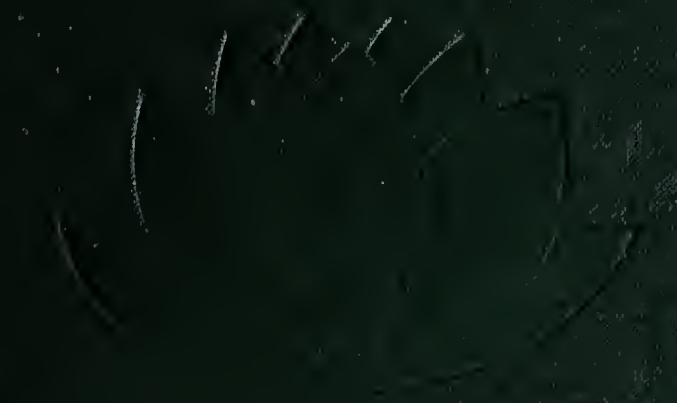


# SŌTŌ ZEN IN MEDIEVAL JAPAN

William M. Bodiford



KURODA INSTITUTE  
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# Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan

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in  
Medieval Japan

William M. Bodiford

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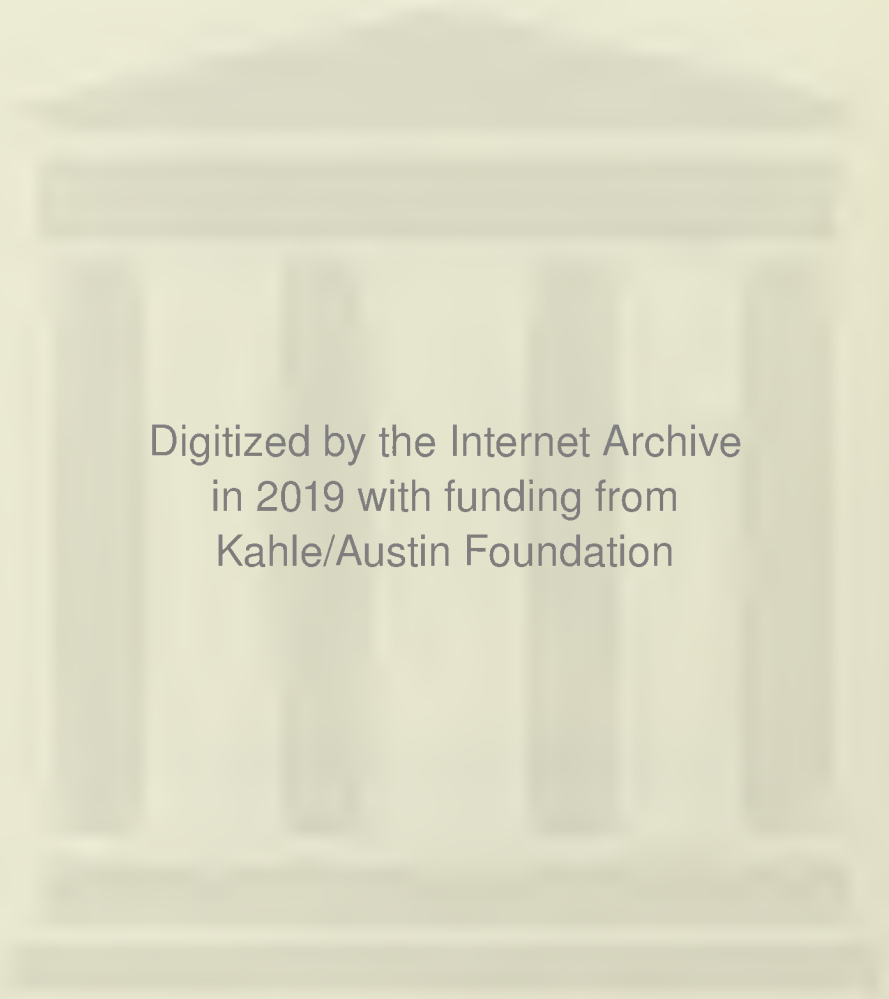
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## Preface

The Sōtō school is the largest Buddhist organization in modern Japan. It ranks with the various Pure Land schools as one of the most successful of the new Buddhist denominations that emerged during the Kamakura and Muromachi periods (roughly thirteenth-sixteenth centuries). During this medieval period Sōtō monks developed new forms of monastic organization, new methods of Zen instruction, and new applications for Zen rituals within lay life—many of which lie outside our received image of Zen. These developments played a profound role in medieval rural society and helped shape present-day Buddhist customs for a vast number of Japanese. Yet in spite of its significance for enriching our understanding of Japanese religion, medieval Sōtō has remained largely unknown, even among specialists. Most Western descriptions of Japanese Zen either ignore Sōtō completely or equate Sōtō exclusively with the teachings of Dōgen (the school's nominal founder), even though modern Sōtō practices continue many medieval-period elements unknown to Dōgen or even foreign to his teachings. In focusing on these later developments, this book attempts to illuminate how Sōtō Zen (and rural Zen in general) functioned as a religion within the context of medieval Japanese society.

In the course of this study I became convinced that it is crucial to approach the study of Japanese Zen in the same way that one studies any other aspect of Japanese religion. On the surface this proposition probably seems obvious enough. Traditional Zen scholarship, however, has emphasized ideals over actual practices and Chinese antecedents over Japanese conventions. Most discussions of Japanese Zen proceed from the assumption that it can be explained best as a continuation of Chinese traditions, totally severed from the religious and cultural context of Japan. Such discussions follow the lead of early Japanese Zen leaders, who strongly emphasized their connections to China. Yet our awareness

of the importance of China as a source of legitimization in Japanese Zen ideology should caution us against too one-sided a focus on Zen's foreign roots. After all, the new Japanese Zen institutions developed in an overall cultural matrix very different from that of China, served Japanese patrons, and even in the beginning housed primarily (almost exclusively in the case of Sōtō) Japanese monks. We must bare in mind that Chinese traditions, the way in which these Chinese traditions were perceived by Japanese monks, and the actual conditions of Japanese Zen cannot automatically be equated. In my emphasis on this Japanese context, I do not mean to suggest that every significant element originated in Japan or lacks parallel historical examples in other Buddhist cultures. Nor do I intend to suggest that Zen somehow gradually became more "Japanese." What I do intend to suggest is that our understanding of Zen in Japanese religious life will be incomplete unless we extend our analyses to include the larger cultural milieu within which Zen practices occur.

The critical study of Japanese Zen Buddhism is less than one hundred years old. Although certain prewar scholars, such as Kuriyama Taion (1860–1937) and Washio Junkyō (1868–1939), still can be read with profit (if one is cautious), the contours of the historical landscape were mapped first by the generation of Japanese scholars that emerged during and just following the Second World War. At that time, the work of a few exceptional historians—Ōkubo Dōshū, Suzuki Taizan, Tamamura Takeji, and Tsuji Zennosuke—formulated the interpretations that would become the accepted standards for the postwar era. Even today no one should study Japanese Zen history without consulting their works. In this book, however, their names are cited only rarely and their interpretations are mostly ignored. Such lacunae do not indicate that I am not in debt to their scholarship. Indeed, I am. But they do indicate that the range of new sources now available has allowed a different historical landscape to emerge. Newly discovered texts have raised issues and revealed events unknown to these men. New information has challenged their previously accepted analyses.

The range of new sources is breathtaking. Many types of texts previously ignored, such as secret initiation documents (*kirikami*), have become accessible for the first time. Other texts cited in previous studies have been republished in more trustworthy formats. Ōkubo Dōshū himself compiled and transcribed the first reliable edition of Dōgen's collected writings (*Dōgen Zenji zenshū*, 2 vols., 1969–1970), as well as more than two thousand documents collected from Sōtō monasteries throughout Japan (*Sōtōshū komonjo*, 3 vols., 1972). During 1970–1973, the Sōtō school not only reedited and enlarged its earlier (20 vols., 1929–1935) edition of "The Complete Works of the Sōtō School" (*Sōtōshū zensho*) but also published a ten-volume supplement of previously unavailable

works. During the same period, manuscript versions of Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō* and related commentaries as well as the writings of early Sōtō patriarchs became available for the first time in their original form (*Eihei shōbō genzō shūsho taisei*, 25 vols., 1974–1982). Early manuscript copies of many individual texts (such as the *Denkōroku*, the *Tōkokuki*, and the *Kenzeiki*) also were discovered and published in critical editions. As recently as 1990 the earliest known manuscript copy of Keizan's *Tōkoku shingi* was discovered among the remains of a temple fire.

These newly available original sources are particularly significant because they reveal the inadequacies of the editions previously used by scholars. We now know that many of the Japanese Sōtō Zen texts first published during the Tokugawa period (and subsequently reprinted in the modern editions of Buddhist scripture) had been extensively edited. The order of textual entries might have been rearranged to fit what Tokugawa-period Sōtō historians regarded as the correct sequence of events (e.g., the *Shōbō genzō Zuimonki*, *Tōkokuki*, and *Kenzeiki*). In many cases original citations of Chinese materials were “corrected” to agree with the Ming edition of the Buddhist canon (e.g., the “*Shinji*” *Shōbō genzō*). Japanese passages were rewritten in Chinese form (e.g., the *Denkōroku*). When these standard editions later were used for the critical study of Sōtō history, distortions could not be avoided. Discrepancies between different texts attributed to the same time period or to the same author forced mistaken judgments of textual authenticity. Without access to the original manuscripts, previous scholars had little choice but to follow inaccurate chronologies.

More important, the questions being asked of these historical sources also have changed. In recent years a new generation of scholars has been examining Japanese Zen history and practices with greater vigor. It has become increasingly clear that Japanese Zen practice cannot be understood in isolation without consideration of other meditative and shamanistic traditions in Japan. The roles of rural Zen temples must be analyzed in the larger context of general medieval social developments. Sophisticated and systematic analyses of the place of Zen in the religious, social, and political lives of average monks and lay people must replace the simple recounting of the biographies of eminent monks. The *goroku* (literally “recorded sayings,” but in Japan restricted to compositions written in Chinese) of famous Zen teachers can no longer monopolize descriptions of Zen practices.

Even as these alternative approaches are applied, the specter of Dōgen (especially disputes over the correct interpretation of his legacy) continues to haunt much Japanese scholarship on Sōtō traditions. In this book as well, in spite of my deliberate efforts to free my discussion of Sōtō traditions from a one-sided emphasis on Dōgen, I could not ignore him



completely. When I wrote the first draft of this study without any discussion of Dōgen I discovered that this very omission raised the question of how he figured in various later developments. One reason for this linkage is that both scholars and general readers automatically equate Sōtō with Dōgen (as do the standard reference works). A discussion of Dōgen certainly serves the needs of narrative convenience, since many of the main concepts, characters, and locations for later events can be introduced together with his activities. A more important linkage, however, derives from the course of internal Sōtō politics and institutional disputes. Since the Tokugawa period various groups of Sōtō monks have promoted competing images of Dōgen as a standard for discrediting earlier Sōtō practices and for justifying reforms aimed at reshaping Sōtō institutions. While their interpretations of Dōgen have differed, one constant has been the tendency to interpret many medieval developments as deviations from an idealized “orthodoxy” attributed to Dōgen.

My own approach to the historical interpretations that have been advanced under the influence of these Sōtō disputes is not entirely free from internal tensions. Issues of orthodoxy or attempts to extract religious standards lie outside the realm of objective scholarship. We must carefully guard against being influenced by hidden agendas of this type. Scholarly caution further dictates that we must become aware of how historical interpretations have served the claims of religious ideology. In my opinion the evidence for either the idealized orthodoxy or the supposed types of deviations usually mentioned by Sōtō scholars is doubtful at best. If our view of Dōgen is not filtered by preconceived concepts of religious truth, then embryonic parallels for many of the so-called deviate practices (e.g., *kōan* meditation, rituals of popular appeal) can be seen in Dōgen’s teachings and activities. Colleagues have pointed out, however, that I cannot reject Dōgen as a standard and still argue that his actions served as a model for many medieval developments without seeming to imply that he really is a standard after all. I have attempted (successfully, I hope) to clean up this ambiguity. Insofar as my arguments were directed against the interpretations of Japanese writers whose works will not be familiar to most of the readers of this book, I have eliminated them or in a few cases relegated them to the notes.

The reader should bear in mind that many of the practices discussed in part 3 of this book were not limited exclusively to Sōtō monks. Tamamura Takeji demonstrated many years ago that medieval meditation specialists in rural areas engaged in the same types of activities regardless of what kind of formal institutional or lineage affiliations they did or did not hold. Ideally, any study of medieval Sōtō must also consider sources pertaining not just to other Zen lineages (i.e., the various rural Rinzai lines) but also to Tendai, Shingon, and Yamabushi groups. Even if time

would have permitted me to thus expand the scope of my research, two reasons argued against it. First, it would have proved too cumbersome to introduce groups not already discussed in the first two sections of this book. Second, the documentary sources and secondary research for these other groups have not yet become as readily available as is the case for Sōtō. The denominational divisions of modern Japanese Buddhism have adversely limited the range of materials included in the relevant document collections.

Writing in an area of research that has witnessed so much recent development, I am very aware of the many inadequacies and questions that my work leaves unaddressed. I particularly regret not having had earlier access to several recent publications, such as Bernard Faure's *The Rhetoric of Immediacy* (1991) and Hirose Ryōkō's "Researches in the Regional Development of Japanese Zen" (*Zenshū chihō tenkaishi no kenkyū*, 1988), which arrived too late to be studied fully for my present work. Some of the issues unaddressed herein perhaps are best left to the pages of academic journals, others must await opportunities for future research. I hope that these inadequacies will at least serve to stimulate others to explore further the documentary riches describing religious life in premodern Japan.



## Stylistic Conventions

### *Dates*

Years are cited according to Western conventions, whereas months and days are cited according to the contemporaneous Japanese lunar calendar, so that “1243:10:11” refers to the eleventh day of the tenth lunar month of the year 1243. Because the Western solar and Japanese lunar new years began at different times, approximately twenty-one to forty days at the end of the lunar year actually would correspond to the first days of the following Western solar year. This conversion, however, has not been indicated. Intercalated lunar months are indicated by the abbreviation “int.” before the numerical value of the previous month, so that “1243: int. 7:1” refers to the first day of the additional lunar month counted after the seventh month of 1243.

### *Romanizations*

In general, Chinese pronunciations of technical terms are used in reference to events in China, whereas Japanese pronunciations are used in reference to Japan. Names and terms that appear in both forms are cross-referenced on the first occurrence of the second pronunciation and in the index.

Japanese words and names have been cited according to the pronunciations indicated by the following reference works (in order of precedence): *Zengaku dai jiten*; Nakamura Hajime, ed., *Bukkyōgo dai jiten*; *Kenkyusha's New Japanese-English Dictionary* (4th ed.); and *Nihon kokugo dai jiten* (Shōgakkan).

### *Citations*

In personal names of Buddhist monks, a dash (-) preceding a single syllable indicates that the first half of that monk's full two-syllable name is not recorded in the document cited.

Whenever possible the most reliable edition of the primary sources has been used. However, in order to aid the reader, an alternative version of the same text (identified as "alt.") also has been included in the notes if an acceptable alternative version is more widely available than the preferred version.



## Acknowledgments

Whatever success this book may realize owes a great deal to the efforts of a large number of teachers, colleagues, and friends. Prof. Richard Rubinger (then at Vanderbilt University) provided my initial entry into academia when he graciously allowed me to audit his Japanese-language classes even though I was not then enrolled in college. Several years later monks at Eiheiiji kindly broke the rules in order to introduce me to Sōtō Zen and Japanese beer. Undergraduate classes with Professor Wallace Johnson at the University of Kansas confirmed my commitment to scholarly pursuits. More rigorous investigations began with my doctoral education under the direction of Stanley Weinstein at Yale University. I was extremely fortunate at Yale to study with faculty and fellow graduate students who communicated their dedication to scholarship, research skills, and human warmth. Discussions with Professor John Whitney Hall convinced me of the importance of further research on Sōtō traditions and of the necessity of reading behind the sources. Professor Weinstein introduced me to the world of Buddhist studies and guided my research efforts. His suggestions, questions, and criticisms contributed greatly to my initial dissertation manuscript, which was the basis for this book. Just as important has been his inspiration and friendship. A fellowship from the Japan Foundation allowed me to devote eighteen crucial months to full-time research at Komazawa University, where I received invaluable instruction from many Japanese Buddhist scholars, principally Kagamishima Genryū and Ishikawa Rikizan. Professor Ishikawa in particular not only supplied me with many otherwise unobtainable documents, but also challenged me to rethink many of my underlying assumptions. For all the above and more I am grateful.

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# Abbreviations

<i>Benchū</i>	<i>Shōbō genzō benchū</i> , by Tenkei Denson (ca. 1726–1729), 20 fascs., copy (ca. 1777) by Ryūsui Nyotoku, in SBGZST, 15: 1–620.
D	Document, documents.
DS	Document signed, documents signed.
DZZ	<i>Dōgen Zenji zenshū</i> , ed. Ōkubo Dōshū, 2 vols., Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1969–1970.
<i>Gikai sōki</i>	<i>Eihei daisandai Daijō kaisan dai oshō senge sōji kiki</i> (a.k.a. <i>Tettsū Gikai Zenji sōki</i> ), 1309, comp. Keizan Jōkin, in <i>Zenrin gashōshū</i> (copied ca. mid-1400s), in ZSZ, vol. 2, <i>Shingi</i> , 1–7.
<i>Goshō</i>	<i>Shōbō genzōshō</i> (a.k.a. <i>Shōbō genzō gokikigakishō</i> ), 30 fascs., in SBGZST, vols. 11–14.
<i>Gosoku ryakuki</i>	<i>Tōkoku dentōin gorō gosoku narabi ni gyōgō ryakuki</i> , 1323, by Keizan Jōkin, in <i>Tōkokuki</i> , in JDZ, 411–416.
<i>Goyuigon</i>	<i>Eihei kaisan goyuigon kiroku</i> , by Gikai, in SBGZST, 20:819–840; alt. in DZZ, 2:496–507.
IBK	<i>Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū</i> , semiyearly.
JDZ	<i>Jōsai daishi zenshū</i> , ed. Kohō Chisan, 1937; reprinted and enlarged, Yokohama: Dai Honzan Sōjiji, 1976.
<i>Kaidai</i>	<i>Sōtōshū zensho kaidai sakuin</i> , ed. Sōtōshū Zensho Kankōkai, Tokyo: Sōtōshū Shūmuchō, 1978.
KBK	<i>Komazawa daigaku Bukkyō gakubu kenkyū kiyō</i> , annual.
KBRS	<i>Komazawa daigaku Bukkyō gakubu ronshū</i> , annual.
<i>Kenzeiki</i>	<i>Eihei kaisan gogyōjō</i> (a.k.a. <i>Kenzeiki</i> ), ca. 1459–1474, by Kenzei, 6 variant texts, reprinted in <i>Shohon Kenzeiki</i> . Unless noted otherwise, all references are to the 1552 ms. recopied in 1589 by Zuichō.

- Komonjo* *Sōtōshū komonjo*, ed. Ōkubo Dōshū, 3 vols., Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1972.
- Kōroku* *Eihei kōroku*, by Dōgen, 10 secs., Monkaku ed., in DZZ, 2: 7–200.
- Koten bungaku 81* Nishio Minoru, Kagamishima Genryū, Sakai Tokugen, and Mizuno Yaoko, eds., *Shōbō genzō*, *Shōbō genzō zuimonki*, Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei, 81, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1965.
- Nakaseko, DZD Nakaseko Shōdō, *Dōgen Zenjiden kenkyū*, Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1979.
- NBZ *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho*, 151 vols., Tokyo: Busssho Kankōkai, 1912–1922.
- Nichiiki* *Nichiiki Tōjō sho soden* (1694), comp. Tangen Jishō (d. 1699), 2 fascs., in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:33–86.
- Ōkubo, DZDKK Ōkubo Dōshū, *Shūtei zōho Dōgen Zenjiden no kenkyū*, 1953; rev. ed. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1966.
- Reiso* *Nichiiki Sōtō reiso gyōgōki* (1672), comp. Ranzen Shun'yū (1613–1672), in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:25–31.
- Rentōroku* *Nippon Tōjō rentōroku* (1727, pub. 1742), comp. Reinan Shūjo, 12 fascs., in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:191–522.
- Ryakuden* *Higoshū Daijiji kaisan Kangan Zenji ryakuden*, in SZ, vol. 17, *Shiden*, 2:259.
- Ryakushō* *Bonmōkyō ryakushō* (1309), in *Goshō*, fascs. 30–31, in SBGZST, 14:482–632.
- Sandaison gyōjōki* *Genso Koun Tettsū sandaison gyōjōki*, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:11–19.
- SBGZ *Shōbō genzō*, by Dōgen, 75 plus 12 chapters (plus 6 variant and 5 supplemental chapters), in DZZ, 1:7–726.
- SBGZST *Eihei shōbō genzō shūsho taisei*, ed. Dai Honzan Eiheijinai Eihei Shōbō Genzō Shūsho Taisei Kankōkai, 25 vols., Tokyo: Taishūkan Shoten, 1974–1982.
- SG *Shūgaku kenkyū*, annual.
- Shiryōshū* *Dōgen Zenji shinseki kankei shiryōshū*, supplementary volume to SBGZST, ed. Dai Honzan Eiheijinai Eihei Shōbō Genzō Shūsho Taisei Kankōkai, Tokyo: Taishūkan Shoten, 1980.
- Shohon Kenzeiki* *Shohon taikō Eihei kaisan Dōgen Zenji gyōjō Kenzeiki*, ed. Kawamura Kōdō, Tokyo: Taishūkan Shoten, 1975.
- SKK *Sōtōshū kenkyūin kenkyūsei kenkyū kiyō*, annual.
- Sōmokuoku* *Eihei shōbō genzō shūsho taisei sōmokuoku*, supplementary volume to SBGZST, ed. Dai Honzan Eiheijinai Eihei Shōbō

- Genzō Shūsho Taisei Kankōkai, Tokyo: Taishūkan Shoten, 1982.
- SZ *Sōtōshū zensho*, 1929–1935; ed. Sōtōshū Zensho Kankōkai, rev. ed., 18 vols., Tokyo: Sōtōshū Shūmuchō, 1970–1973.
- T *Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō*, ed. Takakusu Junjirō, Watanabe Kaikyoku et al., 85 vols., Tokyo: Taishō Isssaikyō Kankōkai, 1924–1934.
- Tamamura, “Rinka no mondai” Tamamura Takeji, “Nihon chūsei ni okeru Rinzai-Sōtō ryōshū no idō: ‘Rinka’ no mondai ni tsuite” (1950), reprinted in *Nihon Zenshūshi ronshū*, Tokyo: Shibunkaku, 1981, 2:981–1040.
- Tōjō soden* *Nichiiki Tōjō sho soden*, 1694, 2 fascs., in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:33–86.
- ZSZ *Zoku Sōtōshū zensho*, ed. Zoku Sōtōshū Zensho Kankōkai, 10 vols., Tokyo: Sōtōshū Shūmuchō, 1974–1977.
- Zuimonki* *Shōbō genzō zuimonki*, by Ejō, 6 fascs., Chōenji ed., in *Koten bungaku* 81, 317–437; alt. in DZZ, 2:419–95.
- ZZK *Dai Nihon Zokuzōkyō*, 750 vols., Kyoto: Zōkyō Shoin, 1905–1912.



- |              |               |               |               |
|--------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| 1. Butsudaji | 10. Hodaji    | 19. Myōgonji  | 28. Shōbōji   |
| 2. Daijiji   | 11. Hōkyōji   | 20. Myōōji    | 29. Sōjiji    |
| 3. Daijōji   | 12. Jigenji   | 21. Reishōji  | 30. Sōneiji   |
| 4. Daitsūji  | 13. Jitokuji  | 22. Rissenji  | 31. Sōrinji   |
| 5. Daitōin   | 14. Kenfukuji | 23. Ryūkeiji  | 32. Taikyūji  |
| 6. Eiheiji   | 15. Kenkon'in | 24. Ryūsenji  | 33. Yōkōji    |
| 7. Eitokuji  | 16. Kinryūji  | 25. Ryūtakuji | 34. Yōtakuji  |
| 8. Enzūin    | 17. Kōtakuji  | 26. Saijōji   | 35. Zuisekiji |
| 9. Gokokuji  | 18. Kōtokuji  | 27. Senkeiji  |               |

Figure 1. Locations of Sōtō Temples Mentioned in This Book



## Introduction

Many rites at Zen temples exemplify religious attitudes and functions typical of Japanese religion as a whole. Ritual recitation of selections from the 600 fascicles of the Great Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra conducted at most Zen temples as an annual New Year's rite addresses traditional Japanese concerns with ritual purification and the this-worldly benefits of religious observance. In addition to prayers for prosperity in the coming year, Zen temples also perform this recitation in order to prevent illness and fires, to bring rain, and to ensure a bountiful harvest. At some Zen temples, the recitation will accompany a Shintō festival at the local village shrine. The Zen monks march through the village as they recite the scripture or distribute special talismans door to door. Likewise, the bonding of each Zen monastery with a local protective spirit typifies the importance of local cults in Japanese religion and the absorption of Japanese kami into formal institutionalized Buddhism. The Sōtō Zen monastery Myōgonji (Aichi Prefecture), for example, is one of Japan's most popular centers for the worship of Inari, the spirit of fertility and prosperity ordinarily depicted in the form of a fox. Finally, Zen funeral rites typify both the promise of universal salvation characteristic of Japanese Buddhism and the dominance of funeral services in the activities of Japanese Buddhist temples. In fact, Japanese Buddhist funerals—the single most important Buddhist ritual still observed by the vast majority of Japanese—largely derive from rites that were introduced and popularized first by Zen monks.<sup>1</sup>

Yet precisely because these features characterize Japanese Buddhism and Japanese religion in general, some observers might cite their widespread practice at Japanese Zen temples as proof of the extinction of “traditional Zen.” Indeed, nowadays at the vast majority of Sōtō Zen temples popular religious worship and funeral services occupy the energies of the resident priests to the total exclusion of practices more com-

monly thought of as representative of Zen, such as meditation (*zazen*).<sup>2</sup> This raises the seemingly innocuous issue of the relationship between Zen and the so-called “non-Zen” practices commonly found within the Zen school. In most studies of Zen tacit assumptions as to what is or is not “Zen” have limited the manner in which scholars select and evaluate their data. Scholars of East Asian Buddhism are well aware of the celebrated debate between Hu Shih, who asserted that Zen must be studied and understood as an integral part of cultural history, and D. T. Suzuki, who counterargued that “Zen in its historical setting” differs from “Zen in itself” because the true essence of Zen transcends all limitations of rational discourse.<sup>3</sup> In advocating that Zen is an abstract truth rather than a particular form of Buddhism, Suzuki merely gave modern voice to views already implicit within Zen teachings. Zen masters insist and scholars generally have accepted that meditation and enlightenment express the core Zen Buddhist experience.

Throughout the history of Japanese Zen, however, Zen monks have used their powers of meditation and enlightenment to serve the more immediate worldly needs of patrons and local laity. Monks in rural areas conducted popular rituals that promised villagers both spiritual salvation and this-worldly benefits (*genze riyaku*). Precious little is known about the historical development of these rituals or their relationship to Zen practice. Studies of Japanese Zen rarely include consideration of any aspects of Zen practice that fail to conform to the criteria of other-worldly meditation and enlightenment. The other activities of Zen monks typically are dismissed as vulgar popularizations. More attention is paid to ideal constructs than to what Zen monks actually did (and do).<sup>4</sup> Yet to ignore the so-called non-Zen practices within Japanese Zen is to overlook a vital component of both Zen history and Japanese religion. Many so-called popular rites do not represent random syncretism but are performed in a distinctly Zen manner, the exegesis of which promises to reveal much about how Zen functions as a viable Japanese religion. Although many scholars have chastised Suzuki for ignoring the importance of historical circumstances, few have attempted to explore the cultural context and content of Zen in Japan.

In spite of occasional nationalistic assertions that Zen survives only in Japan, for Japanese the Zen ideal always has been based in China. Most definitions of Japanese Zen represent an idealized image of what Zen (Ch. Ch’an) norms were supposed to have been in China. This identification of Japanese Zen with China largely reflects the traditional assertion that Zen exists only within an exclusive lineage inherited by a select few Japanese from their Chinese masters. Interpretations as to the content of the Zen conveyed within this lineage can vary. Modern Japanese Zen masters who see Zen in terms of formless enlightenment will emphasize



the need for each generation to emulate the profound experiences of the early masters of the T'ang dynasty, whereas those who equate the Zen experience with its special expression in daily life will stress the continuation of the regulated, monastic forms developed during the Sung dynasty. Regardless of whether the ideals of the T'ang dynasty masters or of the Sung dynasty traditions are alluded to, in both cases Japanese practices will be regarded as true Zen only insofar as they preserve norms imported from China.

Scholars writing about Zen, many of whom are themselves Zen monks, naturally have been influenced by the self-image promoted by the Zen school. Historical studies concentrate on the famous T'ang and Sung Chinese masters and on the Japanese students who transmitted their teachings. Studies of Zen in Japan have focused on the few later Japanese Zen teachers who are credited with having promoted a pure form of Zen (or what Suzuki termed "Zen in itself"). The Japanese traditions of Zen practice that link these later heroes to the earlier Zen teachers, however, have been overlooked. This has helped to engender an idealized image of the classical Chinese teachers and of their initial Japanese students. Contrasted with these idealized images, the practices of most later Japanese Zen teachers typically fall short of the mark.<sup>5</sup> Although the Japanese Sōtō Zen school has trumpeted Dōgen's innovative reinterpretations of Chinese teachings, in general anything of Japanese origin is rejected as not being Zen. At best, the development of a Japanese Zen school with its own institutionalized hierarchy and diverse practices of Japanese origin is seen as a necessary evil that has facilitated the preservation of the trappings of traditional Zen practice.<sup>6</sup>

Descriptions of the development of Zen in Japan often proceed in terms of various opposites, such as: Chinese versus Japanese, pure Zen versus popularization, self-reliance versus cultic devotion, otherworldly Zen versus this-worldly esoteric prayers, or Zen versus Japanese popular religion. To a certain extent, all of these contrasts can be useful for explicating the historical interaction between Zen practices and other religious elements. Yet at the same time, too rigid an application of these categories also has inhibited scholars from examining the functions of heterogeneous Japanese religious forms within Zen life. Descriptions of actual Zen practices too often depict an uneasy blend of contradictory beliefs when in actual life they function as one well-integrated whole. For example, rather than simply dismissing as degenerate the practice of a Japanese Zen teacher praying for rain by means of performing a traditional Zen transmission ceremony to present a native kami with a Zen lineage chart, one might more profitably investigate both Zen and Japanese religion by asking How are traditional Zen (or Buddhist) symbols used or not used in this ceremony? How were monastic elements adapted to the

religious needs of lay villagers? or, To what extent have Japanese Zen teachers attempted to justify or integrate the secular orientation of this ritual to otherworldly descriptions of Zen practice and doctrine?

The historical sources cannot provide complete answers to all of the types of questions just mentioned, many of which, perhaps, must also be explored through anthropological observation and analysis of modern practices. Past treatments of the various series of oppositions cited above, however, inform many of the discussions that follow. Moreover, the motivation for this study rests on the belief that any attempt to elucidate the role of native religious elements within the context of modern Japanese Zen practice must be grounded in a solid understanding of the historical development of Zen practices in the lives of both monks and their lay patrons during the medieval period. For better or for worse, it was during this formative medieval period that Japanese Zen first emerged as a self-sustaining sect.

This use of the term sect in the context of Japanese Buddhism requires further clarification. As Bryan R. Wilson has noted, “[sect] organization theory as developed in sociology has little relevance to non-Western religions.”<sup>7</sup> In recent years, however, a few sociologists have attempted a more empirical definition of sect—based on Max Weber’s original concept of sect principle or sect ideal—in order to free this idea from the Christian theological implications employed by the early developers of church-sect theory such as Ernst Troeltsch and H. Richard Niebuhr.<sup>8</sup> According to their approach, a sect can be seen as consisting of any religious group organized in support of some principle, a term which could refer to: “a given ritual practice or set of practices, a principle for ‘insuring’ legitimate succession of religious authority, an ethical norm or set of standards, or whatever else within a given religious tradition the sectarians might select as *the* right, the correct, or superior path, interpretation, standard or dogma.”<sup>9</sup> In other words, religious sects acquire separate identity whenever a group of practitioners recognizes itself as conforming to its own set of standards. This definition focuses our attention on internal group dynamics, rather than on Christian ideals or on questions regarding the presence or lack of external opposition to other groups or whether or not particular groups were labeled heretical by members of the dominant establishment. Moreover, it allows us to examine how sectarian identities are or are not translated into organizational structures—instead of stipulating that outcast status (which can only be imposed by a majority external to the group) dictates the formation of sectarian institutions.<sup>10</sup>

In applying this definition to Japanese Buddhism it is important to note that members of such a sect need not share similar lineage affiliations. Conversely, membership in the same Buddhist lineage or devotion

to the same types of practices would not preclude monks from belonging to different sects. Within the same lineage different sects could form and dissolve in the course of disputes over the succession of leadership. Yet the concept of a unique lineage often did play a role when sects attempted to institutionalize financial relationships or sought to achieve state recognition.<sup>11</sup>

In Japan up until the twelfth century the government and the ecclesiastical authorities had recognized only a limited number of institutions as possessing sectarian identity. Regardless of whether or not emergent meditation groups such as Japan's first independent Zen sect, Nōnin's Darumashū, identified themselves with their own normative practices, they could not expect to achieve institutional independence easily unless certain other conditions were in their favor. Insofar as new Buddhist sects avoided direct confrontation with the central authorities they could circumvent any administrative requirements to justify their independence, but to the extent that they sought to defend their legitimacy vis-à-vis other Buddhist groups they had to confront traditional views of religious authority.<sup>12</sup> Significantly, in the late twelfth century Nōnin's Darumashū was challenged over the same types of criteria (namely, lineage and precepts) that had been at issue when Saichō (767–822) attempted to achieve independence for Japanese Tendai.<sup>13</sup> From this Tendai example, the most important historical precedent within Japanese Buddhism, we can infer something of the terms of sectarian discourse in medieval Japan.<sup>14</sup>

At its most elementary level the establishment of the Tendai school seems to have involved at least three key symbolic elements: a separate lineage, the ability to conduct autonomous initiation rituals, and exclusive possession of independent institutional facilities. Saichō's Tendai lineage, which he acquired in China, served a variety of purposes. Most important, it represented a statement of orthodox continuity with an established tradition other than one already associated with the mainstream Buddhist groups in Japan. Moreover, it served as a membership badge, which both identified Tendai followers as a united group and which could be used to exclude from positions of institutional authority anyone who lacked this lineage affiliation. At first new members acquired this lineage through esoteric initiation rituals conducted largely without state supervision. Eventually, this separate lineage was supplemented by separate ordinations conducted within Saichō's monastery. Independent ordinations not only allowed Tendai to induct new members without fear of administrative interference by the main ecclesiastical establishment but also helped ensure that novice initiates would remain within the Tendai fold.<sup>15</sup> Finally, the official recognition of Saichō's monastery, Enryakuji, as a Tendai temple allowed Saichō's followers to



be freed from their previous registrations at the non-Tendai temples of the Buddhist establishment in Nara.<sup>16</sup> With these three elements in place it became possible for Tendai monks to spend their entire careers supported only by Tendai institutions supervised only by Tendai prelates.

Not all new Buddhist groups in medieval Japan sought to replicate this Tendai model, but to different degrees various Zen groups did.<sup>17</sup> Sōtō leaders in particular moved into rural areas where financially independent temples could be founded and new Sōtō monks ordained into relatively exclusive monastic communities.

### *The Origins of Medieval Sōtō Zen*

The main events in the establishment of an independent Zen school in Japan have been recounted many times in Western histories of Japanese religion. Recently, Martin Collcutt has provided a particularly detailed description of the founders of the first Japanese Zen monasteries and their secular supporters.<sup>18</sup> Of these founders, three are particularly important for the Sōtō tradition, namely, Nōnin (n.d.), Eisai (a.k.a. Yōsai; 1141–1215), and Dōgen (1200–1253).<sup>19</sup> Dōgen, the founder of the Japanese Sōtō Zen school, was linked to both Eisai and Nōnin because his first Zen teacher had been Eisai's student and because many of his own students (and successors) had first studied Zen under Nōnin's students.

The earliest attempt to form an independent Zen group in Japan seems to have been led by Nōnin, who taught his form of Zen at Sanbōji (a Tendai temple in Settsu) during the latter part of the twelfth century. Because Nōnin's following, which styled itself the Darumashū (after Daruma, i.e., Bodhidharma, the semilegendary founder of the Chinese Ch'an school), failed to secure a permanent institutional base, scholars had not fully realized Nōnin's importance until recently.<sup>20</sup> As early as 1272, however, less than eighty years after Nōnin's death, Nichiren had correctly identified Nōnin as the pioneer leader of the new Zen groups.<sup>21</sup> Eisai, a contemporary of Nōnin, also founded several new centers for Zen practice, the most important of which was Kenninji in Kyoto. In contrast to Nōnin, who had never left Japan, Eisai had the benefit of two extended trips to China during which he could observe Chinese Ch'an (Jpn. Zen) teachers first hand. The third important early Zen leader in Japan was Dōgen, the founder of Japan's Sōtō school. Dōgen had entered Eisai's Kenninji in 1217 and, like Eisai, also traveled to China for firsthand study. Unlike Eisai (or Nōnin), after his return to Japan Dōgen attempted to establish the monastic structures found in China. Dōgen's monasteries, Kōshōji (Dōgen's residence during 1230–1243) and Eiheiji (1244–1253), were the first in Japan to include a monks' hall (*sōdō*)

within which Zen monks lived and meditated according to Chinese-style monastic regulations.

Although the activities of these three Zen teachers are relatively well known, the reasons why Zen would have appealed to Japanese monks of that period have yet to be investigated fully. The leading Japanese scholars who emerged at the end of the Second World War viewed the origins of Japanese Zen solely in terms of Japanese relations with China. In 1946 Tamamura Takeji described the development of Japanese Zen as the passive acceptance of a transplanted Chinese institution.<sup>22</sup> In 1947 Ienaga Saburō wrote that Dōgen had introduced Chinese Ch’an in a purely mechanical fashion, without any connection to Japanese social, historical, or religious conditions.<sup>23</sup> Although sectarian Sōtō scholars found Ienaga’s negative evaluation of Dōgen’s personal contribution unacceptable, overall the views of Tamamura and Ienaga have been widely accepted. Zen histories focus on the links uniting Nōnin, Eisai, and Dōgen to China rather than on the native social, historical, and religious milieu of these three Japanese monks. By emphasizing the foreign Chinese origins of medieval Japanese Zen, historians have encouraged the view that initial Japanese practices must have imitated an idealized Chinese model. Anything else must represent later deviations. In this way much historical writing has been trapped into a hopelessly ideological agenda aimed at distinguishing the characteristics of the “original Chinese model” or “traditional Zen.”

However, it is difficult to explain the rapid acceptance of Zen by Japanese monks in Japan during the late twelfth century without consideration of contemporaneous Japanese religious conditions. After all, since as early as the eighth century, texts proclaiming the doctrines of Chinese Ch’an, Chinese meditation practices, and Chinese Ch’an masters such as I-k’ung repeatedly had been introduced to Japan and to Japanese monks studying in China without leading to the creation of any Japanese Zen sects.<sup>24</sup> Likewise, it is important to remember that Japan’s first major Zen sect, the Darumashū, was founded by Nōnin without any prior contact with China nor with a Chinese teacher. Recently, Funaoka Makoto has suggested that the initial Japanese importation of Chinese Ch’an monasticism could well have been the result of, not the cause of, a growing interest in meditation practice (i.e., *zen*) among Japanese monks.<sup>25</sup>

The key point for Funaoka’s suggestion is that Japanese Zen, like the other new Japanese Buddhist denominations of the Kamakura period, initially developed among monks of low social status, who deliberately rejected the complex Buddhism of Japan’s large central monasteries in favor of a simple direct approach to Buddhist practice. This preference for a single orientation to practice (*senju*) can be illustrated by the career of the monk Ejō (1198–1280)—who later became the second Sōtō patri-

arch.<sup>26</sup> Ejō originally had entered Mt. Hiei (the great Tendai center outside of modern Kyoto) to study the eclectic Buddhism of the Tendai school. Unsatisfied, he later left Hiei, switching to exclusive Pure Land faith, which he learned from one of the disciples of Hōnen (1133–1212). Next Ejō switched to exclusive Zen, which he practiced under one of Nōnin’s disciples.

In both cases Ejō had sought out a single approach to Buddhist practice, first Pure Land and then Zen, seemingly without a predetermined preference for one or the other. But there was nothing random in Ejō’s choice of alternatives. Funaoka cites documents from the 1130s that already use stereotyped expressions in reference to large numbers of monks who practice either *nenbutsu* (i.e., Pure Land invocations) or *zazen* (seated meditation).<sup>27</sup> He further points out that Nichiren (in the same statement cited above) had attacked specifically only two monks for their exclusive orientations: Nōnin, the pioneer leader of Japanese Zen, and Hōnen, the pioneer leader of Japanese Pure Land. Funaoka sees the simultaneous emergence of these two leaders as suggestive of a process of sectarian distillation involving two complementary practices—faith in Pure Land and Pure Land meditation—that previously had been subsumed within earlier Japanese Buddhism.<sup>28</sup>

The meditation school (i.e., Zen) was new to thirteenth-century Japanese Buddhism, but the practice of meditation (also referred to as *zen*) was not. Accounts of early Japanese Pure Land frequently mention meditation terminology because within the Tendai tradition Pure Land practice required meditative visualizations of Amida (Skt. Amitābha) and his Pure Land. Heian-period biographies of Pure Land votaries, for example, frequently extol their devotion to meditation (*zen*) or their retirement to meditation hermitages (*zenshitsu*).<sup>29</sup> Heian-period collections of Pure Land miracle tales include stories in which monks have deathbed visions of messengers from Pure Land who are identified as “monks adept in meditation” (*zensō*).<sup>30</sup> In a sectarian Zen context, of course, *zensō* would refer to Zen monks. But in these stories, the celestial messengers most likely represented an idealized image of the Pure Land practitioners.

An additional significance of the term *zensō* lies in the fact that it strongly identified the saintly messengers with monks of the lowest social status in the medieval Japanese Buddhist establishment. By the early twelfth century, specializations among Buddhist monks mirrored the class distinctions of Japanese society. Aristocratic monks (known as the academicians; *gakuryō*) were expected to officiate at ceremonies and cater to the nobility, while monks who lacked noble familial connections were left to perform menial monastic tasks and routine religious rituals such as chanting the scripture, sitting in meditation, and worshipping the



Buddha. These ordinary monks—the same class of monks who would become the vanguard of the new Buddhist orders that emerged during the Kamakura period—were known as the meditators (*zenshu*; literally “meditation group”).<sup>31</sup> Temple documents from the twelfth through fourteenth centuries concerning the allocation of monastic tasks and resources commonly distinguish between these two types of monks.<sup>32</sup> The class of monks known as meditators by no means consisted entirely of meditation adepts, but as a whole they were the monks most experienced in simple forms of Buddhist training and the monks most likely to withdraw from ecclesiastical structures in order to pursue idiosyncratic goals and forms of practice.

The linguistic multivalence of the term *zen* has a twofold significance. First, as suggested by Ejō’s career, the increase in the popularity of Pure Land practice during the late Heian period potentially could have also kindled new interest among Japanese in the Chinese meditation school (i.e., Ch’an/Zen). Second, similarities in vocabulary allowed Japanese monks to identify practices of the Chinese Ch’an school with their own earlier, native traditions. These earlier traditions encompassed more than just Pure Land practice. Both Nōnin and Eisai justified their own Zen activities by citing the Zen lineages held by Saichō, the founder of Japanese Tendai.<sup>33</sup> The medieval Zen monk and historian Kokan Shiren (1278–1346) placed the transmission of Zen to Japan in the Nara period (ca. eighth century).<sup>34</sup> The Sōtō Zen patriarch Keizan Jōkin (1264–1325) attempted to attract lay support by identifying his new monastery with the Nara-period Buddhist folk hero Gyōgi (669–749).<sup>35</sup> Likewise, Musō Sōseki (1275–1351), the prominent Japanese Rinzai Zen master, stated that the title of “Zen teacher” (*zenji*) applies both to masters of the “transmission outside the scripture” (i.e., the Ch’an/Zen school) and to masters of the exoteric and esoteric (*kenmitsu*) traditions of Japan.<sup>36</sup> In this way, even while Japanese Zen leaders emphasized the transmission of Zen lineages from China, they also attempted to identify themselves with native precedents, perhaps because these Japanese traditions were more familiar to their followers and lay patrons. In this Japanese context, the multivalence of *zen* could imply connotations not known in Chinese Ch’an.<sup>37</sup>

If the above considerations are permissible, then one might reasonably expect to find continuities between medieval Japanese Zen and other religious practices already associated with earlier forms of Japanese meditation training.<sup>38</sup> The development of Japanese Zen could be seen within its own context, not solely as a derivation from its Chinese namesake. The associations between early Zen leaders such as Shinchi Kakushin (1207–1298) and *hijiri* groups, for example, could be analyzed for what they reveal about early Japanese Zen instead of ignored as aberrations.<sup>39</sup> A

full investigation of *zen* semantics and meditative practices within early Japanese Buddhism exceeds the scope of the present study. However, by way of introducing the topic of medieval Sōtō Zen let me comment on a few of the more significant parallels between early Japanese meditative practices and the activities of Nōnin, Eisai, and Dōgen as well as of other early Sōtō patriarchs.

In early Japan meditation training almost always was identified with mountain asceticism. Since the Nara period, Japanese referred to mountain training as “pure practice” (*jōgyō*) or “meditation practice” (*zen-gyō*), while the Buddhist monks who trained at mountain retreats were known as “meditation masters” or *zenji*.<sup>40</sup> These so-called meditation masters comprised both self-ordained, pseudomonks as well as scholar monks from the state-supported official temples. State regulations in 718 and 729 barred pseudomonks from freely entering the mountains but not the state-supported monks who were expected to cultivate mystical power through regular periods of mountain meditation.<sup>41</sup> It was this meditation training that ensured the efficacy of the magical Buddhist rituals performed by these monks on behalf of the state and aristocracy. The power produced by mountain meditation was known as “natural wisdom” (*jinenchi*) because it arises from within oneself. During the Nara period, eminent monks of various lineage affiliations trained at Hisodera (on Mt. Yoshino), the mountain center of the so-called Jinenchishū (i.e., *jinenchi* group). Meditation for the Jinenchishū primarily focused on esoteric visualizations associated with the bodhisattva Kokūzō (Skt. Ākāśagarbha), but Hisodera was also the final residence of the Chinese Ch’an master Tao-hsüan (702–760) whose Zen lineage was transmitted to Saichō. Tao-hsüan personified the combination of meditation and pure practice associated with mountain asceticism because he also was a master of the Buddhist precepts.<sup>42</sup>

During the Nara period, the pseudomonks who devoted themselves to mountain asceticism maintained close ties to the common people, from whom they obtained their support.<sup>43</sup> In reference to these ascetics, originally the term *zenji* carried the same connotations as would *hijiri* in later periods. These were the shamanistic religious leaders who popularized Buddhism among the lower classes, often in spite of their own deficiencies in Buddhist knowledge.<sup>44</sup> Many *zenji* traveled through rural areas, residing in local shrines. In rural villages the *zenji* would perform various good deeds, such as copying Buddhist scriptures or dedicating new Buddhist chapels. The better-educated ones also provided secular services, such as the supervision of new village construction projects. Religious rituals and civil engineering often were conducted together as a single project: both served to convince villagers that Buddhism offered hope for a better life. Like their official counterparts, these mountain ascetics



were expected to possess mystical powers, especially the ability to cure illness. Their healing techniques combined esoteric rituals and recitation of Buddhist scriptures with their practical knowledge of mountain herbs and medicinal plants.<sup>45</sup>

Eventually these nonofficial *zenji* also were incorporated into the state-supported Buddhist establishment. In 758 the imperial court ordered all mountain hermits of more than ten years of “pure practice” to be ordained as proper monks. Twelve years later, in 770, all restrictions on mountain training were lifted. Finally, in 772 the court assigned official status and provided daily rations to ten mountain *zenji* (known as *jūzenji*; literally “the ten *zenji*”), who were selected for their healing abilities and pure practice. Originally “pure practice” would have implied only mountain asceticism, but in later documents this term assumed the more literal meaning of strict observance of the Buddhist precepts.<sup>46</sup> After the establishment of the Japanese Tendai school, *jūzenji* usually were appointed from the ranks of Tendai monks. The term soon lost its numerical connotations as the court frequently assigned separate *jūzenji* to each of the major Tendai halls on Mt. Hiei. In addition to being called on for their curative powers, each of the *jūzenji* were assigned different daily meditation and ritual tasks. In 847, for example, the *jūzenji* at the Jōshin’in subtemple on Mt. Hiei were ordered to recite the Great Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra daily.<sup>47</sup> Court sponsorship of this type of *zenji* continued until the fourteenth century—well after the emergence of independent Zen temples.<sup>48</sup>

The establishment of court-appointed *zenji* within the Tendai school signifies that the Tendai precedent cited by Nōnin and Eisai to defend their own propagation of Zen implied not just the Chinese Ch’an lineages introduced by Saichō but also the Mt. Hiei *zenji* tradition. Eisai explicitly identified himself with the *zenji* tradition on Mt. Hiei by repeating passages from the writings of Tendai patriarchs such as Enchin (814–891), who stated that monks practicing Zen, Tendai, and Shingon (i.e., esoteric rituals) all are *zenji*, and Annen (fl. ninth century), who identified Zen as one of the nine *shū* (i.e., lineages, doctrines, or sects) practiced in India, China, and Japan.<sup>49</sup> Eisai was not alone in equating the content of exclusive Zen (but not its sectarian independence) with Japanese Tendai practices. His earlier contemporary, the Tendai monk Shōshin (fl. 1188) wrote that the comprehensive rubric of Tendai meditation incorporates both Shingon and Darumashū (i.e., the Zen lineage).<sup>50</sup> On Mt. Hiei Chinese Ch’an texts were studied in light of Tendai doctrines. The *Tsung-ching lu* (961)—an encyclopedic survey of Chinese Ch’an explained in terms of scholastic Buddhist concepts—for example, had been popular on Mt. Hiei since as early as 1094.<sup>51</sup> Shimaji Daitō (1875–1927), the pioneer scholar of medieval Tendai, believed that Japa-

nese doctrines of enlightenment realized in this world (*hongaku hōmon*) must have developed at least partially through the influence of these Ch'an texts.<sup>52</sup>

Although Nōnin, Eisai, and Dōgen claimed Chinese Ch'an lineages, in many ways their teachings also were representative of Japanese traditions. As mentioned above, Japanese associated meditation with "pure" monks who applied themselves to practical Buddhist training techniques, such as mountain asceticism, esoteric rituals, and Pure Land visualizations. These monks were thought to attain mystical powers and natural enlightenment (i.e., *jinenchi* and Tendai original enlightenment). In Nōnin's approach to Zen, the principles of original (i.e., self) enlightenment and mystical powers were most prominent. Nōnin's self-instruction in Zen enlightenment conformed to Tendai models of inner realization. Although two of Nōnin's disciples went to China in order to obtain a formal Ch'an succession for Nōnin, the Darumashū seems to have inherited none of the doctrinal characteristics possessed by its nominal Chinese parent.<sup>53</sup> Members of the Darumashū apparently taught that because one's own mind already is Buddha, the desire for enlightenment already is its attainment. If one believes in this inherent Buddha mind, then one is not only freed from all sin without having to observe the Buddhist precepts but also delivered from all torments to a life of continual pleasure. Observance of the precepts, Ch'an-style meditation, and formal rituals all were disparaged.<sup>54</sup>

In Eisai's Zen teachings, the elements of pure practice and esoteric Buddhism predominated. For Eisai, Zen practice meant the strict observance of the Buddhist precepts. He believed that Zen practice would breathe new life into Japanese Tendai by reviving the precepts.<sup>55</sup> At Keninji sessions for seated Ch'an meditation were performed along with earlier Tendai forms of mental contemplation.<sup>56</sup> Eisai's instructional activities centered on transmitting esoteric practices, for which he is regarded as the founder of the Yōjō lineage within the Tendai esoteric tradition.<sup>57</sup> In the eyes of later Japanese Zen monks, such as Mujū Dōgyō (1226–1312) and Keizan Jōkin, the existence of halls for the practice of esoteric rituals and Tendai contemplation at Eisai's monastery, Keninji, gave no impression of creating a clean break from the Tendai establishment. For this reason they criticized Eisai by name for not teaching Zen meditation (Mujū's accusation) or for promoting a form of Zen that was "not pure" (*jun'itsu narazu*; Keizan's words).<sup>58</sup>

Sōtō scholars usually portray Dōgen as the first Japanese to teach an "unadulterated" form of Chinese Ch'an in Japan. Dōgen himself asserted that he was the first to introduce a great number of Chinese monastic practices and facilities, such as the ritual techniques of Zen meditation (*zazengi*), evening lectures (*bansan*), the office of monastic

cook (*tenzo*), the monks' hall, formal Zen lectures (*jōdō*), the annual observance of the anniversary of the Buddha's enlightenment, informal end-of-year lectures (*joya no shōsan*), and the proper methods for taking meals and washing one's face.<sup>59</sup> Yet to assert that these elements add up to an unadulterated transplant ignores many other aspects of Dōgen's activities. After all, Dōgen was a Japanese monk, trained mostly in Japan, preaching to a Japanese audience. His emphasis on the Chinese origins of his teachings only underscored these facts. His need to reach a Japanese audience helps explain the sectarian tone found in his writings, in which he severely criticizes past leaders of the Chinese Ch'an lineages then held in Japan by followers of Nōnin and Eisai.<sup>60</sup> In asserting the primacy of his own lineage Dōgen even ridiculed the earlier Chinese Ch'an teachers I-k'ung and Tao-fang who came to Japan in the ninth century, saying that they had never taught Zen nor experienced enlightenment (*shinjin datsuraku*).<sup>61</sup>

Dōgen was hardly unique in his self-aggrandizement. Nōnin did not know Chinese Ch'an and Eisai did not break away from Tendai, but as Japanese monks, Nōnin, Eisai, and Dōgen each had sought to emphasize the primacy of his link to Chinese Ch'an while depreciating the abilities of previous Zen teachers in Japan. The Darumashū asserted that Chinese Ch'an first arrived in Japan in 1189 when Nōnin inherited the Lin-chi (Jpn. Rinzai) lineage of Te-kuang (1121–1203).<sup>62</sup> Eisai, however, denounced the Darumashū by name as a false Zen that leads people to evil.<sup>63</sup> Eisai felt it necessary to attack not just Nōnin but also Kakua, a Japanese monk who had succeeded to the Ch'an line of Hsia-t'ang Hui-yūan (1103–1176) but returned to Japan without ever teaching any disciples. Eisai taunted that the smart man (i.e., Nōnin) never went to China, while the stupid man (i.e., Kakua) went but could never accomplish anything.<sup>64</sup>

Dōgen's claims to having established Chinese Ch'an in Japan, like the similar claims of his predecessors, should not obscure his own strong ties to Japanese Buddhist traditions. Manuscript copies of the Sōtō history by Kenzei reveal that Dōgen had studied Tendai on Mt. Hiei much longer than previously thought, not merely from 1212 to 1214 but until 1217. This means that Dōgen's basic study of Buddhism occurred not at Eisai's Kennenji but on Mt. Hiei. Dōgen must have been more intimate with Tendai doctrine and ritual than has been admitted in traditional biographies.<sup>65</sup> More so than either Nōnin or Eisai, Dōgen's approach to Zen recalled the earlier traditions of mountain asceticism with its emphasis on pure practice.<sup>66</sup> Dōgen founded his first Zen community outside of the capital. In 1240 he wrote two essays in praise of mountain training.<sup>67</sup> In 1243 Dōgen moved his community to rural Echizen, initially residing at Mt. Zenjihō (literally, *zenji* peak), a traditional center for mountain



asceticism.<sup>68</sup> Unlike Eisai, who sought to follow the same precepts as Chinese Ch'an monks, Dōgen upheld the Japanese Tendai tradition of bodhisattva precepts.<sup>69</sup> Although Dōgen rejected the unrestrained license inherent in the antinomianism of the Darumashū, his faith in Zen practice as the expression of one's inherent enlightenment is no less indebted to Japanese Tendai doctrines of original enlightenment.<sup>70</sup> His fascination with language reveals the influence of the Tendai hermeneutical tradition that sought liberation through the written word.<sup>71</sup>

The new Zen centers that Dōgen established, therefore, combined both Japanese and Chinese traditions. Dōgen clearly had regarded himself as a faithful transmitter of the Chinese Ch'an. Yet he did not hesitate to reject or reinterpret features of Chinese monasticism that seemed at odds with Japanese Buddhism. Most significant for later Sōtō was Dōgen's rejection of the Chinese system of Buddhist ordinations in favor of Japanese Tendai practice.<sup>72</sup> In order to emphasize Dōgen's originality, some Sōtō scholars use the term *Dōgen Zen* rather than *Sōtō Zen* when describing the crucial features of his religious teachings. As a sectarian construct, however, Dōgen Zen typically signifies a religious paradigm (i.e., an idealized model to be emulated) stripped of all historical and biographical ambiguity.<sup>73</sup> Dōgen's emphasis on single-minded practice, for example, usually is interpreted as a rejection of the very types of popular cultic worship and esoteric powers traditionally associated with Japanese asceticism. In fact, Dōgen's actual activities included lay worship ceremonies, which more than once were accompanied by miraculous events, such as the materialization of heavenly flowers over the altar stupa. Lay witnesses signed testaments verifying the occurrence of these supernatural displays—presumably so that Dōgen's magical powers could be advertised more effectively.<sup>74</sup> Regardless of the relative importance to be assigned to these miracles in terms of modern interpretations of Dōgen Zen, their importance for Dōgen's relations with his lay patrons cannot be overestimated. Moreover, they help to explain the combination of strict Zen training and cultic elements (e.g., worship of Kokūzō) that appears in the biographies of Keizan and of Dōgen's disciple Gikai (1219–1309).<sup>75</sup> Viewed from this perspective, it is not surprising that many medieval Japanese Sōtō practices seem to resemble the tradition of the earlier mountain ascetics (*zenji*) more than the modern image of Dōgen Zen.

### *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan*

During the medieval period, the Sōtō school rapidly expanded from Dōgen's single, small monastic community to several extended networks of temples spread throughout the rural areas of nearly every Japanese

province. This rapid growth resulted from the ability of early Sōtō leaders to develop new methods of monastic organization and from their skill at serving the religious needs of newly emerging segments of rural society. Along with the prestige of their Chinese lineage and monastic discipline, the Sōtō monks brought to rural areas a level of religious expertise that previously had been unavailable. Rural Zen monks, both Sōtō and Rinzai, were able to found new temples merely by assuming residence in the small Buddhist chapels maintained in most rural villages.<sup>76</sup> At these chapels, they would provide whatever types of religious services their lay supporters required. Many Sōtō monasteries originated with new village construction projects, the pacifying of evil demons, and the spiritual conversion of local Japanese kami to Zen. Sōtō monks became adept at providing new symbols of religious authority to temple patrons, as well as at providing devotional services, Buddhist ordinations, and Zen funeral rituals to broad segments of society.

To secure the survival of their new Sōtō institutions, Sōtō leaders united networks of temples into pyramidal hierarchies based on controlled abbotship succession. In their structure and in their patterns of regional growth, these Sōtō temple networks reflected the political alliances of the locally powerful warriors, who provided much of the patronage at major monasteries. The abbotship of prestigious monasteries and other ecclesiastical honors were sold for financial contributions. In order to control both monasteries and monks, Sōtō temple networks were organized into sectarian factions, nominally representing different Zen lineages.

This association of temples, mere structures of stone and wood, with an abstract religious concept like Dharma lineages is difficult to comprehend, even for most Japanese Buddhists.<sup>77</sup> Usually in East-Asian Buddhism the symbol of dharma transmission is used to legitimate the transference of personal (not institutional) religious authority. In many contexts the exact ideological content, external criteria, and ecclesiastical implications of this transference remain rather nebulous and beyond objective verification. In the religious dimension, it typically implies a subjective assertion that a person's religious understanding renders him or her a faithful heir to a particular lineage consisting of previous generations of similar Dharma heirs.<sup>78</sup>

In the Ch'an/Zen context dharma transmission usually is associated with an interpersonal relationship—whether real, imagined (e.g., the myth of the twenty-eight Indian patriarchs), or fictional (e.g., claims of posthumous transmission or transmission by correspondence)—that is said to establish an existential link between teacher and disciple. Dōgen asserted that this link must be accompanied by a succession certificate (*shisho*) sealed in blood.<sup>79</sup> In later Sōtō many other documents also were

used. Many teacher-disciple relationships became a matter of public record when monks assumed the abbotship of a temple or monastery, because the inauguration ceremony for new abbots includes a ritual offering of incense (*shikō*) conducted in the name of the new abbot's Dharma master.

As a symbol of religious authority dharma transmission also had ecclesiastical functions. Disciples of Dōgen's disciples dictated regulations restricting monastic leadership to Dharma heirs within their own lineage groups. Later Sōtō monks, particularly Tsūgen Jakurei (1322–1391) and Baisan Monpon (d. 1417), promulgated detailed restrictions based on lineage affiliation that governed ecclesiastical relations. Through these regulations the concept of Dharma lineages acquired an institutional dimension as well. Major temples often housed a founder's hall or other memorial halls that demanded regular contributions from other temples founded by monks who belonged to later generations in the same lineage. Based on the model of familial clans, all descendants within a particular lineage of dharma transmission were expected to help maintain the ancestral temple and provide funds for memorial services conducted in the name of the lineage founder. In practice these obligations helped create what I term "sectarian factions" or "temple lineage factions" and what Sōtō monks referred to as *garanbō* ("temple Dharma [lineages]"). In many of these factions an individual monk's lineage affiliation was determined not by personal relationships but by the lineage of the founder of the temple at which he resided. Regardless of who a monk's actual teacher had been, his lineage would change if he took up residence at another temple (a requirement known as *in'in ekishī*).

Although modern Zen teachers often emphasize the personal character of lineage affiliation, ironically it is in examining financial obligations and rivalries among late medieval Sōtō temples that lineage designations provide useful correspondences to other historical data. Conversely, when these lineage designations are projected backwards onto individual biographies, they more often distort rather than inform the historical record. Later hagiographies automatically credit the so-called founders of various lineages with significant roles in having founded the entire sectarian faction, regardless of what their actual actions might have been. In attempting to trace the development of religious doctrines and practices in the educational backgrounds of individual monks, the concept of lineage is even less useful. The career of Keizan Jōkin, for example, is easily misunderstood when considered (as is usually the case) only from the standpoint of his lineage affiliation, while ignoring his very important initiatory relationships with other Sōtō patriarchs who are described as founders of rival factions.



Powerful temple networks testify to the ability of medieval Sōtō monks to meet the religious needs of their rural lay patrons and their skill at perpetuating their own forms of Zen practice. Their most notable new technique was the secret initiation into the esoteric meaning of Zen. In this system, monks acquired the authority necessary to become Zen teachers by memorizing the secret words and gestures that were to accompany each of their daily monastic routines. Monks had to undergo a series of initiations in which they were instructed by means of secret formulae recorded on individual sheets of paper (*kirikami*). Instead of producing formal *goroku* (collections of recorded sayings in the Chinese style) as Dōgen had done, medieval Sōtō teachers developed their own genre of colloquial commentaries (*shōmono*) on classic Zen texts. The same techniques developed for teaching kōan also were applied to native religious traditions. Lay people participated in this Zen, not by abandoning their worldly attachments but by being ordained with mysterious “Zen precepts” said to embody the essence of the Buddhism brought to China by Bodhidharma, the semilegendary founder of the Chinese Ch’an school. Funeral rites originally intended only for Zen monks were modified into ritual confirmations of salvation for lay people.

The chapters that follow present the above themes in three separate parts. The first part focuses on early Sōtō monastic communities and their leaders. To the extent allowed by the sources, it also discusses the conditions under which Sōtō communities attracted the support of lay patrons. The chapters in this section do not conclude with an overview of early Sōtō characteristics because the data reveal wide diversity, not uniformity. One monastery was founded on completion of a village construction project, another disappeared without a trace while leaving behind a voluminous and idiosyncratic Zen commentary, and so on. Some of the events discussed in this section, such as the role of rural warrior patrons and early attempts to ensure the ordered succession of monastic officers, proved decisive in determining later Sōtō developments. Other events, which exerted only limited influence, are of interest to specialists for what they reveal regarding the nature of early Sōtō. (Readers who prefer to follow a single narrative thread might wish to skim over the detailed portions of chapters 4 through 7.)

Part 2 focuses on the regional expansion of Sōtō temple factions. In this section our attention shifts away from individual communities toward the relationships between monasteries. The transformation of one monastery in particular (Sōjiji) into the institutional head of the largest and most powerful factions occupies center stage. These Sōtō factions would become forerunners to the rigid hierarchical organization imposed over all Buddhist institutions during the subsequent Tokugawa period.

The social and political role of Zen temples in rural communities also is discussed in light of their functions as intermediaries between competing social groups.

The last part focuses on three key components of medieval Zen practice and propagation: *kōan* training, precept ordinations, and lay funerals. Each of these activities acquired new ritual forms and new ideological implications for monks and laymen. *Kōan* training was streamlined and standardized separately within each major lineage or faction. Acquisition of the *kōan* literature transmitted within a particular lineage became a symbol of full initiation into the mysteries of Zen. Precept ordinations acquired a dual significance. When performed to initiate new monks, they allowed *Sōtō* monastic communities to expand without interference from the Buddhist establishment. When performed for laymen, they became a powerful ritual for uniting monastic and secular communities. This identification of monastic forms with laymen attained its final expression in funeral rites. These rituals are analyzed to show how the symbols of Zen enlightenment mediated salvation for monks as well as for lay men and women.

Although the influence of early lay patrons, the development of temple networks, and the Zen practices are analyzed separately in these three sections, it is hoped that the dialectical interdependence of these elements will be clear. The institutions gained their power from lineage factions. Monks' acceptance into lineages was identified with secret *kōan* initiations. These *kōan* initiations encompassed not just Chinese Ch'an literature but revalorizations of rain-making techniques, precept ordinations, and funeral rites. These ritual techniques enabled the institutions to gain new patrons, prosper, and expand into new regions. Finally, Zen meditation held all these elements together by identifying them with the enlightenment of the Buddha. Zen monasticism succeeded at a time when lay-oriented Buddhist movements also enjoyed great appeal at least partially because the Zen monks could claim special meditative powers beyond the reach of ordinary people. It was this claim that led early Japanese critics of Zen to disparage it as a religion of self-centered, solitary enlightenment.<sup>80</sup> And it was the subsequent development of this claim that allowed powerful monastic institutions to be built on the promise of shared salvation for both *Sōtō* monks and their lay followers.

PART ONE

EARLY SŌTŌ  
COMMUNITIES



## Dōgen: The Founder of Eihei-ji

In the eyes of many devout Sōtō adherents the story of early Sōtō communities begins with Dōgen and ends with Dōgen. It is a simple story of how Dōgen's vision of pure Buddhism was established in rural Japan and then lost. Later the story starts over again with Keizan Jōkin, who is credited with establishing a new institutional form for Sōtō more compatible with the simple religious sentiments of rural Japanese. In the standard version of events presented by these Sōtō devotees, Dōgen was someone fundamentally superior to his time and his followers. While alive the power of his personality commanded the complete loyalty of his disciples, who followed him into a remote mountain temple. Dōgen's death, however, allowed the divergent agendas of his disciples to reappear. A dispute among his successors, the so-called third-generation schism (*sandai sōron*), dispersed his community and left his isolated temple in ruins. Divided and without financial support, the small groups of Sōtō monks might well have disappeared. Instead, Keizan Jōkin charted a new direction that exploited popular folk beliefs and thereby ensured the financial prosperity of Sōtō temples. Summarized in crude terms, Dōgen provided high religious ideals while Keizan ensured their survival by implementing practical means of propagation—means which according to some Sōtō commentators often were at odds with Dōgen's ideals.

What follows is a different interpretation of early Sōtō. Many of the above elements appear, but the significance attributed to them is not the same. The standard story of the early Sōtō communities cited above was conceived under the lingering influence of a series of religious reforms that were imposed on Sōtō institutions beginning in the eighteenth century. The monks in the vanguard of the reform efforts advocated a restoration (*fukko*) of the pristine practices supposedly taught by Dōgen—a



position that implicitly rejected the validity of the traditions that they had inherited from the medieval period. Successive Sōtō reformers and counterreformers cited selected passages from Dōgen's writings to support or refute each other over a wide variety of doctrinal controversies, each side defending their version of Dōgen against the supposed distortions of the other.<sup>1</sup> When modern Sōtō historians first looked beyond Dōgen to chart the development of early Sōtō communities they accepted this earlier vision of a sharp division between Dōgen and his successors. In their eyes the third-generation schism and the activities of Keizan Jōkin stood out as turning points that separated the subsequent Sōtō tradition from Dōgen. Yet it is doubtful if the so-called schism ever occurred. Keizan is an equally unlikely turning point. He had studied under four of Dōgen's leading disciples: Ejō, Jakuen, Gien, and Gikai. If anyone could have provided a strong link to the beginnings of Japanese Sōtō, it should have been Keizan.

This part examines the Sōtō communities that developed around these monks, beginning with Dōgen and his monasteries. The fragmentary nature of the historical evidence renders direct comparisons between the religious activities or social conditions at each of these communities impossible. Nonetheless, the overall picture that emerges is neither one of radical breaks nor one of lavish faithfulness. All the enduring Sōtō communities were established in rural areas away from large population centers. They depended on a small handful of local warriors who provided land and income. Many of these warrior patrons seem to have held common political or social ties. All of them shared similar religious attitudes and worldviews, in which ties to Buddhist temples were based mainly on personal and geographic relationships, not on sectarian considerations. In this environment the leaders of each of the early Sōtō communities promoted a self-conscious awareness of his identity as an inheritor of the Chinese Ch'an tradition, while at the same time they were heirs to the broader and more fundamental Buddhist traditions of their time. Today Dōgen stands out because of his prodigious and prestigious literary productions.<sup>2</sup> Seen apart from his writings, however, little separates Dōgen from the rural milieu and world of religious expectations that shaped the monastic communities of his successors and gave birth to the subsequent Sōtō tradition.

### *Dōgen's Background*

While many details of Dōgen's early life remain unclear, its basic outline already has been described in Western sources.<sup>3</sup> Despite his aristocratic birth (Dōgen described his father as an *ashō*; i.e., a counselor of state), he seems to have lacked the familial standing necessary for a successful



government career. Dōgen probably had been an illegitimate child, and his mother is said to have died when he was only seven years old.<sup>4</sup> Sometime after his mother's death Dōgen became a monk on Mt. Hiei, one of the main centers of the Tendai Buddhist establishment. On Mt. Hiei, as well, Dōgen discovered that political connections and social prominence were essential for advancement. Disillusioned, he became one of the many lower-status monks of the time who forsook the Tendai establishment to pursue a purer vision of Buddhism. Dōgen first searched unsuccessfully for a new teacher on Mt. Hiei, then in 1217 (two years after Eisai's death) he entered Kennin-ji.<sup>5</sup> At that time Kennin-ji lacked any social prestige as a Zen monastery.<sup>6</sup> Officially, it was a Tendai temple (affiliated with Mt. Hiei) with special halls for Tendai rituals but none for Zen meditation.<sup>7</sup> There Dōgen became the disciple of Myōzen (1184–1225), one of the monks who had mastered Zen under Eisai's direction.

In 1223 Dōgen and Myōzen journeyed to China together to study Ch'an firsthand at Ching-te ssu, the monastery where Eisai had acquired his Ch'an lineage. In his later writings Dōgen often idealized China, but when he first arrived he seems to have experienced difficulty accepting a Chinese teacher. After two years in China—shortly before Myōzen's death during the fifth month of 1225—Dōgen met Ju-ching (1163–1228), a Ch'an master of the Ts'ao-tung (Jpn. Sōtō) lineage.<sup>8</sup> Ju-ching had been appointed abbot at the Ching-tz'u ssu twice before assuming the abbotship at Ching-te ssu in late 1224.<sup>9</sup> Dōgen became Ju-ching's disciple and soon was allowed to visit informally in the abbot's building for personal instruction.<sup>10</sup> Two years later, in the autumn of 1227, Dōgen returned to Japan as Ju-ching's acknowledged successor, carrying ashes from Myōzen's cremation.<sup>11</sup> Dōgen idealized Ju-ching as “the old Buddha” but he never forgot Myōzen. His writings refer to both Myōzen and Ju-ching (but to no one else) by the title *senshi* (former teacher).<sup>12</sup>

Dōgen's activities immediately after his return to Japan are undocumented. In 1227 he freely referred to himself as a monk who “transmits the [Buddhist] Law from Sung [China]” (*nissō denbō*).<sup>13</sup> Yet there is no evidence to suggest that Dōgen forthwith sought followers or publicly proclaimed what he had learned. Reportedly, Dōgen had composed one version of his meditation manual (*Fukan zazengi*) immediately after returning to Japan. But that early version has not survived, and its contents or audience cannot be known with certainty.<sup>14</sup> Apparently he resumed his previous residence at Kennin-ji, where he stayed for about three years. Then he moved outside of the capital to a small hermitage located at Fukakusa. This is where Dōgen would establish Kōshō-ji, the first full-fledged Zen monastery in Japan. This monastery was not founded officially until 1236, but his community of followers began to form much earlier.

### *The Kōshōji Community*

Dōgen established his residence at Fukakusa within a Kannon chapel (the Kannon Dōriin) on the grounds of a small temple known as the Gokurakuji, a name (associated with Pure Land devotion) that was used by many small temples at that time. Historical records reveal the names of many lay men and women who sponsored such temples, but none of these sponsors can be definitely linked to Dōgen's Gokurakuji.<sup>15</sup> Dōgen's move to Fukakusa, however, must have resulted from the encouragement of his first lay patrons and novice followers. His extant literary works from this period give some indication of his activities. During the summer of 1231 he composed two works: a short exhortation for the nun Ryōnen and a Japanese-language essay titled *Bendōwa* (A Talk on Pursuing the Way).<sup>16</sup> This essay consists of a series of questions and answers that explain the principles of Zen in simple, direct language. Addressed to the doubts of new students, *Bendōwa* asserts that Zen refers not to a type of meditation but to the actualization of the perfect enlightenment enjoyed by all Buddhas. It is the only true form of Buddhism (*shōbō*), a form of practice handed down directly from the Buddha that is accessible to all: men, women, government ministers, and commoners. Dōgen cast his net for a wide audience.

By the summer of 1232 enough students had committed themselves to Dōgen that he was able to conduct the traditional ninety-day Zen training session (*ango*). During this period the entire monastic community followed a prescribed series of daily routines centered on the practice of Zen meditation. For his new students Dōgen produced a revised meditation manual and wrote two more Japanese-language essays, one of which was presented to a layman from northern Kyushu.<sup>17</sup> Clearly, Dōgen was beginning to make a name for himself. Moreover, he must have acquired serious students because these new essays contain some of his most profound prose. Dōgen's most important new disciple was Ejō, the monk most responsible for collecting and preserving his writings.

Although Ejō only joined Dōgen's community during the winter of 1234, he had first met Dōgen several years earlier at Kenninji. At the time of that first meeting Ejō already had mastered the Zen of the Darumashū. He sought out Dōgen to compare their respective insights but soon left after discovering major differences.<sup>18</sup> We do not know where Ejō went afterwards or what brought him back to Dōgen's side. Upon arriving at Fukakusa, Ejō soon began to write down in colloquial Japanese Dōgen's conversations. His journal, known as the *Zuimonki*, is our primary record of Dōgen's teachings at Fukakusa and today is often regarded as an easily understood introduction to Sōtō Zen. Yet while the words are Dōgen's, the selection of topics reflects Ejō's own interests as a

Darumashū monk. The numerous passages in the *Zuimonki* concerning the Buddhist precepts, for example, reflect the existence of deep conflicts between Darumashū doctrines and Dōgen over the role of precepts in Zen practice.<sup>19</sup>

Dōgen's Zen community at Fukakusa managed its own affairs without any direct affiliation with the Buddhist establishment. Unlike Kennin-ji (which was linked to Mt. Hiei), the Fukakusa monks were unhampered by any requirements to conform to monastic norms imposed by Japanese tradition. But the price of this freedom was the loss of the financial security and protection that Kennin-ji enjoyed. Monks who joined Dōgen's community in effect cut themselves off from the traditional avenues to ecclesiastical fame and leadership. Many of Dōgen's early sayings seem addressed especially to the lower economic class of monks who lacked the luxury of devoting all their time to scholastic study.<sup>20</sup> In the *Zuimonki*, Dōgen repeatedly exhorts his disciples to take pride in their poverty and to abandon worldly measures of success. Although they might lack status by Japanese standards, he told them that, among the ranks of Chinese monks even the son of a prime minister wears tattered robes.<sup>21</sup> In his *Tenzo kyōkun* (Instructions for the Monastic Cook, 1237), Dōgen stressed that menial labor is a proper component of Zen training. He criticized the monks at Kennin-ji, who according to Dōgen relied on servants for their meals.<sup>22</sup> These sermons no doubt helped give Dōgen's impoverished followers a sense of religious justification and moral superiority over their brethren in the rival Tendai temples.

Dōgen's initial lack of financial means or wealthy patrons meant that he was forced to solicit donations at large. In 1235 he began one collection campaign for the construction of a proper, Chinese-style monks' hall (*sōdō*).<sup>23</sup> This endeavor proved very successful. Within less than a year, on the day of the full moon during the tenth lunar month of 1236, Dōgen formally opened the new monks' hall and changed the name of his monastery to Kōshō-ji.<sup>24</sup> The new monks' hall established Kōshō-ji as the first Chinese-style Zen monastery in Japan. This novel institution attracted considerable attention and reverence. The people of the capital had never before seen anything like the monks' hall with its wide platforms full of ascetics sitting in rapt meditation, rarely moving or chanting. They made special trips to marvel at the new community of monks.<sup>25</sup> The new monastery soon acquired wealthy patrons from the capital. The aristocratic nun Shōgaku donated a lecture hall (*hattō*) for which the tonsured Guzeiin (a.k.a. Fujiwara Noriei) supplied the elevated lectern (*hōza*).<sup>26</sup> Both of these patrons probably were among the religious nobles who visited Kōshō-ji to ascertain Dōgen's approach to Buddhism. Many other laymen seem to have attended religious services to hear Dōgen speak. Ejo's *Zuimonki* contains Dōgen's answers to the questions of



pious laymen and mentions the presence of others who participated in the fortnightly precept recitation ceremonies.<sup>27</sup>

Dōgen’s activities during the next few years are undocumented until the spring of 1241, when the Darumashū monk Ekan and his disciples came to Kōshōji.<sup>28</sup> Previously, Ekan’s group had managed only a precarious existence, having taken refuge at Hajakuji (a.k.a. Namitsukidera) in rural Echizen after fleeing from the Tendai temple Myōrakuji (at Tōnomine in Yamato) in 1228. At that time Myōrakuji had been destroyed by monastic warriors associated with the Kōfukuji in Nara. Although the Darumashū had not been the direct object of the Kōfukuji attack, as outsiders they were especially vulnerable. Probably the main Darumashū scattered in several smaller groups.<sup>29</sup> It is not clear why Ekan’s group later abandoned their refuge at Hajakuji to join Dōgen. Certainly Ejō must have encouraged them. Also in Echizen they probably still worried over their lack of independent institutional status because Hajakuji technically remained a Tendai temple, obligated to the central Tendai establishment.<sup>30</sup> The name of only one of Ekan’s followers (Gikai) is known with certainty, but the names of the other Darumashū-affiliated monks can be guessed with reasonable accuracy, since they followed the Chinese Buddhist practice of assigning the same syllables to the tonsure names of all members within the same generation (see figure 2).<sup>31</sup> As will be seen below, monks named with the Darumashū transmission-syllable “gi” came to dominate Sōtō affairs immediately following Dōgen’s death.

The arrival of the Darumashū contingent coincides with one of the most active, yet puzzling, periods of Dōgen’s career. In 1241 Ejō began his life-long devotion to copying Dōgen’s *Shōbō genzō*. This work con-

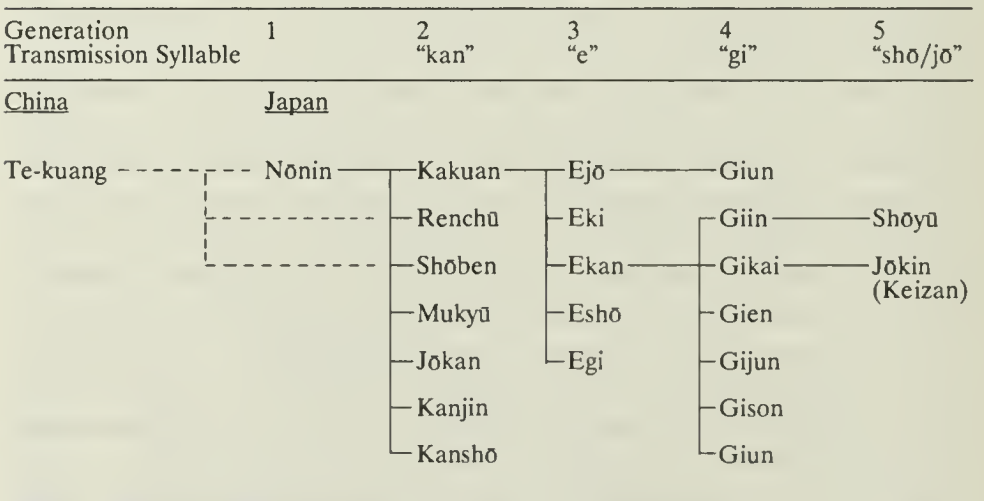


Figure 2. The Darumashū

sists mostly of Japanese-language essays that Dōgen first presented as lectures. Then they were revised and ordered into chapters. Ejō wrote out the final, corrected copies for the vast majority of these chapters. Although Dōgen had produced a few of these essays in earlier years, during this year his output increased dramatically. He had composed just seven essays during 1240. The following year saw ten new essays, with sixteen during the year after that, and twenty-three essays written during 1243.<sup>32</sup> These Japanese-language essays take the form of technical expositions of passages selected from Chinese Ch'an literature. Often violating the rules of Chinese grammar, Dōgen eloquently dissects these passages to extract hidden layers of meanings. Dōgen quite possibly increased his production of these essays as part of his efforts to convert (or reeducate) Ekan and the other Darumashū monks.

During this same period, Dōgen also met with powerful patrons in the capital. He gained an audience at the Konoe mansion during the fourth lunar month of 1242, during which he boasted of having introduced true Buddhism (i.e., sectarian Zen) to Japan.<sup>33</sup> The head of the Konoe family, Iezane (1179–1243), and his son Kanetsune (1210–1259) were two of the most powerful men in the court. Kanetsune had just stepped down from his position as imperial regent (*kanpaku*). Later that same year, Dōgen lectured on one of his *Shōbō genzō* chapters at the residence of Hatano Yoshishige (d. 1258).<sup>34</sup> Hatano was a politically powerful, battle-scarred, one-eyed warrior who represented the Kamakura Shogunate in Kyoto as a member of the supervisory council at Rokuhara. No records mention when they first met, but it probably occurred when Dōgen still resided at Kennin-ji. Hatano would have heard of Dōgen's return to Kennin-ji because his Kyoto residence was near the temple. By 1242 he had become Dōgen's strongest patron. In all likelihood it was Hatano who arranged Dōgen's introduction to the Konoe, a connection suggested by the fact that the Hatano family served as the warrior land stewards (*jitō*) overseeing the Konoe estates.<sup>35</sup> In the fourth month of 1243 Dōgen again lectured in the capital, this time at a small Tendai temple, the Rokuharamitsu-ji, located next to Kennin-ji.<sup>36</sup> This sermon, delivered so close to the rival Kennin-ji, would have been impossible without the patronage and protection of Konoe and Hatano. In terms of political eminence, it must have been the high point of Dōgen's career.

### *The Move to Echizen*

Three months later Dōgen abandoned Kōshō-ji to lead his disciples into the mountains of rural Echizen. Nowhere in his writings does Dōgen suggest what reasons might have led to this drastic change in venue. This move was not an endeavor undertaken lightly. Their journey probably

required five days of hard travel. From Fukakusa they would have proceeded southeast around the tip of Lake Biwa and then journeyed almost due north through the provincial barrier at Arachi. From there they would have continued up the 1,900-foot climb across the Tree Sprout Pass (Kinome Tōge) into Echizen.<sup>37</sup> The last document confirming their presence at Kōshōji is Ejō's colophon to his copy of a *Shōbō genzō* essay dated one day before the end of the summer training period, the fourteenth day of the seventh lunar month. The next extant colophon states that Dōgen lectured on another *Shōbō genzō* essay just sixteen days later (the first of the following intercalated month) while residing at Mt. Zenjihō in Echizen. Neither text mentions any relocation.<sup>38</sup>

Religious and political hostility might have contributed to Dōgen's decision to leave. One fourteenth-century collection of Tendai texts includes an entry stating that Dōgen had been forced out of Fukakusa by persecution.<sup>39</sup> According to this account, when Gosaga was the cloistered emperor (1246–1272) Dōgen was charged with preaching his own Buddhism at Gokurakuji and with slandering the scholar monks who practiced Tendai. To defend himself Dōgen presented the throne with a tract titled *Gokoku shōbōgi* (Principles of True Buddhism for Protecting the State). The established prelates, however, rejected Dōgen's ideas as a self-centered approach for solitary enlightenment (*engaku*; Skt. *pratyekabuddha*; i.e., self-enlightenment that ignores the suffering of others). The monks at Gokurakuji were beaten and Dōgen chased away.

