple Sōji-ji, taught that 'the teaching of Buddha enables us to perceive the Buddha mind and Buddha nature which we have in us from the beginning, and, nurturing it, enables us to bring forth beautiful flowers.'

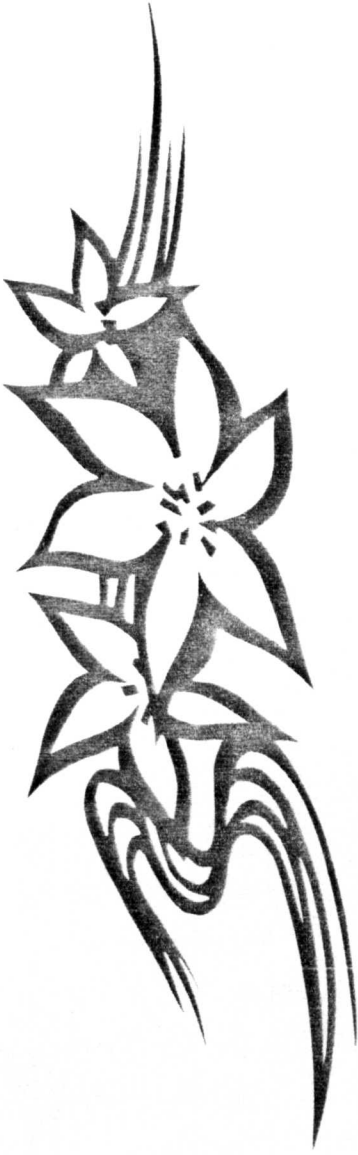
Now, the Sōtō sect has, through the mercy of the two teachers of the head temples, spread the Jukaie, which is a ceremony whose aim is to show the Buddha mind and Buddha nature, throughout the country, and it has developed the 'General precept-taking movement' in order to explain to people connected to the sect, priests, temple families and danshinto, the correct way to receive the Buddha's teachings and to establish the correct daily life which is nurtured by true belief.

The precept ceremony is the life of belief of the Sōtō sect, and the sect has developed due to this ceremony. When the Buddha was alive he made his pupils take these precepts, and they were transmitted to Japan from India and China by an unbroken succession of Patriarchs. The religious practice which leads to the perception of the mind of the precepts, which has been handed down to the present day by listening intently to the law guided by the precept teacher, is the precept ceremony (jukaie).

Daruma explained that 'to receive is to transmit, to transmit is to perceive. To learn to take the true precepts is in itself to see the Buddha mind.' To take the precepts is to become a pupil of the Buddha; it is to possess realisation as a true believer in Buddhism and to open the flower of the Buddha mind. One is guided by the precept teacher for five days and one receives the 'bloodstream' (kechimyaku) as the certification of having received the mind of the precepts, and one takes a preceptual name. We believe deeply that, through hearing the law and worshipping, the benefits of the law will fill the bodies and minds of all.

In the current state of society, human morality is being especially widely questioned but, even so, we can correctly receive the precepts, and we feel that we must build society and the family on the practices, vows and beliefs which are founded in the precepts.

We earnestly wish to encourage people, both individually and in groups, to entrust themselves to the benefits of the precept ceremony which enables them to perceive the Buddha mind and the Buddha nature.



「仏心の花を開くことお授戒会」

すべての人のいのちに宿る「美しい種子」、それを仏心・仏性と申します。

大本山永平寺をお開きになりました道元禪師さま、大本山総持寺を開かれた榮山禪師さまは、「お釈迦さまのみ教えは、私たちに本来そなわっているこの仏心・仏性に目覚め、これを育てて美しい花を咲かせることだ」と、教えられております。

今度、曹洞宗ではこの仏心・仏性に目覚めるための儀式であります「授戒会」を、両大本山の禪師さまにお願いいたしまして全国的に実施し、僧侶・寺族・檀信徒等、宗門に右縁の人が、お釈迦さまのみ教え（戒法）を正しく受けとめ（受戒）、正しい信仰をもった潤いのある日常生活を確立していただくために「総授戒運動」を展開することになりました。

授戒会は曹洞宗の信仰の生命であり、宗門はこの授戒会によって発展してきたのであります。お釈迦さまがご在世のとき、お弟子たちにこの戒法を授けられてより、インド・中国を経て

日本へと歴代のお祖師さま方によって受け継がれ、今日に伝えられた戒法のところを、戒師さまのお導きにより、親しく聞法し、自覚してゆく修行が授戒会であります。

達磨さまは、「受とは伝なり、伝とは覚なり、即ち仏心を覚るを真の受戒となづく」と、示されておられます。戒を受けるということはお釈迦さまのお弟子となって、真の仏教信者としての自覚を持ち、仏心の花を開くことでもあります。五日間、戒師さまのお導きにより、戒法のところを自覚したその証しとして「血脈」を受け、戒名を授かるのであります。聞法と礼拝を通して、必ずや法の潤いがみなさまの身と心を満たすことと確信いたします。

今日の社会情勢において、とりわけ人間のモラルが強く問われておりますが、今こそ、私達は戒法のところを正しく把握、受戒に基く信仰と誓願と実践による家庭づくり、社会づくりを成すべきであると思っております。

人でも多くの人びとが、仏心・仏性に目覚めるための授戒会に縁を結ばれますよう切にお勧め申し上げます。

(3) Jinsei no Yasuragi (i.e. Peace of mind in human life).

'Whenever o-Bon comes around, I think of the way of life of the countryside. I am enlivened by memories of this enjoyable festival, memories of visiting the graves together with one's family and doing the Bon dances and then eating delicious watermelon cooled in the well. When I see melons, egg-plants and deep red tomatoes in the same fields which my ancestors tilled, I instinctively want to offer them to the ancestors. In recent times, one has been able to eat cucumbers and tomatoes at all times of the year and one can gaze through the windows of flower-shops at all sorts of flowers and plants that bloom throughout the four seasons. This is convenient but, on the other hand, I feel that thoughts of a seasonal nature, in which one felt the texture of things seen by the eye and tasted by the tongue, are gradually becoming less and less. Even for someone who lives in a city, however, seeing the vegetables and fruits arranged outside the greengrocer's shop is a reminder of the dead.

It is often said that he who has forgotten gratitude is a human being and, as you know, the kanji on (gratitude) is made up of the kanji for mind (shin) beneath the kanji for cause (in) of origin or source (genin)*. If one asks by what means have I come to be born here and by what means have I continued to live until now, one will see that one is involved in some form of debt. When one asks whether one has not got some kind of debt, this does not have the meaning of a fixed debt or a contractually written debt; rather, one should feel a sense of obligation when one thinks of one's parents and ancestors. This is, I consider, a natural human emotion. Reflecting on such things, Buddhism recalls the dead at o-Bon. Not only the dead: in the sutras it is taught that one should also venerate one's living parents. It (o-Bon) is the day for respecting one's living parents and one's ancestors. At least in doing this at o-Bon one should wish to be peaceful, to return to one's original self, to think of one's own past and future and to think of one's ancestors and also one's parents.

In Buddhism this is called peace of mind. True peace of mind will never come from worrying and not being satisfied with anything. When one sees a Buddha statue, one naturally becomes calm and the turbulence of the mind is put to rights. We should quietly calm our minds and join our hands together. Without fuss, sitting erect and quietly: this is the mind and form of zazen. O-Bon is an important event which occurs once a year to give us peace of mind.

'What is the blessing in life?': for a husband and wife, it is not a question of whether or not their characters are compatible, or whether or not they have the same character. Rather, is it not a question of

whether or not they can be relaxed together and can live peacefully with each other? In today's society, it can be said that we have lost sight of the peace of mind which enables us to live with a satisfied mind.

This celebration of o-Bon has in fact continued for almost 2500 years according to the teachings of Buddha. Through this festival, which is a vital spiritual home (kokoro no furusato) of the Japanese people, we wish to restore our peace of mind and, especially among young people, to cultivate satisfied minds.

* This sentence deals with the structure of the kanji in question, on, written as follows: 恩

Its component parts are the kanji for mind (shin) 心 beneath that for cause or origin (in) 因 .

Such stylistic breakdown of kanji is quite common in Japanese writing of an explanatory kind, and can often be found in Sōtō and general Buddhist publications.

人生のやすらぎ



お盆がやってくると、毎年きまつて私は田舎の生活を思い出します。家族そろつてのお墓参りや盆踊り、そして裏の井戸で冷した西瓜に舌鼓をうった記憶が楽しいお祭りのようによみがえってきます。

先祖が耕した同じ畑に、ウリやナスビ、それに真っ赤に色づいたトマトなどをみましますと思わず先祖に上げたいという気持ちになります。

最近、キュウリやトマトは季節をとわず食べられ、また四季それぞれに咲く花もしよつちゆう、花屋の店先でながめることが出来ます。便利になった反面、目や舌で見たり味わったりしてハダで感じとつていた季節感がだんだん無くなりつつあるようにも思えます。しかし、都会に住んでおるものにとつて、八百屋の店先に並べられている野菜をみたり

果物をみたりしますとやっぱり亡き人を思い出します。

よく思を忘れたものは人間じゃあないと申しますが、思という字はご承知のように原因の因という字の下に心という字をかきます。自分は今どうやつてこうしてここに生まれてきたか、どうやつてこの年まで生きてきたかということを見ると、何かそこにかりがある。自分は何かかりがありはしないか、別段かりと云つても証を言いたかりという意味ではなく、親のことを想い、ご先祖さまのことを想い、何か大きな恩報をしなければならぬような気がしてなりません。これは人間

の自然の感情だと思ひます。そういうものを考えて、仏教では、お盆のときに亡き人を思い出します。亡き人ばかりではありません。お経には生きている親にもお礼をなさいと教えます。生きている父母、先祖を敬う日であります。こうしてせめてお盆には、落ち着いて本来の自分にたちかえつて、自分のあとさきを考え、先祖を想い、また、父母を想いたいものです。

これを仏教では「やすらぎ」といひます。本当のやすらぎというものは、アクセクして尻を知らないところからは決して湧いてはきません。仏像をみていると自然におちついて心の乱れがととのえられます。心を静かに落ち着かせて手を合わせずにはおられませぬ。バタバタしないで静かにジイッと坐つてゐる姿、これが坐禪の心であり姿であります。お盆は私たちに心のやすらぎを身えてくれる年一度の大切な行事です。

「何が人生にとって幸福か」大婦にしても性格が合うかどうか、同じ性格であるかどうかではなく、一緒にいてくつろげるかどうか。やすらいで暮らせるかどうかではないでしょうか。今日、社会が心豊かに暮らせる「やすらぎ」を見失つてゐるともいわれております。

お盆の行事は、お釈迦さまのみ教えに従つて実に二千五百年近くもつづいております。大切な日本人の心のふるさとであるこの行事を通して、心のやすらぎをとりもどし、豊かな心を若い人々にも届かつてゆきたいものです。

(文 芦辺 鎌 禅)

GLOSSARY ONE

In this glossary, general Japanese terms and words used in the text are given with the kanji and, where necessary, a short explanation of their meaning. The terms given here are those marked with a single asterisk * in the text. In both this and the name glossary that follows the Roman alphabetical order is followed and all Japanese names are given in Japanese order.

aigo-	愛語	loving words.
amazake-	甘酒	a sweet drink made from fermented rice, served at temples at <u>Hanamatsuri</u> .
betsuden-	別伝	separate transmission, i.e. outside the scriptures (see <u>kyōgebetsuden</u>)
bodaishin-	菩提心	the mind of Buddha or of a Bodhisattva.
bodhisattva-	菩薩	A Buddhist who has reached illumination but who remains in the world to help save all sentient beings.
(Japanese: bosatsu)		
bon-	盆	festival held in July or August, depending on region, to commemorate the dead and to offer prayers for them.
busshinshū -	仏心宗	Buddha's mind (or heart) sect: name used by some Zen groups to support their claim to have inherited the essence of Buddhism.
butsudan -	仏壇	household Buddhist altar, where the mortuary tablets of the ancestors are kept.
butsuen-	仏縁	Buddha's grace, providence.
chie-	智慧	wisdom
daihonzan-	大本山	head temple of a sect: in Sōtō there are two, Eiheiji and Sōjiji.
daimoku-	題目	mantric chant of the Nichiren sects, taken from the Lotus Sutra (see <u>Namu Myōhō Renge Kyō</u>)
daimyō-	大名	local feudal lord.
danka-	檀家	Buddhist household and its members.

- danshinto- 檀信徒 temple follower or supporter, who in theory believes in the sect's teaching rather than simply one who uses the temple for services (a danka). Sōtō differentiates between the two. See also danto and shinto.
- danto- 檀徒 affiliated member of a temple who gives aid to and believes in the temple's teaching, cf. shinto who has no formal affiliation.
- dōjī- 同事 reciprocity: one of the four selfless acts advocated in the Shushōgi.
- fuda- 札 paper or board on which a prayer or spell has been written.
- furusato- 故里 one's native village: this has notions of spiritual home and of nostalgia.
- fuse- 布施 giving alms: one of the four selfless acts advocated in the Shushōgi.
- gasshō- 合掌 joining hands in prayer and greeting.
- geidōzōshin- 芸道増進 prayers for the improvement of artistic accomplishments.
- gi- 義 principle—as in the principle of practice-enlightenment (shushōgi)
- gohonzon- 御本尊 scroll used as the focus of worship in the Nichiren school.
- gojikai- 護持会 temple protection society.
- gokohōjuku- 五穀豊熟 prayer for abundant harvests.
- gyōjinhōon- 行持報恩 maintaining practice and giving gratitude: the fifth section of the Shushōgi.
- ha- 派 sect, sub-sect: see shūha.
- haibutsu kishaku- 排仏毀釈 to destroy and eliminate Buddhism: the anti-Buddhist movement of the early Meiji era aimed at restoring a Shintoist ethic.
- hamaya- 破魔矢 'devil destroying arrow': arrow sold at temples and shrines, said to ward off evil.

hanamatsuri- 花祭	the day the Buddha was born, celebrated in Japan on April 8th.
hannya- 般若	wisdom.
hataraki- 働	work, function: see Appendix Three.
hattō- 法堂	preaching hall of a temple.
higan- 彼岸	spring and autumn festivals for the dead, in equinoctial week, in which the graves are cleaned and prayers said.
hōben- 方便	skilful means: used in Mahayana Buddhism to lead people towards truth.
hondō- 本堂	main hall of a temple, combining the functions of the <u>hattō</u> with that of being a storehouse for mortuary tablets.
honji suijaku- 本地垂迹	true nature/trace manifestation: theory stating that local deities are manifestations of the universal nature of Buddha.
hōon- 報恩	giving gratitude: second part of the last section of the <u>Shushōgi</u> .
hōshi- 奉仕	giving service to others.
hotoke- 仏	Buddha: also read as 'dead soul'.
hotsugan rishō- 癸願利生	making vows and living a valuable life: fourth section of the <u>Shushōgi</u> .
hōza- 法坐	talks about Buddhism. Originally, these were delivered from a raised dais but in current Sōtō terms are talks by temple priests to followers.
ichibutsu ryōso- 一仏両祖	'one Buddha, two Patriarchs': Sōtō phrase encompassing Buddha, Dōgen and Keizan as the focus of worship.
ihai- 位牌	mortuary tablet, dedicated to a dead person whose name is inscribed on it.
ikebana- 生け花	flower arrangement.
inga- 因果	cause and effect: karma.
ishindenshin- 以心伝心	mind to mind transmission, i.e. non-verbal transmission of the essence of Buddhism, according to Zen tradition.

ittaifuni- 一体不二	one body,not two:i.e.unity.
jīhi- 慈悲	compassion:one of the attributes of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.
jikimatsu- 直末	temple with a special direct relationship to the head temple.
jiriki- 自力	self power:the inherent power of the individual to realise his own Buddha nature(cf, <u>tariki</u>)
jिताふに- 自他不二	self and other are not two,i.e. they are indivisible.There is,in this view,no difference between <u>jiriki</u> and <u>tariki</u> :they are parts of the whole.
jōdo- 浄土	the Pure Land:the notion of a Buddhist paradise.
jōdoe- 成道会	Buddha's enlightenment day:in the Japanese calendar,this is December 8th.
jōgubodai 上求菩提 gekeshujō- 下化衆生	to raise oneself to Buddhahood while reaching down to save all beings.
jōshin- 浄信	pure belief:i.e.total belief in the Buddha and the Buddhist teachings.
jukai- 授戒	taking the precepts.
jukaie- 授戒会	the precept taking ceremony for the laity in the Sōtō sect.
jukai nyūi- 授戒入位	taking the precepts and entering the ranks of the Buddhas:the third section of the <u>Shushōgi</u> .
junsuizen- 純粹禪	pure Zen:the name given to Dōgen's Zen by Dōgen and his followers.
kachikan- 価値観	materialist viewpoint,philosophy.
kadirakku obōsan- カディラックお坊さん	Cadillac priest:one who is concerned with material benefits rather than with spiritual affairs.
kaigi- 会議	council of the Sōtō sect.
kai no jissen- 戒の実践	practice of the precepts:Sōtō principle stating that this is the same as that of zazen.
kakejiku- 掛軸	hanging scroll.
kami- 神	Shinto deity.

