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Women and Dōgen: Rituals Actualizing Empowerment and Healing

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This chapter is a revised and amplified version of a paper I delivered at Zen Mountain Monastery Conference "The Many Faces of Dōgen" in July 2004. I benefited from the feedback generated during the discussion.

Anan Kōshiki and *Jizō Nagashi* are two distinctive rituals led by Sōtō Zen Buddhist nuns of Aichi Senmon Nisōdō, a women's monastery in Nagoya, Japan. They reveal a piece of Sōtō Zen ritual life currently exclusive to this community. Analysis of these rituals provides suggestions about ritual dynamics in a Zen-based mode. In particular, the *Anan Kōshiki* illustrates an aspect of a Buddhist approach to social change through nonconfrontational methods. The *Jizō Nagashi* highlights how an ancestral memorial rite, or *senzo kuyō*, ritual functions as part of a larger healing process. Together, the rituals indicate the creative ways in which Sōtō Zen Buddhist women incorporate ritual into their lives and, in turn, how rituals are an actualization of their concerns. These rituals are an important aspect of their practice of purportedly living in accord with the teachings of Dōgen (1200–1253)—the recognized founder of the sect—even though there is no evidence that he practiced, encouraged, or even knew about these rituals.

An ethnographic and qualitative approach is required for this study because the rituals are not well documented, if at all. Moreover, my interest in ritual is to examine and understand the lived dynamics and how people create, express, and change

themselves through ritualized behavior. Therefore, the primary sources for this study are ethnographic data gathered in the greater Nagoya region of Japan beginning in 1988. Primary textual sources were consulted as pertinent and available. Secondary sources were consulted in fleshing out theoretical issues. Accessing the primary data required first establishing relationships with the nuns who lead the rituals. Since the women are leading monastic lives, it was imperative that the research methods be respectful and nonobtrusive. Linguistic and cultural fluency were the foundation upon which appropriate connections were based. It necessitated time to build trust through first adhering to the rigors of their monastic schedule for a period of being cloistered for four months as dictated by the abbess, Aoyama Shundō. I had to demonstrate my commitment clearly, for most nuns, including the abbess, did not see value in academic pursuits that are not directly in support of the person's own spiritual discipline. Since then, maintaining respectful relationships has resulted in permission for me to be a participant-observer in dozens and dozens of rituals, in addition to receiving information and gaining access to relevant textual documents not available elsewhere. The abbess also supported the research on healing that I began in 1998, which focuses more on the experience of laywomen in their community. Her endorsement provided the basis for me to establish consulting relationships with laywomen ranging in ages from fifties to eighties.

It is unlikely that these critical contacts would have been possible were it not for the abbess's trust in the way I conducted myself and my scholarship during the prior decade. I am also doubtful that the consultants would have been so forthcoming with intimate information and insights gained through painful experiences were it not for my being recognized by the seriously committed Nisōdō community as a trustworthy person and scholar.[1] It has become famous for being dedicated to Buddhist practice and committed to training women how to live out the teachings of wisdom and compassion in the face of sociological, economic, educational, and personal trials and tribulations. It was founded by women who established their own monastic training facility and educational curriculum before the sect recognized or supported them, and they went on to win equal regulations for monks and nuns from the sect. It is in this context that I interpret and analyze the *Anan Kōshiki* and *Jizō Nagashi*.

The *Anan Kōshiki* is over an hour long ritual performed by the nuns with laity in attendance. I participated as a laywoman in a shortened version of this ritual on three occasions. I also was a participant-observer of the day-long *Jizō Nagashi* on three separate occasions, always held on the seventh day of the seventh month, or July 7. I was given a copy of a taping of the full *Anan Kōshiki* ritual. I relied on my own footage for the *Jizō Nagashi* ritual. Viewing

the video footage of both rituals has enabled me to carefully consider and analyze the details of each ritual. This has tremendously enhanced the observations I made while participating in the rituals.

This study examines these rituals in their broader contexts. The greater historical and personal contexts of the nuns and laywomen in this community provided critical information that helps to explain the significance of the rituals. The historical context is particularly illuminating in the case of the *Anan Kōshiki* ritual. I investigated the particulars of that history in my volume *Women Living Zen*.[2] The history and the aims of the nuns working toward egalitarian status within the sect brings into focus the importance of the ritual for establishing their concerns as central, in that these date back to the origins of the Buddhist tradition. In the case of the *Jizō Nagashi* ritual, it was only after hundreds of hours of in-depth consultation with eleven laywomen and one nun that the import of this ritual became evident. The personal experiences of the participants of the *Jizō Nagashi* became the sources for insight into the importance and dynamics of this ritual.

A self-reflexive process is an integral dimension of my ethnographic research and analysis, for I am aware that my presence in their community has an influence upon them as I also change through my interactions with them.[3] Careful field notes and journal entries enable me to revisit experiences in the field to gain a clearer perspective and contextualization of the data collected through in-depth consultations and participant-observation of rituals. The self-reflexive process extends to examining root concepts embedded in historical, textual, and spiritual perspectives I bring with me as a person and a scholar *vis-à-vis* the women I am seeking to understand. Engaging in this process uncovers the assumptions, contours, and dynamics of the material sought: how rituals help empower and heal Zen Buddhist women.[4] I amplify this process in the following section.

Hermeneutical Sleuthing

The first sleuthing required involves finding out what a "ritual" is in this context. There is no evidence that Dōgen thought in terms of the category "ritual"; nor do the women who served as consultants for this study, for the English term "ritual" finds no easy translation into Japanese. There are terms like *hōyō* (Buddhist service), *gishiki* (ceremony), *girei* (etiquette), and a generic suffix, *shiki*, added to a wide range of activities, as in *seijinshiki* (Coming of Age), *sotsugyōshiki* (graduation), *kekkonshiki* (wedding), and *sōshiki* (funeral). Notably, there is no abstract category with the overarching sense that accompanies the

current usage of the English word "ritual." In fact, I had a great deal of difficulty communicating with the women who served as consultants for this study that I was interested in understanding their use of "ritual." Even those with advanced academic training were not clear what I meant. Therefore, it is with acute awareness that I am projecting a Western academic category onto the material in the interests of communicating to a Western academic audience. In *Ritual Perspectives and Dimensions*,[5] Catherine Bell cautions about the dynamics of this phenomenon: "While such developments may foster easier communication and shared values, they may do so by means of political subordination and substantive diminution of the diversity of human experience."[6] It is my every intention to fully respect the experiences of the women who are examined in this study, and I make every attempt to understand them in their larger cultural, historical, and personal context. I have not found a thoroughly satisfactory way to communicate the activities highlighted in this study in English without using the term "ritual." I am cognizant, however, that as Bell states:

> Western scholarship *is* very powerful. Its explanative power rests not only on tools of abstraction that make some things into concepts and other things into data but also on many social activities, simultaneously economic and political, that construct a plausibility system of global proportions. Hence, it is quite possible that categories of ritual and nonritual will influence people who would define their activities differently.[7]

I have not entirely found my way out of this dilemma yet, so reader beware that my delineating these two "rituals" does not accurately capture how the women understand themselves, nor does it communicate the understanding I have of the topic in colloquial (nonacademic) Japanese. In Japanese we talked in amorphous ways that communicated volumes with such phrases as *kō iu yō na koto* ("Events like this"). Even after hundreds of hours over years conversing with dozens of Japanese nuns and laywomen, no clearer terminology emerged. This confirmed to me that the concept "ritual" does not quite explain their experience or represent their worldview. To leave it at this amorphous level, however, would make it difficult to discuss the material in an academic context in English. Therefore, I choose to enlist the term "ritual," for I agree with Bell who argues that "[t]he form and scope of interpretation differ, and that should not be lightly dismissed, but it cannot be amiss to see in all of these instances practices that illuminate our shared humanity."[8] I maintain that explaining the material within the context of ritual studies offers a view of important activities that play a significant part in their lives, which is worthy of even such a partial understanding as I can convey here.