This account accurately reveals the attitude of Tendai prelates toward Dōgen. They saw exclusive Zen practice as narrow-minded Buddhism, deficient in social benefits, and they would have gladly claimed credit for suppressing such heresies. Yet its details lack credibility. Perhaps the discrepancies in dates resulted from simple miscalculation. Dōgen left Fukakusa three years before Gosaga retired, while Gosaga still reigned as emperor (1242–1246). Its reference to the *Gokoku shōbōgi*, however, presents greater difficulties. No such text presently exists. Moreover, neither Dōgen's writings nor any other Sōtō-related sources mention this title. Other tracts with similar titles (*gokoku* or *shōbō*-something) also have been attributed incorrectly to several monks of this period.<sup>40</sup> Likewise, corroborating references to any attack on Fukakusa cannot be found. We cannot explain why Dōgen's writings and the records of his disciples would omit even oblique mention of persecution or attacks if they actually had occurred. Instead, we know that Dōgen's disciples at Kōshōji were able to conduct the ninety-day summer training period right up until the time they left. The steady pace of Dōgen's writing during 1243 also suggests that advance preparations for the move must have smoothed the transition to Echizen. It is doubtful, therefore, whether Dōgen's community was physically attacked.



Religious hostility within the capital toward exclusive approaches to Zen can be confirmed by examining the early history of Tōfukuji. This monastery was commissioned in 1236 by Kujō Michiie (1193–1252), a powerful government minister and political rival of Konoe Iezane.<sup>41</sup> The site for Tōfukuji lay to the southeast of the capital, almost exactly half-way between Kōshōji and Kenninji. Tōfukuji, like Kōshōji, was built with a monks' hall for Zen meditation. When the monastery was completed in 1243 Michiie selected Enni Ben'en (1202–1280) to serve as the founding abbot. Enni, like Dōgen, had studied Ch'an for several years in China. From these facts one might easily assume that Michiie appeared ready to champion Zen in the capital, but such was not the case. Michiie also had strong ties to the Buddhist establishment. Tōfukuji was founded, like Kenninji, as a Tendai temple with special halls for the performance of esoteric rituals. Michiie justified Tōfukuji's Tendai status in a document written a few years later. In listing his expectations for Tōfukuji, Michiie cited the same texts previously quoted by Eisai to equate both Zen and Shingon with Japanese Tendai. Then Michiie added an echo of Eisai's denunciation of the Darumashū: "Recently those claiming to penetrate the principle have become known throughout the realm by teaching freedom to do evil (*aku muge*). All the [Buddhist] sects (*shū*) have been shocked and harmed. It must not be [allowed]. They are like worms inside the lion eating the lion. Establishing their own sect harms their own sect."<sup>42</sup>

Michiie's complaint does not mention the Darumashū directly. Charges of antinomianism, however, constantly haunted the Darumashū ever since their teachings were first banned by the court in 1194. Half a century later the same charges were as potent as ever. In Michiie's remarks, moreover, it is possible to detect a hostility that would have applied to Dōgen as well. Clearly, any Buddhist groups unaffiliated with the officially sanctioned temples were regarded as heretical outcasts. Claims for an independent, sectarian Zen institution were not tolerated in the capital. Furthermore, the only Darumashū members still active near the capital were with Dōgen at Kōshōji. As the religious conditions at Tōfukuji became clear, Dōgen must have realized that his future independence could not be assured at Fukakusa.

Historians have focused on the external social circumstances that forced Dōgen to flee Fukakusa, but perhaps he also pursued his own objectives. This possibility is suggested by Dōgen's own statements. As early as 1231 in his *Bendōwa* Dōgen exhorted Zen practitioners to live in the mountains among the crags and white rocks.<sup>43</sup> In 1240 he again praised mountains as the natural abode of all sages.<sup>44</sup> Personal connections also would have led Dōgen to Echizen. Ekan and his followers were seasoned veterans of the rural mountain temples. They possessed valu-

able firsthand knowledge of the area that would have assisted the Kōshōji community in adapting to local conditions. Disciples such as Ekan, however, could not have directed Dōgen to Echizen on their own.<sup>45</sup>

Instead, Dōgen's principal patrons provided the main incentives. Hatano Yoshishige, the warrior official in Kyoto, supported Dōgen's move to Echizen.<sup>46</sup> Hatano's family domain lay in Echizen, where Yoshishige supervised numerous estates. He offered Dōgen land, economic support, and most important, long-term stability and protection. Within a month of Dōgen's arrival, Yoshishige himself supervised the clearing of land inside his Shihi estate for Dōgen's new monastery.<sup>47</sup> Yoshishige's cousin Kakunen (a.k.a. Fujiwara Yoshiyasu; d. 1286) also supported Dōgen's move to Echizen. Kakunen, like Yoshishige, was a warrior official residing in Kyoto. Although Kakunen's family was based in Ise, he also seems to have controlled estates in Echizen. In 1244, when Yoshishige built a lecture hall for Dōgen, Kakunen supplied a monks' hall.<sup>48</sup>

Dōgen's move to Echizen marked the beginning of his total economic dependence on the warrior class. Dōgen had lived all his monastic life (except while in China) in a social milieu dominated by the aristocracy of the capital. Kōshōji began as a refuge from the control of the aristocratic clerics, but ultimately it too depended on the patronage (and tolerance) of the Kyoto nobles for survival. By moving to Echizen, Dōgen cast his lot with the lower-ranked, rural warrior class. Yoshishige, Kakunen, and the other warriors in Echizen were not wealthy by Kyoto standards. Nonetheless, they possessed the means to provide Dōgen with a Zen monastery far surpassing what could be built at Fukakusa. Some have suggested that Dōgen's move to Echizen was self-defeating: it cut off all hope of patronage by either the court or the shogunate. In return, however, Dōgen gained security and religious freedom.

Of course, Dōgen's rural patrons were not without their demands. The onus of Dōgen's dependence on Yoshishige can be seen in Dōgen's trip to Kamakura in 1247. Later Sōtō tradition attempted to portray this excursion as Dōgen's ministry to the shogunate.<sup>49</sup> Rather than a trip to the seat of the warrior government in Kamakura, however, this episode probably was nothing more than a summons to the residence of a patron, which happened to be located in Kamakura at the time. Dōgen clearly stated that he went at his patron's request, and that patron was Yoshishige, as demonstrated by the fact that the trip occurred shortly after he had been transferred from Kyoto to Kamakura.<sup>50</sup> When Dōgen returned to Echizen after an absence of seven and one-half months, his disciples were furious. They accused Dōgen of valuing his patron more than his

monks.<sup>51</sup> This pattern of dependence on warrior patronage had a decisive influence on the development of the Japanese Sōtō school.<sup>52</sup>

Dōgen's disciples also complained of the meager living conditions provided in Echizen. In 1245 when Dōgen conducted his first summer training session in Echizen, his temple (named Daibutsuji; i.e., "Great Buddhist Temple")<sup>53</sup> comprised only a few buildings. Dōgen encouraged his disciples by stating that the greatness of a monastery is determined by the strong resolve of its monks, not by their number.<sup>54</sup> Later that same year he again urged the monks to endure the lack of facilities and difficult living conditions at the monastery.<sup>55</sup> Yet Dōgen had great pride in his monastery and in its future potential. In 1246 he changed its name to Eihei-ji, apparently a reference to the Eihei era (Ch. Yung-p'ing; 58–75), when Buddhism supposedly had been introduced to China.<sup>56</sup> In his lecture on this occasion, Dōgen cited the legendary first words of the newborn Buddha: "Above Heaven and below heaven, I alone am to be revered." Then by way of explanation, he added: "Above heaven and below heaven, this spot is 'Eihei.'" <sup>57</sup> In other words, the enlightened practice for which the Buddha is revered could be found only at Eihei-ji.

After the founding of Daibutsuji in 1244 Dōgen's literary efforts mainly were devoted to works in Chinese, not to his Japanese-language *Shōbō genzō*. His formal compositions during this period consist mostly of commentaries on the Chinese monastic codes (*shingi*), which in his eyes defined the proper features of Zen life. Aimed at reproducing in Echizen the same approach to monastic training that he had experienced in China, Dōgen's commentaries emphasize the psychological aspects of each ritual rather than its outward form. He also included descriptions of rituals that he had learned firsthand in China, even when they were omitted from the Chinese codes.<sup>58</sup> The vast majority of Dōgen's literary works from 1246 on, however, are transcriptions of the lectures on Zen kōan and daily events that he presented to his disciples at Eihei-ji as part of the scheduled monastic rituals. These lectures were compiled into his *goroku* (i.e., Chinese-language recorded sayings), the first Zen *goroku* produced in Japan.

Dōgen's *goroku* has not attracted the attention it deserves. Perhaps this neglect is because at first glance the stiff Chinese seems less "Dōgen-like" than his innovative *Shōbō genzō*. Nonetheless, his *goroku* reveals an invaluable portrait of Dōgen as a Zen master, presenting a living example of Zen for his disciples. It is especially important for studying the last eight years of his life. Almost no other writings can be dated to these final years. Yet as his other literary activities declined, the number of Dōgen's lectures increased dramatically. Between 1245 and 1246, for example, Dōgen's annual output jumped from just fifteen to seventy-

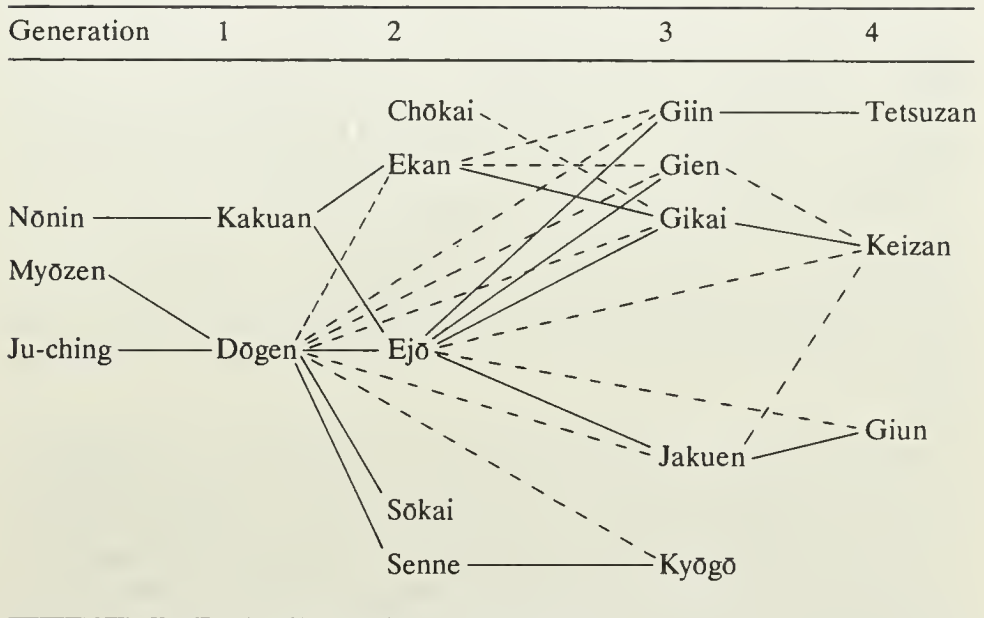


four. The lectures from the late period of Dōgen's life comprise, therefore, a week-to-week journal of his thoughts and activities. They represent the mature Dōgen, the daily teachings that would have left the strongest impression on his disciples.

Dōgen taught not just by word but also by deed. And, as mentioned earlier, his teaching by example included a wider audience than just his disciples. The monastic rituals he practiced involved laymen in forms of cultic worship not usually associated with modern interpretations of Dōgen. For example, villagers and local officials regularly participated in the precept recitation ceremonies conducted at Eiheiiji. During standard forms of this ritual, all the monks of the monastery jointly recite not only the precepts but also several short texts in praise of the power of the precepts to subdue evil.<sup>59</sup> More than twenty laymen who participated in one precept recitation ceremony at Eiheiiji in 1247 witnessed the appearance of multicolored clouds shining out from the abbot's building (*hōjō*). The laymen were so awed by the experience that they wrote a pledge always to testify to the truth of its occurrence.<sup>60</sup> On other occasions at Eiheiiji when Dōgen preached to officials or noble ladies, gongs from an unearthly temple bell echoed through the valley and the fragrance of unknown incense filled the air.<sup>61</sup> Dōgen also conducted ceremonies for the public worship of the sixteen supernatural *rakan* (Skt. *arhat*) who protect Buddhism.<sup>62</sup> During one of these services in 1249 rays of light shown out from the images and the *rakan* themselves magically appeared before the worshipers as heavenly flowers rained down. Dōgen wrote that such apparitions had been known previously only at Mt. T'ien-t'ai in China.<sup>63</sup>

These miraculous experiences tell us that Dōgen's charisma stemmed from more than just his intellectual prowess. Monks and laymen recorded these events as testaments to his great mystical power. In their eyes these awe-inspiring incidents helped confirm the legitimacy of Dōgen's teachings against competing claims made by members of the Buddhist establishment and other outcast groups, including advocates of other types of meditation (or *zen*). Moreover, the apparitions and magical events at Eiheiiji helped identify the temple as a cultic center, as sacred land where one could find direct access to the unseen spiritual powers. These types of supernatural visitations are a perennial component of the topography of major Buddhist centers in East Asia.<sup>64</sup> Dōgen's identification of the potency of Eiheiiji as being on par with that of Mt. T'ien-t'ai represents an implicit argument that the powerful Buddhism of China had accompanied him into the wilds of Echizen.

Dōgen's charisma probably met its greatest challenge in the persons of the former members of the Darumashū who had joined his community (see figure 3). Eisai had condemned the Darumashū in the strongest pos-



Solid Lines (——) = Master-Disciple Relationships

Broken Lines (- - -) = Teaching Relationships

Figure 3. The Early Japanese Sōtō School

sible terms, charging that Darumashū monks lacked a proper lineage from China. In their emphasis on natural enlightenment, they rejected the Buddhist precepts against evil actions and knew nothing of the traditional Ch'an practices of meditation and monastic rituals. Eisai proclaimed that one should not talk to or even sit with such monks.<sup>65</sup> In spite of Eisai's admonition, Dōgen (the disciple of Eisai's disciple) accepted Darumashū monks into his community. Ejō came first, then Ekan and his followers. In retrospect, one can easily imagine a mutual attraction. The Darumashū had been attacked by Tendai clerics for their lack of precepts and denounced by Eisai for their illegitimacy. From Dōgen they gained precepts and respectability based on Dōgen's lineage and knowledge of Chinese-style monastic practices. Dōgen taught that Zen is the proper expression of a person's inherent enlightenment. In the Darumashū he found a ready-made following.

Yet mutual antagonisms also existed. Dōgen's emphasis on Chinese-style monastic ritual differed greatly from the iconoclastic freedom advocated by the Darumashū. Ekan led his followers to Fukakusa, but each one would have had to conform to Dōgen's expectations through their own individual efforts. Instead, many monks no doubt left. At least one Darumashū monk, Gijun, remained behind at Kōshōji when Dōgen moved to Echizen.<sup>66</sup> In 1248, after Dōgen returned from Kamakura,

reportedly an even more drastic incident occurred. A Darumashū monk named Genmyō and his companions were permanently expelled from Eihei-ji. According to the standard story, Dōgen went so far as to cut Genmyō's seat out of the meditation platform in the monks' hall to eliminate his contamination. No one had ever before seen Dōgen so enraged.

The exact details of Genmyō's transgression are not clear, and the dramatic imagery suggests that this story might be a later fabrication.<sup>67</sup> Nonetheless, the general context for Genmyō's expulsion or a similar such expulsion can be gleaned from a conversation between two other Darumashū monks, Ejō and Gikai, recorded about a year after Dōgen's death:

Gikai: My Dharma comrades of past years would say: "The Buddhist [expression], 'All Evil Refrain From Doing, All Good Reverently Perform' (*shoaku makusa shozen bugyō*) actually means that within [true] Buddhism all evil ultimately has been refrained and all activities are Buddhism. . . . Therefore merely lifting an arm or moving a leg—whatever one does, whatever phenomena one produces—all embody [true] Buddhism." . . .

Ejō: In our master's [i.e., Dōgen's] community there were some who spread such heterodox views. That is why he cut off all contact with them while he was still alive. Clearly the reason he expelled them was because they held these false doctrines. Those who wish to honor the Buddhism [taught by] our master will not talk with or sit with such [heretics]. This was our master's final instruction.<sup>68</sup>

Evidently, Genmyō had insisted on reinterpreting the traditional precept against evil conduct from the standpoint of original enlightenment and the inherent nonduality of good and evil. And in the end, Dōgen had proved true to Eisai's admonition. Darumashū monks, such as Genmyō, who failed to reform were not tolerated.

More significant than Dōgen's own expulsion of Genmyō is the effect of this action on his remaining disciples. When Genmyō and his companions were expelled, the monks who remained at Eihei-ji knew that an invisible line had been drawn. Darumashū monks had to reject their anti-nomianism. Ejō simply informed Gikai that the teachings learned from his Darumashū teachers were condemned, and Gikai had no choice but to agree.<sup>69</sup> The subtle legacy of the Darumashū on early Sōtō developments remains mysterious. The above events demonstrate that some Darumashū monks never fully converted to Dōgen nor accepted his religious authority. Yet the former Darumashū monks who came to dominate Eihei-ji after Dōgen's death—Ejō, Gikai, and Gien—in their conscious minds at least must have experienced a real religious conversion. They had felt Dōgen's power, lived his Buddhism, and learned to honor his teachings.

By the middle of 1252 Dōgen's health had begun to decline rapidly.



After ten months of lying in bed with no sign of improvement, it was decided that he should seek professional medical assistance in Kyoto. During the seventh lunar month of 1253, he settled his affairs at Eiheiji and appointed Ejō to serve as abbot. Finally, on the fifth day of the eighth month, Dōgen said farewell for the last time and left, carried by Ejō and his other disciples. Gikai accompanied them only as far as the border of Echizen. By the time Dōgen reached Kyoto, it was already too late. He died at Kakunen's residence on the twenty-eighth day of that same month.<sup>70</sup> Dōgen's passing away attracted little attention in the capital. In the eyes of the established Buddhist prelates he was a nobody. Yet, in retrospect, Dōgen had been a successful Zen pioneer. At the time of his death, Eiheiji housed one of the earliest viable independent Zen sects in Japan. Other Zen teachers also had founded monasteries or introduced lineages from China, but few were able to secure an independent institutional base.<sup>71</sup>

The death of Dōgen presented the Eiheiji community with a loss from which it could not easily recover. Dōgen had been the community's source of spiritual authority. After Dōgen's death, his disciples faced the new task of directing their communal life without the external support of their master's supervision and guidance. Each one had to determine his own terms for expressing Dōgen's teachings, based on his own circumstances. With the succession of Ejō to the abbotship, the community had to reconstitute itself and reappoint the monks who held monastic offices. Before the beginning of the following summer training session, all monks electing to remain at Eiheiji had to pledge allegiance formally to Ejō, acknowledging him as their new teacher. It is doubtful, however, whether Ejō had the spiritual charisma and strong personality necessary to provide a new spiritual center for the community. Ejō's own dharma heir, Gikai, reported that some monks not only had doubted the legitimacy of Ejō's succession but also had slandered him.<sup>72</sup> Moreover, because Dōgen had not lived to see the completion of Eiheiji's full complement of buildings, his disciples, Ejō included, lacked detailed knowledge of many aspects of traditional Chinese monastic life and practice.<sup>73</sup> Architectural design, proper use of facilities, and prescribed etiquette all have to be learned directly from a living teacher. Without Dōgen, the community remained incomplete until this knowledge could be acquired directly from China. Finally, in economic terms as well, the community had to rely on the uncertain goodwill of patrons whose allegiance had been won on the strength of Dōgen's personality. No doubt, many monks sought a more secure life within other Buddhist groups.<sup>74</sup> Even monks who stayed within the Sōtō fold felt free to leave Eiheiji behind.

The death of Dōgen, therefore, marks the beginning of a major period of transition and growth. The ways in which Dōgen's disciples responded

to the challenges mentioned above had profound influences both on subsequent institutional expansion and on religious developments. By the time the last of Dōgen's surviving disciples had died, about sixty years after Dōgen's own death, the Eihei-ji community had branched out into a total of five fairly independent groups. These separate groups formed branch factions centered around monasteries located nearby in Echizen (the Hōkyō-ji community led by Jakuen and Giun), in the neighboring province of Kaga (the Daijō-ji community led by Gikai and Keizan), in Kyoto (the Yōkōan community led by Senne and Kyōgō), and in distant Kyushu (the Daijiji community led by Giin).

## Giin: The Beginnings of Higo Sōtō

Giin (1217–1300) is remembered as the founder of the Higo (or Kyushu) branch of Japanese Sōtō.<sup>1</sup> This branch, centered at Giin's major monastery, Daijiji, eventually became a powerful Sōtō faction active not only in Kyushu but also beginning in the fifteenth century in central Japan. Previous studies of Giin's activities have been intimately connected to these later developments because the more powerful the monasteries of Higo Sōtō became, likewise the more important the memory of Giin became. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries monks in the Higo faction attempted to argue that the personal prestige of Giin and his precedents justified a status for Daijiji equal to that afforded to Eihei-ji, the monastery founded by Dōgen. The Tokugawa government and the rival Sōtō institutions flatly refused.<sup>2</sup> None of the extant biographies of Giin antedate this conflict. Therefore, one account, the *Ryakuden*,<sup>3</sup> wildly exaggerates Giin's early career, his lineage affiliation, his study in China, and his relations to the imperial court, while biographers that rejected Daijiji's claims to special status attempted to prove contradictory accounts.<sup>4</sup> Although these contradictory accounts provide an exemplary illustration of the chronic Zen tendency to emphasize the superiority of one's own lineage over all others, they do not aid any understanding of the religious role played by Giin's monastic community. For that purpose, contemporaneous documents (such as those written by Giin and his associates) suffice.<sup>5</sup>

Little is certain regarding Giin's background. We can only assume that there is no truth to the pious tradition that Giin was of imperial birth.<sup>6</sup> Although abbots of Daijiji later asserted that Giin had enjoyed a special relationship with the imperial court, there is no evidence of this. Giin is assumed to have been among the Darumashū members who later switched to Dōgen, since the first syllable of his name, "gi," is the same as that of other Darumashū members. Giin, however, is not mentioned in

any of Dōgen's writings. Details of his duties and training at Kōshōji and Eihei-ji, therefore, are completely unknown. Within his own line, Giin always has been regarded as one of Dōgen's direct dharma heirs, but the main collected biographies of Sōtō monks produced in the Tokugawa period lowered his prestige by listing his teacher as Gikai.<sup>7</sup>

There is even less agreement regarding Giin's training in China. According to the *Ryakuden*, Giin traveled to Sung China in 1253 (the year of Dōgen's death) and spent four years studying under Dōgen's former teacher, Ju-ching, before returning to Japan. There are, however, several difficulties with this account. We know that Giin was still at Eihei-ji as of 1254, when Ejō taught him the special ordination procedures used in Japanese Sōtō to ordain new monks.<sup>8</sup> Ju-ching had already passed away in 1228 even before Giin had begun studying under Dōgen. Furthermore, from the eulogies for Dōgen's *goroku* that Giin obtained from Chinese monks, it is clear that Giin was in China between 1264 and 1265.<sup>9</sup> Later biographers of Giin have made ingenious attempts to reconcile these discrepancies. Ranzen Shun'yū (1613–1672), aware that Ju-ching had died earlier than Dōgen, but not knowing the exact year, proposed that Giin had begun his study with Ju-ching ten years earlier than stated by the *Ryakuden*, in 1243. Then according to Shun'yū, Giin later made a second trip to China during which he collected the eulogies to be attached to Dōgen's recorded sayings.<sup>10</sup> This version is repeated in the biography by Tangen Jichō (d. 1699).<sup>11</sup> The next major biographer, Teinan Shūjo (1675–1752), rejected the supposed encounter with Ju-ching altogether, while accepting the idea of two trips to China. According to Shūjo, Giin first went to China in 1253 but suddenly returned to Japan in time to study ordination ceremonies under Ejō in 1254 and then went to China again in 1264 for four years of study.<sup>12</sup> Although Shūjo's version is widely repeated in secondary sources, there is little reason to believe that Giin went to China in either 1243 or 1253 or that he made more than one trip.<sup>13</sup> Passage between Japan and China was expensive, time consuming, and difficult to arrange. Moreover, if Giin had already returned from China by 1254, there would have been little reason for Gikai to have made his trip five years later, in 1259.

Details of Giin's training in China are unavailable. The main purpose of his trip probably was to obtain Chinese recognition for Dōgen's *goroku*, the text of which he carried to China. To write a preface Giin sought out Wu-wai I-yüan. I-yüan had been one of Ju-ching's major disciples, the monk who had compiled the recorded sayings of Ju-ching. I-yüan probably had not been easily located since, typical of Ts'ao-tung monks who lacked the political connections necessary for appointment to major Chinese Ch'an monasteries, he had become abbot only of a relatively minor temple.<sup>14</sup> Giin also obtained eulogies written by two presti-



gious abbots, Hsu-t'ang Chih-yü and T'ui-keng Te-ning, both of whom held office at major state-sponsored *Wu-shan* monasteries.<sup>15</sup> After returning to Japan, Giin soon took up residence at the Shōfukuji, a temple in Kyushu associated with Eisai.

In Kyushu, Giin formed a close relationship with Kawajiri Yasuaki, a local warrior. Yasuaki, in addition to managing his family's own land holdings, also served as the chief recordkeeper (*sō kumon*) at the Shinzō estate (*shōen*) in central Kyushu, the guarantor (*honke*) of which was the Saishōkōin.<sup>16</sup> Although the Saishōkōin has been variously identified as a subtemple of several different Tendai or Shingon monasteries, its true affiliation remains unclear.<sup>17</sup> What is significant, however, is that the Saishōkōin also was the guarantor of the Shihi estate at which Eihei-ji had been built. Likewise, the military steward (*jitō*) at the Shinzō estate in Kyushu was a blood relative of the same Hatano family that served as the principal patrons of Eihei-ji. Therefore, Giin's relationship with Kawajiri Yasuaki probably developed out of introductions arranged through these personal connections. This is the first example of what proves to be a persistent theme; the other early Sōtō communities discussed below also attracted patrons through personal relationships. Evidence from later temples indicates that in many cases patronage of branch temples helped reinforce alliances between warrior groups.

The relationship with Kawajiri was very fruitful for Giin. In 1269 Yasuaki sponsored the building of Giin's first temple, Nyorai-ji, although nominally the founding sponsor was listed as Yasuaki's daughter, known by her Buddhist name of Somyō.<sup>18</sup> And in 1282 Yasuaki sponsored the building of Daijiji, the monastery that soon became the center of Higo Sōtō faction.<sup>19</sup> In return, Yasuaki benefited from Giin's religious stature in the area. The broad support Giin enjoyed among many classes of people is demonstrated by his successful campaign to raise funds to build a bridge across the Midori River.

In 1276, when Giin began his fund-raising efforts, he addressed an open appeal for support to the nobility and the warrior classes, other monks, and common laymen. Giin's bridge-building project fulfilled a popular need. Every year numerous travelers, both rich and poor, had lost their lives attempting to cross the river. Moreover, Giin expressed his appeal in simple terms, identifying it with the Buddhist metaphor of helping the suffering to reach the "other shore [of salvation]."<sup>20</sup> There is no record of all the local contributors to Giin's bridge project. From the size of the bridge that was completed in 1278 (said to have been about sixteen *shaku* wide and nearly 600 *shaku* long), the construction must have required numerous supporters in addition to Yasuaki.<sup>21</sup> A much smaller project, the casting of a bronze bell for Daijiji in 1287, elicited financial support from more than one hundred "patrons at large" (*jippō*



*danna*), and material contributions from nearly three hundred laymen, as well as the efforts of thirty monks and thirty nuns.<sup>22</sup> Giin's ability to attract contributions from the general populace for these and other minor construction projects contrasts significantly with the general dependency of other early Zen monasteries on the support of a single, powerful patron.

Yet this broad popularity, of course, helped attract powerful patrons. Giin did not hesitate to lend the authority of Buddhist symbols to the state or to secular political powers. In soliciting support for the bridge construction, Giin argued that the successful completion of the project would cause "the Buddha-sun and the king-sun to shine together forever, the winds of compassion [i.e., Buddhism] and the winds of virtue [i.e., government] to sweep the world together for thousands of generations." He further asserted that the bridge-building would demonstrate the virtue of the government and cause it to be admired for its fearless power that could just as easily pacify unruly barbarians.<sup>23</sup> Giin likewise commemorated the completion of the bridge in 1278 with a three-day religious service dedicated to the peaceful governing of the realm.<sup>24</sup> Giin's support of the state is best summed up by his inscription for Daijiji's bell cast in 1287: "Ten-thousand years [of long life] for the emperor, one-thousand years [of long life] for the shōgun; may they hear the ringing [of this bell] in peace and happiness and see their rule pervade [the realm]."<sup>25</sup>

Giin's public appeals contained no special Zen flavor. On the one hand, Giin firmly identified with Zen. Both Nyoraiji and Daijiji were built in the Zen style with central images of Śākyamuni (instead of one of the more popular devotional divinities). At age seventy-five, Giin, in an eloquent vow to save all sentient beings, referred to himself as a sincere student of Zen, guided only by the "Complete Essentials of the Correct Teaching" (*shōbō genzō*).<sup>26</sup> And Giin's disciples were thoroughly trained in the vocabulary of Zen discourse and in the Chinese monastic ceremonies regarded by Japanese as standards for the Zen school.<sup>27</sup> Yet on the other hand, Giin's Zen did not reject practices commonly associated with more traditional Japanese Buddhism. For the many nuns who studied under him, Giin encouraged devotional piety. To the novice nun Senshin, he gave *shari* (relics representing the essence of the Buddha's physical body).<sup>28</sup> Another nun, Jōa, was instructed to copy the Lotus Sūtra, a task for which she also erected a commemorative pillar at Daijiji.<sup>29</sup> Giin himself commemorated the completion of the bridge by organizing an elaborate religious ceremony in which one thousand monks and nuns reportedly participated.<sup>30</sup> For three days the monks performed an elaborate confession and penance ritual, *Hokke senbō*, a key ceremony of the Tendai school. Penance rituals traditionally were widely practiced in state-sponsored temples in order to eliminate possible ill effects of the

ruler's misdeeds and to attract good fortune for the state. Moreover, during this same three-day period, the monks continually recited sections from six different sūtras, common to all forms of Japanese Buddhism. In all appearances this ritual was the same as one performed within the older established schools of Japanese Buddhism. Giin's activities in no way suggest that early Sōtō monks rejected mainstream Buddhist practices.

Therefore, it is doubtful that Kawajiri Yasuaki, Giin's principal sponsor, based his patronage on any perceived differences that distinguished Zen from other schools of Japanese Buddhism. Rather than any strong interest in Zen practice, and apart from any personal charisma that Giin might have possessed, we can identify three main reasons for Yasuaki's financial support of Giin's new religious establishment. The most basic one would be simple Buddhist piety, founded on a desire to obtain the spiritual and material benefits associated with general Buddhist worship. For example, in 1284 Yasuaki donated additional land to Daijiji partially in reward for its monks' daily recitations of the Lotus and the Great Perfection of Wisdom Sūtras as prayers (*kitō*) for his benefit.<sup>31</sup> Likewise, Giin's inscription for the Daijiji's bell cast in 1287 included a prayer for Yasuaki's wealth, good fortune, and long life.<sup>32</sup> For Yasuaki, having prestigious monks at a large monastery pay public obeisance to him would have been a powerful symbol of his own stature and authority.

In these respects Daijiji provided religious functions common to the many other family temples (*ujidera*) being erected by regionally based warrior groups at that time.<sup>33</sup> By supporting Giin in particular, Yasuaki gained prestige through association with the fame generated by Giin's successful completion of the bridge across the Midori River. That construction was considered important enough to attract the attention of the shogunate in Kamakura.<sup>34</sup> Therefore, it is no mere coincidence that Yasuaki began building Daijiji for Giin shortly after the bridge was completed. In donating land to Daijiji, Yasuaki repeatedly referred to Giin as the organizer of the bridge project.<sup>35</sup> In addition to his own piety and Giin's fame as a bridge builder, in a larger political context another reason for Yasuaki to sponsor the building of a Zen temple would have been to express unity with the Hōjō regents in Kamakura, who were actively promoting Zen among their own followers.<sup>36</sup> This supposition is supported by the fact that on news of the death of Hōjō Tokimune (1251–1284), who had sponsored the building of the Kamakura Zen temple Engakuji in 1282, Yasuaki again donated additional land to Daijiji as a pious expression of Yasuaki's hope that Tokimune would attain enlightenment in his next life.<sup>37</sup>

In the period immediately following Giin's death the precedent was set for a practice that played a major role in subsequent Japanese Sōtō. In

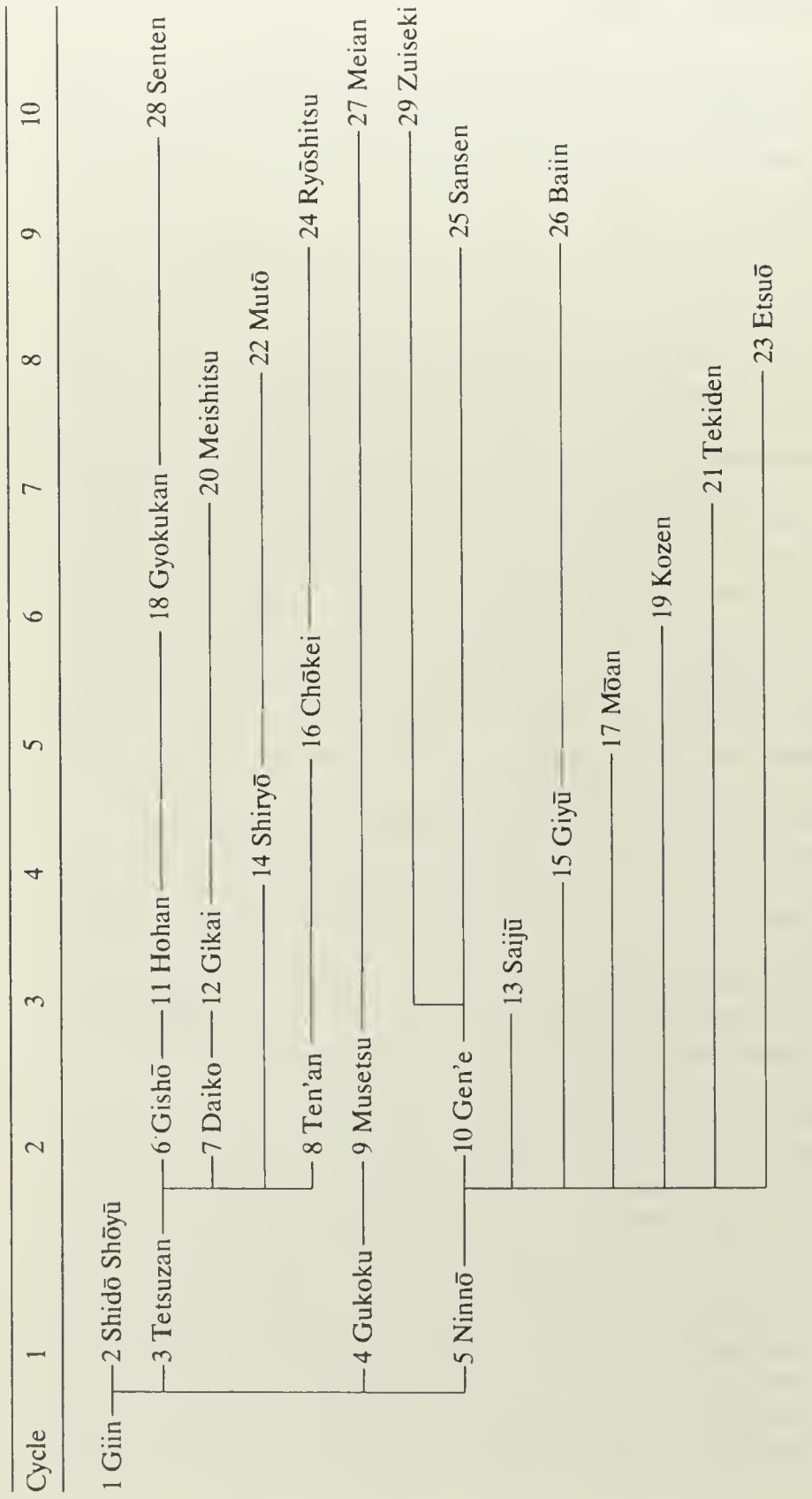


Figure 4. Dharma Lineages and the Abbotship of Daijiji  
 As shown in this chart, Daijiji's twenty-third abbot was only three "dharma-generations" removed from Giin. For a list of Daijiji's first sixty-six abbots, see Kuriyama, *Gakusan shiron*, 82-83.

1298 Giin had appointed his disciple Shidō Shōyū to succeed him as the second abbot of Daijiji.<sup>38</sup> When Shōyū died in 1301, however, only one year after Giin, the future of Daijiji was in doubt. To decide who would become the next abbot, a poetry contest was held among the Daijiji community. Tetsuzan Shian won acceptance by the Daijiji monks with a poem proclaiming that only Giin's dharma descendants should be allowed to occupy the abbotship.<sup>39</sup> By this proclamation, Shian established the exclusivity of Daijiji, closing its monastic offices to anyone outside of Giin's lineage. Moreover, beginning with Shian, the abbots of Daijiji served relatively short terms, so that the abbotship was available to a steady succession of new candidates. After Shian the next two abbots also were Giin's direct heirs. Subsequent abbots were drawn first from the ranks of Shian's disciples and then from among the disciples of Giin's other heirs. In this way, all of Giin's direct heirs were able to ensure that their own disciples would also have an opportunity to rise to the Daijiji abbotship. Within three or four teacher-disciple generations, Daijiji had already seen twenty-six new abbots (see figure 4).

This practice of rotating the abbotship (*rinjū*) among divergent lines of descendants had many advantages over any process of straight-line succession (in which each subsequent abbot is the direct disciple of his predecessor). It ensured that Daijiji received support from all of the dharma lines descendent from Giin, thereby preventing factionalism. These different lines vied for offices at Daijiji, thereby providing a ready supply of able candidates. Moreover, because of the relatively rapid turnover, monks had many opportunities to advance through monastic offices. In this way, young monks quickly acquired personal prestige and expertise in a wide variety of monastic affairs. Neophyte monastic officers and new abbots could benefit from the advise and oversight of a number of former abbots, who constituted a valuable peer group. No doubt this process of accelerated promotion to monastic office helped fuel the regional expansion of Higo Sōtō by rapidly producing monks trained in the skills necessary for founding their own temples. Early documents do not reveal if Shian purposefully initiated the practice of rotating abbotships among each lineage. No early regulations survive at Daijiji. Later such regulations were promulgated, but not at Daijiji. It was the isolated Sōtō monasteries of northeastern Japan that eventually perfected this method of abbot selection and came to occupy the dominant position within Japanese Sōtō.



## Senne and Kyōgō: Commentators on Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō*

Senne (n.d.) and Kyōgō (n.d.) are vastly more important in the development of the orthodoxy of the modern Sōtō school than in their contributions to medieval Sōtō developments. Indeed, their faction quickly died out. Other than an occasional chance mentioning of their names, there are no historical records describing Senne's and Kyōgō's training under Dōgen, their careers, or the activities of their disciples. Yet in spite of their historical obscurity, Senne and Kyōgō are important because each wrote lengthy detailed commentaries on the seventy-five chapter version of Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō*. In quantity either of these commentaries taken alone easily exceeds by many times the combined literary output of all of Dōgen's other disciples. These two commentaries miraculously survived. Since their rediscovery in the mid-Tokugawa period, they also have revolutionized the Sōtō school's own understanding of Dōgen's use of Zen language. Therefore, Kagamishima Genryū correctly asserts that the modern Sōtō school is linked to Dōgen in two separate ways: institutionally through the temples founded by Gikai's disciples and ideologically through the writings of Senne and Kyōgō.<sup>1</sup>

Senne was second only to Ejō among Dōgen's leading disciples. Like Ejō, Senne is believed to have inherited Dōgen's dharma line while Dōgen was still teaching at Kōshōji.<sup>2</sup> He is reported also to have received the Buddhist robe that once belonged to Fu-jung Tao-k'ai (1043–1118), a famous Chinese Ts'ao-tung master. This robe supposedly had been passed down to Dōgen via his teacher Ju-ching.<sup>3</sup> If true, Senne would have held an icon of enormous cultic power. Senne is usually associated with Dōgen's career at Kōshōji, where he served as Dōgen's attendant (*jisha*).<sup>4</sup> Ban'an Eishu (1591–1654), a Tokugawa-period Sōtō monk who founded a new Kōshōji in 1649, popularized the idea that Senne stayed behind as the second abbot of Kōshōji after Dōgen left.<sup>5</sup> There is, however, no evidence to support Ban'an's assertion.



It is much more likely that Senne accompanied Dōgen to Echizen in 1243. Senne would have had to remain with Dōgen in order to obtain his complete copy of Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō*. Thirty-five of the seventy-five *Shōbō genzō* chapters commented on by Senne were composed by Dōgen after leaving the capital. Of the *Shōbō genzō* chapters originally composed at Kōshōji and later revised by Dōgen in Echizen, Senne commented on the revised versions.<sup>6</sup> Senne must have been with Dōgen in order to receive instruction in these chapters. Moreover, Senne, along with Ejō and Gien, was a principal compiler of Dōgen's *goroku*, which was arranged at Eiheiji after Dōgen's death.<sup>7</sup> Following the compilation of Dōgen's *goroku*, Senne did return to the capital, but not to Kōshōji. Senne founded a new temple, Yōkōan (later known as Yōkōji), near Keninji at the site where Dōgen had been cremated.<sup>8</sup> At this location, Senne erected a memorial pagoda in honor of Dōgen (*kaisantō*).<sup>9</sup> This pagoda no longer exists; today Yōkōan's exact location remains unknown.

Kyōgō succeeded Senne as the second abbot of Yōkōan.<sup>10</sup> Like Senne, Kyōgō had studied directly under Dōgen.<sup>11</sup> Beyond this point, the only details we know about Kyōgō is that on the day of the full moon, fourth month of 1303, he began writing his commentary on the *Shōbō genzō*. Writing only seven or ten days during each month of the summer training period, in six years he wrote approximately twenty fascicles. On the twenty-second of the twelfth month of 1308, as snow swept through his garden, Kyōgō wrote the final postscript to his commentary, which he called a *shō*.<sup>12</sup> His work is commonly known as *Shōbō genzōshō*. Kyōgō signed himself as a Sōtō monk, indicating his own sectarian awareness.

Kyōgō appended a second commentary—approximately ten fascicles in all—at the end of each chapter of his own commentary, as a supplement to authenticate the accuracy of his interpretations.<sup>13</sup> Kyōgō refers to this second commentary as *gokikigaki*. Therefore it is known as the *Shōbō genzō gokikigaki*. When both commentaries are referred to together, they are known as the *Gokikigakishō*, or *Goshō* for short. Although Kyōgō does not explain the origin of the *Gokikigaki*, because of the use of the honorific prefix *go*, it is assumed that this appended commentary must have been written by Kyōgō's predecessor, Senne. It is further assumed that Senne composed his *kikigaki* commentary sometime around 1263, because one chapter of the *Gokikigaki* contains an unsigned postscript with that date.<sup>14</sup>

The oldest extant manuscript of the *Goshō* also contains several other short texts. In addition to the two commentaries on the *Shōbō genzō*, there is a short commentary on the second half of the *Bonmōkyō* (Ch. *Fan-wang ching*), a text that describes the Mahāyāna precepts that have received special emphasis within the Japanese Tendai tradition. This commentary, known as the *Bonmōkyō ryakushō* (hereafter cited as

*Ryakushō*), contains an unsigned postscript dated the sixteenth of the sixth month, 1309.<sup>15</sup> Because that is only half a year after Kyōgō had finished writing the *Goshō*, this commentary on the Mahāyāna precepts is also assumed to have been written by Kyōgō. The authorship of this commentary, however, generally is attributed to Senne, because the postscript contains the statement, “These are my former teacher’s explanations.” As a result of the assumed unity between these various texts, traditionally little distinction has been drawn between Senne and Kyōgō, or between their commentaries on the *Shōbō genzō* and on the *Bonmōkyō*. Only in the last few years, with the publication of an accurate edition of these texts, have scholars begun to reexamine these assumptions.<sup>16</sup>

For example, the words “my former teacher” in the postscript to the *Ryakushō* actually refer to Dōgen, not to Senne. This identification is indicated by a tiny note in the margin of the postscript written by a later Sōtō monk, Kendō (d. 1746). Kendō’s note is not included in some published editions of the *Goshō*, but its accuracy is easily demonstrated. In commenting on the Mahāyāna precepts, the *Ryakushō* often quotes directly from Dōgen’s writings. Passages appear from Dōgen’s *goroku*, from his *Shōbō genzō*, and from his *Busso shōden bosatsukai kyōju kaimon*.<sup>17</sup> Usually, the author or sources of these passages are not identified. At one point, however, the *Ryakushō* states “in the text of my former teacher’s ‘Shinjin gakudō’ ” (i.e., the title of a *Shōbō genzō* chapter).<sup>18</sup> Likewise the passages from the *Busso shōden bosatsukai kyōju kaimon* often are referred to as “my former teacher’s words.”<sup>19</sup> Clearly, the “former teacher” in this postscript should be interpreted as referring to the author of the explanations cited in the commentary rather than to the author of the commentary itself.

The history of Senne and Kyōgō’s temple, Yōkōji, and the fate that caused their commentaries to be preserved are unknown. Numerous interlinear notes indicate that the commentaries continued to be studied at Yōkōji for several generations. One of these notes is even attributed to the fifth-generation abbot of Yōkōji.<sup>20</sup> Yet when Daichi (1290–1366) visited the temple sometime before 1340, he described it as consisting of desolate, moss-covered, empty buildings.<sup>21</sup> If this description is accurate, then within thirty-years after Kyōgō completed the *Goshō* Yōkōji was already in decline.<sup>22</sup> The oldest extant copy of the *Goshō* is found in the patriarch’s hall (Yōshitsu) of Senpukuji, a temple in Kyushu (Oita Prefecture) that was not founded until 1376. Temple records contain no mention of the *Goshō* at all until 1586, when it was reportedly saved from a fire that destroyed the temple.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, it was not mentioned in a 1457 account of the other contents of the patriarch’s hall.<sup>24</sup> Therefore, between the time Yōkōji fell into decline (prior to 1340) and the Senpukuji fire of 1586, the whereabouts of the *Goshō* is a mystery.<sup>25</sup> In

spite of these difficulties regarding the history of the text, today no one doubts either the *Goshō*'s authenticity or its importance.

Before examining the importance of the *Goshō*, let us note a few of its major characteristics. First, both Senne's *Gokikigaki* and Kyōgō's *Shō* were composed as formal commentaries. Because Senne's commentary is referred to as a transcription (*kikigaki*) by Kyōgō, traditionally it had been thought that Senne transcribed Dōgen's own lectures or explanations of each *Shōbō genzō* chapter and that Kyōgō then merely supplemented these lectures with his own comments. The word *kikigaki*, however, while literally meaning "transcription," in this case refers to a commentary that purports to convey accurately the traditional understanding of the text. It does not imply any recording of lectures or use of lecture notes.<sup>26</sup> Both Senne and Kyōgō write of Dōgen in the familiar. Moreover, Kyōgō wrote his *Shō* as a separate work, able to stand independent of Senne's *Gokikigaki*. Close examination of the two commentaries reveals differences in concern and in interpretation of the *Shōbō genzō*.<sup>27</sup>

The second major characteristic of the *Goshō* is that Senne and Kyōgō offer interpretations that could not be derived from any mere literal reading of the *Shōbō genzō*.<sup>28</sup> This is a very important point. Both in terms of vocabulary (e.g., Kyōgō's stating that the words "kōan" and *shōbō genzō* are equivalent)<sup>29</sup> and in terms of exposition (e.g., the use of the principle that opposite statements express an identical truth),<sup>30</sup> the *Goshō* employs the style of circular logic now associated with Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō*. Other Zen teachers are criticized repeatedly for their rejection of "words and letters."<sup>31</sup> Therefore, the *Goshō*, by emphasizing the unique elements within Dōgen's idiom, forces one to attempt to interpret the *Shōbō genzō* on its own terms, rather than as one would read a traditional Buddhist or Zen text.

The *Goshō* also displays a strong sectarianism. Senne and Kyōgō not only contrast Dōgen's teachings with those of traditional Japanese Buddhist schools, such as Tendai or Hossō, but also harshly criticize other Zen traditions. Dōgen himself, although critical of many trends in Sung dynasty Chinese Ch'an, refrained from explicitly criticizing Japanese Zen teachers. The *Goshō*, however, attacks the leading Zen teachers in Japan by name.<sup>32</sup> In the *Goshō*, Dōgen's teachings are clearly differentiated from the Zen teachings then current in both China and Japan. On this point, Senne and Kyōgō stand apart from Dōgen's other disciples, who looked to China for the models on which to base their Zen.<sup>33</sup> Some scholars have interpreted Senne and Kyōgō's severe criticisms of other Zen traditions and their having left Eihei-ji as evidence that they must have had conflicts with the former members of the Darumashū who became key members of Dōgen's community.<sup>34</sup>



The fourth major characteristic of the *Goshō* is its use of Japanese Tendai terminology in interpreting the *Shōbō genzō*. There is little doubt that Senne and Kyōgō must have received thorough training in the doctrines of medieval Japanese Tendai before they converted to Dōgen's new Zen school. Moreover, Yōkōji must have had some nominal status as a Tendai temple in order to be allowed to exist in the capital.<sup>35</sup> Kyōgō's closeness to the Tendai tradition is suggested by his having lectured on the text of the *Bonmōkyō*, especially its influential preface. This scripture hardly appears in Dōgen's writings but was frequently the subject of commentaries at Tendai temples.<sup>36</sup> In light of these points, one must question to what extent the interpretations in the *Goshō* might have been influenced by the Japanese Tendai doctrines, such as original enlightenment (*hongaku hōmon*) and complete, one-step precepts (*endonkai*).

There are two approaches to this question. On the one hand, if Tendai influences are already evident within Dōgen's own thought, then the *Goshō* cannot be guilty of misrepresenting Dōgen's intentions. Even though Senne and Kyōgō were well versed in Tendai doctrines, invariably Tendai vocabulary is mentioned in the *Goshō* only as negative examples of mistaken views.<sup>37</sup> Many Sōtō scholars thus believe the *Goshō* must be a reliable guide to Dōgen's intentions. Yet, on the other hand, the *Goshō* goes beyond Dōgen's writings to quote Tendai statements, such as the assertion by the Japanese Tendai scholar Annen that for a good monk, desires, even sexual lust, are the activity of enlightenment.<sup>38</sup> Such statements in the *Goshō*, emphasizing practice as the activity of inherent enlightenment (*honshō myōshū*), have been largely responsible for the gradual abandonment of systematic kōan training within the Sōtō school since the late Tokugawa period, even though clearly Dōgen himself had taught kōan.<sup>39</sup>

To understand why the *Goshō* has become so influential in the modern Sōtō school, we must digress slightly to review the state of *Shōbō genzō* studies during the Tokugawa period. First, there was no definitive version of the text. All the major Sōtō temples had a *Shōbō genzō*; the name was widely known. Some temples, however, had only a single chapter. Expanded recensions varied between twelve, twenty-eight, sixty, seventy-five, and eighty-three or eighty-four chapter versions. Comparisons between these different recensions were conducted only with great difficulty because access to the manuscripts was limited to senior monks who had a direct affinity with the particular temple possessing a text. When comparisons were made, they revealed major discrepancies between the different texts. Some chapters have variant editions.<sup>40</sup> Copyist errors, deletions, and additions were found in most manuscripts.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, at least one false chapter, "Shinzo," also had been in circulation since the fifteenth century.<sup>42</sup>

Because of this confused situation, the authenticity of the entire *Shōbō genzō* was considered doubtful. Therefore, the Sōtō establishment was angered when, in 1700, Manzan Dōhaku (1636–1714) used the *Shōbō genzō* as the basis for an appeal before the Tokugawa shogunate's Agency of Temples and Shrines (*Jisha bugyō*) in order to force the Sōtō school to alter its system of temple-dharma lineages (*garanbō*).<sup>43</sup> Although the shogunate eventually ruled in favor of Manzan, opposition to his reforms came entirely from within the Sōtō hierarchy, who argued against the authority of the *Shōbō genzō*.<sup>44</sup> Significantly, in presenting his case to the government, Manzan had cited only selected passages from the *Shōbō genzō*, all in his own unambiguous Chinese-language translations.<sup>45</sup> In contrast to this, his opponents had cited whole chapters in Dōgen's original, difficult Japanese to argue for interpretations exactly opposite of Manzan's.<sup>46</sup> These opposing interpretations demonstrated that no one understood with confidence the true intent of Dōgen's language. Nonetheless, the 1703 ruling in favor of Manzan's appeal by the Tokugawa shogunate ordered the Sōtō school to base its religious practices on Dōgen's teachings.<sup>47</sup> In response to this challenge and in order to avoid further controversies over the meaning of the *Shōbō genzō*, the Sōtō hierarchy requested the government to ban both the copying and publication of any version of Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō*, which the shogunate did in 1722.<sup>48</sup>

During this period, Tenkei Denson (1648–1735), a Sōtō scholar, conducted the first full-length, line by line study of the *Shōbō genzō* since Kyōgō. His commentary, the *Benchū* (written ca. 1726–1729), rejected outright six *Shōbō genzō* chapters and suggested alterations to many others.<sup>49</sup> Tenkei, in addition to editing out passages that failed to agree with his own understanding, also “corrected” Dōgen's readings of Chinese passages by adding additional words or changing the punctuation. Significantly, Tenkei's criticisms of the *Shōbō genzō* were in agreement with many of those expressed by a Rinzaï monk, Mujaku Dōchū (1653–1744), who wrote his own critique at about the same time (ca. 1725–1726).<sup>50</sup> Of the twenty objections raised by Mujaku, ten also are found in Tenkei's *Benchū*.<sup>51</sup> Tenkei and Mujaku alike believed in a basic unity underlying all Zen, Sōtō and Rinzaï, Japanese and Chinese. Neither could accept Dōgen's criticisms of famous Chinese masters.<sup>52</sup> Another major difficulty was Dōgen's use of scripture. Both Tenkei and Mujaku protested Dōgen's ungrammatical readings of Chinese texts.<sup>53</sup> These criticisms revealed that the *Shōbō genzō*, even if proven to be Dōgen's own composition, could not be accepted as authoritative until new hermeneutics were developed to explain and justify Dōgen's unusual expressions.

The *Goshō* proved essential in answering this need. Although the *Goshō* had failed to influence Tenkei Denson, who had first consulted



and then rejected it in his own studies of the *Shōbō genzō*,<sup>54</sup> it ultimately proved convincing because it gave Edo-period Sōtō scholars a reference for interpreting Dōgen that not only provided a doctrinal basis for many of the unusual statements in the *Shōbō genzō* but also explained Dōgen's ungrammatical readings of scripture.<sup>55</sup> In this way, the *Goshō* was absolutely crucial in creating two views among Sōtō school scholars: that Japanese Sōtō Zen practice must be judged against Dōgen's writings and that Dōgen's teachings transcend any other understanding of Zen practice and Buddhism. The *Goshō* ultimately has left an indelible stamp on the accepted orthodoxy of modern Sōtō by influencing Menzan Zuihō and Banjin Dōtan (1698–1775), the two monks whose scholarship has come to define the orthodox interpretation of Dōgen for modern Sōtō. Menzan, in addition to his own exegesis of Sōtō doctrines, attacked Tenkei Denson for not having recognized the importance of the *Goshō*.<sup>56</sup> Banjin Dōtan based his doctrine of Zen precepts largely on Kyōgō's commentary in the *Ryakushō*.<sup>57</sup> Finally, the *Goshō* merely by its very existence has been key evidence in proving that Dōgen did author the *Shōbō genzō* and, more recently, that Dōgen himself compiled the eighty-seven (i.e., seventy-five plus twelve) chapter edition of the *Shōbō genzō*.<sup>58</sup> Therefore, Senne and Kyōgō have continued influencing Japanese Sōtō Zen down to the present day, perhaps more than any of Dōgen's other disciples.

## Gikai: The Founder of Daijōji

Gikai played a crucial role in the early history of the Japanese Sōtō school. Not only did his line prevail over those of Dōgen's other disciples with its strong regional growth, but he was also influential in many early developments.<sup>1</sup> His strong local ties to Echizen must have contributed to Dōgen's decision to move his community to that province. After Dōgen's death Gikai's efforts to complete the construction of Eihei-ji and to introduce new monastic rituals won him accolade as the "reviver" of Eihei-ji (*Eihei chūkō*).<sup>2</sup> His moving to Kaga marked the expansion of Sōtō into northeastern Japan. Finally, among his disciples he produced Keizan Jōkin, who ranks almost equal to Dōgen as an object of religious veneration in the modern Sōtō school.

Gikai had deep roots in the Echizen area. He was born of a family claiming descent from General Fujiwara Toshihito (fl. 915), in the rural hamlet of Inazu.<sup>3</sup> This branch of the Fujiwara had been active in Echizen as early as the ninth century, where their scions subsequently had formed many local warrior families. The Fujiwara family that had adopted the lineage name Inazu, in particular, had produced many of the leading monks at Heisen-ji. This temple, located about twenty-five kilometers from Eihei-ji, served as the embarkation point for worshipers of Hakusan (the White Mountain). Heisen-ji was the most prominent Tendai temple in Echizen, alternately allied with both of the two rival centers of Japanese Tendai, Mt. Hiei and Onjōji. Moreover, the Inazu family had intermarried with the Hatano family, the principal patrons of Eihei-ji. This might be one reason for the close relationship that Gikai later was able to enjoy with Hatano Yoshishige, Yoshishige's son Tokimitsu, and Yoshishige's grandson Shigemichi.<sup>4</sup>

Gikai began his religious life at age twelve (1231) when he was tonsured by Ekan at Hajaku-ji, then located near the future site of Eihei-ji. A year after his tonsure, Gikai journeyed to the Tendai center at Mt. Hiei,

where he received a formal ordination based on the Tendai precepts. Gikai's length of stay and course of study at Mt. Hiei are unknown. Under Ekan, Gikai's training in the Darumashū reportedly consisted of doctrinal study of the three main Pure Land sūtras, the so-called Śūraṅgama Sūtra (*Ryōgonkyō*, a scripture compiled in China), and practices intended to induce the Zen enlightenment experience known as the direct perception of reality (*kenshō*).<sup>5</sup> This Buddhist background parallels what we know of Ejō, who also had been ordained on Mt. Hiei, had studied Pure Land doctrines, and then had strived to attain the direct perception of reality. Ejō reportedly had succeeded in attaining such an insight while listening to lectures on the Śūraṅgama by Kakuan, Ekan's teacher.<sup>6</sup>

In 1241 Gikai accompanied Ekan and other members of the Darumashū who joined Dōgen's community at Kōshōji. Gikai evidently had little difficulty in the transition from Ekan to Dōgen. At Kōshōji he attained his first glimpse of Zen enlightenment. According to Keizan, it occurred when Gikai heard Dōgen explain one abstract statement by means of juxtaposing it with a concrete example. Dōgen first cited a scriptural passage, "The phenomena of the mundane world abide forever,"<sup>7</sup> and then explained: "Spring glows with the redness of hundreds of flowers; Partridges cry from willows."<sup>8</sup>

In 1243, just two years after joining Dōgen's community, Gikai assumed the duties of chief cook (*tenzo*). It was the winter just after the move to Echizen. He was responsible both for securing a supply of food and for preparing all the meals. The early histories claim that Gikai did this all alone, even though at Kippōji (the rural hermitage where they waited out the winter) he had to walk eight *chō* across windy mountain paths, through deep snow, carrying buckets of supplies for each day's two meals.<sup>9</sup> Gikai's knowledge of the local area no doubt was of great assistance in securing suitable supplies for the community of monks. His appointment to the duties of cook also indicates the high esteem that Gikai had already attained in Dōgen's eyes, since according to Dōgen the duties of monastic cook could be met only by the most earnest of monks.<sup>10</sup>

While Gikai won Dōgen's confidence, he also remained the personal disciple of his Darumashū teacher, Ekan. This dual role resulted from the contradiction underlying Ekan's position among Dōgen's disciples. On the one hand, Ekan's move from Hajakuji to Kōshōji in 1241 indicated his acceptance of Dōgen as his new master. Dōgen's introduction to Japan of the traditional Chinese-style meditation platform and his teaching of Chinese-style Zen meditation ritual centered on life in a monks' hall (*sōdō*) had already attracted widespread attention among both monks and laymen. This emphasis on practice greatly differed from the

naturalistic antinomianism taught within the Darumashū. Therefore, entering Kōshōji represented a true conversion for Ekan and his followers. At Eiheiji, Ekan served as supervisor of the monks' hall (*shuso*).<sup>11</sup> Late in life Ekan openly revealed his devotion to Dōgen when he lamented his never having inherited Dōgen's dharma lineage.<sup>12</sup>

Yet, on the other hand, Ekan had already inherited a Darumashū dharma lineage from his original teacher, Kakuan, before joining Dōgen. This presented Ekan with a dilemma. Loyalty to his original lineage demanded that he find a suitable successor. Therefore, in 1251, when Ekan realized that he would soon die without ever inheriting Dōgen's lineage, he gave his own Darumashū lineage to Gikai. Ekan further exhorted Gikai to obtain the Sōtō dharma lineage that had eluded him (Ekan), since he believed that Gikai's inheriting of Dōgen's dharma lineage would bring merit not just to Gikai but also to himself.<sup>13</sup>

Gikai's final conversations with Dōgen and his inheriting of Dōgen's Sōtō lineage through Ejō are described in detail in a record supposedly written by Gikai himself, usually known as the *Eihei kaisan goyuigon kiroku* (Record of the Final Words of the Founder of Eiheiji).<sup>14</sup> This text, however, must be interpreted cautiously. There are difficulties in accepting both its reported historical transmission and its content. Supposedly, Gikai's original manuscript had been copied by Giin, whose reproduction was then recopied by Daichi in 1326. The earliest extant manuscripts, however, go back no earlier than Menzan Zuihō's copy of 1753.<sup>15</sup>

Menzan had no misgivings over arbitrarily revising the texts that he copied. For example, Menzan's edition of the early Sōtō history by Kenzei, the *Teiho Kenzeiki* (1753)—until recently the only version of Kenzei's history widely available—differs considerably from older manuscript versions, all of which are fairly consistent with each other. Likewise, Menzan's published text of Dōgen's *Hōkyōki* contains nearly 260 emendations. Doubts regarding the history of the *Goyuigon* text also are raised about its supposed transmission to Giin. His possession of a copy of Gikai's record of the dharma transmission rituals cannot be accounted for unless Giin had been Gikai's dharma heir—a position advocated by Menzan, but now regarded as doubtful. One thus cannot have complete confidence either that the manuscript discovered by Menzan was exactly as Gikai had written it, or that Menzan's recopying was faithful. Yet there is little doubt that some form of the *Goyuigon* originated with Gikai since another document in Gikai's own handwriting refers to the existence of such a chronicle.<sup>16</sup>

In content, the *Goyuigon* occasionally assumes the character of an apologia. This day-by-day chronicle of Gikai's progress toward dharma transmission clearly had been compiled in order to assert the greater legitimacy of Gikai's line above all others. Quotations attributed to



Dōgen and Ejō emphasize Gikai's unique closeness to Ekan, Dōgen, and Ejō. First, Dōgen is quoted as praising Ekan's devotion to Buddhism and commending Gikai's good fortune in having received Ekan's succession certificate (*shisho*).<sup>17</sup> Dōgen expresses condolences for Ekan's failure to inherit the Sōtō lineage.<sup>18</sup> Then Ejō quotes Dōgen's praise of Ekan's good judgment in selecting Gikai as his successor.<sup>19</sup> In Gikai's final conversations with Dōgen, he praises Ekan directly for his correct manners in secular affairs and his strong commitment to Buddhism.<sup>20</sup> Dōgen repeatedly entreats Gikai to supervise Eiheiji and to sustain the Buddhism that Dōgen had established there. He assures Gikai of his future reception of a Sōtō succession certificate.<sup>21</sup> Dōgen is also quoted, while preparing for his final trip to Kyoto for medical treatment, as promising Gikai: "If I live longer, when I return I will certainly teach my secret treasure (*hizō*) to you."<sup>22</sup> In this way, Gikai underscores his rights to inherit both Dōgen's lineage and the abbotship of Eiheiji.

Finally, the transmission of Zen from Dōgen to Ejō and from Ejō to Gikai is stressed. Ejō is quoted as asserting that of all of Dōgen's disciples, he alone had been instructed in the rituals for transmitting the succession certificate, that he alone had been initiated in the secret oral instructions on how to manage a temple and transmit the dharma.<sup>23</sup> At the end of the document, Ejō expresses satisfaction at having Gikai as his first dharma heir. He admits that he can now die without regrets after having initiated Gikai and goes on to state that even if he attains other heirs, no one in addition to Gikai will receive a "text" (*hon*).<sup>24</sup>

In addition to emphasizing the preeminence of Gikai's lineage, the *Goyuigon* also contains passages that raise questions regarding the supposed monolithic character of early Sōtō practice. Four conversations, two with Dōgen and two with Ejō, present views of early Sōtō teachings that modern Sōtō advocates would disavow. First, the chronicle begins with Dōgen declaring his approval of Gikai's Darumashū lineage. He assures Gikai that once he (Gikai) also inherits the Sōtō lineage, he will understand the differences between the Sōtō succession certificate and those used in other Zen lineages.<sup>25</sup> These assertions contradict the orthodoxy of exclusive, personal dharma transmission that was established in the 1700s by Sōtō reformers based on the "Shisho" (Succession Certificate) and "Menju" (Face-to-Face Transmission) chapters of Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō*.<sup>26</sup> The Darumashū lineage—one that originated in Japan, but purported to have been derived from a Chinese teacher—failed to meet the criteria of a physical face-to-face bonding between Zen teacher and dharma heir (*menju shihō*). Moreover, by encouraging Gikai to inherit both Darumashū and Sōtō lineages, Dōgen violated the principle that one can properly inherit only one teacher's lineage (*isshi inshō*).



In a subsequent conversation, Dōgen stressed the importance of satisfying the temple's secular sponsors: "If the temple's patrons are at ease (*annon*) then within the temple there will be ease."<sup>27</sup> This statement directly contradicts the otherworldly image depicted in Ejō's *Zuimonki*, in which Dōgen severely rebukes one monk for having suggested that having a steady sponsor would improve the monks' ability to practice Buddhism.<sup>28</sup> The *Zuimonki* further quotes Dōgen as proclaiming: "People in this age think that the carving of images and the erecting of temples is the flourishing of Buddhism. This too is not so. . . . Monks do not cause Buddhism to flourish by engagement in these activities. For [monks] in a thatched hut or under a tree, merely to reflect on one phrase of the dharma, or to practice a single moment of seated meditation would be the true flourishing of Buddhism."<sup>29</sup> The strong contrast between the linking of temple with patron in the *Goyuigon* and the idealist emphasis on practice alone in the *Zuimonki* forces one to ask which Dōgen, Gikai's or Ejō's, is more accurate.<sup>30</sup>

The *Goyuigon*'s record of conversations with Ejō raises additional questions. During the dharma transmission ceremony Ejō states: "There are secret affairs and oral initiations. These matters that never have been spoken of to anyone else, concern the mental attitude of an abbot, temple rituals, the ceremony for conferring the succession certificate, and the procedure for bodhisattva-precept ordinations. [Dōgen had said:] 'These can be transmitted only to one's dharma heir.' For this reason only I, Ejō, have received this instruction."<sup>31</sup> The learning of ritual always requires personal instruction, but a similar emphasis on secret initiations is not found in any of Dōgen's writings. Dōgen's composition of a *Shōbō genzō* chapter devoted to describing the use of the succession certificate demonstrates his openness regarding the rituals of dharma transmission.<sup>32</sup> If Ejō spoke these words, then the origins of the secret initiation rituals that became prevalent in medieval Sōtō Zen can be traced back much earlier than generally accepted.<sup>33</sup>

The final exceptional passage in the *Goyuigon* concerns the content of Zen enlightenment and its relationship to kōan training. Gikai prefaces this conversation with Ejō by stating: "During the prior meditation period, I was aided by our former teacher's great enlightenment situation, the *shinjin datsuraku* words."<sup>34</sup> In this statement, the term translated as "situation" (*innen*, literally "relationship") refers to the circumstances under which Zen enlightenment occurs. It is often used as a synonym for "story" or kōan, while the term translated as "words" (*wa*) is also a synonym for kōan. In modern Sōtō, *shinjin datsuraku* refers to the practice of meditation as the experience of ultimate reality. In this passage, however, the words "*shinjin datsuraku*" represent a stock

phrase or device (i.e., an “old example,” *kosoku* or *kōan*) for contemplation during meditation. This use of *shinjin datsuraku* as a formal meditation device is confirmed by the fact that Ejō then tested Gikai’s understanding by asking him to present an “appended phrase” (*jakugo*, i.e., a passage from a Chinese Zen text summing up the meaning of a *kōan*). Their dialogue is as follows:

Gikai: I have attained an insight based on our former teacher’s saying, “*Shinjin datsuraku*.”

Ejō: Good. Good. What do you understand?

Gikai: I understand “*datsuraku shinjin*.”<sup>35</sup>

Ejō: What is the meaning?

Gikai: “I had thought only (my) barbarian beard was red, but here is another red-bearded barbarian.”<sup>36</sup>

Ejō: Among the many permitted [answers to] *shinjin* [*datsuraku*], there is this kind of *shinjin*.<sup>37</sup>

This conversation has been quoted in full because it reveals three practices usually thought to be incongruous with the method of Zen practiced in early Sōtō. It implies that Gikai had been occupied with Dōgen’s words during his meditation; that Ejō used *kōan* instruction as part of the dharma succession process; and that formal quotations of stereotyped expressions were used to test the understanding of the *kōan*. Modern Sōtō scholars cannot accept the *Goyuigon* account at face value, because to do so would force them either to revise their usual interpretation of Dōgen’s Zen as a religion of unmediated meditation or to attempt to argue that both Ejō and Gikai had failed to understand Dōgen’s teachings.

Regardless of how we are to judge the *Goyuigon*’s doctrinal implications, it remains extremely significant because it depicts the early Sōtō school in transition. The *Goyuigon* directly links Dōgen and Ejō with three trends that became predominant in medieval Sōtō: the ascendancy of Gikai’s line, an emphasis on patron-based, temple Buddhism, and an emphasis on secret initiations in *kōan* training.

Further significance lies in the fact that the *Goyuigon* is the earliest known record of Zen dharma transmission procedures. Its value as a source for investigating this Zen ceremony cannot be overlooked. There are no other early Japanese or Chinese records of the means by which formal succession is enacted. Until recently Japanese Zen succession practices have been shrouded in utmost secrecy. The origins of many of the documents and ceremonial of current Japanese Sōtō succession rituals are very obscure. It is extremely difficult if not impossible to determine the degree to which current practices compare to those of historical times or how Japanese practices compare to Chinese ones.

### *Gikai's Dharma Succession*

As described in the *Goyuigon*, Gikai's dharma inheritance occurred step by step. In the first month of 1254 Ejō began instructing Gikai in the use of special regalia. Nearly a year later, on the twenty-third of the twelfth month, Ejō first showed Gikai a succession certificate and began teaching him the dharma transmission (*denbō*) ceremony. Three weeks later, on the thirteenth day of the new year, 1255, that dharma transmission ceremony was enacted when Ejō formally bestowed Gikai's succession certificate. Yet Ejō did not teach the precept ordination (*jukai*) rituals to Gikai until one month later, on the thirteenth of the second month. Only on the following day, the fourteenth, did Ejō announce the completion of the dharma succession. Therefore, the series of initiations required a minimum of two whole months.

The second noticeable feature of the transmission procedure is the sequence of instruction. First Ejō began instructing Gikai in succession procedures (1254:12), afterwards Gikai attained his insight into the meaning of *shinjin datsuraku* (1255:1:7), one week later the succession certificate was presented (1254:1:13), and last Ejō taught Gikai the ceremonies for administering the bodhisattva precepts (1255:2:13). Note that the dharma transmission concluded only after the precept ordination procedures had been passed down. This sequence implies the existence of an inherent unity between instruction in precept ceremonial and dharma transmission. Only certified successors would be taught how to induct new monks into the Sōtō School.<sup>38</sup> Also note that if Gikai's *shinjin datsuraku* insight represented the point at which he attained enlightenment under Ejō, as stated by Gikai's disciple Keizan,<sup>39</sup> then the *Goyuigon* has the dharma transmission being initiated even before Gikai's enlightenment had occurred. Or this sequence could imply that initiation into the meaning of special kōan occurred as part of the dharma transmission process.

Apart from Gikai's insight into *shinjin datsuraku*, an alternate interpretation of Gikai's spiritual development as depicted in the *Goyuigon* is also possible. Kuromaru Kanji has noted a link between Gikai's concluding statements in the *Goyuigon*, proclaiming his confidence in Dōgen's Buddhism, and Dōgen's final admonitions to Gikai eighteen months earlier, which appear in the *Goyuigon*.<sup>40</sup> The fact that the *Goyuigon* contains any criticisms of Gikai by Dōgen is surprising in light of the document's overall favorable emphasis on Gikai. Yet the *Goyuigon* records that on three occasions Dōgen warned Gikai to develop more "grandmotherly mindfulness" (*rōbushin*).<sup>41</sup> In his *Tenzo kyōkun*, Dōgen had also stressed the importance of this mental attitude, describing it in terms of a parent's selfless devotion: "Unmindful of their own expenses, they



think only of their child's development; unmindful of their own chills or fever, they cover or shade their child."<sup>42</sup> Gikai, having served as monastic cook, must have known the importance Dōgen placed on selfless striving. At first glance, there seems to be no apparent reason for his having recorded Dōgen's reprimands. Gikai, however, underlined their significance by writing in the *Goyuigon*: "I will not forget these admonitions even though I do not yet know their cause."<sup>43</sup>

A clue indicating that cause lies in the conversation between Gikai and Ejō condemning the antinomianism of the Darumashū that I cited earlier (see chapter 2). As related in the *Goyuigon*, some Darumashū monks had taught that any action, even the mere lifting of a hand or moving of a leg, embodies Buddhism. This interpretation of enlightenment as naturalistic freedom directly challenged the ethical basis of Buddhism. As we saw above, Ejō rejected these Darumashū ideas with harsh condemnation. About three weeks later Gikai finally informed Ejō of his new confidence in Dōgen's teachings:

This past year or so, I have been reflecting on the lectures I heard given by our former teacher [Dōgen]. Even though I heard all of them from our former teacher, now they are different [in meaning] than at first. This difference concerns [the assertion that] the Buddhism transmitted by our teacher is [the correct] performance of one's present monastic tasks. Even though I had heard that Buddhist ritual is Buddhism, in my heart I privately felt that true Buddhism must reside apart from this. Recently, however, I have changed my views. I now know that monastic ritual and deportment themselves are that true Buddhism. Even if apart from these, there also is the infinite Buddhism of the Buddhas and patriarchs, still it all is the very same Buddhism. I have attained true confidence in this profound principle that apart from the lifting of an arm or the moving of a leg within one's Buddhist deportment there can be no other reality.<sup>44</sup>

Gikai realized that there is a crucial difference between the idea that Buddhism encompasses all actions and the teaching that every action must be performed as Buddhism. The monks criticized by Ejō had believed that no rules of behavior should be followed because our inherent enlightenment encompasses all actions, even evil deeds. In contrast to their view, Dōgen taught that the Zen monastic routines express our inherent enlightenment. Seen from the outside, in both cases the lifting of an arm or moving of a leg appears the same, but the religious meanings expressed by these actions differ completely. Gikai's realization that there can be no Buddhism separate from one's wholehearted participation in monastic life finally resolved the "kōan" presented by Dōgen's admonitions for his lack of grandmotherly mindfulness. For Dōgen this grandmotherly mindfulness entailed not just a kind concern for others but also a single-minded devotion to Buddhism. In the *Tenzo kyōkun* cited above, Dōgen wrote: "Be as mindful of the Three Treasures [i.e., the Buddha, his teachings, and his order of monks] as [a parent] would



be mindful of an only child.” Gikai’s awakening to this actualization of Buddhism within daily activities probably helps explain why his successors never emphasized the textual study of Dōgen’s writings. Although Gikai did occasionally refer to Dōgen’s *Shōbō genzō* in instructing his disciples, for him Buddhism was expressed by actions, not by words.

Concern with Zen monastic ritual also marked the next major event in Gikai’s career: the completion of Eiheiji’s buildings and the expansion of its monastic codes. During Dōgen’s lifetime Eiheiji comprised only a few buildings.<sup>45</sup> After his death, at first no one knew either the proper design or the correct use of the then-unbuilt monastic structures. Gikai assumed the task of acquiring that information. An early history depicts Ejō as ordering Gikai to bring back a record of the latest monastic code in use at Ching-te ssu (the monastery where Dōgen had studied under Ju-ching) as well as the regulations in use at other major Chinese monasteries. According to this account, Ejō told Gikai that his efforts to build a flourishing Eiheiji would not only repay his debts of gratitude to Dōgen but would also fulfill the wishes of Dōgen’s former teachers, Ju-ching and Eisai.<sup>46</sup>

This statement, while not necessarily Ejō’s exact words, reveals two attitudes in the early Eiheiji community: a desire to emphasize links to Chinese Ch’an and an acceptance of Eisai as a proper role model. The reference to Eisai as justification for Gikai’s activities indicates that a sharp distinction between Eisai and Dōgen was not as readily apparent to early Sōtō monks as it seems to be for modern scholars. In searching for formative influences on the indigenous character of Sōtō, most scholars have focused exclusively on Dōgen and the Darumashū. But the influence of the Buddhist traditions represented by Eisai and Myōzen should not be minimized. Dōgen had criticized many types of practice, including ones associated with the Darumashū and with Eisai.<sup>47</sup> Yet when speaking of Eisai and Myōzen by name, Dōgen voiced only praise. It is doubtful if Dōgen’s criticisms of particular practices could have overshadowed his words of personal praise.<sup>48</sup>

Gikai attempted to ensure his safe return from China by carving, but not decorating, wooden images of two esoteric Buddhist divinities. Instead of immediately adorning the images, Gikai attempted to attain the assistance and protection of these divinities during his trip to China in exchange for his promise to properly ornament and consecrate the images on his safe return to Japan. Gikai also vowed that in the event of his drowning at sea he would in his next life complete his task and ornament the images. The images that Gikai carved were of two bodhisattvas found within the *Taizō* (Womb) maṇḍala: Nyoirin Kannon (i.e., Skt. Avalokiteśvara—with a wish-fulfilling jewel) and Kokūzō (Skt. Ākāśagarbha).<sup>49</sup> Each of these bodhisattvas was believed to ward off harm.

Of the two, however, Kokūzō attracts our immediate attention since

the tradition of meditation on this bodhisattva dates back to the Jinenchishū of Nara times. Gikai's disciple Keizan also enshrined images of Kannon and Kokūzō along with Shaka (Skt. Śākyamuni) at Yōkōji, the temple he later founded in Noto.<sup>50</sup> Gikai's belief in the magical effectiveness of traditional Buddhist formulae is significant only because it seems typical of Dōgen's other disciples—and of the population at large. The *Gosho*, for example, also includes the text of a magical chant (Skt. dhāraṇī) presumably taught by Senne and Kyōgō for relieving toothaches.<sup>51</sup>

Gikai is said to have spent more than three years in China, from 1259 to 1262, where he probably toured the major state-supported monasteries, studying Chinese ritual practices.<sup>52</sup> Details of his travels are unknown. In fact, there is no hard proof that he ever journeyed outside of Japan. Gikai would have had difficulty financing a voyage to China because of his lack of status as a rural monk without strong family connections in either the capital or Kamakura. The only mention of Gikai's travels is Keizan's report that Yen-ch'i Kuang-wen (1189–1263)—a well-known master of the Ta-hui line—had exhorted Gikai to promote Sōtō Zen in Japan.<sup>53</sup>

### *The Completion of Eiheiji*

After returning to Eiheiji, Gikai was responsible for the construction of new buildings and the introduction of new rituals.<sup>54</sup> The new structures consisted of a mountain gate (*sanmon*) and the two walled corridors that lead away from the gate at right angles on either side. With the gate and walls in place, Eiheiji assumed the appearance of a true monastery with enclosed grounds separated from the secular world. This gate would also have housed various devotional images in its second story.<sup>55</sup> The images known to have been enshrined by Gikai included the three main images in the Buddha Hall (presumably, Śākyamuni Buddha with two bodhisattvas), images of the local guardian spirits (*dojijin*), and images of three Zen patriarchs. Because both the shrines for the guardian spirits and for the patriarchs are attached on either side of the Buddha Hall, where the main images also reside, Gikai probably had to construct this building as well. The new rituals codified by Gikai included four ceremonies: seasonal sūtra chanting (*shisetsu raigi*), the sounding of the twenty-five divisions of the night (*shogo kōten*), after-meals sūtra chanting (*shukuha fugin*), and enrollment of newly arrived monks (*kata gishiki*). Gikai's introductions of new sūtra chanting ceremonies and of a new shrine dedicated to the guardian spirits of the monastery are often cited as major breaks with what some scholars idealistically portray as Dōgen's "pure Zen" (i.e., an emphasis on meditation alone).<sup>56</sup>

It is an exaggeration, however, to see these events as the beginnings of a trend toward esoteric or “corrupt” Buddhism. The shrine for guardian spirits as well as the special prayers to be offered in their presence already appeared in the oldest extant Chinese Ch’an monastic code, the *Ch’an-yüan ch’ing-kuei*.<sup>57</sup> Dōgen had also described the ritual prayers of thanks offered to the guardian spirits in his *Shōbō genzō* chapter “Ango,” which explains how to conduct the summer training session.<sup>58</sup> More than once Dōgen instructed the monastic cook to recite scripture as a prayer for the god of the hearth (*sōkō shinsai*)—a divinity originating in ancient Chinese folk beliefs.<sup>59</sup> Likewise, Dōgen also included instructions for collective scripture-chanting ceremonies to be conducted by the community of monks at the beginning of the summer training session (thirteenth day of the fourth month).<sup>60</sup> This ceremony corresponds to the first of the four seasonal chanting rituals initiated by Gikai.<sup>61</sup> Yet this ceremony, unlike the ones for the guardian spirits or the god of the hearth, is not included in the *Ch’an-yüan ch’ing-kuei* (i.e., the Chinese monastic code usually followed by Dōgen). If Gikai can be criticized for disregarding earlier textual precedents in favor of adopting the latest Chinese practices, then clearly Dōgen was just as guilty.<sup>62</sup>

Gikai merely increased the frequency of religious ceremonies that had already existed in Dōgen’s own time. Certainly Gikai’s new monastic calendar, with its sūtra-chanting services after each meal, gave increased emphasis to ritual. The real issue, however, is not the rituals themselves but the religious ends for which the rituals are practiced. Because each sūtra-chanting ceremony ends with the recitation of a declaration (*ekō*) directing the merit of the service toward a particular goal, each ritual has an immediate, well-defined purpose. Dōgen defined that purpose in terms of the promotion of Buddhist practice. By Keizan’s time, rituals were directed not only toward spiritual goals but also toward the prosperity of the temple patrons and the protection of the state. In spite of the claims made by some scholars, the available records contain no indication as to where Gikai stood between these two extremes.

Much confusion surrounds Gikai’s subsequent career at Eihei-ji. Later sources contain contradictory accounts of a major schism not mentioned in earlier sources. Modern scholars offer many differing interpretations of this episode. Rather than listing all possible scenarios, the following account describes only the sequence of events indicated in the earliest sources.<sup>63</sup> An examination of the issue of possible schisms and its implications for our understanding of earlier Sōtō is reserved for later (see chapter 7).