kamidana- 神棚	shelf in the house for Shinto <u>kami</u> .
kanchō- 管長	head priest of the Sōtō sect.
kanji- 漢字	Sino-Japanese ideograms.
katei enman- 家庭円満	prayer for family sufficiency, i.e. for plentiful children.
kazoku dōjō- 家族道場	family training centre: a <u>dōjō</u> is a place to train, but as temples are nowadays family affairs, it has become, according to Sōtō, a training place for the whole family of the priest.
kechimyaku- 血脈	bloodstream: in standard Japanese this is read as <u>ketsumyaku</u> , but in Sōtō it is <u>kechimyaku</u> and denotes the true transmission of Buddhism according to the sect's view.
kibishii- 厳しい	strict, severe: a word often used to refer to religious practices and austerities.
kie- 皈依	belief, especially in the Buddha and in the Three Jewels.
kikamisama- 木神様	tree worship: used to signify all animist practice.
kinhin- 経行	walking meditation, used in Zen to provide a break between periods of seated meditation while maintaining the mind of meditation.
kitō- 祈禱	prayer or entreaty made at temples or shrines, usually for the benefit of the person who makes the prayer.
kōan- 公案	'public case': a story with no ostensible purpose or logic used, especially in Rinzai, as a means of meditation to help break through the bounds of logical constraint.
kōjun- 孝順	piety, devotion.
kokoro no furusato- 心の故里	spiritual home (see also <u>furusato</u>)
kōtsū anzen- 交通安全	prayers for road safety.
kyōgebetsuden- 教外別伝	teaching outside the scriptures: Zen concept that says that Zen has received the true essence of Buddhism which is beyond verbal and written constraints.

kyōgi- 教義

kyōsaku- 警策

(o)mamori- [あ]守リ

menju- 面授

metsuzai- 滅罪

mikkyō- 密教

mikkyōzen- 密教禪

(o)mikuji- [あ]みくし

mizugo- 水子

mizugo Jizō- 水子地藏

muga- 無我

mushin- 無心

mushotoku- 無所得

Namu Amida Butsu-

南無阿弥陀仏

Namu Myōhō Renge Kyō-

南無妙法蓮華經

Namu Shakamuni Butsu-

南無釈迦牟尼仏

Nehane- 涅槃会

nembutsu- 念仏

doctrines: specifically, the current teachings of the Sōtō sect.

'waking stick': wooden rod used in Zen to strike those who are falling asleep in zazen, or whose posture is bad.

protective charm or amulet.

face-to-face reception of the Buddhist teachings, according to Dōgen.

see sangemetsuzai.

'hidden teaching', i.e. esoteric Buddhism.

esoteric Zen, in which elements of Shingon and other sects are incorporated.

paper fortune-telling slip on sale at temples and shrines.

aborted foetus.

Buddhist protector of the above.

'no self' or 'non self': the selfless, as opposed to the selfish, self.

'no mind' (see Chapter Nine).

non-attainment: the notion that one should not seek any reward from any action, or seek anything from one's practice, i.e. totally selfless action.

invocation of the name of Amida, the Buddha of the Pure Land; this is also known as nembutsu and is the basic practice of the Jōdo sects.

invocation of the first words of the Lotus Sutra, used by the Nichiren sects (see also daimoku)

invocation of the name of Shakyamuni, i.e. the historical Buddha.

Commemoration of the day the Buddha died (in Buddhist terms, entered into Nirvana); this is celebrated on February 15th in Japan.

invocation of the name of Amida (see Namu Amida Butsu, above)

nemuri Benten-ねむり弁天	sleeping Benten- aspect of this deity, found at Tōganji, Nagoya.
nengemishō-拈華微笑	'raising of a flower and a smile':the name given to the encounter between the Buddha and Mahakashyapa at Vulture's Peak, which forms the beginning of the Zen tradition.
Nihon Sōtōshū 日本曹洞宗 daichidōjō- 第一道場	'Japanese Sōtō sect's primary training centre':title bestowed on Eihei-ji.
niso- 二祖	'two founders/Patriarchs', i.e. Dōgen and Keizan.
on- 恩	gratitude.
reihai- 礼拝	worship.
reijō- 霊場	place where the souls of the dead are believed to return to earth.
rekidai- 歴代	successive generations:in Zen terms this means the successive Patriarchs starting from Mahakashyapa.
rigyō- 利行	benevolence:one of the four acts of helping in the <u>Shushōgi</u> .
rishō- 利生	see <u>hotsugan rishō</u> .
ryōen- 良縁	prayer for good marriage.
ryōso- 両祖	same as <u>niso</u> above.
sado- 茶道	tea ceremony.
sakoku- 鎖国	closing of the country:refers to the period when Japan was closed to the outside world(1615-1854)
samu- 作務	work at a Zen temple.
sanbō- 三宝	Three Jewels of Buddhism(Buddha, Dharma, Sangha, i.e. teacher, law and community)
sandaisōron- 三代相論	dispute over the third head priest of Eihei-ji:the historical name that covers the disputes that split the early Eihei-ji group after Dōgen's death.
sange metsuzai- 懺悔滅罪	repentance and release from sins: the second section of the <u>Shushōgi</u> .

sanjō- 三条

'three articles of faith' which emphasised veneration of the Emperor and state, and which were promoted by the Meiji government as the basis of a national ideology in the 1870's.

sanmai- 三昧

deep concentration, absorption in meditation.

sanzendō- 参禅堂

meditation hall for the laity.

sanzenkai- 参禅会

meditation group, in which lay members meet at a temple for the purpose of zazen under the guidance of a priest.

satori- 悟り

enlightenment: this word is often used as it is in English works to denote enlightenment.

seishin- 精神

spirit, spiritual nature.

senju Kannon- 千手観音

'thousand handed Kannon': aspect of Kannon often found in temples.

seshū- 世襲

hereditary system whereby the temple priest passes on the temple to a son.

sesshin- 接心 or 撰心

intensive zazen retreat, lasting a number of days.

shaba- 娑婆

'this corrupt world': a word often used for the world around one.

shakubuku- 折伏

forced conversion: used by certain Nichirenist groups to persuade people to join them.

shakyō- 写经

practice of copying the sutras.

shiguseigan- 四弘誓願

the four Buddhist vows.

shikantaza- 管打坐

type of zazen advocated by Dōgen and practiced in Sōtō: it is pure and earnestly sitting in zazen with no thought of reward, without concept or aim.

shin- 信

belief.

shinbutsu- 神仏

gods and Buddhas, i.e. divine protection.

shinkōjūkun- 信仰十訓

10 point guide to belief, issued by the Sōtō sect for its lay followers.

shinkōshūkyō- 新興宗教

New Religions: term used to cover those religious groups that are post-Shinto and Buddhist and have arisen in Japan largely since the nineteenth century.

shinto- 信徒

believer in and follower of a temple who does not have a formal affiliation to the temple or sect. (see danto, danka and danshinto for comparison).

shinu- 請雨

prayers for rain.

shōbō- 正法

true, or correct, law: Dōgen considered that he had inherited this from Nyōjō and that it had come directly from the Buddha via the Zen Patriarchs, through the ishindenshin process.

shōbōgenzō- 正法眼藏

'the true eye and treasury of the law': both the name of Dōgen's magnum opus and the term he used to denote the essence of Buddhism that he considered had been transmitted to him via the Zen tradition.

shōden- 正伝

'true (or correct) transmission': term used by Dōgen to denote the transmission of Buddhism passed to the Zen schools. New Year.

shōgatsu- 正月

shōgo- 証悟

enlightenment.

shugakusō- 修学僧

a priest versed both in religious practices such as zazen and in the study of Buddhism academically and textually.

shugyō- 修行

religious practices: this term is widely used to denote all temple activities of priests, such as zazen, samu, etc. It is used also as 'austerities' (Buddha's years of fasting are termed shugyō) but is generally meant to refer to everyday temple activities.

shūha- 宗派

religious sect.

shukke- 出家

'one who has left home', i.e. a monk.

shukkezazen- 出家坐禅

'monk's zazen' (see Chapter Eight)

shūkyōhōjinhō- 宗教法人法

Religious Juridical Person's Law: first promulgated under the American

Occupation in 1946 and finalised in 1951.

- shūshi- 宗旨
 shushōfuni- 修証不二
 sokushinzebutsu- 即心是仏
 so- 祖
 sōshiki- 葬式
 sotoba- 卒塔婆
 sugata- 姿
 tairyō- 大漁
 tariki- 他力
 tengu- 天狗
 tenzo- 典座
 unsui- 雲水
 Urabon- 盂蘭盆
 zaiko- 在家
 zaikozazen- 在家坐禪
 zazen- 坐禪
 tenets:the cardinal focus of Sōtō's belief.
 practice and enlightenment are not two, i.e. are indivisible.A basic tenet of the sect founded on Dōgen's view that practice does not lead to enlightenment but is so in itself.
 'this mind is itself Buddha':tenet of Sōtō based on Dōgen's view that all existence is inherently enlightened.
 Patriarch:normally,this word stands for'ancestor',but in Zen it is used to denote those who have transmitted the Zen tradition from the Buddha and is usually translated as 'Patriarch'.
 service for the dead.
 carved wooden board with the name of the dead person on it.placed on the grave.
 form(see Appendix Three).
 prayers for abundant fish.
 other power:view that beings attain salvation due to the grace of Buddha figures such as Amida,who have vowed to save all sentient beings.This contrasts with the concept of jiriki (see above).
 long nosed goblin,believed to have magical powers.
 temple cook.
 'clouds and water':a trainee Zen monk, who is supposed to be free and not bound by worldly matters,like a drifting cloud or flowing water.
 festival of lanterns,during the o-Bon period.
 laity,layman.
 layman's zazen(see Chapter Eight).
 seated meditation,the normal method of meditation in Zen.

zen- 禅

Japanese reading of the kanji used to translate the Sanskrit dhyana, which means meditation, and which is used to denote that school of Buddhism which placed special emphasis on meditation. Sōtō movement aimed at bringing laity into temples for the purpose of zazen and to experience temple life.

zen no tsudoi- 禅の集

zenji- 禅師

term of respect for a very important Zen teacher, e.g. Dōgen is often referred to as Dōgen Zenji.

zenkaichinyo- 禅戒一如

'Zen and the precepts are one': Sōtō principle that states that taking and practicing the preceptual vows is intrinsically the same as the practice of zazen.

GLOSSARY TWO

In this glossary, names (of temples, historical figures, deities, texts and so on) have been given with their kanji. These are marked in the text with a double asterisk **. As they have generally been dealt with in the text, only a brief description or explanation will be given here: temples will be located and their sect will be given if not Sōtō: if no sect is given, the temple is Sōtō. All departments of the Sōtō Head Office will be classified under Sōtōshūshūmūchō and all organisations run by the sect will be classified under Sōtōshū (e.g. the young men's society, Seinenkai, is classified as Sōtōshū Seinenkai)

Chinese names are listed under the Japanese reading, with the Chinese in brackets, while Sanskrit names have not been given, save for the names used for the Buddha, Shakamuni and Shaka. In the text these are given in the romanised form of the Sanskrit, i.e. Shakyamuni, but here they are listed under the Japanese readings of the kanji used for them.

Antaiji	安泰寺	temple, Kyoto.
Bashō	芭蕉	Japanese poet and traveller.
Benten	弁天	deity of arts and fortune.
Benzaiten	弁才天	another name for Benten.
Chōkokuji	長国寺	temple, Nagano.
Chōkokuji	長谷寺	temple, Tokyo.
Chōryū	跳龍	Sōjiji's monthly periodical.
Chūōji	中央寺	temple, Sapporo.
Daibontennō	大梵天王	text incorporating the <u>nenge-</u>
Mombutsuketsugi	問仏決疑經	<u>mishō</u> story.
Daihannyakyō	大般經	text (the longer Heart Sutra)
Daijōji	大乘寺	temple, Kanazawa.
Daikokuten	大黒天	deity of wealth and fortune.
Daimanji	大満寺	temple, Sendai.
Dainichi Nyorai	大日如来	Cosmic Buddha of the Shingon sect.
Daruma	達磨	Japanese name for Bodhidharma the Indian who brought Zen to China.
Denkōroku	傳光錄	text by Keizan.
Dōgen	道元	Japanese monk, who brought the Sōtō lineage to Japan.
Dōjōzaike	洞上在家	original text of the <u>Shushōgi</u>
Dōrinji	洞林寺	compiled by Ōuchi Seiran.
		temple, Sendai.

Dōryō	道子	Japanese monk at Saijōji said to have become a <u>tengu</u> . temple, Fukui prefecture,
Eiheiji	永平寺	Japanese monk, successor to Dōgen at Eiheiiji.
Ejō	懷奘	Chinese Zen Patriarch.
Eka (Hu'i ke)	慧可	Japanese monk of the Tendai lineage.
Ennin	円仁	Chinese Zen Patriarch.
Enō (Hui neng)	慧能	temple, near Osorezan.
Entsūji	円通寺	text by Dōgen.
Fukanzazengi	普観坐禅儀	Japanese Sōtō monk.
Gazan (or Gassan)	峨山	Japanese Sōtō monk.
Gien	義演	Japanese Sōtō monk.
Gikai	義介	Japanese Sōtō monk.
Gyōshi	行思	Chinese Zen Patriarch.
Hakuun	白雲	Japanese Zen teacher.
Hannya Shingyō	般若心經	text (the shorter heart sutra)
Higashi Honganji	東本願寺	Jōdo Shin sect temple, Kyoto.
Hōkyōji	宝慶寺	temple, Ōno, Fukui prefecture.
Hōnen	法然	Japanese founder of the Jōdo sect.
Jakuen	寂円	Chinese monk influential in the early Eiheiiji group.
Jikaku Daishi	慈覚大師	posthumous name of respect for Ennin.
Jizō	地藏	Bodhisattva, guardian of aborted babies in particular.
Jōdoshū	浄土宗	Pure Land sect, deriving from Hōnen.
Jōdo Shinshū	浄土真宗	Pure Land sects deriving from Shinran.
Jōkōji	成光寺	Rinzai temple, Aichi prefecture
Kanmanji	甘露寺	temple, Kisakata, Akita.
Kannon	観音	Bodhisattva of compassion.
Kannonō	観音堂	hall where Kannon is enshrined
Kannonji	観音寺	popular name for temples.
Kasuisai	可睡斎	temple, Shizuoka prefecture.
Katsugyūji	活牛寺	temple, near Sendai.
Keizan	莹山	Japanese Sōtō monk, venerated as the second founder of Sōtō
Kenninji	建仁寺	Rinzai temple, Kyoto.
Kōbō Daishi	弘法大師	posthumous name of Kūkai.
Kokutaiji	国泰寺	Rinzai temple, Toyama.
Kokūzō	虚空蔵	Bodhisattva.
Kokūzōdō	虚空蔵	hall where the above is enshrined.
Kōshōji	興聖寺	temple, Uji, near Kyoto.