The study of "ritual" will continue to complicate matters as increased crosscultural and interdisciplinary investigations proceed. For now, it raises interesting questions that bring into focus some important points and exploratory speculation. My first speculation is that back in the thirteenth century, Dōgen might have thought of activities that today scholars, including myself, are tempted to apply the term "ritual" to as *sahō* or, rendered in my own translation, as "method of actualizing." I take my translation/interpretation cues from Dōgen's teachings, especially *shushō ittō*, "practice and enlightenment are one,"[9] and such articulations as found in his "Genjōkōan" fascicle of the *Shōbōgenzō*.[10] The root assumptions are: (1) there is no dichotomy between subject and object, (2) a holistic understanding of body/mind, and (3) the present moment is all there is. Contemporary Zen monastic women demonstrate with their actions that they agree with Dōgen's concern to manifest certain events, including clean floors, a nourished body/mind, and footwear kept in respectful order.[11] To manifest these specific events requires exacting activity, as anyone knows who has tried to eat properly with an *ōryōki* set of bowls in a Japanese Zen meditation hall, where even which angle you rest your chopsticks down is prescribed and differs depending on whether you are about to eat, in the middle of eating, or finished eating. To extend this line of analysis to the two "rituals" under consideration in this study, a fruitful question to ask might be: What are the "rituals"/*sahō* actualizing?

Japanese lay and monastic women[12] employ Dōgen's practices and teachings to guide, empower, and heal themselves.[13] Through ethnographic data, it becomes apparent that many Sōtō Zen Buddhist women are steeped in Dōgen's distinctive teaching on Buddha nature. Viewing these women through the avenues they created to work within the context of an imperfect institutional structure, the influence of Dōgen's teachings is revealed in the assumptions the women make in achieving their goals. Dōgen's teaching that we are all Buddha nature is not directly invoked during the rituals women perform that empower and heal them, but the rituals bear out the teaching. The rituals are in no way dependent on male permission, authority, or recognition. The rituals begin with assuming everyone's Buddha nature and proceed from there. In this way, they empower women to actualize their Buddha nature and heal them from delusions of male domination, despair, and loneliness.

From a perspective that is trained upon historical currents, sociological dynamics, cultural impulses, philosophical analysis, and ethnographic data, the critical role of rituals in these Japanese Zen Buddhist women's notable accomplishments and effectiveness becomes visible. Central to the efficacy of their practices is how their constructions of self shape their experiences. Their concept of self is part of a Buddhist cosmology that Dōgen brilliantly

articulated. He made a paradigm shift when he translated a Chinese translation of the *Nirvana Sutra* phrase, "All sentient beings have Buddha nature" to "All existents are Buddha nature."[14] Although Dōgen did use all the *kanji* from the original Chinese, he made a striking grammatical move. He interpreted the Chinese verb "to have" as part of a noun, coming up with "existents." The profound implications of this subtle grammatical shift continue to reverberate. Some could interpret this move as the logical conclusion of a nondualistic philosophy. Others might note how it resonates with the seamless worldview of indigenous Japan. Whatever the case, this teaching is one of Dōgen's most important, perhaps especially when we examine the activities of his female followers.

Noting that Buddha nature is not something "to have," or not have, underscores that no institution, no person, no natural phenomenon can control it, take it away, or even give it away. The women in this study indicate that Dōgen is implicitly recognizing and acknowledging the agency of each woman. Many of his female followers have evidently been empowered by this, because they have acted accordingly. When beginning with the assumption that all people are agents, particularly when examining issues involving women, many questions arise. When I read or hear about matters involving women, I actively seek out from whose perspective the statement is made and analyze the assumptions latent in the statement. Doing this reveals when androcentric views and values are represented as the norm. Such questions illuminate when women are not assumed to be agents, in other words, when the line of thinking is not in accord with Dōgen's teaching that all are Buddha nature.

In order to see the women more clearly, I had to learn how to see the dynamics of representation and interpretation of them in scholarly and popular sources. When one begins to sleuth around, what looks on the surface like women having little power becomes more fully contextualized. What becomes exposed is an entirely different scenario. The process is akin to when Dorothy and her cohorts discover the Wizard of Oz behind his impressive machinations. Suddenly, what looked so powerful is not so, and those who were fearful and intimidated are no longer. Although the Wizard of Oz was deliberate, the illusion of women's powerlessness comes primarily from not having peeked behind the curtain of unexamined assumptions. Applying the finely honed sleuthing device of critical reasoning uncovers important pieces of the puzzle. An example of how I conduct my investigation is when I see a statement such as "women were (or are) viewed as . . . ," I always ask "by whom?" Often this is not explicit in the statement. Although increasingly less so, sometimes the statement means "viewed from an androcentric perspective, women appear . . . ." It is important to make this clear, because keeping

the perspective of the statement vague makes it look like it is a general statement of fact. The net effect is that women's agency and power are hidden or denied. Other types of statements that I pause to examine include the following: "Women did not [insert a verb, such as 'study']." I ask, "Where?" Or, I make a mental note that "the act does not seem to have occurred under the purview of male institutions; nor has it appeared in any publicly known extant documents." In other words, it is not necessarily the case that no proof is negative proof. When I see a sentence that asserts, "Women could not. . .," I quickly want to know, "according to whose authority and what sources?"

In addition to these types of sentences, there are certain words—whether explicitly stated or implied—at which I pause. They include any variation of the words "official," "authority," "acknowledge," and "recognize." If a statement is that "women do not have an official capacity," I want to know by whose authority is something deemed "official." I also want to know what the women did in that context. I assume that women did something. Nobody can do nothing. I also assume that women have their own authority. Moreover, when women are or are not being acknowledged, I want to know by whom. Are they even seeking acknowledgment? Is someone actively denying acknowledgment of them? Is it because no one actually recognizes the women? Or, is it that those who are doing the recognizing are not even being recognized? These are the types of questions and concerns that I bring to my study of Zen women. They are informed by Dōgen's articulation of Buddha nature, which derives from a worldview oriented to emptiness, rather than a subject/object dichotomy.