Gikai became the third abbot of Eihei-ji in 1267 when Ejō retired from that post, pleading illness.<sup>64</sup> Ejō may well have been suffering declining health. He had served as abbot for fifteen years since Dōgen’s death in



1253 and since 1261 had ceased his copying of Dōgen's writings.<sup>65</sup> Yet Gikai assumed the abbotship only after being requested to do so by Eiheiji's principal patrons, Hatano Shigemichi (a.k.a. Kongo) and Fujiwara Masatsugu (a.k.a. Shakuen).<sup>66</sup> This interference in monastic appointments reveals Eiheiji's precarious status as a warrior family temple (*ujidera*): survival depended on the personal goodwill of one family of patrons. Details of Gikai's activities as abbot remain unknown, except for one very propitious encounter. In 1271 Keizan Jōkin (then just seven years old) entered Eiheiji to receive the tonsure from Gikai.<sup>67</sup> One year later Gikai retired from Eiheiji, after having served less than five years as abbot. Near Eiheiji he constructed a private hermitage in which to care for his aged mother. For the next twenty years he lived in relative seclusion (until moving to Daijōji), appearing at Eiheiji only as necessary. How Gikai provided for both himself and his mother during this period is not recorded.

Following Gikai's retirement, the next abbot of Eiheiji was an obscure monk named Gien (d. ca. 1313).<sup>68</sup> Gien probably was among the followers of the Darumashū who joined Dōgen in 1241, as indicated by the first syllable of his name. At Eiheiji he served both as Dōgen's attendant (*jisha*) and as monastic scribe (*shoki*). Later he assisted Ejō in organizing and copying Dōgen's writings.<sup>69</sup> Only three dates are known regarding Gien's term as abbot: it began sometime before 1287, at which time Hatano Tokimitsu is reported to have addressed him by that title, and ended sometime before 1314, when he was replaced by another monk, Giun. In between these two dates, in 1292 Gien initiated Keizan in precept ordination ceremonies.<sup>70</sup> Although Ejō had taught the ordination procedures to Gikai only as the final concluding step of the dharma transmission process, it is not clear if Gien regarded Keizan as his heir. Gien and Keizan must have been close, however, because Keizan recorded vivid dreams about Gien, in which he saw himself as Gien's personal attendant. In one dream, Keizan imagined that Gien announced his desire never to leave Eiheiji.<sup>71</sup> While Keizan's accounts of his dreams are not necessarily reliable, probably Gien did live out his natural life without ever retiring from Eiheiji.

Although Gien led Eiheiji, Gikai was not completely absent. In 1280 he returned to nurse the dying Ejō. Nine days before Ejō died, he took off the dharma robe he had received from Dōgen and presented it to Gikai. In handing over this piece of cloth, Ejō gave Gikai a symbol of great religious authority. Gikai later described it as proof that he was foremost among Ejō's disciples.<sup>72</sup> Gikai officiated at Ejō's funeral and led annual memorial services for Ejō at Eiheiji for the next seven years.<sup>73</sup> During this period Gikai apparently became embroiled in a dispute with other monks who were followers of Jakuen.<sup>74</sup> The cause or nature of this



dispute is unclear, since Jakuen himself had already left Eihei-ji in 1261, while Gikai was still in China.<sup>75</sup> Perhaps some monks might have felt that Gikai's memorial services for Ejō somehow had slighted Jakuen because Jakuen also was Ejō's dharma heir and originally had been in charge of Eihei-ji's memorial hall, Jōyōan. To quiet the disturbance, Hatano Tokimitsu admonished the unruly monks and even threatened to shift his financial support directly to Gikai.<sup>76</sup> Tokimitsu's protestations were in vain, however, because soon after 1287 Gikai left Eihei-ji for good.

Nothing is known about Eihei-ji during the period immediately following Gikai's departure. The fourth abbot, Gien, seems to have produced no strong disciples. Edo-period historians embellished this failure with accounts of Gien having retired to a solitary life of seclusion,<sup>77</sup> or of Eihei-ji having been destroyed by fire. More recent historians have assumed that Gien must have lost the support of the Hatano family.<sup>78</sup> Yet there is no positive evidence for these theories. No early source contains any mention either of Gien's later years or of the destruction of Eihei-ji by fire during that period.<sup>79</sup> The Hatano family continued to be major patrons of Eihei-ji until being vanquished in 1473 by the forces of Asakura Takakage (1428–1481).<sup>80</sup> The Hatano family's support of Gien is demonstrated by the fact that they waited until 1314, presumably the year of Gien's death, before inviting a new abbot to Eihei-ji.<sup>81</sup> Although details are unknown, there is no reason to believe that Eihei-ji fell into decline during Gien's term.

### *Success and Setbacks at Daijōji*

In 1293 Gikai formally became abbot of Daijōji in neighboring Kaga.<sup>82</sup> Daijōji was originally built in 1261 as a small warrior family temple by Togashi Iehisa (d. 1329), the head of a Fujiwara-line family collateral to the Inazu Fujiwara-line family to which Gikai probably had belonged.<sup>83</sup> Iehisa first built Daijōji to house an image of Dainichi (Skt. Vairocana) Buddha that supposedly had been carved by an early mountain ascetic (i.e., *zenji*) named Taichō (682–767). Because Dainichi is the main Buddha in esoteric practice, Iehisa enlisted a master of the esoteric rituals (i.e., a Shingon *ajari*; Skt. *ācārya*) named Chōkai to serve as the temple's first abbot.<sup>84</sup> Chōkai previously had resided at Hajakuji, the temple at which Ekan and the other Darumashū members had sought refuge. Moreover, we can assume that he must have been a senior monk when Gikai first arrived there because Chōkai referred to himself as Gikai's teacher.<sup>85</sup> With Chōkai acting as go-between, Gikai was invited to convert Daijōji to a Zen temple sometime around 1292 and formally entered the new temple in 1293. At that time Chōkai relinquished the title of

“founding abbot” (*kaisan*) to Gikai, assuming for himself the title of “founding patron” (*kaiki*). In spite of Chōkai’s change in title, the true patron of Daijōji remained Togashi Iehisa.

Few details of Gikai’s term as abbot of Daijōji are known beyond the names of his early disciples. Keizan Jōkin was the first to join Gikai’s new Zen community, attaining within a short time the office of supervisor of the monk’s hall (*shuso*). In 1294 Meihō Sotetsu (1277–1350) joined Keizan at Daijōji.<sup>86</sup> A year later, Gasan Jōseki (1276–1366) also joined the Daijōji community.<sup>87</sup> During the first month of that same year, 1295, Gikai bestowed Keizan with his dharma lineage as well as with the robe that had been handed down from Dōgen to Ejō.<sup>88</sup> Finally in 1298 Gikai gave up all remaining monastic duties, allowing Keizan to succeed to Daijōji’s abbotship.<sup>89</sup> After his retirement Gikai stayed at Daijōji for the remainder of his life. He seems to have continued to instruct the community of monks and supervise Keizan’s activities. When Gikai’s health began to fail in 1306, he bequeathed to Keizan his Darumashū documents and relics to further authenticate the legitimacy of Keizan’s Sōtō lineage.<sup>90</sup> In 1309, the second day of the ninth month, Gikai insisted on administering the tonsure to all of Daijōji’s lay workers. Twelve days later he died. Complete details of his funeral arrangements and an inventory of his possessions were reported to Eihei-ji.<sup>91</sup>

The Daijōji community entered a period of uncertainty following Gikai’s death. His familial closeness to the Togashi family was not shared by Keizan.<sup>92</sup> In fact, Gikai indirectly indicated the insecurity of Keizan’s position when he gave his Darumashū relics to Keizan for the expressed purpose of enhancing Keizan’s authority. Within two years of Gikai’s passing, Keizan relinquished the Daijōji abbotship and Dōgen’s robe to Meihō. At the time Keizan stated that Meihō had been Gikai’s choice for abbot.<sup>93</sup> But perhaps Keizan also hoped that Meihō would have better relations with the Togashi. Nonetheless, he took the precaution of entrusting Meihō with the legal documents and land deeds that certified Daijōji’s financial independence.<sup>94</sup> In spite of Keizan’s efforts, the Togashi family eventually replaced Meihō with the Rin-zai-line monk Kyōō Unryō (1267–1341).<sup>95</sup> Keizan wrote that this appointment was totally contrary to Gikai’s intentions. He vowed that when Daijōji’s patrons (Keizan did not mention the Togashi by name) regained correct reason, members of Gikai’s lineage would regain the abbotship at Daijōji.<sup>96</sup> Eventually Meihō did retake Daijōji’s abbotship, but not during Keizan’s lifetime.<sup>97</sup>

## Jakuen and Giun: Local Growth and Ties to Eiheiji

Jakuen (Ch. Chi-yüan, 1207–1299) was unique in many ways. As a native-born Chinese, his mother tongue, worldview, and initial training in the Buddhism of the continent set him apart. Jakuen had not been schooled in the unique doctrinal syntheses of Japanese Tendai nor exposed to its political corruption. From his unique Chinese background, scholars have drawn two contradictory interpretations of Jakuen: either he was the disciple who clung most strongly to Dōgen's own interpretation of Zen or he was the individual who introduced "deviant" Chinese practices.<sup>1</sup> Jakuen's lineage neither flourished like those of Giin and Gikai, nor did it fail like those of Senne and Gien (the obscure fourth abbot of Eiheiji). Jakuen's temple, Hōkyōji, survived. And more important, a collateral branch of Jakuen's line entered Eiheiji from Hōkyōji. Beginning in 1314, with Eiheiji's fifth abbot, Giun, Jakuen's dharma descendants dominated Eiheiji until the Tokugawa shogunate's forced reorganization of the Sōtō school (ca. 1612).<sup>2</sup> During this period, the policies adopted by Jakuen's descendants at Eiheiji greatly influenced the institutional hierarchy of the medieval Sōtō school, while the records compiled by the Jakuen-line historians Kenkō (1413–ca. 1468) and Kenzei have greatly influenced all subsequent understanding of early Sōtō history.

Of Jakuen very little is known. He is not mentioned in any of Dōgen's writings. His earliest biography, *Hōkyō yuishoki* (ca. 1457–1468) by Kenkō, is a sectarian work, written to emphasize Jakuen's closeness to Ju-ching and, through him, to Dōgen.<sup>3</sup> Kenkō's account of Jakuen's having established a firm relationship with both Ju-ching and Dōgen while still in China is patently false. According to Kenkō, Jakuen began his religious life at Ching-te ssu, where he received tonsure, full ordination, and Zen training under Ju-ching. Kenkō asserts that Jakuen agreed to become Dōgen's disciple at Ching-te ssu in 1223—even though at that

time Dōgen was just beginning his study in China. In 1227, when Dōgen returned to Japan, Kenkō states that Jakuen accompanied Dōgen to the port hoping to be able to travel with him to Japan. Dōgen, however, advised Jakuen to remain in China so that he would attend to the ailing Ju-ching. Hence Jakuen did not arrive in Japan until a year later, after Ju-ching had passed away. Yet Jakuen is not mentioned in any contemporary sources.

These omissions suggest that Jakuen's relationship with Dōgen probably began after Jakuen's arrival in Japan, not in 1228, but after Dōgen began accepting his own disciples at Kōshōji in 1230. At Kōshōji and at Eihei-ji, Jakuen managed the memorial hall, where commemorative services were performed in honor of Ju-ching. Jakuen thereby became Eihei-ji's first *tassu*, a title by which he was referred to even posthumously.<sup>4</sup> Although *tassu* eventually came to refer to the master of a sub-temple within a larger compound (in which sense I have translated it as "prior"), in Jakuen's case it merely refers to the leader of memorial services. After Dōgen's death, Jakuen became Ejō's disciple.<sup>5</sup>

Jakuen left Eihei-ji in 1261. His departure occurred at about the same time that other leading monks also left Eihei-ji. Gikai set out in 1259; Jakuen in 1261; Senne and Kyōgō before 1263; and Giin in 1264. Only Ejō, Giin, and a few former followers of the Darumashū remained. Jakuen did not follow in the footsteps of the other departing monks. Instead of traveling to China or entering the capital, he went further into seclusion. As described by Kenkō, Jakuen retired to a solitary life of meditation at the foot of a peak named Ginnanpō about twenty-five kilometers from Eihei-ji, where his only companions were wild animals.<sup>6</sup> The wild animals soon were joined by Ijira Tomotoshi (posthumous name, Shinkū), the leader of a local Fujiwara family in charge of the Ōno District, who offered Jakuen financial support. According to Kenkō, Jakuen had first encountered Ijira when the latter chanced on him during a hunt. It was not until 1278, however, that Tomotoshi's son, Tomonari (posthumous name, Chien) began constructing a proper Zen temple for Jakuen.<sup>7</sup> His temple, Hōkyōji, borrowed its name from the Hōkyō (Ch. Pao-ch'ing) era, during which Dōgen studied under Ju-ching. This name suggests that Jakuen had desired to perpetuate the memory of Ju-ching even after leaving Eihei-ji's memorial hall.<sup>8</sup>

Shortly after 1279 Giun (Jakuen's future dharma heir) joined Hōkyōji.<sup>9</sup> Ejō might well have sent Giun to Jakuen, since Giun had worked with Ejō copying Dōgen's writings.<sup>10</sup> In 1282 Keizan also left Ejō's side to enter Hōkyōji, where he served as the group leader (*ino*) in daily meditation and other monastic rituals. Keizan claimed to have scaled the spiritual heights under Jakuen's direction, first attaining the stage of nonretrogression and then experiencing enlightenment in 1285. Even though



Keizan later became Gikai's disciple, late in life he still honored Jakuen as his teacher.<sup>11</sup> In spite of Keizan's accomplishments, Jakuen's most important disciple remained Giun, who inherited Jakuen's dharma in 1295. Giun succeeded to the abbotship of Hōkyōji four years later, shortly before Jakuen passed away.<sup>12</sup> It was this same Giun who won the confidence of the Hatano family and carried Jakuen's lineage back to Eihei-ji. After already having served fifteen years as abbot of Hōkyōji, he went on to manage Eihei-ji's affairs for another eighteen years, from 1314 to 1333.<sup>13</sup>

The early patronage of Hōkyōji by the Ijira family reveals many characteristic features of rural warrior religious practices. The Ijira family had first gained prominence for their role in helping the Hōjō regents defeat the forces of Emperor Gotoba during the so-called Jōkyū Disturbance (1221). For this service, the shogunate rewarded them with land steward (*jitō*) rights to the Ijira region (from which they later derived their family name) in Mino (now part of Gifu Prefecture). Shortly thereafter, however, they moved north to Echizen, where they established a family residence along the banks of the Ajimi River in the Ōno District, over which they also extended their control. The Ajimi valley begins at the base of Ginnanpō (the site of Hōkyōji), from which it joins the Asuwa River valley leading toward Hajakuji, and beyond to Eihei-ji.<sup>14</sup> As newcomers to the area, the Ijira no doubt sought to establish a family temple that would symbolize both their dominance over that district and the permanence of their family's roots in that location. Because the Ijira family residence was situated directly between Eihei-ji and Ginnanpō, Jakuen's encounter with Ijira Tomotoshi could not have been merely fortuitous.

By selecting a monk from Eihei-ji as abbot for their new temple, the Ijira also demonstrated their political goodwill toward the Hatano—a family powerful both locally in Echizen and within the shogunate. The Ijira further indicated their devotion to the shogunate by expressly stating in 1278, and again in 1299, that Hōkyōji was being built in honor of the regent Hōjō Tokiyori (1227–1263).<sup>15</sup> Donations to Hōkyōji were repeatedly made as overt signs of political intentions. In 1346 the Ijira donated images of two divinities, Jikokuten (Skt. Dhṛtarāṣṭra; the king guarding the east) and Tamonten (Skt. Vaiśravaṇa; the king guarding the north), to Hōkyōji in the name of Shōgun Ashikaga Takauji (1305–1358) as a show of their support of his struggle against the Southern Court. In 1365 the Ijira reiterated their support by donating still more lands to Hōkyōji as an offering for the future enlightenment of the recently deceased Takauji.<sup>16</sup>

Hōkyōji also served as a focal point for the Ijira family's own religious devotion. Their religious attitude, like that of other warriors, was at once

both exclusive and eclectic. In 1365 the Ijira ordered that Hōkyōji should always maintain its Sōtō affiliation and be led only by an abbot who had received a proper face-to-face transmission within Jakuen's own dharma lineage. Yet this same order also stipulated that devotional rites be performed every five days (in addition to rites on the fifth, fourteenth, fifteenth, eighteenth, and last days of each month) for a wide variety of Buddhist divinities, including Śākyamuni, Amitābha, Miroku (Skt. Maitreya), Kannon, Jizō (Skt. Kṣitigarbha), Monjū (Skt. Mañjuśri), Kokūzō, and Bodhidharma.<sup>17</sup> From this eclectic worship, we know that the Ijira's exclusive support of Jakuen's Sōtō line derived from political and personal concerns. As already mentioned, the Ijira's support of a Sōtō temple helped link them to other Sōtō patrons, such as the Hatano family. Another reason for the Ijira to have patronized Hōkyōji might have been to provide alternate careers for younger or sickly relatives who were excluded from primogeniture. In their 1365 order, the Ijira expressly enjoined Hōkyōji from selecting abbots simply on the basis of [Ijira] family ties, thereby indicating their family's presence within the monastic community.

Some scholars have suggested that Giun, Jakuen's dharma heir and Hōkyōji's second abbot, must have been an Ijira. Nothing is known with certainty concerning Giun's early career beyond the fact that he worked with Ejō copying Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō* in 1279.<sup>18</sup> One can only speculate, therefore, as to why he had become Jakuen's disciple following Ejō's death in 1280. Proponents of the theory that Giun was born an Ijira note two conspicuous coincidences.<sup>19</sup> First, the Ijira began supporting Jakuen in the 1260s but failed to build him a temple until 1278, at a time when presages of Ejō's imminent decease must have become apparent. Second, the Ijira donated lands sufficient to support a large monastery only in 1299, the year that Giun became abbot of Hōkyōji. In addition to this apparent synchronization, Giun's *goroku* was published at Eihei-ji in 1357 on the request and financial support of the Ijira.<sup>20</sup> If Giun was in fact an Ijira, then his assumption of Eihei-ji's abbotship in 1314 must have been a major achievement for the Ijira family. These speculations, regardless of their ultimate validity, demonstrate that the true circumstances by which Giun became Eihei-ji's fifth abbot cannot be fully understood until more is known of the political relations between the Hatano and the Ijira.

Giun is remembered for his *goroku* and for his verse commentary on Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō*. Composed in 1329, this commentary consists of a preface along with an introductory verse for each chapter. Giun probably composed these verses as part of a series of lectures on the *Shōbō genzō*.<sup>21</sup> One by one, the verses indicate or summarize the key issue in each chapter. Short verses, of course, cannot clarify very much. None-

theless, Giun's verses stand out as the only explanations of Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō* written during the more than 420-year interval that separates Kyōgō's *Goshō* from Tenkei's Tokugawa-period commentary. Unlike Senne and Kyōgō, who commented on a seventy-five chapter text, Giun wrote verses for a different, fifty-nine chapter version.<sup>22</sup> This fifty-nine chapter *Shōbō genzō* used by Giun contains nine chapters not found in the seventy-five chapter version but lacks twenty-five others.<sup>23</sup>

Giun's other literary efforts also focused on Dōgen and Dōgen's Chinese affiliations. Giun copied the *Hōkyōki*,<sup>24</sup> a problematical account of Ju-ching's teachings that Dōgen seems to have compiled in Japan without the assistance of Ejō.<sup>25</sup> His *goroku* consists largely of comments based on quotations from other *goroku* of earlier Sōtō teachers, such as Dōgen, Ju-ching, and Hung-chih Cheng-chüeh (1091–1157); a famous Ts'ao-tung patriarch. When Giun cited a Zen patriarch from outside the Sōtō lineage, he almost invariably used a collection of 301 kōan compiled by Dōgen (i.e., the Chinese-language *Shōbō genzō*). Giun's quotations indicate the emphasis that he placed on Chinese Ch'an traditions. He quotes from Hung-chih nearly three times more often than from Dōgen. Usually, Giun merely quoted Hung-chih word for word as the concluding portion of his lecture, thereby emphasizing his acceptance of Hung-chih's position.<sup>26</sup>

Giun adopted Hung-chih's use of Zen function words (*kikan*) in which enlightenment reveals itself by a series of reversible or dialectical relationships, such as the three ways (*sanro*), the four substitutions (*shishaku*), the four student-masters (*shihinju*), and the five ranks (*goi*). Within Giun's *goroku* these exotic terms appear only within passages drawn from Hung-chih's writings.<sup>27</sup> Yet Giun's mastery of these teaching devices must have extended beyond mere mimicry, since Japanese Rinzaï monks—such as Getsudō Sōki (1285–1361) of the Daiō line and Chūgan Engetsu (1300–1375) of the Daie (Ch. Ta-hui) line—came to Giun in order to learn the five ranks.<sup>28</sup> Likewise, when Giun's disciple Sōka (n.d.) returned from a trip to Ching-te ssu (where he had performed memorial services for Ju-ching), he brought back a eulogy written by the Chinese Lin-chi monk Tu-ku Ch'un-p'eng that praised Giun's mastery of the five ranks.<sup>29</sup>

Very little has been learned about the Zen practice of Jakuen or Giun. Obviously they promoted a strong devotion to the Sōtō lineage. Yet in their relationship with the Ijira family they performed ritualistic devotions to a wide variety of Buddhist divinities as prayers for the worldly success of their patrons. It would be a mistake, therefore, to assume that Giun, his teacher (Jakuen), or his lineage had kept Hōkyōji or Eiheiji untainted by the traditional religious practices accepted at other medieval Sōtō monasteries, such as Giin's Daijiji or Gikai's Daijōji.



## Early Schisms: The Question of the *Sandai Sōron*

Beginning with Kuriyama Taion, modern historians of early Sōtō have attempted to define the period of transition immediately following Dōgen in terms of the so-called *sandai sōron*—a major schism.<sup>1</sup> Their assumption that some historical break must separate Dōgen and later developments has engendered a widespread attitude among Sōtō adherents that historical knowledge is irrelevant for understanding their own religious practices. Because Dōgen stands on one side of the schism and Sōtō history on the other, Dōgen can be studied as the founder of the Sōtō school without reference to the concrete historical situations that molded Sōtō organization and religious practice. While this approach helped free Dōgen studies from the confines of tired, old Sōtō dogma, its exclusive emphasis on Dōgen also conjures up new confines and new dogma. The documentary record, however, is unclear as to the nature of the *sandai sōron*; scholars are divided as to the meaning of this term and the event(s) it is supposed to describe.<sup>2</sup>

Literally, *sandai* refers to the third generation or three generations, while *sōron* refers either to a conflict or a formal litigation to resolve a conflict. To a large extent, any analysis of the careers of Dōgen's early disciples (Giin, Senne, Kyōgo, Gikai, Gien, and Jakuen) must first consider the question of conflict among Dōgen's followers. It is possible, based on the earliest available sources, to write of this period of Sōtō history without mention of any conflicts at all. Nonetheless, because even omission represents a historical judgment and the *sandai sōron* has figured prominently in the modern interpretation of early Sōtō history, the unanswered questions concerning this conflict bear closer attention. This chapter begins with the documentary record itself and then attempts to clarify its historical significance for understanding early Japanese Sōtō by placing that record within a larger context of related events.



### *The Documentary Evidence*

The term *sandai sōron* was used first by Kenkō, the fifteenth-century Jakuen-line historian.<sup>3</sup> In his *Hōkyō yuishoki*, Kenkō states that Giun was able to become abbot of Eihei-ji because at the time of Gien's death there was "*sandai sōron*." Kenkō further asserts that because of these events, Jakuen posthumously became Eihei-ji's third-generation patriarch.<sup>4</sup> Kenkō describes nothing of the content or course of these events, but his disciple Kenzei provides more details. In his history of Eihei-ji, Kenzei explains that the *sandai sōron* occurred after Gien's death, in 1312–1314, when a dispute broke out between factions of Gien's disciples and Gikai's disciples, each faction claiming that their own master had been Eihei-ji's proper third abbot. Gien's disciples insisted that Gikai, by leaving Eihei-ji, had forfeited the title of "third generation" to Gien. When each side appealed to the shogunate for an official judgment, the secular authority, unable to deny the claims of either side, ruled that both Gien and Gikai should be reduced to the status of former abbot (*zenjū*).<sup>5</sup> "Former abbot" in this context is merely an honorific title referring to someone who never served as a proper abbot.<sup>6</sup> This appellation would have denied both Gien and Gikai any ranking as "third" or "fourth" and would have justified Jakuen's having received the rank of third abbot. In short, this description of the *sandai sōron* handed down in the Jakuen line has three key points: it occurred among Gikai and Gien's disciples, only after the latter's death; it developed into formal litigation; and it was intimately related to Jakuen and Giun's positions as Eihei-ji patriarchs.

Taikyoku (1421–ca. 1472), a Rinzai monk at Tōfuku-ji who wrote at about the same time as Kenkō and Kenzei, offers an alternate account of the *sandai sōron*.<sup>7</sup> Taikyoku begins with his having asked an unnamed visiting Sōtō monk to explain why Dōgen's descendants (i.e., Gikai's line) occupy only the major monasteries of Daijō-ji, Tōkoku (i.e., Yōkō-ji),<sup>8</sup> and Sōjiji, without also occupying Dōgen's Eihei-ji. According to the unnamed Sōtō monk, Gikai's line does not occupy Eihei-ji because of a conflict between Gikai and Gien. The trouble began when Gikai returned to Eihei-ji from an inspection of the Kamakura Rinzai temple Kenchō-ji only to discover that in his absence Gien had already assumed Eihei-ji's abbotship. When Gikai protested with his own claim to the abbotship, Gien stated his willingness to relinquish his seat in favor of Gikai. This offer, however, was unacceptable. Gikai refused on the grounds that as Gien's superior he could not accept the abbotship from a lower-ranked monk. At this point, Ejō intervened by serving a second term as abbot so as to allow Gikai to inherit the abbotship directly from a higher-ranked monk. However, this failed to bring peace among Gien

and Gikai's followers, since each still claimed the title of third-generation abbot. In a strange reversal of our logical assumption that the strongest faction would win Eiheiji, this anonymous monk concludes his account by stating that Gikai's disciples abandoned Eiheiji to found their own temples because Gikai had the largest number of followers. An interlinear comment added to Taikyoku's text informs the reader that these events comprise the *sandai sōron*. This account, while differing in its claimed course of events, is similar to the Jakuen-line's version of the *sandai sōron* in two respects: it uses the *sandai sōron* to explain why Jakuen's line, instead of Gikai's, occupies Eiheiji; and it lays the blame for the conflict primarily on Gien and his disciples—a line that had already died out. Interestingly, no fault is attributed to Gikai's followers.

Unshō Ikkei (1386–1463) and Tōgen Zuisen (d. 1489), two other Tōfukuji Rinzai monks, also contemporaries with Taikyoku, Kenzei, and Kenkō, describe another conflict between Gikai and Gien.<sup>9</sup> In their account, Ikkei and Zuisen do not use the term *sandai sōron*, nor do they describe any dispute over Eiheiji's abbotship. Instead, they state that Gien and Gikai's mutual animosity grew out of a conflict over monastic seniority. Gikai is said to have claimed seniority because of his having studied in China and his having served as abbot before Gien did. Gien reportedly acknowledged Gikai's accomplishments while nonetheless claiming seniority on the basis of his being older than Gikai. Because neither side would give in to the other, an unspecified secular authority had to arbitrate the dispute. This authority ruled, on the basis of Gikai's having become abbot first, in favor of Gikai's seniority. This account, unlike the ones considered above, does not continue the story to include Gien and Gikai's disciples or Gikai's departure from Eiheiji. These omissions probably are the reason why the term *sandai sōron* had not been used by Ikkei and Zuisen to describe these events.

Finally, a document handed down within Giin's line and dated about a century later than the above accounts describes a completely different *sandai sōron*. This document is an explanatory note attached to a genealogical history of the Japanese Sōtō school.<sup>10</sup> It begins with the patently false assertion that Giin had been Dōgen's foremost disciple and had allowed Ejō to succeed to Eiheiji's abbotship only because Giin already had his own temple in Kyushu at the time of Dōgen's death.<sup>11</sup> The *sandai sōron* occurred when Ejō in turn passed away, abdicating the abbotship to Gikai, his foremost disciple. At that time Gien attacked Gikai and claimed the abbotship for himself. According to this account, Gien had received dharma initiation directly from Dōgen, unlike Gikai, who had learned from Ejō. The dispute between Gien and Gikai continued for three years without any resolution. The document explains that Eiheiji's patron eventually forced a settlement by drawing lots to select a com-

pletely new abbot. That abbot, Eihei-ji's formal third generation, was Jakuen, who succeeded in reviving the monastery. This account is unique in its novel claim that Giin held first rights to Eihei-ji's abbotship and in its confusion over who revived Eihei-ji (Jakuen instead of Giun). Yet this account is similar to all the previous ones in which the term *sandai sōron* is employed. Like them, it also links the conflict to the Jakuen line's occupation of Eihei-ji while placing the blame for the conflict on Gien.

These two common themes run through every document in which the term *sandai sōron* occurs, although they are clothed in widely divergent details (and there are many more contradictions than are included in my brief summaries). Until recently, historians have given little attention to the historical circumstances of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries during which the above accounts were produced. Of course, beginning with Kuriyama Taion, scholars have been well aware of the textual and factual difficulties presented by these documents. Not one of these sources can withstand careful scrutiny. Yet given the number of different sources, each maintaining that some kind of conflict did occur, scholars have tended to search through the earlier, more reliable sources attempting to find indications of any conflict that agrees with these later accounts. In general, their unstated premises have included four points: that a serious conflict erupted between Gien and Gikai, that Gikai was forced out of Eihei-ji, that this schism separated Eihei-ji from Gikai's more numerous following, and that as a result, Eihei-ji fell into decline until Giun moved in to revive the monastery.

In this way, even though the historical accuracy of any particular account of the *sandai sōron* has been rejected, the concept that a *sandai sōron* must have occurred has been accepted.<sup>12</sup> When examined in these terms, the *sandai sōron* suddenly becomes a whole series of different conflicts: Gikai's retiring from Eihei-ji's abbotship in 1272 is seen as the first stage, his conflict with the followers of Jakuen sometime around 1287 is the second stage, while conflict between Gien and Gikai's disciples sometime around 1314–1317 is the third stage of the *sandai sōron*. Moreover, scholars speculate that the conflict must have begun not with a dispute over monastic seniority or succession to the abbotship but instead as a dispute over how to best preserve and promote Dōgen's teachings.<sup>13</sup> In this ideological conflict, Gien and Jakuen are seen as uncompromising conservatives who wished to uphold an idealized vision of a pure religious life unconcerned with appeals to secular support. In contrast, Gikai is seen as a worldly popularizer who devoted himself to winning more patronage for institutional growth, at the expense of meditation practice. Gikai's having studied in China, having introduced new rituals to Eihei-ji, having moved to Daijō-ji, and having accepted Keizan Jōkin as an heir are all seen as evidence of his having been overly con-



cerned with institutional expansion. In other words, according to this interpretation the *sandai sōron* marks the turning point when Sōtō monks abandoned the Chinese Zen practice taught by Dōgen and took up traditional Japanese folk rituals. In this way, the course of subsequent Sōtō developments was irreversibly altered.

### *Schism as Historical Explanation*

Before examining the validity of the above approach, it is necessary first to review the historical circumstances that gave birth to the concept of a *sandai sōron*. Remember, this term first appears in the documentary record during the fifteenth century, more than 150 years after the events it supposedly describes. At that time, strong sectarian conflicts between different Sōtō lineages had already begun. Gikai's line with its many subdivisions had emerged as the dominant Sōtō lineage, while adherents of Giin's line had already begun expanding into central Japan. In contrast to the vitality of these two lines, the Senne-Kyōgō and the Gien lines had already died out. By the mid 1450s (i.e., the date of Kenzei's history), even the dates during which Gien had served as Eiheiji's abbot were already forgotten. No one remembered enough about Gien to be able to praise, to defend, or even to explain his activities at Eiheiji. He could be blamed for the *sandai sōron* without offending anyone.

Jakuen's line had split into two factions, one at Hōkyōji and one at Eiheiji. The Jakuen-line abbots at Eiheiji handed down the text of a precept ordination manual (i.e., the *Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō*) from one generation to the next as a testament that Eiheiji's abbotship or "temple lineage" and the abbots' own dharma lineage were one and the same.<sup>14</sup> In this way, each previous abbot asserted a proprietorial right to cede Eiheiji's abbotship only to his own selected disciple. Yet at the same time Eiheiji also accepted additional abbots from the lines of Gikai and Giin. While details of these early non-Jakuen-line Eiheiji abbots are obscure, presumably these monks obtained the prestige of having served at Dōgen's own monastery while Eiheiji benefited from the financial resources of the many smaller temples whose loyalty was commanded by these monks. As will be explained below (in chapter 11), Eiheiji's financial difficulties in recovering from several major fires eventually led to the development of a formal ceremony (*zuise*) by which monks from other temples obtained the honorary title of former abbot of Eiheiji (*zen Eihei*) in exchange for financial contributions. It is important to note that during the lifetimes of Kenkō and Kenzei this system had not yet developed; these early non-Jakuen-line monks at Eiheiji performed the same enrollment ceremony as did regular Jakuen-line abbots. They held all the symbols of office but could exercise none of the prerogatives of



power.<sup>15</sup> Most importantly, as outsiders they could not appoint their own disciples to Eihei-ji's abbotship.

The first reported Giin-line abbot at Eihei-ji was Chishō, a monk from Dai-ji who came to Eihei-ji after Giun's successor, Donki.<sup>16</sup> Another Giin line monk, Kazō Gidon (1375–1455), served as abbot for eight days in 1453 at the age of seventy-eight. Kazō began his brief term with the standard inaugural ceremony, including the series of opening lectures (*kaidō seppō*) performed by all new abbots. He thereby attained the title of eighteenth-generation abbot of Eihei-ji.<sup>17</sup> Likewise, Kazō's disciple Meiten Keiju also served a brief term at Eihei-ji, which he also began with the standard inaugural lectures. In these lectures Meiten referred to himself as Eihei-ji's twenty-first abbot and paid homage to Kazō as Eihei-ji's eighteenth generation.<sup>18</sup> In light of Kazō's having been counted as eighteenth, it is significant to note that Kenzei—now officially counted as Eihei-ji's fourteenth abbot—referred to himself as the twentieth-generation abbot in his history of Eihei-ji.<sup>19</sup> If Kenzei was the twentieth-generation abbot, then his teacher Kenkō would have been the nineteenth-generation abbot. Chronologically Kazō Gidon could have been counted as the eighteenth abbot in 1453, since Kenkō (his successor) probably became abbot about 1457.<sup>20</sup> Yet Kenkō referred to himself not as the nineteenth abbot, but as twelfth in Eihei-ji's dharma line.<sup>21</sup>

This method of generational numbering clearly indicates (as does the transmission of the *Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō*) that at Eihei-ji there stood a firm distinction between Jakuen-line abbots (counted by dharma generations) and abbots from outside lineages (counted by abbot generations). Even as late as the end of the fifteenth century, there is a clear reference to Isō Chūshin (d. 1505; a Gikai-line monk who became thirty-first generation abbot at Eihei-ji) negotiating between Eihei-ji monks and senior monks from outside lineages (*tamon*) to select a new abbot for Eihei-ji.<sup>22</sup> Considering the numerical and financial resources available to these outside monks from Giin and Gikai's lines, it is easy to suppose that the Eihei-ji-Jakuen line must have felt the need to justify their own claim to special status at Eihei-ji.<sup>23</sup> For monks of the "outside" (i.e., Giin and Gikai) lineages, as well, it was just as important to rationalize Eihei-ji's relationship to the Jakuen line. That is why the account of the *sandai sōron* handed down within the Giin line begins with an explanation of how Giin lost Eihei-ji's abbotship. The crucial element in every *sandai sōron* story is the explanation of why Jakuen's lineage controls Eihei-ji in spite of the numerical superiority of the lineages descendant from Giin and Gikai. The fact that three very different accounts of the *sandai sōron* all began circulating within a short time of each other indicates that having an explanation was more important than the particular details of that explanation.

Kenkō himself, the first author to use the term *sandai sōron*, had additional reasons to stress the primacy of the Jakuen line as a whole. Kenkō, like Giun and Giun's successor, Donki, had served as abbot first at Hōkyōji before eventually moving over to Eiheiiji's abbotship. Separating Donki from Kenkō, however, there had been at least ten other abbots at Hōkyōji, not one of whom also served at Eiheiiji.<sup>24</sup> The Hōkyōji-Jakuen line and the Eiheiiji-Jakuen line had been separate for nearly one hundred years (see figure 5).<sup>25</sup> When Kenkō became abbot at Hōkyōji, he had already inherited the dharma lineage of Hōkyōji's previous abbot, Erin. Therefore, on moving to Eiheiiji, Kenkō technically was an outsider of a different lineage. In 1457 Kenkō inherited the Eiheiiji-Jakuen lineage, thereby securing his own position within the Jakuen faction. In the eyes of non-Jakuen-line monks, however, it would have been clear that Kenkō was merely discarding his previous lineage in order to attain his new position at Eiheiiji (a practice technically known as *in'in ekishi*). If Kenkō could move into Eiheiiji under such pretense, then why not someone else? Kenkō's history of the Jakuen lineage provides a rationalization of his position that answers this question by diminishing all distinctions between the two Jakuen lines.

Kenkō's biographies of Jakuen and Giun (in the *Hōkyō yuishoki*) emphasize the importance of the Jakuen line at Eiheiiji and the essential unity between the Hōkyōji and Eiheiiji Jakuen factions. Although he does not explain the *sandai sōron* in detail, Kenkō made two series of related assertions. To demonstrate Eiheiiji's dependence on the Jakuen line, he wrote that under Gien Eiheiiji had fallen into decline, that the Hōkyōji abbot Giun had refurnished Eiheiiji's buildings with materials brought from Hōkyōji, that Giun was the first generation of the revived Eiheiiji, and that all Eiheiiji abbots must transmit Jakuen's dharma line. In order to illustrate the underlying unity between the Jakuen line at Hōkyōji and the one transmitted at Eiheiiji, Kenkō wrote that Jakuen is Eiheiiji's true third patriarch, that Giun said the abbotship of these two monasteries are the same as "water poured from one vessel to another," and that Giun composed a couplet that commands: "When Eiheiiji's [abbot's lineage] is cut off, connect [it to] Hōkyōji's; when Hōkyōji's [abbot's lineage] is cut off, connect [it to] Eiheiiji's."<sup>26</sup> These passages in the *Hōkyō yuishoki* constitute Kenkō's assertion of his own right to switch to Eiheiiji's Jakuen line.

Kenkō's disciple Kenzei totally accepted Kenkō's first position: historical precedent proved the Jakuen lineage to be vital to Eiheiiji. Kenzei's detailed account of the *sandai sōron* asserts that Gikai's line had forfeited its rights to Eiheiiji's abbotship and emphasizes Giun's importance as the reviver of Eiheiiji. Kenzei asserts that Giun was none other than Dōgen reincarnate. Clearly, Kenzei had also wished to justify the control

Eiheiji			Hōkyōji	
1.	Dōgen <d. 1253>	(1) [1]		
2.	Ejō <1267>	(2) [2]		
3.	Gikai <1272>	(3)		
4.	Gien <d. 1314>	(4)	i. Jakuen <d. 1299>	
		[Jakuen-3]		
5.	Giun <1333>	(5) [4]	ii. Giun <1314>	
6.	Donki <1362>	(6) [5]	iii. Donki <1333>	
	Chishō		iv. Tōri	
	Ichi <1388>	(7) [6]	v. Giin	
	Kijun <1400>	(8) [7]	vi. Kiyū	
	Sōgo <1405>	(9) [8]	vii. Sosan	
	Eichi <1438>	(10) [9]	viii. Kishun	
	Soki <1445>	(11) [10]	ix. Eikyū	
	Ryōkan <1457>	(12) [11]	x. Eigi	
18.	Kazō Gidon <1453>		xi. Meisan	
19.	Kenkō <1468>	(13) [12]	xii. Reiju	
20.	Kenzei <1474>	(14)	xiii. Erin	
21.	Meiten Keiju <1481>		xiv. Kenkō	
	Kōshū <1493>	(15)	xv. Nyokin	
31.	Isō Chūshin <d. 1505>		xvi. Soshi	
	Sōen <1521>	(16)	xvii. Zenshō	
			xviii. Soboku	
			xix. Tōgyoku	
			xx. Ikō <d. 1572>	

Figure 5. Dharma Relationships at Eiheiji and Hōkyōji

The first set of numbers represents the actual number of abbots at Eiheiji. The numbers in angle brackets (e.g., <1267>) represent the year of abdication or, in some cases, of death. The numbers in round brackets [i.e., (1)–(16)] represent how Eiheiji's abbots have been counted since the mid-Tokugawa period, after the Jakuen line lost control of Eiheiji. The numbers in square brackets (i.e., [1]–[12]) represent the assertion of Kenkō's *Hōkyō yuishoki*. The Roman numerals (i.e., i–xx) represent the official number of abbots at Hōkyōji as listed by Honda, *Hōkyōjishi*, 29–37.

over Eiheiji exercised by the Jakuen line. Kenzei, however, ignored Kenzō's second position. He lacked any personal connection to Hōkyōji. His history, therefore, omits any mention of Hōkyōji's unity with Eiheiji. Jakuen is mentioned as Eiheiji's third-generation abbot, but the main hero is Giun.

The strong factional conflicts that already plagued Sōtō by the fifteenth century allowed monks of that time readily to accept the idea that



a major schism must have occurred among Dōgen's immediate disciples. Certainly some conflicts must have been inevitable. The *Sandaison gyō-jōki*, one of the most reliable early histories, states that Gikai's troubles with followers of Jakuen became so severe that Eiheiiji's patron had to admonish the monks to restore peace (although this episode might be a later interpolation). Moreover, of Dōgen's principal disciples only Ejō and Gien chose to remain at Eiheiiji. Nonetheless, when reviewing the documentary records as a whole, rather than finding evidence of any schism, it is easier to argue that differences in background or practices did not prevent cooperation and unity among early Sōtō factions. The prime example of this is Keizan Jōkin's career of study. Keizan had received the tonsure under Gikai's direction, then successively studied under Ejō (Eiheiiji), Jakuen (Hōkyōji), Gien (Eiheiiji), and then again, Gikai (Daijōji). It is inconceivable that Keizan could have moved freely between Eiheiiji, Hōkyōji, and Daijōji if there had been any serious animosity between Gikai and either Gien or Jakuen.

Gikai's Darumashū affiliation is often singled out as one possible cause of conflict with Gien. Gikai and Gien, however, were linked by their both having the same Darumashū "gi" syllable as the first half of their names. Similar backgrounds should have led to greater cooperation, not conflicts. Many other monks at Eiheiiji also shared that same Darumashū background—Giin, for example.<sup>27</sup> If Gikai left Eiheiiji because of his Darumashū identity, then the same cause should explain Giin's reasons for leaving. Yet Giin traveled to China to obtain eulogies for the collection (*goroku*) of Dōgen's sayings that Gien had helped compile. Giin had also links to Jakuen's disciple Giun. At Eiheiiji, Giun (whose name also contains the Darumashū transmission syllable "gi") gave several lectures to commemorate the memory of Giin's disciple Shidō Shōyū.<sup>28</sup> These lectures demonstrate that Giin's Sōtō faction in Kyūshū had communicated news of Shidō's death to Eiheiiji. There was no conflict between the Giin line and Eiheiiji.

Full details of Gikai's death and funeral in 1309 were also reported to Eiheiiji. This would not have been done if Gikai and Gien (who was then Eiheiiji's abbot) had fought against one another. In 1340, when Eiheiiji lost its only statue of Dōgen in a major fire, the monks from Daijōji promptly sent their own Dōgen statue to Eiheiiji to replace it.<sup>29</sup> Again, this would not have been done if the followers of Gikai and the followers of either Gien or Jakuen had been feuding. Even Senne and Kyōgō, the harshest critics of other Zen teachers, maintained contact with Eiheiiji. In 1357 Kōshin, a monk from Senne's Yōkōan in Kyoto, worked at Eiheiiji as a copyist on the publication of Giun's recorded sayings.<sup>30</sup> These incidents suggest that all of the factions worked together in cooperation with Eiheiiji, the symbolic home of Dōgen's memory.



In addition to their unity of purpose, these early factions also shared several common characteristics. Giin's principal patron, the Kawajiri family, and Jakuen's principal patron, the Ijira family, both had political connections to Eihei-ji's principal patron, the Hatano family. Likewise, the Togashi family in Kaga Province (i.e., Gikai's patron) also probably had developed deeper ties to the Hatano family, as demonstrated by the fact that in 1340 the Togashi personally accompanied the Daijō-ji monks in carrying Dōgen's statue to Eihei-ji. Warrior familial and political connections, although difficult to document, cannot be overlooked in any institutional history of medieval Japanese Zen. These warrior families probably had little awareness of any supposed differences between Dōgen's Zen lineage and that of the Rinzai monks in Kyoto and Kamakura, or even of the differences between Zen and the older schools of Japanese Buddhism.

Of Dōgen's disciples only Giin's religious practices have been well documented. Giin from the very start readily staged traditional religious services that would be familiar both to his patrons and to monks from neighboring non-Zen monasteries. Warrior sponsorship of other Sōtō factions also greatly influenced their religious development. Writing at a somewhat later date, Musō Soseki (1275–1351), the prominent Rinzai leader, repeatedly lamented the frequency with which warrior patrons ordered Zen monks to perform ritual prayers for secular concerns.<sup>31</sup> During the lifetimes of Dōgen's disciples, the attempted Mongol invasions of 1274 and 1281 had increased the emphasis placed on prayers for the safety of the nation at all Japanese shrines and temples, including Zen temples. All early Sōtō factions, not just Giin's or Gikai's, must have been influenced by the secular concerns of late thirteenth-century Japan.

The final common characteristic of these Sōtō communities, therefore, is their having combined a reliance on the religious authority symbolized by Dōgen's Chinese lineage with a willingness to adapt practices to their own local circumstances. Although these two might appear mutually exclusive, orthodoxy within Zen tradition has always hinged on loyalty to a patriarchal transmission rather than to particular doctrines or practices.<sup>32</sup> Thus, Dōgen boasted of his Chinese-style monastic practices, while rejecting the precepts observed in China and taking care to minister to his patron in Kamakura. Giin sought dedications for Dōgen's *goroku* from leading Chinese monks and also dedicated Daijiji's temple bell to the emperor and shōgun. Senne and Kyōgō both compiled major commentaries on Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō*, while emphasizing theories of original enlightenment and practicing esoteric dhāraṇī. Gikai and Ejō not only stressed personal closeness to Dōgen but also introduced daily sūtra recitation ceremonies at Eihei-ji. Jakuen and Giun emphasized the origins

of the Sōtō lineage in China, while dedicating worship to the political aims of their patron. In each case the ancestral name was venerated, the sacred relics maintained, but with a power to exhibit the same freedom of action displayed by previous generations. Although the religious practices of Gien are unknown, it is reasonable to assume that he also followed this pattern. Regardless of the degree to which particular practices were accepted or rejected, all early Sōtō communities stressed their loyalty to Dōgen's Zen tradition and maintained ties to Eihei-ji.

## Keizan: The Founder of Yōkōji

As explained in the previous chapter, all early Sōtō communities emphasized Dōgen's Chinese lineage as the source of their religious authority. This emphasis on the symbolic role of Dōgen remained consistent throughout the history of the Japanese Sōtō school, except for one brief incident during the modern period. That rejection of Dōgen raised the issue of who should be revered as the founder of the Japanese Sōtō school. The social circumstances of the resulting controversy have greatly influenced scholarship on the topics addressed in this chapter. Therefore, perhaps the best introduction to Keizan and his community at Yōkōji is to review briefly the modern events that led to the controversial assertion that Keizan Jōkin, not Dōgen, is the true founder of Japanese Sōtō.

### *Keizan as Patriarch*

In 1877 the Sōtō hierarchy announced new dates based on the solar calendar for yearly rituals. The true significance of that announcement, however, went beyond the abandonment of the lunar calendar. For the first time memorial services for Keizan were included among the annual events observed at all Sōtō temples. Today that proclamation is said to mark the date when Keizan gained official recognition as the patriarch of the entire Japanese Sōtō school.<sup>1</sup> Previously, the only Japanese patriarch common to all Sōtō factions had been Dōgen. Keizan, by contrast, was known not as a source of religious authority but as the founder of Sōjiji, the head temple of the largest Sōtō faction. The adoption of Keizan as a patriarch equal to Dōgen, therefore, was meant to symbolize that all Sōtō lineages also accepted Sōjiji's position as a head temple equal to Dōgen's Eihei.

Sōjiji's status as a rival to Eihei was not a new development. Sōjiji led

the largest network of affiliated temples in the Sōtō school. In the sixteenth century Sōjiji repeatedly had proclaimed itself the head temple of all Sōtō institutions.<sup>2</sup> In 1560 Takeda Shingen (1521–1573) stipulated that only Eiheiji and Sōjiji were authorized to confer ecclesiastical honors on Zen monks in his domains.<sup>3</sup> In 1589 the imperial court officially recognized Sōjiji as the head temple of the Sōtō school, a title that the court previously had bestowed on Eiheiji.<sup>4</sup> The Tokugawa shogunate also acknowledged both Eiheiji and Sōjiji as head temples when in 1615 it issued separate sets of regulatory codes (*hatto*) to each monastery.<sup>5</sup> Throughout this period Sōjiji and Eiheiji were rivals in the true sense of the word. In each of the major Sōtō controversies of the Tokugawa period—on questions ranging from dharma succession to the proper manner of wearing the Buddhist robe—Eiheiji and Sōjiji staked out opposing positions on the issues.

With the emergence of the new Meiji government, however, Eiheiji and Sōjiji concluded a formal truce. Their compact, signed in 1872, stated that past differences and disputes were to be resolved in accordance with “the maxims of the founding patriarch, Dōgen, and the aspirations of the late teacher, Keizan” (*shūso Dōgen no kakun to senshi Keizan no sokai*).<sup>6</sup> Six years later, in 1878, the Sōtō school published the first modern biography of Keizan. Written by Takiya Takushū (1836–1897), who was at that time Sōjiji’s chief Tokyo representative, the new biography had the clear intention of glorifying Keizan by emphasizing his and Sōjiji’s importance in early Sōtō history. Three more biographies of Keizan were published in the prewar period, each written by successive abbots of Sōjiji and each intended to emphasize the importance of Keizan and Sōjiji.<sup>7</sup> In spite of their sectarian orientation, these biographies have been widely used by non-Sōjiji (and even non-Sōtō) affiliated scholars.

Following their formal truce, Sōjiji and Eiheiji continued to work together to modernize the structure of the Sōtō school.<sup>8</sup> A series of reforms followed in quick succession. Rules for the operation of temples were promulgated in 1876. That same year a formal Sōtō church (*kyōkai*) was organized in an attempt to bypass the rigid hierarchy of temple factions.<sup>9</sup> The terms of the truce were strengthened in 1879. A constitution defining the relations between head and branch temples was established in 1882. The governing organization and administrative rules (*shūsei*) of the Sōtō school, including the terms of the 1872 truce, were registered with the government in 1885.<sup>10</sup> Finally, in 1888 the first handbook of Sōtō ritual and liturgy was distributed. Considering the history of bitter disputes between Sōjiji and Eiheiji over the details of proper monastic practices during the Tokugawa period, the codification of standard rituals represented a major achievement.



### *Sōjiji's Secession during the Meiji Period*

The modernization of the Sōtō school gave new power to lay organizations and private committees. The early drafts of many of the above agreements had been proposed within private committees funded by the Sōtō leadership. By operating outside of established temple hierarchies, the committees were freed of rigid precedents. As the pace of modernization increased, however, unofficial committees formed in order to oppose the positions advocated by the official committees. Divisions along sectarian lines became impossible to smooth over. The election of officers to Eiheiji from the ranks of Sōjiji-affiliated temples, in particular, attracted severe criticism. In 1895 Takiya Takushū was elected to Eiheiji's abbotship even though at the time he had been serving as abbot of Saijōji (Kanagawa Prefecture), a branch temple affiliated with Sōjiji. Takiya worked hard to smooth over differences between Sōjiji and Eiheiji. Conflict between the two head temples became unavoidable, however, when his successor was also elected from a post at Sōjiji in 1891.<sup>11</sup> Dissidents felt that these elections deprived Sōjiji of the best personnel while giving Eiheiji too much authority over Sōjiji's branch temples. In 1891 one group of these dissidents formed the Alliance to Reform the Sōtō School (*Sōtōshū kakushin dōmeikai*) to advocate the revival of Sōjiji's autonomy.<sup>12</sup>

Sōjiji withdrew all recognition of Eiheiji and of its branch temples four months later, in the beginning of 1892.<sup>13</sup> All agreements between the two monasteries from 1872 on were declared null and void. If it had been successful, this move would have sundered Eiheiji from the support of more than ninety percent of the Sōtō temples in Japan. To justify their actions, supporters of this autonomy movement published a series of tracts in which they made three key claims.<sup>14</sup> First, Dōgen had not founded the Japanese Sōtō school. Dōgen had merely introduced Chinese practices without ever attempting to organize a new Buddhist sect. Second, Keizan was the school's true founder. Keizan had established the new school's institutional base and had determined its fundamental religious practices. Third, the name "Sōtō school" originated at Sōjiji. Because Dōgen had rejected the designation "Sōtō," Sōjiji had become the first monastery in Japan to be referred to as "Sōtō" when Emperor Godaigo used that name in his edict of 1322 issued to Keizan.

Eiheiji rejected Sōjiji's autonomy and the assertions of its supporters on all counts. Supporters of Eiheiji's authority wrote their own studies of early Sōtō history in order to refute Sōjiji's claims.<sup>15</sup> On each point, they reached opposite conclusions. First, Dōgen was the sole founder of the Japanese Sōtō school as demonstrated by his criticism of many aspects of Chinese Ch'an and by his having established his own training center at

Kōshōji in Kyoto. Second, Keizan had merely inherited Dōgen's religion. Although Keizan had been instrumental in popularizing the Sōtō school, his contribution had been organizational, not religious. Third, the name "Sōtō school," being of Chinese origin, could not have been established by the Japanese court.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, the 1322 edict cited by Sōjiji was rejected as being an obvious forgery.

The split between Sōjiji and Eiheiji barely lasted two years, but the historical issues have never truly faded away. Ultimately, Sōjiji found itself in an untenable position, not because of the inadequacy of its precedents or for lack of support but because it had failed to gain the approval of the Japanese government. According to the government, the truce between Sōjiji and Eiheiji (having been duly registered in 1885) had the force of law.<sup>17</sup> By the end of 1893 the government had forced the leaders of Sōjiji to resign their offices and issue a formal apology to Eiheiji. In response the leaders of Eiheiji also resigned their offices and gave a formal apology to Sōjiji.<sup>18</sup> At this time, Sōtō leaders proclaimed the compromise doctrines of "two head temples, one essence" and "two patriarchs, one essence." Officially, any independent veneration of Sōjiji or Eiheiji was to serve as veneration of both. Likewise, any differences between the doctrines contained in the writings of Dōgen and Keizan were to be viewed as alternate expressions of the same religious teaching.

These controversies have distorted both the degree of importance modern scholars have afforded Keizan and the manner in which his contributions to early Sōtō history have been interpreted. In contradiction to the formal Sōtō position, as the organizer of Japanese Sōtō or its great popularizer, Keizan must be seen as a failure. Yōkōji, not Sōjiji, was the temple that Keizan had attempted to establish as the new center of Japanese Sōtō. Yet by the Meiji period when Sōjiji was asserting itself over Eiheiji, Yōkōji had been reduced to such poverty that the few monks still living there were forced to sell temple buildings in order to buy food.<sup>19</sup> Sōjiji was one of Yōkōji's branch temples in Keizan's day. It did not become powerful enough to eclipse Yōkōji until the early fifteenth century, nearly ninety years after Keizan's death. To explain the growth of Sōjiji one must examine the policies adopted by Gasan Jōseki, Sōjiji's first resident abbot, and by his disciples—not by Keizan.

In terms of religious practice, however, Keizan has had an enormous influence on Japanese Sōtō Zen. Keizan's true importance was his ability to combine the monastic religion of Zen meditation with the simple religious sentiments of rural Japanese. The fate of Yōkōji and Sōjiji's path to dominance are addressed in part 2 below (chapters 9–11). The remainder of this chapter focuses on Keizan's relations with his patrons and the religious world in which he founded Yōkōji.

### *The Yōkōji Community*

The events leading up to Keizan's decision to leave Daijōji are unknown. Keizan had been an avid historian. He carefully chronicled the daily events in his own career, described in detail the religious devotion of his mother and his patrons, and lectured on the history of the Sōtō lineage.<sup>20</sup> The extant records of his activities, unfortunately, cover only his years at Yōkōji. These writings contain many references to his past teachers and accomplishments but are silent on past temple affairs or patron relationships. We know that Keizan had appointed Meihō Sotetsu abbot of Daijōji in the tenth month of 1311. The following year, Shigeno Nobunao and his wife (later known as Sonin) of Noto Province invited Keizan to their residence to found Yōkōji.<sup>21</sup> Yet Keizan did not formally leave Daijōji to begin residence at Yōkōji until five years later, during the tenth month of 1317.<sup>22</sup>

The reasons for this delay are not clear. One cause must have been the fact that Sonin herself did not receive writs of confirmation (*andojō*) for the land given to Yōkōji until the third month of 1317.<sup>23</sup> But lack of proper deeds should not have presented major problems, since Sonin had already received bills of sale for the land in 1310.<sup>24</sup> More fundamental financial difficulties must have played a role in delaying the founding of Yōkōji. The Shigeno family held no powerful local positions. In marked contrast to the other early Sōtō patrons (such as the Hatano, Kawajiri, Ijira, and Togashi), Shigeno Nobunao and Sonin could not draw on surplus wealth. Although they donated the land for Yōkōji, initially there were no temple buildings to place on that land.<sup>25</sup> Only the death of Sonin's brother, Sakō Yorimoto, solved that problem. Sonin thereupon dismantled the Sakō family residence and had it rebuilt as the new Yōkōji. It was in this building that Keizan formally became Yōkōji's founding abbot in 1317.<sup>26</sup> Keizan described the abject poverty of his new temple by noting that pine needles had to be used instead of tea leaves for the Zen tea ceremony.<sup>27</sup>

To understand fully Keizan's timing we must also consider other events of this period. Perhaps Keizan was waiting for a position at Eihei-ji. By 1311, when Keizan appointed Meihō to succeed him as abbot of Daijōji, Gien (i.e., Eihei-ji's fourth abbot) would already have been old and ready to retire. Extant records do not state whether or not Keizan considered himself a candidate for Gien's seat, but he would have made a very likely choice. Keizan had studied under three of Eihei-ji's four abbots: Ejō, Gikai, and Gien. He had held positions of responsibility at Hōkyōji and Daijōji. When the Hatano requested Giun of Hōkyōji to become Eihei-ji's next abbot in 1314, Keizan must have been disappointed. He later described Eihei-ji as a place of obstructions, caused by its abbot's build-



ing being situated in an inauspicious location.<sup>28</sup> Or perhaps Keizan moved to Yōkōji only after his position at Daijōji had become untenable. As mentioned earlier, Keizan did not approve but could not prevent the Rinzai Zen monk Kyōō Unryō from taking over Daijōji's abbotship.<sup>29</sup> This incident suggests that Keizan did not enjoy the confidence of the Togashi family.<sup>30</sup> Events at both Eiheiji and Daijōji illustrate the precarious nature of sectarian affiliation at small temples dependent on the patronage of a single warrior family. Successful succession to the abbotship hinged on the patron's personal whims.

Keizan was determined not to encounter similar problems at his new temple, Yōkōji. He wanted guarantees in writing. He documented the fact that he had accepted the offer of Nobunao and Sonin to reside at Yōkōji only after they both had pledged never to interfere with temple affairs, and he carefully recorded the extent of their *carte blanche*: "We [i.e., Nobunao and Sonin] will take absolutely no notice whether the temple thrives or decays. We are not concerned whether the master [i.e., Keizan] keeps the precepts or breaks the precepts. Likewise we will not interfere if [he] gives the land to a wife, child, or relative, or even to outcasts (*hinin*) and beggars."<sup>31</sup> One year after moving to Yōkōji, Keizan wrote formal instructions that the abbotship of Yōkōji was to be held only by his dharma descendants, each of whom should serve successive terms in the order of their dharma seniority.<sup>32</sup> An expanded version of Keizan's instructions, containing this same passage and dated one year later (1319), was signed by both Keizan and Sonin.<sup>33</sup> By obtaining Sonin's signature, Keizan obligated Sonin and her descendants to support only his line at Yōkōji. Both versions of the instructions also admonished future generations to settle any disputes between patron and temple in a spirit of compromise.

Keizan's direct proselytizing further enhanced the prospects for maintaining the future cooperation of Yōkōji's patrons. In 1319 Keizan administered the precepts to Shigeno Nobunao's wife, giving her the Buddhist name Sonin.<sup>34</sup> Two years later, in 1321, Keizan also administered the precepts to Nobunao, giving him the Buddhist name Myōjō.<sup>35</sup> These ordinations were not just ceremonial. Keizan's writings indicate that he instructed Sonin and Nobunao in the mysteries of Zen.<sup>36</sup> A surviving copy of one of Keizan's lectures to Nobunao contains an abstruse exposition of the psychology of Zen meditation and repeated emphasis on the need to train under a true Zen master.<sup>37</sup> Whether or not Nobunao and Sonin actually took up Zen training, they would have learned of the importance attached to the lineage of patriarchs Keizan represented. Keizan also appealed to traditional expressions of faith in the Buddhas. In 1322 he dedicated at Yōkōji a special hall for the bodhisattva Kannon, the Enzūin, which he allowed Sonin to use as her own prayer chapel.<sup>38</sup>



Keizan administered the precepts to Sonin's mother when she made donations to Yōkōji, giving her the Buddhist name Shōzen. Likewise Keizan allowed the mother use of her own hermitage, the Zōkeian, at Yōkōji. Keizan further ordered that following the mother's death in 1325 the monks at Yōkōji must conduct both monthly and annual memorial services in her honor.<sup>39</sup>

Keizan regarded these memorial services as fitting repayment for the patronage he received. His attitude toward his patrons is revealed in his 1319 agreement with Sonin, in which he explicitly acknowledged his indebtedness: "The Buddha once said, 'When [Buddhism] obtains a contributor of enthusiastic faith, Buddhism will never die out. . . .' And he also said, 'You should revere patrons as you would the Buddha. Precepts, meditation, wisdom, and liberation all depend on the power of patrons to attain completion. . . .' Accordingly, Keizan's Buddhist training during this rebirth depends on this patron to attain completion."<sup>40</sup>

Keizan obtained contributions from other patrons to supplement the support provided by Sonin and her family. The Buddha hall, bath house, and latrine at Yōkōji were all donated by individual local patrons. Each of the three main images for the Buddha hall was donated by a separate contributor. Keizan recorded each of these contributions, carefully noting the prayers that had accompanied each donation. These prayers reveal the traditional religious concerns of Yōkōji's patrons, namely, to eliminate the ill karmic effects of past actions (*metsuzai*), to promote the future enlightenment of deceased relatives (*tsuizen*), and to ensure worldly success (*ganbō manzoku*).<sup>41</sup> When Keizan received each donation, he probably led the monks at Yōkōji in scripture-chanting ceremonies to pray for the fulfillment of the hopes of these patrons. This can be inferred from the regulations for special meals that appear in the monastic codes used at Yōkōji. According to these rules, whenever a patron sponsored a meal for the monastery community the monks performed either a group chanting ceremony or provided a special lecture in accordance with the requests of the patron.<sup>42</sup> These regulations describe other rituals that routinely concluded with prayers for the prosperity of temple patrons.<sup>43</sup>

Keizan's willingness to perform ritual prayers for his patrons has often been identified with the introduction of esoteric Buddhism into Sōtō Zen monasticism. The use of the term esoteric, however, can be misleading if not clearly defined. There is no doubt that Keizan had believed in the purity of his own Zen practice. He had criticized Eisai for mixing esoteric Buddhism with Zen practice.<sup>44</sup> Most of the esoteric elements found in Yōkōji's monastic codes are practices that previously had been a part of Zen monasticism, such as the chanting of mystical formulae (*dhāraṇī*). Chinese Ch'an monastic codes composed during Keizan's lifetime in-

cluded similar references to popular Chinese religious practices (i.e., the worship of folk deities, local spirits, and influential stars).<sup>45</sup> The influence of esoteric Buddhism in Keizan's monastic policies, therefore, was found more in his attitude toward patrons than in any overt syncretism. The Yōkōji monastic codes resembled esoteric traditions to the extent that many rites included prayers for the worldly prosperity of monastic patrons. Yet even this feature has been exaggerated by many authors. In fact, the vast majority of the ritual prayers in Yōkōji's monastic codes concerned general thanksgiving or the sanctity of monastic life.<sup>46</sup> Instead of disparaging such prayers, as if unworthy of Zen monks, it is more useful to understand their role in the religious life and worldview of medieval Japan.

### *Keizan's Religious World*

Keizan exhibited in abundance many of the religious qualities that typified other Buddhist monks in medieval Japan. His writings, like the traditional biographies and legends concerning other medieval monks, reveal an extremely rich, religious worldview in which the abstract truths of Buddhist doctrine are realized and verified through concrete physical manifestations that can be experienced directly in daily life. For Keizan, Zen experience entailed living in a physical landscape made sacred by the presence of supernatural Buddhist divinities and native Japanese spirits. Keizan's records illustrate the paradigm shift by which Buddhist meditation subsumed earlier shamanistic views of the spirit world. In spite of Keizan's stature in the modern Sōtō school, his practices have rarely been evaluated within the larger context of medieval Zen. Keizan's importance lies in his fusion of vigorous Zen practice with articulated faith in the efficacy of unseen Japanese spirits and Buddhist divinities. This fusion, its origins and effects, are explored below in terms of Keizan's Zen practice, his close relationships with women, his magico-religious faith, and his shamanistic dreams.

In writing about a medieval Zen monk it should hardly be necessary to stress the importance of his Zen practice. Modern descriptions of Keizan, however, typically dwell only on the shamanistic and seemingly eccentric aspects of his personality. The importance of these qualities lies in their support of Zen practice. Keizan was first and foremost a Zen master. He believed that the Zen tradition represented the only true transmission of Buddhism.<sup>47</sup> He emphasized the legitimacy of his Zen transmission by lecturing on the patriarchs of the Sōtō line. Only his lectures at Daijōji were recorded (as the *Denkōroku*), but he also repeated his lectures at Yōkōji.<sup>48</sup> At both monasteries he also interred sacred relics of the Sōtō patriarchs.<sup>49</sup> At Yōkōji these relics formed the shrine of patriarchs at

Gorōhō, which Keizan dedicated by composing biographies of each patriarch beginning with Ju-ching.<sup>50</sup> The monastic codes used at Yōkōji repeatedly cite Eisai, Ju-ching, and Dōgen as the authoritative sources of the monastic routines.<sup>51</sup> Keizan signed his writings by identifying himself as a Zen master in the fifty-fourth generation of the Buddha's dharma. He stressed the necessity of studying under a sanctioned Zen teacher, even if the student is already self-enlightened.<sup>52</sup>

Extant records reveal only the outlines of Keizan's Zen practice. Novice monks at Yōkōji studied seven texts, consisting of three Buddhist scriptures and four Zen manuals.<sup>53</sup> The three scriptures were: the Lotus Sūtra, which is a fundamental scripture of Mahāyāna Buddhism; the *Bonmōkyō*, which explains the Mahāyāna precepts; and the *Yuikyōgyō*, which purports to convey the Buddha's final exhortations. The *Yuikyōgyō* had been especially popular in Chinese Ch'an and had formed the basis for the last *Shōbō genzō* chapter ("Hachi dainingaku") written by Dōgen. The four Zen manuals had all been composed by Dōgen.<sup>54</sup> They were: *Bendōhō* (rules for daily life in the monks' hall); *Fushukuhanhō* (etiquette for monastic meals); *Shuryō shingi* (rules for use of the library); and *Taitaikohō* (etiquette for behavior in the presence of senior monks). In addition, the monastic code at Yōkōji states that monks also should consult "Senmen" and "Senjō" (two chapters in Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō* that describe the proper method of washing one's face and using the toilet), as well as *Shishihō* (a list of rules for respectful behavior before Buddhist teachers that was cited in Dōgen's *Taitaikohō*).<sup>55</sup> On the first day of each month, Yōkōji monks performed a group recitation of the *Kikyōmon*, a brief exhortation that describes how monastic officers should revere the Buddha dharma.<sup>56</sup> Keizan also composed two meditation manuals (the *Zazen yōjinki* and *Sankon zazenetsu*) to guide his disciples through the practical details of seated meditation.<sup>57</sup>

The fact that two of Keizan's students, Kohō Kakumyō (1271–1361) and Daichi, came to Yōkōji only after years of training under the leading Ch'an masters of China attests to the vigor of the Zen practice Keizan established at Yōkōji.<sup>58</sup> A later incident between Kohō and his disciple Bassui Tokushō (1327–1387) well illustrates the concern with monastic decorum that Kohō learned from Keizan.<sup>59</sup> Kohō inherited Keizan's lineage, but after leaving Yōkōji he assumed the Rinzai lineage of Shinchi Kakushin and taught only Rinzai monks. Yet many Rinzai monks chafed under the strict monastic routines established by Kohō. His most illustrious disciple, Bassui, refused to reside inside Kohō's monastery, complaining that he had come to attain Zen enlightenment—not to learn etiquette.<sup>60</sup> Through Bassui's complaint we know that Keizan probably taught the same emphasis on monastic decorum now usually associated only with Dōgen.



Keizan's religious development seems to have been guided as much by women as by men. Women played powerful roles in many early Zen communities, including those of Dōgen and Giin, but mainly as patrons.<sup>61</sup> Keizan learned from women, especially from his mother and grandmother. His father is never mentioned in his writings. He spent his first eight years being raised by his grandmother, Myōchi. She had been one of Dōgen's first patrons on his return from China.<sup>62</sup> Probably she had been a lay disciple of Myōzen, Dōgen's first teacher.<sup>63</sup> Keizan's links to the Sōtō school began, therefore, literally before his worldly existence. Keizan had left home to become a novice at Eiheiji while still a child, when he was only seven years old. His decision to become a monk might have been prompted either by his grandmother's urging or possibly by her death. In later life, Keizan praised Sonin (Yōkōji's main patron) as the reincarnation of his grandmother. He stated that as teacher and disciple, he and Sonin were inseparable.<sup>64</sup> At Yōkōji, Keizan symbolized his bonds to his grandmother and to Sonin by dedicating the Enzūin Kannon chapel to the memory of Myōchi while providing use of the building to Sonin.<sup>65</sup>

Keizan's mother, Ekan (d. ca. 1314), also appears repeatedly in his writings. She had become the abbess of a Sōtō convent (Jōjūji) while Gikai was still alive.<sup>66</sup> Her temple responsibilities did not prevent Ekan from intervening in her son's career. Keizan wrote that her stern admonitions had checked his growing arrogance when he first rose to prominence under Jakuen at Hōkyōji.<sup>67</sup> The statue of Kannon that Keizan placed in the Enzūin had originally belonged to her. Ekan attributed many miracles to the mysterious power of Kannon, and Keizan believed her. He wrote that all the major events in his life, from his own birth, through his becoming a monk and his dharma succession, to his becoming abbot of Yōkōji, had been due to his mother's faith in and constant prayers to Kannon.<sup>68</sup> Accounts of Kannon calling forth the birth of illustrious monks is a standard hagiographical element. Yet for Keizan, this assertion was no mere pious legend but an autobiographical fact.<sup>69</sup> Perhaps Keizan would have promoted worship of Kannon even without his mother's influence. Yet we cannot doubt that her faith gave added impetus to his emphasis on the power of Kannon.<sup>70</sup>

Ekan's influence remained strong throughout Keizan's life. Shortly before his death, Keizan composed two Buddhist vows inspired by Jakuen's memory and to his mother's dying admonitions.<sup>71</sup> In this document Keizan also praised Ekan's dedication to teaching Buddhism to women. Keizan followed in her footsteps. His disciple Ekyū is the first Japanese nun known to have received a Sōtō dharma transmission.<sup>72</sup> To help her overcome the difficulties of reading Chinese, Keizan gave her a copy of Dōgen's precept manual transcribed in the Japanese phonetic syllabary.<sup>73</sup>



Keizan inherited the diverse magico-religious beliefs of medieval Japan just as readily as he had accepted his mother's faith in Kannon. His writings exalt the minor protective gods associated with Buddhism (such as Bishamon and Karaten), the special beings revered in Zen tradition (such as Shōhō and the *rakan*), as well as native Japanese kami (such as Inari, Hachiman, and the kami of the province).<sup>74</sup> Keizan believed that all of these divinities protected Buddhism and rewarded the faithful. To ensure the success of his temples, Keizan calculated the power of directional influences and the geomancy of the surrounding hills. He timed special events to take advantage of the astrological influences of favorable stars. For example, in his record of the construction of Yōkōji's Buddha hall, Keizan wrote that the excavating, the laying of the foundation stones, the erecting of the pillars, the fixing of the roof, and the final dedication all had been performed on particularly auspicious days. Likewise, Keizan had consulted a Buddhist astrology manual, the *Shukuyōgyō*, in order to select the day for the ceremonial opening of Yōkōji's lecture hall.<sup>75</sup> The repeated references to the above practices (i.e., astrology, geomancy, and the power of worship) in Keizan's writings testify to his own deep faith in their validity.

Keizan's faith in the mystical powers of spirits and of divination was rooted in his own powers of shamanistic communication. Keizan repeatedly conjured visions and spoke to spirits in his mystical dreams.<sup>76</sup> Shamanistic elements are not unusual in meditative traditions such as Zen. Dōgen, for instance, had met Chinese Ch'an masters who relied on dreams to see the future.<sup>77</sup> Yet Keizan relied on his visions to guide every step of his career. According to Keizan's own accounts, he selected the location for the abbot's building at Yōkōji based on the approval of a visiting *rakan*.<sup>78</sup> He enshrined an image of Bishamon after perceiving a promise of protection in a dream.<sup>79</sup> He decided to convert Sōjiji to a Zen temple only after Kannon appeared to request him to do so.<sup>80</sup> When someone questioned the proper geomancy of the mausoleum at Gorōhō, Keizan wrote that he thought to himself, "At this monastery, from the very beginning, in all matters I have relied on the interpretation of my dreams" and then decided that his next vision would determine the location of the mausoleum.<sup>81</sup>

Keizan's dream sequences illustrate how in medieval Japan, the religious activity of a person reflected the sacredness of his or her surroundings even as this same sanctified environment authenticated one's religious quest. For Keizan, Zen enlightenment entailed not just an ineffable insight into religious truth but also involved repeated astral communion with the spiritual guides who established the Buddhist path and guard over it. In one remarkable dream sequence, for example, Keizan described how he journeyed into other realms where the three Buddhas of the past (Vipaśyin), present (Śākyamuni), and future (Maitreya) one

by one confirmed his enlightenment.<sup>82</sup> In other dream episodes the native Japanese spirits of this world (kami such as Hachiman, Inari, etc.) all praised his Zen teachings and promised the future prosperity of Yōkōji.<sup>83</sup> Visions of this type were especially important in medieval Japan, not just to confirm the veracity of religious experience but also as sources of political and sectarian authority.

Keizan's ability to contact the spirits in order to learn their hidden will represents one pulse in a long Japanese tradition of cultic worship based on shamanistic rites of possession and oracular activities.<sup>84</sup> In ancient Japan women seem to have monopolized the role of shamanistic diviner to a great extent, evidently because their femininity or procreative abilities gave them special access to the powers of the unseen world. As Buddhism gained popularity, religious functions previously associated with female shamans also came to be performed by male Buddhist ascetics who sojourned in secluded mountains for ritual meditation. Mountain priests (i.e., *zenji* and *yamabushi*) in particular were seen as being imbued with charismatic powers, because the Japanese regarded the lofty peaks where they trained as meeting grounds between humans and non-human supernatural powers. Keizan's talent for dreaming suggests a different approach to charismatic religious power. Keizan was a Zen monk, trained to sit for hours in silent meditation. He had no need for journeys into the mountains. Instead of going to the mountains to meet spirits and divinities, Keizan conjured visions and recorded his dreams to demonstrate that these special beings naturally came to Yōkōji. The promises of Keizan's best visions, however, were not fulfilled. The future of Japanese Sōtō lay at Sōjiji.

PART TWO

REGIONAL  
EXPANSION





## Sōjiji: The New Institutional Center

Keizan founded Sōjiji. His desire to establish a secure institutional base for his disciples bore fruit in Sōjiji's success. In one of the great ironies of Sōtō history, however, Sōjiji's success robbed support from Keizan's main temple, Yōkōji. In fact, the leaders of Sōjiji consciously emulated the same policies that Keizan had established to ensure the prosperity of Yōkōji and used them to eliminate Yōkōji as a potential rival. Instead of becoming the institutional base intended by Keizan, Yōkōji became the model for Sōjiji's ultimate rise to power. The story of Sōjiji, therefore, begins with the policies that Keizan established at Yōkōji. The story ends with Sōjiji at the center of Japanese Sōtō, the institutional head of four or five separate regional networks, each consisting of several thousand temples located throughout the three main islands of Japan. The ways in which Sōjiji's institutional might has influenced the modern image of Keizan is discussed at the beginning of chapter 8. The methods by which the temples in these regional networks were founded, their role in local religious life, and the regulations that bound them together are explored in subsequent chapters in part 2. In this chapter I examine Sōjiji's transformation from a branch temple to an institutional center.

### *Yōkōji as Institutional Model*

Keizan planned carefully for Yōkōji's success. He cultivated his patron's goodwill and received in writing a pledge that only his lineage would ever assume leadership at Yōkōji.<sup>1</sup> This written pledge obligated Keizan's disciples as well. Keizan stated that each must serve successive terms in the order of their seniority. In other words, Keizan founded Yōkōji from the first with the same system of alternating abbot succession as had been developed gradually at Giin's Daijiji. This system—which offered each

disciple and each of his dharma descendants a turn as abbot—later would become a distinctive feature of most major Sōtō monasteries. Keizan gave further instructions regarding the succession to Yōkōji's abbotship to six of his leading disciples in 1325, only one month before his death. He reminded them that Yōkōji's abbotship must first be filled by his own dharma heirs.<sup>2</sup> Keizan admonished all six disciples to work together to elect proper abbots to Yōkōji. These six disciples were: Meihō Sotetsu, Mugai Chikō (d. 1351), Gasan Jōseki, Koan Shikan (d. 1341), Kohō Kakumyō (1271–1361), and Genshō Chinzan (n.d., the posthumous heir of Keizan's deceased disciple Genka Tekkyō [d. 1321]).<sup>3</sup> Of these six, the first four later served as abbots at Yōkōji.<sup>4</sup>

Keizan elected his disciples not just to Yōkōji's abbotship but to the abbotships of branch temples as well. This provided each disciple with the potential for building a local base of support from which future abbots could be promoted to Yōkōji. In 1323 Keizan had drawn up a list of eight temples—including Daijōji—to be allotted among his disciples.<sup>5</sup> The origins of four of these eight temples are obscure. If Yōkōji was a typical example, then the other temples also probably had been small, one-building chapels erected by minor landowners, originally without any resident clergy. Two of them had been founded by Keizan's mother, Ekan. One of her temples (Jōjūji) was left to Mugai Chikō, while the other one (Hōōji) remained a convent for Sōtō nuns. Keizan appointed Ekan's niece (his own cousin), Myōshō, to be its abbess. Three of the eight temples were not allocated, namely, Daijōji, Yōkōji, and Sōjiji. Daijōji, as mentioned earlier, was no longer within Keizan's control. Yōkōji was not turned over to Meihō until the eighth month of 1325, only one week before Keizan's death.<sup>6</sup> Regarding Sōjiji, Keizan merely noted that it should be converted to a Zen temple even though its patron still lacked proper faith. Keizan was not able to effect that conversion, however, until the fifth month of 1324. Two months later he bequeathed its abbotship to Gasan.<sup>7</sup>

To enhance Yōkōji's sacred aura Keizan attempted to endow its site with special cultic status. In 1323 he founded a shrine on a hill known as Gorōhō (Five Masters' Peak) at Yōkōji to serve as a mausoleum for his own remains and for the sacred relics of the Sōtō patriarchs.<sup>8</sup> Therein he interred the text of Ju-ching's recorded sayings, a fragment of one of Dōgen's bones, a sūtra that Ejō had copied using his own blood as ink, and pieces of Gikai's bones, Gikai's Darumashū succession certificate, and Chinese relic beads (*shari*).<sup>9</sup> These relics animated Gorōhō with the physical and spiritual presence of ancestral lineage that linked Japanese Sōtō to China. According to Keizan, this mausoleum was to be revered by monks at all Sōtō temples. In other words, every year when memorial

services were performed at Yōkōji for the patriarchs enshrined within Gorōhō, representatives from each of the other Sōtō temples were expected to participate in and contribute to the ceremonies. If enacted according to plan, these annual ceremonies would have ensured that Yōkōji would receive financial donations from all of the monasteries associated with Keizan's lineage.

### *Early Sōjiji*

Sōjiji began as Morookadera. It was a small chapel within the precincts of the Morooka Hiko Jinja—the local shrine of the Fugeshi District in the northern half of the Noto Peninsula.<sup>10</sup> Typically, small local shrines (and shrine chapels) of this type did not require any full-time priests. In 1296, however, a local military official donated enough land income to Morookadera to support a resident priest. This anonymous warrior arranged for Jōken, a master (i.e., *ajari*) of esoteric Buddhism with the impressive title of assistant disciplinarian of monks (*gon risshi*), to perform ritual prayers, including the fire invocations (*goma*), on the seventeenth day of each month for the fulfillment of his (the official's) worldly desires and religious salvation.<sup>11</sup> Jōken remained at Morookadera for the next twenty-five years, training disciples in the use of maṇḍala and other esoteric rituals. Then in 1321, when the Morooka Hiko Jinja was relocated from its original site to a neighboring estate, Jōken moved with the shrine to found a new temple (which eventually became known as Hōsenji).<sup>12</sup> At the time of this move, Jōken placed Morookadera under Keizan's guardianship (*ushiromi*).<sup>13</sup> The nature of the relationship between Jōken and Keizan is not known. Keizan left no record of the responsibilities he promised to assume as part of his guardianship.

Instead, Keizan immediately proclaimed the conversion of the Morooka chapel to the Zen school. He wrote a short tract, *Sōjiji chūkō engi* (The History of the Revival of Sōjiji), to argue three points: that Morooka was an old, venerable temple worthy of continued patronage; that Keizan should take control of the temple, giving it the new name "Sōjiji"; and that the local people would thereby obtain increased benefit from worshipping at the new Sōjiji.<sup>14</sup> In support of his first point, Keizan stated that the image of Kannon enshrined in the temple was extremely powerful—radiating Buddhist energy in all directions—because the temple originally had been founded by Gyōgi, the eighth-century Buddhist hero. To justify his own role, Keizan attempted to demonstrate that he was not acting out of selfish motivation. He claimed that Kannon and Kannon's mystical messengers, as well as the other protective spirits of the temple, all had appeared in his dreams to invite him to

convert Morooka to a Zen center. It was a request he could not ignore. To argue his final point, Keizan enshrined a new image of Hōkō bodhisattva. Keizan asserted that this bodhisattva was worshiped by the empresses of Japan and China to ensure the easy delivery of male children. He promised that local women would receive similar benefits.

The summer of 1321, when Jōken placed the Morooka chapel under Keizan's guardianship and Keizan composed the *Sōjiji chūkō engi*, is usually regarded as the date of the founding of Sōjiji. However, it is doubtful that Sōjiji came into being immediately. Following the *Sōjiji chūkō engi*, the next reference to Sōjiji in Keizan's writings does not appear until two years later, during the tenth month of 1323, when Keizan noted that Jōken had desired that Sōjiji not be abandoned even though its patron lacked proper faith.<sup>15</sup> As I explain below, this statement probably referred to continual demands by the patron for the performance of traditional esoteric rituals. One year after having noted the above comments, during the fifth month of 1324 Keizan journeyed to Sōjiji to open its monks' hall formally. Two months later he installed Gasan as Sōjiji's first full-time Zen abbot. On that evening and on the following day Keizan ordained twenty-eight new Zen monks, who thereupon constituted Sōjiji first community.<sup>16</sup> At that point—with a monks' hall in which to practice meditation, a full-time Zen master, and a community of disciples in place—Sōjiji first acquired the characteristics of a Zen monastery. Jōken, however, did not relinquish full control of Sōjiji to Gasan until 1329, more than three years after Keizan's death.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, contributions to the new Zen monastery continued to be addressed to "Morookadera" until as late as 1341.<sup>18</sup>

Sōjiji continued to be known as Morookadera because in the eyes of its main patrons it remained the same temple as before. The documents in which patrons recorded their contributions to Morookadera reveal a remarkable consistency throughout Sōjiji's early history.<sup>19</sup> In 1296 Jōken had been installed at Morooka to perform esoteric prayers on the seventeenth day of each month for the local *ryōke* (i.e., the person holding the main proprietorial rights to the estate income). In 1327, three years after Gasan had become abbot of Sōjiji, additional lands were donated to the temple for the chanting of scripture on the seventeenth day of each month as prayers for the security of the *ryōke* in this life and for his salvation in the next.<sup>20</sup> In 1333 another contribution made in the name of the *ryōke* requested readings of one particular scripture, the *Dai hanyakyō*, as prayers for the security of the imperial court, for the long life of the emperor, and for the worldly success of the *ryōke*.<sup>21</sup> One year later, in 1334, the local military steward (*jitō*) donated land for the building of a shrine to Shōden (an esoteric Buddhist divinity having the head of an elephant and the body of a man) in order to pray for the fulfillment of



the emperor's ambitions and for military victories.<sup>22</sup> In the following year (1335) the lands that provided offerings for Shōden were specified.<sup>23</sup> In 1337 an unsigned directive was issued to Morookadera demanding regular ritual prayers "in accordance with past precedents."<sup>24</sup> Finally, in 1341 another directive reminded Morookadera that it must faithfully perform the prayers requested at the time the *ryōke* gave his original donation forty-five years earlier, in 1296.<sup>25</sup>

The above records demonstrate the influence temple patrons exerted over the religious life of rural Zen monasteries. The religious expectations of patrons played a larger role in the adaption of esoteric or popular rituals into Zen monasticism than did any conscious efforts at popularization. Throughout the forty-five year period covered by these documents, both before and after Keizan had introduced Zen, the basic religious demands of Sōjiji's patrons remained unchanged. When Jōken was first installed as abbot the patrons had requested the performance of the types of esoteric rituals that Jōken was trained to perform. Once Gasan became abbot the patrons' requests changed to scripture recitations, while directing the merit of that service toward the same goals. Later orders repeatedly reminded the Sōjiji monks that deviations from previous precedents would not be tolerated. It is significant that Keizan acknowledged that the supporters of Morookadera lacked proper faith in Zen at the time he converted the chapel into a Zen monastery. This acknowledgment suggests that Keizan had assented to the earlier rituals in order to realize Sōjiji's conversion.