Kōsojōyō Daishi	高祖承陽大師	posthumous title of Dōgen.
Kōzenji	興禪寺	temple, Date, Hokkaidō.
Kūkai	空海	Japanese monk, founder of the Shingon sect in Japan.
Manzan Dōhaku	卍山道白	Japanese Sōtō monk, seventeenth century reformer.
Myōgonji	妙巖寺	temple, Toyokawa, better known as Toyokawa Inari.
Myōshinji	妙心寺	Rinzai temple, Kyoto, and sect.
Muhon	無本	Japanese Zen teacher.
Nanzenji	南禪寺	Rinzai temple, Kyoto, and sect
Nichiren	日蓮	Japanese monk, founder of the Nichiren sects.
Nichiren Shōshū	日蓮正宗	sect, following teachings of Nichiren.
Nihon Kannon Shinkōkai	日本觀音信仰會	Japanese Kannon belief society.
Nishi Honganji	西本願寺	Jōdo Shin sect temple, Kyoto.
Nyōjō (Ju Ching)	如淨	Chinese Zen teacher.
Osorezan	恐山	area and religious centre in Northern Japan.
Rinnōji	輪王寺	temple, Sendai.
Rinzaishū	臨濟宗	Zen sect.
Ryōan	了庵	Japanese Sōtō monk, teacher of Dōryō.
Saichō	最澄	Japanese monk, founder of Tendai in Japan.
Saijōji	最乘寺	temple, near Odawara, Kanagawa text.
Sankiraimon	三歸禮文	temple, Toyokawa.
Sanmyōji	三明寺	Kannon sect temple, Tokyo.
Sensōji	淺草寺	the Buddha.
Shaka	釈迦	the Buddha.
Shakamuni	釈迦牟尼	sect.
Shingon	真言	Japanese founder of the Jōdo Shin sects.
Shinran	親鸞	the Jōdo Shin sect.
Shinshū	真宗	text written by Dōgen.
Shōbōgenzō	正法目藏	text written by Dōgen.
Shōbōgenzō	Zuimonki ["...] 隨聞記	temple, Iwate prefecture.
Shōbōji	正法寺	Prince venerated as the father of Japanese Buddhism.
Shōtoku Taishi	聖得大師	ascetic Japanese mountain religious group.
Shugendō	修驗道	compilation text from the works of Dōgen used by Sōtō.
Shushōgi	修証義	temple, Yokohama.
Sōjiji	總持寺	one of Japan's New Religions
Sōka Gakkai	倉俣学会	full title of Enō (Hui neng)
Sōkei Enō	曹溪慧能	

Sōtokyōkai Shushōgi	曹洞教会修証義	official name of the Shushōgi.
Sōtōshū	曹洞宗	the Sōtō sect.
Sōtōshū Baikakai	" 梅花会	Poetry society.
" "	Chōgi " 庁議	main council of the sect.
" "	Fujinkai " 婦人会	ladies society.
" "	Jiingojikai " 寺院護持会	temple protection society
" "	Kenshūkai " 研修会	study and practice society.
" "	Seinenkai " 青年会	young men's society.
" "	Shinjiin " 審事院	independent review body.
" "	Shūgikai " 宗議會	sect council.
" "	Shūmongojikai " 宗門護持会	sect protection society.
Sōtōshūfushūkai	曹洞宗扶宗会	society for the aid of the Sōtō sect.
Sōtōshūshūmuchō	曹洞宗宗務庁	Sōtō Head Office.
" "	Dendōbu " 伝道部	propagation department.
" "	Jinjibu " 人事部	personnel department.
" "	Kyōgakubu " 教学部	education department.
" "	Kyōkabu " 教化部	culture department.
" "	Shuppanbu " 出版部	publications department.
" "	Sōmubu " 総務部	administration department.
" "	Zaisebu " 財政部	financial department.
Sōzan Honjaku	曹山本寂	Chinese Zen Patriarch.
Taisojōsai Daishi	太祖常濟大師	posthumous title of Keizan. sect.
Tendai	天台	sect.
Tendō Nyojō	天童如淨	full title of Nyojō.
Tenrikyō	天理教	one of Japan's New Religions
Tenyō Soyū	天鷹祖祐	Japanese Sōtō monk.
Tōdaiji	東大寺	temple in Nara, headquarters of Nara Buddhism.
Tōganji	栴崖寺	temple, Nagoya.
Tokugawa	徳川	clan whose name is used for the period of Japanese history of their rule.
Toyokawa Inari	豊川稻荷	famous shrine in Aichi prefecture.
Tōzan	東山	Japanese Zen teacher.
Tōzan Ryōkai	洞山良介	Chinese Zen Patriarch.
Unkōji	雲興寺	temple, Aichi prefecture.
Zazenyōjinki	坐禪用心記	text by Keizan.
Zempōji	善宝寺	temple, Tsuruoka.
Zuigakuin	瑞岳院	temple, Yamanashi prefecture,

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER ONE

- (1) This is according to the various leaflets issued by the sect (see Appendix One, introduction).
- (2) Agency for Cultural Affairs (ed.) Japanese Religion p.253.
- (3) World Fellowship of Buddhists (ed.) Understanding Japanese Buddhism p.272-3.
- (4) Ministry of Foreign Affairs (ed.) The Japan of Today p.85-6.
- (5) Agency for Cultural Affairs (ed.) op.cit. p.236.
- (6) I. Hori Folk Religion in Japan p.86. D. and A. Matsunaga Foundations of Japanese Buddhism Vol.1, p.10 ff., underlines this point and further describes early Buddhism in Japan as a "mundane instrument of the ruling classes" (p.17).
- (7) E. Conze (1980) A Short History of Buddhism p.96.
- (8) S. J. Tambiah Buddhism and the Spirit-cults in North-East Thailand.
- (9) M. Ames 'Magical Animism and Buddhism: A Structural Analysis' in E. B. Harper (ed.) Religion in South Asia.
- (10) A. Matsunaga The Buddhist Theory of Assimilation.
- (11) Sahashi Bunju Nihonjin to Bukkyo p.41.

仏を「外国の神」と理解した上で、これを古来の神のなかへ、新しいメンバーとしてとり入れたわけである。

- (12) A. Matsunaga op.cit. p.219-220.
- (13) Sahashi Bunju op.cit. p.37.

結婚式は神前で葬式は仏前で...

- (14) Agency for Cultural Affairs (ed.) op.cit. p.236.
- (15) H. Nakamura Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples p.585.
- (16) R. J. Smith Ancestor Worship in Japan p.21, J. F. Embree A Japanese Village: Suye Mura p.194, I. Hori op.cit. p.21.
- (17) R. J. Smith op.cit. p.iii.
- (18) See, for example, the writings of D. T. Suzuki on this point.
- (19) Watanabe Shōkō Nihon no Bukkyō p.76.

...宗教と娯楽とのけじめがつかないのも日本人の特徴の一つかも知れない。

- (20) Personal communication, Jōkōji, near Nagoya, May 13th 1981.
- (21) Details from Chōkokuji (ed.) Daikannon (no page nos.)
- (22) Saijōji (ed.) Saijōji (temple leaflet).
- (23) Details from Zempōji (ed.) Ryūōsonsugoreijō Zempōji (temple leaflet)
- (24) Mizuno Kōgen (1969) 'Zen to Kanzeon Bosatsu' in BBK Vol.22 p.68-69.
- (25) Nakai Shinji 'Nōkyō Zakkan' in Kannontayori No.4, 1980: also information given during interview, Chichibu Sept. 23rd 1981.
- (26) Matsunami Kōdō Bukkyō no Subete p.419.

...「法華經」に説かれる観音菩薩が三十三身を現わして人びとを救う...

- (27) Takazaki Jikidō 'Hannya Shingyō no Hanashi' in ZT No.10, 1981 discusses the pan-sectarian nature of the text and its uses.
- (28) Takubo Shūyo Hannya Shingyō Kaisetsu p.3

...日本仏教各宗が通して読誦実践する仏典である。

- (29) See, for example, Kōdansha (ed.) Fuku o Yobu Jisha Jiten, which is a guide to shrines and temples at which prayers for prosperity are said to be efficacious.
- (30) Arakawa Seifū Shakyō no Mikata. Kakikata, Ch.1, especially pp.4-9, gives the historical background to this practice in Japan.
- (31) In the Gifu countryside near the village of Yamaoka I came across a small hut, by the side of a shrine, containing the effigies of both

Kōbō Daishi and Kannon. A few miles away, near the town of Akechi, a hut in the midst of rice-fields was, according to a local farmer, dedicated to 'Kōbō-sama' (i.e. Kōbō Daishi).

(32) Personal communication, Jōkōji, May 13th 1981.

(33) Oda Baisen 'Nemuri Benten no tera' in Daihōrin March 1980.

(34) At present (Oct. 1982) there is one Sri Lankan monk in training at Toganji, and two others have in the recent past trained there. See the newspaper article in Asahi Shinbun Nihon no Wakamono no Daida, March 19th 1979, in which the head priest states that young Japanese have lost the will to undergo rigorous training and so he has encouraged Sri Lankans, who still have this faculty, to come to Japan to train.

(35) Personal communication, during conversations May-June 1981.

(36) According to The Japan Times, Jan. 3rd 1982.

(37) Personal communication during a conversation in Sendai, Jan. 3rd 1982.

(38) I use the word 'seeming' because I cannot, of course, know the Japanese consciousness as such (if it were even possible to pigeon-hole such a thing!). I simply base my comments on my observations over the period of one year, April 1981-April 1982, spent in Japan at many shrines, temples and so on, and on interviews and communication with people from all walks of life, including many priests.

(39) This is mentioned in various guide-books, e.g. Ministry of Transportation (ed.) Japan: the Official Guide p. 575. The actual history of the reijō and site is unclear but it is known that control of the area was assumed by Entsuji in 1610.

(40) These words were used by a monk in conversation with me at Osorezan Sept. 9th 1981.

関係はない。

(41) A notice in the temple office reads that 'there is absolutely no connection' between the itako and the temple.

全く関係はない。

(42) This information comes from the priest in charge of Kanmanji, during a conversation on Feb. 25th 1982. Bashō's account is available in an English translation, The Narrow Road to the Deep North, translated by Nobuyuki Yuasa.

(43) The Nara-based Risshū sect, for example, has only 3000 danka, 36 priests and 44 temples (in contrast with Sōtō's 15000 temples), according to World Fellowship of Buddhists (ed.) op. cit. p. 275.

(44) Sahashi Hōryū (1980) Zen: Koan to Zazen no Shūkyō p. 233

宗団の繁栄をもたらす第一の原動力が決して教義や理論でないことはあきらかだ。それは人間の低俗な感情にうったえる力だ。

CHAPTER TWO, PART ONE

(1) For example in Fujimoto Kōhō (1975) Gasshō no Seikatsu Dōgen is called the father (of the sect) (p. 2):

道元禪師さまがお父さんである。

(2) Ōkubo Dōshu 'Sōtōshūdan no Seiritsu ni tsuite' in Aichi Gakuin Daigaku Kenkyūsho (ed.) Zen no Sekai p. 139.

道元禪師は、仏法は決して宗派として固定すべきではないという見地からいわゆる宗名を非常に嫌われた。

(3) Dōgen Shōbōgenzō Butsudō p.384

佛祖正傳の大道を禪宗と稱すべからず。

(4) ibid. p.386.

(5) These will be examined in detail in the second part of this thesis.

(6) This comment is quoted by H.J. Kim in Dōgen Kigen-Mystical Realist p.3. The essay is entitled 'Dōgen Shamon' (i.e. Dōgen: the monk).

(7) Etō Sokuō (1949) Shūso toshite no Dōgen. Hata Egyoku, current (Oct. 1982) head priest of the sect, unequivocally stated that Dōgen 'caused the opening of one sect', during a speech at Eihei-ji in 1980 (Hata 1980b Kojunshin):

...一宗を開かれた...

(8) E. Conze (1977) Buddhist Scriptures p.11-12.

(9) E. Conze (1980) Ch.2.

(10) L. Hurvitz (trans.) Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma p.4.

(11) M. Kiyota Shingon Buddhism p.11.

(12) See, e.g. Daihonzan Eihei-ji (ed.) Sōtōshū Nikkakyōtaizen.

(13) It is not within the scope of this thesis to deal with the derivation of Mahayana sutras and sects but it can reliably be said that the post-facto legitimization of doctrinal positions by the use of sutras and texts attributed to the Buddha, although in fact written centuries after his death, seems to have been a common practice in India and China. As Hurvitz, *op. cit.*, p. xvi, remarks: "the fledgling Mahayanists are trying to have their doctrines and their uncanonized texts accepted as the good coin of Buddhism."

(14) Komazawa University (ed.) Zengaku Daijiten p.659.

この話は中国で撰述されて偽経 [大梵天王問佛決疑經] にみえ宋代の禪林に喧伝された。

(15) Yamada Reirin 'Sōtōshū' in Yūki Reimon (ed.) Nihon no Bukkyō no Shūha Vol.7, p.184, uses the kanji 語 which has the meaning of narrative, story, proverb or saying.

(16) ibid. p.184.

(17) Takeuchi Michio Nihon no Zen p.56.

実はこの説話が宋代いらい喧伝されて禪宗の立宗の根本精神となったのである。この「拈華微笑」の説話の禪林においては単なる説話でない。以心伝心で仏法の真理を体認する生きた歴史的実在として把握されてきたのである。

(18) This remark was made to me during a conversation at Chōkoku-ji, Nagano, March 16th 1982.

(19) He used the term rekishijō : 歴史上 .

(20) Personal communication, March 16th 1982.

禪のは...成りたたない。

(21) The Sōtō Head Office, for example, publishes an account of the transmission by the nengemishō in SSSMC (ed.) Kenshūtechō p.43. This book is a basic guide to the sect for its followers.

(22) Dōgen Shōbōgenzō Bukkyō p.308

釋尊の正法眼藏無上菩提は、ただ摩訶迦葉に正傳せしなり餘子に正傳せず。

(23) ibid., quoted in Takazaki and Umehara Kobutsu no Manebi p.90.

この正伝せ一心を教外別伝といふ。

(24) Takazaki and Umehara op.cit. pp.86-90.

(25) Dōgen Shōbōgenzō Menju p.446.

佛佛・祖祖面授の法門現成せり。これをなわち靈山の拈華なり、嵩山の得髓なり、黃梅の傳衣なり、洞山の面授なり。これは佛祖の眼藏面授なり。

(26) Keizan Jōkin Denkōroku p.17.

世尊拈華瞬目す。みを心をしらす。默然たり。時に摩訶迦葉擲り破顔微笑す。世尊曰、吾有二正法眼藏涅槃妙心圓。明無相法門一、ことごとく大迦葉に付囑すと。

(27) *ibid.* p.13.

十九歳にして子夜に城をこえ...

(28) Nagarjuna, for example, is greatly revered by all Tibetan lineages and occupies an important position in them as a chain in the link back to the Buddha (information derived from attendance at teachings on Tibetan Buddhism by Geshe Dhargay at the Tibetan Library, Dharmasala, India, Aug-Sept. 1980.)

(29) Bando Shojun 'Pure Land Buddhism' in World Fellowship of Buddhists (ed.) op. cit., discusses this point.

(30) K. Chen Buddhism in China p.352-3.

(31) *ibid.*, pp.353-7 deals with this whole episode.

(32) Dōgen Shōbōgenzō Busso p.454 and Keizan Denkōroku pp.145-152.

(33) Dōgen Shōbōgenzō Busso p.454.

(34) Dōgen Shōbōgenzō Sansuikyō p.266.

十二年の修道おほく山にあり。

(35) Dōgen Fukanzazengi in Eiheikōsōgōsuikun p.52 states that the Buddha sat for six years in meditation:

端坐六年

(36) R. Masunaga The Sōtō Approach to Zen p.208.

(37) Dōgen Shōbōgenzō Sokushinzebutsu p.44.

いわゆる諸佛は、釋迦牟尼佛、これ即心是佛なり。過去。現在。未來の諸佛、ともにほとけとなるときは、釋迦牟尼佛となるなり。

PART TWO

(1) H. Dumoulin The Development of Chinese Zen p.24.

(2) Takeuchi op.cit. p.167.

(3) Iida Rigyo Zen Nyumon p.35-6.

(4) T.J. Kodera Dōgen's Formative Years in China p.1.

(5) This aspect will be examined in greater detail in Chapter Six.

(6) K. Nishiyama and J. Stevens (trans.) Shōbōgenzō, introduction, Vol.1 p.xviii.

(7) In Shōbōgenzō Kieuppōsōhō, for instance, Dōgen mentions the Lotus Sutra several times.

(8) Besides a large amount of material now available in Japanese, there is a growing amount of material in the English and French languages, both as translation and as commentary and biography.

(9) Remark made to me by Dr. Ichimura Shōhei at Sōtō Head Office, Tokyo, April 16th 1981.

(10) Ōkubo op.cit. p.145.

(11) Sakurai Shūyū (1964) Eiheiji. Sōjiji p.71.

…いまは自らの手によって仏法を世俗一般へひろめる時期ではなく、まずもって眞実の子弟を養成しなければならぬ。

(12) D. and A. Matsunaga op.cit. Vol.2, p.256.

(13) Ōkubo op.cit. p.149.

(14) *ibid.* p.141. 道元禪師が亡くなった後の原始僧団は非常に脆いものになって参りました。

(15) Hata (1981a) 'Mono o Taisetsu ni shite, Kokoroyutaka na Higurashi o' in ZT No.1 1981 pp.4-9.

(16) Ōkubo op.cit. p.147.

(17) Takeuchi op.cit. p.185.

(18) See, for example, Sakurai (1964) p.73-4. It has been suggested that Dōgen had written a tract (now lost) for the Emperor advocating the adoption of his form of Zen and stating that it had advantages for the nation, but this has been lost or destroyed in a fire. Thus, there is no concrete evidence to show that Dōgen did in fact advocate a secularising, as it were, of his Zen on a national scale. It may be that Dōgen's tract was no more than an attempt to defend his position in the face of attacks from other, rival sects in Kyoto.