Dōgen's teaching has also helped me see more clearly the multifarious ways people express their Buddha nature. Just because something is not written down or recorded in "official" documents that are catalogued in accessible and organized places does not mean that an expression of Buddha nature did not occur. Assumptions to the contrary look for a particular expression of Buddha nature, forgetting—or not taking into consideration—the basic teachings of impermanence and interrelatedness. Valuable expressions of Buddha nature are not necessarily available in a form accessible to others, particularly those in different time periods or locations. This must be kept in mind when trying to ascertain the contributions of women.

In seeking insight into the nature of Zen Buddhist women's rituals, ethnographic research reveals important ways their sundry practices offer guidance as well as demonstrate the complexity of their lived tradition. Data collected for this study suggest that several ritual practices done within the context of Zen offer ways to address the noncognitive, nonintellectual, emotional, and psychological needs people have to cope with the problems of human existence—love, loss, birth and death, longing for belonging.

A focus on these women's lives and practices brings to the fore complex dynamics and concerns that shape what values and strategies women use to negotiate their lives. The project is based on the assumption that each person is an active agent and that each person has the authority to define her religious tradition. Therefore, the scope of practices examined in this study extends beyond Zen rituals recognized by the Sōtō Zen sect's voluminous documentation on what purports to be all its rituals.[15] Through surveys and interviews I conducted and participant-observation of Japanese Buddhist activities over an extended period, I discovered that many Buddhist women who choose Zen practice in Japan seem to weave agilely together these diverse elements in their practice.

Indeed, exploring ritual practices followed by Sōtō Zen women today reveals a broad spectrum of activities and ceremonies, including functional, "sacramental," daily, annual, private, public, expensive, inexpensive, and even esoteric rites. These practices are not outlined or advocated in any text. It is through ethnographic research methods and analysis that the range and significance these practices have for women become clear. Such investigation expands our understanding of the contours of Zen experience and helps clarify what it means to be a Zen Buddhist woman.

Despite the distinctly ritual-based practices of these women, the iconoclastic image and antiritual rhetoric generated about the Zen Buddhist tradition has deflected attention away from the roles of ritual practices in Zen Buddhist lives. Compounding this antiritual rhetoric is what I would call the "Protestant Undercurrent" that has dominated most Western practice of Zen, which until recently placed a premium on zazen and philosophical understanding with few of the ceremonial practices of Japan having been imported. This volume is a significant effort to rectify this myopic and ethnocentric view of Zen.

With ethnographic data, we can see that women weave various practices that are distinctive and tailored to their needs. To see the dynamics of the rituals in terms of how they assist women, it is important to view the ethnographic data from the concept of self of the women. It is critical to be clear about the assumptions of the concept of self that are at work in a description or an analysis of people because oftentimes the concept of self explains why interpretations follow a certain course.[16] In teaching courses on Buddhist women to Western men and women, it has become apparent that the differences in concept of self that are brought to the table are significant. Although I am about to make vast generalizations, some of which might not hold up under close scrutiny, I think it is worth offering some observations that help clarify differences in understanding and interpretation of Buddhist women.

A modern Western concept of self emerges out of a sense of reifying the individual. This individual has rights. Implicit in the concept of rights is the notion of the discrete self that is inherently valuable. I describe the Japanese concept of self as relational or explicitly contextualized. That is, there is no self that is even conventionally isolatable from the people around oneself. For example, one is the daughter or son of a particular mother and father, perhaps a niece or nephew, older sister, younger brother, teacher of, student of, classmate of, from a particular town or region, etc. In this relational concept of self, power is understood to take many forms. Ideally, different people take on specific responsibilities in a cultural context where each role is valued because of respect for each niche that is required for harmony of the whole. Concepts and uses of power differ when one begins with an individual versus a relational concept of self. With an individualistic concept of self, the expectation of equality is that each person receives the same amount and type of power. With equality as a goal, differences in power can be the source of tension between people. With a relational concept of self, however, even when there are tensions between people, differences in type and amount of power are expected. This does not mean, however, that oppression is validated. On the contrary, respect for the whole relational network necessitates that respect be accorded to all.

These women have found that various rituals facilitate the changes in perspective needed to experience their interrelatedness and know deep in their body/minds that their contributions are important to the whole—even when surface appearances would suggest otherwise. In other words, even though interrelatedness is assumed, immediate conflicts and direct difficulties can make it difficult to maintain focus on that expansive context. Because they involve the body, rituals are effective in reminding one who is engulfed in an unjust or painful situation of the context of interrelatedness. The mind can comprehend interrelatedness, but this knowledge alone does not bring about healing. A visceral experience of interrelatedness is required for the healing to occur. This observation based on ethnographic data seems to be corroborated in neurophysiological research. Three medical doctors and professors of psychiatry, Thomas Lewis, Fari Amini, and Richard Lannon, collaborated on a volume that explores the relationship between emotions and mechanisms of the brain. They assert that "comprehension proves impotent to effect emotional change."[17] Their conclusion is based on the structure of the brain, which has three major sections known as the reptilian, limbic, and neocortical brains. "The primordial purpose of the limbic brain was to monitor the external world and the internal bodily environment, and to orchestrate their congruence."[18] One of the limbic brain's functions is to assess what response is appropriate given the input received. "Once the limbic brain has

settled on an emotional state, it sends outputs to the neocortical brain, spawning a conscious thought."[19] Neurophysiological research that focuses on the relationship between input through ritual experience and healing is required for any direct conclusions to be drawn, but the circumstantial evidence is enticing.[20]

The women in this study have found that some rituals are especially effective in facilitating visceral experience because they help generate heightened awareness of the greater whole. I should quickly add, though, the women are not necessarily cognizant of this process. They experience the results, but they do not do the rituals *in order to* experience interrelatedness. They do the rituals in order to remember deceased loved ones or express their gratitude. That is the power of rituals. They accomplish some things that are not intentionally sought but are deeply wanted. Some things that are helpful are elusive when directly pursued. Indeed, by its infinitely expansive nature, experiencing interrelatedness is a target that dissolves in the mere effort to aim at it. Through certain rituals, however, it is possible. Rituals affect the body, even if the mind is not conscious of what is going on. That is the key to their healing power.

Rituals shape, stretch, define, and redefine the identity of their participants. As one engages in a ritual, one's consciousness changes. The power of ritual lies not in the ability to communicate conscious knowledge, but to frame experience in such a way that it may be apprehended meaningfully.[21] Ritual can have the impact of lived experience because the body performs it. In this way, people can learn about what is important through experiencing "fresh" what those before have experienced. Real life is very messy and organic whereas discourse about life tends to be tidier and more linear. Ritual is in-between. Being in a ritual with a long tradition can make a person feel connected and that they belong. A ritual can affirm a person's identity.