Contributions reveal the interaction between shifting political conditions and Sōjiji's patrons. In 1333, when the Kamakura shogunate fell and Emperor Godaigo returned to Kyoto to begin the restoration of imperial rule, Sōjiji's patrons demonstrated their support of Godaigo's southern court through additional donations to the temple. During this time of social upheaval, however, simple recitation of the scriptures seems to have had insufficient power, for the following year the patrons requested the beginning of prayers to the esoteric divinity Shōden. Thereafter, the patrons' support of the southern court proved short-lived. The directives dated from 1337 (i.e., the year following the founding of the Ashikaga shogunate) were dated with the era names used by the northern court. No new donations were made in the name of prayers for the success of the Ashikaga. Significantly, no extant documents record any additional contributions between 1341 and 1354. In these subsequent documents there are no passages to suggest the continued involvement of the same *ryōke*. The identity of that original *ryōke* is not known, but most likely during the intervening years his family suffered military defeat and financial loss. After 1354 Gasan attracted other patrons willing to support Zen practice at Sōjiji.

### *The Ascension of Sōjiji*

The fall of one shogunate, Emperor Godaigo's attempts to restore imperial rule, and the founding of another shogunate were signposts indicating extensive changes in the social conditions of fourteenth-century Japan. In rural areas the warrior groups that had originally derived their local authority from the Kamakura shogunate were being challenged by the growing economic power of proprietary cultivators (*myōshu*) who had familial roots within their own locality.<sup>26</sup> The family backgrounds of Yōkōji's main patrons illustrate this process of change. The land where Yōkōji was built originally had been held by Sakai Noritsune, Sonin's maternal grandfather.<sup>27</sup> Noritsune had been a locally powerful warrior, who was appointed military land steward (*jitō*) by the Kamakura shogunate. Shigeno Nobunao, in contrast, came from a family with no official positions of authority. As Nobunao increased his own power, however, he not only acquired Sonin as his wife but also purchased her family's land. Then, to protect the newly acquired lands from any possible counterclaims, the land was officially donated to Yōkōji. In many other cases, perhaps in that of Sōjiji's *ryōke*, former regional authorities lost their land incomes through much more violent means. The fifty-year period following Godaigo's failed restoration is usually described as one of civil turmoil during which previously established warrior households and newly emerging groups each sought to consolidate its own base of support. It was during this period of changing power structures that open conflict broke out between Sōjiji and Yōkōji.

Yōkōji remained the premier monastery of Gikai's line during the lifetimes of Keizan's immediate disciples. Following Keizan's death in 1325, Meihō served as Yōkōji's second abbot, a position he held until Daijōji's abbotship became vacant again sometime before 1339. After Meihō returned to Daijōji, Yōkōji's abbotship passed in succession to Mugai, to Gasan, and to Koan, just as Keizan had directed.<sup>28</sup> During Mugai's term, 1339–1340, the Ashikaga shogunate provided a series of contributions for the building of a three-story pagoda at Yōkōji.<sup>29</sup> The shogunate's patronage demonstrates the high status that Yōkōji then enjoyed. The prestige of the new pagoda encouraged even more contributions and income. During the period of the pagoda's construction, many new buildings were erected at Yōkōji, such as a new monks' hall and bath in 1338, a corridor network in 1339, and a bell tower for a bronze bell in 1342.<sup>30</sup>

Yōkōji had continued to grow not only because of political patronage but also because of the united support of Keizan's heirs. These disciples regarded Yōkōji as the head temple of Gikai's line. After completing their own terms, Meihō, Mugai, Gasan, and Koan cooperated in

appointing their own disciples to Yōkōji's abbotship in an ordered succession. Gasan, for example, ordered his disciple Mutei Ryōshō (1313–1361) to return to Noto and represent the Gasan line as abbot of Yōkōji even though Mutei had founded his own monastery (Shōbōji) in northern Honshū.<sup>31</sup> In addition to Mutei, Gasan's other disciples also served as abbots at Yōkōji, including Taigen Sōshin (who was abbot in 1371) and Mutō Esū.<sup>32</sup> The installation of each new abbot was accompanied by special donations and ceremonies financed by all the supporters affiliated with Yōkōji and the new abbot. A list of Yōkōji's properties dated 1379 reveals the existence of four subtemples within Yōkōji, one each for the lines of Meihō, Mugai, Gasan, and Koan.<sup>33</sup> The establishment of these subtemples within Yōkōji means that Yōkōji was managed jointly by representatives of each line. Each new abbot was selected in predetermined order from among the heads of each subtemple. The joint management system ensured Yōkōji's financial prosperity. Yet by the date of this document (1379) that system had failed. Yōkōji's next ten abbots all belonged to Meihō's line.<sup>34</sup> A schism had cut Yōkōji off from the support of the other lineages (see figure 6).

The exact causes and nature of this schism are not known. The documentary evidence is fragmentary. In addition, due to the intense rivalry between Sōjiji and Yōkōji that continued until the Tokugawa period, both temples fabricated contradictory accounts of many events. The documentary evidence must be evaluated in light of the lineages that produced each document. Consider, for example, the fictitious relationship between Keizan and Emperor Godaigo. Sōjiji possesses a list of ten questions that Godaigo supposedly submitted to Keizan at Sōjiji in 1322. Sōjiji tradition claims that in return for Keizan's satisfactory responses Godaigo made Sōjiji the head temple of the Sōtō school later that same year. In opposition to Sōjiji, however, Yōkōji possesses its own version of Godaigo's ten questions that (in their version) were sent to Keizan at Yōkōji in 1320—two years earlier than claimed by Sōjiji. Moreover, Yōkōji tradition claims that Godaigo responded to Keizan's answers by making Yōkōji the head temple of the Sōtō school in 1321.<sup>35</sup>

Few other documents are as blatantly false as these, but even texts that are generally reliable might not convey all of the details with complete accuracy. The *Tōkokuki*, for example, is a reliable collection of Keizan's miscellaneous writings that were compiled into a single manuscript at Daijōji sometime between 1415 and 1432.<sup>36</sup> In addition to Keizan's writings, the final sections of the *Tōkokuki* also contain writings by Meihō and by secular authorities that assert Yōkōji's superiority over Sōjiji. These latter sections naturally must be suspected of distortions. Supporters of Sōjiji, however, would argue that all the writings attributed to Keizan are also unreliable since they might have been edited to Sōjiji's

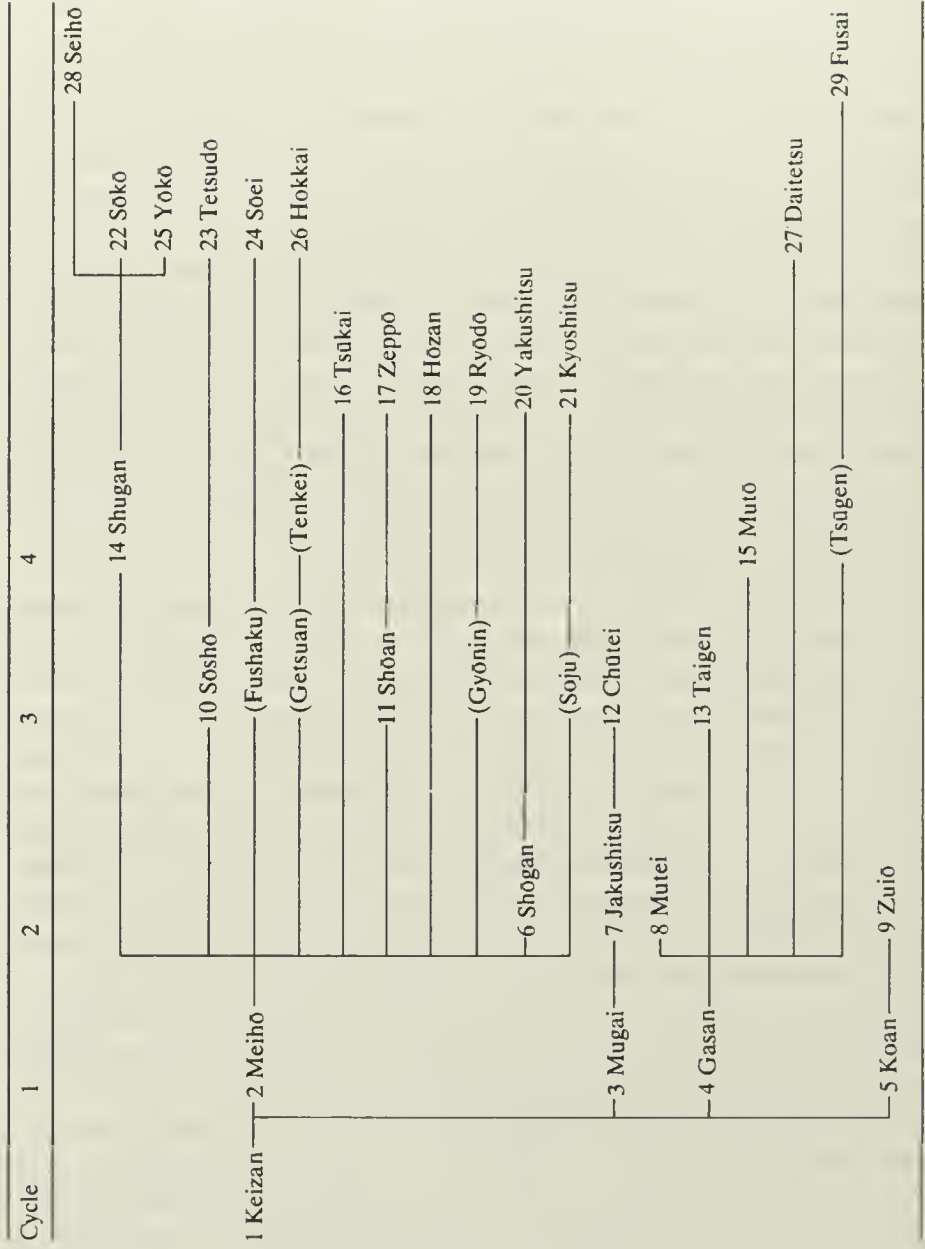


Figure 6. Dharma Lineages and the Abbotship of Yōkōji



detriment when the manuscript was compiled.<sup>37</sup> These textual uncertainties render many historical details subject to conflicting interpretation. With this caveat in mind, let us summarize the broad outline of the schism between Yōkōji and Sōjiji so far as the evidence allows.

Sōjiji attained power sufficient to challenge Yōkōji first through the strong patronage that Gasan attracted and then through the policies implemented by his disciples. Gasan had cultivated the support of the Hasebe family in particular by means of direct proselytizing. This practice resembled Keizan's teaching Zen to Shigeno Nobunao and Sonin. Hasebe Yoritada, for example, explicitly referred to "my teacher, master Gasan" (*shishō Gasan oshō*) in his writ of contribution addressed to Sōjiji in 1354.<sup>38</sup> In 1361 and 1363 additional contributions were made by Hasebe Hidetsura and his brother Norinobu.<sup>39</sup> Continued support by the same family is indicated by records of contributions from Hasebe Masatsura in 1375 and 1378.<sup>40</sup> The advantages of steady support from this established family of patrons cannot be underestimated. Also similar to Keizan's pattern of support at Yōkōji was the presence of many nuns who made donations to Sōjiji. Among these nuns were members of the same Hasebe family.<sup>41</sup> Again several nuns included the words "my teacher, master Gasan" in their writs contributing land.<sup>42</sup> One nun contributor, Soichi, is known to have inherited Gasan's dharma line.<sup>43</sup>

Gasan by himself, however, could not ensure Sōjiji's future importance. Following his death (during the tenth month of 1366) Sōjiji had no system for ensuring the smooth succession of abbots. His former disciples were free to serve as abbots at Yōkōji without returning to Sōjiji (Mutō Esū, for example) or to establish their own temples independent of both Sōjiji and Yōkōji (as did Gennō Shinshō, for example). At first these practices seemed to pose no threat to Sōjiji, since other disciples of Gasan were willing to assume Sōjiji's abbotship briefly before founding their own temples. Moreover, in 1368 several of the temples founded by Gasan's disciples demonstrated support for Sōjiji with a pledge to provide cash donations to Sōjiji for annual memorial rites in honor of Keizan, who was officially the first abbot of Sōjiji.<sup>44</sup> Within only eight years after Gasan's death (i.e., by 1374), Sōjiji had already seen its ninth abbot, Jippō Ryōshū (d. 1405).<sup>45</sup> During these first eight years Sōjiji thrived.

Following Jippō's inauguration, however, no one willing to serve as Sōjiji's tenth-generation abbot could be found among Gasan's past disciples.<sup>46</sup> Because of this difficulty, Jippō was succeeded by Sōjiji's former fifth-generation abbot, Tsūgen Jakurei (1322–1391).<sup>47</sup> For the next twelve years Sōjiji's affairs were managed jointly by Jippō, Tsūgen, and two other former abbots, namely, the eighth, Daitetsu Sōrei (1333–1408), and until his death in 1387 the seventh, Mutan Sokan. The policies

adopted by these four former abbots not only helped to secure Sōjiji's ascension over Yōkōji but also helped to promote Sōjiji to the head of Gasan-line temples. These are the four men most responsible for the transformation of Keizan into the second patriarch of the Sōtō school and for Sōjiji's prominence. As revealed in their directives, the goal of these former abbots was to channel to Sōjiji the support that Gasan-line monks hitherto had been providing to Yōkōji.<sup>48</sup> Three of the directives issued jointly by these former abbots are particularly noteworthy.

The first, issued in 1378, ordered all members of Gasan's line to refrain from serving as abbot at Yōkōji unless monks from Sōjiji were granted senior standing (*tōdōi*). The directive further ordered that henceforth Sōjiji would be the head temple (*honji*) of Gasan's line and anyone who failed to support Sōjiji would forfeit all status within the Gasan faction.<sup>49</sup> The full implications of the senior standing demanded in this document are not clear.<sup>50</sup> Retired abbots always receive senior status within their own temples, but retired abbots visiting from other temples have lower status. If monks from Sōjiji were to have received superior rank even at Yōkōji, then the implication is that Yōkōji was a junior branch of Sōjiji and not an independent monastery. Senior status probably would have freed Sōjiji from any obligation to finance the activities of its representatives at Yōkōji.

The next directive, issued in 1380, ordered all temples founded by Gasan's disciples to participate in Sōjiji's annual memorial services for Keizan and Gasan or risk being expelled from Gasan's faction.<sup>51</sup> Although this directive does not mention cash contributions, there is no doubt that these memorial services were an important source of Sōjiji's income.

In spite of the first two directives, Sōjiji still seems to have had difficulty in securing the cooperation of Gasan's remaining disciples. Even after the second directive, for example, Jippō had to assume Sōjiji's abbotship for the second time. Likewise, in 1382 Tsūgen again inherited Sōjiji's abbotship from Jippō.<sup>52</sup> Tsūgen is reported to have declared that of Gasan's twenty-five heirs all but eleven later betrayed their teacher.<sup>53</sup> It is doubtful whether Gasan knew twenty-five heirs, but this remark accurately conveys Tsūgen's frustration.<sup>54</sup> Gasan's disciple Gessen Ryōin (1319–1400), for example, refused four requests to serve as abbot at Sōjiji—three from Tsūgen (in 1371, 1376, and 1397) and one from Jippō (in 1391).<sup>55</sup>

Finally, in 1384 the last of the so-called eleven faithful disciples, Chikudō Ryōgen, was installed as Sōjiji's tenth-generation abbot. Following Chikudō, however, the same difficulties persisted. By 1386 Daitetsu had become abbot for a second time.<sup>56</sup> Following Daitetsu, in 1388 Tsūgen became Sōjiji's abbot for his fourth time.<sup>57</sup> Unable to enlist the support

of any of Gasan's other disciples, Tsūgen, Jippō, and Daitetsu were finally forced to turn to the heirs of Gasan's heirs. In the autumn of 1390 they elected Baisan Monpon (d. 1417) as the eleventh-generation abbot of Sōjiji. Two days before Baisan's inauguration (the day before Tsūgen retired) Tsūgen, Daitetsu, and Jippō, issued their third directive.<sup>58</sup>

This 1390 directive established for the first time a fixed procedure for electing new abbots to Sōjiji. In so doing, it essentially established Sōjiji as the head temple of the five Gasan-line factions represented by Tsūgen, Jippō, Daitetsu, Baisan, and the late Mutan Sokan.<sup>59</sup> Instead of referring to Baisan's line, however, the directive used the name of Baisan's late teacher Taigen Sōshin (d. ca. 1371), who had served as Sōjiji's third-generation abbot immediately following Gasan's death in 1366.<sup>60</sup> Five monasteries (the main temples for each of these five factions) were directed to appoint future abbots. Each faction would nominate its own members to the Sōjiji abbotship, but the candidate had to receive approval from all five monasteries. Even a monk who had never been abbot of a temple could be eligible so long as he was a member of one of the five factions.

This system produced a steady supply of new abbots, beginning in 1393 with Tsūgen's disciple Fusai Zenkyū (1347–1408).<sup>61</sup> The date of the next abbot's inauguration is not known, but judging from the fact that his successor, Chikusan Tokusen (1344–1413), began his term in 1397, we know that the new abbots appeared in regular succession.<sup>62</sup> The five factions continued to be represented at Sōjiji by the five head temples of each lineage named in the third directive until at least 1402.<sup>63</sup> Shortly thereafter, by 1411, subtemples for each faction had been constructed within Sōjiji just as had been done before at Yōkōji.<sup>64</sup> These five subtemples jointly managed Sōjiji until modern times, ensuring that Sōjiji commanded the support of the majority of Sōtō temples affiliated with Gasan's line.

By this time, former abbots from Sōjiji once again began serving terms at Yōkōji. Daitetsu became Yōkōji's twenty-seventh-generation abbot sometime after 1402 (when he was at Sōjiji).<sup>65</sup> In 1406 Tsūgen's disciple Fusai became Yōkōji's twenty-ninth generation abbot.<sup>66</sup> Four years later, in 1410, Chikusan also became abbot at Yōkōji.<sup>67</sup> The return of Sōjiji monks to Yōkōji did not represent any reconciliation between the two monasteries. On the contrary, a document included in the *Tōkokuki* indicates that the schism had actually grown worse.<sup>68</sup> This document contains the assertions of Meihō's faction. It purports to be the text of an appeal submitted by members of Meihō's line to the military land steward of Noto in 1415.

The main thrust of the arguments in the appeal reveals that Meihō's descendants had exclusive control of Daijōji, which they claimed to be the head temple of Gikai's line—including Sōjiji and all the other temples



founded by Keizan.<sup>69</sup> In support of Daijōji's claim to special head-temple status, the appeal asserted that a monastery founded by Gikai should be ranked higher because Gikai was Keizan's senior teacher. Meihō's descendants argued that Sōjiji amounted to no more than a private temple, since Keizan had bequeathed it to Gasan. The appeal further claimed that Keizan himself had ordered Meihō to administer the entire Sōtō school from Daijōji. Today Daijōji possesses an edict naming Meihō registrar (*sōroku*) of Sōtō monks, supposedly signed by Keizan—which demonstrates only that the fabrication of documents was not confined to Sōjiji and Yōkōji.<sup>70</sup>

Next, the appeal summarized the background of the schism between Yōkōji and Sōjiji. According to this account, the difficulties began during Taigen Sōshin's term as abbot at Yōkōji, when he attempted to assert that former abbots from Sōjiji should have the same senior rank as former abbots from Daijōji. Mugai's faction also supported the claim for equal status. Gasan's faction from Sōjiji and Mugai's faction from Jōjūji argued that Daijōji and their two temples should have equal status because Keizan had allotted each to one of his disciples. The next Yōkōji abbot from Sōjiji, Mutō Esū, also attempted to assert this claim for equal status but failed. The appeal states that when further efforts also proved fruitless, the Sōjiji and Jōjūji monks destroyed the subtemples managed by their factions at Yōkōji and ceased all relations with Yōkōji and with members of Meihō's line for a period of twenty years. Thus far the *Tōkokuki* document is in general agreement with the evidence available from sources related to Sōjiji. The subsequent events on which the appeal was based, however, are described only in this source.

The appeal argues that the return of Sōjiji monks to Yōkōji was facilitated through extortion by Sōjiji's powerful patrons. In particular, the appeal states that the Jinbō family forced Yōkōji to admit Sōjiji monks to superior status, by seizing the landholdings of patrons who supported Meihō-line temples. No sufficient evidence exists to prove or disprove this claim.<sup>71</sup> This version of events does fit with some of the known facts concerning the military conquests of the Jinbō family in the Noto area. Moreover, the Gasan-line monk Zuigan Shōrin (mentioned by name in the appeal), who had moved from Sōjiji to Yōkōji in 1406, was of Jinbō family descent.<sup>72</sup> As seen in the careers of Dōgen's disciples described in the previous chapter, this appeal demonstrates that relationships between temples cannot be analyzed in full until more detailed knowledge concerning the relations between their respective patrons becomes available.

The above record, while incomplete, is sufficient for grasping the broad outline of Sōjiji's ascension following Keizan's death. The goal that Keizan had worked for—namely, the cooperative management of Yōkōji by the descendants of each of his disciples—did not survive



beyond the lifetimes of his first generation of disciples. Instead of supporting Yōkōji, Meihō's faction attempted to consolidate its power at Daijōji while Gasan's faction attempted to consolidate its power at Sōjiji. By the time of the Meihō faction appeal in 1415, Sōjiji had emerged as the most powerful. Because of Sōjiji's eventual success, the documentary evidence for the policies implemented by Sōjiji's abbots has been preserved.

The policies of Sōjiji's abbots alone, however, cannot provide an adequate explanation for Sōjiji's growing power and importance. The conflicts between Gasan's faction and the other medieval Sōtō factions become meaningful only when seen within the context of the sectarian networks of branch temples from which these factions derived their true strength. The next chapter, therefore, examines the Sōtō school's patterns of regional growth. The early phases of this growth reveal how patrons and monasteries interacted to popularize Sōtō school practices. The subsequent chapter discusses the policies to regulate the Sōtō order implemented at other major monasteries.

## The Popularization of Sōtō

From the beginning Japanese Sōtō was a rural phenomenon. Dōgen moved to Echizen. His disciples founded new temples in areas further remote, north to Kaga and south to distant Higo on the island of Kyūshū. Keizan subsequently expanded the range of temples in his control from Kaga Province to Noto. Keizan's first three main disciples (i.e., Meihō, Mugai, and Koan), however, devoted their energies to consolidating the economic foundations of his temples rather than attempting to found new ones. The impetus for continued regional growth came mainly from among the disciples of Keizan's fourth successor, Gasan. Histories compiled during the Tokugawa period credit the founding of more than twenty monasteries to just thirteen of Gasan's disciples. Geographically, these monasteries range over seventeen provinces, from Mutsu on the northern tip of Honshū to Hyūga on the southern tip of Kyūshū. In other words, monks from just one monastery (Sōjiji) laid the foundations for the development of Sōtō communities literally from one end of Japan to the other, within the span of just one generation (see table 1).

Tokugawa-period historians most certainly exaggerated the number of temples attributed to this group of thirteen disciples. Their exaggerations, however, probably supplement gaps in the historical record of Gasan's other disciples whose biographies were lost and whose temples were destroyed. Possibly the actual number of Sōtō temples founded by Gasan's disciples exceeds the exaggerated claims of later generations.<sup>1</sup> As indicated by the wide geographic distribution of the new Sōtō monasteries, Gasan's disciples were remarkably well traveled. Of the thirteen disciples mentioned above, only three were from Noto (the location of Sōjiji) and only two more were from neighboring provinces. More important, only one is known to have returned to his native province. Most of Gasan's other disciples seem to have journeyed across wide areas

**Table 1. Monasteries Attributed to Gasan's Disciples**

DISCIPLE	HOME PROVINCE	MONASTERY NAME	MONASTERY LOCATION
1. Mugai Enshō (1311–1381)	Satsuma	Kōtokuji	Hyūga
2. Tsūgen Jakurei (1322–1391)	Bungo	Yōtakuji Ryūsenji	Tanba Echizen
3. Musai Junshō (d. 1381)	Noto	Jitokuji	Etchū
4. Gennō Shinshō (1329–1400)	Echigo	Taikyūji Senkeiji Jigenji	Hōki Shimotsuke Iwashiro
5. Taigen Sōshin (d. ca. 1371)	Kaga	Butsudaji	Kaga
6. Daitetsu Sōrei (1333–1408)	Hizen	Myōōji Rissenji Gokokuji	Mino Etchū Settsu
7. Mutan Sokan (d. 1387)	Noto	Shōenji	Echizen
8. Jikugen Chōsai		Baikōin	Noto
9. Dōsō Dōai (d. 1379)	Ugo	Eitokuji Kōtakuji	Rikuchū Mutsu
10. Gessen Ryōin (1319–1400)	Mutsu	Hodaji Ryūonji Daitsūji	Ugo Hitachi Kazusa
11. Chikudō Ryōgen	Yamashiro	Kenfukuji	Ise
12. Jippō Ryōshū (d. 1405)		Yōjuji Reishōji	Noto Shinano
13. Mutei Ryōshō (1313–1361)	Noto	Shōbōji	Mutsu

of Japan. Tsūgen Jakurei, for example, was a native of Bungo, yet his main monastery was founded in Tanba. Gennō Shinshō arrived at Sōjiji from Echigo but later founded monasteries in Hōki, Shimotsuke, and Iwashiro. Likewise, although Daitetsu Sōrei came from Hizen in Kyūshū, he established monasteries in Mino, Etchū, and Settsu, all provinces of central Japan.

In contrast to the wide travels of Gasan's disciples, the monks who studied under Keizan's other heirs (i.e., Meihō, Mugai, and Koan) seem to have been active mainly within the north-central region, near Daijōji, Yōkōji, and Sōjiji. Because of their proximity to these major monasteries and to each other, the temples founded by these monks never obtained

powerful patrons or secure sources of income. Ultimately, most of these monasteries were unable to survive the turmoil of Ikkō *ikki* (revolts) and other warfare of the medieval period. For example, six Yōkōji-affiliated monasteries located in the Suzu area of Noto disappeared between 1479 and 1574. All six of these lost monasteries had been founded by monks in the Koan and Meihō lines.<sup>2</sup> Among Meihō's dharma heirs, only Daichi succeeded in founding a major monastery in another region of Japan, namely, Kōfukuji in Higo. Yet Daichi not only lost the support of his principal patron (the ill-fated Kikuchi family) but also failed to establish any policies to ensure the survival of his line.<sup>3</sup>

The ascension of Sōjiji, therefore, had been rooted in the support it commanded from a wide geographic base, a base made possible by the greater propensity for travel found among Gasan's disciples. The reasons for this geographical disparity between the lineages founded by Keizan's disciples remain unclear. Simple chronology might have been one contributing cause. Gasan was both younger and longer lived than Keizan's other disciples. By the time his students were leaving Sōjiji to establish themselves, monks in the other Sōtō lineages had already founded monasteries in the neighboring areas.

The monasteries founded by Gasan's disciples, in turn, became centers for further regional expansion. As new branch temples were founded by disciples of Gasan's disciples, the older Sōtō monasteries became heads of regional factions. These factions rarely overlapped geographically because of the great distances that separated each of these monasteries founded by Gasan's direct disciples. Therefore, the Sōtō school expanded simultaneously into many regions across Japan. Initially, the majority of new Sōtō monasteries and temples seem to have been founded primarily in mountainous regions or in poorer agricultural areas—in the types of locations where other strong Buddhist organizations were lacking. Support for the construction of the new Sōtō temples came mainly from middle-level, landed warrior groups or from locally powerful cultivators.<sup>4</sup> As a group these patrons were rarely important enough to appear in historical records but just wealthy and numerous enough to sponsor scores of new temples.<sup>5</sup> The pace of new temple construction must have been staggering. Reliable dates for the founding of many Sōtō temples are impossible to obtain, yet repeated surveys suggest that the majority had been founded (or were converted to the Sōtō school) during the 200 year period between 1450 and 1650.<sup>6</sup> Even if one were to assume that only half of the 17,549 Sōtō temples reported in a Tokugawa-period census (ca. 1745–1747) were founded during this period, simple arithmetic would suggest that on the average more than forty-three new temples and monasteries were founded each year.<sup>7</sup> Regardless of the precise figures, this obviously high rate of growth raises several basic questions:



Who supported the new Sōtō temples and monasteries and why? Why did some lineages thrive while others died out? What policies were devised by Sōtō monks to manage these vast numbers of new temples?

### *Patterns of Regional Growth*

In general, medieval Sōtō temples can be divided into two broad categories depending on whether the primary motivation for the temple's construction originated within the patron's own circumstances or developed as a result of direct proselytizing by a local Sōtō teacher. Although most well-known monasteries enjoyed strong secular patronage, when surveyed as a whole the majority of Sōtō temples have no records of secular founding patrons.<sup>8</sup> Nonetheless, traditional accounts of Japanese Zen history have emphasized the indispensable role of the warrior patrons who donated the lands and yearly income for new temples. In this view, the popularization of Japanese Sōtō depended on patrons who imposed the new temples on the local population, from the top down, as part of policies intended to further secular political goals.<sup>9</sup> These political policies, however, often exploited the proselytizing efforts of itinerant Zen teachers, efforts that would have enhanced the political appeal of temple patronage. Even in temples that did have a founding patron, actual patronage began only after proselytizing by a Sōtō teacher had attracted widespread support among the local populace.<sup>10</sup>

A well-known example of this process is the Sōtō monastery Ryūenji in Kumagaya (Saitama Prefecture), founded in 1411 through the patronage of a local warrior known as Narita Ietoki. According to Ryūenji records, the founding abbot of this temple, Waan Seijun, first became known to the local people when he appeared one day at a nearby Amitābha chapel. Seijun spent several weeks at the Amitābha chapel practicing meditation and chanting. The local people soon began to regard him as a Zen saint (*rakan*). They came in great numbers to request Seijun to copy scriptures and perform other Buddhist rituals in their behalf. It was only after Narita Ietoki had sent his men to investigate the cause of Seijun's growing popularity that he (Narita) decided to sponsor a new monastery (the future Ryūenji) for Seijun.<sup>11</sup> In this case, the establishment of a new Sōtō monastery was effected from the bottom up, as the secular patron attempted to respond to (and take advantage of) the fame acquired by a resident Sōtō teacher among the local villagers.

A similar process must have occurred among many of the monasteries founded by Gasan's disciples and by their heirs. Unless these monks had already been journeying through the remote provinces of Japan, they would not have attracted the attention of patrons to found distant monasteries. Support for this assumption comes from one impartial observer,

Kisen Shūshō (d. 1493), an officer within the *Gozan* registrar of monks (*sōroku*). Kisen described Gasan's lineage as being composed of self-styled "men of the Way" (*dōnin*) who traveled about the country residing in rural chapels and shrines.<sup>12</sup> Kisen framed his remark as a criticism, yet it accurately characterizes the efforts of many Sōtō monks to gain control of rural religious facilities. A prime example of the type of itinerant monk to which Kisen refers is Mujaku Myōyū (1333–1393). Mujaku's travels covered more than ten provinces, during which he administered the bodhisattva precepts to celebrants from the Grand Shrine of Ise, resided on sacred Mt. Miwa, and converted at least seven rural chapels to Sōtō temples.<sup>13</sup>

The conversion of rural chapels into Sōtō temples reflects the changing role of religious facilities within rural villages.<sup>14</sup> Most medieval Sōtō monasteries began as small, insignificant chapels, just as Morookadera, which had been a shrine chapel, grew into Sōjiji. By Gasan's day small Buddhist chapels were a universal feature of rural village communities. Originally these worship halls would have lacked any full-time, resident monks or institutional affiliation. Later historical sources often identify Sōtō monasteries as having been built at the sites of former Tendai or Shingon chapels, but these sectarian labels are usually based on nothing more than the type of Buddhist terms used in the chapel's original name or the type of image originally enshrined there. In actual practice rural chapels served as a center for whatever rituals might be performed by villagers or any itinerant religious teacher who happened to be available.<sup>15</sup> An association of village elders collectively supervised maintenance and seasonal rites. The social functions of these chapels, therefore, extended beyond occasional religious services. They reflected the power structure and hierarchy of the village families. As village communities attempted to assert greater social and political autonomy during the fourteenth century, local shrines and Buddhist chapels provided potent symbols of communal solidarity.<sup>16</sup>

When a locally powerful family converted a communal village chapel into a formal Buddhist temple founded on private patronage, the local authority exercised by that family increased. The regional expansion of the Sōtō school began during a period in which the growth of exploitable wealth in medieval village communities led to increased competition for control over local means of production. Regional warriors, proprietorial lords, and village leaders used all available means to enhance their competitive position. Sponsoring new temples provided religious prestige and consolidated local power.<sup>17</sup> For this reason, the incorporation of rural village chapels into the formal Buddhist denominations reflects the outcome of localized power struggles. Each local competing faction proba-

bly attempted to draw the local chapel into its own power base. According to the conversion “from above” theory, new Sōtō temples were sponsored by locally powerful leaders who exploited the religious authority conferred by the new temple. Even without this type of powerful strong man, however, new temples were founded in villages by Buddhist teachers who earned the confidence of the local elders. In this latter case, the new temple functioned as a rallying point for resistance to outside exploitation. In some cases a Buddhist teacher won the confidence of both the village leaders and the local military ruler, and the new temple became a significant avenue of communication and mutual accommodation between lord and peasantry.

The rapid growth of new Sōtō monasteries in rural areas resulted from the ability of Sōtō monks to attract the support of the ascending local power groups. Zen teachers in Kamakura and Kyoto won sponsorship in part through their reputation for knowledge of Chinese culture, Confucian learning, and strict monastic discipline. In rural areas these qualities were insufficient. Few rural leaders were cosmopolitan (or powerful) enough to invite unknown Zen masters from afar. Sōtō monks had to journey into these isolated areas for personal proselytizing in order to attain control of such large numbers of rural chapels. Both willingness to travel into unknown areas and strong personal charisma were essential for success. The biographies of prominent Sōtō monks abound with tales of travels accompanied by strange supernatural events. Although these miraculous stories cannot be accepted as literal truth, they indicate the importance attached to religious charisma.<sup>18</sup> With their strong aura of mystical power, many early Sōtō teachers resemble the ancient mountain ascetics (*zenji*) as well as their contemporary counterparts, the rural *yamabushi* and *hijiri* who wandered across the countryside acquiring power through communion with sacred mountains.

Mountain pilgrimage is a standard motif in many Sōtō biographies and temple histories. The founding of Zuisekiji (Omen Rock Monastery) by Tenshin Yūteki (1341–1413, a disciple of Mujaku Myōyū) illustrates how Sōtō monks appropriated the cultic power of sacred mountains. Tenshin had been living in seclusion in Kinsei Village (Chikuzen Province) when the local residents first asked him to found a new temple. But he could not accept their request without a divine sign. Tenshin journeyed to the nearby sacred Mt. Hiko to practice austerities. Later, when Tenshin returned to Kinsei Village, a rock fell out of the sleeve of his robe. Just as the rock hit the ground a three-foot-tall man suddenly appeared—the spirit of the mountain. This apparition was the proper sign, and construction of the new temple began.<sup>19</sup> Similar accounts of mountain spirits endorsing the founding of new Sōtō monasteries com-



monly occur not only in later records but also in the writings of temple founders. Gasan's disciple Mutei Ryōshō, for example, wrote that a series of dreams and a visitation by a sacred deer at Mt. Kuroishi in 1348 had convinced him that the mountain spirit wanted him to found a new monastery.<sup>20</sup>

Gasan's Sōjiji must have attracted many visitors from among the ranks of traditional mountain ascetics. Only seasoned mountain pilgrims would have readily endured the journey to Sōjiji's remote location on the Noto peninsula. But even monks without any experience in mountain pilgrimages would have had many opportunities to observe the practices of other mountain ascetics because the road leading from Yōkōji to Sōjiji passes along the base of Sekidōzan (a.k.a. Isurugiyama), an important sacred mountain.<sup>21</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, that many of the monasteries founded by Gasan's disciples are also located along mountain pilgrimage routes or even within the environs of well-known sacred mountains.<sup>22</sup> These facts have led one scholar, Imaeda Aishin, to suggest that Sōtō expanded mainly by absorbing the ancient chapels on sacred mountains throughout northern Japan that traditionally were used by wandering ascetics. According to Imaeda these chapels formed a separate branch of Tendai headquartered at Heisenji on sacred Hakusan, near which Eiheiiji is located. In Imaeda's view, Keizan promoted Hakusan worship in order to attract mountain ascetics from these Hakusan Tendai temples. The link between Keizan and Hakusan worship explains why Sōjiji rapidly acquired branch temples while Eiheiiji remained isolated.<sup>23</sup>

Imaeda has raised a very important issue. Japanese Sōtō monks have traditionally carried talismans that invoke the protection of Hakusan, and many Sōtō monasteries enshrine Hakusan as a guardian spirit.<sup>24</sup> Likewise, Keizan's writings contain repeated references to the spirit of Hakusan. One Sōtō temple (Senkōji, Fukuoka Prefecture) even possesses a Hakusan talisman said to be in Keizan's own handwriting.<sup>25</sup> The evidence, however, is not as simple as Imaeda suggests. Even the existence of a medieval Hakusan Tendai has not been established. Rather than forming a separate network of temples, Heisenji actually had strong ties to both Mt. Hiei and Onjōji (the two main Tendai establishments). Sekidōzan, the sacred mountain near Yōkōji and Sōjiji that Imaeda identifies as a branch of Hakusan, had strong affiliations with the Shingon school on Mt. Kōya. The mountain spirit of Hakusan has always been identified with the eleven-faced Kannon bodhisattva. Yet the spirit of Sekidōzan (known as Gosha) represents Kokūzō bodhisattva. Many medieval Sōtō monasteries did originate as Kannon chapels (as also did Dōgen's Kōshōji in Kyoto) but not necessarily as branches of Heisenji. Tsūgen's Yōtakuji, for example, enshrines a "Guze" Kannon and



Mutei's Shōbōji enshrines a "Nyoirin" Kannon—not the eleven-faced form associated with Hakusan. Moreover, Keizan had identified the guardian spirit of Yōkōji as Inari. Although Imaeda's hypothesis is intriguing, Hakusan worship would have been only one factor among more important local circumstances.<sup>26</sup>

Moreover, Sōtō monks could proselytize effectively without appeals to Hakusan faith. They possessed many advantages over traditional itinerant holy men. First, Sōtō monks were fully ordained members of the clergy trained in monastic discipline and empowered to conduct precept ordinations and Buddhist funerals.<sup>27</sup> Medieval funeral sermons reveal that even mountain ascetics (*yamabushi*) came to Sōtō teachers for funeral services.<sup>28</sup> Second, through their Zen lineage Sōtō monks could claim inheritance to an unbroken transmission of enlightenment derived directly from the Buddha in ancient India. With this exclusive lineage Zen teachers claimed to be local representative of the distant Buddha. Finally, among rural Japanese the ability to sit for hours in silent Zen meditation was perceived as an even stronger source of magical power (*zenjōriki*), available year-round, than spiritual potency obtained from mountains.

The following folk legend concerning Baisan Monpon illustrates how a traditional Buddhist miracle motif was adapted to emphasize Zen powers. Baisan is said to have always traveled in complete poverty—when people gave him rice he would cook it for other monks. One night he took refuge in a rural home while the master of the house was away. When the master returned completely drunk later that night, he mistook Baisan's seated figure for an intruder, someone who had sneaked into his house to see his wife. He drew his sword in a jealous rage and cleaved into the monk.<sup>29</sup> The following morning, however, the master awoke sober and full of remorse at his rash deed. He rushed into the front room to discover whom he had killed. To his surprise he found Baisan calmly sitting in meditation completely unharmed. Shocked, the man asked how this could be? Baisan said nothing. Instead, he took out the small image of Kannon bodhisattva that he always carried inside his robe and carefully unwrapped its cloth cover. Inside the Kannon had been split in two. At that very moment, the man bowed down and became Baisan's disciple.<sup>30</sup>

This story contains all the standard elements of a typical "body exchange" (*mikawari*) tale in which a bodhisattva endures an injury in place of another (i.e., the piety and charity of the victim versus the wrongful anger of the attacker). Yet it also makes clear that Baisan enjoyed the miraculous protection of the Buddhas because of his seated meditation. It was the charisma of Baisan's silent, seated figure that won the instant devotion of the penitent warrior.

### *Sōtō Temples in Rural Life*

Rural Sōtō temples, whether founded as a result of a Sōtō teacher's proselytizing or as a result of warrior alliances, functioned not only as centers for Zen practice but also as centers of lay religious veneration.<sup>31</sup> The religious attitudes of monastic patrons differed little regardless of their secular status. Although the economic and political roles of peasant leaders and warrior lords placed them in mutual conflict, both groups derived power from their ability to organize and control local agricultural production.<sup>32</sup> The ambitions of both groups often suffered unexpected reversals due to human failings and the irregularity of natural events. More important, both groups were born in the same rural nexus and raised on the same village cycle of traditional annual religious rites. These traditional rites expressed simple prayers for the success of the harvest and the prosperity of the household. Rural chapels originally served as focal points to augment the efficacy of these prayers. As revealed by the early history of the transformation of Morookadera into Sōjiji, local patrons expected these same religious functions to be performed after the inauguration of a new Zen teacher.

As a rule Sōtō teachers conformed to these expectations. Regardless of the sectarian orientation of the original central image in a rural chapel, it usually would not be replaced. Theoretically, Zen temples should enshrine images of Shaka, but many Sōtō monasteries enshrine images of Kannon, Yakushi (Skt. Bhaiṣajyaguru), Jizō, and Amitābha.<sup>33</sup> This indicates that rather than supplanting the petitionary role of the village chapel, new Sōtō monasteries were founded in order to enhance it.

In textbook descriptions of Japanese Buddhism, ritual prayers for worldly prosperity (*genze riyaku*) are usually associated with the esoteric tantras practiced in the Tendai and Shingon traditions. Sōtō teachers, however, rarely attempted to compete with Tendai and Shingon monks in the performance of elaborate tantric displays. Adapting these rites would have undermined the claims of Zen teachers that they represented a transmission of enlightenment not found in other forms of Buddhism.<sup>34</sup> Instead, Sōtō monks (and rural Zen teachers in general) relied on the solemn dignity of their own Chinese-style Zen rites to impress patrons with their religious power.<sup>35</sup> Chinese Ch'an tradition already included rituals for chanting scripture and mystical formulae, to the accompaniment of special gongs and music.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, Chinese monastic codes already included ritual prayers for many crucial agricultural concerns, such as prayers for sunshine (*kisei*), for rain (*kiu*), for snow (*kisetsu*), to prevent insects from damaging crops (*kenkō*), and for protection from solar and lunar eclipses.<sup>37</sup> In performing these ritual prayers, Zen monks would not invoke the power of a special Buddhist divinity (as would be done in

esoteric rites) but the spiritual power derived from their own monastic discipline and meditation practice.

Therefore, the appeal of traditional Zen monastic practice cannot be underestimated when considering monks' ability to earn the respect and support of patrons. Critics of Japanese Buddhism and its rampant secularization tend to create the impression that prayers for worldly benefits and monastic practice are somehow incompatible. However, the opposite can be just as true. In the eyes of rural laymen the power of Buddhist prayers was enhanced by the ritual and meditative practice of the monks. Consider the example of scripture recitations performed as supplications before native divinities (i.e., kami or *ryūten*). Sōtō descriptions of this ceremony require the monks to recite the Heart Sūtra while seated in meditation, chanting the entire scripture in one breath.<sup>38</sup> With each new breath a monk recites the entire scripture again—a feat not easily accomplished without breath control gained through years of cultivating meditative power (*zenjōriki*).

This type of meditative recitation typically occurs in rituals to bring about worldly benefits, such as to summon rain or to endow physical objects with spiritual power (*tamashi ire*; literally, “to install the spirit”).<sup>39</sup> All ritual objects (such as new Buddhist images, memorial pillars, talismans, and mortuary tablets) would be consecrated (*tengen*) by a similar ritual before being used. To be ritually effective, a Sōtō monk would have to inscribe the object and recite a series of secret Zen verses simultaneously while continually maintaining a meditative state of pure awareness undisturbed by a single thought. The consecration process then would be followed with a special session of Zen meditation.<sup>40</sup> Medieval Sōtō monks performed these magico-religious rituals both for their own benefit and for the benefit of their patrons. At Yōkōji, for instance, the monks consecrated new talismans to prevent fires every year during the third lunar month. These talismans not only were hung in all the monastic buildings but also were distributed to the monastery's patrons.<sup>41</sup> The danger of fire increased the desire to perform this ritual effectively, which in turn reinforced the desire to practice meditation well.

In fact, many medieval Sōtō monasteries enjoyed high reputations for enforcing strict meditation practice. Kisen Shūshō (the *Gozan* registrar of monks) reported that urban *Gozan* monks would often study under Sōtō teachers in spite of their general disdain for rural Sōtō in order to learn the proper mental techniques for Zen meditation. According to Kisen, most of the outstanding Zen masters (*chishiki*) of his day were Sōtō-affiliated.<sup>42</sup> Medieval Sōtō monastic rules repeatedly urged the monks not to be lax in their meditation.<sup>43</sup> In an extreme example, Baisan Monpon's 1415 code for his main monastery (Ryūtakuji) states that



when the monks were not engaged in other required rituals, they were to spend twenty-four hours a day in meditation.<sup>44</sup>

Biographies of Sōtō monks suggest that such meditation requirements were enforced. Don'ei Eō (1424–1504), for example, after having become frustrated at his lack of progress during fourteen years of study at *Gozan* monasteries, called on a Sōtō teacher, Tennō Soin (d. 1467), for help. Tennō's first instructions were: "In our school, [only] those who meditate are called monks. Bodhidharma sat facing a wall for nine years. Haven't you ever thought of [trying] that?" Thereafter, Tennō forced Don'ei to meditate day and night, severely rebuking any sign of laxity.<sup>45</sup> In another incident, Shōdō Kōsei (1431–1508) severely rebuked several of his students who complained that they were too ill to sit in meditation. Shōdō replied that their fevers were warning signs against laziness and ordered the sick monks to meditate without interruption for the next seven days.<sup>46</sup> Similarly, Jochū Tengin ordered his disciples to conduct only a simplified funeral on his behalf, with regular meditation sessions substituting for devotional rites.<sup>47</sup>

In addition to meditation inside the monastery, medieval Sōtō teachers also proselytized at a variety of ceremonies outside the temple. The most important of these ritual events were mass ordinations and funeral services (both discussed in part 3). The full social dimensions of this gradual popularization of Zen funerals among the peasant population of rural medieval Japan are not clear. Jacques Le Goff has suggested that changes in medieval European funerary rites, especially the popularization of church burial and greater attention to the care of the corpse, ultimately reflected wider social changes, which reveal a heightened concern with the fate of the individual.<sup>48</sup> In Japan too little evidence remains to draw firm conclusions, but certainly Sōtō Zen funeral sermons contain unusually positive estimations of the value of peasant life-style. In one sermon Sensō Esai, for example, cited the example of the Zen patriarch Pai-chang Huai-hai to assert that religious truth is found not in book learning but in working the land.<sup>49</sup> In another funeral sermon Shōdō Kōsei praised agricultural labor as the true cultivation of unconditioned virtue.<sup>50</sup> Clearly, in both Japan and Europe, access to medieval monastic funerals provided lay men and women with new avenues to the spiritual promise of salvation.<sup>51</sup> This promise, naturally, was addressed to the living, who thereby found new meaning in life and new economic ties to their religious institutions.

Shōdō is particularly noteworthy for his leadership at a wide variety of village religious festivals.<sup>52</sup> Considering Shōdō's personal background—he was not only an accomplished Zen teacher and scholar of Chinese but also the scion of the local ruler—one might reasonably have expected him to have been aloof from the common people. Yet just the opposite seems



to have been true. In one instance, Shōdō composed a memorial inscription on behalf of an illiterate Buddhist mendicant who had called for the Lotus Sūtra to be recited 1,000 times.<sup>53</sup> The mendicant raised funds for this recitation assembly by begging in fish markets and drinking shops. He invited the entire village to attend. The assembly was held in an open field, where a feast was prepared for everyone. According to Shōdō's description, the site resembled a marketplace, thronged with all kinds of people, male and female, young and old. The people prayed not only for themselves but also for the repose of the large numbers of local residents killed in recent military conflicts. Shōdō's support for this assembly no doubt helped establish his unity with the suffering of the local people.

In 1498 Shōdō addressed a mixed audience of monks and laymen concerning the recent natural disasters that had devastated their local area (Tōtōmi).<sup>54</sup> For two years the people had been ravaged by warfare, during which houses and temples had been burned and patrons, noncombatants, and monks alike had been killed. In the fifth lunar month of 1498 hailstorms destroyed the farmers' crops. In the middle of the seventh month tornadoes struck, destroying many dwellings. On the evening of the eighth day of the eighth month, heavy rains and floods damaged more residences. The final blow came in the early morning on the twenty-fifth of that month, when the area was hit in quick succession by a major earthquake and tsunami. In the resulting pandemonium, the young clung to the pillars of their homes, waiting to die, while the elderly called out the name of Buddha. Shōdō sought to calm the villagers. He began by describing himself:

This old man has spent more than thirty years in the *Rinka* [monasteries],<sup>55</sup> sitting in Zen meditation, quietly withering away my desires, without expectations for the morrow. When hunger comes, I eat. When the time comes, I sleep. My exhalations do not stir up the myriad causal relationships. My inhalations do not reside in the interactions of consciousness (*onkai*). The present does not persist. The past and future do not exist. Non-thought is my thought. Eternally, I dwell in nirvāṇa. This is called the mind that is not possessed by the three states [of time]. This mind-not-possessed (*fukatoku shin*) is itself the diamond wisdom (*kongō hannya*). This mind withstands the blowing storm winds without moving, withstands eons of rising flames without burning, and withstands the tremors of earthquakes without cracking. The four [arguments for temporal] immutability in the *Chao-lun* refer to this.<sup>56</sup> This is why the scripture says: "The Tathāgata, having left the burning house of the three states [of time], lives in quiet seclusion within the woods. Now within the three states [of time], everything belongs to [him]; All the beings therein are [his] children."<sup>57</sup> As this old man reflects on recent events, I keep recalling these two lines. The Great Teacher's [i.e., the Buddha's] boundless beneficence is fully inscribed therein.<sup>58</sup>

Shōdō, however, did not tell his audience merely to trust in the Buddha. Instead, he urged them to repent of their sinful ways. He asserted

that there had never been a year with as many disasters as this one because there had never before been so many wicked people. The true natural disasters, he said, were the avarice, hostility, and ignorance that afflicted everyone. Shōdō equated avarice with fires, hostility with floods, and ignorance with stormy weather. People should not accuse others of these faults but only examine their own selves, because each person receives the karmic results of his own actions. According to Shōdō, the recent disasters were retribution for the widespread greed and treachery of the age. He then lectured his audience on the Buddhist precepts as prescriptions designed to free people from their afflictions. He cited the Confucian classics, such as the Doctrine of the Mean (*Chung-yung*) and the Great Learning (*Ta-hsüeh*), to assert that ethical relationships based on social position are the foundation of peace. He chastised the rulers for their tyranny and admonished juniors for usurping their superiors.

Most significantly, Shōdō warned his audience that traditional religious rites would be worthless without self-reproach and moral reform. He said that it was pitiful to see people who had never experienced a good thought or performed a good deed trying to solve their predicaments by making religious offering at shrines and temples, praying to the kami and Buddhas, and relying on the pronouncements of shamans and oracles. Shōdō concluded with the assertion that because all people are the Buddha's children, they can realize the Buddha's blessings merely by not rejecting the Buddha's prescriptions. He exhorted Buddhist monks to observe the precepts and called on the people to revere the Buddha and to uphold Confucian ethical norms.

Sōtō monasteries achieved their greatest rate of numerical growth during this period of social upheaval. Shōdō's sermon provides a fascinating glimpse of how one Sōtō leader attempted to instill in his students and lay supporters the strength to endure the calamities they encountered. Shōdō's ridicule of devotional worship and his moral sermonizing do not conform to the typical image of how Sōtō teachers proselytized and acquired popular support. Indeed, there is no evidence that Shōdō's moral fundamentalism was widespread among other, less eminent Sōtō teachers. Yet Shōdō's call to strict moral and ethical values must have struck a responsive chord among people seeking stability in unstable times. Rather than exploiting the popular faith in devotional worship, Shōdō warned his audience that offerings alone were inadequate to provide peace of mind. Only moral thoughts and good deeds would assure relief from further disasters. Historical sources are inadequate for exploring how other Sōtō teachers addressed audiences of monks and laymen on the occurrence of similar misfortunes. Nonetheless, Shōdō's

sermon is a reminder that the religious expertise introduced to rural areas by Sōtō monks encompassed more than just impressive rituals.<sup>59</sup>

From the descriptions cited above we can summarize key elements that enabled Sōtō temples to plant firm roots among rural Japanese. Seven features in particular appealed to the religious sentiments of the average people, namely: the offering of ritual prayers for worldly benefits; the identification of Zen meditation with mystical power; a favorable reputation for strict monastic practice; mass ordination ceremonies and funeral services (both discussed in part 3); the religious affirmation of agricultural labor; and participation in local religious festivals. Medieval Sōtō monks no doubt would have rejected any characterization of these activities as “popularization.”<sup>60</sup> Yet even monks like Shōdō Kōsei, who preached against vulgar devotional prayers, reached out in new ways to inject Sōtō temples into the fabric of village life.

## Formation of the Sōtō Order

Rural Sōtō temples were isolated geographically but not politically. The ascension of Sōjiji resulted from its success in binding distant temples into sectarian factions. Economically powerful temple networks fueled Sōjiji's success over Yōkōji and Daijiji. Late medieval Sōtō witnessed many similar institutional rivalries, such as the conflict between Giin's Daijiji and Eiheiji (mentioned in chapter 3). Disputes over seemingly minor honors became forums for economic battles between powerful allied interests. This strong factionalism might give the impression that an organized Sōtō school, as such, did not exist. Although there is some truth to this view, the underlying basis of conflicts between Sōtō factions always concerned issues of seniority and privilege vis-à-vis each other. Moreover, this competition for superior rank led not only to strong vertical hierarchies within factions but also to mutual assistance across factions. In some conflicts large numbers of missives were circulated to enlist the support of third-party Sōtō monasteries. These relationships among various medieval Sōtō factions laid the foundation for the administrative consolidation of the Sōtō school that was ordered later by the Tokugawa shogunate.

Prior to the Tokugawa period, not every Sōtō monastery necessarily belonged to a sectarian faction. Little is known about the relationships between these unaffiliated monasteries during the medieval period, because of the Tokugawa-period forced integration of all Sōtō monasteries into well-defined hierarchies. Many smaller temples seem to have had ambiguous status since monks from different Sōtō lineages were allowed to serve as their abbots. In other cases, different monasteries founded by the same monk did not always self-consciously identify themselves as belonging to the same faction even when the founder's descendants continued to control the abbotships of each temple.

Among Gasan's disciples, for example, Dōsō Dōai (d. 1379) and Chi-



kudō Ryōgen founded several monasteries, each with self-sustaining communities that never joined together. Other lineages (such as the Jakuen, Gennō Shinshō, and Mujaku Myōyū lines) maintained separate self-conscious identities, yet never overtly institutionalized their lineage affiliation. Large monasteries in the above groups might have had branch temples, but these smaller institutions would have been linked only to the main monastery in a simple vertical hierarchy. No systematic succession practice controlled abbotships across all related temples. These examples indicate that the formation of a strong sectarian faction did not occur simply because temples shared common ancestry; other conditions were necessary.

Temple hierarchies developed from both external and internal stimuli. Externally, the vertical alliances of warrior patrons ensured that a major monastery sponsored by a more powerful patron would have seniority over any new temples founded by that patron's retainers. In this instance, the hierarchical structure of temple lineages reflected secular patterns of lineage and precedence. Internally, the practice of alternating the abbotship of a main monastery among candidates from several lineages led to the organization of branch temples along fictional "temple lineages." Both stimuli produced factional hierarchies arranged in pyramid-like structures with one head temple receiving the simultaneous support of several monasteries, each of which commanded the resources of smaller branch temples.

### *Warrior Patronage*

Within two or three generations Gasan's line had established a series of Sōtō monasteries widely dispersed throughout every region of Japan. This explosive geographical expansion was followed by an extremely rapid numerical rate of growth as smaller temples were founded in the areas surrounding each of the earlier monasteries. The temples and monasteries belonging to this second tier of growth are strongly associated with the conversion "from above" patterns of warrior patronage described by early Zen historians (see chapter 10). Although the newly emerging warrior groups encountered by Gasan's disciples differed economically and socially from those of the Kamakura period, many of their policies toward temple patronage were similar.<sup>1</sup> As was the case with the Kawajiri, Togashi, and Ijira families described earlier, temple patronage by warriors served both religious and secular goals.

The main characteristics of warrior patronage can be summarized as follows. First, the founding of new temples was an integral part of larger strategic policies. Typical reasons for temple patronage included the patron's desire to strengthen his geographic ties to a region and to assert

his loyalty to (or his independence from) other patrons. Often new temples enshrined the patron's ancestors, thereby using the temple's religious authority to strengthen family ties within extended kinship groups. In order to enhance the patron's own standing the most prestigious monk available was invited to serve as the new temple's founding abbot. Disciples of the founding monk founded branch temple sponsored by relatives and retainers of the main patron, thereby reinforcing his military alliances. Strategic considerations often influenced the siting and orientation of the new temple.<sup>2</sup> The same warrior family typically supported a wide variety of religious institutions and practices.

Two examples will serve to illustrate how these policies influenced the development of medieval Sōtō temple networks. Both come from research by Yamamoto Seiki on the patronage of Sōtō temples by minor warrior groups that rose to local prominence in Kōzuke (modern Gunma Prefecture) during the early fifteenth century.<sup>3</sup>

The first example concerns the Shiroi branch of the Nagao family. This family initially gained control of the Shiroi area through its association with the Yamanouchi line of the Uesugi. The head of the Shiroi branch, Nagao Kagenaka (1388–1463), served under five generations of Uesugi (i.e., Norisada, Norimoto [1383–1418], Norizane [1411–1466], Noritada [1433–1454], and Fusaaki [1432–1466]). Kagenaka's persistent efforts on behalf of the Yamanouchi Uesugi accounted for much of that family's prosperity. Kagenaka distinguished the Uesugi in the eyes of the Ashikaga shogunate by leading his men to repeated victories in the series of military campaigns generally known as the revolt of Zenshū (1416), the Eikyō disturbance (1438), and the battle against Yūki (1440). Off the battlefield, Kagenaka's political endeavors in Kyoto in 1445 succeeded in having Uesugi Fusaaki appointed to the post of Kamakura *Kanrei* (i.e., chief executive officer of the Ashikaga shogunate). Because Fusaaki was then only thirteen years old, Kagenaka served as his regent.<sup>4</sup> Through these actions Kagenaka firmly established his family's military and political preeminence among the retainers of the Yamanouchi line. Ultimately, his efforts laid the groundwork for his descendant Nagao Kagetora (1530–1578; a.k.a. Uesugi Kenshin) to sweep the original Uesugi aside.

In 1447 Kagenaka retired while at the height of his power. At that time, he bequeathed all his responsibilities to his son Kagenobu and received a lay ordination from a visiting Sōtō teacher. Three years later, in 1450, he ordered his son to sponsor the construction of a new Sōtō monastery, Sōrinji, to be inaugurated by Isshū Shōi (1416–1487). Kagenaka never recorded the reasons why he decided to sponsor Sōrinji, but it certainly was not the result of any sudden conversion to Zen.

Kagenaka patronized a wide variety of religious establishments, among which the Shiroi shrine dedicated to the Nagao family ancestor

was the most important.<sup>5</sup> There Kagenaka enshrined copies of his family history and convened military consuls to decide strategy. Within the precincts of the ancestral shrine Kagenaka also erected a smaller shrine dedicated to Ise, because he believed that the Shiroi lands had once been managed as income property for the Grand Shrine at Ise.<sup>6</sup> Resident shrine celebrants were ordered to offer prayers day and night for the military success of the Nagao troops. His family sponsored another Buddhist temple, at which they enshrined an image of Benzaiten. Kagenaka regularly prayed at this family temple for worldly success. At that same temple he later enshrined a sixteen-foot image of Amitābha Buddha in order to pray for the salvation of his men who had fallen in battle. For his men who were still living, he built a Confucian hall (*seidō*) and hired a Confucian scholar from Kyoto to lecture six days a month on topics such as duty and loyalty. All of these rites and observances focused on the collective success of the Nagao line.

Kagenaka's new Sōtō monastery, Sōrinji, emphasized the personal salvation and aggrandizement of Nagao Kagenaka. Kagenaka's connections to the Sōtō school began with a lay ordination and concluded with a Zen funeral. Not only was Kagenaka interred at Sōrinji, but his funeral was followed by the dedication of a statue in his likeness, enshrined in the temple.<sup>7</sup> Isshū Shōi (the master of Sōrinji) wrote a detailed biography of Kagenaka to commemorate the first anniversary of his death, emphasizing his military success, his administrative virtue, and his religious piety.<sup>8</sup> On a personal level, the lay ordination offered a tangible link to the Buddha, while the funeral service was performed as a symbolic testament to Kagenaka's salvation.<sup>9</sup> Likewise, the very elaborate series of rites that accompany a Zen funeral, the ostentatious statue of Kagenaka, and the pious biography all helped immortalize his memory. On a political level, these acts lent the religious authority of Sōrinji to this important patriarch of the Nagao family and to their military command.

The Nagao family was served by two local peasant leaders, the Numata to the north and the Obata to the south.<sup>10</sup> Members of all three families and the men they commanded fought side by side. Because Nagao Kagenaka and his son Kagenobu frequently left Shiroi to manage their affairs in Kyoto and Kamakura, potential opportunities existed for their local control to be usurped by these two families. Kagenobu arranged his daughter's marriage to the Numata to forestall any rivalry by that family. Familial ties were reinforced by carefully arranged acts of religious piety. Both the Numata and Obata were enlisted to support Sōrinji, the monastery dedicated to Kagenaka's memory. Responsibility for the construction of the monastery's buildings was allotted among each family.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, the brother of the head of the Obata family became a monk at Sōrinji and the personal disciple of Isshū. He later



founded a branch temple of Sōrinji in the Obata's territory. The Numata were also induced to sponsor a branch temple, Gyokusenji, located in their lands. Isshū voiced his support of these arrangements. He compared Sōrinji and Gyokusenji to the two wheels of a single cart and ordered the monks of each to support the other always.<sup>12</sup> The branch temples sponsored by the Obata and Numata families, therefore, reenacted in the religious arena the same political alliance that these three families had forged in the military arena.

The second example highlights how the Yokose family used their growing military power to increase the number of branch temples affiliated with a Sōtō monastery named Kinryūji, which they sponsored.<sup>13</sup> The early history of Kinryūji is disputed, but by about 1475–1485 its main patron was Yokose Kunishige and its abbot was Kunishige's brother, Zaishitsu Chōtan. Yokose Kunishige began his military career in the service of the Iwamatsu family. Significantly, Zaishitsu originally became a novice monk at a Rinzaï Zen temple sponsored by that same Iwamatsu family. By becoming a monk at the monastery sponsored by his brother's lord, Zaishitsu demonstrated both his and his brother's loyalty to the Iwamatsu. His subsequent conversion to Sōtō, therefore, had political implications as well.

Zaishitsu's religious shift reflected Kunishige's growing authority within the Iwamatsu group. By the late 1470s, Kunishige had become the Iwamatsu's senior political adviser and leading battlefield commander. It was about this time that Kunishige became the main patron of Kinryūji and his brother became abbot. In 1494, on the death of the Iwamatsu family patriarch (Iwamatsu Iezumi), Kunishige became the family regent with complete control over all Iwamatsu affairs. In 1528 Kunishige's descendant (Yasushige) killed the last Iwamatsu heir, thereby taking possession of the Iwamatsu domains both in name and in actuality. When seen against this background, Zaishitsu's conversion to Sōtō, Kunishige's patronage of the new Sōtō monastery Kinryūji, and Zaishitsu's abbotship at Kinryūji all seem to have been designed to assert the growing independence of the Yokose family and to enhance the personal authority of the Yokose Kunishige within the Iwamatsu domain.

As subsequent generations of the Yokose enlarged their domains, the number of Sōtō temples they sponsored grew apace. Between 1504 and 1574 different members of the Yokose family founded eight new Sōtō temples, each located in lands that formally had been controlled by a vanquished competitor. For example, in 1573 Yokose Narishige (1506–1578, a.k.a. Yura Narishige) attacked and defeated the Kiryū family. In their domain he founded Hōsenji, a branch of Kinryūji. Each of temples founded by Yokose family members was similarly affiliated with Kinryūji. Moreover, the retainers of the Yokose also founded at least ten new



Sōtō temples, each affiliated with one of the branch temples of Kinryūji founded by the Yokose. Through military expansion alone a whole network of Sōtō temples centered on Kinryūji, with branch and sub-branch temples, had been established throughout the lands conquered by the Yokose. Constructing these temples helped cement the Yokose's control over both their newly acquired domains and their retainers.

Sōtō monasteries and temples attained the highest rate of numerical growth during the civil conflicts of the sixteenth century. In symbiotic relationships with warrior groups, Sōtō monks used the military successes of their patrons to establish branch temples in new areas, while the patrons used the religious authority of the Sōtō establishments to further their own political goals. As retainers of major patrons founded their own branch and sub-branch temples, more and more smaller Sōtō monasteries were founded by patrons within each social group.<sup>14</sup> The hierarchical relationships of secular society naturally influenced all aspects of temple organization. Monastic events usually included ritual displays of deference to the main local patron. The patron and his men were always invited to the monastery on the inauguration of a new abbot or on the completion of any monastic construction. On these occasions the abbot's speech included formal thanks for the patron's protection and prayers for his well being. One Sōtō abbot, Baisan Monpon, even wrote a letter to his patron (the Kofuse family) stating that his monastery (Ryūtakuji) was the patron's property.<sup>15</sup> Likewise, Jochū Tengin (1365–1440) ordered his disciples always to obey orders from their patrons.<sup>16</sup>

In spite of the rules against Buddhist monks drinking and distributing alcohol, sake was always served to the patron and his men.<sup>17</sup> The patron was served directly by the abbot, while his men each received lesser treatment by lower-ranked monastic officials, each matched to his position.<sup>18</sup> This method of serving reinforced the secular social status conferred by the patron on his men. At some Sōtō monasteries peasant groups and craftsmen residing on the monastic lands assembled within the main gate at the beginning of every new year to offer ritual New Year's greetings (*kissho hajime*) to the patron. In format, these ceremonies were the same as the ones conducted each new year by the warrior's retainers as a ritual show of loyalty. The performance of these ritual greetings indicated that their warrior patrons regarded the Sōtō monasteries as just another branch of their administrative agencies.<sup>19</sup>

### *Sectarian Factions*

The hierarchical organization of warrior alliances influenced, but ultimately did not determine, the organization of temple networks. The single most important factor leading to the growth of sectarian factions was

the conscious effort of Sōtō leaders to control abbotship succession at their monasteries.<sup>20</sup> The practice of alternating the abbotship of one main monastery among candidates nominated from branch temples engendered natural pyramid organizations. The more effectively the abbotship succession could be tied to particular affiliated lineages, the stronger the pyramid would become. Because this type of abbotship succession policy played an important role in most sectarian factions, a brief review its origins and development is necessary before examining the interaction of major medieval Sōtō factions.

The Sōtō system of alternating the abbotship among different lineages (known as “rotating abbotship,” *rinjū*) has already been mentioned several times in reference to Daijiji, Yōkōji, and Sōjiji. This system ensured that a major monastery experienced a regular and rapid succession of abbots (*jūji*) but only from among monks who claimed a lineage affiliation to that monastery’s founder. Alternating abbots had originally been implemented at Daijiji and Yōkōji as a means of ensuring the sectarian identity and long-term survival of these monasteries. As long as each new abbot represented a different sub-lineage, the main monasteries had access to the political loyalty, the financial support, and the most able teachers of several affiliated lineages at many branch monasteries. This system helped to promote rapid regional growth by providing a surplus of former abbots. At Sōjiji, Gasan’s disciples adopted the rotation of abbotships as a means of increasing Sōjiji’s power vis-à-vis Daijōji and Yōkōji. The subsequent ascension of Sōjiji demonstrates the extent to which the practice of alternately inaugurating abbots from among several lineages could contribute not only to the development of factionalism but also to the strength of the resulting factions. Because of the advantages inherent in this system of abbotship succession, at least thirty-four medieval Sōtō monasteries followed this practice.<sup>21</sup>

The two largest Sōtō factions enlisted new abbots from branch monasteries of several lineages not only at their main monasteries but also at their branch monasteries and sub-branch monasteries. Rather than simple pyramidal structures, the relationships between monasteries in these two factions would resemble pyramids within pyramids. Consider, for example, the largest faction in Japanese Sōtō, which represents the descendants of Tsūgen Jakurei.<sup>22</sup> The Tsūgen faction was centered at Yōtakuji, which drew its abbots in a fixed order from as many as ten different lineages (each one of which represented the line of one of Tsūgen’s disciples).<sup>23</sup> Including Yōtakuji, at least eleven monasteries within the Tsūgen faction implemented the practice of alternating abbotship lineages. Likewise, among the temples affiliated with the Taigen faction, the second largest faction in Japanese Sōtō, ten monasteries implemented alternating abbotship systems.<sup>24</sup> This faction, which nominally

represents the descendants of Taigen Sōshin, actually began with Baisan Monpon. It is no accident that the two largest Sōtō factions account for most of the monasteries at which alternating abbotship is practiced. Likewise, it is no accident that these two factions are related to Tsūgen Jakurei and Baisan Monpon. In 1390 Tsūgen and Baisan together had initiated Sōjiji's official policy of alternating abbotship succession. Subsequently, they established similar abbotship succession policies at their own temples.

Tsūgen's policies at Sōjiji and Yōtakuji must be considered in light of his relationship with Hosokawa Yoriyuki (1329–1392). Yoriyuki served as Kyoto *Kanrei* for fourteen years between 1367 and 1372, during which time he attempted to impose strict restrictions on the *Gozan* Zen monasteries of Kyoto. Opposition to these restrictions as well as Yoriyuki's mishandling of the Nanzenji Gate incident (ca. 1367–1368) not only strained Yoriyuki's relations with the *Gozan* establishment but also gradually weakened his support within the government.<sup>25</sup> Following on the heels of the Nanzenji Gate incident, Yoriyuki's control over the province of Settsu began to be threatened by Yamana Ujikiyo (1344–1391), who in 1374 had begun to strengthen his fortifications in Tanba along Settsu's northern border. In order to strengthen his influence along that northern border, Yoriyuki sponsored the building of Tsūgen's Yōtakuji in a strategic position just across from Tanba.<sup>26</sup> During this same time period while Yoriyuki was *Kanrei*, the Ashikaga shogunate established the office of registrar of monks to consolidate the administrative supervision of *Gozan* monasteries.<sup>27</sup>

The establishment of the *Gozan* registrar gave added impetus to Tsūgen's attempts to consolidate Gasan's lineage at Sōjiji and his own lineage at Yōtakuji.<sup>28</sup> In 1378 Tsūgen proclaimed Sōjiji the head temple (*honji*) of Gasan's line. By 1390 he had established a fixed order of succession for Sōjiji. The following year, in 1391, Tsūgen proclaimed Yōtakuji the head temple of his own line and promulgated orders for alternating abbotship succession at Yōtakuji. Yoriyuki's personal influence can be seen in Tsūgen's stipulation that Yōtakuji monks should remain within the monastery, removed from all secular entanglements.<sup>29</sup>

Baisan Monpon actively promoted the consolidation of his own sectarian lineage. Many of his regulations implementing this policy are known in detail. As explained earlier, Baisan had joined the other abbots at Sōjiji in establishing alternating abbotship succession in 1390. This joint 1390 directive declared that Taigen's line should be represented at Sōjiji by abbots promoted from Butsudaji, a monastery founded by Taigen, of which Baisan was abbot. Although he left Butsudaji to assume the abbotship at Sōjiji, Baisan continued to help supervise Butsudaji's affairs. In 1396 he joined with Taigen's other surviving major disciple,



Ryōdō Shinkaku (1330–1399), to proclaim Butsudaji the chief lineage temple (*tatchū*) of the Taigen faction and to require future Butsudaji abbots to represent the Baisan and Ryōdō lineages alternately.<sup>30</sup> Baisan designated four of his disciples to serve successive terms as abbot at his monastery Ryūtakuji at the end of 1415, two years before his death. In the text of his directive, Baisan repeated three times the injunction that his disciples must not follow their own inclinations.<sup>31</sup>

The following year Baisan issued a series of directives intended to consolidate his line at Ryūtakuji. First, he designated Ryūtakuji as the head temple (*honji*) of his line and ordered all the disciples of the four previously named successors to serve alternating terms as abbots. These future disciples were ordered to pay their own inauguration fees as Ryūtakuji abbots even if they could not afford the expenses involved in becoming abbots at Sōjiji.<sup>32</sup> In other words, when candidates for abbotship lacked sufficient funds they could forgo their terms of service at Sōjiji but not at Ryūtakuji. To emphasize Ryūtakuji's ability to substitute for Sōjiji, Baisan also designated Ryūtakuji as a chief lineage temple for the entire Gasan line. He named ten of his students to serve successive terms as priors (*tassu*) at Ryūtakuji—thereby equating his own lineage with the whole of Gasan's line.<sup>33</sup> Finally, Baisan selected ten senior students to be counselors (*bugyōsō*) at Ryūtakuji, to advise future abbots in all affairs, large and small.<sup>34</sup>

Baisan knew that the future success of Ryūtakuji depended on mutual cooperation between all his disciples and their descendants. Toward this end, he had established three levels of joint management at Ryūtakuji: the abbot, the prior, and the counselor. Baisan selected the membership of each level from among his disciples and his students (who would become the disciples of his disciples). These arrangements highlight an essential feature of the medieval Sōtō system of alternating abbotship succession. In order for the main monastery to thrive, all its affiliated branch temples had to cooperate in the management of the main monastery. The main monastery of each faction ultimately derived its authority from the consensus of its affiliated temples. The alternating succession of abbots enhanced mutual consensus because it guaranteed each subfaction a measure of equal representation.<sup>35</sup> Baisan reinforced the administrative integration at Ryūtakuji with a series of regulations designed to enforce interpersonal cooperation as well. He forbade monks from vocalizing any form of complaint, criticism, or hostility. Actions based only on the assumed consent of others were forbidden in order to prevent accidental misunderstandings.<sup>36</sup>

The policies of leaders such as Baisan and Tsūgen created sectarian factions by linking together lineage succession and monastic offices into a single administrative and financial system. Subsequent generations



employed the same models to expand each faction gradually. The regulations promulgated by Baisan's disciple Jochū Tengin, for example, at once restated Baisan's earlier rules on abbotship succession (at Sōjiji, Butsudaji, and Ryūtakuji), while they added similar new policies of alternating abbotship succession at two of his monasteries (Ryūkain and Daitōin).<sup>37</sup> Within each faction, monasteries that produced qualified Zen teachers were required to sponsor the promotion of those teachers to the abbotship of that faction's main monasteries. When transportation, special meals, and gifts for hosts are considered, it is clear that the expenses involved must have been quite burdensome.

The actual fees charged by head temples can be documented only through scattered examples. Both Baisan and Jochū stated that the abbotship inauguration fee at Ryūtakuji was the same as at the Taigen-line subtemple within Sōjiji, namely, thirty *kanmon*.<sup>38</sup> In 1558 the Gennō-line monastery Jigenji reportedly paid Sōjiji fifty *kanmon* in an attempt to have one of its monks promoted to Sōjiji's abbotship.<sup>39</sup> By the mid-Tokugawa period, abbotship at Sōjiji reportedly cost 1,000 *ryō*.<sup>40</sup> Other fees were also charged new abbots. For example, at the Giin-line monastery Fusaiji, each abbot had to pay for his inauguration ceremony (five *kanmon*), for honorary colored robes (three *kanmon*), and for any memorial tablets placed in Fusaiji's patriarchs' hall. Moreover, each new abbot was required to raise funds for the repair of monastic buildings.<sup>41</sup>

Sectarian factions used abbotship restrictions to link smaller Sōtō temples to the main monasteries. The abbotship of each temple within a faction was closed to monks from outside lineages, thereby forcing many smaller temples to be dependent on their faction's main training halls for new abbots. In many cases the relationship between main monastery and branch temple mirrored the teacher-disciple relationship of their respective abbots.<sup>42</sup> This teaching relationship not only ensured the sectarian loyalty of the branch temples within the same faction but also prevented other smaller factions from growing easily. A new Sōtō teacher produced by one of the larger factions had access to at least three avenues of advancement: abbotship at one of the main monasteries that alternated between affiliated temples; abbotship at one of the smaller monasteries that functioned as training centers; and abbotship at one of the lower-level branch temples. New teachers from smaller factions and unaffiliated monasteries, however, lacked as large a range of opportunities. When a teacher within a small faction produced too many disciples, most had either to found their own monastery or to assume an abbotship in another faction before they could begin teaching their own disciples. For this reason, by the time of Shōdō Kōsei (1431–1505), Sōtō teachers from smaller lineages routinely switched dharma lineages in order to attain an advantageous abbotship (*in'in ekishi*).<sup>43</sup> Regardless of how many new

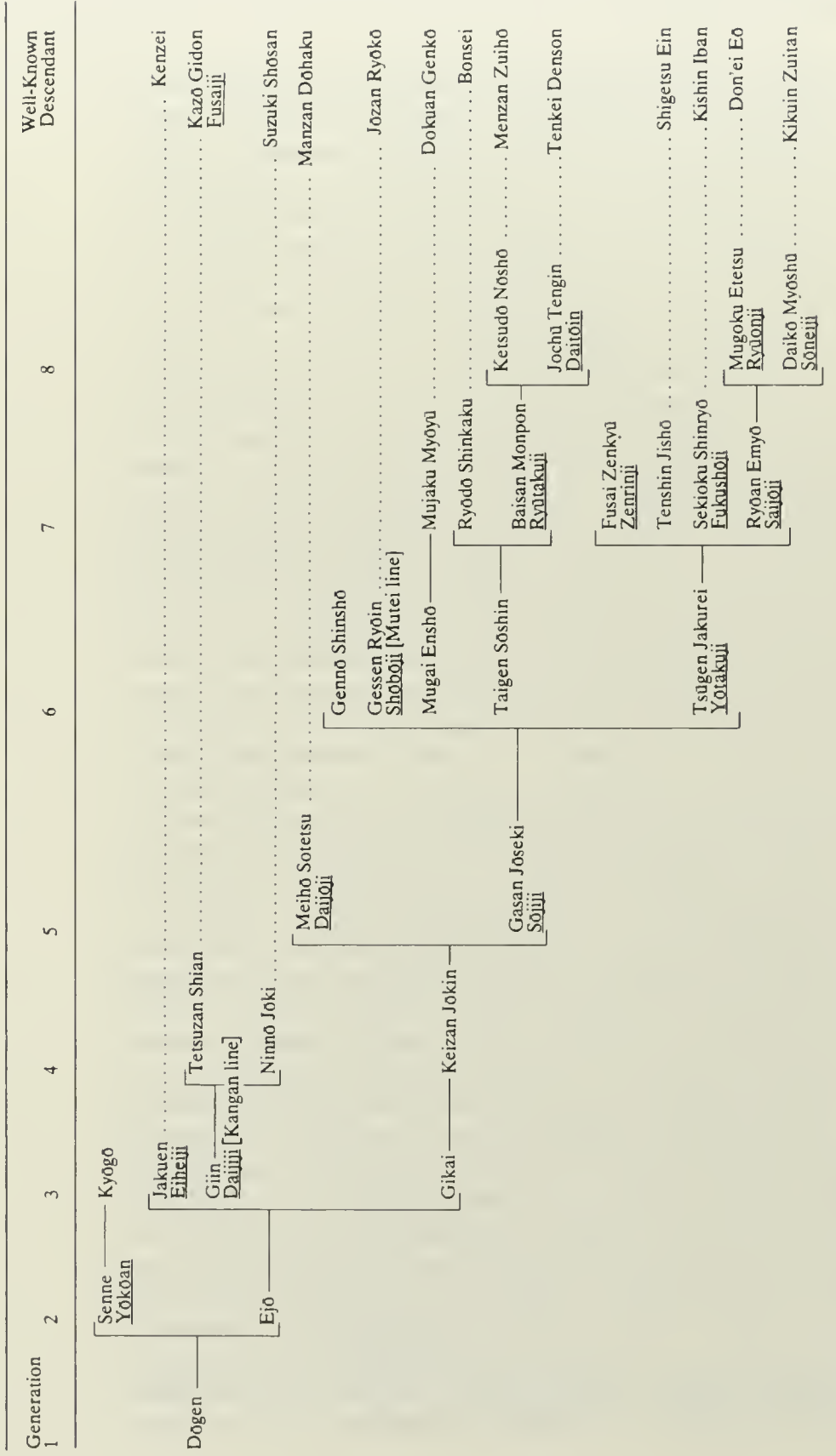


Figure 7. Major Factions within Medieval Japanese Sōtō

Note: In general, the factions are ordered in terms of overall size, with the larger ones placed lower on the page. The monasteries most strongly associated with each faction are indicated in italics beneath the name of the monk associated with the founding of that faction (not necessarily the founder of the monastery). When more than one “well-known descendant” deserves mention, precedence is given to monks whose actions or writings are mentioned in this book. In 1760 the Sōtō school claimed ninety-eight official factions, of which fifty-five were affiliated with either the Jochū or Ryōan lines. Together these two lines claim the allegiance of approximately ninety percent of Sōtō temples.

monks a smaller faction might attract, the new teachers it produced were rarely able to contribute to the expansion of that faction.<sup>44</sup>

The relative status of different temples within the same faction was often determined according to the so-called dharma-generation of their respective founders. Monasteries founded by direct disciples of the faction's founder had more status than monasteries founded by later generations. This is why the issue of Giin's dharma succession later became a major controversy—the real issue was the status of his monastery, Daijiji.<sup>45</sup> Traditional claims regarding temple founders are notoriously unreliable, since it was important to claim an early founder. Already by the time the disciples of Gasan's disciples were founding their own monasteries, they were commonly crediting their teachers as the official “founders” (*kaisan*) while assuming the title “second-generation abbot” for themselves.<sup>46</sup> At newer monasteries the actual founder was often several generations removed from the person credited with founding the temple. For example, there exist two separate Sōtō temples named Kinryūji, each claiming to represent a relocated version of the same original temple even though traditions at the two relocated temples disagree as to when (1417 or 1456) and by whom the original Kinryūji had been founded.<sup>47</sup> Likewise, the first six abbots in one history of Hodaji (supposedly founded in 1401) actually represent the dharma lineage of the monk who revived (i.e., founded) Hodaji in the early sixteenth century.<sup>48</sup>

The major monasteries within each faction owed much of their economic security to their ability to motivate lower-ranked monasteries to sponsor new monks to their abbotships. In order to attract abbotship candidates, factional leaders repeatedly stressed that each new Zen teacher must pay back his debt of gratitude to his lineage by contributing to the economic success of that lineage's head monastery. Tsūgen, Baisan, and Jochū threatened to excommunicate any Zen teacher who failed to fulfill his obligation to serve as abbot.<sup>49</sup> Baisan decreed that the obedient Zen teachers should seize defiant ones and then burn the offender's succession certificate before his eyes.<sup>50</sup> Loss of this certificate deprived a Zen monk of his ability to found his own monastery or to teach his own disciples.