(19) This is an attitude that still can be found in the sect. It is rare but nonetheless extant. Sahashi Hōryū has argued that Zen as a religion focused on spiritual practices such as zazen is, and should be, a religion for the few who are dedicated in such ways, a limited, ascetic path, rather than a mass movement, as the sect is attempting to be. These views were stated during conversations at Chōkokuji, Nagano, March 15-16th 1982.

(20) Ōkubo op.cit., p.164, states that 'finally he relinquished his Daruma sect links and took his place in the Sōtō sect'.

最後にはっきりと達摩宗団を捨てて、曹洞宗の法幢を打ち立てられた...

(21) Imaeda Aishin Zen no Rekishi p.164, makes this point.

(22) Keizan's words are quoted by Takeuchi op.cit. p.192:

茶に逢うては、茶を喫し、飯に逢うては、飯を喫す...

(23) For an exposition of this line of argument see Mizuno (1973) 'Zen ni tsuite' in Sanzen No.5, 1973. The argument that I have set out here is paraphrased from Mizuno's article, but can be found in similar form in many Sōtō works.

(24) Ōkubo op.cit. p.139.

この瑩山禪師に至って、始めてここに曹洞宗団というものが完全に成立したのであります。

(25) Yamada Reirin (1958) p.200.

[大師は]あらゆる人々を救済し、くさねはならぬ...

(26) Takeuchi op.cit. p.199.

曹洞宗第三の祖師ともいわゆる...

(27) H.J. Kim op.cit. p.3. M. Collcutt Five Mountains p.294, concurs with this, stating that popular diffusion of Rinzai and Sōtō was "only achieved by the dilution of traditional Zen teachings and monastic practices with more readily comprehensible elements of traditional Japanese religious belief."

(28) Takeuchi op.cit. p.188.

それぞれ独自の立場で道元禪の展開につとめたのである。

(29) Imaeda op.cit. p.178.

(30) *ibid.* p.179, states that 'they tried to spread the word among farming communities':

土豪農民のなかにひろく布教しようとしていた。

- (31) This well-known epithet is often quoted: see, for example, Sahashi Hōryū Zen p.97 (see glossary for the kanji)
- (32) Imaeda op.cit.p.180. M.Collcutt op.cit. has analysed the development of the Rinzai sects in the medieval period in Japan and has shown how Rinzai grew as an urban-based sect patronised by and getting support from the warrior classes and the aristocracy. Although Rinzai was, and is, numerically smaller than Sōtō, it had greater political strength and influence in medieval Japan due to these aristocratic connections.
- (33) Imaeda op.cit.p.168.
- (34) This information comes from the pamphlet Dairyūzan Unkōji Yuisho published by the temple.
- (35) ibid. Every year on April 24th and 25th representatives of all these branch temples meet at Unkōji for a communal memorial service for the temple and lineage founder.
- (36) Yokozeki Ryōin Domon Seiyō p.386.
- (37) Nara and Nishimura (eds.) Nihon Bukkyō Kiso Kōza Vol.6 Zenshū p.134.
- (38) According to Yoshioka Toitsu (1978) Zen p.84.
- (39) Taiyō (special edition, summer 1980) calls it this, p.184, as do Nara and Nishimura (eds.) op.cit p.134:

曹洞宗第三の本寺

- (40) Yokozeki op.cit.pp.355-429 gives a detailed breakdown of the lineage and sub-sect affiliations within the sect as a whole in the Edo, or Tokugawa, period.
- (41) Whenever I visited a Sōtō temple I asked about any specific affiliations and found that, as a rule, the priest would name one or the other (usually Sōjiji) and it was rare that both would be named as having close connections with the temple. I would estimate that this occurred about once in every twenty temples visited.
- (42) Personal communication during a conversation at Eihei-ji, July 8th 1981.
- (43) Kōhō Chisan Jōsai Daishiden p.14.
- 永平寺の末派は一千百八十ヶ寺しかなかったが、総持寺の末派は実は一万余三百九十ヶ寺の多数を占めてあった。
- (44) ibid. p.14.
- 若しこの両派がなかったら、永平寺の末派は百ヶ寺にも充たなかったであろう。
- (45) This impression is based on remarks made to me by monks at Eihei-ji in July and December 1981.
- (46) World Fellowship of Buddhists (ed.) op.cit. pp.268-275 gives a statistical breakdown of Buddhist sects in Japan, giving numbers of temples, priests, followers and so on. I have used the figures that this book gives, although it must be pointed out that the situation is quite volatile and that new splinter sects are liable to break away from many of the larger sects at any time.
- (47) Nara and Nishimura (eds.) op.cit. p.17.

...稀な現象...

- (48) For example, I found that the head office of the Nanzen-ji Rinzai sect in Kyoto recommended a temple of the Myōshin-ji Rinzai sect when asked to recommend a temple in the Nagoya area where the Rinzai teachings could best be studied. A monk of the Myōshin-ji sect recommended a temple of the Nanzen-ji sect in another region. In contrast, when asked for comments on Sōjiji, Eihei-ji monks had little enthusiasm: indeed some even went as far as to say that it was regrettable that over 90% of Sōtō temples were affiliated to Sōjiji.
- (49) Sahashi Hōryū (1980) p.61.

「宗祖」とはいいません...

(50) *ibid.* p.62.

理窟を超えた景慕の感情...

(51) Imaeda *op.cit.* p.184.

日本曹洞宗第一道場.

(53) Sakurai(1964) p.84.

(54) Sahashi Hōryū (1980) p.67.

(55) Sakurai(1964) p.86.

(56) Imaeda *op.cit.* p.182 describes the background to this movement.

(57) *ibid.* p.182.

今日みるような大宗門...

(58) I use the term "ever-feuding" because the two do not, as a rule, see eye-to-eye (see notes 42 and 48 above). The first section of Sahashi Hōryū (1980) deals with contemporary disagreements and with rumours of such troubles. He concludes that there is truth in these rumours and suggests that they are in fact a continuation of the disputes of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which in turn have their roots in the Sandaisōron. Sources at the Head Office, however, claim that current relations are reasonable: this may in a way be so, as the two communicate through the Head Office, which removes areas of dispute; as Part Two will make clear, the Head Office is now the prime power bloc in the sect and thus the potential source of dispute between the two temples, over control, has been somewhat supplanted.

CHAPTER THREE

(1) Nakane Senshō Zen no Seikatsu p.85.

日本国家も日本仏教も一つの転機...

(2) *ibid.* p.85.

徳川三百年の太平の夢から醒めて...

(3) Mizuno (1978b) Shushōgi Kōwa p.7.

(4) *ibid.* p.6.

人間の死後を取り扱うことを専業とするようになった。

(5) Ōuchi Seiran Shushōgi Kōwa p.17.

儀式形相にはばかり走ってしまひ絶えて在家化導などと言ふ、
ことを顧みる日暇は無かったのである。

(6) Shigeyoshi Murakami Japanese Religion in the Modern Century p.25.

(7) Murano Senchu 'Japanese Buddhism since the Meiji Restoration' in World Fellowship of Buddhists (ed.) *op.cit.* p.24.

(8) Murakami *op.cit.* p.26.

(9) Ōuchi *op.cit.* p.18.

(10) H. Kishimoto Japanese Religion in the Meiji Era p.113.

(11) *ibid.* p.121.

(12) The decree is given in SSSMC(ed.) Shūryōhikkei p.100.

(13) This remark was made to me by the wife of a Sōtō temple priest in Northern Japan that I visited in early 1982: discretion prevents me from giving the temple's name.

(14) Personal communication, Tōganji Nagoya, April 21st 1981.

(15) SSSMC(ed.) Jitei no Sho p.45.

今日はどこのお寺で"もたいか"いは、奥さんがいられます。
お子さんか"いられます。"住職を中心として家庭が"営ま
れていきます。

(16) The interview is in Nakagawa Toshio Ai to Kokoro no Terameguri p.220-1.

(17) Futatachi Satoshi 'Tamamushi Kūyō de Zaigyō' in Daihōrin No.4 1982,p.201.

(18) Asahi Shinbun(newspaper article) March 19th 1979.

日本の僧は職業人...

(19) Oda Baisen op.cit. p.134.

禪宗坊主は嫁をもては絶対にいけない!!他人のため世のためは仏道を歩む...

(20) Oda has expounded such views to me on numerous occasions during April-August 1981.

(21) Sahashi Hōryū(1980) p.28ff.He has also expressed these views to me during conversations in December 1981 and March 1981.

(22) *ibid.*p.28.

(23) Mizuno(1978b) p.14.

(24) Takeuchi op.cit.p.344-5.

(25) Sakurai(1964) p.152.

永平寺・総持寺 を一宗の両本山です。

(26) Nara and Nishimura(eds.)op.cit.p.18.

サービス・機関 [として...]

(27) Sahashi Hōryū described the Head Office as 'the third head temple' to me in a conversation at Chōkokuji, Nagano, March 16th 1982:

第三の大本山

(28) According to an informant at Sōtō Head Office, during an interview, Tokyo Sept.29th 1981.

(29) Takeuchi op.cit.p.345.

(30) SSSMC(ed.) Shūryōhikkei p.100.

(31) Mizuno(1979) Shushōgi no Bukkyō p.4.

新しい時代

(32) C.B.Offner and H.van Straelen Modern Japanese Religions Ch.2.

(33) Andō Bunei Shushōgi Kaitsū p.14.

そこで曹洞宗も時代の進運につれて、他の宗門と同じやうに、一般大衆に向って大いに布教しなくてはならないことになった。

(34) Mizuno(1978b) p.14.He uses the word とまどい ('to lose one's bearings, be at sea').

(35) SSSMC(ed.) Shūryōhikkei p.157.

宗教の大意とし、一宗公定として教化の標準としたもの ...

(36) H.Kishimoto op.cit.p.137-8.

(37) Mizuno(1979) p.12.

宗門関係の重要人物

(38) Ōuchi op.cit.p.23.

在家化導

(39) *ibid.*p.23.

(40) Sakurai(1964) p.163.

時代相応の宗門の構造改革を企てたのであります。

(41) *ibid.*p.163.

まず何は...宗門安心の指標なるものを定めることが基本問題であります。

(42) Biographical details of Ōuchi are given in Mizuno(1979)p.15ff.

(43) Ōuchi op.cit.p.5.

釋迦如來のお心を其のまゝに傳へたのが曹洞宗であるから、昔から佛心宗とも申すので、佛の心の宗旨であると云ふのである。

(44) *ibid.* p.8-9.

(45) Mizuno(1978b) p.15.

眞宗式に南無阿彌陀仏も唱え、浄土往生を願ふべきことを主張していたこともある。

(46) Ōuchi op.cit.p.31.

宗教は人生に必要なものである。

(47) *ibid.* p.26.

(48) *ibid.* pp.29-31.

(49) *ibid.* p.34.

(50) *ibid.* p.22.

(51) The text of this declaration is given in Mizuno(1978b) p.13-4.

(52) Mizuno(1978b) p.11.

(53) Mizuno(1979) p.22.

(54) Mizuno(1978b)p.21.

本宗の布教標準と...

(55) *ibid.* p.25 uses these words 'for specialist monks alone':

出家の専門家にしか...

(56) SSSMC(ed.) Sōtōshū Hōreki, frontispiece:

わが国の表玄関に位置する国際的な禪の根本道場として偉容を誇っております。

CHAPTER FOUR

(1) Information from various temple priests whose temples still keep such records:e.g.Oda Baisen at Toganji,Nagoya,and the priest at Jōkoji near Nagoya.

(2) Contemporary Religions in Japan(ed.) 'Reminiscences of Religion in Post-war Japan' in Contemporary Religions in Japan Vol.6 1968,p.165.

(3) SSSMC(ed.) Genshoku Kenshū p.102; Nara and Nishimura(eds.) op.cit. p.36 also cite similar figures.

(4) Contemporary Religions in Japan(ed.) op.cit.Vol.6,p.167 quotes a report of such a sale of a temple,in Osaka,in 1948.

(5) Indeed,I visited a small temple in the Aichi prefecture countryside near Nagoya to find that the temple itself had been closed. The temple hall was barred and empty:next to it,however,there was a parking area and a new coffee shop,called the Zen coffee shop.Its decor was somewhat reminiscent of temples,with small Buddha images,a figurine of Bodhidharma and several hanging scrolls of Zen paintings,alongside small ornamental rock gardens and bamboo water scoops:all the paraphernalia,in fact,of the artistic side of Zen!

(6) Contemporary Religions in Japan(ed.) Vol.6,p.166.

(7) W.Woodward The Allied Occupation of Japan 1945-52 and Japanese Religions p.201.

(8) *ibid.* p.206.The issue was settled by the courts in May 1949,

(9) Agency for Cultural Affairs(ed.) p.167-8.

(10) This is quoted in H.Thomsen The New Religions of Japan p.31.

(11) As noted in the 'Notes on Presentation',I shall henceforth use the term New Religions throughout this section.

- (12) Thomsen op.cit.p.85.
 (13) H.N.McFarland The Rush Hour of the Gods p.50 gives these figures.
 (14) *ibid.*p.67.
 (15) Thomsen op.cit.p.23.
 (16) Thomsen op.cit.pp.20-27;McFarland op.cit.p.83-4.
 (17) McFarland op.cit.p.227.
 (18) Takeshi Ishida Japanese Society p.37.
 (19) T.P.Rohlen For Harmony and Strength:Japanese White Collar Organization in Anthropological Perspective p.34.
 (20) *ibid.*p.45.
 (21) S.P.Sethi Japanese Business and Social Conflict p.51.
 (22) Ishida op.cit.p.42 makes this point.When I was at Eihei-ji in July 1981 I met a group of employees from a company in Fukui,who had been sent to the temple by their employer for several days meditation.This was, as one of them informed me,'for the benefit of our work':

仕事のために

- (23) Rohlen op.cit.p.257.
 (24) It is not within the scope of this thesis to define or deal with the exact characteristics of New Religions, except to the degree that they have some relevance to the general discussion of Sōtō. There are a number of works that deal with New Religions at some length; those quoted in this chapter, by McFarland, Thomsen and Offner and van Straelen all provide useful introductions to the subject. For a wider view of similar phenomena, see R. Horton 'African Conversion' in Africa Vol.XL1 1971, which deals with conversion in an African setting (of conversion from traditional tribal religion to world religions such as Christianity and Islam) but is applicable to wider contexts. Also, D.B. Barrett Schism and Renewal in Africa, a study of independent and new religious movements in Africa, and many other works cover this field.
 (25) B.Ogot and F.B.Welbourn A Place to Feel at Home. The book ends with the words that the new religious groups in East Africa provided their adherents with a place to feel at home "in the impersonal wilderness of a mass society" (p.145). I consider that this remark has a great degree of relevance to the modern Japanese situation.
 (26) McFarland op.cit.pp.87-91, Thomsen op.cit.p.20.
 (27) Kinei Otagawa in the introduction to SSSMC(ed.) Selections from the Jataka Tales p.1. Otagawa is currently (1982) head priest of Sojiji.
 (28) SSSMC(ed.) Sotōshūshūmuchō Shuppanannai No.9 1981:

... 宗門と一般社会とを結ぶ「カラーグラフィア」雑誌。現代人の「生きる原理」を示してくれ目で見える禅の清風。

- (29) Personal communication, Sendai Jan.12th 1982.
 (30) Harada Hiromichi Watakushitachi no Sōtoshū p.28.
 (31) SSSMC(ed.) Zen no Kaze Vol.1, March 1981, and Vol.2 March 1982.
 (32) *ibid.*, Vol.1 p.94.

自分の部屋で坐ることを試みてもいいのでは無いでしょうか。

- (33) Shinohara Eiichi 'Zen no Josei Gunzō' in ZK Vol.1 p.60

曹洞宗専門尼僧堂の長。

- (34) Sakurai Shūyū (1981a) 'Nengemishō no Keifu' in ZK Vol.1, p.39.
 (35) *ibid.*p.49.

... 曹洞の禅風を全国に広められたのである。

- (36) *ibid.*p.36.

わか... 道元。

- (37) ZK Vol.1 p.96.