Rituals work through the senses to cultivate wisdom in the bones. Unlike discourses on wisdom that focus on understanding the empty nature of ultimate reality—and hence are sometimes too abstract and cold to comfort someone who is experiencing excruciating pain—rituals can help one feel the sense of connectedness bodily. People can really experience certain feelings that shift one's view of life through the guidance of rituals.[22] For example, it is not just a matter of intellectually knowing that by virtue of DNA you are still connected to your family members after they die. A ritual that welcomes them home can make someone feel, as in the case of the summertime memorial rites of O-bon, that they are really there enjoying a meal together.[23]

My anthropological and historical research bore this out. It revealed that Sōtō nuns entered the twentieth century with a strong sense of confidence

and less of a sense of frustration than I had expected to find. I began an inquiry of women's contributions and accomplishments in the religious history of Japan to understand why twentieth-century Zen nuns were not debilitated by unfair practices. I found a history of women in Japanese religion that reveals many women maintained a positive understanding of themselves and their capabilities.

When Japanese Sōtō Zen nuns look at the history of their sect, they see women seriously engaged with Buddhist practice. When they read Dōgen's writings, they see women being affirmed. All evidence indicates that they take seriously Dōgen's teaching that all existents, which includes themselves, could actualize their Buddha nature. Despite the historical circumstances that included structural oppression of women, they did not just listen to the men. Just like men did not need to be told that they are valuable, women did not either.

Nuns embrace the views of women found in Dōgen's writings as positive, and empowered by these views, the nuns have influenced the course of Sōtō history in the twentieth century. They began the century encumbered by misogynous regulations that had developed like an insidious disease in a sect administration that did not acknowledge nuns' abilities, contributions, commitments, and certainly not their Buddha nature. A significant core of Sōtō nuns were determined to rectify these inequities. To achieve their goal to be treated with respect would require a creative mix of established practices and novel methods, and most of all penetrating awareness of their own worth and Buddha nature.

The nuns' actions tell us a lot about what they thought of themselves. They did not act like women who were just discovering liberation. They acted like women who knew their Buddha nature. So, they acted with deliberate and well-reasoned conduct. They knew that nuns were supposed to be full members of the sect, and they were tired of men not recognizing that. They understood Buddhism to be a tradition that was respectful of women, and they acted with confidence. We will see how the rituals these women practice are dynamic aspects of their culture, both shaping it and being shaped by it. They embody strategic actions that use culturally specific tactics to achieve particular ends.

Anan Kōshiki

Through the mode of ceremonial ritual, nuns have found a powerful way to express their emotional and political concerns. Focusing upon one particular

ritual, the *Anan Kōshiki*,[24] I will illustrate how the ritual functions to legitimize and empower the nuns yet remains cloaked in the noncontentious expression of gratitude. It helps them manifest a quality they respect—the quality of water—to be flexible and soft as one moves with a power that stands the test of time.

The contours of the *Anan Kōshiki* ceremony are as follows. The ceremony begins with the lead celebrant entering the worship hall with dignity and solemnity, marking the seriousness of the events about to transpire. This is known as the *Shikishijōden*. Then, incense is offered at the main altar followed by all the nuns doing three formal prostrations. This is known as the *Jōkōfudōsanpai*. Next comes the *Sangedōjō*, which involves three nuns who make a circle starting from the front of the altar, around the center of the worship hall, and back to the altar. The first one carries an incense burner, the second one sprinkles purified water with a pine branch, and the third nun scatters lotus petals (made of colored cardboard).

A *Santōhatsu*, playing of cymbals, is done both before and after the chanting of the Four Wisdoms or *Shichisan* (Skt. *catvārijñāna*). The four wisdoms are as follows: (1) Great perfect mirror wisdom (J. *daienkyōchi*, Skt. *ādarsajñāna*) is that which reflects all phenomena in the three worlds in their true state, with no distortions; (2) Wisdom of equality (J. *byōdōshōchi*, Skt. *samatājñāna*) is that which perceives the underlying identity of all *dharmas*, to overcome separating oneself and others. Bodhisattva compassion draws on this wisdom; (3) Wisdom of wondrous perception (J. *myōkan zacchi*, Skt. *pratyaveksanajñāna*) is that which enables one to see the truth/Dharma clearly, so one can preach free from error and doubt; (4) Wisdom of accomplishing metamorphoses (J. *jōshosachi*, Skt. *krytyānusthānajñāna*) is that which takes on various forms to act in the world for the benefit of others' advancement toward enlightenment.

After this is complete, elaborate offerings of incense, cakes, and tea are made at the main altar. This is known as the *Jōkōkenkasa*. It is completed with three full prostrations done by the lead celebrant. Next, the *Saimon* is recited by a head nun. Here the background and purpose of the ceremony is articulated, highlighting the activities and merits of Ananda, especially how he interceded on behalf of the women, resulting in Sakyamuni accepting women into the group of wandering ascetics committed to his path. Then two nuns chant a complicated chant called the *Bonon no ge*. The text to be chanted is brought in with a flair on a red stand, setting the stage for the dramatic chant: "The miraculous form, body, and world of the Thus Come One." The *Sange no ge* and *Shakujō no ge* comes next. It involves three nuns standing together in front of the altar and chanting. Each carries a tray filled with lotus blossom

petals. One also carries a *shakujō* staff; striking the floor with each step jangles the rings. They throw lotus petals as they chant. After these nuns are finished, the lead celebrant returns to the center. She does three prostrations and then begins the *Shikimon*. This is the most substantive aspect of the ceremony. It includes five distinct subsections of chanting headed by the lead celebrant. The first section praises Ananda for practicing hard and renouncing the world. The second section expresses the nuns' gratitude to him for facilitating their renunciation. The third section highlights some of Ananda's merits. Section four expresses the nuns' gratitude to Sakyamuni. Section five is an *ekō*, or offering of prayers, to transfer the merit accrued through the ceremony to all sentient beings. Everyone then does three prostrations. The ceremony ends with a ceremony often done independently called the *Anantange*. It is a concise series of chants in praise of Ananda that is done with an Indianesque melody and timbre.

Applying Catherine Bell's approach to understanding ritualized activity as practice illuminates the dynamics of the *Anan Kōshiki*. She explains the four aspects. "Practice is (1) situational; (2) strategic; (3) embedded in a misrecognition of what it is in fact doing; and (4) able to reproduce or reconfigure a vision of the order of power in the world, or what I will call " 'redemptive hegemony.' "[25] Analysis of the ritual follows these four aspects of practice. It is significant that the original analysis was done prior to applying Bell's theory, suggesting that this ritual and her theory on the parameters of "practice" correspond.

Situation: With the advantage of historical perspective, we can see that the revitalization of this nuns' ritual occurred on the eve of nuns launching into a public and institutionalized effort to bring egalitarian practices to bear on twentieth-century Sōtō regulations. Not only was the timing in sequence, but the actors were also directly related. The teacher (Kankō-ni) of the nun (Mizuno Jōrin) who led the movement to establish an official Sōtō Zen monastery for women is the one who revived this ceremony. This relationship of events and people strongly suggests that doing a ritual that acknowledges the legitimacy and importance of being Buddhist monastic women helped cultivate a community of women who were not dissuaded by the male-dominated institutional attempt to treat nuns as though they were subordinate to monks.