As the numbers of monasteries that practiced alternating abbotship succession increased, the economic demands of several terms as abbot threatened to exceed the means of many monks and their patrons. As mentioned earlier, Baisan's directive at Ryūtakuji specifically exempted poorer monks from the requirement to serve as abbot at Sōjiji. Jochū's directive explained that all the lineages that promoted abbots to Ryūtakuji should jointly sponsor only the most outstanding monks from among themselves to Sōjiji.<sup>51</sup> Because of these exemptions, major monasteries like Sōjiji could not always recruit a steady supply of new

abbots. To compete for abbotship candidates, major Sōtō monasteries emphasized the religious honors and power that they could confer on their abbots and former abbots. The main monasteries in each faction, therefore, petitioned secular authorities for the right to award abbots special colored robes (which indicate high ecclesiastical rank) or special titles. In order to further augment their religious authority, monasteries hoarded texts and secret initiation documents (*kirikami*) that would be available only to their own abbots. Between 1501 and 1515, Shōbōji (the head monastery of the Mutei faction) actively acquired copies of Dōgen and Keizan's works (including the *Shōbō genzō*) in an effort to increase Shōbōji's prestige.<sup>52</sup> As a result of the hoarding of secret texts, Sōtō Zen teachers who served as abbots at several major monasteries within their faction were able to claim greater knowledge of Zen teachings and ritual practices than could Zen teachers of lesser experience.

The secrecy imposed on these texts naturally restricted the ability of Sōtō teachers to use them as the basis of their lectures. In practical terms, a Sōtō monastery could maintain exclusive possession of a text only if that text was never published, a condition met only by the writings of Japanese Sōtō patriarchs. Therefore, by the late medieval period normally only Chinese texts were lectured on, whereas the writings of Japanese Sōtō teachers were kept in reserve for secret, private instructions. In other words, by the late medieval period the writing of patriarchs like Dōgen or Keizan were accessible only to senior monks. Average, low-ranking Sōtō monks were cut off from any access to the teachings of their own Japanese patriarchs.

Changes in attitudes toward Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō* amply illustrate this process. Dōgen seems to have lectured on his *Shōbō genzō* quite openly, even lecturing at the Rokuharamitsuji, a Tendai temple in Kyoto. Initially this openness toward Dōgen's writings continued within the early Sōtō school. Meihō Sotetsu, for instance, directed his disciples always to lecture on Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō* as a means of expressing their religious gratitude to Dōgen.<sup>53</sup> By the time of Tsūgen's death in 1391, however, one can already detect the beginning of restricted access. Tsūgen possessed a large number of Zen texts, including several copies of the *Shōbō genzō*, as well as Japanese writings by Keizan and Gasan, and the Chinese recorded sayings of Ju-ching and Hung-chih Cheng-chüeh. Many of these texts (including individual *Shōbō genzō* chapters) were distributed among his disciples, but the writings of Ju-ching, Hung-chih, Keizan, and the best copy of the *Shōbō genzō* (which had been kept in a lacquered wood box) were deposited at Yōtakuji, where they became secret treasures.<sup>54</sup> During the career of Nan'ei Kenshū (1386–1459), the transition from open distribution to secret transmission was complete. Nan'ei wrote that although his teacher, Ketsudō Nōshō (1355–1427), easily



obtained a copy of one *Shōbō genzō* chapter in Dōgen's own handwriting from Hatano Motomasa, Ketsudō then (in 1424) ordered that this *Shōbō genzō* chapter must be kept secret and transmitted only as proof of dharma succession.<sup>55</sup> Finally, by 1512, when Shōbōji's acquired its complete copy, Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō* had become more important as a symbol of religious authority than as a religious text. In the eyes of the monks at Shōbōji, the mystical powers of the sacred *Shōbō genzō* justified Shōbōji's claim to represent the correct transmission of the Sōtō school.<sup>56</sup>

### *Eiheiji and Sōjiji*

Medieval Eiheiji never lost its religious authority despite the growing power of other monasteries. Even the disciples of Tsūgen Jakurei—the most partisan supporter of Sōjiji—paid Eiheiji a tribute of ten *kanmon* as part of Tsūgen's 1931 funeral service. They wanted special meals served at Eiheiji in honor of Tsūgen.<sup>57</sup> During Tsūgen's lifetime monks from outside lineages also paid Eiheiji for the privilege of serving terms as honorary abbot at Eiheiji. These outside abbots did not exercise any administrative responsibilities at Eiheiji, but they did gain the privilege of using the word *Eihei* as part of their official title.<sup>58</sup> In the same way that Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō* lent authority to other monasteries, association with Dōgen's Eiheiji granted these monks great prestige. The efforts of other Sōtō monasteries to secure a steady supply of new abbots, however, eventually forced Eiheiji to accentuate its status in order to recruit more outside abbotship candidates.

Eiheiji increased the allure of its honorary abbotship by attaining the right for its abbots to receive the special ecclesiastical title of "Zen teacher" (*zenji*) from the imperial court.<sup>59</sup> The first known Sōtō recipient of this imperial title, Ekkei Rin'eki (d. 1514), obtained the impressive designation *Shinkō Shōzoku Zenji* (literally, "Zen teacher who reinvigorates the legitimate tradition") in 1503 expressly for his mastery of Dōgen's teachings.<sup>60</sup> The reference to Dōgen, however, represents a ceremonious reference to Eiheiji, Dōgen's monastery. Significantly, Ekkei was a Tsūgen-line monk. In 1507 the court also officially recognized Eiheiji as the head temple of the Sōtō school, thereby granting its abbots the right to receive an imperial purple robe.<sup>61</sup> Prior to this, the imperial title of Zen teacher and the purple robe had been available only to Rinzai monks. The Sōtō leaders in Gasan's line immediately took advantage of these new honors offered by Eiheiji. The first probably was Ikka Bun'ei (1425–1509), who served a term as Eiheiji abbot just before his death to attain the imperial purple robe.<sup>62</sup>

Eiheiji established new regulations governing its abbotship in 1509 in

order to administer these honors properly. The practice of awarding abbotships in absentia (*inari*) found at some Japanese Rinzai monasteries was forbidden. Honorary abbots were required to be physically present at Eiheiji, except for the very elderly, who were allowed to send a representative. Abbotship inauguration fees were also required, but this income could only be used for the construction and repair of Eiheiji's buildings.<sup>63</sup> These regulations mark the point at which clear, explicit distinctions began to be drawn between the Jakuen-line abbots who actually managed Eiheiji's affairs and the honorary abbots from other lineages who performed only a ceremonial inauguration (*zuise*). Eiheiji abbots from its own Jakuen lineage were not retired from office when other abbots were inaugurated, unlike other Sōtō monasteries that accepted abbotship succession from alternating lineages.<sup>64</sup> This is an important point, because by this method monastic affairs were allowed to continue on a regular basis without the disruptions that a change in abbots would have brought. At Sōjiji, in contrast, the lack of any full-time abbot effectively prevented the monastery from functioning as a center for Zen training, because the three-month-long training sessions could not be conducted uninterrupted.<sup>65</sup> The 1509 abbotship regulations apparently remained in force until the Tokugawa period. This is indicated by a 1592 missive distributed by Eiheiji that sought more outside abbotship candidates for the stated purpose of raising funds for "the construction and repair of Eiheiji's buildings"—the exact wording as used in the 1509 regulations.<sup>66</sup>

In addition to the funds collected by Eiheiji as inauguration fees, each request for an imperial title or purple robe also required additional collections in order to pay the proper government officials.<sup>67</sup> There is little doubt that for Sōtō teachers the economic benefits that resulted from these honors more than justified their costs. Sōtō monks had no difficulties attracting strong patronage with the prestige that a purple robe from the emperor brought. One Giin-line Sōtō monk proved so successful at attracting large numbers of new students (and new sponsors) following his term as an honorary abbot at Eiheiji that Tsūgen-line monasteries began to issue formal complaints in 1560 (see below).<sup>68</sup>

Little is known of the backgrounds of the Sōtō monks who were honorary abbots at Eiheiji. Unlike most other Sōtō monasteries, Eiheiji apparently never kept a register of abbots. A Tokugawa-period compendium of Sōtō biographies, the *Nippon Tōjō rentōroku* (1727), mentions only forty-two monks from Gasan lineages as having been abbots at Eiheiji, out of more than 700 Sōtō monks mentioned in the text. Yet earlier documents reveal that a great many more monks than noted in these biographies used the honorary title "former abbot of Eiheiji." Thirty-one of the forty-two monks noted in the *Rentōroku* pre-date the Tokugawa

gawa period, and the second earliest of them is known to have died in 1487. Twenty of these thirty-one monks were of the Tsūgen line, ten were of the Baisan line, and one was of unknown lineage.<sup>69</sup> In addition to the senior monks who became honorary abbots, exchanges between lower-level monks in Eiheiji's Jakuen line and in other lineages seem to have been fairly common. In 1520, for example, Kikuin Zuitan (1447–1524) composed a new Buddhist name for a Tsūgen-line monk who previously had been the chief cook at Eiheiji.<sup>70</sup> Likewise, a 1528 entry in Sōjiji's register of abbots (*jūsanki*) includes a Tsūgen-line abbot at Sōjiji who had originally been the disciple of the Eiheiji abbot Kenzei.<sup>71</sup>

In response to Eiheiji's new status, Sōjiji also increased its efforts to attract new abbots. During 1509—just two years after Eiheiji had won purple-robe status—Sōjiji inaugurated twenty-two new abbots. Prior to this time Sōjiji had enrolled only about four or five new abbots per year. Yet for the ten-year period between 1510 and 1520, Sōjiji enrolled 231 new abbots.<sup>72</sup> This dramatic increase in annual enrollments indicates the beginning of an active campaign to recruit new abbots for Sōjiji. By 1510 Sōjiji had already petitioned the court for the right of Sōjiji abbots to receive the purple robe. In Sōjiji's case, however, the court refused authorization.<sup>73</sup> Undeterred by the court's rejection, Sōjiji seems to have openly challenged the legitimacy of Eiheiji's imperial recognition. To defend itself Eiheiji produced an imperial edict in 1539, which not only reconfirmed Eiheiji's status but also backdated it by more than 150 years.<sup>74</sup> Sōjiji responded four months later with its own imperial edict, which forbade Sōjiji-affiliated monks from going to Eiheiji to obtain either purple or yellow robes and which ordered Eiheiji to return its now invalidated 1539 edict.<sup>75</sup> The full details of this conflict over abbotship titles are unclear, but these contradictory (forged?) edicts probably represented only one tactic. The conflict was pursued strongly enough to force some Rinzai monks to take sides. In 1550 the Rinzai monk Taigen Sūfu, who had received an imperial purple robe at Nanzenji earlier that same year, wrote that Sōtō monks with purple robes should be afforded full honors only if their robes had been obtained at Sōjiji.<sup>76</sup>

The factions that sponsored new abbotship candidates to Eiheiji and Sōjiji exerted influence over the abbotship policies of both monasteries. Monasteries affiliated with the Ryōan branch of the Tsūgen faction, in particular, were able to use their economic power not only to pressure Eiheiji and Sōjiji but also to prevent the rival Gennō faction from having access to these monasteries. The Ryōan and Gennō factions competed with each other in the same geographic region of eastern Japan. Although the Gennō monasteries had been established earlier, the Ryōan faction had been more aggressive in founding branch temples. When the Gennō-line monastery Annonji (in modern Ibaraki Prefecture) prepared



to sponsor one of its monks to Eiheiiji's abbotship in 1528, leaders of the nearby Ryōan-line organized a letter-writing campaign to prevent Eiheiiji from accepting the Gennō-line monk. They presented Eiheiiji letters collected from Ryōan-line monasteries threatening to stop sponsoring their own abbotship candidates if Eiheiiji accepted the Gennō-line candidate.<sup>77</sup> Eiheiiji promptly assented to the Ryōan-line ultimatum, thereby demonstrating just how economically dependent it was on the Ryōan-line monasteries.<sup>78</sup>

In 1558 two Gennō-line monks became abbots at Sōjiji. The same Ryōan-line monasteries again organized a letter-writing campaign to threaten Sōjiji with a similar withdrawal of support.<sup>79</sup> In Sōjiji's case, however, the threats of the Ryōan faction carried less weight because many other factions also contributed to Sōjiji's economy. We know that other Gennō-line monks became abbots at Sōjiji in 1562, 1568, and 1574.<sup>80</sup> These two letter-writing campaigns (one successful and one not) demonstrate how medieval Sōtō factions were able to use the office of abbotship and its accompanying honors to promote their own faction while restricting smaller factions.

The 1570s mark the beginning of the end of medieval Sōtō. Two important developments of this period permanently altered the shape of the Japanese Sōtō order, namely, the fierce warfare in northeastern (i.e., Hokuriku) Japan and the religious policies of the *sengoku daimyō* (regional lords). It is difficult to gauge the full extent of the damage suffered by the Sōtō monasteries in northeastern Japan during the 1570s. Oda Nobunaga's defeat of the Asakura family in 1570 entailed the destruction of most of the monasteries in Echizen affiliated with the Tenshin branch of the Baisan faction, which had been sponsored by the Asakura. In 1574 members of one Ikkō *ikki* are known to have attacked many major monasteries in the area.<sup>81</sup> During Oda's campaign against the *ikki* the following year, Baisan's Ryūtaiji was totally destroyed by fire because the rebel forces had used Ryūtakuji as a staging ground.<sup>82</sup> In either 1574 or 1575 (or both), Eiheiiji was reduced to ashes. In 1566 Butsudaji (the other major Baisan-line monastery) sent its treasures to Sōjiji for safe keeping. This is the last documented proof of Butsudaji's existence.<sup>83</sup> Keizan's monastery of Yōkōji suffered major fires between 1572 and 1592. In the three provinces of Kaga, Noto, and Etchū, at least ten Gasan-line monasteries and twenty-three Meihō-line monasteries disappeared.<sup>84</sup>

This widespread destruction delivered blows to the Baisan and Meihō factions from which they never fully recovered and also foreshadowed the ascension of the Sōtō monasteries in eastern Japan (i.e., the Kantō) during the Tokugawa period.<sup>85</sup> Significantly, Oda concluded his successful attack on the *ikki* by issuing a brief set of regulations to Eiheiiji.<sup>86</sup>



Although the regulations were not notable of themselves, they foreshadowed the more stringent regulations to come. During the Tokugawa period, monastic policies were decided by government agencies rather than by individual abbots.

The 1570s also concluded the full development of Sōtō Zen doctrine and practice. By this point, the Sōtō school not only had become one of the largest religious institutions in Japan but had also developed Japanese forms of Zen practice. It is clear that Sōtō monks reinterpreted the Zen emphasis on lineage to create new methods of temple organization based on abbotship succession. This transformation of Zen lineages represents only one example of how traditional Zen concepts assumed new meanings within the context of medieval Japanese culture.

Part 3 is an examination of the internal dynamics of medieval Sōtō Zen thought and practice. The rapid regional expansion of Sōtō temple networks and the quick pace of abbotship succession at major monasteries required a steady supply of trained Zen masters. Our analysis begins, therefore, with the methods of Zen education: the kōan training that produced the leaders of medieval Sōtō. These Sōtō leaders used the paradoxes of kōan language in their efforts to popularize Buddhist ordinations for laymen and to create new religious meanings for Zen funerals. These latter two topics, therefore, illustrate how the monastic forms of Sōtō Zen extended beyond the walls of medieval monasteries into the daily lives of the common people.



PART THREE

SŌTŌ ZEN  
PRACTICE





## Kōan Zen

Medieval Sōtō monks and nuns mastered the depths of Zen enlightenment, the trivial moments of daily life, and the routine activities of monastic training through the language of the Chinese Ch'an patriarchs as recorded in kōan texts.<sup>1</sup> This specialized idiom allowed Zen teachers and students to describe different approaches to practice, various states of meditation, and fine distinctions between points of view or levels of understanding. More important, kōan study—like ordination rituals and funeral ceremonies—encapsulated Zen transcendence in tangible forms, expressed it in concrete performances, and allowed it to be communicated easily to monks, nuns, and laypersons. For clerics and villagers alike this body of Zen praxis fused together the symbolic transmission of the Buddha's enlightenment, its embodiment in the words and actions of the Zen master, with the worlds lived and imagined, both inside and outside the monastery.<sup>2</sup> While kōan training, ordination rituals, and funeral ceremonies comprise only three of the Zen practices performed by medieval Sōtō monks, each proved indispensable for the rapid growth of Sōtō institutions and the religious efficacy of these institutions within rural society.

Today leading Sōtō scholars regard the medieval period of Sōtō history as the dark ages (*ankoku jidai*) when "true Sōtō" Zen practices were all but forgotten.<sup>3</sup> They cite the rapid institutional expansion as evidence of rampant compromise with folk religious customs. They abhor a perceived overemphasis on kōan training as a deviation from Dōgen's method of Zen practice.<sup>4</sup> Certainly it is true that few medieval Sōtō temples produced significant doctrinal commentaries on Dōgen's writings, and most temples served the religious needs of local patrons in ways that no longer attract much empathy. Modern criticisms by Sōtō leaders, however, do an injustice to the religious world of their medieval predecessors who neither abandoned Zen practice nor lost their religious iden-

tity. In fact, medieval Sōtō monks engaged in kōan training, ordination rituals, and funeral ceremonies to emulate and identify themselves with Zen traditions, to preserve their sectarian identity, and ultimately to transform Zen monastic rituals in ways that more readily met a variety of social and religious needs.

It is also true that Dōgen criticized certain aspects of kōan training. But there is no doubt that Dōgen himself trained in and taught his students systematic methods of kōan investigation. His teachings cannot be comprehended without intimate knowledge of Chinese kōan; he quotes more than 580 of them.<sup>5</sup> An investigation into Dōgen's approach to kōan training, its methods and psychology, or its ultimate significance within his overall conception of Zen practice is beyond the scope of this study.<sup>6</sup> Nor would it contribute significantly to our present task, which is to see how kōan training functioned in the context of medieval religious life. The average Sōtō monk in medieval times enjoyed neither Dōgen's educational background nor his linguistic skills. The vast majority could not follow in Dōgen's footsteps and travel to China, study directly under a Chinese teacher, or immerse themselves in a Chinese cultural environment. Other means had to be developed to preserve and transmit the distinctive features of the Chinese approach to Buddhist training that Ch'an represented. In many ways the mysterious sophistication and religious potency of Ch'an language proved the most irresistible feature of all.

### *Kōan Study in Early Japanese Zen*

The Japanese adoption of Zen as a Chinese-style religious institution entailed the mastery of the literary and artistic fashions of Sung dynasty China, not just religious adjustments. All the trappings of Zen monastic life, from the architecture and decoration of monastic buildings to the proper etiquette of washing one's face, were more foreign to Japanese monks than the practice of sitting in meditation.<sup>7</sup> Kōan training proved to be no exception to this general pattern. The proper form and conduct of the teaching process had to be mastered just as much as the religious content conveyed by the kōan. Moreover, the kōan were taught and written in a specialized language even more foreign than the literary Chinese employed in traditional Buddhist scriptures.

Scholars typically explain the development of kōan discourse as a Chinese rejection of abstract Indian terminology in favor of simple, concrete expressions. It is ironic, therefore, that this "direct" idiom required prodigious amounts of intellectual accomplishment and textual investigation by Japanese students of Chinese Ch'an. Even native Chinese did not achieve spontaneity of expression in the paradoxical idiom of classical Ch'an without great familiarity with Ch'an literature. As non-native

speakers of Chinese, Japanese acquired that spontaneity only after long struggle.<sup>8</sup> By the time of the Southern Sung dynasty (twelfth century) not only had a large corpus of Ch'an scripture with many standardized genres been created, but the practice of alluding to secular Chinese literature had also become widely practiced. Like other Chinese literati, Ch'an masters were expected to master the art of prosody and compose verse freely for all occasions. Collected verse, especially verses commenting on famous kōan, comprised one section of most Sung period recorded sayings. Even Dōgen adhered to this custom. His *goroku* includes his Chinese-language verses on ninety selected kōan.<sup>9</sup> The ability to read such poetic comments with full comprehension of the literary allusions was attained only by well-educated Japanese monks. Even fewer ever expected to compose their own verses.

Initially Japanese Zen students had to confront the obstacle of studying under teachers who spoke only Chinese. Many Japanese monks failed to bridge this barrier. Buddhist pilgrims returned from China carrying more of China's material culture than its spiritual one. Even Chinese teachers who came to Japan rarely learned more than a few words of Japanese. The Chinese Ch'an master I-shan I-ning (1247–1317), who arrived in Japan in 1299, refused to accept Japanese students unless they were able to demonstrate their proficiency in Chinese. Evidence suggests that Japanese monks who mastered Chinese pronunciation and who could quote Chinese literary proverbs generally won more ready acceptance from their Chinese teachers in Japan.<sup>10</sup>

The Zen inherited by these Japanese students continued to be taught in imitation of the same Chinese syntax and stereotyped norms. Teacher and disciple exchanged questions and answers in Chinese word order. Successful understanding of a kōan had to be attested to by the student's supplying a proper "appended verse" (*jakugo*) selected either from Ch'an or secular Chinese literature. At the officially sponsored Zen temples—the ones belonging to the *Gozan* (Five Mountain) system—senior monks were expected to excel at composing Chinese verse in the complex style of matched counterpoint lines (usually alternating in four and six character combinations) known as *bien-li wen*. For these monks, mastering the intricacies of Chinese prosody became a major occupation.<sup>11</sup> Only the brightest, most studious monks could hope to succeed within the literary confines of the *Gozan*. Monks of less scholastic inclination turned to the non-*Gozan* affiliated Zen monasteries, the *rinka*, where they gradually developed more accessible methods of kōan instruction.<sup>12</sup>

Thanks to the pioneering investigations of D. T. Suzuki and Tamamura Takeji, the broad outlines of kōan study as developed within *rinka* lineages are fairly clear.<sup>13</sup> It had three main features: a standardized kōan curriculum, a standardized set of answers based on stereotyped Chinese



sayings, and a standardized method of secretly guiding students through the curriculum of kōan and answers. By standardizing and simplifying each of these, the early *rinka* teachers not only lessened the amounts of memorization required for kōan study by non-native speakers of Chinese but also ensured the preservation of the kōan system for later generations of students. Kōan training systems based on these three characteristics appeared within many lineages, both Sōtō and Rinzai, and through the modifications imposed by Hakuin Ekaku (1685–1768) have continued to the present in Japanese Rinzai Zen.<sup>14</sup>

The kōan curriculum differed in each *rinka* lineage, but within any particular lineage every generation of students proceeded through a set series of kōan, more or less in an invariable order. By repeating the same series of kōan in each generation, both teacher and student were freed from the burden of having to confront vast numbers of Zen texts. When a student later became a Zen teacher and began instructing his own disciples, he merely had to follow the examples set by his own teacher. Innovation was neither required nor, it seems, widely practiced.<sup>15</sup> Although each lineage had its own techniques for kōan study, most curriculums followed a threefold division. For example, the Daiō lineage centered at Daitokuji placed particular emphasis on the kōan of the *Blue Cliff Records* (*Hekiganroku*; Ch. *Pi-yen lu*). In this lineage the curriculum consisted of the following sequence: the initiatory kōan (known as *heki-zen*), the kōan of the *Hekiganroku* (known as the *hekigan*), and the kōan to be studied afterwards (the *hekigo*). A few other lineages concentrated on kōan taken from just three texts: the *Blue Cliff Records*, the *Record of Lin-chi* (*Rinzairoku*; Ch. *Lin-chi lu*), and the *Kōans of Wu-men* (*Mumonkan*; Ch. *Wu-men kuan*). These three levels were known as the first, second, and third barriers (*shokan*, *ryōkan*, and *sankan*).<sup>16</sup>

The most common threefold divisions classified kōan not on any textual basis but according to content. In these curriculums, the three types or levels of kōan (known as the *sanmi* within the Sōtō lineages) usually consisted of the categories of: “Ultimate Truth” (*richi*), “Devices” (*kikan*), and “Reality Itself” (*kōjō*).<sup>17</sup> The division of Zen kōan into these three categories is found even in the earliest Japanese accounts of kōan and might well have been based on Chinese precedents. For example, Enni Ben'en wrote: “[One must] directly transcend the *richi* and *kikan* of the Buddhas and patriarchs. Transcending the Buddhas' *richi* is passing through the forest of brambles. Transcending the patriarchs' *kikan* is penetrating through the iron mountain and steel wall. Then for the first time one will know the fundamental *kōjō*.”<sup>18</sup> And Nanpo Shōmyō (1235–1308), the founder of the Daiō lineage, wrote:

Although the number of kōan is said to be only one thousand seven hundred, actually the mountains and rivers, the great earth, the grasses and



trees, the forests—whatever is seen by the eyes, whatever is heard by the ears—all of these are kōan. Within our school, [kōan] comprises three meanings. These are *richi*, *kikan*, and *kōjō*. The first, *richi*, are the heart [i.e., essence] or nature indicated by the truthful words preached by all Buddhas and taught by the patriarchs. The next, *kikan*, are the displays of compassion by the Buddhas and patriarchs: the twisting of one's nose, the twinkling of an eye. In other words it is, "The stone horse wading in the water." The last, *kōjō*, are the direct words of the Buddha, the true form of all reality, all without differentiation. This is what is meant by the sayings: "The sky is the sky, and the earth is the earth"; "Mountains are mountains, and water is water"; "Eyes are horizontal, and the nose is vertical."<sup>19</sup>

According to Nanpo, the first type of kōan consists of responses to metaphysical or doctrinal questions, the second type included accounts of the illogical statements or extraordinary teaching methods (shouts and beatings) used by famous Zen teachers, and the last type included the stories of how famous teachers had used or described common objects or situations. These three categories of kōan correspond to the standard Buddhist technique of describing reality or enlightenment in terms of its nature, its functions, and its appearances. But whereas traditional Buddhist descriptions relied on philosophical terminology, kōan language employs vivid examples of each category.

The second distinctive feature of the Japanese kōan training techniques is the systematic use of stereotyped Chinese phrases to analyze or answer each kōan. The roots of this practice probably date to the very first Japanese attempts to overcome the barrier of the Chinese language. The course of its growth, however, can be gauged only from the sporadic criticisms of this practice that appear in the writings of major *Gozan* teachers. Wu-hsüeh Tsu-hsüan (Jpn. Mugaku Sogen, 1226–1286), who arrived in Japan in 1279, lamented the tendency of his Japanese students to compile lists of sayings from Zen texts. Tsu-hsüan admonished his student not to reuse the words of others without knowing the experience for oneself, a practice that he described as less beneficial than merely reciting the Buddha's name.<sup>20</sup> Likewise, Musō Soseki termed the tendency of Japanese monks to identify Zen sayings with Zen enlightenment an insane delusion.<sup>21</sup> According to Soseki, many "self-styled men of the Way" (*dōnin*; i.e., *rinka* monks)<sup>22</sup> failed to acquire sufficient learning. He criticized these monks for devoting too much time to meditation instead of to reading Zen texts and studying Chinese classics.<sup>23</sup> These monks, Soseki asserted, skimmed Zen texts not for the meaning but only to glean the supplemental sayings (*betsugo*) or alternative responses (*daigo*) that past masters had supplied for various kōan.

At *Gozan* monasteries kōan texts were studied in a scholastic fashion. At *rinka* monasteries, however, the predominant form of kōan study was the memorization of a set number of stereotyped sayings.<sup>24</sup> These sayings, generally known as "appended words" (*agyo*), were used to sum-

marize or explain each segment of a kōan text. In the course of his kōan training a student learned not only the expressions favored within his own lineage but also exactly what types of situations fit each expression. Unlike *Gozan* monks, who might compose their own Chinese verse, *rinka* monks merely had to select an appropriate phrase from a limited set of “appended words.” This means that the same Chinese phrase was used on separate occasions to describe very different experiences. Regardless of a student’s own understanding, little individuality or creativity was expected in his responses to a kōan.<sup>25</sup>

This emphasis on imitation is generally credited with causing a gradual decline in the vitality of medieval kōan training.<sup>26</sup> Whether or not such a decline occurred, on the positive side reliance on stereotyped phrases—which simplified the linguistic demands of the kōan method at a time when Chinese learning was not widespread—ensured the survival of the kōan system. Repetitive use of Zen sayings did not necessarily stifle individuality. It probably resembled the drills used in modern foreign language instruction, which teach students how to use a large vocabulary of new terms correctly even before they fully understand the literal meaning of each word. The stereotyped answers gave Zen students the means to acquire rapid fluency in Zen expression. Certainly hackneyed imitation by beginner monks would have lacked inner depth or conviction. Yet many monks who blindly memorized Zen expressions must have experienced a deeper inner resonance as their practice matured.

The third feature of kōan training at *rinka* temples was teaching through private initiation into the proper series of responses for each kōan. Private instruction has always been a key element of organized Zen monastic life. The earliest Chinese monastic code (i.e., the *Ch’an-yüan ch’ing-kuei*, 1103) provides full instructions for the ceremony of Entering the Master’s Quarters (*nyusshitsu*), during which all the monks assembled at the abbot’s building and then entered one by one.<sup>27</sup> Medieval *rinka* lineages, however, practiced an informal private instruction, conducted in secret only for selected individual students, who would visit the abbot’s quarters alone. In purpose and content these secret sessions were completely different from the sessions conducted as part of the group ceremony. During the regular visits to the Abbot’s Quarters, the teacher counseled and encouraged each member of the community of monks, one at a time. The secret instruction sessions, however, were limited to senior disciples who would inherit their teacher’s dharma lineage. For these disciples alone the teacher conducted lengthy initiations into the entire kōan curriculum and into that lineage’s own set of questions and answers used for each kōan.<sup>28</sup>

Secret manuals recording the kōan curriculum exist for several lineages. The more detailed of these manuals are nearly complete textbooks

of both the kōan curriculum and the standardized answers taught in that particular lineage. In Rinzai lineages these manuals are known as *missanroku* and *missanchō* (Records of Secret Instructions).<sup>29</sup> In Sōtō these texts are referred to as *monsan*, a word that appears to be an abbreviation of the more descriptive term *monto hissan* (the secret instructions of this lineage).<sup>30</sup> The development of these kōan manuals is obscure. No early texts survive. The earliest extant texts (sixteenth century) contain frequent references to earlier, well-developed traditions. The practice of secretly initiating students into particular questions and answers for each kōan, therefore, probably has early roots. It must have co-evolved with the first two features of Japanese kōan study as a method to ensure the faithful transmission of the standardized curriculum and stereotyped answers.

Certainly, the copying of kōan manuals was practiced by the time of Ikkyū Sōjun (1394–1481). In his “Self Admonitions” (*Jikaishū*, ca. 1461), Ikkyū assailed the exaggerated importance Zen monks attach to dharma succession and their equating of initiation into kōan answers with attainment of that succession.<sup>31</sup> Ikkyū focused the brunt of his attacks on Yōsō Sōi (1376–1458), a fellow Daiō-line Rinzai monk known for his successful campaign to rebuild Daitokuji. Ikkyū accused Yōsō of having obtained contributions from the merchants by selling them the questions, answers, and verses for the kōan taught at Daitokuji. These merchants (even as laymen) then could claim to be full Zen masters with knowledge of all the traditions handed down within the Daiō line. Evidently, the possibility of being initiated into the esoteric lore of Zen language proved extremely tempting even to worldly merchants.<sup>32</sup>

### *The Beginnings of Sōtō Kōan Literature*

Fixed kōan curriculums appeared within Sōtō lineages at least as early as end of the fourteenth century. One Sōtō kōan manual (i.e., *monsan*) states that Gasan’s disciple Tsūgen Jakurei found it necessary to forbid his disciples to teach kōan without authorization.<sup>33</sup> One biography reports that secret instruction in kōan was common during Tsūgen’s lifetime.<sup>34</sup> Other evidence supports the accuracy of this chronology. The earliest extant *monsan* text, the *Ensō monsān*, purports to be a 1396 copy by Mugoku Etetsu (1350–1430), a disciple of one of Tsūgen Jakurei’s disciples.<sup>35</sup> Baisan Monpon (a contemporary of Tsūgen) prescribed the study of *watō* (Zen words; i.e., kōan) in his monastic regulations.<sup>36</sup> During this same period, between 1397 and 1411, a Sōtō temple in Kyushu published a woodblock edition of the *Hekiganroku*, the premier kōan collection.<sup>37</sup>

By this period Rinzai and Sōtō monks studied kōan at each other’s temples.<sup>38</sup> Sometimes *Gozan* monks joined Sōtō temples after becoming



dissatisfied with the *Gozan* emphasis on literary pursuits. Likewise, many Sōtō monks (especially those of Giin's line) studied in *Gozan* temples in order to learn the intricacies of Chinese prosody. But study with monks in other *rinka* lineages was much more common. To illustrate the connections between medieval Rinzai and Sōtō, Tamamura Takeji cites the example of Shōchū Shōtan (d. 1492), a Rinzai monk, and Chikuba Kōtaku (1419–1471), a Sōtō monk.<sup>39</sup>

Shōchū inherited the kōan curriculum of the so-called Genjū line of *rinka* Rinzai Zen from his master Yūhō Tōeki (n.d.).<sup>40</sup> Nonetheless, Shōchū remained unsatisfied with his level of attainment and studied under other teachers. In 1433 he spent seven days on sacred Mt. Kiyosumi praying to Kokūzō bodhisattva to complete his mastery of Zen. He then climbed Mt. Fuji in order to select his next Zen teacher by means of ritual divination. The teacher selected was Daikō Myōshū (d. 1437), a Sōtō master of the Tsūgen lineage. Shōchū studied under Daikō until he inherited the entire kōan curriculum of the Tsūgen line. After Daikō's death Shōchū continued training under several other Sōtō masters, all of whom belonged to the same subfaction within the Tsūgen line as had Daikō.

Then Shōchū met Chikuba Kōtaku, a Sōtō teacher in a different subfaction of the Tsūgen line. Chikuba, like Shōchū, had studied kōan in several different lineages. He had inherited the kōan curriculum of the *rinka* Daiō line from Ikkyū Sōjun. After Shōchū and Chikuba met, they decided to study under each other. In other words, the Rinzai monk Shōchū taught the secrets of his Sōtō kōan curriculum to the Sōtō master of a different line. In exchange, the Sōtō monk Chikuba taught the secrets of his Rinzai kōan curriculum to a Rinzai master of a different line. In essence, each became dharma heir to the other, learning the secrets of their own style from a monk nominally affiliated with the other.

From this example and others, Tamamura asserts that by the fifteenth century the distinctions between Rinzai and Sōtō had totally broken down, that Zen monks remained aware only of the rivalries between different lineages, and that two Sōtō lineages would have been as distant from each other as if one had been Rinzai and the other Sōtō.<sup>41</sup> Tamamura's characterization is accurate insofar as every lineage had its own secret teachings. In terms of self awareness and religious goals, however, monks in both Zen traditions typically exaggerated even small differences between Rinzai and Sōtō. In studying kōan, the training methods taught were not necessarily similar. Bassui Tokushō, for example, had been extremely critical of Sōtō teachers, stating that their intellectual approach to kōan training prevented them from even dreaming of the depths of the realization taught in Rinzai lines.<sup>42</sup>

In some cases kōan manuals authored by Rinzai monks apparently did become confused with the writings of Sōtō patriarchs. Two texts in par-



ticular, the *Kenshōron* (Treatise on Perceiving Reality) attributed to Dōgen and the *Himitsu shōbō genzō* (Secret *Shōbō genzō*) attributed to Keizan, appear to have originated in the Hottō line of the Rinzaï monk Kyōō Unryō. Kyōō obtained access to the writings of Dōgen and Keizan when he served as abbot of Daijōji (see chapter 5). Biographies state that Kyōō also authored several Zen texts, including *Kana kenshōshō* (Japanese-Language Treatise on Perceiving Reality) and *Shōbō genzōgo* (*Shōbō genzō* Kōans).<sup>43</sup> It cannot be proved that Kyōō's texts are the same as the ones now attributed to Dōgen and Keizan, but a recently discovered manuscript (copied ca. 1486) suggests that they are probably related. This text quotes Hottō-line monks such as Shinchi Kakushin and Bassui Tokushō as well as various Chinese masters on techniques for concentrating on kōan in ways that will arouse doubt (*gidan*) and induce an insight into reality (*kenshō*). It also includes an essay attributed to Dōgen, titled *Kenshōron*.<sup>44</sup> This essay, still attributed to Dōgen, also has been preserved at various Sōtō temples, but under the same title as Kyōō's treatise, *Kana kenshōshō*.<sup>45</sup>

A similar example of confusion over titles and authorship appears in the biography of Keizan Jōkin compiled by the Rinzaï monk Mangen Shiban, which states that Keizan wrote a text titled *Shōbō genzōgo*—again the same title as Kyōō's text.<sup>46</sup> Sōtō records mention no such title. But Keizan is cited as the author of a commentary on ten Chinese kōan titled *Himitsu shōbō genzō* (Secret *Shōbō genzō*).<sup>47</sup> Significantly, this *Himitsu shōbō genzō* was found among the Hottō-line manuscripts just mentioned.<sup>48</sup> Also significant is the fact that not all versions of this text cite Keizan as author. Some Sōtō lineages secretly transmitted copies of the same set of ten Chinese kōans under the title *Jūsoku shōbō genzō* (Ten-Kōan *Shōbō genzō*), but without any reference to Keizan.<sup>49</sup>

These examples suggest that kōan texts passed from one *rinka* lineage to another. The outside origin of these teachings, however, could not be acknowledged. Instead, the texts borrowed respectability associated with the names Dōgen and Keizan. A similar process of borrowing the authority of ancient patriarchs can be observed in most of the secret kōan literature passed down within medieval Sōtō. This literature defies easy summation, but it cannot be ignored. It presents us with a gold mine of information regarding what Sōtō monks studied and how; what institutional, pedagogical, and ritual structures mediated the kōan experience; what religious or doctrinal interpretations were applied to kōan; and the general flow of monastic rituals at medieval institutions.

### *Medieval Sōtō Kōan Literature*

In addition to the secret kōan manuals (*monsan*) mentioned earlier, extensive records of medieval kōan study exist in secret initiation docu-

ments (*kirikami*) and in transcriptions of monastic lectures (*kikigakishō*). A brief review of each of these genres reveals the features and limitations of the literature as historical sources as well as the nature of Zen training in late medieval Sōtō.

### Kōan Manuals (*Monsan*)

*Monsan* detail the curriculum, questions, and expected responses for each kōan. Each medieval Sōtō lineage regarded the questions and answers that had been devised by their own past masters as closely guarded secrets. Possession of a complete record of a particular lineage's kōan curriculum was seen as proof of succession to that dharma line. *Monsan*, therefore, were transmitted in secret. One *monsan* explained this process by distinguishing between two types of private instruction sessions offered during the biannual ninety-day training period. During the morning session (*chōsan*) the Zen master met privately with all the monks one-by-one, regardless of lineage affiliation. Mornings were termed *Yang*, the "open instructions," the "revealed words." Meetings during the evening (*yasen*) were termed *Yin*, the "private matters," the "secret words." Only future dharma heirs received evening instruction.<sup>50</sup>

At present most of the *monsan* available to scholars belong to lines descendant from Tsūgen Jakurei (i.e., the largest Sōtō faction).<sup>51</sup> These texts often cite answers from other Sōtō lineages, thereby indicating that the Tsūgen faction held no monopoly on kōan initiations.<sup>52</sup> Within this faction, different branch lineages exhibit wide variation in both curriculum and answers for the kōan. The branch lines descendant from Ryōan Emyō (1337–1411) emphasized nonverbal responses (i.e., *kikan*), whereas the branch lines descendant from Sekioku Shinryō (1345–1423) emphasized analysis (i.e., *richi*).<sup>53</sup> Consider, for example, the answers for the kōan concerning Śākyamuni Buddha holding up a flower (the first kōan in the *Jūsoku shōbō genzō* mentioned above). Student monks within the Ryōan line imitated the walk of a small child to express the meaning of the holding up of a flower, whereas the Sekioku-line teachers merely explained that the meaning of the kōan is within the person holding the flower, not within the flower itself.<sup>54</sup>

In general, *monsan* follow a standard question-and-answer format. First the kōan is identified by name only.<sup>55</sup> Following each name, there are one, two, or a series of questions to be asked by the teacher (usually introduced by the word *shi*). The questions might include requests to explain the meaning of key terms in the kōan, to provide an appropriate Chinese verse or phrase (*agyo* or *jakugo*) that would express that same meaning, to explain (*seppa*; abbreviated as *ha*) the meaning of that Chinese phrase, or to sum up the basic meaning or purpose of the kōan as a whole (*rakkyo* or *hikkyō*). After each one of these questions the expected

response is indicated. Occasionally, a text might explicitly indicate that the student monk (*gaku*) is to respond. More often, the text indicates that the teacher substitutes (*dai*) for the monk.

In Chinese Ch'an literature, the term *dai* ("in place of") usually introduces an alternative answer to an old question or introduces the master's own answer for a question to which no monk in the assembly would respond. In medieval Sōtō kōan literature, however, *dai* always indicates that the teacher is supplying the correct answer in order to instruct his student, not in order to replace the answer in the original text. An example will clarify this distinction between these two uses of *dai*. The *Blue Cliff Records* contains the following kōan:

Yün-men [Jpn. Unmon], lecturing the assembly, said: "The old Buddha and the bare pillar intermingle. What functioning is this?"  
Speaking for (*dai*) himself [he answered]: "In the southern mountains, clouds arise; in the northern mountains, rain falls."<sup>56</sup>

In one Sōtō *monsan* this incident is cited by the title "Unmon's old Buddha [and] bare pillar." The *monsan* lists the following questions and answers:

Teacher (*shi*): "As for the old Buddha?"  
Substituting (*dai*) [for the student]: "This one person."  
Teacher: "As for the bare pillar?"  
Substitute: "A five-foot object [of perception]."  
Teacher: "When the rains disperse and the clouds draw together?"  
Substitute: "The very burning away of body and mind (*shinjin* [i.e., subject and object])."  
Teacher: "An appended verse (*jakugo*)?"  
Substitute: [in Chinese]  
"The night moon glitters in the cold pool;  
"The autumn wind penetrates the skull bone."  
Teacher: "Explain (*seppa*) [its meaning]."  
Substitute: "Mind and object are one."<sup>57</sup>

Throughout this entire session the student monk apparently would have made no response. The students expected only to become conversant with the many nuances of each kōan. They did not have to create new responses. The surviving *monsan* reveal few, if any, signs of the students struggling with each kōan on their own.

Sōtō kōan study, however, was not confined to linguistic analysis. Ryōan-line *monsan* repeatedly call for physical gestures in response to the teacher's questions, as in the following passage:

What is "Tōzan's 'The inanimate preach the dharma'?"  
Student's [nonverbal response]: Cough, [then] sit. Wait, saying nothing.  
[Then,] Thump the cushion two or three times.  
Teacher: "That's still too weak."



Student's [nonverbal response]: With fists, strike the straw mat.  
This is the teaching (*san*) of Tokuō [Hōryū].<sup>58</sup>

Often the answers alluded to terms or concepts taught only in Sōtō lineages. For example, the same Ryōan-line *monsan* just cited also includes the following sequence:

“How does [one] sit atop a hundred-foot pole?”

Substitute: “Sitting in [total] forgetfulness.”

Question: “How does [one's] whole body appear in all directions?”

Substitute: “Jumping up; falling down.”

Question: “A verse?”

“*Shinjin datsuraku*

“*Datsuraku shinjin.*”<sup>59</sup>

This commentary asserts that Zen meditation, in and of itself, is the experience of the totality of existence as enlightenment. The “top of a hundred-foot pole” is a common Zen expression for the goal of Zen training, or enlightenment. In this case, that enlightenment is conceived of as the activity of sitting in Zen meditation without any special mental effort. Although sitting normally is static, in this passage it is paired with the activity of one's body becoming manifest everywhere. This means that Zen meditation is the experiencing of all reality as a dynamic momentness (jumping up and falling down), or as *shinjin datsuraku*, the phrase that Dōgen used to describe the experience of Zen meditation.<sup>60</sup>

Another *monsan*, from a different line within the Ryōan faction, begins with a historical definition of the Sōtō line and then differentiates proper Sōtō practices from other styles of Zen. In its emphasis on sectarian identity it explicitly cites Dōgen as the authority behind the Sōtō approach to kōan study:

The Sōtō school derives from the line of Shih-t'ou, [which in turn] derived from the first patriarch, Bodhidharma. The sixth patriarch, master Hui-neng, while working as a rice polisher within the assembly of the fifth patriarch, Hung-jen, considered this matter [i.e., enlightenment] day and night without interruption even while drinking tea or eating rice. As his exertion (*kufū*) gradually matured, he naturally penetrated into [the realm of] fundamental wisdom. This “penetrating” (*tōnyū*) does not refer to his having smashed through all objects [of perception]. Without loss of the realm of objects, he attained the mind of wisdom. This “mind of wisdom” (*shinchi*) is the [realization of one's] original face without thought of good, without thought of evil [i.e., reality itself, beyond mundane thoughts]. When Ch'ing-yüan grasped this doctrine, the sixth patriarch accepted him as [his disciple]. Shih-t'ou, then, was the successor to Ch'ing-yüan. From the teachings bequeathed by them there must not be even the slightest deviation. . . .

Showing off with shouts and with [blows of the] staff are great hindrances. Among the ancients, [only] one in ten thousand believed in such practices. Since the first Japanese patriarch, Master Dōgen of Eihei-ji, had



strongly rejected these, [likewise] how much more [strongly] should [the] unlearned monks of this later age who have not yet forgotten [their worldly] knowledge and who have not yet cast off [their] discriminating intellect [do so]. If one believes in such practices, not only will he fall like an arrow into hell, but he also will completely lose the true teaching [i.e., Buddhism]. People born into this corrupt, turbulent end of the final age [of Buddhism], having minds full of dreams and delusions, should merely sit in meditation according to the old [Zen monastic] codes. Throughout the twelve periods of the day, they should realize this matter [i.e., enlightenment] through *shin-jin datsuraku*.<sup>61</sup>

The fact that this text encourages monks to practice Zen meditation according to the old monastic regulations is noteworthy. Modern Sōtō scholars usually assert that observance of regulated sessions of Zen meditation gradually disappeared in medieval Japan until revived in the early eighteenth century after the arrival of Ming-dynasty Chinese monks.<sup>62</sup> This *monsan* demonstrates, however, that meditation according to the old regulations continued to be advocated in medieval Sōtō.

### Initiation Documents (*Kirikami*)

After *monsan*, the second prime source for descriptions of medieval Sōtō kōan training is the *kirikami* traditionally handed down within many Sōtō lineages.<sup>63</sup> *Kirikami* (literally “paper strips”) vary in length from single sheets to bound volumes. They record secret instructions for the performance of ritual. In medieval Japan, *kirikami* were used at all levels of society for teaching almost any endeavor centered on private master-disciple lineages, such as theatrical performance, poetry composition, martial arts, secret religious practices, and especially Buddhism.<sup>64</sup>

Sōtō *kirikami* generally performed two functions. First, mere possession of them served as yet another testament to one’s religious authority. Second, they supplemented the Chinese monastic codes (*shingi*) that governed Zen monastic life.<sup>65</sup> Whereas the Chinese codes regulated the operation of large monasteries as a whole, *kirikami* describe procedures for the private rituals conducted by the abbot alone, such as techniques for performing consecrations, funerals, transfers of merit, dharma transmissions, and precept initiations. *Kirikami* also differ from Chinese codes in that while the latter reveal the influence of Chinese social customs and beliefs, *kirikami* reflect Japanese folk beliefs and magical practices.

*Kirikami* depict many aspects of kōan study, since kōan initiation was an important monastic ritual. These kōan initiation documents treat the same subject matter as the full-length *monsan* described above. In contrast to the *monsan*, they are more narrowly focused and of shorter length. Some describe the correct series of questions and answers for just a single kōan (often referred to as *sanwa*). The *sanwa* documents were not part of the general training curriculum but were reserved for special

occasions. Within some lines, for instance, each new dharma heir was instructed in a series of questions and answers regarding the legendary first Zen transmission when Śākyamuni Buddha held up a flower (*nenge*) and his disciple Mahākāśyapa smiled.<sup>66</sup>

Even *kirikami* concerning other types of rituals or the meaning of ritual implements often adapted the same question-and-answer format as used for *kōan* study.<sup>67</sup> For example, one *kirikami* that describes the seven main Zen monastic buildings (which the abbot toured both during his inauguration ceremony and as part of his daily ritual) begins as follows:

Teacher: "First, the abbot's building?"

Substitute: "Prior to the Great Ultimate (*taikyoku*) [there is] the abbot's building."

Teacher: "Nothing exists prior to the Great Ultimate. How can [you] say that the abbot's building exists?"

Substitute: "This answer means that the master dwells in the place of non-being."

Teacher: "A verse?"

Substitute:

"No bright brightness;

"In the dark, no darkness."

Teacher: "Next, the storehouse? . . ."<sup>68</sup>

The document continues in the same format for each of the seven buildings. Likewise, another initiation document describes an incense burner as a symbol of the fleetingness of life:

Teacher: "The evaluation (*sadame*) of an incense burner?"

Student's [nonverbal response]: Points at his own body.

Teacher: "As for the burning incense?"

Answer: "Exhalations and inhalations."

Teacher: "A verse?"

"Within one wisp of burning [incense];"

"Grasp this mind."<sup>69</sup>

These *kirikami* in *kōan*-style, question-and-answer format are especially noteworthy because they demonstrate the large degree to which the use of appended verses (*agyo* or *jakugo*) dominated religious training in medieval Sōtō Zen. All objects of daily use and all aspects of monastic life were analyzed from the standpoint of Zen dialectics in order to imbue them with a secret significance. The special language and techniques of *kōan* study extended beyond meditation training to permeate the attitudes of medieval Sōtō monks toward all religious practices, so that even rituals adapted from non-Zen traditions were redefined in terms of Zen concepts.

As in the case with the *monsan* cited above, many *kirikami* invoked the authority of Dōgen or his Chinese teacher, Ju-ching. Passages such as "the hundred twenty items listed in these certificates [are] the dharma

bequeathed at T'ien-t'ung [i.e., Ju-ching's monastery], [they are] the secrets of Dōgen" are commonplace.<sup>70</sup> Whether or not teachings or rituals could be traced back to these men, such was the symbolic power of the idealized "transmission from China" that medieval Sōtō monks sincerely believed their own practices to be faithful reenactments of this ancient paradigm. Here is a *kirikami* regarding the staff held by a Zen teacher while lecturing:

The teacher [Ju-ching] asked: "What is this one stick?"  
 Dōgen replied: "Everyone is [so] endowed."  
 The teacher said: "[Be] endowed! Look!"  
 Dōgen replied: "No-mind."  
 The teacher said: "Transcend words."  
 Dōgen stood up. . . .<sup>71</sup>

When the student Zen monk stood up he not only beheld Dōgen, but transmuted through ritual he became the Dōgen of his own generation.

### Transcription Commentaries (*Kikigakishō*)

In contrast to the secret records in *monsan* and *kirikami*, texts known as *kikigakishō* contain transcriptions of open lectures on kōan presented at medieval Sōtō monasteries. The practice of producing bound editions of informal transcriptions seems to have begun at *Gozan* monasteries.<sup>72</sup> Between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries *Gozan* monks transcribed numerous lectures on the classics of Chinese secular literature.<sup>73</sup> At Sōtō monasteries very few lectures on secular literature occurred. Instead Sōtō monks focused on Zen texts, especially on kōan collections. Transcriptions of these comments offer many insights into medieval Zen life because they often convey minute details of the circumstances of each day's lecture. In spite of their historical value, however, records of medieval Zen lectures (especially informal transcriptions) have suffered a low literary reputation that has inhibited their study and publication.

Japanese linguists only recently began publishing medieval Zen *kikigakishō* (which they term *shōmono*) when they discovered in them phonetic transcriptions of medieval colloquial Japanese.<sup>74</sup> The characteristics of a transcription commentary are well illustrated by the *Ninden genmoku-kushō*, a record of lectures by Sensō Esai on the *Jen-t'ien yen-mu* (Jpn. *Ninden genmoku*; Guidelines for Gods and Men) delivered between 1471 and 1474. Three transcriptions exist, each probably recorded separately.<sup>75</sup> Two of the transcriptions are similarly terse, in that the content of Sensō's remarks is expressed in as few words as possible with no words separating the commentary from the original text or from mention of contemporaneous events. They resemble a modern college student's lecture notes rather than a complete transcription.

In contrast to these, the third version is very detailed, extending to



more than three times the length of either of the other two. The sources for each portion of the transcription are identified in full and the quotations are in the form of complete sentences. The differences between this third version and the other two are so striking that normally it would suggest that they must represent different series of lectures on the same text.<sup>76</sup> However, careful comparison of the contemporaneous events mentioned in all three versions reveals that each recorded the same lectures given at the same time and place.<sup>77</sup> The differences between each version, therefore, must have resulted not from different source lectures but from different scribes, one of whom took more detailed notes.<sup>78</sup>

The majority of medieval Sōtō *kikigakishō* record lectures not on Zen treatises such as the *Jen-t'ien yen-mu*, but on kōan collections. The *Blue Cliff Records* and *Kōans of Wu-men* were widely studied.<sup>79</sup> Transcriptions of Sensō Esai's lectures exist for both.<sup>80</sup> Most Sōtō teachers, however, rather than following a standard kōan collections, chose kōans for their lectures according to their own inclinations. Kōans were selected mainly from the above two collections and from the *Zenrin ruijū* (Ch. *Ch'an-lin lei-chü*, 1307), an exhaustive Chinese encyclopedia of kōan and verses used by Chinese teachers to comment on them.<sup>81</sup> The *Shōyō-roku* (Ch. *Tsung-jung lu*, 1223), a kōan collection compiled by two Chinese Ts'ao-tung teachers, also occasionally appears in quotations.<sup>82</sup>

Whether lecturing on Zen treatises, kōan collections, or their own selected topics, medieval Sōtō teachers followed the same question-and-answer format used for private kōan initiations. First, the teacher identified the topic or recited the kōan. Then, with a question, he invited (*satsu*) the assembled monks to recite a verse summing up the meaning of that topic. Occasionally monks responded, but more often the teacher supplied his own verse in place of (*dai*) the monks. Finally, some teachers also explained (*seppa*) the meaning of the verse. Usually, however, only the teacher's verse comments were recorded. For this reason, some teachers also conducted a second series of lectures on the same kōans, in which they explained the meaning of the verses they had previously delivered.

For example, there are two versions of kōan lectures by Kokai Ryōtatsu (d. 1599). The first, *Kokaidai* (Kokai's Alternate [Verses]), lists the text of each kōan in full with Kokai's questions and verse answers.<sup>83</sup> The second, *Kokaidaishō* (Kokai's Alternate-[Verse] Commentary), lists only the names of each kōan, each of which is accompanied by a full account of Kokai's explanations of each of his verses.<sup>84</sup> When the teacher lectured on the verses (*dai*) originally given by someone other than himself, the resulting transcription usually would be titled with his own name and the word *saigin* (reexamination).

Even though the question-and-answer format was the same, crucial differences separate the answers recorded in *monsan* or *kirikami* and



those appearing in *kikigakishō*. The answers in the first group represent secret teachings that remained the same from generation to generation. In the *kikigakishō*, however, the kōan selected, the questions asked, and the answers each represent the mood and character of a given teacher at a particular moment. Although the teachers usually gave their own answers, the students were free to attempt (and some transcriptions include) individual interpretations. For a monk the attempt to respond freely in front of the whole assembly could be a crucial step in his training. In one case, Daian Shueki (1406–1473) accepted Zengan Tōjun (d. 1495) as his dharma heir after the latter had been the only one able to give a suitable answer to a question posed to the entire assembly.<sup>85</sup>

The questions and verse answers often commented as much on the day's events as on the kōan in question. For example, Sensō Esai's verse comments in the *Ninden genmokushō* that were given on the seventeenth day of each month always contained a reference to the attributes of Kanon, the bodhisattva for whom special services were conducted on that day.<sup>86</sup> Likewise, Sensō's concluding verse given at the end of one ninety-day training session (after which the monks were free to travel again) ordered: "Go! Go! Don't look back. What a small place [this is] on the great earth."<sup>87</sup> Another version of Sensō's *Ninden genmokushō* notes that the lecture began just as the monks had finished reciting the monastic code.<sup>88</sup> The date given in the text is the twenty-first, the day of the month on which the monks jointly recited the rules governing conduct in the monastery library (*shuryō*).<sup>89</sup> Immediately after this recitation, everyone returned to the monks' hall for another period of meditation. If this is the recitation referred to in the transcription, then the meaning of Sensō's concluding verse for that day's lecture becomes easy to understand. Sensō had asked: "What is the intended meaning of the ancient patriarchs?" and then answered, "The great assembly [of monks] meditating in the [monks'] hall."<sup>90</sup> This answer directed the monks to leave the library and return to the monks' hall for meditation.<sup>91</sup> Answers such as these represent a conscious effort by the teachers to make the kōan seem relevant to the monks' daily situations.

Because of the spontaneity they record, *kikigakishō* in many ways represent a Japanese counterpart to the *goroku* (recorded sayings) genre of Ch'an literature that had developed in China.<sup>92</sup> As with the early Ch'an records, the Japanese *kikigakishō* record the colloquial language of the time, with many slang and nonliterary expressions. Both types of texts record the concrete comments of a living teacher as he delivered his lectures and responded to students' questions. Finally, *kikigakishō* resemble the late style of *goroku* developed in the Sung dynasty in that the lectures comprising the original source material invariably were delivered according to the monastic calendar described in the Chinese monastic codes (see

**Table 2. Comparison of Annual Lecture Dates in Medieval Sōtō**

<i>EVENTS</i> DATES	<i>GOROKU:</i> FUSAI ZENKYŪ (1347-1408)	<i>KIKIGAKISHŌ:</i> RYŌNEN EICHŌ (1471-1551)	KOKAI RYŌTATSU (D. 1599)	DAIEN MONSATSU (D. 1636)
<i>Saitan</i> (first day of New Year)				
1:1	yes	yes	yes	yes
<i>Genshō</i> (first moon)		<i>Sōan</i> (end of winter training session)		
1:15	yes	yes	yes	yes
<i>Nehan</i> (Buddha's Nirvāṇa)				
2:15	yes	—	—	—
<i>Kashaku</i> (admittance of new monks)				
3:28	—	—	yes	yes
<i>Busshō</i> (Buddha's Birthday)				
4:8	yes	yes	yes	yes
<i>Hi'i</i> (adjustment of monastic seniority)				
4:13	—	—	—	yes
<i>Ketsuge</i> (start of summer training session)				
4:15	yes	yes	yes	yes
<i>Yasan hajime</i> (first evening instruction)				
4:18	—	—	yes	yes
<i>Tango</i> (midsummer)				
5:5	yes	yes	yes	yes
(full moon)				
5:15	yes	—	yes	yes
<i>Kankin</i> (sūtra recitation)				
5:28	—	—	—	yes
(full moon)				
6:15	yes	—	yes	yes
<i>Kankin</i> (sūtra recitation [for the dead])				
7:1	—	—	yes	yes
<i>Shichiseki</i> (night of the cowherd and weaving maid stars)				
7:7	—	—	yes	yes
<i>Kaige</i> (end of summer training session)				
7:15	yes	yes	yes	yes
<i>Chūshū</i> (night of the harvest moon)				
8:15	—	—	yes	yes
<i>Dōgenki</i> (memorial for Dōgen)				
8:28	—	—	—	yes
<i>Chinjuki</i> (service for protective spirits)				
9:19	—	—	—	yes
<i>Kairo</i> (opening of hearth)				
10:1	yes	—	yes	yes

Table 2. Continued

EVENTS DATES	GOROKU: FUSAI ZENKYŪ (1347-1408)	KIKIGAKISHŌ: RYŌNEN EICHŌ (1471-1551)	KOKAI RYŌTATSU (D. 1599)	DAIEN MONSATSU (D. 1636)
<i>Darumaki</i> (memorial for Bodhidharma) 10:5	—	—	yes	yes
<i>Kettō</i> (start of winter training session) 10:15	—	yes	yes	yes
<i>Nyūjō</i> (Buddha's trance) 12:1	—	—	yes	yes
<i>Rohachi</i> (Buddha's enlightenment) 12:8	yes	yes	yes	yes
<i>Nisoki</i> (memorial for second patriarch) 12:10	—	yes	—	—
<i>Tōji</i> (midwinter) 12:22	yes	yes	yes	—
<i>Joya</i> (New Year's Eve) 12:30	yes	yes	yes	—

SOURCES: *Fusai oshō jū Nōshū Shogakuzan Sōji Zenji goroku*, fasc. 1, in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:123-129; Ishikawa Rikizan, "En'ō chūkō Ryōan dai oshō hōgo' ni tsuite," 68-72 [note: Additional events are probably included in the original text, but not reported fully by Ishikawa]; Kokai Ryōtatsu, *Kokaidai*, unpublished manuscript in Komazawa University Library; and Kagamishima Genryū, "Kaidai," in *Daien daishō*, 2, Zenmon Shōmono Sōkan, 3:336-337. A dash (—) indicates that the event in question does not appear in the source cited.

table 2). The regular occurrence of lectures during the ninety-day meditation training sessions is particularly noteworthy. These lectures demonstrate that Zen training continued at Sōtō monasteries uninterrupted by the civil disturbances of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Japan.<sup>93</sup>

Medieval *kikigakishō*, however, differ from Chinese "recorded sayings" in several ways. First, Japanese Zen teachers traditionally wrote their own *goroku* in imitation of the genre produced in China. Only addresses composed in Chinese were included. Because of this artificial process, Japanese *goroku* often reveal very little of either the Zen teachings or the personalities of their authors. Second, in *kikigakishō* the emphasis or point of the lecture lies not in the topic as a whole but only in the concluding verse that sums up each *kōan*. Often the same topic or same *kōan* was brought up repeatedly, but depending on the circumstances of that particular day the teacher (or students) asked different questions and answered with different verses. For example, Ryōnen Eichō invariably began each ninety-day training period (*ango*) during

one nine-year period (1519–1528) by questioning (*satsu*) his students on the meaning of this same line from the Sūtra on Perfect Enlightenment (*Engakukyō*): “By great perfect enlightenment make yourself into a temple [wherein] body and mind abide (*ango*) in true knowledge of the undifferentiated [i.e., the absolute].” The quote remained the same, but his questions and answers always differed.<sup>94</sup>

Medieval Sōtō literature leaves no doubt that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries kōan study had permeated every aspect of Sōtō Zen training. Each lineage had its own kōan curriculum. Rituals and doctrines were taught in kōan format, with questions answered by stereotyped phrases. Teachers lectured on Zen texts and individual kōan as a means of teaching students how to apply these phrases to any and all situations. Sōtō kōan Zen centered on the analysis and creative use of concluding phrases of stereotyped Chinese verse, the alternate sayings (*daigo*), and appended words (*agyo* or *jakugo*).

Medieval Sōtō Zen practice, however, was not limited to kōan training. Rituals originally intended for inside the monastery, such as precept ordinations and funerals, forged essential links uniting the communities of Zen monks to their lay supporters. These areas, the subjects of the following chapters, represent major departures from Zen practice in Dōgen’s time. Yet perhaps because they have continued to play a major role in retaining lay allegiance down to the present day, modern Sōtō leaders typically attempt to reconcile these practices with Dōgen’s teachings rather than to renounce them.



## Precepts and Ordinations

The establishment and subsequent growth of Japanese Sōtō institutions cannot be understood without consideration of ordination ceremonies and Buddhist precepts. In contrast to meditation and kōan study (which concerned only monks within the Zen monasteries), precepts transcended the confines of monastic and secular realms. Within the walls of the Zen monastery, new monks were ordained by the power of their vows to follow the Buddhist precepts. Outside the monastery walls, lay ordinations attracted new patrons. When Dōgen assumed the authority to ordain his own students and to teach them ordination rituals, he took a major step for the institutional independence of the Sōtō school. Mass ordination ceremonies brought new village groups and village temples into the Sōtō fold.

The role of precepts within Japanese Zen schools has not attracted much attention outside of Japan. Probably this neglect results from D. T. Suzuki's interpretation of Zen as the inner formless spirit of religion, unencumbered by any outward trappings of dogma or ritual.<sup>1</sup> Zen, like most Buddhism, however, is in many ways a religion of precepts. The various vows of Buddhas and bodhisattvas determine the attributes for which people venerate them. Likewise, the vows to observe the Buddhist precepts taken by Buddhist laypersons and clerics define the religious attitudes and types of behavior proper for each.<sup>2</sup> The breadth of topics included under the rubric of precepts, therefore, is extremely comprehensive: morality, proper livelihood, definitions of the nature and goals of religious practice, as well as doctrines on the origin, meaning, methods of transmission, and spiritual power of the precepts.

The formal transmission of Zen lineages from China to Japan forced Japanese Zen monks to take a stand on many of these dogmatic issues, even if only implicitly, because these doctrines had been interpreted differently in China and in Japan. For this reason, much of the scholarship produced by Sōtō monks during the Tokugawa period was devoted to

controversies over precepts, such as their proper role within Zen practice and the legitimacy of their transmission within the different schools of Japanese Buddhism.<sup>3</sup> Fortunately, the role of precepts in medieval Sōtō practice can be examined without reference to each of these controversies. One mystery, however, must be examined, namely the origin of Dōgen's precepts—the starting point for the precepts taught by medieval Sōtō monks. The search for origins leads first to the main features of precept interpretation and ordination as practiced in China and Japan during Dōgen's youth.

### *Ordinations in China*

In China all major controversies over the Buddhist precepts had long been settled by the time the great Ch'an monasteries of the Southern Sung dynasty were flourishing.<sup>4</sup> All proper monks had to be ordained on the special precept platforms maintained at large public monasteries administered either by monks trained in the doctrinal commentaries on the precepts (i.e., monks of the Lü school) or by Ch'an monks. Presumably, the ordinations conducted by both groups of monks were largely the same. According to a Sung-period monastic code, the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*, anyone seeking residence at a Buddhist monastery was required to present three documents: ordination certificates for both his novice and full ordinations and an ordination transcript (*liu-nien*; Jpn. *rokunen*).<sup>5</sup> The two ordination certificates had to be purchased from the central government's Bureau of Sacrifice (*tz'u-pu*), while the *liu-nien* was obtained from the monastery that conducted the ordinations. All three documents recorded the names of the preceptors who conducted the ordinations as well as dates and locations. The date of the *liu-nien* was used to determine a monk's monastic seniority during the summer training session.<sup>6</sup>

The novice and full ordinations were conducted separately. The novice ordination consisted of the administration of vows to observe the three refuges, the five precepts of the Buddhist layperson, and the ten precepts of the novice.<sup>7</sup> Although the ten precepts of the novice begin with the same five vows taken by a layperson, the entire list of precepts had to be administered again because the mental attitudes of a layperson and novice differ. The full ordination consisted of the administration of vows to observe the 250 precepts of a monk or the 348 precepts of a nun. The ordination procedures and the lists of precepts were based on the *Ssu-fen lü* (Jpn. *Shibunritsu*), a Chinese translation of the Buddhist vinaya (code of behavior) believed to have been used by the Dharmaguptika, one of the so-called Hīnayāna schools in India.<sup>8</sup>

Chinese Buddhist monks followed the *Ssu-fen lü* in spite of its non-

Mahāyāna pedigree because Mahāyāna scriptures proclaim that all Buddhist precepts should be observed. In Dōgen's time, Chinese monks taught that the distinction between Mahāyāna (i.e., great vehicle) and Hīnayāna (i.e., inferior vehicle) exists only in people's attitudes, not in the precepts. Moreover, they regarded the *Ssu-fen lü* as fostering stronger Mahāyāna attitudes compared to the other similar vinaya texts that had been translated into Chinese. Yet the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* also urged Ch'an monks to follow their full ordination with an additional ordination based on the bodhisattva precepts, to promote the full development of Mahāyāna sentiments.<sup>9</sup>

The bodhisattva precepts used at Chinese monasteries are based on the *Fan-wang ching* (Jpn. *Bonmōkyō*).<sup>10</sup> This scripture describes fifty-eight precepts, ten major and forty-eight minor, that are to be observed by all bodhisattvas, be they monks, nuns, laymen, or laywomen.<sup>11</sup> It is not known if the procedures for ordination with these precepts were fully standardized. Within the Chinese T'ien-t'ai school, for example, each of the several extant ordination manuals describes a different sequence of ceremonies.<sup>12</sup> In general, bodhisattva ordinations seem to have included not only the precepts of the *Fan-wang ching* but also several related sets of vows found in other Mahāyāna scriptures, such as the three refuges, ritual confession and repentance, the four universal vows, and the three pure precepts.<sup>13</sup> Because both laypersons and monks could receive the same bodhisattva ordinations, monastic seniority was always based on the date of a monk's full *Ssu-fen lü* ordinations, never on his bodhisattva ordination.<sup>14</sup> Therefore the *Ssu-fen lü* ordinations always came first. Likewise, laypersons received their bodhisattva ordinations only after first having been ordained with the three refuges and five vows of the layperson.<sup>15</sup>

Chinese Buddhists relied on the *Ssu-fen lü* (i.e., vinaya) precepts and the *Fan-wang ching* (i.e., bodhisattva) precepts for two different types of religious guidance. The *Ssu-fen lü* provides detailed rules for monastic decorum, whereas the *Fan-wang ching* describes the attitude of compassion inherent in the Mahāyāna emphasis on universal salvation. The *Ssu-fen lü* precepts often focus on extremely concrete details of monastic life. The explanation of the precept limiting a monk's major possessions to just one bowl, for example, states that a monk shall not obtain a new bowl unless his old one is already damaged in at least six places.<sup>16</sup> In contrast to such emphasis on the monks' own circumstances, the precepts in the *Fan-wang ching* focus on general principals of interpersonal relations and life-style. Even the ordering of the precepts reflects different priorities. The first precept in the *Ssu-fen lü* is for the monk to control his own sexual desire (i.e., self-control), whereas the first precept in the *Fan-wang ching* forbids the killing of all sentient beings (i.e., saving others).<sup>17</sup>

In some cases the different orientations of these two scriptures contradict each other. Consider, for example, the case of a woman who wishes to learn Buddhism. The *Ssu-fen lü* (which emphasizes controlling all desires) forbids a monk to speak more than five or six words to a woman unless other reputable male witnesses are present, even if the monk's only intention is to instruct her in Buddhism.<sup>18</sup> From the standpoint of the *Fan-wang ching*, however, the salvation of the woman is more important than whether or not the monk observes his own vows.

The monastic regulations (*ch'ing-kuei*; Jpn. *shingi*) governing daily life at Chinese monasteries attempt to transcend the contradictions between the vinaya (i.e., Hīnayāna) and bodhisattva (i.e., Mahāyāna) precepts.<sup>19</sup> The *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* repeats the famous injunction attributed to Pai-chang Huai-hai that the essential teaching (*tsung*; Jpn. *shū*) of Ch'an life should neither be restricted by nor differ from either the Hīnayāna or Mahāyāna precepts. As cited in this text, Pai-chang asserted that monastic regulations must be based only on the actual conditions that are appropriate for Ch'an practice.<sup>20</sup> Monastic regulations, therefore, represent a third category of Buddhist guidelines. Unlike either the Hīnayāna precepts (which focus on the suppression of one's own evil actions) or the Mahāyāna precepts (which concern compassion for others), monastic regulations emphasize communal practice. All monks are required to eat, to sleep, and to meditate together in the monks' hall. All participate in monastic chores (*p'u-ch'ing*) regardless of seniority or office.<sup>21</sup>

### *Ordinations in Japan*

Japanese Buddhists never attained the same uniformity in precepts as had been achieved in China. Monks associated with the major monasteries of Nara generally followed the same series of lay, novice, full monk, and bodhisattva ordinations as practiced in China, based on the same scriptures, namely, the *Shibunritsu* (Ch. *Ssu-fen lü*) and the *Bonmōkyō* (Ch. *Fan-wang ching*). The Japanese Tendai school, however, had been established with its own ordination ceremony based on the bodhisattva precepts alone. Saichō, the founder of Japanese Tendai, had rejected the traditional ordinations administered in Nara not only because of their non-Mahāyāna origins but also as a means of ensuring the independence of the Tendai school.<sup>22</sup> From the time that Tendai had been authorized to administer sectarian ordinations (in 822) until the time Dōgen was ordained as a Tendai monk (ca. 1213) more than 390 years had elapsed. The Tendai school, its doctrinal justifications for its own precepts, and its rituals for ordinations had all taken firm root in Japan. Conflict between Tendai and the Nara temples over ordinations and precepts,



however, had never disappeared. The Nara monk Jōkei (a.k.a. Gedatsu; 1155–1213), for example, wrote a detailed attack on the Tendai ordinations, in which he stated that Tendai priests were mere laymen in monks' robes, lacking knowledge of the precepts and vinaya.<sup>23</sup>

Jōkei based his criticism on the fact that bodhisattva ordinations can be administered to both monks and laypersons. Only traditional vinaya such as the *Shibunritsu* distinguish between the ordinations and precepts for monks and those for laypersons.<sup>24</sup> Saichō, however, had argued that the same bodhisattva precepts and ordination could be used for both monks and laypersons without confusing the two.<sup>25</sup> According to this interpretation, a layperson who had not shaved his head or left his home remained a layperson even after having received all the bodhisattva precepts. If, however, that layperson had received the tonsure and initial monastic training, then that same ordination ceremony conferred on him the status of a monk. The precepts, ordination, and mental goals of both layperson and monk would be the same. Only their outward appearance and social behavior differed.

Yet the bodhisattva precepts alone proved too abstract to provide monks with guidance in daily social decorum. There always remained the problem of determining what rules of behavior Japanese Tendai monks should observe. In 824, two years after Saichō's death, the Tendai community on Mt. Hiei compiled its first set of rules for governing monastic life.<sup>26</sup> When these proved inadequate, supplemental lists of rules also appeared. Ultimately these monastic rules lacked any final religious authority within Japanese Tendai doctrine. The attitudes of Tendai monks toward monastic rules were shaped by the bodhisattva precepts—which stress the spirituality underlying the precepts over strict literal observance. When the bodhisattva precepts and Tendai monastic rules were interpreted in terms of medieval Tendai doctrines of inherent enlightenment (*hongaku hōmon*), the evil conduct that the precepts were meant to control could be reduced to a mere dualistic abstraction. The Tendai patriarch Annen, for example, taught that observance of the precepts is found both in good and in evil because the precepts represent the dharma-nature (i.e., true essence) of ultimate reality (*shinnyo hosshō no kaihō*).<sup>27</sup> This rejection of any distinction between good and evil was expressed in more concrete terms as well. One medieval Tendai text asserts: “If performed naturally (*musu*) and without calculation (*ninnun*) even evil actions are not improper, [just as] Kannon might appear in the guise of a fisherman and kill all manner of marine life.”<sup>28</sup>

Many Tendai monks distorted these doctrines in order to rationalize their own moral laxity. Eisai, for example, confessed that in his younger years he had readily joined his fellow Tendai monks in breaking the dietary precepts against eating afternoon meals and drinking alcohol.<sup>29</sup>

Jōkei's attack on Tendai monks for their ignorance of the precepts had thus sought to exploit a major weakness of the Tendai community.<sup>30</sup> Disregard of the precepts, however, did not reach its most extreme expression within the mainline Tendai establishment. Instead, the first open rejection of the precepts occurred among the lower-level monks of the twelfth century who abandoned the complex Buddhism of the Tendai school and left Mt. Hiei. Two groups in particular were denounced for antinomianism, the Pure Land monks led by Hōnen and the Zen monks led by Nōnin.

Hōnen appears to have carefully observed the precepts. Yet the Buddhist establishment attacked his teachings for promoting precept violations.<sup>31</sup> Some of Hōnen's followers believed that even a lifetime of evil deeds could not prevent deathbed salvation by Amitābha Buddha. In their insistence on salvation through exclusive faith in Amitābha, the more extreme of these monks rejected any attempt to cling to the precepts.<sup>32</sup> Likewise, the Darumashū had also been severely criticized for having rejected the precepts.<sup>33</sup> Exactly how the precepts were rejected is unclear, but one Darumashū text asserted that the purpose of the precepts lies only in controlling the active mind. Therefore, when one attains no-mind (*mushin*) all precepts are left behind.<sup>34</sup> Any new religious groups that denied the necessity of precepts (and, thus, ordinations) could have operated totally unfettered by government and ecclesiastical restrictions on ordinations. Therefore, the alarm that these doctrines caused civil and ecclesiastical authorities played a major role in the court's attempts to suppress both of these groups. Prohibitions were directed first against Nōnin's Darumashū (in 1194) and then against Hōnen's Pure Land teachings (in 1207). Hōnen's fate does not concern us here, but we must note that the government's 1194 prohibition of the Darumashū extended to Eisai's Zen teachings as well.<sup>35</sup>

Eisai defended his own position by attempting to clarify the distinction between his Zen and the practices advocated by Nōnin. In fact, Eisai's approach to Zen could hardly have been more different from that of the Darumashū. He sought to promote Zen not in order to reject the precepts but as a means of reviving the strict observance of the precepts within Japanese Tendai. In brief, Eisai's attitude toward the precepts exhibited the following five characteristics.<sup>36</sup> (1) Eisai argued that the essential teaching (*shū*; Ch. *tsung*) of Zen lay in observance of the precepts.<sup>37</sup> He stated that anyone who repented of past transgressions and ceased from all evil automatically practices Zen, whereas anyone who violated the precepts could not even be a Buddhist.<sup>38</sup> He not only professed this belief, but also practiced it, and Chinese monks wrote praise for his strict rectitude.<sup>39</sup> (2) Eisai asserted that all of Buddhism depended on the precepts. He argued that the three aspects of Buddhist learning

(*sangaku*) must be a step-by-step progression. That is, first one must observe the precepts (i.e., learn self-control), then practice Zen (i.e., meditation), and attain wisdom last. The precepts always come first.<sup>40</sup> (3) Eisai sought to revive use of the *Shibunritsu* in Japanese Tendai. He described his own Zen study in China simply by stating that he learned three things: the transmission of the Rinzai line, the *Shibunritsu*, and the bodhisattva precepts.<sup>41</sup> He argued that Zen monks must not choose among precepts but observe all those found both in the *Shibunritsu* and in the *Bonmōkyō*.<sup>42</sup> (4) Eisai rejected the saying found in some Mahāyāna scriptures that observing the Hīnayāna precepts entailed breaking the bodhisattva precepts.<sup>43</sup> He argued that any Buddhist who violated the precepts not only transgressed against the Hīnayāna rules but also turned away from the Mahāyāna. Eisai asserted that true Zen monks reconcile the two by outwardly observing Hīnayāna rules of decorum while inwardly cultivating Mahāyāna compassion.<sup>44</sup> (5) Finally, Eisai identified Zen with the strict observance of the precepts. He therefore represented himself (instead of Nōnin) as the first true Japanese Zen teacher.

### *Precepts in Early Sōtō*

Dōgen began his study of Zen under the guidance of Eisai's direct disciple Myōzen, from whom he inherited Eisai's precept lineage. Dōgen spoke of Eisai only in terms of praise. One could reasonably expect, therefore, that Dōgen's attitude toward the precepts would have reflected Eisai's positions; this was not the case, however. In every one of the five points listed above Dōgen differed from Eisai, to wit: (1) Dōgen told Ejō that the essential teaching (*shū*; Ch. *tsung*) of Zen is sitting in meditation. He argued in indirect reference to Eisai that it is mistaken to assert that the essentials of Zen could be found merely in observing the precepts. Dōgen asserted that no Chinese monks taught such a doctrine and claimed to have corrected former students of Eisai who held overly literal interpretations of the precepts.<sup>45</sup> (2) Dōgen repeatedly stressed that all three aspects of Buddhist learning (i.e., precepts, meditation, and wisdom) are found simultaneously within the act of Zen meditation. In the conversation just cited, he rhetorically inquired of Ejō: "When seated in meditation (*zazen*), what precepts are not being observed? What virtues are lacking?" (3) Dōgen firmly rejected the authority of the *Shibunritsu*. In one particularly strong statement he asserted that the way of enlightenment (*bendō*) taught by the Buddhas and patriarchs could never resemble Hīnayāna practices and then defined Hīnayāna as the precepts of the *Shibunritsu*.<sup>46</sup> Dōgen alluded to Eisai when he criticized "recent second-raters" who falsely asserted that Zen monks must uncritically accept both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna precepts.<sup>47</sup> (4) Dōgen endorsed the state-



ment that observing the Hīnayāna precepts entailed breaking the bodhisattva precepts.<sup>48</sup> He even quoted this view as being the true teaching of the Buddha. Dōgen argued that precepts common to both scriptures—such as the Hīnayāna vow not to kill and the Mahāyāna vow not to kill—actually differ as much as heaven and earth.<sup>49</sup> (5) Finally, Dōgen regarded the implementation of the Zen monastic codes as being more important than the precepts. The importance of the precepts lay in their power to ordain new monks, but the true expression of the precepts could be realized only through the routines of Zen monastic life.<sup>50</sup> In other words, the observance of the precepts merely represented conformity to the daily conduct (*anri*) established by the Zen patriarchs.<sup>51</sup> Even someone who never receives an ordination or who violated the precepts cannot be excluded from Zen practice.<sup>52</sup>

Dōgen's rejection of Eisai's approach to the precepts implies a rejection of Ju-ching's precepts as well. Ju-ching's own views of the precepts are not documented, but there is no reason to believe that his teachings would have deviated from the standard Chinese approach described in the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* and in Eisai's writings.<sup>53</sup> Ju-ching would never have been recognized as a monk in China unless he had received the complete step-by-step series of ordinations with the lay, novice, Hīnayāna, and bodhisattva precepts.<sup>54</sup>

Dōgen's writings contain no mention of his original Tendai ordination. His lineage charts record only the precept transmission that Eisai introduced from China (which Dōgen inherited from Myōzen) and the precept transmission that he had inherited from Ju-ching.<sup>55</sup> These charts contain no indication of the content or nature of the precepts transmitted in these two Chinese lineages. Three other texts list the precepts that Dōgen administered to his disciples. These three texts are the "Jukai" (Receiving the Precepts) chapter of Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō*, Dōgen's *Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō* (a description of the ordination ritual), and the *Busso shōden bosatsukai kyōju kaimon* (abb. *Kyōju kaimon*; explanations of each precept that seems to have compiled jointly by Ejō and Senne).<sup>56</sup>

According to these three texts, Dōgen followed Japanese Tendai practice insofar as he based his ordinations on the bodhisattva precepts alone. Yet Dōgen also deviated from the fifty-eight precepts of the *Bonmōkyō* administered in Tendai ordinations. The precepts listed in the three texts correspond to no other standard group. All three texts list a single group of precepts in sixteen articles (*jūrokujōkai*), consisting of the three refuges, the three pure precepts, and the ten major precepts. The ten major precepts correspond to those of the *Bonmōkyō*, but the other forty-eight precepts also found in that scripture are not included. The standard Japanese Tendai ordination ceremony for administering



the *Bonmōkyō* precepts includes the three refuges and three pure precepts as preliminary steps, but in the Tendai ceremony these six vows are not grouped together with the fifty-eight precepts of the *Bonmōkyō*.<sup>57</sup> Dōgen's precepts, therefore, do not reflect either the standard Chinese ordinations followed by Eisai and Ju-ching or Japanese Tendai practice.

It is not known if the precepts in sixteen articles resulted from Dōgen's own innovation or if he borrowed this group from another source. The postscript to the *Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō* states that the ordination ceremony described therein is exactly the same as the one conducted by Ju-ching in 1225 when he administered the precepts to Dōgen.<sup>58</sup> The reliability of that assertion, however, seems doubtful.<sup>59</sup> It is difficult to understand why Ju-ching would not have administered all fifty-eight precepts from the *Bonmōkyō*; no tradition of abbreviated precepts existed in China.<sup>60</sup>

Other evidence suggests a Japanese origin for the grouping of these sixteen articles. Ishida Mizumaro has pointed out that some Japanese Pure Land texts describe a set of precepts in sixteen articles administered during an abbreviated ordination ceremony (*ryaku kaigi*).<sup>61</sup> According to these texts, this abbreviated ceremony originated within the Japanese Tendai school. Yet the chronology of the texts cited by Ishida remains unknown, and knowledge of these Pure Land teachings cannot be linked to Dōgen.<sup>62</sup> Until additional evidence is discovered, the true origin of Dōgen's sixteen articles will remain a mystery. In summing up the origins of Dōgen's precepts, at present we can only identify three main influences, namely: the Japanese Tendai doctrine that only Mahāyāna precepts should be observed, the Chinese Ch'an insistence that the precepts are realized only through daily monastic life, and a reduction of the number of the bodhisattva precepts to a single group of sixteen articles (apparently based on an abbreviated ordination ceremony practiced in Japan).