... 永平寺と並び「曹洞宗の大本山

- (38) Mizuno(1979) p.209. Uchiyama Kōshō(1980) Jinsei Ryōri no Hon p.12 also uses the phrase 'Zen boom'. 'Boom' is a standard Japanised word used for any fashionable or current growth area:thus,during the visit of Pope John Paul 11 to Japan,there were the usual papal memorabilia on sale and Japan experienced a 'Pope boom'.
- (39) Nara and Nishimura(eds.) op.cit. p.35.
- (40) Personal communication Kanmanji, Feb.25th 1982.
- (41) Personal observations made at the weekly sanzenkai at Rinnōji, Sendai, Oct.1981-Feb.1982, and from discussions with the members and the monk in charge.
- (42) Personal communication, Kanmanji, Feb.25th 1982.
- (43) Personal communication, Chōkokuji, Nagano, Mar.16th 1982.
- (44) Personal communication, Sendai, Jan.12th 1982.
- (45) Based on my observations at Daimanji between Oct.1981 and Feb.1982, during which time I attended the morning zazen period daily:during this time there was a regular attendance of four people, including the priest, none of whom were danka:occasionally, the numbers went up to eight, but these were not danka either.
- (46) Based on my observations and the questions I have asked at a number of sanzenkai and Sōtō temples throughout Japan in the year April 1981-April 1982. During this time I lived at and participated in regular zazen at two temples, Tōganji and Daimanji (four months each) as well as having visited and stayed at Eihei-ji twice, for four days each time, staying in the sanzendō. I also stayed twice at Chōkokuji, Nagano, and once for three days at Daijōji, Kanazawa:at this temple I stayed with other lay visitors. I stayed at Hakuhoji in Chigasaki on a number of occasions for several days at a time, and at Zuigakuin, Yamanashi prefecture for a week, as well as at Chōkokuji, Tokyo, for eight days during a sesshin*(meditation retreat), as well as numerous other temples that I visited during the year. I am grateful to the priests of all these temples, not only for their kindness in allowing me to stay at their temples, but also for their help in answering questions and in aiding my research.
- (47) Sakurai Shūyū(1980) has produced a two-volume explanation of the texts the sect uses in memorial services: this has been published by the Head Office. These volumes, Sōtōshū Ekobun Kōgi, give the meanings of such terms and texts, most of which, as the author points out (Vol.1 p.1) are unintelligible to the large majority of people as they are written in old Chinese Buddhist form, which is no longer taught in Japan.
- (48) Sakurai has also produced a four-card set explaining memorial services and the ways that the laity should behave, etc. Card four, for example, tells the danka not to use any sect other than Sōtō, nor to have a Christian burial. Other cards warn against imbibing alcohol at such occasions and set out the moral rules to be followed. Although not published by the Head Office, these have been written by Sakurai who is a sect official, and are on sale at Sōtō temples: I bought a set at Eihei-ji (Sakurai (1981b) Hōji).
- (49) SSSMC(ed.) Kenshū Techo pp.5-12. The fact that two of these hymns or songs were written by Ōuchi suggests that he was concerned with many other areas of proselytisation besides compiling the Shushōgi.
- (50) SSSMC poster Oya no On o Omou.

親の恩をおもう

- (51) SSSMC poster Te o Awasu

手を合わせる。

(52) SSSMC poster, quoted by Hattori Shōsai (1973) Mihotoke no Sugata p.20.

他を思う心をなくすまい
おのれを制する力をもとう
真実に生きる道を求めて
仏陀の光りを仰ごう。

(53) *ibid.* p.21.

(54) SSSMC(ed.) Shūryōhikkei p.109.

宗門檀信徒名家の仏檀に奉祀する三尊〔一仏両祖〕

(55) In 1974, in Toronto, Canada, I went to a number of meetings of a Sōka Gakkai group, at which the members, some Canadian and some Japanese informed me that receiving a personal gohonzon was the symbol of formal entry into the movement and that the gohonzon formed the focus of one's personal worship and practice.

(56) Thomsen *op.cit.* p.56.

(57) Nara and Nishimura(eds.) *op.cit.* p. 35.

(58) According to ZT No.7 1980, there were 11 Zen no Tsudoi meetings to be held in July 1980(p.16), while in July 1981 there were 12 such meetings (ZT No.7 1981 p.15) and 32 to be held in August (ZT No.8 1981 p.14-15).

(59) Nara and Nishimura(eds.) *op.cit.* p.143.

年一回のお祭りの開催で終わってしまい...

(60) ZT No.7 1980 p.16.

「緑蔭禅の集い」は坐禅を中心にした会です。また人生における良き友をつくる場でもありますので、気軽にご参加下さい。

(61) Miyazaki Ninjō Shakyō to Hannya Shingyō p.16.

般若心経の写経が「静かなブーム」になっている。

(62) Based on observations made during April 1981-April 1982, I have excluded the Nichirenist sects as I have had no practical experience of them and have hardly visited any Nichirenist temples.

(63) For example, the priest at Kanmanji, Akita prefecture, discussed in Chapter One, stated that he intended to start a shakyō group in the near future (personal communication, Feb. 25th 1982). Oda Baisen of Tōganji informed me that the temple's shakyō group had been in existence for some 25 years. When his predecessor started it, other Zen temples thought that this was not a correct move for a Zen temple, but that now such groups can be found at many temples: one can do shakyō at Eihei-ji now. (personal communication, July 31st 1981).

(64) Nara and Nishimura(eds.) *op.cit.* p.145.

(65) SSSMC(ed.) Shakyō no Susume (leaflet)

それは私達の祖先から受け継がれてきた浄行として...

(66) *ibid.*

この写経の心は時代を超えて、道を求める人々にとって大きな支えになっております。

(67) SSSMC(ed.) Bukkyō Tokuhon Vol.3 pp.49-49.

(68) Nishimura Kijō Shakyō Nyūmon p.9.

一人で「も多くの人に仏教を親しんでもらうために」写経会を始めました。

- (69) *ibid.* p.19-20.
 (70) *ibid.* p.25.
 (71) *ibid.* p.159-160.
 (72) *ibid.* p.32.
 (73) SSSMC(ed.) Jitei no Sho p.156-158.
 (74) Nakano Toei Howa no Kenkyū.
 (75) Tanaka Ryōsan 'Maegaki' in SSSMC(ed.) Genshoku Kenshū No.2, p.4-5.
- マスコミの時代といわれる今日,より積極的に社会に打出して多く人と語りあり,社会の矛盾を自らの問題としてとらえる柔軟性をもたなければ"ならない..."
- (76) Matsuhara Taidō 'Zen no Fukyō' in Genshoku Kenshū No.2 p.62.
 ...昔ながらのむずかしい術語ではなくて,現代的な言葉で話せるようになってくるでしょう。
- (77) *ibid.* p.62.
 ...これを取り組む角度が時代によって違う...
- (78) SSSMC(ed.) Hōza p.22.
 個人個の信仰によって結ばれた信仰教団に立ち返る必要に
- (79) *ibid.* p.22.
 信仰の道場
- (80) *ibid.* p.22.
 新しい時代の寺院の価値を高め...
- (81) *ibid.* p.17.
 また定まったルールもありません...日本人一億がみんな異なった価値感を持ってしまっている。
- (82) *ibid.* p.17-18.
 (83) *ibid.* p.22.
 (84) Personal communication from the wife of a Sōtō temple priest whose temple I visited in North Japan in January 1982.
 (85) SSSMC(ed.) Hōza p.199-200.
 (86) *ibid.* p.41.
 ...時代に即応した新しい伝道教団の礎をつくらなければなりません。
- (87) *ibid.* p.48-49.
 [これらの法要法事は]宗門の寺院活動の大部分を占めてあり... [これらの法要法事]を単なる年中行事であったり,おつき合いの場でおわらせてはならないことです。
- (88) SSSMC(ed.) Seishin e no Joshō p.11.
 (89) *ibid.* p.11-12.
 (90) Hattori (1977) Jōgu to Geke p.2.
 精神の荒廃...
- (91) *ibid.* p.2.
 現代に生きる僧侶としていよいよ精進を重ね世人の要望にこたえたいものである。
- (92) Daitō Shuppansha(ed.) . *op.cit.* p.143.

(93) Hattori(1977) p.1-2.

...上求が先きで下化が後という段階的な区別をとらない。

(94) Takashina Rosen 'Zen' in T.Leggett The Tiger's Cave p.179.

(95) Hattori(1977) p.54.

宗門教化の窮極の目標であらうか...

(96) *ibid.*p.54.

...それになりきって行う信念こそが"必要な"のであって...

(97) *ibid.*p.56.

(98) *ibid.*p.56.

...自己満足的な程度にとどまっているの大半である。

(99) *ibid.*p.57.

人生形成の段階を示し、つかみどころがよく分る。

(100) *ibid.*p.58.

一歩進んで禅の風光への誘引である。

(101) *ibid.*p.57ff.

(102) *ibid.*p.59.

我見我執をすてること...

(103) *ibid.*p.58ff.

(104) *ibid.*p.59.

決して仏教を売らんがの異物混入とは思わない。

(105) *ibid.*p.59.

...眞実態に導き入れる善を方便...

The term hōben has a specific meaning of 'skilful means' or 'expedient devices' in Mahayana Buddhism(see, e.g. E.M.Pye Skilful Means) but it also has a normal everyday usage in Japanese to indicate expediency, and I consider that this is the sense in which Hattori uses it here and elsewhere in this work.

(106) *ibid.*p.59.

...仏事より仏戒へ仏戒より坐禅へのコース...

(107) Tanaka Ryōsan.op.cit.p.5.

現代に生きる僧侶としていよいよ精進を重ね、社会に応え得るよう念願するものであります。

(compare these words to those in note 91 above, which are virtually the same).

(108) In SSSMC(ed.) Genshoku Kenshū No.2, in the section at the end of the book entitled 'Chinshimokkō'(i.e.contemplations)(no author cited) p.102.

職の場が宗門の布教の大教場であることを自覚すれば"そのことが自らの資質を向上させず"はおかないでしょう。

(109) Matsuhara op.cit.p.67.

寺離れはしているけれど"も仏法離れはしていない..."

(110) *ibid.*p.67.

...寺の布教の会に檀家の人は意外に来ません。しかしお葬式、法事はまじめしつとめます。いわば"寺離れはしていないけれど"も仏法離れです。

(111) *ibid.*p.68.

信心を必要としない者にも、信心を説かなければならぬものである。

(112) *ibid.*p.72.

説教坊さん[に墮してほめます]。

(113) These are the words of Nakai Kenyū quoted in Matsuhara *op.cit.* p.66.

いまの若者の集まるのは喫茶店である。喫茶店は人生の過た。

(114) *ibid.*p.66. There are also, apparently, similar Christian coffee shop groups in the Tokyo area.

(115) *ibid.*p.66-67.

(116) *ibid.*p.66-67.

お寺には集まらないが仏法の話は聞きたい。

(117) *ibid.*p.68.

新興宗教の人たちの情熱をまねければならぬものである。

CHAPTER FIVE

(1) See, e.g., Etō Sokuō (1980) Dōgen Zenji to Gendai p.483, and Nara and Nishimura (eds.) *op.cit.*p.20.

(2) SSSMC (ed.) Shiori p.6.

国の元首にあたる方

This pamphlet contains a concise description of the structure of the sect and is the basic source of the information detailed in this section of Chapter Five.

(3) *ibid.*p.6.

わたくしたち宗門の信仰のみをもとであります。

(4) See, e.g., W.K. Bunce Religions in Japan, which is an analysis of religious groups in Japan, compiled for the Occupation government's Religious Department, p.91, in which it is stated that Sōtō is the most active of all the Zen sects in social work.

(5) There are a number of articles and reports about this work: see, e.g., ZK Vol.1 p.86 'Nammin Kyūsai Katsudō wa Tsuzuku', Yoshioka Tōitsu 'Sōtō-shū no Nammin Kyūsai Katsudō' in Daihōrin No.7 1981, and Arima Jitsujō 'Nammin Kyūen no Genchihōkoku' in Daihōrin No.7 1981.

The sect also distributes posters to its temples bearing details of this relief work and appealing for help and funds to enable the work to continue.

(6) The head temples do not communicate directly with each other, but do so via the Head Office, according to an informant at Sōjiji, Nov.28th 1981.

(7) Nara and Nishimura (eds.) *op.cit.* reprint the whole constitution on pp.9-16, and on pp.36-46 they also print the regulations and articles of belief under which Sōtō has registered under the Shūkyōhōjinhō laws. The first five articles herein quoted are (Nara and Nishimura p.9):

[名称] 第一条. 本宗は「曹洞宗」という。

[伝統] 第二条. 本宗は、釈迦牟尼から以心伝心正法を嫡嗣し、歴代の諸祖が相続不斷に継承してきた伝統をもつものである。

[宗旨] 第三条 . 本宗は、仏祖単仏の正法に遵ひ、只管打坐、即心是仏を承当することを宗旨とする。

[本尊] 第四条 . 1. 本宗は、釈迦牟尼仏を本尊とし、高祖承陽大師及び太祖常済大師を両祖とする。
2. 寺院に奉安する本尊については、特例を設けることができる。

[教義] 第五条 . 本宗は、修証義の四大綱領に則り、禅戒一如、修証不二の妙諦を実践することを教義の大綱とする。

(8) Nara and Nishimura(eds.) op.cit.p.10, Article 11.

...時宜に滴する方法で"...

(9) This image of the trinity is not, of course, solely a Christian one but can be found also, for example, in Buddhism. Images of the Buddha flanked by two attendant Bodhisattvas, Monju (Indian name Manjushri) and Fugen and of Amida flanked by the Bodhisattvas Kannon and Seishi, this latter trinity being found in the Pure Land sects, are common at Japanese temples (see Matsunami op.cit.p.117-8). It is an interesting point of speculation as to whether the adoption by Sōtō of this trinity image for the kakejiku has in any way been influenced by the stirrings of interest in Christianity in post-Meiji Japan. Although the trinity image has a Buddhist history in Japan, it would not be beyond the bounds of possibility that Sōtō developed the kakejiku image as a focus of unity not simply as a parallel to the Nichiren gohonzon but also as a means of utilising popular Christian imagery and symbol. Unfortunately, at present this must remain as speculation as I have not been able to pin-point the earliest use of the 'One Buddha, Two Patriarchs' concept in the sect. This must wait until I have been able to return to Japan and gain access to further sources of documentary evidence: at present, it must remain as an interesting speculation, and no more.

(10) This is in terms of the simple and popular imagery of the sect. When one looks at the explanatory works of the sect (e.g. Appendix One nos. 18, 19, 20, 22) one finds information on such figures as Bodhidharma, Enō and Nyojō, who are all venerated as transmitters of the law. Nonetheless, the three encapsulated in the kakejiku are, for Sōtō purposes, by far the most important, especially in terms of imagery when seeking to convey messages to a wide populace.

(11) Mizuno (1978b) p.44-45.

(12) *ibid.* p.76-77.

(13) *ibid.* p.102-103.

(14) *ibid.* pp.356-358 and 363-364.

(15) This is not to imply that the nembutsu is a lesser practice than zazen, or that it is simply a populist one suitable for those unable to comprehend a 'higher' teaching, nor that it is merely a device designed by the Pure Land sects to boost their influence. Perhaps from the outside, it may be considered that the nembutsu path offers an 'easier' gate than that of zazen, which is physically arduous, but this is a superficial view. The paths advocated by Shinran and Honen rested on absolute faith and relinquishing of the selfish self, and in this

there is a great deal of similarity with the thought of Dōgen who stressed the importance of faith as an intrinsic part of enlightenment and practice. Although his view rested on 'self-power' (jiriki*) while that of Shinran rested on 'other-power' (tariki*), there is in the long run no difference between the two. As Soto thought shows, there is no division between self and other, and the phrase jitafuni* (i.e. self and other are indivisible) used by the sect shows this essential unity. Thus, in the end, jiriki and tariki are one entity, not two separate paths. I am grateful to Rev. Nishiyama Kōsen for having expounded this point at length to me.

In addition, there is a book published by the Research Institute at Komazawa University entitled Zen to Nembutsu which deals with a symposium on the relationship of the two, and reports the discussions of a group of Sōtō and Pure Land priests and academics. The Sōtō participants were Satō Taishun, the then deputy head priest of Eihei-ji, who later became head priest of the sect, and who was also an academic scholar, and Yamada Reirin, a lecturer at Komazawa, one of Sōtō's leading academic figures who was equally a practitioner who became head priest of Eihei-ji and the sect in succession to Satō. The general tenor of the discussion points to the similarities between the two practices and paths, in their essential requirement of faith, rather than to any great dissimilarities.

(16) Uchi op.cit.p.41.

一生成佛の入道は念佛往生を以て捷徑とすること...
然る今我曹洞宗に於ける修証義の法門は、其の念佛に依らずして、別に一生に初住に入り、一生に妙覺に入るの捷徑を謂ゆる別傳の佛戒に取ったのである。

(17) Hattori (1977) p.60.