Sōtō nuns perform the *Anan Kōshiki* ceremony to thank Ananda for what they maintain was his act of wisdom in entreating Sakyamuni to allow women to enter the path of the renunciants. Performing the *Anan Kōshiki* can be seen as an act that started the wave that led to Sōtō nuns fighting for and, by the 1960s, winning equal regulations in the institutional records of the Sōtō Sect administration. The *Anan Kōshiki's* power lies in its affirmation of nuns. The

ritual ends with a declaration that all women can attain enlightenment. From this vantage point, the erroneous ways of the male-dominated institution are glaring, yet imminently surmountable. In effect, the *Anan Kōshiki* authorizes nuns to demand Buddhist virtue be practiced over sexism.

Strategy: The fundamental strategy employed by this ritual is the use of a ceremonial format that is firmly established in the Japanese Buddhist repertoire of ceremonial rituals. This genre of ceremonial ritual is fundamentally an act of gratitude to exalt a highly revered figure. Other *Kōshiki* are for Daruma, Jizō, and Sakyamuni. Doing such a ceremony puts the nuns ritually on the same plane as men who also perform *Kōshiki*. They did not have to fight for the right to do this ritual. Doing it, though, implies to monks and laity that nuns and monks are not fundamentally different, because both can perform this type of ritual. It is a nonconfrontational method that the act of doing is itself an actualization of the nuns' goal to be fully respected by monks and the laity. When laity attend the ritual, it confirms that nuns' acts are authoritative. In attending, they are brought into this drama, thereby being witness to the nuns of today being legitimate heirs.

Misrecognition: A number of things are accomplished in this ritual precisely because they are not immediately obvious in the performance of the ritual itself. Since a *Kōshiki* is a ceremony of gratitude, it humbles the performers before the exalted figure being singled out for appreciation. However, the act of exalting the central figure, in this case Ananda, also exalts the nuns. The ritual posture of the nuns, however, is profound gratitude, literally bowed with head to the floor facing Ananda ('s picture) on the altar. To praise Ananda for having served Sakyamuni for twenty-five years also establishes that Ananda knew Sakyamuni intimately, thereby contextualizing his act of beseeching the Buddha on behalf of the women who wanted to become Buddhist renunciants. By praising Ananda for his vast knowledge of the Buddha's teachings, it establishes Ananda as one who has the authority to recognize when an act is in accord with those teachings. This legitimates the women's request to become nuns, thereby validating the women themselves. To praise Ananda serves to exalt the nuns doing the praising.

The actual practice of being grateful is one of the ways nuns are empowered through this ritual. Being a grateful person, especially in the Japanese reciprocal gift-giving culture, facilitates one's access to the power of other members in the community. Having strong reciprocal relationships, then, makes one a more effective actor in society. A public display of the nuns' gratitude to a person who lived nearly 2,500 years earlier on another side of the globe effectively convinces the people in attendance that these nuns are people with whom you would want to have close relationships because you

can be assured that you will be respected and appreciated. They will not forget their indebtedness to you. In order for the nuns to build their monastery facilities, large donations from laity were required. Indeed, these nuns found and continue to receive support from donors large and small.

More is going on than meets the eye in the nuns' process of thanking Ananda for all he has done. The nuns performing the ritual today also establish their link to the first nuns who were direct disciples of the Buddha. So, not only are the nuns depicted in the story of Ananda, but the nuns performing the ritual are exalted. This is all accomplished without a nun ever saying she deserves to be respected as a legitimate heir of Buddhism or requesting others to recognize nuns' deep commitment to Buddhist teachings and practice. They just sing praises and verses of gratitude. In so doing, nuns are empowered through their expression of gratitude as they establish—indirectly and (therefore) effectively—that then and now women can attain enlightenment.

Redemptive Hegemony: The specifics of a *Kōshiki* format are an effective way to accomplish their goal of establishing legitimization for themselves without having to prove this in any direct way and, thereby, not setting up an offense that can be retaliated. In the ritual, they receive formal acknowledgment of their claims by no less than Sakyamuni Buddha, Ananda, and Mahāprajāpatī. The act of jointly praising and offering gratitude to Ananda makes the nuns a distinct group. First, it identifies the nuns to themselves. They are women in a few millennia-long line of women committed to fully living their lives according to the Buddha's teachings. Without the nuns having to explain it themselves, the elements of the ritual inform the laity in attendance about the monastic women in their community. The ritual also highlights the merits of the monastic life, making it explicitly clear that those who enter this path are dedicated people. Therefore, the women who have chosen to become nuns today are validated as serious disciples of the Buddha. It dispels the misinformed image that they are merely trying to escape to the nunnery because they could not succeed at anything else.

When interpreted in a social and historical context, the power of the ritual is best understood. Examining the socio-historical context of the *Anan Kōshiki* brings into high relief the many goals of the ceremony. The goals include praising and thanking Ananda, Sakyamuni, and Mahāprajāpatī and cultivating virtues such as respect and gratitude, affirming the women's self-identity as legitimate Buddhist nuns, confirming that being a Buddhist nun is a positive thing, receiving recognition by the community as disciples of the Buddha, gathering donations, verifying the nuns' ability to attain Buddhahood, and winning full status in the Sōtō Zen sect's regulations.

The situation of the *Anan Kōshiki* at the time it was revived in Japan was that Sōtō nuns were beginning to work toward receiving the treatment they deemed was appropriate and in accord with Dōgen's teachings. The nun who went on to teach the ritual to many others was the same nun who led in the establishment of officially sanctioned training facilities for nuns. Her disciples were the ones who fought for and won equal regulations in monastic training and teaching ranks. In this context, it is no little thing that the ritual climaxes at the point where it is exclaimed that women are able to attain Buddhahood. Through expressions of gratitude, these nuns actualized their empowerment as they accomplished their numerous goals. In so doing, they changed the face of the Sōtō Zen institution, bringing about a major change through the nonconfrontational mode of ritual practice.

Jizō Nagashi

No document even intimates that Dōgen performed a ritual that resembles anything like the *Jizō Nagashi*. The historical context for the origins of this ritual conducted only by Sōtō Zen nuns is unknown even to the abbess of the main Sōtō Zen nunnery, Aichi Senmon Nisōdō, who leads the ritual. Historical origins are not the focus of concern for the women who lead and participate in this ritual. What matters is that people can experience this unique form of memorial rite, which takes place partially in a boat in the middle of a large lake. They have woven it into the array of ceremonies that help people live with loss, a critical dimension of the nuns' practice and of vital interest to lay participants. Refining the art of living with loss is not a uniquely Zen concern, for such concerns cannot be contained within conceptual and institutional sectarian boundaries. Life—and surely death—defy such categorization. Many laywomen who engage in this ritual every July 7 do not indicate a loyalty to Sōtō Zen; many I interviewed are actually formally affiliated with another Buddhist sect. Why do they join in this extensive day-long ritual? Is there anything Zen about it other than the fact that Zen nuns lead and organize the ritual? Although I cannot provide a full response to these intriguing questions here, I view this ritual in the context of a larger ethnographic project on healing in Zen.[26] Viewed from this perspective, the *Jizō Nagashi* is a ritual that gets at the heart of the Zen mode of healing I have found in the lives of Japanese Buddhist women.