The earliest attempt to provide a detailed religious interpretation of Dōgen's precepts is found in Kyōgō's *Ryakushō*.<sup>63</sup> The *Ryakushō*, however, addresses all fifty-eight precepts of the *Bonmōkyō*, without any reference to Dōgen's single set of sixteen precepts.<sup>64</sup> While this discrepancy raises questions as to how accurately the *Ryakushō* represents Dōgen's teachings, the text of the commentary repeatedly contrasts Dōgen's exegesis of the precepts with the interpretations taught in other Buddhist schools.<sup>65</sup> The *Ryakushō* argues that religious insight—not literal readings—must determine the correct interpretation of any given precept.<sup>66</sup> The commentary also emphasizes that the precepts embody Buddhahood. For example, consider Dōgen's assertion (mentioned above) of qualitative differences between the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna precepts against killing. Dōgen's writings contain no explanation of the difference

between these two identically worded precepts. The *Ryakushō*, however, explains that Hīnayāna precepts merely control karmic (*urō*) actions, whereas Mahāyāna precepts describe Buddha-nature (i.e., reality) itself. This Mahāyāna precept should be interpreted not as a vow against killing but as a realization of dynamic, living reality (i.e., as opposed to illusory, fixed—or “dead”—static entities).<sup>67</sup> This realization embodied in the precepts means that the precepts are equated with enlightenment itself.<sup>68</sup>

The *Ryakushō* also reiterates traditional Japanese Tendai descriptions of the bodhisattva precepts.<sup>69</sup> First, ordination is equated with Buddhahood.<sup>70</sup> Second, the Mahāyāna precepts even when violated are superior to the Hīnayāna precepts even when observed because observance of the Hīnayāna precepts promises only self-centered salvation, whereas violation of the Mahāyāna precepts can lead to salvation for others. And third, the power of the bodhisattva precepts is eternal and mutually inclusive so that an ordination with only one precept is equivalent to an everlasting ordination with all the precepts. Regardless of one’s subsequent conduct, the power of the precepts and the Buddhahood they represent can never be lost. Taken together, these three characterizations imply that the ordination ceremony itself is all-important. Observance or violation of the precepts is, at best, a secondary concern.<sup>71</sup>

Already in Dōgen’s time, laypersons regularly participated in the monthly precept recitations conducted at Eihei-ji. Their participation in the precept recitation ceremonies provided income to Eihei-ji and spiritual reassurance for themselves. The laypersons achieved ritual purity and symbolic unity with the monks by reciting the precepts together.<sup>72</sup> Giin, Keizan, and Gasan also administered ordinations to their principal patrons. A statement attributed to Gikai accurately equates the Zen use of ordinations for laypersons with the introductory consecration (*kechien kanjō*) used in Japanese esoteric Buddhism.<sup>73</sup> Both rituals establish a direct bond between a Buddhist teacher and his lay supporter.

Sōtō ordinations laid the foundations for institutional independence. Contrast Gikai’s initial ordination with that of Keizan.<sup>74</sup> Both Gikai and Keizan had been born in Echizen. Both went to local temples, Hajaku-ji for Gikai and Eihei-ji for Keizan, to become monks. Gikai, however, could not receive an ordination at Hajaku-ji. Instead, he had to travel to the Tendai ordination platform at Mt. Hiei. Presumably, all the arrangements for Gikai’s ordination—his travel expenses, his residence and study at Mt. Hiei, and his introduction to the teacher conducting the ordination—had to be provided for in advance. In Gikai’s time, rural monks who lacked the means for such a journey never received proper ordinations. If a monk did leave his home region to travel to Mt. Hiei, there was no guarantee that he would return. In contrast to Gikai, Keizan was able to receive his full ordination without having to leave the area of

his birth. From initial instruction to ordination and beyond, Keizan conducted his entire Buddhist training in his home province of Echizen.

Ordination ceremonies proved even more essential for founding new Sōtō temples. Again, Keizan is a perfect example. He ordained twenty-eight new Zen monks in 1324 when he formally opened Sōjiji's monks' hall.<sup>75</sup> These new monks probably represented converts from earlier pseudo-Buddhist groups. Sōjiji previously had been administered by rural monks trained in Shingon ritual. If Sōjiji's former monks lacked a proper ordination in their own tradition, they might have wished to receive the precepts from a teacher of another tradition.

Instruction in the precept ordination rituals, therefore, constituted an indispensable part of a Sōtō Zen teacher's training. Every monk no doubt retained some memory of his own ordination, but that experience alone did not provide him with sufficient knowledge of the special ritual instruments, documents, and the complex series of symbolic gestures. Usually a monk was initiated into these procedures only when he succeeded to his master's dharma lineage. As revealed in Gikai's *Goyuigon*, the dharma transmission ceremonies concluded with initiation in precept ordination rituals. Because of this link, ordination manuals often served to authenticate master-disciple relationships within various Sōtō lineages. The Jakuen line of abbots at Eiheiji provides the most well known example of this practice. In this lineage transmission of one text, the *Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō*, symbolized the orthodox possession of Eiheiji's abbotship.

The religious power of ordination did not stop with ecclesiastical authority; it commanded the fundamental spiritual forces of nature. In order to glimpse the spiritual powers that came to be associated with the precepts, we have to examine the ordinations of kami and spirits that commonly appear in the biographies of medieval Sōtō monks, beginning with Gasan's disciples.

### *Ordinations of Kami and Spirits*

Of Gasan's disciples, Gennō Shinshō (1329–1400) seems to have had the most encounters with kami and spirits. In a particularly well known event during the summer of 1389 Gennō is said to have exorcized an evil spirit from the killing stone (*sesshōseki*) on Mt. Nasu by striking the stone with his staff as he recited a Zen verse, which included the line: “. . . *Genjō kōan* is the great difficulty.”<sup>76</sup> Gennō's confrontation with the spirit of the killing stone (actually a volcanic rock that emits poisonous gas) is especially well celebrated in Japanese literature, but this type of supernatural encounter is hardly unique. Japanese commonly believed that ascetic training could give certain monks the power to subdue evil



spirits or to convert good spirits into Buddhists (*shinjin kado*). Whether based in fact or not, such stories are a common hagiographical element. In Sōtō biographies, these legends are particularly significant because precept ordinations appear as a standard motif. These stories reveal popular attitudes toward the precepts held by Sōtō monks and indicate hidden levels of social resistance that Sōtō monks overcame when introducing new Zen temples into rural areas.<sup>77</sup> Just as local shrines supported village unity, local spirits symbolized traditional patterns of religious worship. The ordination of local spirits provided religious justification for villagers to support new Zen temples without rejecting past village customs.<sup>78</sup>

The most common supernatural element in Sōtō biographies involves a local spirit or kami inviting a monk to found a new temple in his domain. Rogaku Tōto (d. 1470), for example, reportedly lived in poverty for many years, subsisting on offerings occasionally left at a nearby cremation site. One night during his meditation, a stranger approached him to request an ordination. The stranger confessed to having been reborn in the realm of reptiles and asked Rogaku to have compassion for him. When Rogaku finished administering the precepts, the reptile spirit instantly attained liberation from his fate. In thanks, he led Rogaku down to a valley and told him to build a temple there. Looking down, Rogaku found the dead body of a large white snake. When the local villagers heard of the departure of the snake spirit, they all came to help Rogaku build his temple.<sup>79</sup>

In another tale, Ryōan Emyō is said to have been walking down a rural roadway when a large man appeared and offered to serve as a guide. The guide led Ryōan deep into an uncharted valley, pointed to a distant mountain, and said, "That mountain is best for you." Ryōan became suspicious, but the guide reassured him: "Do not be afraid. I am the kami of that mountain." When Ryōan began to construct a temple on the mountain indicated by the kami, all the local people, both noble and base, came to help him. The work was soon completed because all the raw materials for building the temple were found in abundance right on the mountain. Later, when Ryōan began training students at the new temple, every night two strangers entered the abbot's building for secret instruction in Zen. When asked, Ryōan refused to say who the strangers were. Ryōan's disciples, however, followed the mysterious students as they left the temple grounds and discovered that they were kami from the mountain.<sup>80</sup>

Such tales depict a new Zen temple being introduced into a remote region by the direct request of the local supernatural powers, with the Zen teacher merely responding to their needs. Rural Sōtō temples mentioned in these tales were invariably founded without the patronage of



any one powerful warrior family.<sup>81</sup> These temples were the ones most in need of broad-based support and the most vulnerable to local religious conflicts. In the first example, the power of the precepts frees a suffering spirit, thereby liberating his locality from evil influences. The second example does not mention the precepts directly, but there is no doubt that the private study of Zen by the kami would have begun with precept ordinations. Both stories emphasize that the new temple was not a threat to preexisting local religious sentiments or practices. During an age when much new land was being opened for cultivation for the first time, these mythic ordinations offered reassurance that the new construction and land use was welcomed by the local spiritual powers. In the same manner that wild lands were civilized through physical efforts, the wild spirits of those lands were tamed through the spiritual power of the precepts. Especially in the second example, the people's support of the new Zen temple and their exploitation of the mountain's resources are depicted as fulfilling the desire of the local kami.

Stories of supernatural encounters at already existing temples most often describe the creation of new mountain springs or the discovery of new mountain lakes. For example, Jochū Tengin was reportedly led to the site of his future temple by the bodhisattva Kannon. After the temple was built, the local mountain kami came to the abbot's building in the middle of the night to request a precept ordination. Jochū completed the ordination, and in return the kami promised to create a new mineral spring for the area. The next morning a small earthquake opened the new spring just as the kami had promised. The temple monks quickly informed the local villages that they would be supplied with mineral water.<sup>82</sup>

The frequent reward of mountain water after mythic ordinations is particularly significant because of the importance of water in rural Japanese agriculture. Village prosperity depended on it. In Japanese religion, mountains represent the home of the kami and the source of precious water.<sup>83</sup> Therefore, the presence of the Zen temple on the mountain is portrayed not only as being pleasing to the mountain kami but also as having a beneficial influence on an important source of local prosperity. In fact, many Zen monks might have been particularly adept at locating new sources of water. As Hu Shih has pointed out, the Zen practice of regular pilgrimages from teacher to teacher gave Zen monks an excellent education in practical technology and topography.<sup>84</sup> In these tales, however, not specialized knowledge but the power of their precepts alone allowed Zen teachers to introduce new sources of water to the locality.

Another important aspect of these stories is that they attribute to Zen teachers and to their precepts the power to provide salvation to evil spirits, such as the killing stone or Rogaku Tōto's snake. This belief contrib-

uted to the association of precept ordinations and funerals. The most frightening evil spirits arise from the wrathful dead. Funerals rites not only benefit ancestral spirits but also prevent hauntings by ghosts. As explained in the next chapter, precept ordinations form an integral part of Zen funerals. It is not unusual, therefore, for supernatural stories in Sōtō biographies to combine the motifs of hauntings by ghosts and precept ordinations (see figure 8).

For instance, Gennō reportedly was traveling through Hōki when he encountered the ghost of the wife of Shimazu Atsutada, the lord of Kasuga castle.<sup>85</sup> A lifetime of evil deeds had led the deceased wife to suffer the torments of hell. Every night as she attempted to escape, her ghost appeared, shrieking outside of her grave. The local people were afraid to go out after dark. Gennō confronted the ghost, teaching her that anyone who repented of their evil deeds could be saved. That night Atsutada dreamed that his wife had become a Buddha. The next morning he discovered that it was Gennō who had led her to salvation, and in thanks he pledged his financial support to Gennō. Shortly thereafter, Atsutada told Gennō that for several nights he had observed a light shine out of the sea to a certain spot on a nearby mountain. Gennō interpreted the light as evidence that a Buddhist spirit must be hidden in the mountain. Atsutada, however, told him that at the foot of the mountain lay the pond of an evil dragon. On occasion, the dragon had destroyed local crops and attacked people. Gennō walked over to the mountain, seeing with his own eyes the lands wasted, the crops in ruins. The local villagers begged Gennō to protect them from the dragon. As he approached the pond, the wind suddenly howled and the surface of the water boiled. The dragon appeared from out of the pond and moved toward Gennō. To stop the dragon, Gennō chanted scripture. Then, as soon as the dragon became still, he administered the precepts. The dragon was transformed instantly into Kannon bodhisattva and disappeared into the sky. The next morning the baleful pond was gone. The site of evil obstructions thus proved the ideal setting for revealing the spiritual power of the precepts and the Buddhist compassion associated with Kannon bodhisattva. At that site Atsutada erected a new Zen temple (Taikyūji) for Gennō.

Two other stories, although not containing standard motifs, are also particularly revealing for the way they depict the liberative power of the precepts. The first concerns Tsūgen Jakurei and his disciple Ikkei Eishū (d. 1403). While Tsūgen was teaching at Yōtakuji, Ikkei noticed that a woman always sneaked into the back of the room to listen to Tsūgen's lectures. Ikkei confronted the strange woman, demanding to know who she was and what she wanted. She replied that her karmic retribution had caused her to be reborn as a snake and that she wanted only to be freed from that unpleasant fate. Ikkei responded that he would allow her to



Figure 8. Administering the Precepts to a Ghost

Reads: "A monk saves the baleful spirit of [Hatano] Yoshishige's concubine by administering the master's [i.e., Dōgen's] *kechimyaku* [i.e., lineage chart]." The source of this supposed encounter is unknown. Illustration by Zuikō Chingyū and Daiken Hōju, *Teiho Kenzeiki zue* (1806), fasc. 1, in SZ, vol. 17, *Shiden*, 2:100.



stay only if she could answer one question: “Since retribution originally is emptiness (*kū*), from what do you wish to be freed?” The snake woman, however, confessed that she was unable to understand the question. At this point, Tsūgen came forward and administered the precepts to the snake woman. She instantly regained her former body and bowed down nine times in thanks.<sup>86</sup> In this story, even someone who cannot fathom the logic of Zen enlightenment can attain salvation merely by relying on the power of the precepts. The obvious implication is that if a layperson merely receives an ordination, then actual Zen training or understanding is not necessary.

The other story concerns Gennō’s experiences in Iwashiro. In 1375 Gennō converted an old temple (Jigenji) from its original affiliation with the Shingon school to a Sōtō monastery. According to one account, Gennō’s conversion of the temple actually originated with the local kami, who requested that Gennō take charge of the temple. At first Gennō refused: “That monastery is full of students of esoteric Buddhism. How could they allow me to be abbot?” The kami, however, replied that he intended to drive the other monks out of the monastery because they failed to observe the precepts. The kami wanted Zen monks to live in the temple because the kami admired their strict monastic discipline. As predicted by the kami, there soon occurred a series of explosions that threw large rocks into the sky and knocked over nearby trees causing all the Shingon monks to flee. After everything settled down, Gennō moved into the temple in accordance with the kami’s request.<sup>87</sup>

This story not only emphasizes the importance of the precepts but also contrasts the rectitude of Zen monks with the laxity exhibited by other Buddhists as religious justification for transferring local support. During the medieval period, the majority of new Sōtō temples were not physically new but originally had been used by non-Sōtō monks.<sup>88</sup> The discipline of Zen monks might have impressed sponsors, but this story also indicates that older forms of Buddhism failed to keep the loyalty of the local populace. Civil disturbances during the medieval period eroded faith in the efficacy of previous religious institutions.<sup>89</sup> Monks often abandoned their former modes of practice in order to study under Sōtō teachers. Esai Sensō’s teacher Shingan Dōkū (1374–1449), for example, had studied Shingon until an encounter with Jochū Tengin convinced him of its inadequacy.<sup>90</sup>

These hagiographical encounters with the supernatural strongly link the spiritual power of Sōtō masters to the power of the precepts. Simple ordinations with the precepts are depicted as having the power to subdue evil, to prevent hauntings by ghosts, and to deliver one from the karmic consequences of evil deeds. Significantly, the precepts are shown as more powerful than other possible foci of local religious veneration. Ordina-



tion alone appears capable of replacing the need for spiritual cultivation or Zen training. These popular attitudes, of course, cannot be attributed directly to the monks who are the subjects of the biographies. Rather, they represent the results of the popularization of Sōtō precept ordinations that occurred sometime between the medieval-period founding of these temples and the early Tokugawa period, during which most of these stories first reached written form.

Sōtō initiation documents (*kirikami*) provide some clues as to how the precepts for spirits and kami were viewed within the context of Zen training.<sup>91</sup> *Kirikami* concerning ordination ceremonies reflect the importance of these rites in medieval Sōtō. They describe not only ordinations administered to ordinary people but also special ordinations for all types of beings, from kami to animals, from emperors to dead men. As indicated by the above stories, each Sōtō monastery usually had its own local protective spirit. In the Sōtō school these protective deities are known by the generic term *ryūten*. Zen monks were expected not only to provide ordinations for *ryūten* but also to chant scripture for them as well. Significantly, Sōtō monks did not regard these rituals as supplications of a superior being. Instead, Sōtō *kirikami* describe the *ryūten* as being on the same inferior level as ordinary people because they lack the Buddhist precepts necessary for enlightenment.<sup>92</sup> Moreover, in some Sōtō *kirikami* the *ryūten* were described as being abstract symbols, not real beings.

For example, a *sanwa* (i.e., *kōan*) initiation document passed down in the Ryōan line states that *ryūten* are personifications of the same mind possessed naturally by all men. According to this document, we do not realize that the *ryūten* exist within each of us because we literally believe that kami protect Buddhism in exchange for having received the precepts. It states, however, that the real *ryūten* are the original mind realized during Zen meditation. If one realizes that original mind, then one sees that there are no external *ryūten*. Evil actions, however, will cause the original mind to dissolve away.<sup>93</sup> In other words, it is not the power of the precepts that cause kami to protect Buddhism, but the implementation of the precepts through Zen meditation that protects Buddhism. In this document, precept ordinations for kami, which might seem more like folk religion than Zen practice, are redefined through *kōan* language in order to produce a new interpretation of this practice. In typical Zen fashion, the question of *ryūten* is turned into a reflection on the depth and purity of one's own religious practice.

### *Mass Ordination Ceremonies*

During the medieval period, Sōtō teachers regularly conducted mass ordination ceremonies (*jukaie*). These ceremonies required a group of

laypersons to live together with a Sōtō monks for a set number of days to study Zen, after which the laypersons received their own personal precept-lineage chart (*kechimyaku*) in a mass ordination. The development of these ceremonies is obscure. The earliest manuals describing how mass ordination ceremonies should be conducted were written in the Tokugawa period.<sup>94</sup> Yet scattered references in *goroku* and biographies of medieval-period Sōtō monks indicate that ordinations for groups of laypersons occurred much earlier. For example, Shōdō Kōsei's *goroku* includes a comment labeled as having been addressed to a precept assembly (*kaishū*).<sup>95</sup> The early popularization of ordinations is also suggested by the fact that the Hottō-line monk Kohō Kakumyō (who had originally been Keizan's disciple) encouraged his own disciples to issue Sōtō-style *kechimyaku* as a means of attracting lay support. Kohō's disciple Bassui Tokushō, however, rejected these charts as false, physical representations of what actually is a spiritual realization.<sup>96</sup> Bassui's criticism is particularly significant because it suggests that *kechimyaku* assumed unique meaning within Sōtō.

Since 1976 additional documentary records of medieval-period mass ordinations have been discovered. These records consist of two texts, each of which describes the activities of one monk: Gekiō Sōjun (1433–1488), a disciple of Esai Sensō, and Gekiō's disciple, Shikō Sōden (d. 1500).<sup>97</sup> Gekiō's mass ordinations are recorded only for the eleven-year period 1477–1488. The record of Shikō's mass ordinations is even more limited. It covers only nine months during 1491–1492. One of the texts also lists eight earlier Sōtō teachers in the same lineage (beginning with Jochū Tengin) who conducted similar mass ordinations.<sup>98</sup> The available documents, therefore, record the activities of only two teachers, during only a short period of time, who were active in only one geographic region (modern Aichi Prefecture).

In spite of their limited scope, these records provide a valuable glimpse about how mass ordinations functioned in rural society. These two texts do not describe the content of the ceremonies, the nature of the Zen study, the precepts used, or the content of the sermons delivered. Evidently, the ceremonies had already assumed a standard format that did not need to be recorded. Each text, however, does contain detailed entries that list the names, occupations, and places of residence for each of the participants as well as the dates and locations where each ceremony occurred. From this information, Hirose Ryōkō (the scholar responsible for discovering these two texts) has made an exhaustive study of the social relationships between the lay participants, the Sōtō teachers, and the regional temples involved in these ceremonies.<sup>99</sup> The following account is based on Hirose's findings, supplemented with information derived from the fragmentary evidence available in other medieval sources.

The mass ordination ceremonies conducted by Gekiō and Shikō followed a basic pattern. Often the ceremonies concluded on Buddhist holidays, such as the anniversary of the Buddha's birth, or the equinox (*higan*; literally "the other shore").<sup>100</sup> The ceremonies were conducted not only at the home temples of the Sōtō masters but also at other small temples or village chapels within the same region.<sup>101</sup> The pseudo-monks from these local temples acted as intermediaries, helping to organize the event and to bring nearby residents to the ceremony. Both monks and laypersons who participated in one mass ordination also sometimes appeared in later ceremonies as intermediaries for other people from their home village.<sup>102</sup> As in other forms of rural Japanese religion, these intermediaries provided a crucial link in the introduction and popularization of Sōtō among the lower levels of society.

Participants in the ceremonies, in fact, came from all levels of rural society. Regionally powerful lords and commoners, merchants and blind men, river boatmen and servant women all attended the same ceremonies. The ordination records identify, in addition to the occupations named above, participants who were sake brewers, dyers, metalworkers, carpenters, actors, shrine celebrants, yamabushi, and young boys (who, according to Hirose, probably were romantic interests of the monks).<sup>103</sup> This wide mix of social classes confirms that by the late fifteenth century Sōtō Zen monks had broad contact with all levels of rural society. The ability of Sōtō monks to appeal to people from lower social levels probably also attracted patronage by powerful warrior lords, because the value of a Zen temple as a symbol of the patron's power increased as the popularity of the temple spread within local society.<sup>104</sup> Usually, the participants in the ordination ceremonies came from several different villages. Not surprisingly, all of these villages were situated within the domain of the same warrior family that sponsored the Sōtō temple within that area.<sup>105</sup> Occasionally, however, mass ordinations were also conducted for groups of people from a single village.<sup>106</sup>

The ceremonies seem to have lasted about three days, but not everyone attended the entire event. For example, Gekiō conducted one mass ordination ceremony at Ichiunsai (a temple founded by Sensō), during the equinoctial week (i.e., twelfth through seventeenth days) of the eighth month of 1480 for 118 laypersons, who were brought in by four intermediaries, from eleven villages, some of which were located more than twenty kilometers away. Nine of the participants were labeled as having received only the *kechimyaku* (*kechi bakari*), presumably because they came only for the ordination on the last day of the event.<sup>107</sup> The laypersons who attended from beginning to end probably lived with the Zen master and learned basic Buddhist teachings and the life-style of Zen monks. Such personal contact between the Zen master and individual laypersons created especially strong bonds. As initiation rituals, there-



fore, the ordination ceremonies had three main functions: to induct the participants into Buddhism, to provide the participants communion with Zen monks, and to establish in each participant strong personal links to the Sōtō school.

The mass precept ordinations offered laypersons spiritual assurance in this world and promised salvation in the next. In this sense, the ordination ceremonies also functioned as rituals of spiritual transformation. During the two to three days of the ceremonies, laypersons learned of the power of the precepts to subdue evil. Sōtō ordination texts stated that the ordination directly confers the enlightenment of the Buddha.<sup>108</sup> Chiō Eishū (1371–1426), for example, once proclaimed: “The Buddha’s precepts are the most important affair of our school. Since antiquity they have been transmitted from Buddha to patriarch down to me. When someone arouses his religious aspirations and receives the precepts, then he/she attains the same level of great enlightenment as the Buddhas.”<sup>109</sup> Sōtō Zen religious symbols further emphasized the power of the ordinations. The Zen teacher individually anointed each participant with sanctified water (*shasui*).<sup>110</sup> In this ritual, a special wand tipped with pine needles is dipped in sanctified water and then touched to the head of the initiate, thereby establishing a physical bond between the initiate, the Zen teacher, and the teacher’s spiritual lineage.

More important, each participant received a *kechimyaku*. This chart lists the names of all of the Zen patriarchs, beginning with the Buddha and continuing through the famous masters of China, who have transmitted the precepts down to the present Sōtō teacher and through him to the layperson. The layperson’s name was directly linked to the Buddha by a red line that signified his or her Zen “blood lineage.” Sōtō monks taught that this chart was ultimate proof of one’s own unity with the Buddha. They asserted that they alone could endow lay men and women with such a direct link to the Buddha, because only Zen monks received the secret, mind-to-mind transmission initiated by the Buddha.<sup>111</sup> Such a tangible guarantee of salvation had great appeal. The chart was viewed as a special talisman. The value of the *kechimyaku* was also enhanced because for most of the rural participants, it probably was the first document to record their names.<sup>112</sup> These names, of course, were special Buddhist titles that they received as part of the ordination, thereby making them even more valuable.

Ordination ceremonies strengthen secular ties as well. For example, when a daughter from the Mizuno family, the main patrons of the Kenkon’in (Gekiō’s own temple), married into a family from Mikawa, her husband and members of his family jointly participated in an ordination ceremony that Gekiō conducted at the Kenkon’in.<sup>113</sup> Likewise, when a locally powerful warrior participated in an ordination ceremony, his



retainers were obligated to join in as an expression of unity. Lists of participants from the same village often begin with the name of the village head (referred to as *dono*), and names of family heads invariably are followed by the names of their wives, family and workers (all identified as *uchikata*) who participated together with them. Because the ordination documents carefully record social status and family relationships, there is no doubt that the Sōtō monks observed existing social hierarchies when dealing with the participants. The deference shown by Sōtō monks to the village lords enhanced the prestige enjoyed by these village leaders. The ceremonies thus reinforced existing social relationships, power structures, and village unity.<sup>114</sup>

The religious and social functions of the mass ordination ceremonies functioned in parallel. The main theme was unity. Each of the participants in the ordination ceremonies was linked to three powerful types of symbols, namely, the *kechimyaku* (which represented the promise of enlightenment and salvation), the Zen master who administered the precepts (who represented the authority of the Sōtō transmission and the local Sōtō temple), and the local leaders also participating in the ceremony (who represented the secular social order). The participants received spiritual assurance, the Sōtō master received more patronage, and the local lord received enhanced social prestige.

Ordination ceremonies were often instrumental in converting village chapels to the Sōtō school. Ordinations were conducted at all types of local religious sites. According to Hirose's calculations, approximately fifteen percent of the participants later were involved in another ordination. Most of these were residents of non-Sōtō temples who first received the Sōtō precepts themselves and later acted as intermediaries for subsequent ceremonies held at their own temples. The Sōtō ceremonies provided an opportunity for self-styled Buddhists who lacked a formal ordination to complete their induction into Buddhism and to vow to observe the precepts. Later, these pseudo-monks could gain prestige for themselves and their temple by acting as representatives of the Sōtō teacher. This process led to the absorption of local temples.<sup>115</sup>

For example, there is a small village temple known as Hōonji (located in Noma, Chita Peninsula), which, according to its own records, had been converted from Shingon to Sōtō in 1515 by the monk Unkan Shusō (n.d.). The records for Gekiō's mass ordinations, however, reveal that Unkan had already participated in an ordination ceremony in 1477. Then, one year later, Gekiō conducted another ceremony at Hōonji itself. In 1491 Unkan acted as an intermediary for another ordination ceremony conducted by Shikō. The conversions of both Unkan and Hōonji, therefore, had roots in their earlier involvement in Sōtō mass ordination ceremonies.<sup>116</sup> Similar patterns occurred at other local tem-

ples. For example, ordination ceremonies were conducted at a chapel known as Jōshōan (later known as Jōshōji) in 1477 and at another small temple, Sōgenji, in 1484. Yet the records of these temples state that Shōjōji was founded in 1528 and that Sōgenji was converted to a Sōtō temple in 1534. In each case, the actual links to the Sōtō school date back about fifty years earlier than the formal conversion of the temples.<sup>117</sup> Conversions of rural chapels through ordination of their resident monks thus parallel the supernatural stories of temples being converted to Sōtō on the ordination of their local kami.<sup>118</sup>

Although the mass ordination ceremonies centered on the transmission of the precepts, it is doubtful whether Sōtō teachers actually expected participants to observe the precepts in daily life. It seems likely that both Sōtō teachers and lay participants viewed the main function of the ordination as the establishment of a karmic link to Buddhism, not as the teaching of morality. For example, the first precept of the *Bonmōkyō* obligates one not to take life, yet during the civil strife of medieval Japan the first obligation of warriors was to fight for their leaders. Reflecting on this contradiction, Shōdō Kōsei lamented that although the most important precepts forbid killing and stealing, those were the number one pastimes of the age.<sup>119</sup> Consider also the warrior oath Kikuchi Takemori presented to Kōfukuji (a Sōtō monastery sponsored by the Kikuchi family) in 1338. Takemori vowed never to lose the spirit of the warrior (*bushi no kokoro*), while always supporting Buddhism (*shōbō*). He further pledged to outlaw the taking of life during the six Buddhist days of each month (i.e., days 8, 14, 15, 23, 29, and 30). Yet he made no attempt to reconcile the spirit of the warrior with the Buddhist prohibition of killing.<sup>120</sup>

Mass ordination ceremonies represented both a unique approach to Sōtō Zen and a method of proselytization unique to the Sōtō school. They offered concrete assurance of salvation to laypersons in a way that retained a strong sectarian Zen identity, but which required no extensive Zen practice. Most significant, mass ordinations popularized Sōtō Zen by providing laymen and laywomen with a ritual link to the Buddha. This same approach characterized the development of Sōtō Zen funeral services for laypeople.

## Zen Funerals

The regional dissemination of Japanese Zen Buddhism, and of the Sōtō school in particular, advanced hand-in-hand with the popularization of Zen funeral services. The fact that Japanese Zen became strongly associated with funeral rites might seem surprising in light of the long history of Buddhist funerals for laypeople in Japan. As early as 703 the ruling family had adapted some Buddhist funeral practices when the late Empress Jitō was cremated.<sup>1</sup> Lesser nobles had probably adopted Buddhist cremations even earlier.<sup>2</sup> Initially, however, only the wealthy nobility sought to augment native rites with Buddhist exorcisms and scripture recitations, presumably because only they could afford the necessary expenses and could appreciate somewhat the doctrines of karma, rebirth, and transference of merit on which Buddhist rituals are based. Rural areas, in contrast, generally lacked the trained Buddhist clergy and economic prosperity required for elaborate rites. Therefore, Buddhist funerals were not widely popularized until the medieval period, when Sōtō and other new Buddhist orders expanded into the countryside.<sup>3</sup>

Sōtō funerals were based on rituals described in Sung-period Chinese monastic regulations, which provided a standardized series of rites based on Confucian sentiments.<sup>4</sup> As seen below, this standardization not only allowed the procedures to be mastered easily but also allowed easy simplification or elaboration to suit a variety of social contexts. Lay funeral rites performed in earlier Japanese Buddhism seem to have lacked similar standardization.<sup>5</sup> A variety of disparate rituals could be performed at different temples depending on the requests of the individual mourners. Only rituals performed directly at the cremation site required the physical presence of the deceased and his mourners. The funeral of Emperor Goichijō (d. 1036), for example, involved rites performed at seven different temples, ranging from esoteric fire invocation ceremonies (*goma*) to simple chanting of the Buddha's name (*nenbutsu*). Records of the discussions held by the government ministers directing the funeral reveal that

earlier precedents—not doctrinal consistency or personal religious inclinations—largely determined the selection, order, and sites of the rituals.<sup>6</sup> In contrast, the Zen monastic codes provided an integrated series of rituals performed at a single temple and clearly focused on the honor and tranquility of the deceased, whose corpse or portrait occupied center stage. For this reason, the new rites introduced by medieval Zen monks defined the standards that were emulated by other Japanese Buddhist schools.<sup>7</sup>

In spite of this standardization, we must not forget that Japanese funeral rites developed in response to traditional native conceptions of the afterlife, ancestors, and household responsibilities. Before the popularization of Buddhist funerals, last rites were conducted by the members of the deceased's immediate household, who followed a wide variety of local customs.<sup>8</sup> People without nearby family members did not receive any last rites, and their corpses were simply abandoned in desolate areas.<sup>9</sup> As late as the fourteenth century it was still not uncommon to discard in this way the bodies of children who died before coming of age.<sup>10</sup> Usually funeral and memorial rites were reserved for significant household members who would become the nebulous ancestors for future generations. Even after the acceptance of Buddhist funeral rites, the rationale for their performance remained based on traditional customs rather than on formal Buddhist doctrines.<sup>11</sup> The study of the significance of funeral rites within the worldview of modern Japanese, therefore, must incorporate the approaches of folklorists, anthropologists, and sociologists.<sup>12</sup>

The sections that follow concentrate on a textual-historical approach in order to describe the function of funerals within medieval Sōtō practice. Although many descriptions of Ch'an and Zen emphasize the necessity of attaining total self-reliance in this life, Chinese Buddhist funerals included devotional practices designed to promise salvation in the next life. In Japan the devotional aspects of these Chinese rites received even greater emphasis. As shown below, Japanese Zen monks expanded the scope of Buddhist monastic funerary rites to include laypersons, thereby redefining the process of death as one of spiritual fulfillment of the Buddhist path. This ritual redefinition accomplished more than just the popularization of Zen funerals. It enabled Sōtō institutions to perform a vital role among the living and to acquire an ubiquitous position within the social structure of many rural areas.

### *Funerals in Chinese Buddhism*

The importance attached to funerals in Japanese Buddhism has its origins in Chinese traditions. Indian Buddhists did not lack funeral rites,



but they seem to have been based more on local social norms than on explicit Buddhist teachings.<sup>13</sup> Scriptural accounts of the Buddha's demise report that his funeral was conducted by laypersons.<sup>14</sup> As late as the fifth century, the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hsien described the funeral rites for an illustrious Buddhist monk in Shih-tsu (modern Sri Lanka) as having been organized and led by the local secular ruler.<sup>15</sup> The seventh-century travel records of another Chinese pilgrim, I-ching, describes only one explicitly Buddhist funeral rite performed by Indian Buddhist monks: the recitation of a short scripture on impermanence.<sup>16</sup> In contrast to this apparent simplicity in Indian Buddhism, ritual observance of several complex series of burial and mourning rites were an essential part of Chinese religious attitudes. Chinese officials considered ritually correct care of the household's dead ancestors to be a fundamental filial responsibility. Chinese Confucians attacked the foreign practices taught in Indian Buddhism as being not only a threat to the state but also unfilial to one's parents. To survive, Chinese Buddhists developed new doctrines that stressed Buddhist protection of the state and new Buddhist rituals that conformed to Chinese concepts of filial piety.<sup>17</sup>

The practices developed by Chinese Buddhists included funeral rites for monks and memorial services for deceased laypeople. One eleventh-century Chinese Buddhist encyclopedia contains twenty-six entries concerning Buddhist funeral rites, many of which are explained by means of quotations from the Confucian classics, such as the *Li chi* (Book of Rites), the *Shu ching* (Book of Documents) and *Shih ching* (Book of Odes).<sup>18</sup> All the funeral ceremonies referred to in this encyclopedia, except cremation and the recitation of translated scriptures, parallel earlier non-Buddhist Chinese rites.<sup>19</sup> The *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* (compiled about eighty years later) provides the earliest description of the format of monastic funeral rites. This monastic code reveals in concrete terms how Chinese sensibilities found ritually meaningful expression in Buddhist monastic practices.

The *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* details two different series of funeral rituals, one for ordinary Ch'an monks and the other, a more elaborate sequence of ceremonies, for abbots or other illustrious masters.<sup>20</sup> The funeral ceremony for ordinary monks focuses on posthumous salvation for the deceased through the power of Amitābha Buddha. As soon as any ordinary monk becomes seriously ill, the other monks in the monastery are instructed to call on Amitābha Buddha for the sick monk's recovery. If the sick monk dies, the assembly of monks prays to Amitābha for the deceased monk's attainment of Buddhahood in Pure Land. These rites for ordinary monks, therefore, retain a strong Buddhist orientation.

The funeral ceremony for abbots, however, follows the traditional

Chinese Confucian rites for deceased parents, with the abbot seen as the symbolic parent of his disciples. In this respect, the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* agrees with the above-cited encyclopedia.<sup>21</sup> Upon the abbot's death, his direct disciples wear robes of mourning and retire from their normal duties, while the other monks in the monastery are assigned the functions of praising the abbot's accomplishments and of consoling his disciples.

Last rites for abbots and for ordinary monks begin with similar rituals. First the government authorities must be notified of the death. All ordination certificates, honorary robes, and documents granting special titles belonging to the deceased must be returned to the proper government officials, and permission to conduct the funeral must be obtained. Next the deceased's body must be washed and prepared. The head is shaved and the corpse dressed in a clean set of robes. The deceased is then placed inside a round coffin in an upright, seated position, as if engaged in meditation. The coffin of a monk is left in the infirmary, but the abbot's coffin is moved from the abbot's building to a position of honor in the lecture hall.<sup>22</sup> Both coffins are to be decorated with flowers. Special decorative banners are placed on either side of the coffin along with other banners proclaiming Buddhist doctrines, such as a verse on impermanence. The decorations for the abbot, of course, are much more elaborate. His final words or death poem are prominently displayed. His portrait is placed on the lecture seat, while his belongings—sleeping mat, fly whisk, staff, meditation mat, razor, robes, and so forth—are spread out on a special table. The lecture hall is lined with white curtains, while additional lanterns, incense burners, white flowers, and special offerings are set out.

The funeral for an ordinary monk comprises three main sequences of ceremonies: the service before the coffin, the procession to the cremation site, and the cremation.<sup>23</sup> All of these services normally are led by the monastery's group leader (*wei-na*). As with all other monastic rituals, during each ceremony the standing positions and walking movements of each of the participating monks are carefully choreographed and punctuated with bells and gongs. Every aspect of the ceremonies is conducted with utmost attention to decorum. The monks remain perfectly quiet when not chanting scripture. For the ordinary monk, each ceremony also concludes with a ritual transference of merit to the deceased monk with the request that the merit might help him attain salvation in Pure Land.

The first ceremony begins after the deceased is placed in his coffin inside the monastery's infirmary. The assembled monks begin by calling on Amitābha Buddha. Later that evening, the monks also perform a precept recitation ceremony in the name of the deceased monk. The performance of this ceremony is particularly noteworthy because it demonstrates that Chinese Ch'an monks also linked the power of the Buddhist

precepts to the future salvation of the deceased. The second ceremony, conducted on the following day, begins with an offering of incense before the coffin. Then, after reciting the name Amitābha, the monastic workers carry the coffin to the cremation site.<sup>24</sup> The Ch'an monks follow directly behind the coffin, always walking down the center of the road. The monks carry the banners, gongs, incense burners, and tables to be used in the subsequent service. The final ceremony consists of the cremation itself. The monks offer incense and recite scripture for the benefit of the deceased monk. The abbot lights the cremation pyre—an act always accompanied by a brief sermon. This sermon is followed by the chanting of the name Amitābha and more scripture recitations. The funeral ceremonies conclude with the procession of monks returning directly to the monastery. On the following day, the group leader collects the deceased monk's ashes, which are placed in a stone pagoda or thrown into a river.

The funeral of an abbot or other high-ranking monk comprises four main sequences of ceremonies. Although the first three ceremonies parallel those for the ordinary monk, each is conducted on a grander scale. A leader for each ceremony is selected in advance from among the most senior monks in residence or from neighboring monasteries. At each ceremony, the leader of the service delivers at least one sermon to the assembly of monks. Other leading monks also deliver special eulogies. For the attendant monks, therefore, this occasion provides a didactic opportunity to hear several different Ch'an teachers express their own approach to life and death in terms of Buddhist practice.

The first ceremony focuses on the transferring of the abbot's coffin to the lecture hall. The ceremony begins in front of the coffin in the abbot's building and includes not just the moving of the coffin but also the presenting of the late abbot's portrait. In addition to the leader's sermon, the monastic officers and other senior monks each present incense in front of the late abbot's portrait and attempt to console his disciples. Any special eulogies from public officials or from senior monks are also presented at this time. The second ceremony begins the following morning with a special vegetarian feast for the monks. Another sermon is also delivered in the lecture hall before the coffin, which is then carried to the cremation (or burial) site. The direct disciples follow first, followed (in order) by the leader of this ceremony, senior monks, ordinary monks, and nuns. Government officials and patrons are instructed to walk on either side of the monks' procession. The third ceremony occurs at the disposal of the body. The leader responsible for lighting the pyre or for interring the coffin (in the case of a burial) delivers a sermon. At this time, the senior monks offer incense while the attending monks chant the name of Amitābha Buddha. A second leader also delivers a second sermon while scattering earth over the coffin. Then the monks return



directly to the monastery. The final ceremony begins on the monks' arrival. In this ceremony, the abbot's portrait is moved from the lecture hall to the abbot's building, at which there is another brief sermon. In addition, each monk makes a show of final respect before the portrait and offers condolences to his direct disciples. These ritual condolences conclude the formal funeral service. Thereafter, only direct disciples continue a period of public daily offerings and ritual mourning for their late teacher.<sup>25</sup>

The above rituals form the basic outline for Japanese Sōtō funerals. Elaborations of these rituals that appear in later Chinese monastic codes also influenced Japanese rites. Esoteric chants (dhāraṇī), such as the Spell of Great Compassion (*Dabei shenzhou*; Jpn. *Daihi jinshu*) and the Śūraṅgama Spell (*Lengyanzhou*; Jpn. *Ryōgonshu*) assume greater prominence in these later codes.<sup>26</sup> Amitābha Buddha still appears, but the inclusion of these esoteric formulae shifts the emphasis of the rituals away from Pure Land faith toward the esoteric transference of merit. The salvation of the deceased depends less on Amitābha's power and more on the merit generated by the body of monks performing the funeral ceremonies. With this greater emphasis on generating merit, over time the number and scale of all of the rituals steadily increased. Actions hardly mentioned in the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* are described as complex ceremonies in later codes. For example, the procession out of the monastery evolved into two rituals: one for carrying the coffin to the main gate and another for carrying the coffin from the main gate to the cremation site.<sup>27</sup> By 1311 Ch'an monastic codes listed eighteen possible funeral rituals.<sup>28</sup> At each of these ceremonies, the variety and number of the decorations and ritual implements became more elaborate. Special foods or tea and hot water might be presented. Special stands and shrines for flowers and the deceased's portrait might be carried to the cremation site. The wealthier the deceased, the more elaborate the ceremonies can be.<sup>29</sup>

Funerals incur many expenses. Since funerary expenses lie outside the normal operating budget, the codes describe how Chinese monasteries should charge fees for all funeral-related goods and services—including labor charges for chanting and music. In addition to the special banners and decorations that can be reused, the nonreusable items (such as special food, tea, flowers, incense, coffin, crematorium materials, and final urn) also have to be provided.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, the abbot's funeral not only requires a special feast for all the monks but also a special gratuity (*Juyao*; Jpn. *nyūyaku*) for the leaders of each ceremony. Ordinary monks participating in the cremation service likewise receive a special payment in cash (*nien-fo chien*; Jpn. *nenbutsusen*) for their services.<sup>31</sup> The monastery recoups these expenses by assuming control of all of the property



belonging to the deceased monk.<sup>32</sup> This property (except for real estate and a few special personal effects) is auctioned to the monastic community so that the proceeds can pay for the funeral expenditures.<sup>33</sup>

Some auctions must have raised large sums of money. For this reason, the value of a deceased monk's possessions is carefully appraised and the proceeds of the auction fully accounted for. The scale of the funds involved and the types of expenses incurred can be inferred from a sample accounting listed in one monastic code (dated ca. 1338). In this sample, 1,000 strings of cash earned from a typical auction was paid out in the following eight main categories: 91 strings for direct material expenses (such as fuel for heating the water used to wash the corpse), 270 strings for the abbot's share (i.e., one-third of the amount set aside for the monastery), 135 strings for the performance of the various individual ceremonies, 15 strings for gratuities given to three ceremonial leaders, 9 strings for gratuities given to four assistant celebrants, 15 strings for material expenses incurred by monastic officers, 20 strings for gratuities given to the monastic officers, 400 strings for distribution among the monastery's resident population of 400 monks (i.e., one string per monk), and 44.5 strings for offerings at the monastery's shrines. The remaining half-string of cash was used for accounting expenses.<sup>34</sup>

The reference to patrons and government officials walking beside the procession of monks during the abbot's funeral suggests another source of income. Patrons probably made special donations to monasteries on the occasion of an abbot's death. Lay funerals for patrons are not mentioned in the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*, but by the twelfth century recorded sayings of Ch'an abbots commonly included sermons that were delivered at funeral services for laypeople. Dōgen's teacher, Ju-ching, was no exception.<sup>35</sup> Patrons and their surviving families must have offered major donations to pay for the extensive fees that Ch'an monasteries charged for these services. Chinese monastic codes, however, do not describe lay funerals. A clear distinction has always existed between funeral rites for clergy and for laypersons. Funeral sermons for laypersons in Chinese Ch'an texts always refer to the deceased by a secular name, not by a posthumous Buddhist title.

### *Zen Funerals in Japan*

Dōgen was the first Japanese Zen monk to implement many aspects of the Chinese monastic codes in Japan. Yet Dōgen's *goroku* contains no funeral sermons. At least three of Dōgen's leading disciples (i.e., Sōkai, Ekan, and the nun Ryōnen) preceded him in death. Dōgen presented memorial lectures for Sōkai and Ekan.<sup>36</sup> Yet no evidence suggests that Dōgen performed their funeral services. Even the details regarding

Dōgen's own funeral are not clear. Dōgen died not at Eihei-ji, but in Kyoto. His coffin was reportedly placed at Kennin-ji before being taken to the cremation site, but the only ritual conducted was Ejō's reciting of the *Shari raimon*, a short devotional verse on the attainment of all perfections through the power of the Buddha. Significantly, this devotional verse appears to have been widely used only in Japanese Buddhist rituals, not in Chinese Ch'an.<sup>37</sup> Therefore, Dōgen's teachings apparently did not include funeral ceremonies.

Gikai's last rites (in 1309) comprise the earliest Japanese Sōtō Zen funeral fully documented in extant records.<sup>38</sup> Even if not the first, Gikai's funeral would still attract our attention because of its lavish scale. Over a seven-day period, seventeen separate rituals were conducted in accordance with the Chinese monastic codes. Individual monastic leaders performed a wide variety of rituals, such as preparing the corpse and coffin, moving the coffin into the lecture hall, presenting Gikai's portrait, presenting offerings, sealing the coffin, moving to the monastery gate, moving to the cremation site, lighting the cremation pyre, presenting additional offerings at the cremation site, and placing Gikai's portrait in a special shrine. Each day senior monks presented special eulogies (*saimon*) in the name of Gikai's disciples, Daijōji's workers, and patrons. For the cremation, a portable shrine was erected to house Gikai's portrait. Surrounding the funeral pyre, there were placed sixty-four ritual items in thirty-two categories, including paper streamers, white banners, embroidered flags, tables for tea and offerings, flower stands, lanterns, incense stands, and paper money. One week after the cremation, Gikai's robes and belongings were auctioned, raising eight *kan*, 333 *mon* to recover the funeral expenses.

Subsequent funerals for abbots of major Sōtō monasteries continued the elaborate display initiated by Gikai. At Meihō's funeral (in 1350), seventy-two items in thirty-four categories were arrayed around the cremation pyre.<sup>39</sup> At Tsūgen Jakurei's funeral (in 1391), seventy-one items in fifty-one categories decorated the cremation site.<sup>40</sup> The increased numbers of items used indirectly indicates the greater wealth enjoyed by these later Sōtō abbots. The auction of Tsūgen's belongings produced 38 *kan*, 331 *mon*.<sup>41</sup> Even allowing for inflation, Tsūgen's disciples clearly could afford a more lavish funeral than had Gikai's disciples. Religious complexity also increased. Meihō's funeral included recitation of the esoteric formulae mentioned in Chinese monastic regulations (such as the Great Compassion and Śūraṅgama Spells) and recitation of the Halo Chant (*Kōmyō shingon*; a dhāraṇī particularly popular in Japan) by a group of 100 monks, chanting nonstop in three shifts. Moreover, ordinations were performed in which Meihō served as the posthumous precept administrator. Meihō received the merit for having administered the precepts, while

those being ordained received not only the merit of the precepts but also established direct links to the late honored Zen master.<sup>42</sup>

Elaborate Zen funerals were performed not just for abbots but also for laypeople. When Zen rituals were introduced to Japan, the patrons of Zen temples, who would have been invited to witness the ceremonies provided for deceased monks, saw that a series of complex ceremonies with portraits of the deceased and devotional liturgies performed by the Zen monks would honor the deceased laypersons far more than the Buddhist rites previously available. The first Japanese laypersons to receive Zen funerals, therefore, must have been the early patrons of Zen temples who sponsored the activities of the new Zen institutions. The earliest detailed accounts of these funerals are found in the Japanese Rinzai tradition. The regent Hōjō Tokimune's funeral in 1284 at the hands of Wu-hsüeh Tsu-hsüan (Jpn. Mugaku Sogen) is a particularly prominent example of a patron having received monastic rites.<sup>43</sup> Tokimune had sponsored Tsu-hsüan's emigration to Japan in 1278 and had built Engakuji for him in 1282. When Tokimune approached death, Wu-hsüeh Tsu-hsüan ordained him with a Buddhist robe and the precepts. The newly ordained Tokimune then received a full Chinese-style Zen funeral, at which Tsu-hsüan delivered two sermons.<sup>44</sup>

The funeral of Yoshihito (1361–1416) provides an excellent example of a Zen funeral for an affluent patron.<sup>45</sup> Yoshihito had been an heir to the throne—the son of Emperor Sukō and the grandfather of the future Emperor Gohanazono. On the evening following Yoshihito's death (on the twentieth day of the eleventh month) his head was shaved, his body was washed and dressed in Buddhist robes. A group of monks were assigned to recite the Halo Chant. On the following day, senior monks and former abbots from major Kyoto monasteries that had ties to the imperial family (i.e., Tenryūji, Kenninji, and Nanzenji) visited Yoshihito's Fushiminomiya residence to plan his funeral. The dates and leaders for each of the ceremonies were selected. The monks were informed of Yoshihito's Buddhist name so that the proper banners and a mortuary tablet (*ihai*) could be prepared. It is important to note that this Buddhist name already existed, thus indicating that Yoshihito had received an ordination prior to his death. Throughout the next two days, different groups of monks arrived to recite scriptures and esoteric formulae such as the Halo Chant.

On the third day, the main Zen ceremonies began. First his body and coffin were ceremoniously prepared. The coffin of a Zen abbot would have been placed in the monastery's lecture hall, but for Yoshihito a nearby Jizō chapel served as the place of honor. The cremation was conducted the following day. The site was situated just outside of the east gate of the Jizō chapel. Cut pine and cedar trees were arranged around



the spot where the table for offerings and the pyre were set up. Temporary *torii* (Japanese-style sacred gateways) made of unhewn hackberry (*enoki*) wood also were placed in line with the four cardinal directions.<sup>46</sup> After presenting incense and reciting scripture at the Jizō chapel, the coffin was carried to the cremation cite. The procession was led by two monks carrying incense stands, followed (in order) by the four main banners, the gong and drum, the mortuary tablet, and finally by the coffin. The leaders and senior monks followed the coffin, accompanied by 100 monks who chanted a mystical formula dedicated to Amitābha Buddha (*Amidaju*).<sup>47</sup> Kōten Shūin, the former abbot of Tenryūji, lit the pyre. As the fire burned, senior Zen teachers led the monks in a series of scripture recitation ceremonies. When these ended, the direct involvement of Yoshihito's family also came to an end. The interment of his bones as well as the performance of the series of seven memorial rites were all handled by the monks from the family's local temple. No special services were conducted at the Fushiminomiya residence.

The funerals of Hōjō Tokimune and Yoshihito demonstrate that Japanese Zen monks made no distinction between a monastic funeral for an abbot and the funeral services for a layman. Both received the same series of ceremonies. The same banners, offerings, and decorations were employed for both. The same stereotyped categories of Zen sermons were delivered for both. This is an important point. In China, Zen funeral rituals—like all the rituals found in the monastic codes—were intended only for ordained monks, *not* for laypeople. In China clear divisions separated clerics from laypeople; they differed not only in dress and appearance, but also in the types of ordinations and precepts they observed. In Japan this was not the case; the Japanese Tendai tradition of ordination by bodhisattva precepts alone ultimately allowed the same vows for monks and lay persons. Both Tokimune and Yoshihito had received such ordinations before their deaths. Tokimune took the vows while on his death bed; Yoshihito's prior ordination is indicated by the fact that he had a Buddhist name already. By Yoshihito's time, at least, Japanese Rinzai lineages fully accepted of the Japanese Tendai tradition of the bodhisattva precepts.<sup>48</sup> These precepts would have allowed no distinction to be drawn between monk and layperson. Therefore, the popularization of lay ordinations and the popularization of Zen funerals happened simultaneously and mutually.

### *Posthumous Ordinations*

Rather than the elaborate style of funeral suitable for an abbot, the vast majority of lay funerals in medieval Sōtō followed the simpler scale of rites that originally had been intended for ordinary monks. These cere-



monies required the involvement of fewer monks, thereby greatly reducing their expense. Moreover, the promise of salvation implicit in the Zen funeral rites became more strongly stressed in these simpler rites than in the complex style of funeral performed for abbots. Because most lay funeral ceremonies began inside the residence of the deceased, the surviving household members could observe many of the special rituals performed to ensure the salvation of the deceased, the most important of which was a posthumous ordination. This ritual enabled the monastic last rites of China to serve laypeople in Japan.

First the Sōtō monks consecrated the area next to the deceased as a small chapel (*dōjō*) and set up a chair and a table with flowers, incense burners, lanterns, and a vessel for sanctified water to be used for ritual anointment and ablution of the corpse. All rituals were performed just as if the precepts were being administered to a living person, except for the verses chanted. For a posthumous ordination, the precept administrator and his assistant chanted a special verse that proclaims the nonexistence of an individual self. For each precept, the administrator asked the deceased three times if he or she intended to observe the Buddhist teaching. At the end of the ceremony, the deceased was presented with a Buddhist bowl, a Buddhist robe, and a *kechimyaku* (lineage chart).<sup>49</sup> On this chart, a new Buddhist name was used instead of the deceased's secular name.

From this point, the funeral rites for the deceased were performed as if he or she had been an actual monk or nun. The corpse's head was shaved, and the body was washed and dressed in the deceased's new Buddhist robe.<sup>50</sup> When placing the corpse in the coffin, the monks also placed the *kechimyaku* alongside the body. As in mass ordination ceremonies conducted for the living, the precept lineage chart symbolized a direct, tangible link to the Buddha.

Posthumous ordinations in order to allow Buddhist funeral rites for lay men and women was a Japanese innovation. Chinese Buddhist scripture contains no provisions for this practice. Even the *Bonmōkyō*, which states that the Buddhist precepts should be administered to everyone and to every type of being, from heavenly spirits to lowly beasts, limits ordinations to those who can understand the precept administrator's questions.<sup>51</sup> Because the deceased could not answer, their silence presented medieval Sōtō monks with a *kōan*, a problem to be solved through Zen insight. Redefined as a *kōan*, silence became the ultimate affirmative response: the proper Zen expression of the ineffable. One initiation document (*kirikami*), for example, states:

How can one posthumously become a monk?  
 Answer: "Neither saying 'No' nor 'Yes.' "

A phrase?

“No self appearance; no human appearance.”

Explain [its meaning].

Answer: “When [something has] absolutely no appearance, it can become anything.”

Teacher: “But why does it become a monk?”

Answer: “Not saying ‘No’ and ‘Yes’ is truly to become a monk (*shukke*).”

A phrase?

“The sagely and the ordinary know of themselves [who they are].”<sup>52</sup>

In a similar vein, another *kirikami* presented to the deceased during posthumous ordinations states that not making an outward show of cultivating the precepts while inwardly not clinging to false views truly is to become a monk.<sup>53</sup> These texts assert that the dead make ideal Zen monks, simply by having departed from the bounds of worldly distinctions. Yet on a deeper level, these kōan exercises forced Sōtō monks to confront the ultimate meaning of their own death and life.

The crucial role of ordinations in Zen funerals has striking parallels in the medieval European practice of *ad succurrendum* admission to holy orders for the purpose of obtaining a monastic burial. Christian monasteries in western Europe allowed someone in grave danger of death who had rendered prior services (or sufficient donations) to receive *ad succurrendum* ordination so as to die in a state of grace, wearing a monk’s habit.<sup>54</sup> In this way, a layperson could obtain medical care in the monastic infirmary, spiritual assistance in facing death, and assurance that the brethren’s prayers would ease his or her passage in the hereafter. As in Japanese Sōtō, the brethren consoled the living by providing spiritual assistance to the dead, who in the eyes of the living still needed such help after death.<sup>55</sup> In both cases, the benefits that the dead received from the communal power of the religious practices conducted within the monasteries were matched by the financial support monastic communities obtained from the families of the deceased, who found comfort in the knowledge that the same holy community that cared for their ancestors would someday provide similar care for them.<sup>56</sup> In the case of Zen funerals, however, posthumous ordinations highlighted the spiritual power of the Zen masters who performed the rites of transformation. The deceased laypersons were mere passive recipients of this beneficence. Because of the central role played by Sōtō Zen masters, the standard records of their sayings reveal much information on the social scope of Zen funerals.

### *Funerals in Sōtō Recorded Sayings*

Medieval Sōtō *goroku* indicate the rapid popularization of funerals achieved by Sōtō monks in rural Japan. In fact, they consist largely of

Table 3. Tamamuro's Comparison of Meditation and Funerals

TITLE OF <i>GOROKU</i>	AUTHOR	DATE	TOTAL PAGES	MEDITATION-RELATED PAGES	FUNERAL-RELATED PAGES
<i>Eihei kōroku</i>	Dōgen	1253	116	115	1
<i>Tsūgen Zenji goroku</i>	Tsūgen Jakurei	1391	33	17	15
<i>Kishi Iban Zenji goroku geshū</i>	Kishi Iban	1468	61	0	36
<i>Sensō Zenji goroku</i>	Sensō Esai	1475	81	1	62
<i>Entsū Shōdō Zenji goroku</i>	Shōdō Kōsei	1508	138	4	49
<i>Kikuin oshō agyō</i>	Kikuin Zuitan	1524	50	0	29

SOURCE: Based on Tamamuro, *Sōshiki Bukkyō*, 129.

funeral sermons. Tamamuro Taijō first noted this preponderance in his 1963 study of funeral services in Japanese Buddhism.<sup>57</sup> Tamamuro compiled a table in which the *goroku* of six Sōtō leaders beginning with Dōgen are analyzed in terms of the relative number of pages devoted either to meditation-related topics or to funeral-related topics (see table 3). Excluding Dōgen, funeral sermons occupy a substantial percentage of the collected sayings of all the Sōtō teachers: forty-five percent for Tsūgen Jakurei, fifty-nine percent for Kishi Iban, seventy-six percent for Sensō Esai, thirty-five percent for Shōdō Kōsei, and fifty-eight percent for Kikuin Zuitan. These percentages indicate not only the extensive role of funeral services in the activities these teachers but also the importance attached to the funeral sermons by the disciples of these teachers, the monks who compiled the *goroku*. The disciples used their teachers' funeral sermons as models when composing their own sermons. Large numbers of these funeral sermons had to be recorded and collected because the disciples also needed to deliver many similar sermons. As a further aid for the disciples, some *goroku* include generic sermons (labeled *tsū*; "common") that could be used for anyone merely by inserting the appropriate Buddhist names or titles.<sup>58</sup> Therefore, the total number of funerals performed must have exceeded the number of recorded sermons included in these texts.

Tamamuro intended his table to demonstrate that funeral rites had rapidly eclipsed meditation as the primary concern of medieval Sōtō Zen masters. At first glance, this conclusion seems reasonable. Tamamuro's table indicates few pages concerning Zen practice. Although many secondary sources reproduce Tamamuro's data, one must be warned against taking this second assertion at face value. The lack of pages devoted to meditation in Tamamuro's table is attributable not only to the growing

importance of funeral services, but also to two other factors: Tamamuro's method of counting pages and changes in the methods of compiling these "recorded sayings." Tamamuro's division of *goroku* into meditation-related and funeral-related pages is based on a mechanical selection process, performed without regard to the actual content of the pages in question. Lectures that do not concern Zen in the least are counted as being meditation-related if addressed to the community of monks. Lectures delivered during any type of lay ceremony (such as a consecration service, a cremation, or a memorial service) are always counted as being funeral-related even if topics concerning Zen practice are mentioned.<sup>59</sup>

For example, the *goroku* of Kishi Iban is listed by Tamamuro as being completely without references to Zen meditation even though terms describing meditative topics, such as *genjō kōan*, are found throughout Iban's funeral sermons.<sup>60</sup> Other than funeral sermons, Kishi Iban's *goroku* contains no other lectures because the remainder of the work consists of Iban's collected Chinese verse. The term *geshū* in the title means "poetry collection." Three of the five *goroku* analyzed by Tamamuro, namely those of Iban, Sensō, and Shōdō, are by noted composers of Chinese verse. These texts, which contain more poetry than lectures, are hardly representative of medieval Sōtō Zen teachings. Poetry falls outside of Tamamuro's two categories of "meditation-related" and "funeral-related," leaving many pages unaccounted for. Yet Zen poetry also contains many references to Zen meditation, such as: "Solitary sitting, the mind [like] ashes halfway between existence and nothingness."<sup>61</sup>

The fact that medieval *goroku* contain large sections of Chinese verse reveals the limitations of this genre for studying Zen practice. As previously mentioned, Japanese *goroku* consist solely of Chinese-language materials.<sup>62</sup> Although literally titled "recorded sayings," in actuality these texts represent "collected Chinese compositions." Dōgen's *goroku* reveals his teachings because he easily composed in Chinese. Later Sōtō teachers and their disciples lacked this linguistic freedom. The practice of transposing daily lectures into Chinese disappeared until the Tokugawa-period revival of Chinese learning. Medieval Sōtō monks wrote in Chinese only for poetry or for short, ritualized pronouncements recited on special occasions, such as the inauguration of a new abbot and memorial or funeral sermons. Medieval-period *goroku* are weighted toward these types of events only because Sōtō masters still composed in Chinese for these occasions. A careful reading of Sensō Esai's *goroku* reveals no mention of the term *kōan* and very few quotations from traditional *kōan* texts.<sup>63</sup> Yet Japanese-language records of Sensō's lectures reveal that he lectured on *kōan* texts daily. Likewise, Shōdō Kōsei's *goroku* includes poems that he composed to commemorate the completion of two sepa-



rate series of lectures on the *Hekiganroku*, but the lectures themselves are not included.<sup>64</sup> Therefore, these texts provide only limited usefulness for compiling statistical comparisons of the relative frequency of funeral topics.

More important than the sheer numbers of funeral services is the fact that so many of them were performed for people confined to low levels of social status. Funeral sermons usually avoid mentioning social ranks, but they can be inferred from references to the laypersons' Buddhist ordination titles, which reflected the rigid hierarchical distinctions of Japanese society. Analysis of Buddhist titles in Sōtō funeral sermons reveals the relative social standing of the audience for each. These titles often appear in conjunction with stereotyped words of praise for the deceased that reveal his or her occupation.<sup>65</sup> Analysis of titles used in medieval Sōtō *goroku* confirm that only a small percentage of the funeral sermons recorded were delivered for members of the clergy.

In the case of Jochū Tengin, for example, only approximately seventeen percent of his funeral sermons concern monks or nuns. For Sensō and Shōdō, the clergy accounted for fewer than twelve percent and nineteen percent, respectively. Moreover, an analysis of the sermons presented at lay funerals reveals that later Sōtō masters performed more funerals for people of low social status. The laypeople in Jochū's *goroku*, for example, appear fairly evenly divided between those of high social position and those of little or no status. In Shōdō's *goroku*, however, the vast majority of the laypeople are from the bottom rungs of the social ladder.<sup>66</sup> The increased numbers of funerals for people of low social status indicates an increased dependence on financial support from these groups. The pattern of financial patronage in medieval Sōtō thus shifted from locally powerful warrior families who initially founded major temples toward the common people who lived nearby. During the fifteenth century Sōtō funerals mainly served the common people.

The sermons in Sōtō *goroku* were presented not only at funerals but also at later memorial services. Most memorial services (unlike most funerals) addressed patrons of high social status who could afford special rites on the anniversary of the death of a senior family member.<sup>67</sup> On the anniversary of the patriarch's death, his family provided a special vegetarian feast for the monks of the Sōtō monastery. The monks copied and recited scripture for the merit of the deceased. Special offerings were presented to the Buddhas and bodhisattvas. The memorial sermon acknowledged each of these acts as having been performed at the request of the "filial" descendants (*kōshi*) of the deceased. These sermons also invariably praised the exemplary behavior of the deceased, such as his support of Buddhism and his observance of Confucian virtues.

For example, Kikuin Zuitan's seventh-year memorial service for

Takeda Nobumasa included the following words of praise: “Proficient in civil and military arts, embodying loyalty and filial piety, [Nobumasa] cultivated karmic relationships of limitless superiority. . . . He always placed virtue first. At the court, he committed no crimes of cruel killing, but made nonaction (*mui*) his norm. In the field, he instigated no military disturbances but [comprehended] the mysterious principle of all things.”<sup>68</sup> Kikuin’s remarks are typical of medieval Sōtō memorial sermons not only for the secular virtues singled out for praise but also, no doubt, for the idealized portrait he painted of the deceased. The real Takeda Nobumasa was no stranger to cruel killings and military disturbances. At a young age he had already attained notoriety for his execution of a former family retainer named Atobe Kageie and his son, Kage-tsugi, whose head he had placed on a tall stake for public viewing.

Kikuin’s version of Nobumasa, however, was addressed to Nobumasa’s grandson, Nobutora (1494–1574), the sponsor of the memorial service. In this context, the first function of the sermon was to honor Nobumasa before his descendants and to impress on Nobutora’s retainers (also present at the service) the virtues of the Takeda family that they served. Yet a secondary function of the sermon was to impress on this audience the importance of the virtues Kikuin attributed to Nobumasa. Kikuin’s sermon indirectly exhorted the living Takedas to act with virtue and restraint, while avoiding violence, and exhorted their retainers to embody loyalty and filial duty. Regardless of the actual character of the deceased, Kikuin’s moralizing ultimately was intended for the living.<sup>69</sup>

These memorial sermons thus reveal the moral ideals promoted by medieval Sōtō teachers and the moral support that they attempted to provide for their patrons. They stressed Confucian virtues, obligations between superior and inferior, thereby strengthening the hierarchical structure of warrior society. Not surprisingly, sermons addressed to warrior patrons often exalted military virtues. Although Kikuin spoke out against “cruel” killings and the “instigating” of military disturbances, other Sōtō teachers ignored such fine distinctions. Don’ei Eō, for example, eulogized the military prowess of his patron’s ancestors without reservation. He praised Nagao Yoshikage (1459–1506) for being a companion to both poets and swordsmen, praised Beppu Kageyuki for being a battlefield hero, and suggested that the remembrance of battlefield glory could offer repose for one fallen warrior:

As the two troops cross spears, the course of the battle is undecided.

Arrows fly like rain. The flashing of swords and axes radiates across the heavens. Without falling into [the dualism of] Death or Life, at that very moment at what kind of place should one seek haven?

*Offering incense, he continued:*

The patron's perfumed smoke fills the pines with thick mist; frost and snow cannot encroach on the integrity of ten-thousand years.<sup>70</sup>

In other words, although the burning incense proclaims the ephemerality of all things, the passing years cannot diminish our memory of the slain ancestor's accomplishments. Not all Sōtō teachers equally endorsed the warrior arts, however. Shōdō Kōsei, for example, emphasized the filial obligations of the survivors to their slain relatives. According to Shōdō, the survivors inherited the duty of cultivating merit and supporting Buddhism so as to transform the "mountains of swords" that had been experienced by their ancestors into "platforms for Zen meditation."<sup>71</sup>

Medieval Sōtō funeral sermons outnumber the memorial sermons by a ratio of ten to one. Being addressed to commoners, we might expect them to provide more insight into the social roles of Sōtō teachers. Their brevity and reliance on stereotyped expressions, however, severely limits their usefulness for analysis. The format of most medieval Sōtō funeral sermons follows the same question-and-answer sequence used in kōan manuals. Usually, this sequence proceeds in a four-part procession: (1) a *mise-en-scène*, (2) a leading question, (3) a significant pause, which often is marked in the text by the teacher's signaling with his torch (e.g., drawing a circle of fire in the air, lighting the pyre, or throwing it down), and (4) a concluding couplet or statement by the teacher to indicate the Zen approach to the resolution of the question. Unlike the memorial sermons, these questions and answers rarely address in any detail the circumstances of the deceased. Instead, the sermons are just as likely to refer to the human condition in general or to the seasons. For example:

*For Bath Supervisor Sōgo, on drawing a large circle [in the air] with the torch, [the teacher] said:*

The very depth of great enlightenment! The perfect illumination of great wisdom! Dharmas arise from nonbeing. The Way leads from the treacherous peaks to the level plain. The falling [cherry] blossoms and the singing birds: Every spot is presently complete (*genjō*). At this very moment, what words would surmise this finish?

*A long pause.*

The fields burn without extinguishing. The spring winds blow and already there is life.<sup>72</sup>

The falling blossoms, the return of the song birds, and burning of the fields (in preparation for a new season's planting) all indicate that this cremation occurred in the spring. Regarding the career of the monk Sōgo, however, nothing is stated.

Instead of eulogizing the deceased, most medieval Sōtō funeral sermons, as in this example, confront the problem of how the living must face death. Often, the sermons contain vivid references to the burning



flames of the cremation fire, forcing the audience to confront the finality of death.<sup>73</sup> Yet the concluding statements also assert the ultimate conquering of death through the tranquility of religious realization, as in the following:

The cages of life and death are but phantom relations. When these phantom relations perish, suddenly [one] returns to the source. One morning: wind and moon. One morning: perishing. An eternity of long emptiness; an eternity of solidity. The late “name,” aware of the great matter of Life and Death, took refuge in the Great Ascetic [i.e., the Buddha], converged on the place beyond knowledge [i.e., enlightenment], and marched through the gateway to perfect nirvāṇa.

*Pause.*

“Marching through” indicates what?

*Throwing down the torch:*

Where the red fire burns through the body, there sprouts a lotus, blossoming within the flames.<sup>74</sup>

The “lotus within the flames” (*kari ren*) is just one of the many stereotyped expressions used in Sōtō funeral sermons to indicate the transcendence of life and death. A few sermons simply deny the validity of the conventional concepts of life and death or assert the nonduality of the two.<sup>75</sup> More often, however, the funeral sermons phrase this message in the paradoxical language of the Zen kōan. The cremation might be compared to a mud cow entering the ocean (*deigyū nyūkai*; i.e., the dissolving of all dualistic distinctions) or to a wooden horse dancing in a fire (*mokuba kachū*; i.e., false delusions being destroyed without a trace).<sup>76</sup>

The transcendence of death described in these assertions is predicated on the implied assertion that the deceased had attained Buddhahood (i.e., salvation) through the performance of the Zen funeral service. Unlike traditional Japanese funerary rites, which focused on the removal of the pollution of death from the deceased’s household, the Zen ceremonies emphasized the positive function of the funeral for the spiritual benefit of the deceased. As with precept ordination ceremonies, therefore, Zen funerals offered a new degree of spiritual assurance that had previously been unavailable to average Japanese.

The paradoxical Zen language of most Sōtō funeral sermons, especially when presented in the form of Chinese verse, was probably largely unintelligible to most laypeople. The message of spiritual assurance would have been clear enough, but the nature of that assurance might have been misinterpreted. The way in which these stereotyped Zen phrase express the traditional Buddhist doctrines of nonduality and emptiness could easily seem to imply an afterlife.<sup>77</sup> Comparing the deceased to the “true man of no rank” (*mui shinnin*) or to the “man of original immortality” (*honrai fushinin*) did not counter popular Japanese notions that the dead continue to exist within this world.<sup>78</sup> Many Sōtō sermons assert



that the dead neither ascend to heaven (*tendō*) nor fall into hell (*jigoku*), a statement that could be construed to agree with the traditional Japanese belief that deceased ancestors remain in a nebulous proximity to their descendants.<sup>79</sup>

Although there is no evidence that Sōtō teachers encouraged popular belief in a soul, neither did they discourage it. To many lay observers, no doubt, the salvation described in Sōtō funeral sermons meant only the promise that their loved ones were freed from the torments of the spirit that follow death. In this regard, it is significant to note that many laymen who witnessed the Zen funeral of Prince Yoshihito (described above) reportedly believed that the cremation fires liberated his spirit (*tamashii*) from his body.<sup>80</sup> The following example illustrates how a Sōtō funeral sermon based on the doctrine of emptiness can seem to affirm empirical attachments to the world:

. . . *Genjō kōan* is the great difficulty. Right now, try to perceive what is in front of your eyes. Look! The dangling flower is opening—the lotus within the flames. . . . [The cycle of] birth-death and nirvāṇa are like last night's dreams. Enlightenment and affliction resemble the billowing smoke. At this very moment, the grand sister sheds her tainted form. Ultimately, where does she travel?

*Throwing down the torch:*

The origin of lakes and streams lies in the ocean. The moon sets but does not leave the sky.<sup>81</sup>

Although a lay audience might not have understood the full meaning of the sermons delivered at Sōtō funerals, the fact that the sermon accompanied the burning cremation pyre rendered the remarks of the Zen master especially dramatic. The physical acts of lighting the fire and waving the torch through the air symbolized the ability of the Zen master to confront death, while the frequent references in his sermons to the burning corpse and the concluding affirmation of life reinforced the image of his having attained mastery over the fear of dying. This psychological power of Zen funeral services held great religious attraction.

Buddhist biographies of outstanding monks from all traditions often include descriptions of their calmness in death. The Zen tradition, however, has especially emphasized the cultivation of this fearless tranquility—even to the extent that poems composed just before dying constitute a major genre of Zen verse. Mujū Dōgyō asserted that Zen monks were especially impressive in facing death because they routinely meditated as if they would soon die. According to Mujū, monks of other Buddhist schools delayed earnest practice until after they became aware of their impending demise, after it was already too late to prepare themselves.<sup>82</sup> It is possible that the remarkable popularity of Zen funerals among laypeople resulted at least in part from the ability of the Japanese Zen

monks to impress laypeople with their own mastery of death.<sup>83</sup> It was this mastery that confirmed the promise of salvation described in the Zen masters' funeral sermons.

### *Funerals for Women*

Analysis of the Buddhist titles used for the deceased in Sōtō funeral sermons reveals that the majority of the services were conducted for women.<sup>84</sup> Men were a majority only among funerals for high-ranking members of the clergy. As much as seventy-two percent of the sermons delivered at lay funerals in the *goroku* of Shōdō Kōsei were for women. In the relatively low status group having the Buddhist titles *Zenmon* (for males) and *Zenni* (for females), the ratio of women to men is more than three to one.<sup>85</sup> Similar ratios in favor of women are also found among funeral sermons in the *goroku* of other medieval Sōtō teachers. In Tsūgen Jakurei's *goroku*, women account for as much as seventy-nine percent of the lay funeral sermons; in Jochū Tengin's *goroku*, sixty-six percent; and in Sensō Esai's *goroku*, sixty-two percent. These figures indicate that women provided an especially large amount of lay support for Sōtō temples. The preponderance of funeral sermons for laywomen raises questions, such as why women were underrepresented among the clergy and what special attitudes or teachings were directed toward laywomen in medieval Sōtō funeral sermons.

There must have been many more nuns at medieval Sōtō monasteries than current records indicate. Thirty nuns contributed to the casting of a bronze bell at Daijiji in 1287. Nuns participated in the funeral services for both Gikai and Gasan.<sup>86</sup> The list of eight temples that Keizan designated to be administered by his disciples included one convent. Yet collections of Sōtō biographies compiled during the Tokugawa period mention the names of fewer than thirty Sōtō nuns from the medieval period. Unlike the Rinzai school with its network of ten major convents (*Niji Gozan*; five each in Kyoto and Kamakura), the medieval Sōtō school never developed monastic centers for training large groups of nuns. A few Sōtō convents did exist, but most Sōtō nuns conducted their training in small hermitages located outside the monastery gate.<sup>87</sup> They were always under the supervision of the male Zen teacher and monks of the monastery, unable to assume any positions of monastic authority. In ecclesiastical terms, the status of most nuns who earnestly practiced Zen hardly differed from that of a devoted laywoman who had received a precept ordination.<sup>88</sup> Therefore, even religious women found little incentive to abandon lay life. Of the women who did become nuns, few are mentioned in Sōtō biographies because without access to monastic

authority only the most remarkable nuns attracted the attention of the monks who compiled these texts.

The life of the nun Eshun illustrates the hardships faced by one such Sōtō nun.<sup>89</sup> Eshun was the younger sister of Ryōan Emyō, the founder of Saijōji. Ryōan began his Zen training at a Rinzaï monastery in Kamakura but later studied at Sōjiji and eventually became Tsūgen Jakurei's disciple at Yōtakuji in Tanba. In 1394, when Ryōan returned to his native province of Sagami to found Saijōji, Eshun had already passed her thirtieth birthday. Although quite beautiful, she had never married. Desiring to follow in her brother's footsteps, she went to Saijōji to be ordained as a nun. Ryōan, however, refused: "The monastic life is only for the manly (*daijōbu*). Men and women cannot change their lot. If I readily ordained women, then many monks would be corrupted [by sexual temptation]." Eshun would not be discouraged by her brother's attitude. Once she learned that he considered her beauty to be too tempting for the other monks, Eshun scarred her face with red-hot fire tongs. At this show of determination, Ryōan was forced to admit Eshun as a nun and to administer the tonsure and precepts. Of course, Eshun still had to resist the sexual advances of the monks. Several of the more persistent men were expelled from the monastery. Eshun was single-minded in her practice; none of the monks could match her in Zen debate. Nonetheless, she always had to endure scorn from men. Once during a visit to Kamakura's Engakuji, the abbot attempted to serve her tea prepared in a wash basin instead of a tea bowl. She simply said, "Abbot, you must drink out of your own bowl," and gave it back to him.<sup>90</sup> Eshun presided over her own funeral. When she felt that her death was near, she prepared a large bonfire and sat down in the middle of the flames to meditate. Her alarmed brother, rushing over from the monastery, shouted: "Is it hot?" Eshun replied: "For one living the Way, hot and cold are unknown."

Eshun's biography demonstrates the disparity between Buddhist ideals and the actual attitudes faced by Sōtō nuns. Evidence of this disparity appears in Sōtō funeral sermons as well. On the one hand, many Sōtō teachers proclaimed the equality of men and women. Giun, for example, stated that the precepts delivered one from the distinctions of male and female.<sup>91</sup> Kishi Iban asserted that women cannot be impure by nature since ultimate reality is pure. Sensō Esai once rhetorically asked: "Who says a female body cannot be a vessel for the dharma?"<sup>92</sup> Similar assertions of equality are found in funeral sermons by Tsūgen Jakurei, Fusai Zenkyū, and Don'ei Eō.<sup>93</sup> But on the other hand, these assertions are only found in sermons delivered at funerals for women. Sermons by Kishi, Sensō, and Kikuin Zuitan include the revealing compliment (?): "The deceased had been manly (*daijōbu*; i.e., adept at Zen) in spite of



being a woman.”<sup>94</sup> These Sōtō teachers could not imagine more than a theoretical equality, based on the Buddhist doctrine of nonduality. Theoretical doctrine be as it may, medieval Sōtō teachers did not advocate a status for women higher than that established by secular society. The equality of women was to be realized not in life, but in death.

The funeral sermons of later Sōtō teachers explicitly asserted that Buddhist rites save women from special sufferings that result from female gender. In these later sermons, assertions of the original nonexistence of sexual distinctions rarely appear or are restated in terms of transcending of one’s previous female limitations.<sup>95</sup> Funeral sermons addressed to deceased women by Shōdō Kōsei, for example, include lines such as: “Having received the three refuges and five precepts, [you] secured a karmic link to the road of enlightenment; now shed the defilement of your female body.” Or: “Having entered the flames of samādhi, you instantly obtain posthumous favorable karma; at this spot, the defilement of your female body is shed and, at this moment, the five obstructions that engulf you disappear.”<sup>96</sup> Likewise, Kikuin Zuitan’s funeral sermons for women contain statements such as: “[Attain] perfect enlightenment on the lotus throne; [attain] sudden liberation from the burrow of the three obediences and the five obstructions.”<sup>97</sup>

In the above sermons, the five obstructions and three obediences are affirmed as real sexual obstacles to be overcome.<sup>98</sup> Funeral sermons of medieval Sōtō teachers offered women freedom from discrimination and hardship not by addressing the problems they faced in this world, but by transmuting their gender in death. More women received funerals than men simply because women faced more hardships from which they wished to escape. In life or in death, the promise of salvation implicit within Sōtō funeral rites offered more to women than to men.

Some Sōtō teachers incorporated gender-specific rites into the funeral services they performed for women. The most significant of these was placing a copy of the *Ketsubonkyō* (Menses Scripture) into women’s coffins as a talisman to save them from hell.<sup>99</sup> The *Ketsubonkyō* is a short text of unknown origin, which asserts that only the spiritual aid of the *Ketsubonkyō* can save women from a special blood hell.<sup>100</sup> Women are doomed to this hell because of the pollution caused by their menstrual blood—taboo blood that not only offends the spirits of the earth but also washes into the rivers from which holy men might drink. Because belief in blood pollution has been particularly strong in Japan, this text has been very effective in exploiting the special taboos placed on women. Some rural Sōtō temples still possess paintings that depict women being saved from the torments of blood hell by copies of the *Ketsubonkyō* that have been thrown down to them by Buddhist monks.<sup>101</sup> These paintings impressed on laywomen not only the talismanic power of the *Ketsu-*



*bonkyō* but also the necessity of intervention by the monks who supply copies of the text. Women were given the *Ketsubonkyō* as a talisman during mass precept ordination ceremonies.

Initiation documents provide some evidence for showing how the *Ketsubonkyō* had been viewed in medieval Sōtō. The following passage attempts to justify Japanese Sōtō practices by citing (fictitious) precedents at Mt. T'ien-t'ung (Jpn. Tendō), where Dōgen had studied under Ju-ching:

In front of the main gate at Mt. T'ien-t'ung, there is a river spanned by a large bridge. Near the bridge, lies a large village. In that village, a girl about eighteen- or nineteen-years old died. Loathing rebirth, she would haunt that bridge. Every evening when the sun set, she would float over the bridge and dance. A monk, wanting to have a better look at this marvelous sight, approached the girl and felt pity for her. The girl said: "Recite aloud the Spell of Great Compassion seven times and I will meet you." The monk recited the mystical formula seven times. The girl requested him to recite the *Ketsubonkyō* three times. The monk did so. Then, the girl requested him to recite the Diamond Sūtra once. Again, the monk did so. The girl then said: "I will meet you tomorrow night. Master, bring a lineage chart (*kechimyaku*) for me." Before the monk could respond, the girl returned to the village. Keeping her word, the following night the girl waited on the bridge. The monk brought the *kechimyaku* [with which to administer the precepts] and gave it to the girl. The girl bowed down three times. She was [now] able to enter the Western Pure Land [of Amitābha Buddha]. The girl said she wanted to move into the shade of the lily magnolia trees (*mokuren*).<sup>102</sup> The monk walked over with her. In the shade of the lily magnolia trees, the girl said: "Hearing you recite the Spell of Great Compassion, the *Ketsubonkyō*, and Diamond Sūtra was not enough. Receiving your *kechimyaku* finally freed me from the injury of transmigration and delivered me to marvelous enlightenment." Then she disappeared. That night, the girl appeared in her parents' dreams and said: "Having preceded my parents [in death], I transmigrated in [confusion], unable to find peace."<sup>103</sup> Thereupon, a monk at Mt. T'ien-t'ung recited scriptures for me and gave me [an ordination and] *kechimyaku* chart so that I could attain Buddhahood." Startled by their dreams, the parents went to Mt. T'ien-t'ung to have Buddhist memorial services performed [for their daughter].<sup>104</sup>

The scripture recitations and posthumous ordination described in this tale constitute a second Zen funeral ceremony for the late daughter. The *Ketsubonkyō* is recited in order to free the daughter from blood pollution. Ultimately, only the posthumous ordination could free her from the torments following women in death. Significantly, the salvation of the daughter concludes with the conversion of her parents. In a reciprocal process, the parents respond to the Sōtō monk's intervention on behalf of their daughter by donating money to the monastery for memorial services. This story thus illustrates how each aspect of the Zen funeral ceremonies—scripture recitation, precept ordination, and memorial service

—worked together to provide laymen, and especially laywomen, assurance of spiritual salvation. In mediating the religious realm between life and death, these Zen funerary rites joined the spiritual community of monks to the human community of family relationships so that each provided for the welfare of the other.

## Conclusion

Just thirteen days before Dōgen died, he stayed up to watch the full moon for the last time. It was the fifteenth day of the eighth lunar month, the night of the harvest moon. Kenzei (the fifteenth-century Sōtō historian) reports that Dōgen took up his brush and composed the following poem:

<i>Mata min to</i>	Even those autumns past
<i>Omoishi toki no</i>	When I expected
<i>Aki dani mo</i>	To see it again,
<i>Koyoi no tsuki ni</i>	This harvest moon
<i>Nerareya wasuru.</i>	Kept sleepiness away. <sup>1</sup>

Dōgen had been especially fond of the harvest moon. This bright, festive moon is the occasion of nine lectures in his *goroku*, a number greater than occasioned by any other event except the anniversaries of the Buddha's birth and enlightenment (also nine each). In this poem Dōgen declares that the threat of his imminent death has increased his desire to stay awake and enjoy this last harvest moon—a perfectly natural sentiment.