立宗の根本的生命である「宗旨」にもとづくからである。

(18) *ibid.* p.38.

宗旨を布教徹底するための統一的な信仰準則を示めず[もの...]

(19) *ibid.* p.38.

したがって、宗旨は時代によって変らない根本的場であり、教義は、もし必要ならば "... 具体的指針としての表現に变化を許される性質のものと考えられる。

(20) SSSMC (ed.) Kenshū Techō p.34.

この世の中に存在するものは、すべて一瞬もとどまることなく変化しつづけるものであります。

(21) See, e.g., *ibid.* p.56.

(22) Nakano Tōzen 'Shushōgi ni Miru Shinkōtaikei' in IB No.1 Dec.1978 p.381.

信仰の体系という...

(23) SSSMC (ed.) Bukkyō Tokuhon Vol.3, pp.50-154. This contains the text followed by a detailed exposition of the words and terms used.

(24) I have translated shushō as 'practice-enlightenment' rather than as 'practice and enlightenment', used by, e.g., Yokoi Yuhō Zen Master Dōgen p.58ff. I do this in order to emphasise the essential unity of the concept: there is one entity of practice-enlightenment: to use the word 'and' tends to imply a dualism.

- (25) SSSMC(ed.) Bukkyō Tokuhon Vol.3 pp.50-53. See following pages for a photocopy of the relevant pages from this book.
 (26) SSSMC(ed.) Kenshū Techō p.59-60.

わたくしたちは仏のみ子であり、お釈迦さまと同じ清らかな心[仏さまの徳]が具わっておりますが、しかし、日々仏のみ心にもわかない生活をくりかえしているのも、また事実であります。わたくしたちが、真実、仏のみ子であるという確信にめざめたとき、深い反省の心が生じ、さんげせずはいられなくなります[懺悔滅罪]。このようにさんげの心があこり、仏さまに向ってさんげの儀式を行ったとき、ただちに仏さまのお徳があらわれ、仏さまの戒法を受けるのであります[受戒入位]。毎日の生活が自ら正しく、明るい生きがいの感ぜられて、世の中のお役にたつことをねがいのよきこぶようになります[発願利生]。ここに合掌の生活、感謝報恩の生活を営み、今に打込めことの出来る、充実した日あこりが出来るのであります[行持報恩]。

(27) Mizuno(1978b) p.4.

(28) See, e.g., SSSMC(ed.) Shiori p.13(わかり易く...) and many other publications as well.

(29) Yamada Reirin(1966) Chosakushū p.217.

口語記

(30) Personal communication, Sōtō Head Office, Sept. 28th 1981. It must be remembered that, although it is a nineteenth century compilation, the actual words are Dōgen's and hence are thirteenth century, as is the grammatical style. Although certain of the kanji of the original have been put into kana to facilitate reading, the text is, as it stands, difficult for the Japanese reader: a parallel would be Chaucer or some other work of that era for the modern English reader.

(31) Hattori Shōsai 'Shushōgi no Kotoba' 1-12, in ZT April 1980-March 1981

(32) SSSMC(ed.) Shūryōhikēi p.110. Satō's book was in fact published after he had become head priest of the sect.

(33) Biographical details are taken from Satō Taishun(1970b) Zen no Kokoro(interview with Dr. Ōkubo Dōshu).

(34) ibid. p.17. Ōkubo describes Satō's book as a lucid explanation of the text and of Dōgen's thought, and states that it provides a clear entry into Zen.

(35) SSSMC(ed.) Kenshū Techō p.101-102, for example, has a long quote from Satō's work on this subject.

(36) Satō(1970b) p.1ff.

(37) There is a suggestion that this was due to failing eyesight, which terminated his academic career. This information was provided by Sahashi Hōryū during a conversation at Chōkokuji, Nagano, Dec. 21st 1981 and, although I have not been able to corroborate this, I have been informed that he did go blind a few years before his death in 1976 (communication from Dr. Ichimura Shōhei, Tokyo April 16th 1981).

(38) Mizuno(1978b) p.14ff. Mizuno has written another work (Mizuno 1979) in which he discusses the Shushōgi from the standpoint of basic (i.e. early Indian) Buddhism.

第六課 『修証義』の教え

一、曹洞宗の宗旨

『修証義』は、曹洞宗の宗旨を、広く一般の人びとに説き示した教えである。そこで、『修証義』を読むまえに、宗旨の概要について知っておく必要がある。

宗旨は通常、主義・主張の意味であるが、ここでは立宗の目的・信条ということができよう。わが宗の宗旨は、すべての人が、釈尊から歴代伝わった教えである「正法」に遵って日常生活を行ない、ひいてはこの社会が「正法による平和な世界」になるのを理想としている。では、その正法とは何かといえば、誰でもが「只管打坐」を實踐し「即心是仏」を信じて生活することである。この二本の柱が根本となっているが、この宗旨を日常、どのように実行するのがよいかの標準（教義ともいう）として、この『修証義』が示された。

只管打坐は、釈尊以来、歴代の祖師がたが行なってきた正しい坐禅を、ただ、そ

のまま、行なりことで、坐禅は自分自身の修行のためでもなく、さとりを目的とするものでもない。「正しい仏法は坐禅である」と理解して坐るのである。そして、日常生活が、そのまま、坐禅のころを實踐する生活になるようにつとめるのである。このように、坐禅はその効果や価値を考へて坐るものでないから、指導するものの教えを信じて坐ることにもなるわけである。

即心是仏は、坐禅の心構えであり、その内容をいったものである。未完成で不完全な私たちでも、完成したもの（仏）の示されたいましめ（戒）をまもつて清浄な生活を行ない、永遠に生きつづける尊い（仏性）を信じ、日常、怠ることのない生活に徹底することが、そのまま完成の道になることをいったものである。

この道理がほんとうに理解できたとき、私たちは悪いことを、決して行なわない、というよりは、できなくなるのであつて、もちろん、善いことは、せずにはおれなくなってくる。このようにして、仏と同じ完成者のころになることができる。これを即心是仏といた。

二、その教義

この『修証義』は、五章三節にわけられている。そのうち、懺悔滅罪・受戒入位・発願利生・行持報恩の四つを四大綱領と呼んでいる。この四大綱領が、『修証義』の根本となる教えであるが、これらは「禅戒一如」の考え方で貫ぬかれ、また、「修証不二」の立場を説き明かしているのである。

只管打坐が、宗旨の大きな実践目標ではあっても、多くの人びとが常に、坐禅に専念することはできない。このように坐禅に打ちこむことのできないものは、坐禅の心構えや態度を、日常生活の上に生かしてゆくことが肝要であって、『修証義』に示された「戒の実践」が、そのまま「坐禅の実修」と同じことになるという道理を、禅戒一如といったのである。

修証という語は、修行と証悟の語からきている。普通には、坐禅その他の修行を積み、その結果としてさとることができるといふように用いられている。しかし道元禅師は、修証をこのように二つに分けては考えずに、一つのものとしてみている。それは、日常私たちが反覆くり返す仏教生活（修行）には、なんらの果報（証悟）をまち望んではならない。さとりを得ようと努めるとき、その努力は目的実現のための手段となり、その修行は純粋なものといえなくなる。たいせつなことは、日常の正

しい実践生活であって、この道理を真に理解して、ただ、ひたすら、教えに耳かたむけて精進することである。『修証義』はこのように「修証不二」の道理を明かにしたものである。

この『修証義』は、多くの人に、その家庭生活の正しいあり方を示す目的で、明治三三年（一八九〇）一〇月普達されたものである。

本文はすべて、道元禅師の『正法眼蔵』から抜き出し、時の永平寺貫首澁谷孫宗禅師・総持寺貫首畔上棟仙禅師によって編集の上、一宗に告諭されたものである。

(39) Satō(1970a) Seikatsu no Shushōgi p.2.

[死は] お寺で 解決し...

(40) *ibid.*p.7.

決して世の中を捨てるのではなくて、真に世の中を明るく活かすのが"仏教の主眼"である。

(41) *ibid.*p.1.

仏教の唯一最大の問題である...

(42) *ibid.*Ch.1,part 2 has this title:

充ちた人生

(43) *ibid.*Ch.1,part 1 has this title:

充たされぬ人生

(44) *ibid.*p.8.

生きとげ"る教...

(45) *ibid.*p.47.

仏の眼で"見られた人生真実の相...

(46) Shushōgi paragraph 7(nb.the text of the Shushōgi is given in numerous sect publications,e.g.Appendix One,nōs.18,19,20,22,26,31,34,35 and so on).

広大の慈門[を開き]

(47) Satō(1970a) p.58.

[一に] 罪より求われて過去を清算すること

[二に] 障りなき不退転の信と精進とを起して

[三に] 自分の周井が清められて,この人の住む社会も。

(48) *ibid.*p.92.

一体三宝

(49) *ibid.*p.95.

(50) *ibid.*p.105.

自分と相手を融合した。

(51) *ibid.*p.105.

菩提を成就する。

(52) *ibid.*p.115.

仏教生活の基礎

(53) *ibid.*p.118.

帰依三宝のはたらき

(54) *ibid.*p.140.

真の自由

(55) The precepts,which divide into three basic duties and ten prohibitions,are set out as follows in paragraph 15 of the Shūshōgi:

...三聚浄戒を受けるべし。第一攝 律儀式,第二攝善法戒,第三攝衆生戒なり,次には應に十重禁戒を受け奉るべし。第一不殺生戒,第二不偷盜戒,第三不邪淫戒,第四不妄語戒,第五不酤酒戒,第六不說過戒,第七不自讚毀他戒,第八不慳法財戒,第九不瞋恚戒,第十不謗三寶戒なり,

(56) Satō(1970a) p.160.

車の両輪の如く

(57) *ibid.* p.178.

誰にも出来る

(58) *ibid.* p.187.

それが懺悔や受戒の良い因縁で発芽したのである。

(59) *ibid.* p.193.

仏教の修行とし、仏教信者の行とし、又社会生活の原則として...

(60) *ibid.* p.218.

心の永が"とけて悪を改めて善に遷り..."

(61) *ibid.* p.229.

相手が"仏道"を成し...

(62) *ibid.* p.231.

小さな自我の孤立[を投げ捨て>]

(63) *ibid.* p.255.

この地球上の人間生活こそ...仏心の発心が出来た。

(64) *ibid.* p.271.

吾々の今日あるは全く古人の徳により、先人の賜物である。

(65) *ibid.* p.288.

この一日

(66) *ibid.* p.289.

この一日の価値を見失つ居ること

(67) Shushōgi paragraph 30.

徒らに百歳生けらんは恨むべき日月なり、悲しむべき形骸なり。

(68) Satō(1970a) p.302.

我等の行う道がそのまま仏の道となるのである。

(69) *ibid.* p.305.

風の響きも雨の音もまた鳥の声も...

(70) *ibid.* p.311.

成仏も菩提も死んでからの事ではなくて、現在生きてある自己自身の問題であることはいうまでもない。

(71) *ibid.* p.318.

[一] 宗意安心の要綱を示す教典

[二] 授戒会の教科書

[三] 人間生活の指導書。

(72) Mizuno(1978b) p.251.

「修証義」は受戒ということがその中心をなしている。

(73) *ibid.* p.285.

CHAPTER SIX

- (1) SSSMC(ed.)
- Jitei no Sho
- p.45.

家族が人間生活に及ぼす景響は実に重大であります。

- (2)
- ibid.*
- p.44ff.

- (3) Nara and Nishimura(eds.)
- op.cit.*
- p.34. 「一カ寺一教化団体」

- (4) SSSMC(ed.)
- Danshinto Hikkei
- p.46.

...檀那寺の方丈さまにあききくだをい。

- (5)
- ibid.*
- p.56.

お寺は教えのたてまえによって檀徒の方々を信仰に導き...

- (6)
- Japanesque*
- (ed.)
- Zen
- p.170 states that Kokutaiji, which is the head temple of the Kokutaiji Rinzai sect, holds regular monthly
- sanzenkai
- .

- (7) These interviews took place at Eihei-ji during the periods July 6th-9th and Dec. 24th-28th 1981.

- (8) Observations and interviews made at Chōkoku-ji (Tokyo), which is the Eihei-ji branch temple in Tokyo, Dec. 1st-8th 1981, at Rinnojō, Sendai Oct. 1981-Feb. 1982, and at Eihei-ji Betsuin, Nagoya, May-June 1981.

- (9) Personal communication, Tokyo, Dec. 8th 1981.

- (10) Hattori (1977) p.59.

- (11) Fujimoto (1977) p.17.

- (12) Quoted in Fujimoto (1977) p.18.

「一粒のお米の中に菩薩を拝まねばいけない

- (13) Osada Gyoitsu
- Kokoro e no Yobikake
- p.21 and p.155ff.

- (14) Uchiyama (1979)
- Jibun to Jiko
- p.12.

生存競争が幼稚園から始まり...

- (15)
- ibid.*
- p.12.

それで小学校中学校の生徒でさえもう厭世的になって
しまって、実際にという厭世自殺者がでてくるのだから、うら
めしい時代になってしまったと思います。

- (16) Osada
- op.cit.*
- p.21.

しらけた態度をするのか今の若者の流行たとうた。

- (17) Kamata Shigeo (1973)
- Bukkyō no Ningenkan
- p.9ff.

- (18) Kamata (1977)
- Zen no Ningenkan
- p.57.

...人間不在がますます強く、公害の問題がわれわれ身心を
たしはんでいきます。

- (19)
- ibid.*
- p.41.

現世利益の宗教は全部工利主義であります。

- (20) Tanaka Tadao
- Zen kara no Hotsugen
- p.28.

これが今の世に稀薄になって子供をあまやかし、ぶくぶく
の肥満児を作ったしているのではあるまいか。

- (21)
- ibid.*
- p.28. He uses the words レベル・ダウン (i.e. 'level down')

- (22)
- ibid.*
- p.28.

ホンクラシー時代

- (23)
- ibid.*
- p.28.

いまの日本民主主義は人間...をほんくらにしようとする。

- (24)
- ibid.*
- p.28.

デモクラシーはホンクラシー

(25) Kamata(1977) p.3.

日本人としての教育というものは、ほとんど捨てられているのではないが。

(26) Uchiyama(1967) Modern Civilisation and Zen p.5.

(27) Sakai Daigaku Kaze no Naka o Aruku p.59.

大地と呼吸を合わせなければ病気がふえるのは当然です。

(28) *ibid.* p.62.

いのちのないもの...

(29) *ibid.* p.62.

いやです。

(30) *ibid.* p.63.

今の世の中は狂ったものでいっぱいです。

(31) *ibid.* p.73.

[大きくなるよ...]ひとりひとりの客さんをたいせつにする気を忘れてゆきます。

(32) J.Kitagawa Religion in Japanese History p.296.

(33) See, e.g., Shirokawa Tourist Office(ed.) Shirokawakyō p.1ff., which talks of furusato in order to encourage people to visit the area and in order to enhance the area's charms in the eyes of city-dwellers.

(34) SSSMC(ed.) Kokoro no Furusato(leaflet).

(35) SSSMC(ed.) Jinsei no Yasuragi(leaflet)

お盆がやってくると、毎年きまって私は田舎の生活を思います。

(36) *ibid.*

今日社会が...「やすらぎ」を見失っている...

(37) Fujimoto(1978) Ai no Kotoba p.4.

今の教育ではごあいさつを教えないのです...今の教育にはごあいさつをする心の教育がなくなりました...

(39) Okura Genshō Katachi to Kokoro .

(40) SSSMC(ed.) 'Kyōiku no Kōhai wa Sukueru ka' in ZT No.3 1980, p.4.

(41) *ibid.* p.5.

一人のいたいけな子どもの立場に立つての視点が欠けているのだ。

(42) *ibid.* p.5.

受験競争, 物質万能主義

(43) *ibid.* p.11(the words are by Muchaku)

人間の教育というの観点がない。

(44) *ibid.* p.12.

上の方から生徒を見下して教えている。

(45) Muchaku Seikyō Zen ni Manabu p.55.

(46) *ibid.* p.54.

日本人が、みんな知識を軽蔑するようになったのは国家の政策が「からんで」のことです。

(47) *ibid.* p.58.