A key feature of healing in this context is experiencing interrelatedness. Rituals can be effective conduits for such experiences. The aspects of the *Jizō Nagashi* that facilitate such an experience are in accord with Dōgen's teaching

on "All existents are Buddha nature." From this perspective, the profound wisdom of conducting the climax of the ritual in the center of a body of water comes to the surface. In order for the dynamics of this to be clear, an explication of the contours of the ritual is warranted.

The *Jizō Nagashi* ritual assumes the authority and leadership of Sōtō Zen nuns. In this ritual, the nuns begin with an understanding of their worth—their Buddha nature—as is demonstrated by the fact that they lead a singular ritual which regularly attracts 450–500 lay people, mostly women. The ritual falls into the "ancestor/memorial" ritual category, which, when taken into a larger context, functions as a healing ritual. In a Sōtō Zen context, healing equals awareness of one's Buddha nature. In short, what one needs to heal from is the delusion that we are separate entities. The medical analogy of the Four Noble Truths implies this (diagnosis, cause, prognosis, treatment). The specific *Jizō Nagashi* ritual focuses on helping lay people integrate the loss of loved ones into their lives. It responds to psychological needs of people as they suffer from loneliness and regret. Jizō Bosatsu is a bodhisattva who guides people in the different realms of existence, and *nagashi* means to "let flow." It is not a common ritual, and currently only Sōtō Zen nuns lead this ritual annually on the seventh of July. Fourteen chartered buses are typically needed for transporting. Buses numbered four and nine are not included, however, for these numbers are homonyms for "death" and "suffering," respectively. People from the greater Nagoya area ride in these luxury buses that are impeccably timed to arrive simultaneously at the designated temple and lake where the formal parts of the ritual occur. Some years they go to Lake Biwa and others to Lake Hamana. It is a one-day mini-pilgrimage where people bond together in laughter and pain. "Communitas" is fostered by the treats that are passed around the bus along with stories of new aches and pains, new babies, and new deaths.

The formal ritual involves two main parts. The first part is held in a Sōtō Zen temple. The focus of this aspect of the ritual is the reciting of posthumous Buddhist names, or *kaimyō*. When one registers to participate in the ritual, the names of the dead that one would like to be remembered during the ritual are requested. The nuns then write each name with brush and ink onto a wooden tablet. In July, it is always hot and humid, yet the laity sit in tight formation around the center of the worship hall. The silence as abbess Aoyama Shundō makes the incense offering conceals the presence of more than 450 people. After chanting and ceremonial music of cymbals and bells, each nun receives a stack of the tablets. Raising one tablet at a time to her forehead in a gesture of respect for the Buddha represented, they intone each name, some voices loud, others soft, all overlapping.

Although it is a group activity, as the nuns chant each individual deceased's name, the women with whom I collaborated expressed that they heard the calling of the name in their hearts in a way that made the dead feel present. Furthermore, in the context of hearing the name of your loved one chanted among hundreds of others, the connection between your loss and others' loss makes one feel that one is not alone but in a community of people living with loss. Being part of a community of grievers is healing because it makes it clear that you are not singled out in your pain. Death is a condition of life.

The second part of the ritual takes place at a lake with all participants riding on a large boat chanting and singing Buddhist hymns (*go-eika*). Jizō Bosatsu's *shingon*, or darani, is chanted quietly, "*onkakakabisanmanesowaka*" over and over. The chant is like the musical ground over which the melancholic melodies of the pilgrimage songs ride. The beauty of the natural setting and the mixing of the sounds of chanting, singing, and the wind are conducive to experiencing a blurring of the realms of living and dead.[27] This is a grieving ritual where people feel the connections between themselves, lost loved ones, and the natural world. Upon boarding the boat, each person is handed seven slips of rice paper, *washi*, about 3 x 1.5 inches with an image of Jizō Bosatsu stamped in vermillion. After the boat has reached the center of the lake, each person finds a place—whether among close friends or off to a quiet corner—to send off the slips. With the mournful melodies as accompaniment, each slip is raised to the forehead before it is let go on its journey to flutter in the breeze and swirl into the lake. When the rice-paper Jizōs that symbolize a lost loved one dissolve into the water, the women speak of experiencing a visceral sense of interrelatedness. In other words, in death one is transformed and liberated into the universe that supports all. In this moment, many people experience a keen awareness that one and all are what constitute the universe. This experience—which Sōtō women implicitly connect with Dōgen's insight into the primacy of Buddha nature—is a conduit for people to experience their own Buddha nature as they recognize the rice-paper Jizō image as an expression of universal Buddha nature, which in turn dissolves into the water, another expression of Buddha nature, as a poignant expression of their deceased loved one: a Buddha unencumbered by a form body as it swirls, floats, and dissolves in the beautiful interrelated expanse of the universe. Even though there is no evidence that Dōgen did this ritual, the nuns perform it because they know intuitively that it helps people experience his teachings, especially to know viscerally that all existents—oneself, one's deceased loved ones, the deceased loved ones of others, and those living all around—are all Buddha nature. Such an experience is the pinnacle of healing in the Sōtō Zen Buddhist context.

The *Jizō Nagashi* memorial rite brings those living with loss together as a community. It affirms the lives of the living as it honors the lives of the dead, who have been recognized as Buddhas at their funeral. In affirming that a deceased loved one is a Buddha, the rite can be experienced as a healing rite for the survivors (we cannot speak for the deceased[28]). Publicly honoring one's "personal Buddha" in a community ritual is part of the healing process of many of these women. Again, "misrecognition" occurs in this ritual. Healing or experiencing one's Buddha nature is not the purported purpose for the ritual. It is formally a memorial ritual. Yet, in honoring the deceased, the living can experience their interrelatedness with all things, in other words, their Buddha nature. They are not usually cognizant of this in a cerebral manner, but their bodies know. Intellectual understanding of interrelatedness does not heal. It is only when interrelatedness is experienced that it can heal.

This is one of many rituals that offer a glimpse of the way in which the living interact with the dead in a manner that helps the living heal. The "redemptive hegemony" is in becoming aware that the most intimate healers are the dead loved ones, their "personal Buddhas" who know them best and who are with them everywhere all the time, no longer restricted by the forces of gravity or the limitations of space and time. What enables healing is to cut out the delusion that one is an isolated, independent entity. This healing is actualized in the *Jizō Nagashi*.

Concluding Reflections

Expressing gratitude and experiencing interrelatedness are key aspects that empower and heal these women. A transformation of one's perspective is vital to this process. To do this requires focusing on the larger picture. The fundamental assumption is that the women think that they are not living independent lives based solely upon their own power and effort. They see that they are alive because the myriad interconnections in the universe work together to generate and support life.