Within the Sōtō school, the authenticity of this poem has never been fully accepted. Its sentiment seems too mundane, too full of human yearning for this poem to have been composed by an enlightened Zen master, someone who has transcended life and death. Yet it is possible to interpret the human yearning in this poem as expressing a higher enlightenment. A well-known Zen saying asserts that for the ordinary man mountains are merely mountains, for the Zen student mountains no longer are mountains, but for the mature Zen master mountains once again are mountains. This means that the attainment of Buddhahood must be a dialectical process that culminates not in a saintly detachment from the world but in a return to the world of human affairs.

A similar dialectical progression can describe the maturation of Sōtō Zen in medieval Japan. Through Dōgen's Sōtō lineage the native traditions of the ascetic meditator inherited the outward trappings and doctrines of the Chinese Ch'an school. Japanese monks reproduced the Chinese monastic norms and practices in Japan. They mastered the unique idiom of the Chinese kōan and studied Chinese Ch'an literature. Yet medieval Sōtō monks also assumed many of the popular religious functions of the traditional Japanese rural ascetic. The magico-religious undercurrents of Dōgen's monasticism increasingly came into the foreground as Sōtō monks attempted to address their traditional rituals to a rural Japanese audience. The growth of the Sōtō school, therefore, produced a dialectical synthesis of these Chinese rituals and native religious traditions within which the imported Ch'an practices assumed new functions tailored to the social and religious context of medieval Japan. Like the fully enlightened master who returns to the mundane world of human affairs, medieval Sōtō monks extended their practice of meditation and enlightenment outside the monastery and into the lives of laypeople.

The Sōtō school originated during a time of religious ferment that also produced the major Pure Land, Rinzai, and Nichiren schools.<sup>2</sup> Along with the new orders attached to established temples, these groups created new forms of religious devotion that gave the vast majority of average Japanese greater access to the religious experience of Buddhism than ever before.<sup>3</sup> The emergence of these groups also marked the ascension of the low-level Buddhist monks who had been repressed by the high culture and aristocratic structure of the previous Buddhism.<sup>4</sup> The relatively uneducated monks who engaged in menial labor or specialized in physical devotions, as well as the pseudo-monks who practiced mountain asceticism or resided in rural village shrines, emerged from their social and historical obscurity to become the religious leaders of the new schools. Sōtō Zen offered these monks new legitimacy as the Japanese representatives of Chinese Ch'an. Dōgen's foreign lineage gave religious justification to the aspirations of those monks searching for an alternative approach to Buddhism. The monastic forms of China provided a structured context and systematic approach for mastering Buddhist meditation and enlightenment.

Dōgen's emphasis on the Chinese origins of his teachings not only defended his community against charges of illegitimacy but also cloaked his teachings in the prestige of an exclusive transmission of true Buddhism (*shōbō genzō*). Yet during Dōgen's own lifetime the Sōtō community remained geographically isolated and economically vulnerable, solely dependent on Dōgen's charisma for religious authority and on a few warrior patrons for economic support. Dōgen's Chinese lineage had helped him secure the institutional base that had alluded Nōnin and the



Darumashū, but proper lineage alone could not sustain his community. The fledgling Sōtō school lacked government support and faced opposition from the Buddhist establishment. Sectarian survival required the creation of new institutional structures and rites of popular religious participation that could withstand the sudden loss of individual charismatic leaders or powerful patrons. The dialectical transformation of medieval Sōtō resulted from these interrelated institutional and religious imperatives.

Two key elements essential for institutional independence came directly from Dōgen. The first was Dōgen's Chinese Ch'an lineage. The symbolic legitimacy conferred by this lineage carried such great significance that later Sōtō monks who traveled to China never attempted to import a separate lineage.<sup>5</sup> Giin and Gikai returned from China still regarding themselves as heirs to Dōgen's lineage. Several other prominent medieval monks began their training under a Sōtō master in Japan, then traveled to China, and finally returned home to inherit Dōgen's Sōtō line (Daichi, for example). This aloofness from other Chinese lineages suggests that Sōtō monks recognized a conscious distinction between their Japanese Zen religion and its nominal Chinese cousin.<sup>6</sup> Dōgen's second key contribution was self-sufficiency in precept ordinations. The striking contrast between the ordinations undergone by Gikai and Keizan well illustrate the importance of this point. While the Gikai (as a Darumashū novice) had no alternative but to leave Echizen for a Tendai ordination on Mt. Hiei, Keizan (as a Sōtō novice) easily obtained an ordination at Eihei-ji in Echizen. Dōgen's ability (and willingness) to conduct private ordinations without state approval ensured the ecclesiastical autonomy of early Sōtō monasticism.

This Sōtō independence contrasted favorably with the constraints suffered by *Gozan* Zen monasteries in the capital. The polemics against Zen authored by Tendai monks on Mt. Hiei during the Nanzen-ji Gate Incident (ca. 1367–1368) reveal that *Gozan* monasteries sent their novice monks to Mt. Hiei for proper Buddhist ordinations.<sup>7</sup> When conflict erupted between Nanzen-ji (a *Gozan* monastery) and Mt. Hiei, Tendai prelates attempted to assert authority over the *Gozan* by claiming that Zen constituted no more than a subset of Tendai because all the Zen monks of the capital received their Buddhist ordinations on Mt. Hiei. In a petition to the imperial court and to the Ashikaga shogunate, the Tendai clerics threatened to withdraw future ordination privileges from Zen monks. If enacted, this prohibition would have severely crippled the growth of *Gozan* monasteries. The Tendai appeal further asserted that true Zen existed only within the Tendai school. Therefore, the exclusive Zen of the *Gozan* was not legitimate—not true Buddhism (*shōbō*). Tendai leaders accused the *Gozan* of housing so-called Zen monks—not even

true Buddhists—who read Chinese Taoist texts but never practiced meditation. They asserted that the native kami and Buddhas hated the Zen school.<sup>8</sup>

These harsh words must be viewed against the backdrop of the contemporary political struggle between Nanzenji and the Tendai school. For medieval Sōtō, the significance of this Tendai hostility lies in the fact that the Tendai doctrinal rejection of any independent sectarian status for Zen remained completely unmodulated in spite of strong patronage of the *Gozan* by the court and shogunate. Even as late as the fourteenth century, Zen monasteries in the capital still required the uncertain cooperation of a hostile Tendai establishment.<sup>9</sup> This hostile Tendai appeal dates to the same period when Gasan's disciples were founding new Sōtō monasteries throughout Japan. The efforts of the Ashikaga shogunate to regulate Nanzenji and the other *Gozan* monasteries at this time indirectly influenced the Sōtō school through the regulations and institutional policies established by Tsūgen Jakurei at Sōjiji—and subsequently duplicated within many Sōtō factions.

Medieval Sōtō factions achieved institutional stability through an interlocking web of pedagogical and prescriptive measures. Sōtō masters associated dharma succession with initiation into the techniques for administering ordinations. Every new Sōtō teacher automatically learned how to ordain his own students. Within the monastery the systematic initiations in kōan discourse and in the performance of monastic rituals streamlined training. The rotation of abbotship (*rinjū*) between different lineages promoted rapid turnover in monastic offices. Able monks could be promoted up the ranks very quickly.<sup>10</sup> New dharma heirs were often obligated to serve terms as abbot not only at their master's monastery but also at the head monastery of their faction. Therefore, Zen lineages in medieval Sōtō assumed both spiritual and administrative significance. Dharma lineages united monasteries into sectarian factions, within which the dharma transmission seniority of the various founders determined the relative status of each monastery.

The link between dharma transmission and abbotship succession in medieval Sōtō exhibits many parallels to the use of dharma scrolls (*fa-chüan*) in prewar China, where Buddhist monasteries also equated these two processes.<sup>11</sup> Yet the Sōtō practice seems to have been unique in several respects. First, head temples promoted abbotship succession as a means of raising contributions. Many new abbots assumed no administrative duties beyond fulfilling their financial obligations to the monastery. Sōjiji even inaugurated two new abbots on the same day.<sup>12</sup> Some monastic regulations threatened eligible monks who failed to serve as abbots with severe punishment—even excommunication in the form of destroying the offender's succession certificate.<sup>13</sup> Finally, monasteries

enforced strict exclusivity in terms of dharma lineage. Monks from smaller factions were forced to discard their former lineage and receive a new dharma transmission in order to obtain positions within monasteries of larger factions. This link between dharma transmission and abbotship forged very cohesive, strong temple networks.

Historical records reveal that only monasteries with well-established, broad bases of support commanded the resources necessary for surviving warfare and fires. Contrary to standard explanations, Sōtō monks gained popular support without extreme reliance on traditional Japanese esoteric rituals or native religious rites. Throughout the medieval period the Sōtō leaders relied on the prestige of their strict Zen training to impress (and attract) both laypersons and Buddhist specialists from other traditions. The popular awe readily commanded by the accomplished ascetic remained too valuable a commodity to discard. Medieval monastic regulations, *kirikami*, and recorded sayings (both *goroku* and *kikigakishō*) leave no doubt of the intense meditation practice and strong Zen consciousness of medieval Sōtō monks. Rather than being a mere degeneration of earlier “traditional” Zen, medieval Sōtō marks the period in which Sōtō monks established the practice of Zen meditation and Chinese-style regulated monastic norms throughout Japan.

Kōan training lay at the heart of medieval Sōtō monasticism. The full nature of earlier forms of training cannot be known, but significantly, medieval Sōtō kōan manuals (*monsan*) suggest a different modality of kōan training than that associated with descriptions of kōan study in modern Japanese Rinzai Zen. Sōtō kōan literature rarely urges students to create a mass of doubt, or to cling to a kōan. Inducing an enlightenment experience (*kenshō*) is hardly mentioned. Rather than mental conundrums or meditation exercises, kōan were studied as models of truth or as idealized statements of truth. This style of kōan study seemed designed to ensure that future Zen masters would never be at a loss for words to express the ultimately ineffable truths of Zen. This fluency in kōan discourse conferred religious authority on Zen teachers. Important ceremonies of abbotship inauguration and other opening ceremonies, lectures, and sermons borrowed the question-and-answer format of kōan debates.<sup>14</sup>

Medieval Sōtō monks transformed monastic practices into rites able to address the religious needs of laypersons outside the monastery. The rigorous meditation practiced inside the monks' hall served to ensure the efficacy of the talismans and ritual prayers provided to lay patrons. Likewise, the kōan questions and answers originally developed for training disciples inside the monastery were used by Sōtō teachers to enhance the spiritual power of their public sermons (e.g., at lay funerals). Folk tales reflect the popular belief in the meditation powers of itinerant Zen



priests able to pacify ghosts and evil spirits. Most important, the enlightenment attained by Zen monks through their meditation practice flowed out to laymen and laywomen through Zen ordinations and Zen funeral rites.

Precept ordinations were important from the start. Dōgen and his successors performed lay ordinations to strengthen the bonds uniting newly founded Sōtō temples to their patrons. By the fifteenth century, Sōtō monks routinely conducted mass ordinations for large numbers of laypersons from all levels of society. These ordination ceremonies introduced basic Zen teachings to the common people, promoted the founding of new temples, and opened the way for the popularization of Buddhist funerals for laypersons. More important, they created ritual bonds between each layperson and Sōtō teacher performing the ordination. Sōtō monks bestowed precepts not just on laypeople but also on local kami, on evil spirits, and on animals. These ordination rituals greatly aided the establishment of the Sōtō school in rural Japan by symbolically demonstrating the spiritual power wielded by Sōtō Zen monks and by ceremonially bonding traveling Sōtō masters to a particular group or locality. Ordinations performed posthumously opened the way to administering Zen funerals to laypersons.

Sōtō monks enjoyed great success at popularizing funerals in rural areas by providing rites well-adapted to Japanese sentiments. By adapting rituals originally intended for Chinese monasteries, Sōtō funerals provided a degree of solemnity, elaborate display, and ritual complexity that had previously been unavailable to the average Japanese. The *goroku* of medieval Sōtō teachers indicate that by the fifteenth century, funeral services had already begun to occupy a major position among the activities and economic foundations of Sōtō temples. The vast majority of these services—more than eighty percent of the recorded total—were performed for laypersons. These Zen-style rites defined the standards that were emulated within all other Japanese Buddhist schools.

Two elements animated this body of Zen praxis, namely emphasis on the soteriological power of the exclusive Zen lineage and kōan discourse. Significantly, Sōtō monks employed the same paradoxical language found in kōan to justify every facet of daily Zen ritual. The stereotyped questions and answers in initiation documents (*kirikami*) provided ideological justification for posthumous ordinations. Kōan language in funeral sermons commonly suggested a transcendence of death. Sōtō monks mastered kōan curriculums as a step in succeeding to their master's lineage. In turn, they were then able to present laypersons with a chart (*kechimyaku*) of this same lineage at public precept ordination ceremonies and as part of funerary rites. In each case the recipient thereby symbolically joined the "blood line" of the Buddha. The same *kechi-*



*myaku* that authenticated the private transmission of the kōan curriculum also provided a tangible, public symbol of spiritual power of the Zen master. This popularization of *kechimyaku* radically transformed the basic purpose of precept ordinations from the taking of spiritual vows intended to ensure the purity of the monastic community into a religiously compelling talisman that offered laypeople spiritual assurance in this world and promised salvation in the next.

In classical descriptions of Zen, a lineage chart symbolized more than just one's direct link to the Buddhas and patriarchs. It also testified to the authenticity of one's religious understanding and teachings. One joined this lineage by proving one's enlightenment to a proper master. In the lay ordinations and funeral rites conducted by medieval Sōtō monks, however, this usual sequence of transmission was reversed. Instead of one's realization of Zen enlightenment serving as the sole act that could provide entrance into this exclusive lineage, one's initiation into the Zen lineage provided the ritual moment for one's symbolic attainment of enlightenment. During medieval times, the full implications of this symbolism implicit within the rituals remained unexplained. In the seventeenth century Manzan Dōhaku made these constructed implications explicit when he asserted that Zen dharma transmission between master and disciple could occur whether or not the disciple had realized enlightenment (*go migo shihō*) just so long as the ritual of personal initiation had been performed.<sup>15</sup> While the doctrinal acceptability of Manzan's assertions has never been fully resolved, it is significant that his theories developed after medieval Sōtō rituals blurred the distinctions between Zen initiations and Zen enlightenment.

Dōgen's early writings described Zen meditation as the easy practice, open to anyone.<sup>16</sup> In actuality, however, the physical and temporal requirements of Zen meditation precluded all but the most determined of laypeople from regular participation. Throughout the medieval period Buddhists of other schools criticized Zen for this very reason. The widely known and respected monk Kōben (a.k.a. Myōe) of the Kegon school expressed great interest in Zen and became an accomplished meditator. Yet Kōben wrote that the Darumashū (i.e., Zen) had nothing to offer laypeople.<sup>17</sup> A similar criticism is found in the fourteenth-century Tendai account purporting to describe the persecution of Dōgen at Fukakusa. According to this text, Dōgen had been rejected by the court because his teachings represented the approach of an *engaku* (Skt. *pratyekabuddha*), a Buddhist term referring to anyone who falls into a deluded, self-centered enlightenment, totally unconcerned about the spiritual needs of others.<sup>18</sup> Likewise, the 1368 Tendai polemic against Nanzenji (referred to above) attacked Zen for focusing exclusively on self-enlightenment without any means of saving others (*jishō no ichiro, keta no riyaku ni muka-*

*wazu*).<sup>19</sup> These criticisms highlight the fact that Zen alone of all the new forms of Japanese Buddhism originating during the Kamakura period lacked a simple practice readily accessible to laypeople. Medieval Sōtō monks met this need by transmuting monastic rituals into popular rituals that met a wide variety of local needs and introduced laypersons to the spiritual power of Zen.

In medieval Sōtō, Dōgen's practice of meditation formed the basis of a multivalent religious praxis capable of functioning on several levels simultaneously. For the monks training in the monks' hall, sitting in meditation, the Sōtō monastery continued to function as the center of the one true Buddhism. For powerful warrior patrons who prayed for military victories and economic prosperity, the purity of the monks ensured the efficacy of simple religious prayers (*kitō*). For local villagers who expected the Zen masters to pacify evil spirits, summon rain, or empower talismans, the meditative powers (*zenjōriki*) of the monks energized simple folk magic. For the average person who sought spiritual reassurance, the religious attainment of the Zen monks provided a symbolic link to the enlightenment of the Buddha through lay ordinations. Finally, the grieved family of a recently deceased person found solace in the ability of the Zen priests to posthumously transform their loved one into an enlightened monk. Traditional Zen practice ultimately united these disparate functional orientations and social contexts into a vertically integrated religious whole.

Traditional explanations of the popularization of medieval Sōtō Zen have obscured the importance of these multifaceted functions of monastic Zen—often by overemphasizing the non-Zen character of so-called miscellaneous beliefs (*zatsu shinkō*). Yet the reorientation of monastic rituals toward lay religious needs signifies an internal transformation of Zen. Instead of the elitist regime of monastic meditation rejected by Buddhist critics, medieval Sōtō developed into a popular religion that implicitly promised salvation to laypersons who did not practice Zen. Sōtō Zen monks functioned as spiritual intermediaries. The power of their meditation, language, lineage, and funeral rites enabled their lay supporters to participate in Buddhist enlightenment—not by forcing laypersons to share in the Zen monastic environment but by cloaking the layperson's human experience in the robe of Zen enlightenment.

# Notes

## 1. INTRODUCTION

1. For a brief overview of popular religious elements associated with Zen, see Tachibana Kyōdō, “Zenshū to minzoku,” 2:328–342. Regarding the recitation of the Great Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra (*Dai hannyakyō*), also see Suzuki Daisetz Teitarō, *The Training of the Zen Buddhist Monk*, 77–81. Zen funerals are discussed below (chap. 14).

2. Ian Reader, “Zazenless Zen? The Position of Zazen in Institutional Zen Buddhism,” 7–27. Zen funerals are discussed below (chap. 14).

3. Hu Shih, “Ch’an (Zen) Buddhism in China: Its History and Method,” 3–24; and Suzuki, “Zen: A Reply to Hu Shih,” 25–46, esp. 26, 31, 38–39.

4. This situation is not unique to studies of Zen; e.g., see Gregory Schopen, “Archaeology and Protestant Presuppositions in the Study of Indian Buddhism,” 1–23.

5. It is partially in order to avoid engendering further idealization that “Zen teacher” is used instead of “Zen master.” Although the translation “Zen master” already has become well established, in historical documents the term *zenji* is used not only to refer to masters of meditation or as a title of respect, but also for any meditation teacher.

6. For two insightful critiques of the way sectarian assumptions have limited traditional historiographical approaches to Japanese Zen and to general Japanese Buddhism, see Funaoka Makoto, “Kamakura shoki ni okeru Zenshū seiritsu no shiteki igi,” 175–181; and Yuasa Yasuo, “Nihon shisōshi ni okeru Bukkyō kenkyū no arikata wo megutte,” 19–41.

7. Bryan R. Wilson, “Religious Organizations,” 13:428.

8. E.g., Allan W. Eister, “H. Richard Niebuhr and the Paradox of Religious Organization: A Radical Critique,” 355–408; William H. Swatos, Jr., “Weber or Troeltsch?: Methodology, Syndrome, and the Development of Church-Sect Theory,” 129–144. Stated simply, Troeltsch and Niebuhr viewed sect formation as a process that creates social divisions in what should be a unified Christendom and that occurs as a result of conflict between a dominant Church that has become too compromised by the secular political order and disinherited groups that form voluntary associations in order to reject compromise and return to the original

mission of Christianity. For examples of how Weber used the term *sect*, see his “Sect, Church and Democracy,” 1204-1211; and “The Protestant Sects and the Spirit of Capitalism,” 302-322.

9. Eister, “Niebuhr and Religious Organization,” 384; emphasis in the original.

10. Questions regarding the relationship between self-conscious group identities and organizational forms are particularly useful in revealing key similarities and differences among diverse Japanese Buddhist associations, such as the ones that James H. Foard has described as “devotional orders” (organized within the religious establishment) and “devotional sects” (outcasts from the religious establishment); see his “In Search of a Lost Reformation: A Reconsideration of Kamakura Buddhism,” 261-291.

11. The importance of the concept of lineage for obtaining state recognition is stated explicitly in the Kōfukuji petition attributed to Jōkei (1155-1213) in the section that criticizes attempts to designate Pure Land as a *shinshū* or *besshū*, terms which refer to a “new” or “separate” *shū* (i.e., lineage, doctrine, or sect); see *Kōfukuji sōjō*, in *Kamakura kyū Bukkyō*, ed. Kamata Shigeo and Tanaka Hisao, 32-33; also see Robert E. Morrell, “Jōkei and the Kōfukuji Petition,” 21-22.

12. Eisai acknowledged the need to justify doctrinal independence when he posed the question as to why he sought imperial permission to teach Zen even while Pure Land doctrines were propagated apparently without special authorization. He answered himself by stating that Pure Land doctrines already had received imperial authorization by the fact that previous emperors had constructed Pure Land pavilions; see *Kōzen gokokuron* (1198, pub. 1666), fasc. 2, in *Chūsei Zenke no shisō*, ed. Ichikawa Hakugen et al., 44. All subsequent citations of the *Kōzen gokokuron* are to this edition.

13. Regarding Nōnin, see Kokan Shiren, *Genkō Shakusho* (1322), fasc. 2, Eisai Biography, in NBZ, 101:156b. Regarding Saichō, see Paul Groner, *Saichō: The Establishment of the Japanese Tendai School*. These same criteria also were used to attack the Pure Land movement; see *Kōfukuji sōjō*, 32-33, 40-41; and Morrell, “Kōfukuji Petition,” 21-22, 32-33.

14. Sonoda Kōyū argues that while sectarian discourse in Japanese Buddhism first acquired political expression with Saichō, its origins lie in earlier lay ritual or cultic associations, which focused on particular divinities, scriptures, and social needs. In Sonoda’s view scholars have overemphasized doctrinal issues and overlooked the importance of these social relationships in the formation of Japanese Buddhist ideology; see his “Kodai Bukkyō in okeru shūhasei no kigen” 9-25.

15. Groner, *Saichō*, 123, 125-126.

16. *Ibid.*, 269.

17. For a detailed, albeit somewhat speculative, study of the importance of autonomous initiation rituals in the formation of new Buddhist orders during the medieval period, see Matsuo Kenji, *Kamakura shin Bukkyō no seiritsu: nyūmon girei to soshi shinwa*.

18. Martin Collcutt, *Five Mountains: The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan*, 25-56. Because Collcutt’s study concentrates on Rinzai lineages in Japan, his description of Zen pioneers is much broader in scope, encompassing many more Zen monks and lineages than discussed below.



19. Medieval-period manuscript copies of Dōgen’s writings indicate that the characters for the name Eisai should be pronounced “Yōsai” (e.g., DZZ, 1:433). Accordingly, many scholars now prefer the latter pronunciation. However, since the Tokugawa period, “Eisai” has been the form commonly used in Japan and in Japanese dictionaries (including the *Zengaku dai jiten*, which is followed herein).

20. Concerning Nōnin and the fate of his followers, the most detailed account in English is Bernard Faure, “The Daruma-shū, Dōgen, and Sōtō Zen,” 25–55. For a summary of recent Japanese studies (with bibliographic citations), see Nakao Ryōshin, “Dainichibō Nōnin no Zen,” 227–230.

21. Nichiren (1222–1282), *Kaimokushō*, fasc. 2, in T, 84:232b. Nichiren’s comments have been translated by Faure, “Daruma-shū,” 28. For a collection of pertinent excerpts from many of the original sources related to Nōnin (including this one), also see Takahashi Shūei, “Dainichibō Nōnin to Darumashū ni kansuru shiryō,” pt. 1, 14–16; pt. 2, 22–33, esp. 25–26 no. 12.

23. Tamamura Takeji, “Nihon Zenshū no denrai,” reprinted in *Nihon Zenshūshi ronshū*, 1:836–837.

23. Ienaga Saburō, “Dōgen no shūkyō no rekishiteki seikaku,” 50–52.

24. I-k’ung supposedly was a second-generation member of the Dharma lineage of the famous Ch’an patriarch Ma-tsu Tao-i (709–788). He came to Japan at the request of Tachibana Kachiko (786–850), the wife of Emperor Saga (786–842), and taught Zen for a time at Tōji monastery in the capital. An account of his activities, titled *Nipponkoku shuden Zenshūki* (Record of the First Transmission of the Zen School to the Country of Japan), was inscribed on a stone tablet placed next to the Rashōmon gate. See Tsuji Zennosuke, *Nihon Bukkyōshi*, vol. 3, *Chūseihen* 2, 60.

25. Funaoka Makoto, “Kamakura shoki ni okeru Zenshū seiritsu no shiteki igi,” 175–181. My realization of the importance of the local social milieu in explicating Japanese Zen and several of the ideas discussed below owe much to Funaoka’s attempt to search for the social, historical, and religious roots of Zen in Japan. Other articles by Funaoka on this subject that I have been able to consult include: “Shoki Zenshū juyō to Hieizan,” 57–84; “Nara jidai no Zen oyobi Zensō,” 94–99; “Nihon Zenshūshi ni okeru Darumashū no ichi,” 103–108; and “Hieizan ni okeru Zenji to Zenshū: Nihon Zenshū seiritsu zenshi no ichi koma,” 124–129, as well as his *Nihon Zenshū no seiritsu*.

26. There is no agreement as to the correct character for the second syllable of Ejō’s name. In his own handwriting four different characters, each having the pronunciation of “shō” or “jō,” appear. For details of this problem, see Takeuchi Michio, “Koun Ejō Zenji no hōki ni tsuite,” 1–3; and for an exhaustive study of Ejō’s biography, see his *Eihei niso Koun Ejō Zenjiden*.

27. Funaoka, *Zenshū no seiritsu*, 59–62.

28. Funaoka, “Kamakura shoki ni okeru Zenshū seiritsu,” 181; “Nihon Zenshūshi ni okeru Darumashū,” 104–107; and *Zenshū no seiritsu*, 127, 151.

29. Funaoka provides a detailed analysis of this literature in “Shoki Zenshū juyō to Hieizan,” 66–70.

30. *Ibid.*, 68–70; and *Zenshū no seiritsu*, 81–82.

31. As noted by Matsuo Kenji, new Buddhist orders composed primarily of humble monks appeared both within the established forms of Buddhism (i.e.,

*kyū Bukkyō*) and as new forms of Buddhism (i.e., *shin Bukkyō*); see *Kamakura shin Bukkyō no seiritsu*, 249–250. At some temples the academicians also are referred to as *gakushu* or *gakushō*, while the meditators also were known as *zen-toshu*, *zenryo*, *dōgata*, and *dōshu*; see Funaoka, *Zenshū no seiritsu*, 43–49, 57–71.

32. Many of these are cited by Funaoka, *ibid.*, 43–49, 57–71.

33. Kokan Shiren, *Genkō Shakusho* (1322), fasc. 2, Eisai Biography, in NBZ, 101:156b–157a; and Eisai, *Kōzen gokokuron*, fasc. 1, pp. 19–20, 28. Saichō's two Zen lineages cited by Eisai are the Northern School Line of Tao-hsüan (702–760) to Gyōhyō (722–797) and the Ox-Head (*Gozu*) Line of Hsiao-jen.

34. Kokan Shiren, *Genkō Shakusho*, fasc. 1, Dōshō Biography, in NBZ, 101:144a.

35. Keizan Jōkin, *Sōjiji chūkō engi* (1321:6:17), Sōjiji DS, in *Komonjo*, no. 46, 1:33–34. Concerning this document, see chapter 9 on early Sōjiji.

36. Musō Sōseki, *Kokkyōshū*, fasc. 2, as cited in Funaoka, *Zenshū no seiritsu*, 6.

37. Funaoka, “Nihon Zenshūshi ni okeru Darumashū,” 105.

38. Recently Bernard Faure has skillfully employed this approach to analyze the Zen of Keizan Jōkin as a continuation of patterns that already had been present in the Darumashū (see his “Daruma-shū,” 45–55). It must be stressed, however, that in the dialectics identified by Faure the Darumashū is only one representative of the indigenous culture (see *ibid.*, p. 50). The influence of that culture would have been strongly felt even without the Darumashū. As will be shown below, its effects appeared even before Keizan. All the members of Dōgen's community, including Dōgen and the monks of non-Darumashū background, unconsciously shaped their conceptions of Chinese tradition to Japanese conditions, regardless of how sincerely they studied Chinese texts or practiced Chinese-style Zen.

39. The term *hijiri* usually refers to itinerant holy men or shamans who practiced various forms of Pure Land invocations for magical purposes. For a detailed treatment in English, see Ichiro Hori, “On the Concept of ‘Hijiri’ (Holy-Man),” 128–160, 199–232. For an important corrective to one-sided discussions of Shinchi Kakushin, see Gorai Shigeru, *Kōya hijiri*, 228–241.

40. For English translations of Nara-period stories regarding seventeen *zenji*, see Kyoko Motomochi Nakamura (trans.), *Miraculous Stories from the Japanese Buddhist Tradition: The ‘Nihon Ryōiki’ of the Monk Kyōkai*, 116–121, 126–127, 138–139, 146–147, 160–161, 175–178, 196–197, 223–224, 226–227, 230–231, 257–259, 273–274, 283–286. In this work Nakamura translates *zenji* as “Dhyāna Master.”

41. Sonoda Kōyū, “Kodai Bukkyō in okeru sanrin shugyō to sono igi: Toku ni Jinenchishū wo megutte,” reprinted in *Heian Bukkyō no kenkyū*, 47; and Nei Kiyoshi, “Nihon kodai no zenji ni tsuite,” 15.

42. Sonoda, “Kodai Bukkyō in okeru sanrin shugyō,” 32–40.

43. For a complete review of the roles of *zenji* within Nara- and Heian-period Japanese Buddhism, see Nei, “Nihon kodai no zenji,” 13–56.

44. Regarding the shamanistic character of the mountain ascetics, see Joseph M. Kitagawa, *Religion in Japanese History*, 38–42.

45. Nei, “Nihon kodai no zenji,” 20–29.
46. *Ibid.*, 31–35.
47. *Ibid.*, 31–56; and Funaoka, “Hieizan ni okeru Zenji to Zenshū,” 124–129.
48. Funaoka, “Hieizan ni okeru zenji to Zenshū,” 125.
49. Eisai, *Kōzen gokokuron*, fasc. 1, pp. 28–29. Also see Enchin, *Shoke kyōsō dōi ryakushū*, in T, 74:312c; and Annen, *Kyōjijō [ron]*, in T, 75:355b.
50. Shōshin, *Tendai Shingon nishū dōishō* (1188), in T, 74:420b.
51. Imaeda Aishin, “‘Sugyōroku’ to Kamakura shoki Zenrin,” 73–75.
52. See Shimaji Daitō, *Nihon Bukkyō kyōgakushi*, 500–501. The phrase “medieval Tendai” (i.e., *chūko Tendai*) is a technical term coined by Shimaji and his students to refer to the particular Japanese interpretations of doctrines such as “original enlightenment” (*hongaku*), “faith” (*shin*), and “meditation” (*kanjin*) that were codified in secret oral traditions and initiation documents (*kirikami*) within various Japanese Tendai lineages. Regarding this categorization also see his “Hongaku no shinkō,” reprinted in *Shisō to shinkō*, 532; and “Nihon ko Tendai kenkyū no hitsuyō wo ronzu,” reprinted in *Kyōri to shishō*, 174–192.
53. Ishii Shūdō, “Busshō Tokkō to Nihon Darumashū: Kanazawa bunko hokan ‘Jōtō shōgakuron’ wo tegakari toshite,” pt. 2, 10–13. While Ishii’s investigations have provided us with our most detailed account of Darumashū doctrines, we must note that his analysis is limited to a small number of texts, especially the *Jōtō shōgakuron*. Other aspects of the Darumashū not considered by Ishii, such as veneration of relics, might well have exhibited closer parallels with Chinese practices.
54. Ishii Shūdō, “Busshō Tokkō to Nihon Darumashū,” pt. 1, 4–11. Also see *Jōtō shōgakuron narabi ni Eian sōdōki*, copied ca. fourteenth century, Kanazawa Bunko Ms., in *Zensekihen*, ed. Kagamishima Genryū, Kawamura Kōdō, and Ishii Shūdō, 203–204. All subsequent citations of the *Jōtō shōgakuron* are to this edition.
55. Eisai’s attitude toward the Buddhist precepts is discussed in detail in chapter 13.
56. Eisai’s *Kōzen gokokuron* (fasc. 3, pp. 80–85) gives a detailed account of monastic routines that Eisai intended his disciples to follow. These included four periods of seated meditation (*zazen*, p. 82) as well as esoteric rituals in the Esoteric Cloister (*shingon’in*, p. 84) and Tendai-style contemplation in the Tendai Cloister (*shikan’in*, p. 84).
57. For a detailed discussion of Eisai’s activities as a teacher of esoteric Buddhism, see Ōya Tokujō, “Kamakura jidai no Zenke shoke to mikkyō,” reprinted in *Nihon Bukkyōshi no kenkyū*, 3:365–381.
58. For Mujū Dōgyō, see “Jiritsu zazen no koto,” in *Zōdanshū*, chap. 8, reprinted in Koten Bunko, 2:287–288, and “Kenninji no monto no naka ni rinju medetaki koto,” in *Shasekishū*, ed. Watanabe Tsunaya, chap. 10B, p. 453. For Keizan Jōkin, see *Denkōroku*, Shikō Sōden copy (ca. 1430), Kenkon’in Ms., patriarch 41, in *Kenkon’inbon Denkōroku*, ed. Azuma Ryūshin, 110. All subsequent citations to the *Denkōroku* are to this edition. Note that Keizan’s role in compiling the *Denkōroku* no longer is considered doubtful since the discovery of this Kenkon’in ms. revealed that the standard edition published during the Tokugawa period had suffered extensive editorial revisions (see Azuma, “Kaidai,” in



ibid., 117–133). Whether the criticisms of Mujū and Keizan are fully justified is another matter. As T. Griffith Foulk has pointed out, the ideas that Zen monasteries can be distinguished by their architecture and must exclude all other types of Buddhist practice are ones that developed in Japan (where the new Zen institutions often did exhibit more exclusive characteristics and architectural features new to Japan, but not to China). In Chinese Buddhist monasteries design elements or forms of practice did not necessarily correspond to any doctrinal or lineage identifications; see Foulk, “The ‘Ch’an school’ and its place in the Buddhist monastic tradition,” 90–92, 98–99 n. 73.

59. See, in order, DZZ, 2:6, 2:31, 2:35, 2:78, 2:86, 2:101, 2:146, 2:298, and 1:435. According to Zen monastic regulations, at major monasteries the abbot must give two types of lectures on a regular basis. The first type, usually given from the head (*jōdō*) of either the lecture hall (*hattō*) or the Buddha hall (*Butsuden*), are lectures on formal Zen topics (*daisan*), usually selected from Chinese texts. The second type, usually given in the abbot’s building (*hōjō*), are lectures on informal topics (*shōsan*), such as the daily life of the community of monks. Although I have distinguished these two lectures in terms of the formality of their settings and topics, in both types the abbot and monks would follow prescribed etiquette.

60. For a detailed analysis of Dōgen’s criticisms and their possible connections to Dōgen’s local social circumstances, see Carl Bielefeldt, “Recarving the Dragon: History and Dogma in the Study of Dōgen,” 34–47.

61. Dōgen, *Kōroku*, copied 1598 by Monkaku (d. 1615), sec. 5, lec. 358, in DZZ, 2:88.

62. *Jōtō shōgakuron*, 202b.

63. Eisai, *Kōzen gokokuron*, fasc. 2, p. 41.

64. Ibid., fasc. 3, pp. 96–97; and the commentary on this passage by Yanagida Seizan, “Eisai to ‘Kōzen gokokuron’ no kadai,” 470–471.

65. Menzan Zuihō (1683–1769), the influential Sōtō scholar, had asserted that Dōgen studied directly under Eisai at Kenninji beginning in 1214, but Menzan had deliberately distorted his sources. See Kagamishima Genryū, “Eisai-Dōgen sōken mondai ni tsuite: Ko shahon ‘Kenzeiki’ hakken ni chinamite,” reprinted in *Dōgen*, ed. Kawamura Kōdō and Ishikawa Rikizan, 41–57.

66. For a study of Dōgen’s activities in light of traditional mountain asceticism, see Sugawara Shōei, “Sanchū shugyō no dentō kara mita Dōgen no kyūsaikan ni tsuite,” 77–103.

67. Dōgen, SBGZ, “Keisei sanshō” and “Sansuikyō” chaps., in DZZ, 1:223, 267.

68. Nakaseko, DZD, 363–368.

69. For detailed citations of the differences in how Eisai and Dōgen interpreted the precepts, see chapter 13.

70. This issue has been addressed by many scholars, beginning with Hazama Jikō, “Kamakura jidai ni okeru shinjō sōmetsuron ni kansuru kenkyū,” 2:298–318. The extent of Dōgen’s indebtedness to Japanese Tendai remains a sensitive issue among Sōtō scholars. In particular, Kagamishima Genryū, who attempts to interpret Dōgen’s thought as a Japanese development of tenets already present within early Chinese Ch’an texts, and Tamura Yoshirō, who attempts to study



Dōgen within the context of developments within Japanese Tendai, each have criticized the position of the other; see Kagamishima, “Dōgen Zenji to Tendai hongaku hōmon,” 50–57; Tamura, “Dōgen to Tendai hongaku shisō,” 548–575, esp. 569–571 n. 39; Kagamishima, “Honshō myōshu no shisō shiteki haikai,” 97–104. Recently, Yamauchi Shun’yū has attempted to illuminate this question by examining the manner in which metaphysical conceptions from esoteric tantric Buddhism gradually permeated exoteric Tendai doctrines in medieval Japan; see *Dōgen Zenji to Tendai hongaku hōmon*.

71. The *Kankō ruijū* (attributed to Chūjin, 1065–1138), for example, states that neither the Zen masters who practice ignorant enlightenment (*anshō zenji*) nor the master lecturers who recite the scripture (*jumon hosshi*) know that language is not words and letters but liberation (fasc. 1, in NBZ, 17:13b).

72. See chapter 13. Dōgen filtered out minor aspects of Chinese practices as well, such as the use of names for imperial fete days to designate events in the monastic calendar (see *Kōroku*, sec. 5, lec. 412, in DZZ, 2:102).

73. For a critical reappraisal of Dōgen Zen, see Bielefeldt, “Recarving the Dragon,” 21–53.

74. Dōgen, *Jūroku rakan genzuiki* (1249:1:1), in DZZ, 2:399; and Ejō, *Eiheiji sanko ryōzuiki*, in DZZ, 2:398.

75. See chapter 5 concerning Gikai and the section on Keizan’s religious world in chapter 8. In light of the fact that Kokūzō first became linked to the *zenji* tradition at Hisodera, it is perhaps fitting that today the original site of Hisodera is occupied by a Sōtō temple, the Sesonji.

76. As pointed out by Tamamura Takeji, medieval Japanese Zen should be analyzed in terms of urban-rural differences, rather than in terms of a Rinzai-Sōtō dichotomy; see “Rinka no mondai,” 2:981–1040.

77. In 1704 the Tokugawa bakufu, ruling against the Sōtō prelates, barred Sōtō temples from enforcing any direct link between temple residence and lineage affiliation. At that time leading monks of the non-Sōtō schools of Japanese Buddhism consulted by the government reportedly all rejected the validity of temple Dharma lineages; see my “Dharma Transmission in Sōtō Zen: Manzan Dōhaku’s Reform Movement,” 446.

78. For an exploration of the religious symbolism inherent in East Asian notions of lineage, see John Jorgensen, “The ‘Imperial’ Lineage of Ch’an Buddhism: The Role of Confucian Ritual and Ancestor Worship in Ch’an’s Search for Legitimation in the Mid-T’ang Dynasty,” 89–133.

79. Dōgen, SBGZ, “Shisho,” in DZZ, 1:339.

80. E.g., Kōben (a.k.a. Myōe, 1173–1232), *Kyakuhaimōki*, fasc. 1, reprinted in *Kamakura kyū Bukkyō*, ed. Kamata Shigeo and Tanaka Hisao, 116; Kōsō, “Zenshū kyōke idō no koto,” in *Keiran jūyōshū* (1311–1348), fasc. 2, in T., 76: 539c–540a. These criticisms are discussed below in the conclusion.

## 2. DŌGEN: THE FOUNDER OF EIHEIJI

1. Regarding the reform efforts of Manzan Dōhaku, an early leader of the reform movement, see my “Dharma Transmission.” Manzan and the other reformers seem never to have doubted that their own interpretations, based on selective reading of a narrowly defined canon of authoritative works, could be

more accurate than those based on previous traditions. A similar process occurred in *fukko shintō*, which created a new Shintō ideology based on textual interpretations that ignored the religious experience of the vast majority of Japanese.

2. William R. LaFleur explores the modern relevance of Dōgen in “Dōgen in the Academy,” 1–20; and Hee-Jin Kim provides a useful overview of the development of Dōgen studies in Japan in *Dōgen Kigen—Mystical Realist*, 1–11.

3. The most detailed English-language description of Dōgen’s early years is Takashi James Kodera, *Dogen’s Formative Years in China: An Historical Study and Annotated Translation of the “Hōkyō-ki.”* My treatment of these details differs from Kodera in that I follow the interpretations of Nakaseko, DZD (which was unavailable when Kodera wrote), and that I am more skeptical of the *Hōkyōki* as an objective account of Dōgen’s experiences. For an analysis of recent attempts to relate the development of Dōgen’s teachings to his social and political circumstances, see Bielefeldt, “Recarving the Dragon.”

4. For Dōgen’s references to his father, see *Kōroku*, secs. 5, 7, lecs. 363, 524, in DZZ, 2:87, 139. Regarding the interpretation of these references and Dōgen’s social position, see Nakaseko, DZD, 49–75. Nakaseko’s research identifies Dōgen’s father as Minamoto Michitomo (d. 1227) and his mother as an unidentifiable secondary consort (*mekake*).

5. Dōgen described these events to his disciple Ejō; see *Zuimonki* (copied 1380, recopied 1644), Chōenji (Aichi Pref.) Ms., sec. 5, in *Koten bungaku 81*, 400–401; alt. in DZZ, 2:471–472; and Kagamishima Genryū, “Eisai-Dōgen sōken mondai,” 49–54. On these biographical details the Chōenji ms. contains crucial grammatical differences from the standard edition that was edited by Menzan during the Tokugawa period.

6. On the issue of social perceptions of Buddhist institutions, see Funaoka, *Zenshū no seiritsu*, 195.

7. Tsuji Zennosuke, *Nihon Bukkyōshi*, vol. 3, *Chūseihen 2*, 74.

8. Kagamishima Genryū, “Dōgen Zenji no zaisōchū no gyōjitsu,” 312–315.

9. Regarding Ju-ching’s career, see Kagamishima Genryū, *Tendō Nyojō Zenji no kenkyū*, 81–88. Both Ching-tz’u ssu and Ching-te ssu are located in modern Zhejiang Province, near the cities of Hangzhou and Ningbo, respectively. Ju-ching’s appointment to these two monasteries was quite an accomplishment. He was one of the few Ch’an masters of his time outside the dominant Lin-chi lineage who had attained the abbotship of such prestigious *Wu-shan* (Five Mountain Ranked) monasteries. Regarding the social and political significance of lineage affiliations in appointments to state-sponsored temples, see Tamamura Takeji, *Gozan bungaku: Tairiku bunka shōkaisha to shite no gozan Zensō no katsudō*, 38–39.

10. Dōgen, *Hōkyōki*, copied 1253:12:10 by Ejō, Zenkyūin (Aichi Pref.) Ms., in DZZ, 2:371.

11. Dōgen, *Shari sōdenki* (1227:10:5), in DZZ, 2:395–396.

12. Nakaseko, DZD, 140, 157–158 nn. 1–2.

13. Dōgen, *Shari sōdenki*, in DZZ, 2:396.

14. Carl Bielefeldt, *Dōgen’s Manuals of Zen Meditation*, 15–22.

15. Nakaseko, DZD, 281–289.

16. Dōgen, *Ji Ryōnen ni hōgo* (1231:7) in *Shiryōshū*, 215–220; and Dōgen, *Bendōwa* (1231:8:15), in DZZ, 1:729–746, alt. 1:747–763.

17. See Dōgen, SBGZ, chaps. “Genjō kōan,” “Maka hannya haramitsu,” and *Fukan zazengi* (1233:7:15), in DZZ, 1:10, 13, 2:5.

18. Keizan, *Denkōroku*, Patriarch 52, 112.

19. Ishikawa Rikizan, “‘Shōbō genzō zuimonki’ to Nihon Darumashū,” 37–45; and “Ejō Zenji no denki to gyōseki,” 1:175–182.

20. Funaoka, *Zenshū no seiritsu*, 195–201.

21. Ejō, *Zuimonki*, sec. 6, in *Koten bungaku 81*, 412–414; alt. in DZZ, 2:480. For other passages in the *Zuimonki* glorifying poverty, see *Koten bungaku 81*, 318–321, 346–347, 361–363, 383–384, 390–392, 398–399, 416–417, 434; alt. DZZ, 2:420–421, 436–437, 446–447, 460–461, 465–466, 470–471, 482, 492–493.

22. DZZ, 2:298–299, 300–301.

23. Ejō, *Zuimonki*, sec. 3, in *Koten bungaku 81*, 362; alt. in DZZ, 2:4447; and Dōgen, *Uji Kannon Dōriin sōdō kanjinsho* (1235:12), in *Kenzeiki*, copied in 1552, recopied in 1589 by Zuichō, in *Shohon Kenzeiki*, ed. Kawamura Kōdō, 38–40. Unless noted otherwise all subsequent citations of the *Kenzeiki* are to this Zuichō copy. Prior to the discovery of the Zuichō manuscript scholars had used the version of the *Kenzeiki* published by Menzan in 1753. Now we know that Menzan substantially altered his text. It is not known if all the documents cited by Kenzei are authentic, but based on comparisons of his citations with extant originals it is clear that at the very least Kenzei was a faithful copyist.

24. Dōgen, *Kōroku*, sec. 1, in DZZ, 2:7.

25. Mujū Dōgyō described the awe of the aristocrats in “Jiritsu zazen no koto,” in *Zōdanshū*, 2:287–288.

26. *Sandaison gyōjōki*, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:13b. Earlier scholars assumed that these two benefactors were distant relatives of Dōgen, but it is doubtful if either had known Dōgen prior to the founding of the monks’ hall at Kōshōji; compare Ōkubo, DZDKK, 201–203, 208–211; and Nakaseko, DZD, 288–292, 294–295. The *Sandaison gyōjōki* is an early hagiography that seems to have been compiled by Keizan Jōkin or someone close to him. While it obviously champions Keizan’s lineage, it contains a wealth of historical details, the accuracy of which are, in many cases, verified by other non-Sōtō sources. Regarding this text, see Azuma Ryūshin, “‘Gyōgōki’ to ‘Gyōjōki’: ‘Gyōjōki’ no sakusha-seiritsu nendai no suitei,” 101–105, and *Keizan Zenji no kenkyū*, 124–127.

27. See, for example, Ejō, *Zuimonki*, secs. 1–2, in *Koten bungaku 81*, 322–323, 350; alt. in DZZ, 2:422, 439.

28. *Sandaison gyōjōki*, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:16b.

29. For speculation regarding the activities of Ekan’s group, see Takeuchi Michio, *Ejō Zenjiden*, 90–93.

30. It is doubtful whether the Darumashū members had ever dominated Hajakuji affairs, as indicated by their abandonment of the temple to join Dōgen at Kōshōji and by the fact that Hajakuji remained a major center for Tendai devotional worship throughout the medieval period. For a summary of the evidence regarding Hajakuji’s status, see Nakaseko, DZD, 346–349; and Ishikawa Rikizan, “Echizen Hajakuji no yukue,” 107–113.



31. Regarding the naming conventions used by Zen monks, see Tamamura Takeji, “Zensō shōgō kō,” reprinted in *Nihon Zenshūshi ronshū*, 1:21–94.

32. Various scholars have attempted to determine the exact chronology of Dōgen’s essays for the *Shōbō genzō*, often with contradictory results: e.g., Ishikawa Rikizan, “Ejō Zenji no denki,” 186–189; Itō Shūken, “‘Shōbō genzō’ senjutsu shishū nendai kō,” 243–256; and *Shōbō genzō shosha nenpyō*, ed. Sano Bunnō.

33. *Kenzeiki*, in *Shohon Kenzeiki*, 42.

34. Dōgen, SBGZ, “Zenki” chap., in DZZ, 1:205.

35. Nakaseko, DZD, 277–278.

36. Dōgen, SBGZ, “Ko Busshin” chap., in DZZ, 1:81.

37. See Kuriyama Taion, *Sōjijishi*, 57.

38. See Dōgen, SBGZ chaps. “Tsuki” and “Sankai yuishin,” in DZZ, 1:209, 357.

39. Kōsō, “Zenshū kyōke idō no koto,” in *Keiran jūyōshū* (1311–1348), fasc. 2, in T, 76:539c–40a.

40. Imaeda Aishin, “‘Kōzen gokokuron,’ ‘Nippon Buppō chūkō ganmon,’ ‘Kōzenki’ kō,” 41–53; and “‘Shōbōron’ to ‘Zoku shōbōron,’” 78–79.

41. Regarding the rivalry between Michiie and Iezane, see Nakaseko, DZD, 289–293.

42. Kujō Michiie, “Kōmyō hōji nyūdō zen kanpaku Michiie kō shobunjō,” reprinted in Tsuji, *Nihon Bukkyōshi*, vol. 3, *Chūseihen* 2, 110–115.

43. DZZ, 1:745, alt. 1:762.

44. Dōgen, SBGZ, “Sansuikyō” chap., in DZZ, 1:265.

45. See Nakaseko, DZD, 345–349.

46. *Sandaison gyōjōki*, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:13b.

47. *Kenzeiki*, in *Shohon Kenzeiki*, 46 (entry for 1243: int. 7:17); and Nakaseko, DZD, 349–356. The guarantor (*honke*) of Shihi was known as the Saishōkōin. Various theories regarding the identity of the Saishōkōin have been advanced, but none of them stand up to scrutiny (Nakaseko, DZD, 337–345).

48. *Kenzeiki*, in *Shohon Kenzeiki*, 46, 50, 53 (entries for 1243: int. 7:17, 1244: 7:18, 1244:11:3); and Nakaseko, DZD, 356–362.

49. See, for example, *Kenzeiki*, in *Shohon Kenzeiki*, 62.

50. Nakaseko, DZD, 382–384. Nakaseko has demonstrated (pp. 380–396) that all the available evidence suggests that Dōgen went to Kamakura at Hatano Yoshishige’s bidding, and not at the request of the shogunate.

51. *Kōroku*, sec. 3, lec. 251, in DZZ, 2:63–64.

52. Warrior patronage was far more determinative than so-called Hakusan Tendai (see below, chap. 10). Other sections that discuss warrior relations are found in chapters 3, 6, 9 (section on early Sōjiji), and 11.

53. *Kōroku*, sec. 2, in DZZ, 2:30. The date of the founding of Daibutsuji is 1244:7:18.

54. *Kōroku*, sec. 2, lec. 128, in DZZ, 2:30. Regarding the dates of Dōgen’s lectures, see Itō Shūken, “‘Eihei kōroku’ setsuji nendai kō,” 171–197.

55. *Kōroku*, sec. 2, lec. 139, in DZZ, 2:35.

56. The earliest example of this explanation for the name “Eiheiji” probably is Giun, *Echizen Eiheiji shōmei* (1327:8:24), in SZ, vol. 15, *Kinseki burui*, 535.

57. *Kōroku*, sec. 2, lec. 177, in DZZ, 2:46.



58. This fact demonstrates that Dōgen was not (as some have claimed) a reformer who attempted to re-create a pristine monastic life-style based solely on his reading of earlier texts; see Kagamishima Genryū, “Dōgen Zenji to in’yō shingi,” 17n.5.

59. For a detailed description of a medieval Sōtō precept recitation ceremony (*fusatsu*), see *Tōkoku shingi*, fasc. 1, in JDZ, 288–295. This monastic code, originally known as the *Gyōji jijo*, today is more commonly referred to by the title *Keizan shingi*. Even though many of the entries in this text were written by Keizan, I avoid using that title mainly to draw attention to the textual evolution of this text at Tōkoku (a.k.a. Yōkōji), the monastery where these procedures were recorded. Most of the text as we know it today was in existence as of 1376 (merely fifty-one years after Keizan’s death), when Fusai Zenkyū (1347–1408) made a copy for use by his disciples. Procedures for about ten ceremonies (including the above-mentioned precept recitation ceremony) first appear in the version compiled by Bonsei in 1423. It is Bonsei’s version that formed the basis for all subsequent texts published as the *Keizan shingi*. For more information on manuscripts of this text, see Yamahata Shōdō, “‘Keizan shingi’ no shahon ni tsuite,” 194–207; and Takeuchi Kōdō, “Shinshutsu no Zenrinji-bon ‘Keizan shingi’ ni tsuite,” 133–138.

60. *Goshiki saiunki* (1247:1:15) and *Goshikikō fushigi nikki* (1247:1:15), in *Komonjo*, nos. 1137–1138, 2:191–193. Also see Ejō, *Eiheiji sanko ryōzuiki*; and *Ejō shōjōsha* (1267:9:22), in *Komonjo*, no. 10, 1:9.

61. Ejō, *Eiheiji sanko ryōzuiki*; and *Ejō shōjōsha* (1267:9:22), in *Komonjo*, no. 10, 1:9.

62. See *Rakan kuyō shikimon*, in DZZ, 2:402–404.

63. *Jūroku rakan genzuiki*, in DZZ, 2:399.

64. The importance of notions of sacred geography (i.e., the identification of physical places with particular spiritual powers) in East Asian Buddhism has been highlighted in several recent articles; e.g., Raoul Birnbaum, “The Manifestation of a Monastery: Shen-ying’s Experiences on Mount Wu-T’ai in T’ang Context,” 119–137, and “Secret Halls of the Mountain Lords: The Caves of Wu-T’ai Shan,” 115–140; Allan G. Grappard, “The Textualized Mountain—Enmountained Text: The ‘Lotus Sutra’ in Kunisaki,” 159–189; and William Powell, “Mt. Jinhua: The Nine-Florate Realm of Dicang Pusa,” 116–130.

65. Eisai, *Kōzen gokokuron*, fasc. 2, p. 41.

66. *Kenzeiki*, in *Shohon Kenzeiki*, 52.

67. *Kenzeiki*, in *Shohon Kenzeiki*, 63–64; and Ōkubo, DZDKK, 276–278. The details of Genmyō’s transgressions related in *Kenzeiki* are based on a singularly unlikely source, namely, Genmyō’s ghost.

68. *Goyuigon*, entry dated 1255:1:6, copied 1752 by Menzan, in SBGZST, 20: 824; alt. in DZZ, 2:500–501.

69. See the discussion of Gikai’s succession process in chapter 5.

70. For a detailed account of these events, see Nakaseko, DZD, 415–428.

71. Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, 55–57. By way of comparison, the first Chinese-style Zen monastery in Kamakura (Kenchōji) was founded in 1249 and completed in 1253. The first independent Zen monastery in Kyoto (Nanzenji) was founded in 1291.

72. Gikai, *Gikan fuhōjō* (1306), in *Komonjo*, no. 1405, 2:409.

73. *Daison gyōjōki*, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:13b.

74. Gijun (n.d.) is infamous as one of Dōgen's disciples who forsook his Sōtō Zen lineage. At Eihei-ji, he served as monastic copyist (*shōki*). Gijun is counted as one of Ejō's dharma heirs, but eventually he converted to the Shingon school. A major collection of biographies of Japanese Shingon monks, the *Kongōchō mujō shōshū dentō kōroku* (a.k.a. *Dentō kōroku*; sec. 2, fasc. 12) by Yūhō (1656–1727?), reports that Gijun changed his name to Ginō, studied Rinzai Zen at Gozan temples in Kyoto, studied esoteric meditation and ritual at the Kongō Zanmaiin on Mt. Kōya, and then founded a Shingon temple dedicated to Amitābha Buddha, the Muryōjuin, in Harima (now part of Hyōgo Prefecture). This account is substantiated by an early Sōtō biography of Ejō that claims that after Ejō died, his spirit came back to wreak vengeance on the wayward Gijun, causing demons to torment him to death; see Ōkubo, DZDKK, 245–246; and *Daison gyōjōki*, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:16a.

### 3. GIIN: THE BEGINNINGS OF HITO SŌTŌ

1. Higo (modern Kumamoto Prefecture) occupies the central region of the island of Kyushu. The appellation “Higo no Sōtō” had begun to be used within Giin's lineage by the early sixteenth century in order to assert independence from the large Sōtō monasteries located in the Hokuriku region (north-central Honshu) of Japan; see *Daijiji saikō chokushōsha* (1529), in *Komonjo*, no. 2116, 3:97. Giin's lineage is also referred to by Giin's honorary name, Kangan, or by his sobriquet, Hōō.

2. This rivalry lasted until 1696, when the Tokugawa shogunate firmly ordered Daijiji to become a branch temple of Eihei-ji; see [Toda Tadamasu], *Edo bakufu jisha bugyō tōshi* (1696), in *Komonjo*, no. 1401, 2:403.

3. *Ryakuden*, in SZ, vol. 17, *Shiden*, 2:259. This *Sōtōshū zensho* edition is a reprint of the text appearing in the *Zoku gunsho ruijū*, ed. Hanawa Hokinoichi and Hanawa Tadatomi, 9:364–365, the origin of which is unknown; see *Gunsho kaidai*, vol. 4A, *Denbu*, no. 104, p. 139.

4. Nakayama Jōni has noted the close connection between the issue of Daijiji's independence and shifts in published accounts of Giin's dharma succession; see “Kangan Giin shishō isetsu wo meguru sho mondai,” 247–252.

5. Of course, the work of Tokugawa-period historians cannot be ignored, despite questions as to their sectarian biases. Three works, in particular, enjoy high reputations because they incorporate large amounts of material from earlier sources: *Nihon Tōjō rentōroku* (1727, pub. 1742), 12 fascs., comp. Reinan Shūjo (1675–1752), in SZ, vol. 16; *Enpō dentōroku* (1678, i.e., the 6th year of the Enpō era), 41 fascs.; and *Honchō kōsōden* (1702), 75 fascs., both by Mangen Shiban (1626–1710). Reinan's *Rentōroku* contains useful supplements to each fascicle in which he explains his reasons for supporting one or the other version of disputed events. The sections of Mangen's history concerning Sōtō monks can be found in ZSZ, vol. 10.

6. Giin is variously reported to be the son of either Emperor Juntoku (1197–1242, r. 1210–1221), or Emperor Gotoba (1180–1239, r. 1184–1198)—and thereby the brother of Juntoku. Nothing in his later career, however, suggests that he had

any prestigious family connections. The earliest sources for each of these accounts are *Ryakuden* and *Reiso* (1672), in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:30, respectively.

7. The earliest biography to make this claim is *Reiso* (1672), in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:30b. Regarding the institutional rivalries affected by these counterclaims, see Nakayama, “Kangan Giin shishō isetsu,” 247–252. In opposition to both of the traditional accounts, in 1911 Kuriyama Taion suggested that Giin’s true teacher was Ejō. This Ejō-heir theory, after having been championed by Ōkubo Dōshū, is now widely accepted; see Kuriyama, “Kangan Zenji no shishō isetsu,” in *Gakusan shiron*, 228–250; and Ōkubo, “Kangan Giin no shishō iron,” in DZDKK, 447–468.

8. Ejō, Postscript (1254:9:9), *Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō*, copied 1335:6:12 by Daichi, Kōfukuji D, in ZSZ, vol. 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 42, alt. in DZZ, 2:270.

9. Preface and eulogy by Wu-wai I-yüan (d. 1266), dated 1264:11:1, and eulogies by Hsu-t’ang Chih-yü (1185–1269) and T’ui-keng Te-ning, dated the third and fourth (*ch’ing-ming*) months of 1265, to the *Eihei Gen Zenji goroku*, in SZ, vol. 2, *Shūgen*, 2:27, 42.

10. *Reiso*, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:31.

11. *Nichiiki*, fasc. 1, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:43–44.

12. *Rentōroku*, fasc. 2, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:243–244.

13. Mangen Shibān correctly lists only one trip to China; see *Enpō dentōroku*, fasc. 7, in ZSZ, vol. 10, *Shiden*, 680.

14. Wu-wai I-yüan’s temple, the Kai-shan ssu (a.k.a. Jui-yen ssu), is located in the modern prefecture of Dinghai, Zhejiang Province. The monopolization of appointments to state-sponsored temples by Ch’an lineages is discussed by Tamamura, *Gozan bungaku*, 38–39.

15. Hsu-t’ang was abbot at the Ching-tz’u ssu and T’ui-keng was abbot at the Ling-yin ssu, both of which are located near the modern city of Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province.

16. Information in this paragraph regarding the Shinzō estate is from Nakaseko Shōdō, “Daijiji no danna Kawajirishi ni tsuite,” 24–29.

17. Nakaseko, DZD, 337–345.

18. Nyoraiji is located in Udo-gun, Kumamoto Prefecture. Regarding the family relationship between Kawajiri Yasuaki and the nun Somyō, see Tajima Hakudō, *Sōtōshū nisōshi*, 175–177.

19. Kawajiri Minamoto Yasuaki, *Minamoto Yasuaki kishin jōan* (1282:10:8), in *Komonjo*, no. 1374, 2:388–390. Daijiji is located within the present city of Kumamoto.

20. Giin, *Ō hashi kan’ensho* (1276:5), in *Komonjo*, no. 1372, 2:386–387. In other schools of Japanese Buddhism the character for “kan” in *kan’en* normally would be written with a homophonic character meaning “to encourage” instead of the Zen usage of the character for “tree trunk.”

21. I am applying the modern ratios of one *jō* equaling ten *shaku* and one *hiro* equaling six *shaku*. Although the modern *shaku* is roughly equivalent to one foot in length, the exact values and ratios of the units as used in Higo during the late thirteenth century are unknown. For the dimensions of the bridge, see Giin, *Ō hashi kuyō sōki* (1278:7:30), in *Komonjo*, no. 1373, 2:388.



22. Giin, *Higo Daijiji shōmei* (1287:4:7), Daijiji temple bell inscription, in SZ, vol. 15, *Kinseki bunrui*, 537.

23. Giin, *Ō hashi kan'ensho*, in *Komonjo*, 2:387.

24. Giin, *Ō hashi kuyō sōki*, in *Komonjo*, 2:388.

25. Giin, *Higo Daijiji shōmei*, in SZ, vol. 15, *Kinseki bunrui*, 536.

26. Giin, *Kangan Giin Zenji ganmon* (1293), in ZSZ, vol. 9, *Hōgo*, 1. In this context, the words *shōbō genzō* allude not to Dōgen's writings, but to the essence of Zen Buddhism and to its correct transmission.

27. A prime example of the observance of Zen ritual at Daijiji would be the formal reception staged when Giin's dharma heir Ninnō Jōki (d. 1364) became abbot. As recorded in the *Rentōroku* (fasc. 2), Jōki performed a ceremonial tour of the monastic buildings, briefly stopping at each to state a few words on its significance as prescribed in traditional Chinese monastic codes, such as the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* (Jpn. *Zennen shingi*, 1103; reprinted in 1202; fasc. 7, "Zunsu ruyuan"; Jpn. "Sonshuku nyūin"). Arriving at the abbot's quarters, Jōki answered a monk's complex series of questions regarding the Zen doctrine of the Five Ranks (*goi*); see SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:248–249; and *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*, rev. ed., *Yakuchū Zennen shingi*, ed. Kagamishima Genryū et al., 255–257.

28. Giin, *Busshari sōden* (1279:11:1), in *Komonjo*, no. 667, 1:525–526.

29. Jōa, *Higo Daijiji Hokke shosha sekitōmei* (1297: int. 10:18), in SZ, vol. 15, *Kinseki bunrui*, 537.

30. Giin, *Ō hashi kuyō sōki*, in *Komonjo*, 2:388.

31. Kawajiri Minamoto Yasuaki, *Minamoto Yasuaki kishin jōan* (1284:10:13), in *Komonjo*, no. 1375, 2:390–391.

32. Giin, *Higo Daijiji shōmei*, in SZ, vol. 15, *Kinseki bunrui*, 536–537.

33. Surveying the numerous *ujidera* built by the emerging regional warrior groups in the Kamakura period, Kawai Masaharu detects a shift beginning in the late thirteenth century (the same period in which Daijiji was built) away from the patronage of devotional temples associated with local folk worship toward the building of Pure Land or Zen-related temples; see "Chūsei bushidan no ujigami ujidera," 7–9.

34. [Hōjō Noritoki], *Kamakura Shōgunke okyō jōan* (1287), in *Komonjo*, no. 1378, 2:391–392.

35. Kawajiri Minamoto Yasuaki, *Minamoto Yasuaki kishin jōan* (1282:10:8, 1284:10:13), in *Komonjo*, nos. 1374–1375, 2:388–391.

36. Kawai Masaharu, *Chūsei buke shakai no kenkyū*, 114.

37. Kawajiri Minamoto Yasuaki, *Minamoto Yasuaki kishin jōan* (1286:6:14), in *Komonjo*, no. 1376, 2:391.

38. *Rentōroku*, fasc. 2, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:247.

39. Mangan Shiban, *Enpō dentōroku*, fasc. 7, in ZSZ, vol. 10, *Shiden*, 682.

#### 4. SENNE AND KYŌGŌ: COMMENTATORS ON DŌGEN'S SHŌBŌ GENZŌ

1. Kagamishima Genryū, "Nihon Zenshūshi: Sōtōshū," 100. The following discussion of Senne and Kyōgō is based largely on Kagamishima's findings as reported in the above article (pp. 100–104), and in two others: "'Shōbō genzōshō' no seiritsu to sono seikaku," 106–117, and "'Shōbō genzōshō' wo meguru sho mondai," 79–105.



2. *Sandaison gyōjōki*, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:13; also see Kagamishima Genryū, “‘Shōbō genzōshō’ wo meguru sho mondai,” 80–81.

3. This robe appears in *Sandaison gyōjōki*, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:13; and is reported to have gone to Senne in *Yōshitsu zatsuki* (1457), in *Senpuku gentō rokushō*, 2, in SZ, vol. 15, *Jishi*, 385. Regarding the tradition of the robe, see Kawamura Kōdō, “Senpukujibon ‘Shōbō genzō kikigakishō’ ni tsuite,” in *Sōmokuroku*, 227b; and Nakaseko Shōdō, “‘Fuyō kesa’ shōrai wo iu sho shiryō he no gichaku,” 47–52.

4. Dōgen, *Kōroku*, sec. 1, in DZZ, 2:7.

5. Ban’an Eishu, *Ban’an oshō monjū*, entry dated 1649:7, in ZSZ, vol. 3, *Goroku*, 1:87.

6. Kawamura Kōdō, “‘Shōbō genzō’ seiritsu no sho mondai,” pt. 6, “Shinfunji bunko shozō ‘Daigo’ maki sōkōhon no shōkai,” 18–19; and *Shōbō genzō no seiritsu shiteki kenkyū*, 517–518.

7. Dōgen, *Kōroku*, secs. 1, 9, and 10, in DZZ, 2:7, 167, 186.

8. *Sandaison gyōjōki*, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:14; and *Kyūki* (1505:9), Higashiyama Kōtaiji (Kyoto) D, reprinted in Kawamura Kōdō, “Dōgen Zenji to Eihei-ji no kaisō,” 1:150. This Higashiyama Kōtaiji document was first introduced by Ishikawa Ryōiku, “Shari raimon ni tsuite,” 275, but without the portion mentioning Senne and Yōkōan.

9. Mention of this pillar occurs in Daichi’s poem, “Rai Yōkō Kaisantō,” in *Daichi Zenji geju*, in ZSZ, vol. 9, *Geju*, 753. Sōtō scholars have mistakenly interpreted the *kaisan* referred to in this title as Senne. Compare, however, the similar wording of the title of one of Dōgen’s lectures included as a postscript to the *Shōbō genzōshō*, namely, “Hōgo: Kaisan no on kotoba”—which Ōkubo Dōshū retitled as “Sanzen gakudō myōjutsu,” in DZZ, 2:389.

10. *Kyūki*, reprinted in Kawamura Kōdō, “Dōgen Zenji to Eihei-ji,” 1:150.

11. There is a great deal of evidence to suggest that Kyōgō knew Dōgen personally. First, in commenting on the *Shōbō genzō*, Kyōgō refers to Dōgen as “my former teacher” (*senshi*) more than forty times. At one point he refers to his own commentary as a “transcription” (*kikigaki*), the same word by which he refers to the commentary recorded by Senne (*Shōbō genzōshō* [Senpukuji Yōshitsu ed.], fasc. 15, “Shoaku makusa” chap., in SBGZST, 12:587). Also, Kyōgō is listed as a participant in the services conducted at Dōgen’s cremation (*Kyūki*, reprinted in Kawamura Kōdō, “Dōgen Zenji to Eihei-ji,” 1:150). Regarding Kyōgō’s use of the term *senshi*, see Ikeda Rosan, “Shōbō genzōshō no mondai,” 73. Concerning questions of Kyōgō’s age relative to Dōgen, see Kagamishima Genryū, “‘Shōbō genzōshō’ wo meguru sho mondai,” 84–85.

12. *Goshō*, fasc. 30, in SBGZST, 14:481.

13. In exception to this general arrangement, the *Shō* and *Gokikigaki* are mixed together passage by passage (i.e., *ehon*) in the first three chapters (“Genjō kōan,” “Maka hannya,” and “Busshō”) of the manuscript.

14. *Goshō*, fasc. 16, “Shoaku makusa” chap., in SBGZST, 12:658. By 1263 Senne would have already completed his work on Dōgen’s *goroku*. This date can be deduced from the fact that Giin already had his copy of the *goroku* in China between 1264 and 1265.

15. *Goshō*, fasc. 31, in SBGZST, 14:632.

16. The SBGZST (vols. 11–14), with its photographic reproduction of the actual Senpukuji Yōshitsu manuscript, contains the only accurate typeset, critically edited version of the text. Two earlier published versions of the *Goshō*, one published by Kōmeisha (2 vols.) in 1903 (and subsequently reprinted in the *Shōbō genzō chūkai zensho* [11 vols., 1914; reprinted, 1956–1958]) and one included in the original SZ (1930) presented so many different misreadings that many people were led to believe that different original manuscripts had been transcribed for each edition. When the SZ edition was reprinted in 1970, most (but not all) of its errors were corrected in a complete revision of the text. The widely used *Chūkai zensho* edition has not been adequately revised and should be avoided (the other commentaries in that collection also differ radically from their original form). See Kagamishima Genryū, “‘Shōbō genzōshō’ wo meguru sho mondai,” 98–101.

17. For examples of these quotations, see *Kōroku*, sec. 5, lec. 390, in DZZ, 2: 96; SBGZ, “Genjō kōan” chap., in DZZ, 1:7–8; and *Busso shōden bosatsukai kyōjumon*, in DZZ, 2:280; as cited in the *Ryakushō*, in SBGZST, 14:536–537, 549, and 487, 494, 499, respectively. In the text of the commentary, none of these passages are identified as quotations from Dōgen’s writings. The *Busso shōden bosatsukai kyōju kaimon* is discussed in more detail in chapter 13, “Precepts and Ordinations.”

18. *Ryakushō*, in SBGZST, 14:508.

19. See, for example, *ibid.*, 14:519, 529.

20. *Goshō*, fasc. 12, “Gabyō” chap., in SBGZST, 12:323.

21. Daichi, “Rai Yōkō Kaisantō,” in ZSZ, vol. 9, *Geju*, 753.

22. Kagamishima Genryū, “‘Shōbō genzōshō’ wo meguru sho mondai,” 91–93.

23. Shundō Sengyoku (d. 1859), *Fusetsu* (1830:7:25), included in *Senpuku gentō rokushō*, in SZ, vol. 15, *Jishi*, 394.

24. *Yōshitsu zatsuki*, in *Senpuku gentō rokushō*, 2, in SZ, vol. 15, *Jishi*, 385–386.

25. Kawamura Kōdō has proposed that the manuscript was presented to Senpukuji by Jikinyo -Chō (d. 1503), the abbot of one of Senpukuji’s subtemples, Daiyūji. Kawamura still is unable, however, to explain how Jikinyo would have acquired the manuscript; see his “Senpukujibon ‘Shōbō genzō kikigakishō’ ni tsuite,” 242–243.

26. Kagamishima Genryū, “‘Shōbō genzōshō’ wo meguru sho mondai,” 88–89.

27. Ikeda, “‘Shōbō genzōshō no mondai,’” 83; and Kawamura, “Senpukujibon ‘Shōbō genzō kikigakishō’ ni tsuite,” 221.

28. Sakai Tokugen, “‘Shōbō genzōshō,’” in *Kaidai*, 207b.

29. *Goshō*, fasc. 1, “Genjō kōan” chap., in SBGZST, 11:8–9. According to Kyōgō’s interpretation, “kōan” refers to pure reality, in and of itself, free from delusion, while *shōbō genzō* refers to Buddhism. Therefore, Kyōgō is stating that reality itself is Buddhism.

30. This principle (expressed by Dōgen as *ippō wo shōsuru toki wa ippō wa kurashi*; “illuminating the one obscures the other”) is cited often in Senne’s and Kyōgō’s explanations. Simply explained, this idea asserts that all viewpoints nec-

essarily embody the totality of existence; no opposing reality could possibly exist. Therefore, two opposite positions can be affirmed because each expresses the same absolute truth. See Itō Shūken, “‘Goshō’ no ‘Shōbō genzō’ kaishaku: Hiteiteki hyōgen ni tsuite,” 300–313.

31. See, for example, *Goshō*, fascs. 3, 4, and 10 (“Busshō,” “Shinjin gakudō,” and “Daigo” chaps.), in SBGZST, 11:59–60, 80–81, 259, 291–292, 489–490.

32. *Goshō*, fasc. 15, “Kōmyō” chap., in SBGZST, 11:713–714, comment on “Zazengi” chap. Also see Kagamishima Genryū, “‘Shōbō genzōshō’ no seiritsu to sono seikaku,” 107–110; and Itō Shūken, “‘Shōbō genzōshō’ ni mirareru ‘kindai no Zensō’ hihan,” 195–198.

33. Kagamishima Genryū, “‘Shōbō genzōshō’ no seiritsu to sono seikaku,” 110.

34. Kagamishima Genryū, “Ejō Zenji to Eisai Zenji,” 39.

35. Kagamishima Genryū, “‘Shōbō genzōshō’ no seiritsu to sono seikaku,” 106–107.

36. Kagamishima Genryū identified only three references to the *Bonmōkyō* in Dōgen’s writings; see his *Dōgen Zenji to in’yō kyōten*, 223; and Ikeda Rosan, “Bonmōkyō ryakushō no mondai: Bonmōkaikyō no kenkyūshi kara mita,” 99.

37. Ikeda Rosan, “Dōgen Zenji to Tendai hongaku shisō: Goshō ni okeru Tendai hihan,” 87–92.

38. *Goshō*, fasc. 4, “Shinjin gakudō” chap., in SBGZST, 11:711–712. Also see Annen, *Shingonshū kyōjigi*, fasc. 1; in T, 75:382a.

39. I intend to discuss Dōgen and kōan training in a future publication.

40. DZZ contains variant versions of five SBGZ chapters: “Shin fukatoku,” “Bukkōjōji,” “Butsudō” [variant version retitled, “Dōshin” in the so-called *Honzan* ed.], “Senmen,” and “Sanjigō.”

41. Danno Hiroyuki estimates that emendations are found in about seventy percent of SBGZ manuscripts that had been copied from versions pre-dating the compilations by Manzan and Menzan; see his “Shōbō genzō tōshabon ni okeru ‘kakiire’ ni tsuite,” 78.

42. This chapter (also known by variant titles such as “Baika shisho,” “Baika,” “Den’e,” “Shisho,” and “Shinsho”) existed by the time of Chikuko Shōyū (1380–1461). It was included as part of the *Shōbō genzō* in the original edition of SZ (1929–1935), but deleted from the revised reprint (1970–1973) and moved to ZSZ, vol. 1, *Shūgen hoi*. For a detailed history, see Kawamura Kōdō, “Isen shiryō Shōbō genzō chūsho Baika shisho,” in *Sōmokuuroku*, 134.

43. Regarding Manzan’s appeal, see my “Dharma Transmission.”

44. *Shūtō fukkoshi*, fasc. 2, in ZSZ, vol. 1, *Shitsuchū*, 583.

45. *Shūtō fukkoshi*, fasc. 1, in ZSZ, vol. 1, *Shitsuchū*, 554–555.

46. Jōzan Ryōkō (d. 1736), *Shōbō tekiden shishi ikkushū* (1702), fasc. 1, contains a detailed commentary on the texts of the SBGZ chapters “Shisho,” and “Juki” in order to argue against Manzan’s positions; see SBGZST, 20:528–551.

47. *Shūtō fukkoshi*, fasc. 1, in ZSZ, vol. 1, *Shitsuchū*, 594.

48. Regarding the issuing of the order banning publication and copying of the SBGZ (i.e., the *Kaihan kenshi no rei*), see Yokozeki Ryōin, *Edo jidai Tōmon seiyō*, 909–912.

49. Tenkei Denson, *Benchū*, copy (ca. 1777) by Ryūsui Nyotoku, 20 fascs., in



SBGZST, 15:1–620. The government ban on publication of the *Shōbō genzō* prevented Tenkei from personally editing a final version of his commentary within his own lifetime. The SBGZST edition, however, preserves the original form of the *Benchū*, which was altered considerably in the standard woodblock edition (22 fascs., 1875) in order to remove passages found objectionable by Tenkei's critics. The *Shōbō genzō chūkai zensho* version is even more unreliable since it accompanies the official *Honzan* (ninety-five chapter) edition of the *Shōbō genzō* text, while Tenkei's commentary was intended to accompany his own "corrected" version of the *Shōbō genzō*.

50. Mujaku Dōchū, *Shōbō genzō senpyō* (ca. 1725–1726), reprinted in Kagamishima Genryū, *Dōgen Zenji to sono monryū*, 255–289.

51. Shibe Ken'ichi, " 'Shōbō genzō senpyō' to Edoki shūgaku no kanren," 254.

52. See *ibid.*; and Kagamishima Genryū, "Mujaku Dōchū to Tōmon no kōshō," 222–223.

53. See Mujaku Dōchū (1653–1744), "Jinzū no shō," in *Shōbō genzō senpyō*, reprinted in Kagamishima Genryū, *Dōgen to sono monryū*, 236; and Tenkei Denson, *Benchū*, fasc. 5, leaf 7a–b, "Zazenshin" chap., in SBGZST, 15:112a.

54. See Jikishi Gentan (d. 1776), *Taizō shiso Tenkei oshō nenpu* (1767), entry for 1726, in SZ, vol. 17, *Shiden*, 2:473; Tenkei Denson, *Benchū* (copied ca. 1777), fasc. 17, leaf 2b, "Udonge" chap., in SBGZST 15:484b; and *Benchū*, Fukushōji Ms. (1719), fasc. 1, leaf 4a–b, "Hanrei" sec., in SBGZST, 15:714b.

55. For analyses of Dōgen's creative readings of Chinese scripture, see Kagamishima Genryū, *Dōgen Zenji to in'yō kyōten*, 31–83; and Hee-Jin Kim, " 'The Reason of Words and Letters': Dōgen and Kōan Language," 54–82.

56. Menzan Zuihō, *Shōbō genzō byakujaketsu* (1742), leaf 8a–b, in SBGZST, 20:275b.

57. Banjin compiled the *Busso shōden zenkaishō* (1758; in SZ, vol. 3 *Zenkai*, 455–477), a collection of extracts from the *Bonmōkyō ryakushō*, to serve as a primary reference in studying Zen precepts.

58. Kagamishima Genryū, " 'Shōbō genzō' no seiritsuteki kenkyū," 240–241.

## 5. GIKAI: THE FOUNDER OF DAIJŌJI

1. The following discussion of Gikai is indebted to Ishikawa Rikizan, "Gikai Zenji no denki to gyōseki," 1:225–254.

2. *Sandaison gyōjōki*, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:18.

3. *Shōtōshiki* (1309:9:16), D in *Gikai sōki* (1309:10:3), comp. Keizan Jōkin, in ZSZ, vol. 2, *Shingi*, 6; and Keizan Jōkin, *Gosoku ryakuki* (1323:9:13), in *Tōkokuki*, in JDZ, 415. The *Gosoku ryakuki* is not included in the preferred edition of the *Tōkokuki*, namely, the 1432 Daijōji "secret" Ms. (*hihon*), ed. Ōtani Teppu, 231–248.

4. Inazu is located near Ha'nyū Mura, Miyamachō, in central Fukui Prefecture, in the area that once was the district of Kita Asuwa. Although Gikai was born in Inazu hamlet, there is no positive proof that Gikai's family also claimed the lineage name Inazu. Nonetheless, Gikai must have known the Hatano before he met Dōgen's patron; see Ishikawa Rikizan, "Gikai Zenji no denki," 228–230.

5. *Sandaison gyōjōki*, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:16.



6. *Sandaison gyōjōki*, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:14; and *Denkōroku*, patriarch 52, 112.

7. This statement (*sekensō jōjū*) is found in the Lotus Sūtra, chap. 2, “Hōben” (Tactfulness), fasc. 1, in T, 9:9b. The translation used above follows the reading common in medieval Japanese Tendai texts. Modern scholars, however, now interpret the text as stating that the law of causality (not mundane phenomena) permanently resides in the world. See Sakamoto Yukio and Iwamoto Yutaka, trans., *Hokekyō*, 1:120, 342; also compare H. Kern, trans., *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka or The Lotus of the True Law*, 53.

8. Keizan Jōkin, *Gosoku ryakuki*, in JDZ, 415; and *Sandaison gyōjōki*, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:16. In the extant record of Dōgen’s lectures at Kōshōji, however, this juxtaposition does not appear, although similar images were used separately: lecture 72, given sometime in mid-1241, contains the comment “Partridges cry; there, hundreds of flowers blossom,” while lecture 91, delivered at the beginning of 1242, concerns the statement “The phenomena of the mundane world abide forever” (see *Kōroku*, sec. 1, in DZZ, 2:22, 24). For the dates of Dōgen’s lectures, see Itō Shūken, “‘Eihei kōroku’ setsuji nendai kō,” 185.

9. *Sandaison gyōjōki*, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:16. As of 1891, one *chō* equaled sixty *ken*, the unit of distance between two successive vertical supports in Japanese architecture. The ratios for premodern units, however, lacked standardization.

10. Dōgen, *Tenzo kyōkun*, in DZZ, 2:295.

11. Dōgen addressed Ekan as supervisor (*shuso*) while offering a lecture in memory of Ekan’s former teacher, Kakuan (*Kōroku*, sec. 3, lec. 185, in DZZ, 2:49).

12. Gikai, *Goyuigon*, entry dated 1253:4:27, in SBGZST, 20:820; alt. in DZZ, 2:497; and *Sandaison gyōjōki*, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:16–17.

13. Gikai, *Gikan fuhōjō* (1306:8:28), in *Komonjo*, no. 1405, 2:408–409; *Sandaison gyōjōki*, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:16–17; and *Goyuigon*, entry dated 1253:4:27, in SBGZST, 20:819; alt. in DZZ, 2:496.

14. Ōkubo Dōshū retitled this text the *Eihei shitsuchū monsho* (Conversations Heard in the Abbot’s Quarters at Eiheiji) on the grounds that the greater portion of the record concerns Gikai’s relationship with Ejō, not the final words of Dōgen (the *kaisan*, or “founder,” in the title); see DZZ, 2:554.

15. Menzan Zuihō, “Postscript” (1752:12), *Goyuigon*, in SBGZST, 20:830. Menzan claimed that his first copy was made in 1714. Daijiji possesses a text reputed to be an original copy by Daichi, but this text has never been authenticated. Moreover, this Daijiji text is not the Daichi copy (originally stored at Kōfukuji but now lost) that Menzan claimed to have copied. See Sakurai Shūyū, “Eihei kaisan goyuigon kiroku,” in *Sōmokuoku*, 447; and Ōkubo Dōshū, “Goyuigon kiroku,” in *Kaidai*, 106.

16. Gikai, *Gikan fuhōjō*, in *Komonjo*, 2:408–409. This document—which is included as an example of Gikai’s handwriting in *Shiryōshū*, 729—refers several times to a more detailed, separate account (*besshi*).

17. Gikai, *Goyuigon*, entry dated 1253:4:25, in SBGZST, 20:820; alt. in DZZ, 2:496–497.

18. *Ibid.*, entry dated 1253:4:27, in SBGZST, 20:820; alt. in DZZ, 2:497.