月を見るといっているのに、月をゆらぎさせているもの指しか見られない子どもをつくっているのが今の日本の学校だ。

- (48) *ibid.*p.60.
学校信仰を政治的につくりだしたのです。
- (49) *ibid.*p.61.
まねの上手か"よかった。
- (50) *ibid.*p.61.
日本の近代学校は悉有仏性の思想を完全に否定している。
- (51) *ibid.*p.63.
...かならず"仏法の指導を受けねば"ならない。
- (52) Dōgen Shōbōgenzō Genjōkōan, quoted in Aoyama Shundō(1981) Tenchi Ippai ni Ikiru p.85 (and in various other Sōtō publications):
仏道をなろうというは、自己をなろうなり。自己をなろうというは、自己を忘るるなり。
- (53) I have heard this phrase used at a number of talks, especially at sanzenkai, for example by Watanabe Kesshō, of Eiheiji Betsuin, Nagoya, at a sanzenkai there, May 20th 1981.
- (54) Ikeda Kōyū Zazen ni Asobu p.83.
坐禅に己れを投げこんで"..."
- (55) Fujimoto(1978) p.10.
仲よし
- (56) *ibid.*p.10-11.
- (57) Miyazaki Ekiho Kataru ni Arazu p.22.
子供とお母さんは一つだ"。
- (58) SSSMC(ed.) Danshinto Hikkei p.102.
父母と慈悲心
- (59) This image occurs, for example, in Fujimoto(1977) p.2.
- (60) Sakai *op.cit.*p.22. わたしたちは、たしかに祖失から血をうけている。
- (61) Kamata(1977) p.4
- (62) Hata(1978) interview in Ehara Yukiko Shinryūshō p.57.
- (63) Kamata(1977) p.40:
無所得の宗教
- (64) Okura *op.cit.*p.30ff.
- (65) Nakahisa Gakusai 'Dōgen Zenji to Gasshō no Shūkyō' in Daihōrin No.5 1971 and No.6 1971.
- (66) *ibid.*No.5 p.52.
- (67) *ibid.*No.6 p.76.
報恩感謝の精神であります。
- (68) SSSMC(ed.) Danshinto Hikkei p.73.
合掌の姿
- (69) *ibid.*p.74.
一心
- (70) *ibid.*p.75.
私たちの日常生活に、合掌の姿が多くなれば、家庭は明るく円満になり、精神生活は豊かであります。
- (71) Fujimoto(1977) p.16.
人間の一番尊い姿で"..."その姿ことはみ仏のお姿であります。

(72) *ibid.* p.17.

御本山僧堂の修行は日々すべて合掌の生活礼拝のおつとめであります。

(73) *ibid.* p.18.

現代の矛盾がある。

(74) *ibid.* p.19.

合掌するもの信仰の姿そのまま仏さまであります。

(75) These remarks are based on comments by many priests and Sōtō lay followers. Sawaki is mentioned in many works on zazen and is well-known for the number of pupils he trained (indeed, it is rather fashionable in modern Sōtō to claim to have studied under him, as Saḥashi Hōryū has suggested to me, in a conversation at Chōkokuji, Nagano, March 16th 1982). For an insight into Sawaki's methods, and the help he gave to students of Zen, see, e.g., Yamada Bunjirō (ed.) Satori no Honō: this is a book produced by a Sōtō temple in Aomori prefecture, North Japan, detailing the history of the temple's sanzenkai and showing how Sawaki helped in its development and the manner in which he conducted sesshin and encouraged practitioners of zazen.

(76) Sawaki's words are quoted by Kobayashi Jundō 'Shikantaza to Dokkyōkitō' in Chōryū No.1 1982, p.23.

私のために読経供養は要らない坐禅が唯一最上の供養だ。

(77) Aoyama (1981) p.106ff.

(78) *ibid.* p.92ff.

(79) *ibid.* p.131.

仏に掌をあわせつつ生きるという姿[になる]

(80) SSSMC (ed.) Umesōjun o Hiraku (leaflet).

私共の生きてゐる姿

(81) Muchaku *op.cit.* p.5.

悟りそのものの姿である。

(82) SSSMC (ed.) o-Butsudan no Maturikata (leaflet)

拝む姿はそのまま仏。

(83) SSSMC (ed.) Dōgen (leaflet).

りっぱな仏さまの姿です。

(84) Aoyama (1981) p.4.

仏教は今にめざめる教え

(85) This word is widely used in Japan by various sects. I have come across it in Shingon and Pure Land sect publications, for example. This is not the place for a discussion of the common terminology of Japanese Buddhist groups: that would require a separate and independent survey. However, one should be aware that the use of this everyday word in a special and religious context is not confined to the Sōtō sect or to a few writers within the sect.

(86) Ōta Kyūki Bukkyō no Kokoro to Zen p.19.

いつもはたらきつつける「心」である。

(87) Hattori (1977) p.57.

修証義のハタラキ

(88) Uchiyama (1980) p.24.

坐禅は日々生活行動のなかに働く。

(89) Aoyama(1981) p.97.

本来名もなく、形もなく、天地に満ちて、私を生かし続けている
この働き。

(90) Sahashi Hōryū also affirmed the use of the term hataraki as a 'universal principle' or similar meaning, during a conversation at Chōkokuji, Nagano, March 16th 1982.

(91) Satō(1970a) p.240.

円融無碍一体のすがたや働き。

(92) *ibid.* p.191.

姿であり、はたらきである。

CHAPTER SEVEN

(1) Poster outside Kōzenji, Date, Hokkaidō.

♪ せんか 拝めは 子か 拝む、拝むお姿の美しき。

(2) Poster outside Kannonji, Nishijō, Nagano prefecture.

一家の幸福は祖先の礼拝からゆったりを仏像に遇いました。

(3) SSSMC(ed.) Danshinto Hikkei p.99.

信仰生活

(4) See, for example, the interview with Niwa Dempō 'o-Bon wa Jihi to Kōjun no Kokoro de Mukaetai' in ZT No.7 1981.

(5) The specific issues in which these question-and-answer pages occurred are: 1980, No.7; 1981, Nos.1,3,4,6,9,11; 1982, Nos.1,2,3,4. I have been unable to see some of the later issues of 1980, so these figures are not entirely comprehensive. However, the general tenor of questions asked remains constant throughout the issues that were available, to the extent that one can surmise that they present a fair view of the interests and concerns of Zen no Tomo's readership.

(6) A similar tendency may be seen amongst the priesthood, or at least amongst the trainee priesthood, judging from my experience of a question and-answer session at Chōkokuji, Nagano on March 16th 1982. The circumstances were that I had arranged to ask the head priest, Sahashi Hōryū, who is a leading scholar, a number of questions relating to Sōtō, and he decided that it would be informative to ask the trainee priests at the temple to prepare their own questions at the same time. These trainees, five in all, were products of the sesshū system. Each was asked to prepare two questions, so that ten would be asked in all.

Each question was of a factual type, seeking straightforward, explanatory answers, concerned with mortuary rites and meanings of terms or objects used in temples. As Sahashi pointed out afterwards, all such answers could have been found out from the many books at the temple: he felt that this was a general indictment not just of education but of sesshū. All that the trainee wished to receive were answers: they had no real desire to learn or to deepen their experiential knowledge of Zen. Moreover, none of them had the initiative to look up the answers themselves: it seemed as though they had just thought up questions because they had to do so!

(7) SSSMC(ed.) Sōtōshū no Nenjūgyōji, inside front cover: see photocopy overleaf for the ten articles of belief. This is also printed in SSSMC(ed.) Sōtōshū Hōreki p.27.

(8) SSSMC(ed.) Danshinto Hikkei p.56.

自分の祖先の安住所であり、自分の魂のおちつくところ...

Footnote 7, text:

信仰十訓

- 一、お仏壇は、いつもきれいにして、毎朝合掌礼拝、ご先祖に感謝しましょう
- 二、食卓についたときは、合掌してからいただきます
- 三、お寺やお堂の前を通るときには、必ず合掌礼拝しましょう
- 四、お寺にはわが家の位牌をおまつりして、忌日、命日には必ずお参りしましょう
- 五、毎月一日の朝は、みんなでのお参りをして家族の安全を祈りましょう
- 六、子どもが生まれたときは、お寺から名前をいただき、百日目にはお参りをして、ご先祖に報告しましょう
- 七、入学や成人のときには、必ずお寺参りをして、ご先祖に報告しましょう
- 八、結婚式は、お寺のご先祖の前で挙式しましょう。できないときは、後からお寺参りをして、ご先祖に報告しましょう
- 九、仏誕会（花まつり）には、赤ちゃんもいっしょにお寺参りをして、甘茶をかけてお祝いしましょう
- 十、成道会、涅槃会には、みんなでのお寺に集まり、法話を聞き坐禅をして、お釈迦さまをしのびましょう

(9) *ibid.* p.60.

...私たちの信仰の中心である本尊さまと、先祖のみ魂をおまつりする、最も大切なところでもあります。

(10) Sōtōshū Tōhoku Kanku Kyōkasentā(ed.) Anata no Bodaiji (leaflet).

あなたのお家は、菩提寺の檀家でもあります。

(11) *ibid.*

菩提寺の檀家であると共に菩提寺の信者によっていただきなのであります。

(12) Fujimoto(1977) p.2.

...道元禅師さまがお交さまであるとすれば、瑩山禅師さまはお母さまであって...

(13) SSSMC(ed.) Michi no Shirube (leaflet) uses these terms, Dōgen as father, Keizan as mother.

(14) SSSMC(ed.) o-Butsudan no Matsurikata (leaflet).

をひしい父、やさしい母...

(15) SSSMC(ed.) o-Jukaie no Susume (leaflet).

戒法のこころを自覚したとの証として「血脈」を受け...

(16) As an example of this, Moriyama, headpriest of Zuigakuin, Yamanashi prefecture, stated that if I were to take the precepts, I would enter the bloodstream (kechimyaku) of Buddhism and be directly linked, through him and his lineage, which goes back through Dōgen, to the Buddha.

(17) SSSMC(ed.) Danshinto Hikkei p.60-61.

お仏壇の正面には、中心にご本尊お釈迦さまをまつり、その両脇に、高祖さまと太祖さまの尊像〔一仏兩祖〕をおまつりします。そしてその右左にご先祖さまのお位牌や過去帳を安置いたします。

(18) See, for example SSSMC(ed.) o-Butsudan no Matsurikata (leaflet)

[「とうてい」はありません]

(19) *ibid.*

朝な夕なに家族の一人一人が、端坐に合掌し、礼拝するならば、宗門の教えにふれる深因縁が結ばれる...

(20) This started in ZT No.1, 1982, pp.9-14, and continued in subsequent issues.

(21) SSSMC(ed.) Danshinto Hikkei p.33.

そのお釈迦さまから代々の祖師方が受けられた「仏教の真ずい」一正法一を、七百五十年ほど前、高祖承陽大師さまがわが国におひろめになり、四代の太祖常済大師さまが盛んにいたされました。

I have used the names Dōgen Zenji and Keizan Zenji in translation for the sake of clarity, rather than using their formal titles, Kōsojōyō Daishi and Taisojōsai Daishi respectively, which are used in this quote.

(22) SSSMC(ed.) Dōgen-sama (leaflet).

坐禅のこころ

(23) SSSMC(ed.) Keizan-sama (leaflet).

あたたかい家庭

(24) *ibid.*

感謝のこころ

(25) SSSMC(ed. and produced) Eiheiji. Sōjiji (film, approximately 25 minutes long).

(26) SSSMC(ed.) Sōtoshū Hōreki, frontispiece.

今も二百名の修行僧が日夜修行に励んでおり...

(27) *ibid.* frontispiece.

禪の法苑としての深淵を感じさせます。

(28) *ibid.* frontispiece.

開かれた禪苑 [として...]

(29) Niwa, interview, *op. cit.*, in ZT No.7, 1981, p.8.

多くの修行僧たちみんなが朝三時に起きて坐禅をしております。

(30) This observation is based on comments made to me by trainees and monks at Eiheiji, July and December 1981, and on my own observations at these times.

(31) This is based both on my own perceptions at Eiheiji and on the comments of others, who had experience of several Sōtō temples and sanzenkai, who were also visiting Eiheiji.

(32) Personal communication, Zuigakuin, near Ōtsuki, Yamanashi prefecture March 3rd 1981.

(33) Daihonzan Eiheiji(ed.) 'Sanzenkai' (no author named) in Sanshō No.1, 1982, p.79.

...永と同じ様に世俗から離れて坐禅の修行をすることが出来るように...

(34) *ibid.* p.79.

(35) Communication from an informant at the temple office, Sōjiji, Nov. 28th 1981.

(36) This assertion is made on the basis of having looked at and read both periodicals over the period April 1981-April 1982.

(37) See, for example, Kojima Shōan 'Kodomo no tame no Bukkyō Manga' in Chōryū No.9, 1981.

(38) See, for example, Chōryū No.8, 1981 and subsequent issues for this feature.

(39) Daihonzan Sōjiji(ed.) Sōjiji no Keizan-sama pp.2-5.

(40) *ibid.* pp.7-21 deal with this stage of Keizan's life. In all, 60 pages are devoted to his life, of which the first 8 years (i.e. his family years) which account for little more than one-seventh of his whole life (he lived to 58) take up a quarter of the entire book.

(41) Takeda Sumiko 'Daihonzan Sōjiji Sanzen' in Kinryū, Autumn edition 1981, p.3.

...深山の身の引き締る様な修業道場の [永平寺]

(42) *ibid.* p.3.

民衆に近づき易い本山総持寺の違いがはっきり分る気持ちで玄関入り...

(43) *ibid.* p.3.

作務の長い廊下も、永平寺と比べれば楽な様子...

(44) SSSMC(ed.) Danshinto Hikkei p.105.

子を思う親心は、そのまま、み仏のお心、慈悲心であります。

(45) *ibid.* p.101.

家庭の親子、兄弟、夫婦の間では、自然に、別な感情をまじえず、以心伝心の作用によって、すくは自分のものとなり、家庭のものにすることが出来るのであります。

(46) K.Masuda(ed.) Kenkyūsha's New Japanese-English Dictionary p.556.

お互いの心は以心伝心でわかっていた。

(47) SSSMC(ed.) Jinsei no Yasuragi (leaflet).

生きている父母,先祖を敬う日であります。

(48) SSSMC(ed.) Danshinto Hikkei p.44.

...わが宗の信仰の中心となっている。

(49) *ibid.* p.97.

曹洞宗では最もすぐれた大きな法要であります...檀信徒の信仰を確立させるための檀信徒教化を主眼とする法要では...仏さま 同等同格の自分を見出させ,仏さまのみ子なりとの安心立命をあたえるところにあります。

(50) *ibid.* p.98.

(51) SSSMC(ed.) o-Jukaie no Susume (leaflet).

...受戒に基づく信仰と誓願と実践による家庭づくりを成すべきであると思います。

(52) SSSMC(ed.) Sōtoshū Hōreki p.4-5.

(53) Similar almanacs are produced by other temples and shrines and so on: they are not solely a Sōtō product. I have, for example, one from Atsuta shrine in Nagoya.

(54) These words come from a talk by Nishiyama Kōsen to the Daimanji danka at Daimanji, Sendai, Sept. 20th 1981:

...わが曹洞宗...

CHAPTER EIGHT, PART ONE

(1) Dōgen Fukanzazengi in Eiheikōsogojukun p.61.

唯だ打坐を務めて...萬別千差といふと雖も、祇管に參禪辨道すべし。

(2) *ibid.* p.53.

今人なんど辨せざる。

(3) This quoted in SSSMC(ed.) Zazen no Susume (leaflet).

而坐參禪を正門とせり。

(4) Keizan Zazenyōjinki (no page numbers).

大佛事大造營は最も善事爲りと雖も、坐禪を専らにする人は之を修すべからず。説法教化を好むことを得ざれば、散心妄念これよりして起る。

(5) Sahashi (1980) p.67ff.

(6) Hata (1981d) speech at Katsugyūji, Sendai, Nov. 7th 1981.

皆はすぐできる。

(7) SSSMC(ed.) Dōgen-sama (leaflet).

いつてもどこでもだれにでもできる修行でもが朝から晩まで坐禅をすることは出来ません。

(8) SSSMC(ed.) Kenshū Techō p.60.

多くの人達が常に坐禅に打込むことに容易なことではありません。

(9) SSSMC(ed.) Bukkyō Tokuhon Vol.3,p.52.

多くの人びとが常に坐禅に専念することはできない。

(10) Hattori(1977) p.58.

坐禅は合掌礼拝や詠道ほどに一般化することは難しい。

(11) These observations are based on conversations with numerous trainees and priests at Sōtō temples between April 1981 and April 1982. An example concerns the training temple Chōkokuji in Nagano. Here there are five trainees (as at March 1982) who are obliged to practice zazen twice a day for 40 minutes each time. None of those to whom I spoke (all five) thought that they would continue to practice zazen after they had left the temple and returned to their family temples. Similar feelings have also been expressed by trainees to whom I spoke at Eihei-ji and at other temples. Also, I have met many priests who have stated that they do not practice zazen, even though some of them seem to look back nostalgically to their days of training!

(12) SSSMC(ed.) Danshinto Hikkei p.46-47.