The rituals of *Anan Kōshiki* and *Jizō Nagashi* facilitate a direct experience of interrelatedness that gives rise to gratitude—a place where women can feel at peace and intimately connected—to Sakyamuni, Mahāprajāpatī, Ananda, family, friends, both living and dead, and to the cosmos. This experience is an actualization of their Buddha nature.

What comes into focus when viewing Zen through this ethnographic lens is a complex picture in which constellations of practices defy sectarian boundaries, blurring the definition of Zen. In the reports of these women who are

oriented to Zen practice, we see that they are engaging in rituals that are not traditionally recognized as Zen. These women's practices are oriented in a Zen worldview, but their interest is rarely philosophical or sectarian. Indeed, for these women, the definition of Zen is not much of a concern. Their concerns focus upon what is effective in helping them care for themselves and others in the vicissitudes of daily life. Their concern is practical. It reveals their wisdom that cognitive knowledge alone does not have the power to heal; rather, bodily experiences are the conduit for healing.

This study offers four avenues of inquiry into Zen Studies. First, this research demonstrates that an ethnographic approach is essential to learn about the ritual practices that are employed by women and to gain insight into the meaning the rituals hold for them. Second, this study illustrates how a tradition famous for strictly disciplined monasticism and nondualistic philosophy can simultaneously offer a venue for people to find meaningful symbolic and ritual resources for navigating life's problems and opportunities. Third, this close analysis of ritual practices in Zen Buddhism facilitates discourse with ritual studies and gender studies crossculturally, suggesting that "method of actualization" might be an appropriate way to think of "ritual" in a Sōtō Zen context. Fourth, this ethnographic research provides points for comparison and contrast with text-based historical and philosophical views of Zen, working in a complementary way expanding the purview of Zen Studies.

Alhough Dōgen did not specify empowerment and healing rituals in his panoply of guidelines on body/mind practice, his acute insight into the kinesthetics of actualizing specific experiences suggests that he would not see conflict in the nuns' practice of these rituals. These rituals require women to do specific motions with their bodies—bowing, chanting, letting slips of paper fly—which in turn activate the empowering and healing awareness of interrelatedness. The innovation of women including both the *Anan Kōshiki* and *Jizō Nagashi* rituals in their Zen practice is a manifestation of their insight into Dōgen's teaching on the "total body." These women do not draw sectarian lines around their practice. They do not bifurcate the whole and relegate themselves into an "inferior" or "powerless" category. They are creative in their responses to daunting situations such as a powerful and pervasive male-dominated institutional structure and male chauvinistic impulses in the culture. They even show no fear in the face of death. They have found ways to experience themselves as the "total body," where Dōgen, too, realizes, "there is no obstruction for it, it is graciously smooth and tumbles freely."[29] Invoking his metaphor, these innovative and powerful not-specifically-Zen rituals are all part of that "one bright pearl" manifesting beauty as it tosses around in the currents of human life.

at length on kōans. See Kazuaki Tanahashi and John Daido Loori, trans., *The True Dharma Eye: Zen Master Dōgen's Three Hundred Kōans*, with commentary and verse by John Daido Loori (Boston: Shambhala, 2005), pp. 26–27. The story also is included as case 19 in the kōan anthology *Mumonkan* (*Gateless Barrier*). See Shibayama, *The Gateless Barrier*, pp. 140–47.

48. See Shunryū Suzuki, *Branching Streams Flow in the Darkness: Zen Talks on the Sandokai* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999). See also Carl Bielefeldt, T. Griffith Foulk, Taigen Leighton, and Shohaku Okumura, trans., "Harmony of Difference and Equality," in *Cultivating the Empty Field: The Silent Illumination of Zen Master Hongzhi*, trans. Taigen Leighton and Yi Wu (Boston: Tuttle and Co., 2000), pp. 74–75.

49. Leighton and Wu, *Cultivating the Empty Field*, pp. 72–73.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid., p. 30.

52. Ibid., p. 37.

53. Thomas Cleary, ed. and trans., *Timeless Spring: A Soto Zen Anthology* (Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1980), p. 112.

54. Ibid., pp. 118–19.

55. See Shohaku Okumura, trans. and ed., *Dōgen Zen* (Kyoto: Kyoto Sōtō Zen Center, 1988), pp. 43–135. For more on Menzan, see David Riggs, "The Rekindling of a Tradition: Menzan Zuihō and the Reform of Japanese Sōtō Zen in the Tokugawa Era," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 2002.

56. Okumura, *Dōgen Zen*, p. 51.

57. Ibid., p. 52.

58. Ibid., p. 53.

59. Ibid., p. 73.

CHAPTER 6

1. In this section I am providing information for the reader to understand the steps taken to ensure reliability of the data. For further discussion on criteria used to evaluate qualitative versus quantitative data, see Roland Scholz and Olaf Tietje, *Embedded Case Study Methods: Integrating Quantitative and Qualitative Knowledge* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2002). On p. 242, they assert, "Dealing with the case enactively opens the door to intuitive thinking and understanding." Doing research "enactively" resonates with my mentor Wilfred Cantwell Smith's methodological orientation, which stresses that a primary aim of a religion scholar is to strive to see the world through the eyes of the people you are studying. Applying this to an ethnographic approach ideally leads to "intuitive thinking and understanding."

2. Paula Arai, *Women Living Zen: Japanese Sōtō Buddhist Nuns* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999). This underscores the benefits of establishing extended relationships in the field. Not only would I not have known there was even a ritual called the *Anan Kōshiki*, I would also not have had an understanding of the context in which to see and analyze the significance of this ritual for their community.

3. There are several excellent examples that illustrate the nature of self-reflexivity in ethnographic research. Three notable ones from the field of religion are: Karen McCarthy Brown, *Mama Lola: A Vodou Priestess in Brooklyn* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); Ann Grodzins Gold, *Fruitful Journeys: The Ways of Rajasthani Pilgrims* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989); and Barbara Tedlock, *The Woman in the Shaman's Body: Reclaiming the Feminine in Religion and Medicine* (New York: Bantam Books, 2005). For an example of a study conducted in Japan out of the field of anthropology, see Dorinne Kondo, *Crafting Selves: Power, Gender, and Discourses of Identity in a Japanese Workplace* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1990).

4. Clinical psychology has undergone a major shift or development. According to a clinical psychologist who is a leader in this new direction, Michael Yapko, Ph.D., the focus was exclusively on pathologies but has expanded to include attention to "studying people's strengths or people's capacity to overcome problems creatively." Michael Yapko, *Breaking Patterns of Depression* (New York: Broadway Books, 1997), p. 54. My scholarly aims are resonant with this shift that occurred in the field of clinical psychology. In this work, I am not seeking negative examples of where and how rituals did not help empower or heal, but where and how they did.

5. Catherine Bell, *Ritual Perspectives and Dimensions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

6. Ibid., p. 265.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid., p. 267.

9. "Bendōwa" in Mizuno Yaoko, trans., *Shōbōgenzō*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1993), p. 28.

10. "Genjō Kōan" in Mizuno, trans., *Shōbōgenzō*, vol. 1, pp. 53–61.