(13) One does occasionally meet monks who believe that they are more virtuous than the laity by virtue of their ordination: I know of one in particular who often expresses this view.

(14) These times are taken from the timetable in the visitors sanzen-dō at Eihei-ji and from Sōjiji (ed.) Sōjiji Temple p.9.

(15) Information communicated to me by Fukuda Kōyū, Sendai, Dec. 12th 1981.

(16) This opinion was communicated to me by Tamaki Hōryū, Sendai, Sept. 20th 1981; similar views were expressed by Moriyama, head priest at Zuigakuin, and by Sahashi Hōryū, amongst others.

(17) According to an informant at Saijō-ji, Nov. 30th 1981.

(18) This is based on my observations at Daijō-ji, Dec 22nd-24th 1981. A temple newsletter which explained the importance of samu was available at the temple at this time for visitors.

(19) These times are based on my own observations. The time-schedules at these temples are fluid, and I have used an average based on four visits to Hakuō-ji and on one week spent at Zuigakuin.

(20) Hata (1981d) speech at Katsugyū-ji, Sendai, Nov. 7th 1981.

坐禅だけは禅ではなくて...

(21) Yamada Bunji-ō (ed.) op.cit. p.13ff.

(22) At least, in my own experience, I have not encountered any similar works. I was given this volume at the Sōtō Miyagi prefecture area office: at the time, I was told that this was the only one of its kind as far as the office knew.

(23) I have not included Zen no Tomo in this discussion because, while it is a danka magazine that rarely discusses zazen, it is not possible to judge the actual and total balance of the magazine over the same number of years as the rest of the material surveyed. I have only been able to view the last five years issues of the magazine. In this time, apart from advertisements for Zen no Tsudoi meetings, there have been very few articles directly related to or on zazen.

- (24) SSSMC(ed.) Sanzen no Shiori p.31.
...壁に向かって...
- (25) See, for example, Ikeda op.cit.p.6ff.
- (26) SSSMC(ed.) Zazen no Susume(leaflet).
[坐禅が] 仏教の正門である。
- (27) Kurebayashi Kōdō(1978) Fukanzazengi o Tataeru p.13.
これ以外にほんとうの仏教はない...仏教の源泉は坐禅であり、全仏教は釈尊の禅定[坐禅]から産れたもので...
- (28) SSSMC(ed.) Michi no Shirube(leaflet).
真の自覚するためには坐禅がもっともよい道であります。
- (29) Miyazaki op.cit.p.28.
本当に悟りを得ようと思ったら「坐禅をしろ。」
- (30) Takazaki Jikishō Zen o Kokorozasu Hito e pp.11-14.
- (31) *ibid.*p.9.
仏道すなわち坐禅修行の目的...
- (32) Yoshida Kōzan(1981) Shikantaza p.183.
坐禅をすれば 悩みや疲れはずっと無くなり。
- (33) Okura op.cit.p.e1-33.
- (34) Hata(1981d) speech, Katsugyūji Nov.7th 1981.
坐禅は絶対です。
- (35) *ibid.*
合掌する合掌だけ
- (36) Miyazaki op.cit.p.32.
坐禅というものは朝から日映までしておれと言うのはごまいません。
- (37) Uchiyama(1979) p.28.
[坐禅は]自己をほんとうに「なすふ」こと...
- (38) *ibid.*p.28.
われわれ坐禅をしてみるととてもよく分ってくるでしょう。
- (39) Fujimoto(1977) p.7
それが 禅の心です。
- (40) Hata(1978) interview in Ehara op.cit.p.53.
坐禅修行するものは一日二十四時間坐禅人です。
- (41) Ikeda op.cit.pp.6-9.
- (42) *ibid.*p.56.
「ためにする」坐禅...決して、人間が生まれてきた原点に帰らないで
体験の積み重ねという形でむしろ生の根源から遠ざかっている。
- (43) *ibid.*p.82.
出家の定義に徒えないから坐禅ができないとする考え方はやめよう。

(44) *ibid.*p.83.

坐禅のものものは出家の社さんか"やるうと在家の人が"やるうと同じ"である。

(45) *ibid.*p.83.

出家の坐禅は坐禅に己れを投げこんで"しまう。"

PART TWO

(1) Minegishi Shūsai 'Sōtōshū ni Okeru Kitō no Keifu to sono Jittai ni tsuite no Ikkōsatsu' in IB Vol.21(2) 1972-3,p.186.

(2) *ibid.*p.187.

(3) *ibid.*p.187.

一 要 因

(4) Kodansha(ed.) *op.cit.*p.97-8.

(5) *ibid.*p.14.

神仏が"くた"さる功徳のことで"..."

(6) On the question of the relationship between the Emperor Godaigo and Sōjiji, see Kobayashi *op.cit.* in Chōryū No.1, 1982.

(7) Personal communication, Nagano March 16th 1982.

(8) These remarks were made during a conversation at Saijōji, Nov.30th 1981:

自分を高める

(9) *ibid.*

他を高める

(10) SSSMC(ed.) Seishin e no Joshō p.50.

この仏たちの誓願力を信心, 自己の心を諸仏の願海に投入して自他平等の利益を祈るといふのが仏教でいう祈禱の本筋であります。

(11) *ibid.*p.48.

自他共々の息災を祈るためには, 正しい仏道の修行によって, 仏祖から伝えられたものための儀式方法[修法]を身につけた人に祈禱していただくということが大切なこととなるのであります。

(12) Nakajima Ikufū 'Jitafuni no Rieki' in Oriori no Hōwa Vol.1,p.435 .

世の中に一人だけの幸福というものは, 決してあり得えない...

自分の利が相手であり...

(13) Matsumoto Hideo 'Negai ni Ikiru' in Oriori no Hōwa Vol.3,p.254.

自分勝手な願いを願いとしているところに愚痴や憎しみ怒りが出て参ります... 自分だけの事を考えて見ればたしかにとうてい気の毒なことであります。

(14) Kaneko Kisan Buppō ni Ikiru p.190.

人間の不安を払い去っていくのも仏教の教えであります。

(15) Kurebayashi(1975) 'Inori no Shūkyō to Satori no Shūkyō' in BBK Vol.19,1975, discusses the relationship between these two, i.e. what he calls 'enlightenment religion' (悟りの宗教) and 'prayer religion' (祈りの宗教).

(16) *ibid.* p.219.

自分以外の人の福祉というのを仏菩薩に祈る。

(17) *ibid.* p.219-220.

(18) Letter from Sengyoku Tatsuon of Myōgonji to me, Jan.26th 1982.

禅と祈祷とは矛盾してゐます。しかし仏教は学問ですが仏法は人間及無情まいもを救う道です。道は歩むものです。救道の出きぬ仏の慈悲は死せよものです。不用のもので... 苦しみ悩む人の心を突らげつゝ眞実の如に安住をせよことが即ち仏法です。

(19) *ibid.*

民衆のまじめに求める願いを、人間の可能の限りにおいて成就させしあげべく... 「あなたの為に」と努力して、修行力を一つに集中して... 仏の加護力により願いがかなって、本物[眞実]へと覚めさせ... 釈迦牟尼仏との信心が湧出し... 坐禅を眞摯にやっている人にとのんで祈祷をしてもらえば、より効果が多く頂けるにちがいない...

(20) *ibid.*

仏を信じられる人をつくり、その信心より即身是仏の自信を確言させて、坐禅という修行一筋でなく、信という杖をふりに坐にも気をつかいつつ仏法の目的である皆々様に仏の世界の住人となつてもらうべく街に出て多くの方々と接するよう、つとめられました。

CHAPTER NINE

(1) Satō(1970b) p.4.

(2) Hata(1981a) interview in ZT No.1, 1981, p.9.

(3) Satō(1971) Hannya Shingyō Kōwa p.23.

宗派を超越して...

(4) *ibid.* p.24.

般若心経は仏教全体の要点が簡潔にして...

(5) Furigana is the phonetic script used to denote the reading of a particular kanji, and is written at the side of the kanji: it is often used as a stylistic device to give an unusual or different reading to a kanji, or to emphasise its reading or meaning. In the case in point, Satō uses the kanji jissō (実相) with furigana to make it read as sugata (see Appendix Three).

(6) Satō(1971) p.27.

物事を見る心のハタラキを、般若である。

(7) *ibid.* p.27-28.

般若の鏡には、物事の在り方が、空のスカタに映る... 般若は見たり思ったりする心のハタラキ、空は見られ思われる物事のスカタである。

(8) *ibid.* p.33.

悪魔鬼神のはびこるのを抑え...

(9) *ibid.* p.63.

変わる相がそのまま変わらぬ相である。

(n.b. the kanji 相 is used here with the reading sugata; see Appendix Three).

(10) *ibid.* p.63.

一切の苦しみ災難を解消して、この世をかうの浄土が見付かるのである。

(11) *ibid.* p.94.

般若の智慧の働き方を言う。

(12) *ibid.* p.101.

最高の想を実現し...

(13) Satō(1972a) Zenkeishū (introduction).

社会の不安を取り除き...

(14) *ibid.* p.41.

禅宗は... 「心の田を耕せ」と教える...

(15) *ibid.* p.12.

先ず心内の餓鬼を駆逐して...

(16) *ibid.* p.39.

唯己れを投げ出して働くばかりである。

(17) Satō(1972b) Reihai p.2.

宗教の本義として...

(18) *ibid.* p.3.

簡単で誰でも出来ることです。

(19) *ibid.* p.7.

願があって拝むのはまた「純一無雜の拝み方ではありません。

(20) *ibid.* p.18.

菩提とは... 眞実まことの働きのことである。

(21) Satō(1972c) Ataeru tame no Seikatsu p.3.

人は取り入れるために働き取り込む為に生活に居る...

(22) *ibid.* p.72ff.

(23) Satō(1963) Mizu no Sugata p.12.

交って交らぬ。

(24) Satō(1970b) p.9.

この土地のものと融合するということ、仏教全体がという性格のものである。

(25) *ibid.*p.24.

万事を放け捨てて坐る。

(26) Satō(1967) 'Zen to wa Nanika' in Satō Kōji(ed.) Zen e no Shōsai p.30.

一般人の容易に与り知所ではない。

(27) *ibid.*p.48.

悟りの当然の働きとして現われるの...

(28) Satō(1974) 'Fukanzazengi Haidoku no Kokorogamae' in Sanshō, special edition, November 1974, p.5.

ただに持読するのみじゃ駄目なのでこれに徒って功夫坐禅すべきだと信じている...

(29) Hata(1974) 'Fukanzazengi no Buntai ni tsuite' in Sanshō, special edition, November 1974, p.27.

(30) Hata(1981b) 'Zen no Kokoro' interview with Setouchi Jakuchō in Japanesque(ed.) Zen p.12.

曹洞宗では書を物を絶対にじかに置きません。

(31) Hata(1978) p.47.

(32) *ibid.*p.49-50.

仏法とは身と心を洗い浄めることだ。

(33) *ibid.*p.52.

自分を洗うことは世界を洗うことであり...

(34) *ibid.*p.53.

こんなふうには二つにわけて見ておったか"これはまちがいです。坐禅は一つですよ...坐禅とは生活ですよ。坐禅即生活。生活即坐禅。

(35) *ibid.*p.55.

ここは自分を捨てて我慢我見を捨てて法になり切るところだ。

(36) *ibid.*p.56ff.

(37) Hata(1980a) 'Hōgejaku' in Taiyō(ed.) Zen, p.174.

扁の荷をおろす、すてる。

(38) *ibid.*p.174.

無我のところが道そのものである。

(39) *ibid.*p.174.

ただわれわれは精進の一行あるのみである。

(40) Hata(1981b) p.9.

寔はひとつ...ひとつの命です...

(41) *ibid.*p.10.

手段や方便というものがそのまま極到であって...

(42) *ibid.*p.8.

身と心が清浄になろうとする方向に禅がある。

(43) Hata(1981a) p.6.

禅の修行の大七な場所なんです。

(44) *ibid.*p.8.

一家団欒ということが少ないですね。

(45) Hata(1980b) *Kōjunshin*.As the pages in this pamphlet are not numbered,I have designated them as pages i,ii,ii,iv and so on for the sake of convenience.

p.iii.

身をもって誠をつくすということより他に真実の仏法とはない。

(46) *ibid.*p.v.

生活の全部が禪の中で行なわれる...

(47) *ibid.*p.v.

日常生活以外に禪や仏を尋ねてはそれは無駄であります。

(48) *ibid.*p.vi.

身をもってわが本師に仕える,身をもってわが親ごに仕える。

(49) Hata(1981c) speech at Chūōji,Sapporo,Oct.31st 1981.

わが宗...

(50) *ibid.*

仏教に入れたい神道は...

(51) *ibid.*

無心あそこは禪。無心の所は禪。無心の所は日々...無心は...命です。

(52) *ibid.*This has been quoted in Chapter Eight(see footnote 6,Ch.8).

(53) *ibid.*

自分の無心

(54) Hata(1981d) speech at Katsugyūji,Sendai,Nov.7th 1981.

[わが宗は]思想に伝える道...

The themes of these two speeches are reiterated almost verbatim in the New Year's interview with Hata in *ZT*,No.1,1982(Hata(1982) 'Shōjin, Mushin,Heiwa').

(55) Hata(1981d).

関係はない宗教...

(56) *ibid.*

絶対です。

(57) *ibid.*

本心は無心です。

(58) *ibid.*

ここです。

(59) This is based on the entry for Hata's book in the Sōtō publication catalogue(SSSMC(ed.) *Sōtōshūshumuchō Shuppanannai*) and on the article in *Sanshō*(Hata 1974),which maps out the structure of the text.Hata states in this article(p.29) that it is basically a synopsis of his book.Unfortunately,I was not able to get a copy of the book when I wished to do so,as it was not in stock at the publications section of the Head Office when I asked for it,and so I have not been able to read it fully:I have been able to glance at a copy at one temple:what I saw bears out my general remarks above and throughout this chapter.

CONCLUSION

(1) Sahashi Hōryū (1980), p. 69.

「いまの曹洞宗は寺院の同業組合になってしまいましたね」

(2) Personal communication during conversation at Chōkokuji, Nagano, Dec. 21st, 1981.

(3) Personal communication, Sendai, Feb. 20th 1982.

(4) This phrase occurs often, especially in conversations. It has also been used to me by priests of different denominations, such as the priest at the Rinzai temple Jōkōji, near Nagoya, discussed in Chapter One.

(5) This point is made in an essay by Reihō Masunaga 'Zen' in K. Morgan (ed.) The Path of the Buddha, esp. p. 346.

(6) Personal communication from Sahashi Hōryū, Nagano, Dec. 21st 1981.

(7) Personal communication, Fukuin, Sendai, Jan. 21st 1982. It should also be pointed out that, whereas Sendai has, as of February 1982, only one Sōtō sanzenkai, there are numerous such meetings in Tokyo: one can attend a different one each night if one is prepared to travel around the capital a little.

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There are certain problems with regard to Japanese names, when they occur in English works. At times, they are given in English form, i.e. given name first, and at times in Japanese form, i.e. family name first. In order to clarify any confusion, I have given the name as it occurs in the work at hand, but have underlined the family name under which the work will be classified in catalogues. In the Japanese section, names are in the standard Japanese form.

There are two main sections, one English and one Japanese, plus a short section giving periodicals and series frequently cited. In the Japanese section, author and title are given in kanji, followed by the publisher; after this, the romanised version is given, along with a translation of the title, signified by 'i.e.', in brackets, and the date and place of publication.

The following abbreviations have been used throughout:

BBK	Bukkyō Bunka Kōza	佛教文化講座
IB	Indogaku Bukkyōgakukenkyū	印度学仏教学研究
SSSMC	Sōtōshūshūmuchō (i.e. Sōtō Head Office)	曹洞宗宗務庁
ZK	Zen no Kaze	禪の風
ZT	Zen no Tomo	禪の友

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Chōryū :monthly periodical published by Sōjiji concerned as a rule with a wider range of material than Sanshō (see discussion, Chapter Seven)

大法輪閣
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禪の法話

Zen no Hōwa series:published by Sōtō,this is a series of pamphlets of some 30 pages each, dealing with specific subjects.This series tends to centre more on the specialist Zen practitioner in contrast to the Zen to Seikatsu series(see below)

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禪の友

Zen no Tomo :monthly periodical for Sōtō danka containing various articles of general interest, cartoons,explanations and answers to questions (see analysis,Appendix One).

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禪と生活

Zen to Seikatsu series:a series of pamphlets of about 30 pages each,published by the sect, each dealing with a specific topic but each focusing on matters likely to be interest to the general sect member,in contrast to the Zen no Hōwa series(see above).