11. See Dōgen's *Eihei shingi* for more examples of this type of concern/activity.

12. The women under consideration in this work include nuns at Aichi Senmon Nisōdō in Nagoya, Japan, and lay women who are affiliated with this Sōtō Zen nunnery. I did not strive to find a sample that represents the spectrum of women in terms of demographics or types of practices because there is no data available to ascertain what the spectrum includes.

13. For more detailed information on Dōgen's teachings about women and his female disciples, see chapter 2 of my volume, *Women Living Zen*.

14. This explanation and insight is from my late mentor at Harvard University, Masatoshi Nagatomi Sensei.

15. These rituals are not included in the *Sōtōshū zensho* (eighteen volumes) or the *Zoku Sōtōshū zensho* (ten volumes). There is one chapter in an edited volume published under the auspices of the Zen sect by Ebie Gimyō, "Anan Kōshiki" in Sōtō-shū jissen sōsho hensan iinkai, ed., *Sōtō-shū jissen sōsho*, vol. 8. (Kiyomizu, Japan: Daozōsha, 1985).

16. For an in-depth exploration of how and why fundamental concepts of self and knowledge need to be taken into consideration, especially when researching people who are not continuous with the civilizations that gave rise to the Western academy, see Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and*

Indigenous Peoples (Dunedin, NZ: University of Otago Press, 1999). Pages 47–48 include discussion of how a Greek-based concept of the individual is assumed in much of current academic research. Here is an excerpt from p. 48: "What makes ideas 'real' is the system of knowledge, the formations of culture, and the relations of power in which these concepts are located. What an individual is—and the implications this has for the way researchers or teachers . . . might approach their work—is based on centuries of philosophical debate . . . and systems for organizing whole societies predicated on these ideas."

17. Thomas Lewis, Fari Amini, and Richard Lannon, *A General Theory of Love* (New York: Vintage Books, 2000), p. 95. Other researchers have drawn a similar conclusion that "a powerfully affective resolution arises primarily from ritual or meditation and rarely, if ever, from a cognitive unification of antinomies alone," p. 162 of Eugene d'Aquili and Charles Laughlin, "The Neurobiology of Myth and Ritual," in Eugene d'Aquili, Charles Laughlin, and John McManus, eds., *The Spectrum of Ritual: A Biogenetic Structural Analysis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), pp. 152–82. Unlike Buddhist-based ritual, this theory of ritual assumes a fundamental duality: "The *ultimate* union of opposites that is the aim of all human religious ritual is the union of contingent and vulnerable man with a powerful, possibly omnipotent force." Ibid., p. 162

18. Lewis, et al., *A General Theory of Love*, pp. 51–52.

19. Ibid., p. 53. This explanation of the mechanics of emotion is the most common, but it is not accepted by all. Most notably, the research of Richard Davidson, director of the Laboratory of Affective Neuroscience at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, contends that "the frontal lobes [in the neocortex] . . . are the brain's executive center and play a role in regulating emotions," in "The Neuroscience of Emotion" in Daniel Goleman, narrator, *Destructive Emotions: How Can We Overcome Them? A Scientific Dialogue with the Dalai Lama* (New York: Bantam Books, 2003), pp. 179–204 (p. 186) There is agreement that the limbic system is associated with emotions, especially negative emotions, but explicating the specific relationship and mechanics between the limbic and neocortex regions of the brain and what role they play in human experience of emotions requires further research.

20. For an interdisciplinary volume that explores ritual from scientific and social scientific lenses, see d'Aquili, Laughlin, and McManus, eds., *The Spectrum of Ritual*. Several other studies focus on meditation, consciousness, and brain activity. Most notable are the studies done in conjunction with the Dalai Lama Tenzin Gyatso's Mind and Life Conferences. See Zara Houshmand, Robert Livingston, and B. Alan Wallace, *Consciousness at the Crossroads: Conversations with the Dalai Lama on Brain Science and Buddhism* (Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 1999); and Goleman, narr., *Destructive Emotions*. One volume in particular examines Zen meditation. James H. Austin, M.D., *Zen and the Brain: Toward an Understanding of Meditation and Consciousness* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998).

21. Eugene d'Aquili and Charles Laughlin also come to this conclusion in their chapter, "The Neurobiology of Myth and Ritual" in d'Aquili, Laughlin, and McManus,

eds., *The Spectrum of Ritual*, p. 160: "Religious ritual is always embedded in a cognitive matrix—a web of meaning."

22. Here, too, d'Aquili and Laughlin come to a similar conclusion that "ritual behavior is one of the few mechanisms at man's [and woman's] disposal that can possibly solve the ultimate problems and paradoxes of human existence," in *The Spectrum of Ritual*, p. 179.

23. Again, the work of d'Aquili and Laughlin resonates with the findings of this study. They find that "social unity is a common theme running through the myth associated with most human rituals," in *The Spectrum of Ritual*, p. 158.

24. Other *Kōshiki* include: *Daruma Daishi Kōshiki*, *Nehan Kōshiki*, *Yakushiji Kōshiki*, *Daihannya Kōshiki*, *Fudō Kōshiki*, and *Jizō Kōshiki*. More fully developed historical contextualization, description, and analysis of the *Anan Kōshiki* ritual is located in my chapter, "An Empowerment Ritual for Nuns in Contemporary Japan," in Ellison Banks Findly, ed., *Women's Buddhism, Buddhism's Women: Tradition, Revision, Renewal* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2000), pp. 119–30.

25. Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 81.

26. For a fuller explanation of the dynamics of Zen healing rituals, please see Paula Arai, *Healing Zen: Japanese Buddhist Women's Rituals of Transformation* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, forthcoming).

27. It would be interesting to do an interdisciplinary study involving ritual scholars with ethologists and neuroscientists to see if the rhythmic chanting characteristic of Zen ritual ceremonies results in a similar phenomenon observed by ethologists that "rhythmic quality in and of itself produces positive limbic discharges resulting in decreased distancing and increased social cohesion," in d'Aquili, Laughlin, and McManus, eds., *The Spectrum of Ritual*, p. 159. Barbara Lex has done a study on "The Neurobiology of Ritual Trance" that indicates such a study would yield positive findings. Her chapter is included in ibid., pp. 117–51.

28. "Ikka myōju" ["One Bright Pearl"] in Terada Tōru, ed., *Dōgen*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1980), p. 105.

CHAPTER 7

1. In the completely different context of Asian Christianity, it may be worth mentioning that the same Chinese characters pronounced *shukusei* in Japanese are used as the translation of the Latin *consecratio* to indicate the "consecration" of a church or the appointment of a bishop.

2. Here, I will use the word "monastery" as an equivalent for the modern Japanese *sōdō* (literally "monk's hall") or *senmon dōjō* ("specialized practice place"). One important point to keep in mind is that, especially in the Rinzai school, these training monasteries have emerged in a form similar to the present one only during the mid-Tokugawa period. Strictly speaking, it is therefore not entirely appropriate to use the word "monasteries" for the Japanese training temples before the Tokugawa. The Chinese context is different, and I will follow the current