19. Ibid., entry dated 1255:2:13, in SBGZST, 20:828; alt. in DZZ, 2:505.
20. Ibid., entry dated 1253:7:8, in SBGZST, 20:821; alt. in DZZ, 2:498.
21. Ibid., entry dated 1253:4:27, in SBGZST, 20:820; alt. in DZZ, 2:497. The DZZ edition's reading of this passage has been corrected without comment. Here, the corrected reading is being followed.
22. Ibid., entry dated 1253:7:28, in SBGZST, 20:822; alt. in DZZ, 2:499. The expression “secret treasure” (*hizō*) is a common metaphor for a very important matter or valued object.
23. Ibid., entries dated 1255:1:3, 1255:1:6, in SBGZST, 20:823, 825; alt. in DZZ, 2:500, 502.
24. Ibid., entry dated 1255:2:14, in SBGZST, 20:828–829; alt. in DZZ, 2:506. It is unclear exactly what text Ejō meant. Perhaps he was speaking of Gikai's detailed record of the dharma transmission ceremonies that is contained in the *Goyuigon*. Or he might have been speaking of some other text, such as the so-called *Ichiya hekiganshū* (One-Night Blue Cliff Records), which might have been handed down within the Darumashū, eventually reaching Gikai by way of Ejō. See Nishiari Kin'ei [a.k.a. Bokusan] (1821–1910), *Daijōji ichiya hekiganben*, reprinted in Kagamishima Genryū, *Dōgen to in'yō kyōten*, 177–179 n. 1.
25. Gikai, *Goyuigon*, entry dated 1253:4:27, in SBGZST, 20:819–820; alt. in DZZ, 2:496–497.
26. For an analysis of how the reformers read the SBGZ, see my “Dharma Transmission.”
27. Gikai, *Goyuigon*, entry dated 1253:4:27, in SBGZST, 20:821; alt. in DZZ, 2:498.
28. Ejō, *Zuimonki*, sec. 2, in *Koten bungaku 81*, 347; alt. in DZZ, 2:436–437.
29. Ibid., sec. 3, in *Koten bungaku 81*, 362; alt. in DZZ, 2:447.
30. Ishikawa Rikizan, “Dōgen Zenji metsugo no Eiheiji sōdan ni tsuite: ‘Goyuigon kiroku’ no shiryō kachi,” 194, 196–197.
31. Gikai, *Goyuigon*, entry dated 1255:1:6, in SBGZST, 20:825; alt. in DZZ, 2:502.
32. It is of interest to note that the “Honzan” edition of Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō* published at Eiheiji between 1796 and 1811 excluded the “Shisho” (Succession Certificate) and four other chapters concerning dharma transmission because the ceremonies had become too secret.
33. This is the position advocated by Sugimoto Shuryū, who argues for the legitimacy of the Sōtō school's secret dharma initiation traditions; see his *Zōtei Tōjō shūsunai kirikami narabi ni sanwa no kenkyū*, 11–12.
34. Gikai, *Goyuigon*, entry dated 1255:1:7, in SBGZST, 20:826; alt. in DZZ, 2:503.
35. In modern Sōtō *datsuraku shinjin* usually represents the transcending of any dichotomy between *shinjin datsuraku* and non-enlightenment. In this example, however, Gikai seems to be using this word reversal in a different sense.
36. These words supposedly represent the approval of Pai-chang Huai-hai (Jpn. Hyakujō Ekai, 749–814) for his disciple Huang-po Hsi-yün (Jpn. Ōbaku Kiun), who attained the same level of attainment but in different form. Although the word order is reversed, both statements (“barbarian beards are red” and “red-bearded are barbarians”) express the same meaning. Gikai also seems to have reversed the word order of Dōgen's *shinjin datsuraku* to stress his own unity

with Dōgen. Baijiang’s “red-bearded barbarian” appears numerous times in Dōgen’s writings. See, for example, his Chinese-language (*shinji*) *Shōbō genzō* (fasc. 2, no. 2; in DZZ, 2:220); *Kōroku* (sec. 3, lec. 212; sec. 4, lec. 314; sec. 5, lec. 402; sec. 7, lec. 482; in DZZ, 2:55, 77, 100, 126); and SBGZ chaps. “Gyōbustu īgi,” “Arakan,” and “Dai shugyō” (in DZZ, 1:54, 323, 544–551).

37. Gikai, *Goyuigon*, entry dated 1255:1:13 (referring to 1255:1:7), in SBGZST, 20:826; alt. in DZZ, 2:503.

38. A similar conclusion, but argued from a different perspective, has been reached by Kuromaru Kanji, “Denkai to denbō ni tsuite no ichi kōsatsu: ‘Eihei shitsuchū monsho’ wo chūshin to shite,” 104–106.

39. Keizan Jōkin, *Gosoku ryakuki*, in JDZ, 414.

40. Kuromaru Kanji, “Tettsū Zenji ni okeru shūgijō no ichi mondai: Toku ni ‘rōbashin’ to sono kaiketsu ni tsuite,” 187–194.

41. Gikai, *Goyuigon*, entries dated 1253:7:8, 1253:7:28, in SBGZST, 20:821, 822; alt. in DZZ, 2:498, 499.

42. Dōgen, *Tenzo kyōkun*, DZZ, 2:302.

43. Gikai, *Goyuigon*, entry dated 1253:7:8, in SBGZST, 20:821; alt. in DZZ, 2:498.

44. Ibid., entry dated 1255:2:2, in SBGZST, 20:827; alt. in DZZ, 2:503–504.

45. *Sandaison gyōjōki*, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:13b; and Nakaseko, DZD, 373–376.

46. *Sandaison gyōjōki*, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:17b.

47. Examples of Dōgen’s indirect criticisms of Eisai are discussed in chapter 13, below.

48. Kagamishima Genryū, “Ejō Zenji to Eisai Zenji,” 46–48; and “Shoki Sōtō kyōdan ni okeru Eisai Zenji no ichi,” 19–22.

49. *Sandaison gyōjōki*, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:18.

50. Keizan Jōkin, *Tōkokuki*, 1432 Daijōji Ms., ed Ōtani Teppu, 236b, 239a; alt. in JDZ, 395, 398. The 1432 Daijōji Ms. differs greatly from the JDZ version—so much so that dates or other internal identification for the entries contained therein cannot be cited. For a chart of these differences, see Matsuda Fumio, “‘Tōkokuki’ no kenkyū,” 834–841.

51. *Goshō*, fasc. 31, “Bussetsu jūshikyō,” in SBGZST, 14:632–633.

52. *Shōtōshiki*, in *Gikai sōki*, in ZSZ, vol. 2, *Shingi*, 6.

53. Keizan Jōkin, *Gosoku ryakuki*, in JDZ, 415. Later tradition has associated Gikai with several texts of obscure origin stored at Daijōji (a temple he later founded). These texts include the *Gozan jissatsuzu* (Illustrations of the Five Mountains and Ten Temples), the *Ichiya hekiganroku*, and the *Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*. No positive evidence exists, however, linking Gikai to any of these texts. Instead, there is much stronger evidence suggesting alternative origins. The manuscripts of the *Gozan jissatsuzu* and *Ichiya hekiganroku* were not brought to Daijōji from Eiheiji until after 1340, more than thirty years after Gikai’s death (see *Kenzeiki*, in *Shohon Kenzeiki*, 126; and Yokoyama Hideo, *Zen no kenchiku*, 47). A partial copy of the *Ichiya hekiganroku* in Ejō’s handwriting indicates that the text originally had been possessed by Ejō—if not by Dōgen as traditionally claimed (see *Hekiganshū dankan* (1280), Eiheiji DS, in *Shiryōshū*, 703–705).

54. This account is based on *Sandaison gyōjōki*, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:18.



55. Yokoyama, *Zen no kenchiku*, 128.

56. For example, see Sahashi Hōryū, *Ningen Keizan*, 29; Takeuchi Michio, *Nihon no Zen*, 184; and Kōchi Eigaku, “Keizan Zenji no mikkyōteki hairyo to sono raiyū,” 186–187.

57. *Ch’an-yüan ch’ing-kuei*, fasc. 2, “Niansong” (Jpn. “Nenju”), “Jiexia” (“Ketsuge”) and “Jiexia” (“Kaige”); fasc. 7, “Zunsu ruyuan” (“Sonshuku nyūin”); and fasc. 9, “Shami shoujiewen” (“Shami jukaimon”), rev. ed., *Yakuchū Zennen shingi*, ed. Kagamishima et al., 76–77, 86–87, 91, 256–257, 297.

58. Dōgen, SBGZ, “Ango” chap., in DZZ, 1:574–575.

59. Dōgen, *Tenzo kyōkun*, in DZZ, 2:296; and *Chiji shingi* (1246), in DZZ, 2:343.

60. Dōgen, SBGZ, “Ango” chap., in DZZ, 1:573–574.

61. According to the *Tōkoku shingi*, fasc. 2, these seasonal sūtra chanting ceremonies are conducted on the thirteenth day of the fourth and seventh lunar months, on the day before the winter solstice during the eleventh lunar month, and on the day before the last day of the year; see SZ, vol. 2, *Shūgen*, 2:677–678, 688b, 693b, 696a; alt. in JDZ, 325–328, 346, 357, 362.

62. Kagamishima Genryū, “Dōgen Zenji to in’yō shingi,” 17 n. 5.

63. By “early sources,” I am referring to *Sandaison gyōjōki*, *Shōtōshiki*, and *Gosoku ryakuki*, as well as the documents written by Gikai included in *Komonjo*. Although none of these is totally free of textual problems, they all must be given foremost consideration because of their close relationship to Gikai’s disciple Keizan.

64. *Sandaison gyōjōki*, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:15a–b, 18a.

65. No references to copies by Ejō exist after 1261 until 1275 (SBGZ “Busshō” and “Arakan” chaps., in DZZ, 1:35, 326).

66. *Sandaison gyōjōki*, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:15b. Regarding the identities of the Hatano Izumo-no-kami Jirō Kongo and Kasan’in Saishō Zennmon Shakuken named in this source, see Kawamura, “Dōgen Zenji to Eihei-ji,” 100; and Nakaseko, DZD, 412. For alternative (though not likely) identifications, also see Seki Kōkyū, “Dōgen Zenji to dan’otsu Hatanoshi ni tsuite,” 117; and Ōkubo, DZDKK, 255.

67. Keizan Jōkin, *Tōkokuki*, ed. Ōtani Teppu, 238b; alt. in JDZ, 395. This date assumes 1264 as Keizan’s year of birth (instead of 1268). The discovery of the 1432 Daijōji Ms. of the *Tōkokuki* provided the initial clue that 1264 must be the correct year, and all of Keizan’s historical writings become extremely consistent with other sources only if 1264 is used; see Matsuda Fumio, “‘Tōkokuki’ no kenkyū,” 859–870; and “Keizan Zenji seju gojū hassaisetsu ni taisuru shiken,” 65–70; and Yamahata Shōdō, “Kokiroku ni miru Keizan Zenji no go nenrei ni tsuite,” 87–92.

68. Kenzei, the author of the fifteenth-century Sōtō history known as *Kenzeiki*, assumed that Ejō must have resumed the abbotship after Gikai (*Shohon Kenzeiki*, 105). The evidence speaks against this, however, because when Gikai retired, Ejō then relinquished to Gikai the title of retired abbot (*tōdō*) while assuming for himself the lesser title of prior (*tassu*; see *Sandaison gyōjōki*, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:15b). Moreover, Keizan clearly identified Ejō as a former abbot in 1276 when he (Keizan) formally became a monk (*Tōkokuki*, ed. Ōtani



Teppu, 238; alt. in JDZ, 369). For an analysis of the sources used to support or deny Kenzei's theory, see Matsuda Fumio, "Sandai sōron no imi suru mono," 155–157. Therefore, it is likely that Gien assumed the abbotship sometime in 1272.

69. Gien copied *Shōbō genzō* chapters and worked on Dōgen's *goroku*. His status at Eihei-ji, therefore, is recorded in the titles with which he signed his name in these works: *jisha*, in *Kōroku*, secs. 5, 6, 7 (in DZZ, 2:84, 104, 123) and *shoki*, in SBGZ, "Kesa kudoku" and "Hachi dainingaku," (in DZZ, 1:643, 726).

70. For these three dates, see *Sandaison gyōjōki*, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:18b; Giun, *Eihei-ji jūjishoku no koto* (1314:9:18), in *Shiryōshū*, 751; and Keizan Jōkin, "Postscript" (1321:2:1), *Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō*, transmitted 1356: 8:1 from Gasan Jōseki to Tsūgen Jakurei, Sōjiji Ms, in ZSZ, vol. 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 42 (similar content also is found in *ibid.*, Daijōji Ms, in ZSZ, vol. 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 42; alt. in DZZ, 2:271). Several examples of Gien's handwriting also survive, but all of these are brief and without dates (see *Shiryōshū*, 744–748).

71. Keizan Jōkin, *Tōkokuki*, ed. Ōtani Teppu, 241; alt. in JDZ, 401.

72. [Gikai], *Jōkin hōe fuzokujō* (1309:9), in *Komonjo*, no. 669, 1:527.

73. Based on these activities by Gikai, the fifteenth-century historian Kenzei argued that Gikai also assumed a second term as abbot following Ejō's second term as abbot (*Kenzeiki*, in *Shohon Kenzeiki*, 111–112). As is the case with Ejō's supposed second term, however, no source earlier than Kenzei contains any indication that Gikai had assumed such duties at Eihei-ji. We know that Gien had already become abbot before Ejō passed away, because Hatano Shigemichi referred to Gien as abbot when he addressed the Eihei-ji community in 1287 (see *Sandaison gyōjōki*, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:18). It is extremely unlikely that Gien subsequently would have relinquished his abbotship just because Gikai conducted memorial services for Ejō. For a detailed discussion of this issue, see Ishikawa Rikizan, "Gikai Zenji no denki," 1:246; and "Sandai sōron ni tsuite," in 1:212.

74. *Sandaison gyōjōki*, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:18. The text refers only to a "Mr. En" ("Enkō"), but clearly alludes to Jakuen since the same text (p. 16a) also identifies Mr. En as the founder of Hōkyōji, Jakuen's temple.

75. Kenkō, *Hōkyō yuishoki* (ca. 1457–1468), in *Komonjo*, no. 1709, 2:618.

76. *Sandaison gyōjōki*, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:18. This statement is problematical because Tokimitsu is also recorded as having prophesied that Eihei-ji's dharma line would fail if Gikai were allowed to leave. Such accurate prophesy suggests that these words were attributed to Tokimitsu at a later date, after Gien had died (ca. 1313) without producing an heir.

77. Zōsan Ryōki (d. 1729), *Jūzoku nichūiki tōjō shosoden*, fasc. 1; and *Rentōroku*, fasc. 1; both in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:151, 240.

78. E.g., Takeuchi Michio, *Koun Ejō Zenjiden*, 104.

79. Ishikawa Rikizan, "Gien Zenji no jiseki," 1:262–264.

80. Hirose Ryōkō, "Sengoku no dōran to Eihei-ji no saigai," in *Eiheijishi*, 463.

81. Giun, *Eihei-ji jūjishoku no koto* (1314:9:18), in *Shiryōshū*, 751. Giun conveyed his initial refusal of the abbotship in this letter.

82. *Shōtōshiki*, in *Gikai sōki*, in ZSZ, vol. 2, *Shingi*, 6. In this instance, the era date is correct (the first year of Einin; i.e., 1293) while the sexagesimal sign is mis-

takenly printed as *kigai* (the thirty-sixth; i.e., 1299) instead of *kishi* (the thirtieth; i.e., 1293). The *Shōtōshiki* states that Gikai lived in seclusion from 1272 until 1292, founded Daijōji in 1293, and retired from Daijōji in 1298. This last date agrees with Keizan's autobiographical statement that he (Keizan) became the second abbot of Daijōji at age 34 (i.e., in 1298). Daijōji originally had been located near the Sodemori Hamlet (present-day Nonoichi Mura, Ishikawa Pref.), but during the Tokugawa period it was moved to its present location in Kanazawa City.

83. Ishikawa Rikizan, "Gikai Zenji no denki," 1:228.

84. Date Zannō (1867–1947), *Kaga Daijōjishi*, ed. Shimode Sekiyo and Azuma Ryūshin, 47. Chōkai probably had no institutional affiliation with the Shingon school.

85. *Chōkai ihai*, Hajakuji mortuary plaque, reprinted in Ishikawa Rikizan, "Echizen Hajakuji no yukue," 110. Kuriyama Taion first discovered this plaque in 1911 (*Gakusan shiron*, 41). Ishikawa, however, presents a more faithful reproduction of the format of the plaque and reads "*dentō*" (transmitter of the light) where Kuriyama had "*hōtō*" (dharma light). When Kuriyama introduced this plaque, he adopted a very forced reading of its inscription. According to Kuriyama, the inscription on the plaque refers to Gikai even though the plaque itself refers to Chōkai. In this way, Kuriyama argued that it was Gikai who had been abbot of Hajakuji and teacher to Chōkai. Kuriyama's interpretation, however, is unacceptable. In terms of both grammar and format the inscription on Chōkai's mortuary plaque clearly refers to Chōkai. Also, no sources indicate that Gikai had ever been abbot of Hajakuji. His early biographies all state that he spent twenty years in seclusion after leaving Eiheiiji. Although Kuriyama saw Gikai as Chōkai's superior, Gikai's appointment to replace Chōkai as abbot of Daijōji actually is easier to understand if Chōkai had been Gikai's superior. If Chōkai had been at Hajakuji in 1231 when Gikai was twelve years old, then by 1290 he would have been quite old and ready to retire. Gikai had been to China and had become the leader of the new Japanese Sōtō Zen lineage. It is not unreasonable to believe that the aged Chōkai would abdicate his position in favor of a former student who had surpassed his own accomplishments. Kuriyama had once asserted that historical inquiry must never be allowed to threaten the foundations of traditional religious faith (*Gakusan shiron*, 10). In this case, apparently he allowed his faith to guide his history.

86. [Keizan Jōkin], *Sotetsu hōe sōden hōgo* (1323:1:19), in *Komonjo*, no. 674, 1:533–534. This date is based on Keizan's statement in 1323 that Sotetsu had been with him for twenty-nine years.

87. [Keizan Jōkin], *Jōkin yuzurijō* (1324:7:7), in *Komonjo*, no. 47, 1:35. Each biography of Gasan differs as to the time and place of Keizan and Gasan's first meeting. This date is based on Keizan's statement in 1324 that Gasan had been with him for twenty-nine years.

88. [Gikai], *Jōkin hōe fuzokujō*, in *Komonjo*, 1:527. In this instance, the sexagesimal sign is correct ("*otsubi*," the thirty-second; i.e., 1295), while the era date is incorrect (the second year of Einin; i.e., 1294). Only 1295 agrees with Keizan's autobiographical statement that he (Keizan) succeeded to Gikai's lineage at age 31 (i.e., 1295). See *Tōkokuki*, ed. Ōtani Teppu, 238; alt. in JDZ, 369.

89. Keizan Jōkin, *Tōkokuki*, ed. Ōtani Teppu, 238; alt. in JDZ, 369; and *Shōtōshiki*, in *Gikai sōki*, in ZSZ, vol. 2, *Shingi*, 6.

90. Gikai, *Gikan fuhōjō*, in *Komonjo*, 2:408–409; and *Gikai fuhōjō*, in *Komonjo*, 1:526. Gikai’s language in these documents clearly distinguishes between the Darumashū “transmission” that Gikai had received, and the “giving” to Keizan of his old Darumashū succession document. He used the words “our lineage” to refer to the Sōtō line only. Keizan had received only Gikai’s old documents, not a new succession document made out in his own name. It is incorrect, therefore, to assume that Keizan inherited Gikai’s Darumashū lineage.

91. *Gikai sōki*, in ZSZ, vol. 2, *Shingi*, 1:6a.

92. Regarding Keizan’s position at Daijōji, see Matsuda Fumio, “Keizan Zenji no jinmiraisai okibumi ni tsuite: Yōkōji kaibyaku no haikai,” 140.

93. Keizan Jōkin, “Postscript” (1311:10:10), *Jōkin hōe fuzokujō* (1309:9), in *Komonjo*, no. 669, 1:528. Gikai’s advice is mentioned in the description of a subsequent ceremonial presentation of a robe to Sotetsu at Yōkōji in 1323. According to the chronology contained in the account of this ceremony, Sotetsu had inherited Keizan’s dharma in 1302; see [Keizan Jōkin], *Sotetsu hōe sōden hōgo* (1323:1:19), in *Komonjo*, no. 674, 1:533–534. According to traditional Sōtō accounts, however, Sotetsu is said to have inherited Keizan’s dharma in either 1321 or 1323 and inherited the abbotship of Daijōji in 1337. This confusion over the correct sequence of events is due to three main causes: earlier scholars not having had access to the above documents, the lack of reliable information concerning Kyōō Unryō’s term as abbot of Daijōji prior to 1337, and sectarian attempts to give seniority to Gasan Jōseki.

94. Keizan Jōkin, “Postscript” (1311:10:10), *Jōkin hōe fuzokujō*, in *Komonjo*, 1:528.

95. The *Daijō renpōshi*, an old record of Daijōji’s abbots edited by Sanshū Hakuryū (1669–1760), lists Kyōō Unryō as an unnumbered “former abbot” (*zenjū*) immediately after the third-generation abbot Meihō (see SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:577). It is not clear when Kyōō Unryō replaced Meihō. In 1323 Meihō came to Yōkōji from Kyoto, where he had performed memorial services for Eisai at Kenninji. That same year he was appointed the honorary supervisor of the monks’ hall (*rissō shuso*) at Yōkōji, indicating that he had become a full-time guest (see *Tōkokuki*, ed. Ōtani Teppu, 239b, 244a; alt. in JDZ, 409, 410).

96. Keizan Jōkin, *Tōkokuki*, ed. Ōtani Teppu, 245a; alt. in JDZ, 417–418.

97. Kyōō Unryō may have occupied Daijōji’s abbotship for as long as twenty years. When he left Daijōji, Kyōō removed several items that had once belonged to Keizan. These included Keizan’s handwritten copy of the *Ichiya hekiganroku* and Keizan’s coir fly whisk (*shuro hossu*). After Kyōō’s death his disciples returned both of these to Meihō at Daijōji; see Meihō Sotetsu, *Daijōji Sotetsu uketorijō* (1345:10:18), in *Komonjo*, no. 1408, 2:410.

## 6. JAKUEN AND GIUN: LOCAL GROWTH AND TIES TO EIHEIJI

1. E.g., Sahashi Hōryū, *Ningen Keizan*, 132–137; Takeuchi Michio, “Nihon in okeru Sōtōshū no tenkai,” 154; and Kagamishima Genryū, “Shūgaku shisōshijō ni okeru Giun Zenji no ichi,” 127–132, 135. There is no evidence on which to base either of these conclusions.



2. The last true Jakuen-line abbot at Eiheiji probably was Sokyū (1532–1610), the last person to inherit (1560) the copy of the *Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō* handed down exclusively within the Eiheiji-Jakuen line (DZZ, 2:271). After the Tokugawa reorganization forced non-Jakuen line abbots into Eiheiji, each new abbot was required nominally to switch to a Jakuen-dharma lineage until Manzan Dōhaku succeeded in having the practice of changing lineages forbidden in 1703. Thereafter, abbots at Eiheiji were required to inherit a separate Jakuen precept lineage until the Meiji period; see Kuriyama, *Sōjijishi*, 113–114.

3. Kenkō, *Hōkyō yuishoki*, Hōkyōji Ms. in *Komonjo*, no. 1709, 2:617–620.

4. Both Keizan Jōkin and Shūkō (fl. 1445) referred to Jakuen as *tassu*; see *Tōkokuki*, ed. Ōtani Teppu, 238; alt. in JDZ, 369; and *Shūkō oshō yuzurijō*, in *Komonjo*, 1:610.

5. Jakuen's enlightenment experience under Ejō is retold in Giun, *Giun oshō goroku*, published 1357, copied 1684, Cabinet Library Ms., reprinted in Ishikawa Rikizan, ed., “Naikaku bunkobon ‘Giun oshō goroku,’” 39; alt. in Edo woodblock edition (1715) in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:9.

6. Kenkō, *Hōkyō yuishoki*, in *Komonjo*, no. 1709, 2:618. Ginnanpō, the site of Hōkyōji, is not to be confused with nearby Genanpō.

7. The identifications of Ijira Fujiwara Tomotoshi as the layman Shinkū and his son Tomonari as the layman Chien are based on: Ōkubo, DZDKK, 308–309; and Maeda Hidehiko, “Giun Zenji to Ijirashi kefu,” 201–203.

8. Furuta Shōkin, “‘Giun oshō goroku’ wo megutte: Jakuen to Giun to no aida,” 30.

9. Mangen Shibān (*Enpō dentōroku*, fasc. 25, in ZSZ, vol. 10, *Shiden*, 733) states that Giun became Jakuen's disciple as early as 1265, but this is unlikely since Hōkyōji had not yet been built. Moreover, as of 1279 Giun resided at the Shin Zenkōji (an otherwise unknown temple in Naka-no-hama, Echizen) where he copied at least three, maybe all, of the chapters to Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō* (see chaps. “Kokū,” “Ango,” and “Kie sanpō,” in DZZ, 1:564, 584, 675).

10. Ejō is known to have resided at Naka-no-hama (*Sandaison gyōjōki*, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:16a), the place where Ejō, Giun, and Kankai copied the *Shōbō genzō* (see Mizuno Yaoko, “Giun Zenji,” pt. 5, 27–28). A connection with Ejō also is suggested by the “gi” syllable of Giun's name, which indicates that he had become a monk under the direction of a Darumashū member of the “E” generation—most likely Ejō, since Ekan had died before Giun was born.

11. Keizan Jōkin, *Tōkokuki*, ed. Ōtani Teppu, 235a, 238b, 242b; alt. in JDZ, 396, 406, 432; and *Jōkin hotsuganmon* (1325:5:23), in *Komonjo*, no. 168, 1:126.

12. Kenkō, *Hōkyō yuishoki*, in *Komonjo*, 2:618–619.

13. For the dates of Giun's term, see Giun, *Eiheiji jūjishoku no koto* (1314:9:18), in *Shiryōshū*, 751 (i.e., the letter in which Giun conveyed his initial refusal of the abbotship) and “Postscript” (1333–1560), *Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō* (Eiheiji Ms.), in DZZ, 2:270–271 (i.e., the special transmission document handed down by the Jakuen-line abbots at Eiheiji).

14. Ishikawa Rikizan, “Giun Zenjiden no kenkyū: Sono shutsuji to sangaku wo meguru sagyō kasetu,” 168–169.

15. Kenkō, *Hōkyō yuishoki*, in *Komonjo*, 2:618; and [Ijira Tomonari], *Shami Chien nado kishinjō* (1299:10:18), in *Komonjo*, no. 1698, 2:608.



16. [Ijira] Ensō, *Shami Ensō kishinjō* (1365:7:18), Hōkyōji DS in *Komonjo*, no. 1699, 2:609–610. Although this document mentions only the Jōwa era (1345–1350) for the donation of the images of the two divinities, the more exact date of 1346 is derived from *Kō Moronao shōjō* (1346), reprinted in Maeda Hidehiko, “Giun Zenji to Ijirashi no kefu,” 215.

17. [Ijira] Ensō, *Shami Ensō kishinjō*, in *Komonjo*, 2:609–610.

18. See SBGZ chaps. “Kokū,” “Ango,” and “Kie sanbō,” in DZZ, 1:564, 584, 675.

19. See Ishikawa Rikizan, “Giun Zenjiden no kenkyū,” 173–174; and Maeda Hidehiko, “Giun Zenji to Ijirashi no kefu,” 211–212.

20. Giun, *Giun oshō goroku*, ed. Ishikawa Rikizan, 51; alt. in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:20.

21. Accompanying lectures are suggested by the word *juko*, which appears only in the Zenrin copy (p. 8). For the complete commentary, see Giun, *Shōbō genzō honmokuju narabi ni jo* (1329:5), copied 1461 by Zenrin, in SBGZST, 20:3–8; alt. Giun, *Giun oshō goroku*, in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:35–40.

22. Although commonly referred to as the “sixty chapter” *Shōbō genzō*, this version counts “Gyōji” as two chapters, while all other versions count “Gyōji” as a single chapter.

23. Traditionally, it has been thought that Giun himself must have compiled this alternative edition. Recent textual study, however, has shown that Giun’s text actually represents an earlier version of the *Shōbō genzō*, pre-dating Dōgen’s seventy-five chapter compilation. In other words, the fifty-nine chapter version was also compiled by Dōgen, not by Giun; see Kawamura Kōdō, “‘Shōbō genzō’ seiritsu no sho mondai,” pt. 4, 199–205; “Giun Zenji to ‘Shōbō genzō’ sankō: Rokujū kanhon no henshū-seiritsu no mondai to no kanrei ni oite,” 117–155; and *Shōbō genzō no seiritsu*, 449–181.

24. Giun, “Postscript” (1299:11:23), to *Hōkyōki* (Ejō copy), in *Shiryōshū*, 752.

25. Mizuno Yaoko, “Hōkyōki,” 221–223. For an English translation, see Kodera, *Dogen’s Formative Years in China*, 117–140; but note that the copy used by Ejō and Giun (the Zenkyūin Ms.) omits the biographical introduction and begins with the text of Ju-ching’s letter to Dōgen, authorizing his visits to the abbot’s building (i.e., p. 117, fifth line from bottom).

26. Analysis of the 1684 Cabinet Library manuscript version of Giun’s *goroku* reveals twenty-seven passages from Hung-chih, thirteen from Dōgen’s *Eihei kōroku*, eight from the Chinese-language *Shōbō genzō*, and six from the *Ju-ching lu* (see Ishikawa Rikizan, “‘Giunroku’ ni okeru ‘Wanshiroku’ in’yō no igi,” 276–285, 295–299; and Ishii Shūdō, “‘Giun oshō goroku’ no in’yō tenseki,” 69–107; “Wanshiroku no rekishiteki seikaku,” pt. 2, 104–109; and “Wanshi kōroku kō,” 107–140). Regarding the textual history of the Chinese-language (i.e. *Shinjī*) *Shōbō genzō*, see Kawamura, *Shōbō genzō no seiritsu*, 82–265.

27. See Ishikawa Rikizan, “‘Giunroku’ ni okeru ‘Wanshiroku’ in’yō no igi,” 276–285, 295–299; and Ishii Shūdō, “‘Giun oshō goroku’ no in’yō tenseki,” 69–107; “Wanshiroku no rekishiteki seikaku,” pt. 2, 104–109; and “Wanshi kōroku kō,” 107–140; and Kagamishima Genryū, “Shūgaku shisōshijō ni okeru Giun,” 127–129.

28. Nakao Ryōshin provides a detailed review of all the sources concerning the relationship between Giun and these two Rinzaï monks in his “Chūsei Tōzai kōryū ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu: Giun Zenji to Getsudō Sōki-Chūgan Engetsu no baai,” 290–309.

29. *Kenzeiki*, in *Shohon Kenzeiki*, 119.

#### 7. EARLY SCHISMS: THE QUESTION OF THE SANDAI SŌRON

1. Kuriyama, *Gakusan shiron*, 42–44; and *Sōjijishi*, 73–94.
2. All primary sources as well as the interpretations advanced by modern scholars have been reviewed and analyzed in detail by Ishikawa Rikizan (“Sandai sōron ni tsuite,” 1:205–225). My analysis, while differing from that of Ishikawa in many details, is indebted to the approach first suggested by Matsuda Fumio (“Sandai sōron no imi suru mono,” 146–157) and developed by Ishikawa in the above essay.
3. Matsuda, “Sandai sōron no imi suru mono,” 146.
4. Kenkō, *Hōkyō yuishoki*, in *Komonjo*, 2:619.
5. *Kenzeiki*, in *Shohon Kenzeiki*, 113–117.
6. Kuriyama, *Sōjijishi*, 91–92.
7. Taikyoku, *Hekizan nichiroku*, entry dated 1459:9:20, in *Shintei zōho shiseki shūran*, 26:278. Regarding Taikyoku, see Tamamura Takeji, “‘Hekizan nichiroku’ kishu kō,” 2:217–249.
8. This is the Yōkōji founded by Keizan Jōkin, not Senne’s Yōkōan.
9. *Chokushū Hyakujō shingi Untōshō* (1459–1462), sec. 2, “Shōshusō,” as cited by Ōkubo, *DZDKK*, 434.
10. *Eiheiji sandai sōron*, in *Nippon Tōjō shiha no zu*, Fusaiji (Shizuoka Pref.) Ms., recopied 1584 by Koan Rintotsu, as cited by Ishikawa, “Sandai sōron ni tsuite,” 1:206. Kuriyama had introduced this document (*Sōjijishi*, 92–93), but without identifying its origin.
11. As explained earlier, Giin had been at Eiheiji in 1253 and did not found a temple (Nyoraiji) until 1269, more than sixteen years later.
12. The most influential scholars adopting this approach have been: Kuriyama, *Sōjijishi*, 73–94; Ōkubo Dōshū, “Dōgen Zenji no genshi sōdan to Nihon Darumashū to no kankei,” 406–446; and Tsuji Zennosuke, *Nihon Bukkyōshi*, vol. 3, *Chūseihen* 2, 315–316.
13. The main scholars applying this interpretation have been Sahashi Hōryū, Imaeda Aishin, and Takeuchi Michio. For example, see Sahashi, *Nihon Sōtōshū shiron kō*, 17–36; *Ningen Keizan*, 30–96; Imaeda, *Zenshū no rekishi*, 163; “Zen no hatten,” 1:302; and Takeuchi, “Sandai sōron no shakai shiteki kōsatsu,” 101–106; *Nihon no Zen*, 181–187.
14. “Postscript” (1333–1560), *Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō* (Eiheiji Ms.), in *DZZ*, 2:270–271.
15. Hirose Ryōkō, “Eiheiji no suiun to fukkō undō,” 1:414–432.
16. *Jūjishoku nin katai monjo no koto*, a.k.a. *Meihōha Gasanha gizetsu no toki kanrei Hatakeyama kata soshō no meyasu* (1415), in *Tōkokuki*, ed. Ōtani Teppu, 247a; alt. in *JDZ*, 460. The historicity of Chishō’s term cannot be established beyond doubt, but we know that the idea of Giin-line abbots at Eiheiji must have seemed reasonable at the time of this document (1415) since his term is cited as a legal precedent; see Hirose, “Eiheiji no suiun,” 1:415–416.

17. *Sanshū Taki Hōsenji kyūki*, as cited by Kuriyama, *Sōjijishi*, 114.
18. *Meiten Keiju dai Zenji rinjū Esshū Kichijōzan Eihei Zenji hōgo* (1480:4:8), in *Enshū Horie Shukuro Zenji kaisan Meiten Keiju dai Zenji goroku*, as cited by Hirose, “Eiheiji no suiun,” 1:429–430.
19. *Kenzeiki*, in *Shohon Kenzeiki*, 130.
20. I have followed the standard (imprecise) practice of assigning the dates of the transmission of the *Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō* (Eiheiji Ms.) as the dates of inauguration.
21. Kenkō, *Hōkyō yuishoki*, in *Komonjo*, 2:620.
22. Gyokuin Eiyo, *Don’ei oshō gyōjō* (1504), in SZ, vol. 17, *Shiden*, 2:311.
23. Ishikawa Rikizan, “Sōtōshū Jakuenha no rekishiteki seikaku,” 168–175.
24. Honda Kizen, *Sōtō daini dōjō: Hōkyōjishi*, 29–58.
25. According to the postscript of the *Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō* (Eiheiji Ms.; DZZ, 2:270–271), Donki received initiation in 1333, his non-Hōkyōji successor, Iichi, received initiation in 1362, while Kenkō—the first outside abbot since Donki—received initiation in 1457.
26. Kenkō, *Hōkyō yuishoki*, in *Komonjo*, 2:619, 620.
27. Also note that the first character of the tonsure name of Giin’s principal disciple, Shidō Shōyū, is the same as that of Keizan Jōkin (i.e., both “shō” and “jō” are written the same). This shared ideograph suggests that both Giin and Gikai named their first disciples with a transmission syllable of Darumashū origin.
28. Giun, *Giun oshō goroku*, Edo woodblock edition, supplementary fasc., in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:22–23. Giun referred to Shido Shōyū by the honorific title of *seidō*, meaning one who is a former abbot of another temple.
29. *Kenzeiki*, in *Shohon Kenzeiki*, 126.
30. Giun, *Giun oshō goroku*, ed. Ishikawa Rikizan, 51; alt. in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:20.
31. Musō Soseki, “Rinsen kakun” (1339), in *Musō kokushi goroku*, fasc. 2B, in T, 80:501b. Regarding this text, see Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, 149–165.
32. Tamamura Takeji, “Zenshū ni okeru itan no mondai,” 2:737–745.

#### 8. KEIZAN: THE FOUNDER OF YŌKŌJI

1. Azuma Ryūshin, “Keizan Zenji kenkyū no dōkō,” 1115. That announcement (i.e., the *Soshiki kaisei jōrei*) was issued on October 20, 1877.
2. Hirose Ryōkō, “Eiheiji no suiun,” 1:387–398.
3. Takeda Shingen, *Takeda Shingen hanmotsusha*, in *Komonjo*, no. 257, 1:206–207.
4. *Goyōzei tennō rinji* (1589:6:27), in *Komonjo*, no. 2003, 3:23. According to the diary of Nakamikado Nobutane (1442–1525), the court first awarded Eihei with official status as head of the Sōtō school in 1507; see *Nobutane kyōki*, entries for 1507:11:23, 1507:12:16, in *Zōho Shiryō taisei*, 45 [*Nobutane kyōki*, vol. 2]: 218b, 221b; and Imaeda Aishin, “Chūsei Zenrin ni okeru jūji seido no sho mondai,” 395–396.
5. Tokugawa Ieyasu, *Eiheiji sho hatto* (1615:7), and *Sōjiji sho hatto* (1615:7), in *Komonjo*, nos. 28 and 109, 1:20–21 and 83–84.
6. The full text of the compact (*meiyaku*), signed by Kuga Mitsuun (a.k.a. Kankei, 1817–1889) for Eihei and by Morotake Ekidō (1807–1879) for Sōjiji, is



reproduced in Yokozeki Ryōin, *Sōtōshū hyakunen no ayumi*, 20–22; and in Yoshioka Hakudō, “Meijiki no Eihei-ji,” 2:1329–1330.

7. Azuma (“Keizan Zenji kenkyū no dōkō,” 1114–1116) lists the following major prewar biographies of Keizan, all of which were published either by the Sōtō school or directly by Sōjiji: Takiya Takushū (1836–1896, who later served as Sōjiji’s superintendent [*kan’in*]), *Sōji kaisan taiso ryakuden* (1878); Azegami Baisen (1825–1901; the second independent abbot of Sōjiji), *Sōji kaisan godenshō* (1900); Itō Dōkai (1874–1940; the ninth independent abbot of Sōjiji), *Jōzai daishi godenki* (1923); and Kohō Chisan (1879–1967, who later served as eighteenth independent abbot of Sōjiji), *Jōzai daishi no godenki* (1923).

8. The following account is based on Yoshioka, “Meijiki no Eihei-ji,” 1354–1377; Yokozeki, *Sōtōshū hyakunen*, 20–238; and Takeuchi Michio, *Sōtōshū kyōdanshi*, 149–231.

9. “Sōtō kyōkai jōrei” in Yokozeki, *Sōtōshū hyakunen*, 86–89.

10. Yokozeki, *Sōtōshū hyakunen*, 124–127.

11. *Ibid.*, 132–149.

12. The stated goals of this group were to wipe away religious abuses (*shūbei senjo*), to promote Sōtō teachings (*kōgaku fukyō*), and to correct administrative finances (*rizai kyōsei*), but in essence these all centered on removing Eihei-ji’s power over the Sōtō school; see Yokozeki, *Sōtōshū hyakunen*, 217.

13. Yokozeki, *Sōtōshū hyakunen*, 217–218; Yoshioka, “Meijiki no Eihei-ji,” 1372.

14. Yoshioka (“Meijiki no Eihei-ji,” 1354–1377) and Yokozeki (*Sōtōshū hyakunen*, 20–238) list the following works by supporters of Sōjiji: Fukuyama Mokudō, *Nippon Sōtōshū meishōkō* (1891), Kuriyama Taion [a.k.a. Murakami Taion], *Nippon Tōjō kinen* (1892), Andō Tasshun, *Nōzan dokuritsu Sōtō kakushinron* (1892), and Kikuchi Daisen, *Sōtō shiryaku* (1896). In addition to these, Sōjiji supporters also issued two newsletters: *Nōgaku kyōhō* and *Katsuharan*.

15. According to Yoshioka and Yokozeki, early works that attempted to refute Sōjiji’s position are Asaji Zekkei, *Sōtōshū shiyō* (1893) and Ōuchi Seiran, *Tōsui kairan* (n.d.). In addition to these, supporters of Eihei-ji also issued two newsletters: *Tōjō shinhō* and *Kyōkai shishin*.

16. The origin of the name “Sōtō” is something of a mystery. Chinese sources describe the name “Ts’ao-tung” (Jpn. Sōtō) as having been derived from the first ideographs in the names of Tung-shan Liang-chieh (Jpn. Tōzan Ryōkai, 807–869) and his disciple Ts’ao-shan Pen-chi (Jpn. Sōzan Honjaku, 840–901). In Keizan’s writings the same two ideographs are used to refer back to Ts’ao-hsi Hui-neng (Jpn. Sōkei Enō, 638–713) and Tung-shan. This combination, however, did not begin with Keizan. Kyōgō explicitly states that the “sō” of “Sōtō” refers to Hui-neng (*Goshō*, “Butsudō” chap., in SBGZST, 13:234). Ts’ao-hsi is a more logical choice than Ts’ao-shan in view of the fact that the Ts’ao-tung lineage descends from Tung-shan through his disciple Yün-chū Tao-ying (d. 902), not from Ts’ao-shan. See Ishii Shūdō, “Sōzan Honjaku no goisetsu no sōshō wo megutte,” 158–163.

17. Yokozeki, *Sōtōshū hyakunen*, 230–235.

18. At this time Sōjiji’s head officer (*kanshu*) was Azegami Baisen (1825–1901)



and Eihei-ji's was Morita Goyū (1834–1915). Shortly following their resignations, both were allowed to return to office, Azegami to Sō-ji and Morita to Eihei-ji. Morita acquired the title of director in chief (*kanchō*) of the Sōtō school in 1895.

19. Yokoyama Hideo, “Yōkō-ji sōritsu no igi to sono garan ni tsuite,” 19.

20. The biographies of Dōgen, Ejō, and Gikai comprising the *Sandaison gyō-jōki* probably represent Keizan's efforts at hagiography; see Azuma, “‘Gyōgōki’ to ‘Gyōjōki,’ ” 101–105; and *Keizan Zenji no kenkyū*, 124–127.

21. Keizan Jōkin, *Tōkokuki*, ed. Ōtani Teppu, 237a; alt. in JDZ, 392–393. This date is tentative since the text refers to “Shōwa 2 [i.e., 1313], the year of the Rat [i.e., 1312].” But it also states that Keizan returned a year later, in 1313, suggesting that 1312 is the correct date.

22. Keizan wrote that Yōkō-ji's abbot's building was erected during the eighth month of 1317 and that his inauguration was conducted on the second day of the tenth month; see *Tōkokuki*, ed. Ōtani Teppu, 237a; alt. in JDZ, 393.

23. Sonin had confirmation of these lands five years earlier after she purchased them from Sakai Toshitada and his brother Norikane; see [Hōjō Takatoki and Hōjō Sadaaki], *Kamakura shōgun migyōsho* (1317:3:3), in *Komonjo*, nos. 160–161, 1:118–119.

24. Sakai Norikane and Sakai Toshitada, *Fujiwara Norikane baiken* (1310:8:3), *Fujiwara Norikane sarijō* (1310:8:3), *Fujiwara Toshitada baiken* (1310:8:3), *Fujiwara Toshitada sarijō* (1310:8:3), in *Komonjo*, nos. 156–159, 1:115–118. Regarding the Sakai family tree, see Kuriyama, *Gakusan shiron*, 68.

25. Matsuda, “Keizan Zenji no jinmiraisai okibumi ni tsuite,” 136.

26. Keizan Jōkin, *Tōkokuki*, ed. Ōtani Teppu, 237a; alt. in JDZ, 393.

27. *Ibid.*, 235b; alt. in JDZ, 397.

28. *Ibid.*, 237b; alt. in JDZ, 393.

29. See chapter 5; and Keizan Jōkin, *Tōkokuki*, ed. Ōtani Teppu, 245a; alt. in JDZ, 417–418.

30. Matsuda, “Keizan Zenji no jinmiraisai okibumi ni tsuite,” 140.

31. Keizan Jōkin, *Tōkokuki*, ed. Ōtani Teppu, 237a; alt. in JDZ, 392.

32. Keizan Jōkin, *Tōkoku jinmiraisai honji to nasubeki no okibumi* (1318:12:23), in *Shōbō genzō zatsubun*, copied 1515 by Juun; reprinted in Matsuda, “Keizan Zenji no jinmiraisai okibumi ni tsuite,” 133–134.

33. Keizan Jōkin and Sonin, *Tōkokusan jinmiraisai okibumi* (1319:12:8), in *Komonjo*, no. 163, 1:120–121.

34. Keizan Jōkin, *Tōkokuki*, ed. Ōtani Teppu, 238a; alt. in JDZ, 394.

35. *Ibid.*, 239a; alt. in JDZ, 400.

36. *Ibid.*, 241b; alt. in JDZ, 401. The JDZ version of this passage is completely garbled.

37. Keizan Jōkin, *Tōkoku kaisan Keizan oshō no hōgo*, in *Shōbō genzō zatsubun*; reprinted in ZSZ, vol. 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 49–56.

38. Keizan Jōkin, *Tōkokuki*, ed. Ōtani Teppu, 242; alt. in JDZ, 405–406.

39. See Keizan Jōkin, *Yōkō-ji kiden chūmon* (1323:10:9), in *Komonjo*, no. 165, 1:123; *Tōzan jōjō jinmiraisai gongyō to nasubeki koto* (1325:7:18), in *Komonjo*, no. 169, 1:126–127; and *Ji Shōzen shikō*, in ZSZ, vol. 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 66.

40. Keizan Jōkin, *Tōkokusan jinmiraisai okibumi*, in *Komonjo*, 1:120–121, ellipses in original. The quotations in this passage derive from Dōgen's rules for

the monastic supervisor (*kan'in*), the person responsible for temple finances; see Dōgen, *Nipponkoku Echizen Eiheiji chiji shingi* (1246:6:15), in DZZ, 2:335–336.

41. Keizan Jōkin, *Tōkokuki*, ed. Ōtani Teppu, 238a, 239a; alt. in JDZ, 394–395.

42. *Tōkoku shingi*, fasc. 1, in JDZ, 276–277.

43. *Ibid.*, 273–276, 280.

44. Keizan Jōkin, *Denkōroku*, patriarch 51, 110.

45. Kagamishima Genryū, “Shingi shijō ni okeru ‘Keizan shingi’ no igi,” 223. These Chinese codes are the *Ch'an-lin pei-yung ch'ing-kui* (1311) and the *Huan-chuan ch'ing-kui* (1317).

46. Of the seventeen different types of prayers mentioned in the *Tōkoku shingi*, only three request worldly prosperity; see Miyamoto Rikan, “Keizan shingi no ichi kōsatsu,” 105–110.

47. See, for example, Keizan Jōkin, *Denkōroku*, patriarch 51, 110–111; and Keizan Jōkin, *Tōkoku kaisan Keizan oshō no hōgo*, in ZSZ, vol. 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 54–55.

48. The Yōkōji lectures are mentioned in Keizan Jōkin, *Tōkokuki*, ed. Ōtani Teppu, 239b–40a; alt. in JDZ, 420–421.

49. Keizan Jōkin, *Tōkokuki*, ed. Ōtani Teppu, 245a; alt. in JDZ, 418; and Azuma, *Keizan Zenji no kenkyū*, 122–123.

50. Keizan Jōkin, *Gosoku ryakuki*, in JDZ, 411–416.

51. *Tōkoku shingi*, in JDZ, 260, 261 for Eisai; 270, 313, 334, 335 for Ju-ching; and 270, 284, 313, 335, 344 for Dōgen.

52. Keizan Jōkin, *Tōkoku kaisan Keizan oshō no hōgo*, in ZSZ, vol. 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 56; and *Tōkoku goso gyōjitsu*, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:598b.

53. *Hosshin sasō no koto*, in *Tōkokuki*, in JDZ, 450–451.

54. See DZZ, vol. 2, as follows: *Bendōhō*, 313–319; *Fushukuhanhō*, 348–357; *Shuryō shingi*, 363–366; and *Taitaikohō*, 308–312.

55. *Tōkoku shingi*, in JDZ, 265. The *Shishihō* cited by Dōgen (in DZZ, 2:308) probably refers to T, no. 1687.

56. The *Quijingwen*, is included in the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*, fasc. 8; rev. ed., *Yakuchū Zennen shingi*, ed. Kagamishima et al., 269–279.

57. See JDZ, 243–252.

58. Kakumyō studied in China from 1311 until ca. 1320. Daichi studied in China from 1314 until 1324, but did not return to Japan until 1325 because he was shipwrecked in Korea.

59. Regarding these monks, see Azuma Ryūshin, “Shoki no Nihon Sōtōshū to Rinzaï Hottōha to no kōshō,” 293–323.

60. Tsūhō Meidō (d. 1395), *Bassui oshō gyōjitsu*, in *Zoku gunsho ruijū*, 9:638a.

61. Furuta Shōkin, “Chūsei Zenrin in okeru jōsei no nyūshin,” 2:265–283.

62. Keizan Jōkin, *Tōkokuki*, ed. Ōtani Teppu, 238b, 244b; alt. in JDZ, 394–395, 416.

63. Nakaseko Shōdō, “Myōchi ubai (taiso no sobo) ni tsuite,” 1060–1073.

64. Keizan Jōkin, *Tōkokuki*, ed. Ōtani Teppu, 238b; alt. in JDZ, 394–395.

65. *Ibid.*, 244b; alt. in JDZ, 416.

66. As abbess Ekan participated in Gikai's funeral in 1309; see *Gikai sōki* (1309:10:3), comp. Keizan Jōkin, in ZSZ, vol. 2, *Shingi*, 1a.

67. Keizan Jōkin, "Enzūin enki," in *Tōkokuki*, ed. Ōtani Teppu, 242; alt. in JDZ, 406.

68. *Ibid.*, 242; alt. in JDZ, 405–406.

69. Kawakubo Junkō, "Taiso no shūkyō no rekishiteki seikaku: Toku ni sono shakaiteki haikai ni tsuite," 65.

70. Of the modern Sōtō school's reported 14,700 temples, more than 3,800 enshrine Kannon as their central image; see Sakauchi Ryūyū, "Sōtōshū ni okeru mikkyō no juyō," 39.

71. Keizan Jōkin, *Jōkin hotsuganmon*, in *Komonjo*, 1:125–126.

72. Keizan Jōkin, *Tōkokuki*, ed. Ōtani Teppu, 239b; alt. in JDZ, 410.

73. Keizan Jōkin, *Busso shōden bosatsukai kyōjumon*, transmitted 1323:8:28 to Ekyū, in DZZ, 2:282–285.

74. Bishamon, one of the four guardian kings, had been worshiped as a protector of Buddhism since the earliest days of Japanese Buddhism. Likewise, Karaten (a.k.a. Daikokuten) had been especially revered within the early Japanese Tendai tradition as a protector of temples. In Zen, the *rakan* (Skt. *arhat*) are the sixteen supernatural beings who protect Buddhism until the next Buddha appears. Shōhō derives from the guardian spirit of the Shao-pao ssu (Jpn. Shōhōji, a major monastery situated within the Zhoushan Islands), who is regarded as the protector of Japanese Sōtō monasteries. At Yōkōji, one area where edible wild plants grew (i.e., Aohara) was known as the Inari Peak (see Keizan Jōkin, *Tōkokuki*, ed. Ōtani Teppu, 240; alt. in JDZ, 402). The "kami of the province" refers to the main provincial shrine (*ichi no miya*). All of these beings and many more are mentioned repeatedly in the *Tōkokuki* and *Tōkoku shingi*.

75. Keizan Jōkin, *Tōkokuki*, ed. Ōtani Teppu, 231a, 243a; alt. in JDZ, 407–408, 422.

76. Kuriyama Taion (*Sōjijishi*, 141) counted eighteen accounts of mystical dreams or visions in the *Tōkokuki* (Keizan's chronicles at Yōkōji compiled ca. 1317–1325), while Miyamoto Rikan ("Keizan Zenji no dendō ni tsuite no ichi kōsatsu," 171) reports that the *Tōkokuki* contains twenty-three accounts of Keizan's visions and mentions three more experienced by other people. Accounts of more visions are found in Keizan's other writings.

77. Dōgen, SBGZ, "Shisho" chap., in DZZ, 1:344.

78. Keizan Jōkin, *Tōkokuki*, ed. Ōtani Teppu, 236a, 237b; alt. in JDZ, 392–393, 397.

79. *Ibid.*, ed. Ōtani Teppu, 237b; alt. in JDZ, 393.

80. Keizan Jōkin, *Sōjiji chūkō enki*, in *Komonjo*, 1:33–34.

81. Keizan Jōkin, *Tōkokuki*, ed. Ōtani Teppu, 243; alt. in JDZ, 409.

82. See Keizan Jōkin's autobiography, *Tōkokuki*, ed. Ōtani Teppu, 238–239; alt. in JDZ, 395–396.

83. *Ibid.*, 237b; alt. in JDZ, 393–394.

84. Regarding Japanese shamanism, see Ichiro Hori, *Folk Religion in Japan: Continuity and Change*, 181–215; and Carmen Blacker, *The Catalpa Bow: A Study of Shamanistic Practices in Japan*, 194–197.

## 9. SŌJIJI: THE NEW INSTITUTIONAL CENTER

1. Keizan Jōkin, *Tōkoku jinmiraisai honji to nasubeki no okibumi* (1318:12:23), in *Shōbō genzō zatsubun*, copied 1515 by Juun, reprinted in Matsuda, “Keizan Zenji no jinmiraisai okibumi,” 133–134; and Keizan Jōkin and Sonin, *Tōkokusan jinmiraisai okibumi* (1319:12:8), in *Komonjo*, no. 163, 1:120–121.

2. Keizan Jōkin, *Tōkokuki* [entry dated 1325:7:2], ed. Ōtani Teppu, 235a; alt. in JDZ, 433.

3. Regarding Genshō Chinzan and Genka Tekkyō, see Keizan Jōkin, *Tōkokuki*, ed. Ōtani Teppu, 238b, 239b; alt. in JDZ, 399, 410; *Tōkoku kaisan oshō jijaku saimon* (1325:8:15), in *Zenrin gashōshū*, in ZSZ, vol. 2, *Shingi*, 9a; and *Rentōroku*, fasc. 2, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:251–252.

4. The fifth, Kakumyō, inherited Keizan’s dharma three weeks later, but left Yōkōji on the following morning to take up residence in Izumo, where he assumed a Rinzaï lineage; see Keizan Jōkin, *Tōkokuki* (entry dated 1325:7:28), ed. Ōtani Teppu, 235a–b; alt. in JDZ, 434. The fate of Genshō Chinzan is unknown.

5. Keizan Jōkin, *Tōkokuki*, ed. Ōtani Teppu, 244–245; alt. in JDZ, 416–418. Unless noted otherwise, all the information in this paragraph is based on this document.

6. Keizan Jōkin, *Jōkin yuzurijō* (1325:8:8), in *Komonjo*, no. 1407, 2:409–410.

7. Keizan Jōkin, *Tōkokuki*, ed. Ōtani Teppu, 234a–b; alt. in JDZ, 430–431. The early history of Sōjiji is discussed in more detail below.

8. This mausoleum (the Dentōin) later was moved to the base of Gorōhō; see Yokoyama, “Yōkōji sōritsu no igi,” 19b.

9. Keizan Jōkin, *Gosoku ryakuki*, in JDZ, 412–416.

10. See *Shintō dai jiten*, compiled by Shimonaka Yasaburō (Tokyo: Hiebonsha, 1937–1940), s.v. “Morooka Hiko jinja,” 3:351b–c; and Kuriyama, *Sōjijishi*, 134–138.

11. *Ryōke Sakurai bō kishinjō* (1296:11:21), in *Komonjo*, no. 1964, 3:1. This document refers to “seventeen days,” but later documents consistently refer to the “seventeenth day.”

12. Satō Shunkō, “Sekidōzan shinkō to Noto Keizan kyōdan,” 95–97.

13. Jōken, *Gon risshi Jōken sadamegaki* (1321:7:22), in *Komonjo*, no. 1965, 3:2.

14. Keizan Jōkin, *Sōjiji chūkō engi*, in *Komonjo*, 1:33–34.

15. Keizan Jōkin, *Tōkokuki*, ed. Ōtani Teppu, 245; alt. in JDZ, 418.

16. *Ibid.*, 234a–b; alt. in JDZ, 430–431.

17. Jōken, *Jōken risshi Gasan oshō tōji se’nyūjō* (1329:2:13), reprinted in Azuma Ryūshin, *Keizan Zenji no kenkyū*, 236. For a title, I have followed the entries for this document as they appear in two early Sōjiji catalogs, namely, Taigen Sōshin et al., *Sōjiji jōjū monjo mokuroku* (1366:12:5), and Tsūgen Jakurei, *Sōjiji jōjū monjo mokuroku* (1382:10), in *Komonjo*, nos. 1973 and 1976, 3:7–8, 9–10, respectively.

18. See, for example, *Saemonjō Taira bō kishinjō* (1341: int. 4:16), in *Komonjo*, no. 54, 1:39.

19. The documents cited below were analyzed by Yamahata Shōdō, “Keizan



Zenji no Zenfū ni tsuite: Toku ni mikkyō yōso no dōnyū to dan'otsu ni tsuite," 186–192.

20. *Azucaridokoro Kamo bō kishinjō* (1327:1:16), in *Komonjo*, no. 1967, 3: 2–3.

21. *Ryōke bō kishinjō* (1333:12), in *Komonjo*, no. 50, 1:37.

22. *Jitō shami bō kishinjō* (1334:11:20), in *Komonjo*, no. 51, 1:37–38.

23. *Jitō Masadokoro bō sadamegaki* (1335:3:10), in *Komonjo*, no. 52, 1:38.

24. *Bō gechijō* (1337:1:14), in *Komonjo*, no. 53, 1:38–39. Beginning with this document, records of local directives and contributions have been dated with the era names used by the northern court.

25. *Saemonjō Taira bō kishinjō* (1341: int. 4:16), in *Komonjo*, no. 54, 1:39.

26. The effects of these changes on Sōtō history are discussed by Kawakubo Junkō, in “Taiso no shūkyō no rekishiteki seikaku: Toku ni sono shakaiteki haikai ni tsuite,” 46–80.

27. Japanese secondary sources read Sonin's grandfather's name as “Akinaga,” but in Sonin's own *kana* writings his name is rendered as “Noritsune” (misspelled in *Komonjo* as ‘Noritsunu’); see *Taira no uji no onna bō kishinjō* (1318:10:25), in *Komonjo*, no. 162, 1:119–120. Regarding the Sakai family tree, see Kuriyama, *Gakusan shiron*, 68.

28. *Tōkoku goso gyōjitsu*, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:595–599.

29. See *ibid.*, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:597b; as well as Kōgon, *Kōgon jōkōin sen'an* (1339:12:13); Ashikaga Tadayoshi, *Ashikaga Tadayoshi gechijō* (1339:12:13); *Ashikaga Tadayoshi kishinjō* (1340:1:1); and Ashikaga Takauji, *Ashikaga Takauji kishinjō* (1340:3:6), all in *Komonjo*, nos. 182–185, 1:134–136. Document no. 182 is addressed to Mugai by name. This pagoda was one of the *rishōtō* (Pagodas to Benefit Sentient Beings) that the shogunate established in each province of the country (see Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, 106–109; and Imaeda Aishin, “Ankokuji-rishōtō no setsuritsu,” 77–108).

30. Yokoyama, “Yōkōji sōritsu no igi,” 17.

31. Gasan Jōseki, *Jōseki jihitsu shojō* (ca. 1355?), in *Komonjo*, no. 2120, 3: 100–101.

32. Taigen's dates as abbot are known from his *Fusatsu ekōryō sōkkagyō chūmon* (1371:9), in *Komonjo*, no. 195, 1:141.

33. Tsūkaï Ryūsen et al., *Yōkōjiryō mokuroku* (1379:8:15), in *Komonjo*, no. 198, 1:143–167.

34. A list of the first twenty-nine abbots at Yōkōji is found in Ōan Taihaku, *Keizan oshō shitsuchū okibumi* (1732), reprinted in Furuta Shōkin, “‘Keizan oshō shitsuchū okibumi’ ni tsuite,” 793–795.

35. See *Jusshu chokumon*, Sōjiji Ms., in JDZ, 381–386; and *Jusshu gitai*, Yōkōji Ms., in JDZ, 376–380; as well as Tajima Hakudō, “Shinshiryō ‘Keizan teison mondō’ no ko shahon ni tsuite,” 7–9. Tajima believes that these documents have a historical basis, but most scholars have accepted Tsuji's arguments against their validity (see *Nihon Bukkyōshi*, vol. 3, *Chūseihen* 2, 328).

36. These dates refer only to the 1432 Daijōji ms. of the *Tōkokuki*. Regarding the accuracy of this manuscript, see Ōtani Teppu, “‘Tōkokuki’: Sono genkei ni tsuite no ichi shiron,” 105–116; and Matsuda, “‘Tōkokuki’ no kenkyū,” 824–873.

37. See, for example, Sahashi, *Ningen Keizan*, 119–129. Note that Sahashi's criticisms are directed against the 1930 version of the *Tōkokuki* in SZ.

38. Hasebe Yoritada, *Fujiwara Tadayori* [sic] *kishinjō* (1354:8:25), in *Komonjo*, no. 56, 1:40–41.

39. Hasebe Hidetsura, *Hasebe Hidetsura sarijō* (1361:12:25); and Hasabe Norinobu, *Norinobu yuzurijō* (1363:11:15); both in *Komonjo*, nos. 59–60, 1:42–43.

40. Hasebe Masatura, *Hasebe Masatsura kishinjō* (1375:7:25); *Hasebe Masatsura baiken* (1375:7:25); *Hasebe Masatsura kishinjō* (1375:8:22); *Hasebe Masatsura soejō* (1375:8:28); *Hasebe Masatsura watashijō* (1378:9:24); all in *Komonjo*, nos. 75–78, 80, 1:54–56, 57.

41. Hasebe Ruriwaka, *Hasebe Ruriwaka kishinjō* (1367:2:9); and Hasebe Zenshin, *Zenshin kishinjō* (1367:3:14); both in *Komonjo*, nos. 64–65, 1:46–47. The nun Zenshin also wrote one of the eulogies (*saimon*) for Gasan's funeral; see *Sōjiji nidai oshō shōsatsu*, in *Zenrin gashōshū*, in ZSZ, vol. 2, *Shingi*, 21a.

42. Shiyun, *Ama Shiyun kishinjō* (1365:3:8); Ryōko, *Ama Ryōko yuzurijō* (1365:5:15); Ken'iu, *Ama Ken'iu kishinjō* (1367:11:1); all in *Komonjo*, nos. 62–63, 67, 1:44–45, 48–49.

43. Soichi, *Ama Soichi kishinjō* (1371:10:26), in *Komonjo*, no. 73, 1:53; and Tajima, *Sōtōshū nisōshi*, 205. Soichi's donation to Sōjiji is dated just two days before the fifth anniversary of Gasan's funeral.

44. *Jōkinki Butsuji shussen keiyakujō* (1368:10:21), in *Komonjo*, no. 70, 1:50–51.

45. Sōjiji's early abbots are listed in Kuriyama, *Gakusan shiron*, 96–99; and dates for the first eleven are found in Nakajima Jindō, *Sōtō kyōdan no keisei to sono hatten: Sōjiji no goin taisei wo shiten ni shite*, 79, fig. 20.

46. Nakajima Jindō, *Nanbokuchō jidai no ichi isō: Tsūgen oshō no kenkyū*, 149–176; and Nakajima, *Sōtō kyōdan no keisei*, 77–82.

47. There is some confusion regarding the dates of Tsūgen's terms as abbot, but we know that he followed Jippō before the autumn of 1378 because Tsūgen is listed as Sōjiji's current abbot in *Jōseki monto renhanjō* (1378:10:23), in *Komonjo*, no. 81, 1:57–58. This term, however, is not included in the brief chronology of Tsūgen's career (“Tsūgen oshō ryaku nenfu”) compiled by Baihō Jikushin (1633–1707) even though the dates of his other terms are listed correctly as 1368, 1382, and 1388; see *Tsūgen Jakurei Zenji sōki* (pub. 1698), ed. Baihō Jikushin, in ZSZ, vol. 2, *Shingi*, 35.

48. Nishin Monrō (d. 1671), Tsūgen's biographer, suggests that Tsūgen in particular initiated this drive to redirect support away from Yōkōji to Sōjiji; see *Tsūgen oshō gyōjitsu* (1649), in ZSZ, vol. 10, *Shiden*, 522a.

49. Tsūgen Jakurei, Mutan Sokan, Daitetsu Sōrei, Jippō Ryōshū, et al., *Jōseki monto renbanjō* (1378:10:23), Sōjiji DS, in *Komonjo*, no. 81, 1:57–58. In this document Tsūgen is listed as current abbot and Mutan, Daitetsu, and Jippō are listed as former abbots. Sōjiji's other current and former monastic officers also signed this pledge.

50. The word *tōdōi* literally refers to abbots of “eastern hall rank.” Abbots of the eastern rank are superior to abbots of the western rank (*saidōi*). Regarding this issue, compare *Jūjishoku nin katai monjo no koto*, in *Tōkokuki*, ed. Ōtani Teppu, 247–248; alt. in JDZ, 460–463.

51. Tsūgen Jakurei, Mutan Sokan, Daitetsu Sōrei, Jippō Ryōshū, et al., *Sōjiji monto keiyakujō* (1380:10:20), Sōjiji DS, in *Komonjo*, no. 86, 1:61–62. In this document as well, Tsūgen is listed as current abbot and Mutan, Daitetsu, and Jippō are listed as former abbots (see note 49, above).

52. Tsūgen Jakurei, *Yōtaku Tsūgen Zenji goroku*, entry for 1382:8:23, in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:65. In his inaugural remarks Tsūgen named Jippō as Sōjiji's previous abbot.

53. *Rentōroku*, fasc. 2, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:260b.

54. For a traditional list of Gasan's twenty-five disciples (reprinted from an entry dated 1366:8:3 in Sōjiji's register of abbots, the *Sōji Zenji jūsan no shidai*), see Tajima Hakudō, *Sōji niso: Gasan Jōseki Zenji*, 83–84.

55. Kindō Ryōkiku (1408–1477), *Gessen Ryōin Zenji gyōjōki*, in ZSZ, vol. 10, *Shiden*, 536a.

56. Daitetsu Sōrei, *Sōjiji jōjū monjo shin mokuroku* (1386:9:29); and *Sōjiji hattō zōritsu chūmon* (1386:9:29:), Sōjiji DS, in *Komonjo*, nos. 98–99, 1:68–74.

57. Tsūgen Jakurei, *Yōtaku Tsūgen Zenji goroku*, entry for 1388:11:27, in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:80a.

58. Tsūgen Jakurei, Daitetsu Sōrei, and Jippō Ryōshū, *Sōjiji jinmiraisai jōjō okibumi no koto* (1390:10:20), formerly Sōjiji DS, reprinted in Kuriyama, *Gakusan shiron*, 95–96. According to Nakajima (*Sōtō kyōdan no keisei*, 82), this document existed as late as the early 1930s. For the date of Tsūgen's retirement, see his *Yōtakuji Tsūgen Zenji goroku*, in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:88b.

59. When the lines of authority within the Sōtō school were consolidated at the beginning of the Tokugawa period, other lineages descendant from Gasan were formally affiliated with Sōjiji. These included Mutei Ryōshō's line (which restored the subtemple originally managed by Mutan's line) and Gennō Shinshō's line (which restored the subtemple formerly managed by Daitetsu's line).

60. Tokugawa-period biographies of Taigen list 1370 as the year of his death (*Rentōroku*, fasc. 2, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:258b). Temple documents, however, reveal that he was active as Yōkōji's abbot as late as 1371 (see *Fusatsu ekōryō sokkagyō chūmon* [1371:9], in *Komonjo*, 1:141). His term as Sōjiji's abbot in 1366 also is documented by early records (see *Jōseki yuimoitsu bunpaijō* [1366:10:28], and *Sōjiji jōjū monjo mokuroku* [1366:12:5], Sōjiji DS, in *Komonjo*, nos. 1972–1973, 3:5–8).

61. Fusai Zenkyū, *Fusai Zenji goroku*, fasc. 1, entry for 1393:10:2, in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:123a.

62. Chikusan Tokusen, *Chikusan Tokusen goroku*, entry for 1397:10:3, in ZSZ, vol. 3, *Goroku*, 1:2b.

63. Daitetsu Sōrei et al., *Jōkin nenki Butsuji sajō* (1402:8:15), Sōjiji DS, in *Komonjo*, no. 108, 1:82–83.

64. Baisan Monpon and Chikusō Chikan, *Fuzōin kishiki* (1411:6:11), Ryūta-kuji (Fukui Pref.) DS, in *Komonjo*, no. 1884, 2:740. This is the earliest published document mentioning any of the five subtemples within Sōjiji. According to Nakajima Jindō (*Sōtō kyōdan no keisei*, 30), Sōjiji possesses an earlier unpublished document (*Enjudō bunden no koto* [1408]) that also mentions the subtemples. References to the five subtemples or rules for the succession of abbots at Sōjiji also occur in several spurious documents with very early dates—designed to attribute the origin of the subtemples to Keizan and Gasan. Included in this latter



group are Keizan Jōkin, *Tōji kaisan jikkajō no kikyō* (1324:3:16), in JDZ, 494–495; alt. in SZ, vol. 2, *Shūgen*, 2:548–549; Gasan Jōseki, *Jōseki okibumi* (1362:2:9 and 1364:2:13), Sōjiji DS, in *Komonjo*, nos. 1970–1971, 3:4; and Taigen Sōshin et al., *Gasan monpa no shū Sōjiji jūban no koto* (1370:8:13), reprinted in Kuriyama, *Sōjijishi*, 326. In the *Komonjo* document no. 1971 attributed to Gasan the words “five years” have traditionally been read as “five temples” (when handwritten the characters are similar).

65. See Daitetsu Sōrei et al., *Jōkin nenki Butsuji sajō* (1402:8:15), Sōjiji DS, in *Komonjo*, no. 108, 1:82–83.

66. Fusai Zenkyū, *Fusai Zenji goroku*, fasc. 1, entry for 1406:4:2, in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:123a, 134b.

67. Chikusan Tokusen, *Chikusan Tokusen goroku*, fasc. 1, entry for 1410:3:23, in ZSZ, vol. 3, *Goroku*, 1:4a.

68. See *Jūjishoku nin katai monjo no koto*, in *Tōkokuki*, ed. Ōtani Teppu, 247–248; alt. in JDZ, 460–463.

69. The exclusive control of Daijōji by Meihō’s descendants is confirmed by the *Daijō renpōshi*, which shows that Kyōō Unryō was the only non-Meihō-line abbot at Daijōji until the end of the sixteenth century (see SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:577–579).

70. Keizan Jōkin, *Jōkin okibumi* (1325:8:1), Daijōji DS, in *Komonjo*, no. 1406, 2:409.

71. Hirose Ryōkō, “Eiheiji no suiun,” 406–410.

72. See Zuigan Shōrin, *Zuigan Zenji goroku*, in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:175a, entry for 1406:7; and Reinan Shūjo, *Rentōroku* (1727), fasc. 3, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:282b. The date in Zuigan’s recorded sayings for his entry into Yōkōji might be mistaken, because Fusai Zenkyū’s recorded sayings also state that Fusai had entered Yōkōji during the fourth month of that same year.

#### 10. THE POPULARIZATION OF SŌTŌ

1. For several attempts to gauge the early Sōtō school’s rate of growth, see Hirose Ryōkō, “Sōtō Zensō no chihō katsudō,” 134–135; Hirose Ryōkō, “Chūsei kōki ni okeru Zensō-Zenji to chiiki shakai: Tōkai-Kantō chihō no Sōtōshū wo chūshin to shite” 217–218; Ishikawa Rikizan, “Chūsei Sōtōshū no chihō tenkai to Gennō Shinshō,” 227–228; and Wata Kenju, “Minzokugakuteki tachiba kara mita Sōtōshū no hatten ni tsuite,” 126. Hirose’s articles have recently reappeared in revised form in his *Zenshū chihō tenkaishi no kenkyū*, 167–187, 369–375.

2. Ifune Banzen, “Kyōdo Zenshūshi: Noto Suzu jūin no seiritu wo chūshin ni,” 50–55.

3. Hirose Ryōkō, “Daichi Zenji to sono monka no jūin sōshō ni tsuite,” 143–148; and Hirose Ryōkō, “Sōtōshū chihō tenkai ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu: Daichi to Higo kuni Kikuchishi no baai,” 38–59; reprinted in Hirose, *Zenshū chihō tenkaishi*, 207–244.

4. The standard profile of Sōtō expansion and its sponsors is summarized in Hirose, “Chūsei kōki ni okeru Zensō-Zenji,” 214–220; and Wata, “Minzokugakuteki tachiba kara mita Sōtōshū,” 126–129.

5. Fujioka Daisetsu, “Zenshū no chihō denpa to sono juyōsō ni tsuite: Muro-machi zenki wo chūshin ni,” 117–118.

6. See Sakurai Shūyū, “Keizan Zenji monryū no kyōdan keisei: Kyōgakuteki



shiten kara Oku no Shōbōji wo chūshin to shite,” 200–202; Yamamoto Seiki, “Chūsei ni okeru Sōtōshū no chihō hatten,” 1:450–451; Hanuki Masai, “Zenshū no hatten to jippō danna,” 113; Hirose, “Chūsei kōki ni okeru Zensō-Zenji,” 218; and Wata, “Minzokugakuteki tachiba kara mita Sōtōshū,” 126.

7. *Enkyōdo Sōtōshū jūin honmatsuchō* (1745–1747); rev. ed. (1760), 24 fasc.; reprint edited by Kagamishima Sōjun, pp. 5, 10.

8. This conclusion is based on Hirose Ryōkō’s survey of Sōtō temples in Mikawa (in “Chūsei kōki ni okeru Zensō-Zenji,” 226–227).

9. See, for example, Suzuki Taizan, “Sōtō Zen no kōfu to sono gegosha,” 270–271.

10. Tamamuro Taijō, *Sōshiki Bukkyō*, 211–221.

11. Waan Seijun, *Waan Seijun Zenji gyōjō*, included as part of *Ryūen Seijun Kiun Itsū goroku narabi ni gyōjō*, compiled by Daisō Shūsa (d. 1537), in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:215. In spite of the many hagiographical elements found in this biography (most of which have been omitted in the above summation), the core sequence of events remains believable.

12. *Onryōken nichiroku*, entry for 1488:6:4, in NBZ, 135:217–218.

13. Kōsan Myōsan, *Chokushi Shinkū Zenji gyōdōki* (1442), in SZ, vol. 17, *Shiden*, 2:273–275; and Myōden (d. 1871), *Kōka keifuden* (1845), fasc. 3, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:537–540.

14. The information on village chapels below is based on Asaka Toshiki, “Sōdō to Rinka: Kaga Chōfukuji no seiritsu wo megutte,” 17–35. The term *village* is not limited to any particular Japanese historical term, but refers to the communal groups defined by Nagahara Keiji with Kozo Yamamura, “Village Communities and Daimyo Power,” 107. Other terms used in this paragraph also conform to Nagahara’s article (pp. 107–123).

15. Hanuki, “Zenshū no hatten to jippō danna,” 121.

16. Nagahara with Yamamura, “Village Communities,” 119.

17. Kawakubo, “Taiso no shūkyō no rekishiteki seikaku,” 50–52.

18. For a literary treatment of a supernatural tale concerning the Sōtō monk Kaian Myōkei (1422–1493), see the “Aozukin” chapter of Ueda Akinari’s *Ugetsu monogatari* (pub. 1776), in Leon M. Zolbrod, trans., *Ugetsu Monogatari*, 185–194.

19. *Rentōroku*, fasc. 4, in SZ, vol. vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:299.

20. Mutei Ryōshō, *Ryōshō yumeki* (n.d., and 1349:1:1), Shōbōji (Iwate Pref.) DS, in *Komonjo*, nos. 934–935, 2:60–62. Several similar stories are discussed in detail in chapter 12, below.

21. Satō Shunkō, “Sekidōzan shinkō,” 73–102.

22. See, for example, a map showing the location of the many sacred mountains near Tsūgen Jakurei’s Yōtakuji, in Nakajima, *Sōtō kyōdan no keisei*, 92, fig. 98.

23. Imaeda Aishin, “Keizan Zenji no rekishiteki chii: Hakusan Tendai to no kanren to shite,” 82–99.

24. Ishikawa Rikizan, “Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui shiron,” pt. 6, 128–129.

25. A detail of the talisman attributed to Keizan is reproduced in a plate in SG, 16 (1974).

26. Satō Shunkō, “Sekidōzan shinkō,” 73–102.

27. Ordinations and funeral rites are discussed in chapters 12 and 13, below.
28. See, for example, Kikuin Zuitan (1447-1524), *Kikuin oshō agyo*, in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:562a-b.
29. An illustrated scroll (“Baisan Monpon Zenji goeden,” 1816) on display at Ryūtakuji, the main temple of Baisan’s line, depicts this incident in graphic detail. One panel shows blood spurting through the air as the sword separates Baisan’s head from his body, while another panel shows the repentant warrior bowing down before the calmly meditating Baisan; see frontispiece in Tsuchiya Hisao, *Echizen Ryūtakujishi*.
30. *Nichiiki* (1694), fasc. 1, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:52b.
31. The information below is based on Kawakubo, “Taiso no shūkyō no rekishiteki seikaku,” 51-53, 72-74.
32. Village leaders exercised this control directly through leadership of village councils and peasant associations, while warriors exerted indirect control through the granting of privileges and the collecting of taxes; see Miyagawa Mitsuru, with Cornelius J. Kiley, “From Shōen to Chigyō: Proprietary Lordship and the Structure of Local Power,” 93-95.
33. For statistical analyses of the central images in Japanese Sōtō temples, see Sakauchi, “Sōtōshū ni okeru mikkyō,” 39 [nationwide]; and Ishikawa Rikizan, “Chūsei Bukkyō ni okeru bosatsu shisō: Toku ni Sōtōshū ni okeru Jizō bosatsu shinkō wo chūshin to shite,” 477 [Fukui, Ibaraki, and Yamagata Prefectures].
34. Hirose, “Sōtō Zensō no chihō katsudō,” 133.
35. Fujioka, “Zenshū no chihō denpa,” 132-133.
36. In this regard, monks at the original Sōjiji in Noto still preserve a traditional method of chanting dhāraṇī that is said to be faithful to the style practiced by Sōtō monks in the medieval period.
37. *Chih-hsiu Pai-chang ch’ing-kuei* (Jpn. *Chokushū Hyakujō shingi*; 1338), fasc. 1, in T, 48:1115a-b.
38. See, for example, *Ryūten kankin*, transmitted 1728:5 by Fusan Yūden, reprinted in Ishikawa Rikizan, “Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui shiron,” pt. 6, 137. In this document the character *san* (“to praise”) stands for the character “to study.” Also, the illegible character followed by *uchi* (“include”) in Ishikawa’s transcription should be one single character, namely *hanaru* (“to be separate”); for which *uchi* represents the lower left element).
39. One westerner who witnessed a modern Zen monk successfully summon rain described his performance as follows: “His pleasant monotone droned on for interminable passages, interrupted at their end by convulsive heaves as he ran out of breath and sucked in through closed teeth to fill his lungs for the next section” (in Geoffrey Bownas, *Japanese Rainmaking and Other Folk Practices*, 114).
40. See, for example, *Anza tengen*, in *Bukke ichi daiji yasan* (ca. mid-sixteenth century), reprinted in Ishikawa Rikizan, “Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui shiron,” pt. 2, 146-147.
41. *Tōkoku shingi*, in SZ, vol. 2, *Shūgen*, 2:672b; alt. in JDZ, 315.
42. *Onryōken nichiroku*, entry for 1491:1:25, in NBZ, 136:384a.
43. See, for example, Baisan Monpon, *Baisan oshō jūshichikajō kingo* (1388:4:8), a.k.a. *Baisan oshō jūshichikajō sadame*, in *Komonjo*, no. 1281, 2:310;

Don'ei Eō, “Don'ei oshō yuikai no sho” (1503), in *Sōrinji rentōroku*, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:663b; and Sekkō Tokuchū (1475–1570), “Tōgen kakun” (1558:4:15), in *Teishōji kaisan rekidai ryakuden*, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:720b.

44. Baisan Monpon, *Tōzan hatto no shidai*, in *Komonjo*, 2:311. This document states that except when performing the morning, noon, and evening services, the monks must spend two sets of “six hours” in meditation—but each of these premodern hours corresponds to two modern hours.

45. Gyokuin Eiyo (1432–1524), “Sōrin sansei Rinsen kaisan gyōjōki” (1504), in *Sōrinji rentōroku*, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:660–661.

46. Shōdō Kōsei, *Entsū Shōdō Zenji goroku*, fasc. 1, in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:412b.

47. Tengin Jochū, *Tengin yuikai*, in *Komonjo*, 2:313.

48. Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, 233–234.

49. Sensō Esai, *Sensō Zenji goroku*, fasc. 2, in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:327b. A well-known story states that when concerned disciples deprived the elderly Pai-chang of his hoe, he refused to eat until they allowed him to work in the fields again.

50. Shōdō Kōsei, *Entsū Shōdō Zenji goroku*, fasc. 3, in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:518a.

51. For an insightful discussion of the roles of funeral rituals at one medieval religious center in western Europe, see Sharon Farmer, *Communities of Saint Martin: Legend and Ritual in Medieval Tours*, 141, 219.

52. See Hirose, “Sōtō Zensō no chihō katsudō,” 145 nn. 43–44; and Shōdō Kōsei, *Entsū Shōdō Zenji goroku*, fascs. 1–3, in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:415a, 422b, 464b.

53. See Hirose, “Sōtō Zensō no chihō katsudō,” 157–159; and Shōdō Kōsei, *Entsū Shōdō Zenji goroku*, fasc. 3, in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:470–471.

54. Numerous references to the destruction caused by this warfare are found in Shōdō's *goroku*; see *Entsū Shōdō Zenji goroku*, fascs. 1, 3–4, in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:416b, 453a–b, 456a, 460–463, 472a–b, 493–494. Regarding the early career of the monk mentioned by Shōdō on p. 472, also see fasc. 2, p. 418b.

55. *Rinka* refers to Zen monasteries outside the official *Gozan* establishment. This term (literally “beneath the grove”) originally referred to a gathering place used for Buddhist study. In the eighth-century diary by Ennin, it is used to refer to any type of Buddhist monastery. Medieval *Gozan* monks, however, used *rinka* in a pejorative sense to refer to all Zen temples not ranked within the government-regulated *Gozan* system. They called their *Gozan* monasteries *sōrin* (i.e., complete groves). Modern scholars (based on Tamamura Takeji's “*Rinka no mondai*”), use the terms *gozan* and *rinka* to distinguish two broad classes of medieval Zen institutions. The former are said to be urban-based, to cater to aristocratic society, and to promote Chinese learning, whereas the latter are thought of as rural-based centers of popularized folk and village religion. This modern usage is not historically accurate, since the medieval *rinka* included Daitokuji, an aristocratic monastery in Kyoto.

56. The meaning of the word “four” is unclear, since there are five arguments for temporal immutability in the *Chao-lun*; see Walter Liebenthal, *Chao Lun: The Treatises of Seng-chao, A Translation With Introduction, Notes and Appen-*



dices, 35–39; and Richard H. Robinson, *Early Mādhyamika in India and China*, 146–154.

57. See the Lotus Sūtra, fasc. 2, in T, 9:13a. Since the Buddha is the speaker of these lines, the words “him” and “his” actually should be “me” and “my.” In order to avoid confusion, I have changed them.

58. Shōdō Kōsei, *Entsū Shōdō Zenji goroku*, fasc. 1, in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1: 390–391. For the remarks summarized in the next paragraph, see *ibid.*, 390–393.

59. See Hirose, “Sōtō Zensō no chihō katsudō,” 140–145, 155–163; and “Zensō to sengoku shakai,” 387–418.

60. As an example of how slippery standards can be, consider Gessen Ryōin (one of Gasan’s disciples), who praised his temples as having seven supernatural features, while simultaneously criticizing the practice of using tales of miraculous events to attract popular support; compare Kīndō Ryōkiku (1408–1477), *Gessen Ryōin Zenji gyōjōki*, in ZSZ, vol. 10, *Shiden*, 536b; and *Hoda kaisan Gessen Zenji goroku*, in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:103b. Regarding the temple in question, Zuiun’in (Yamagata Pref.), see Kōgan Shōden (1334–1431), *Zuiun’in engiki*, in ZSZ, vol. 10, *Jishi*, 243–253.

#### 11. FORMATION OF THE SŌTŌ ORDER

1. Regarding the characteristics of warrior patronage, see Fujioka, “Zenshū no chihō denpa,” 113–137; Suzuki Taizan, “Sōtō Zen no kōfu,” 270–276; Kawai, *Chūsei buke shakai no kenkyū*, 262–290; and Kawai, “Chūsei bushidan no ujigami ujidera,” 5–28.

2. This point is difficult to document except by anecdotal evidence. Compared to the rather remote locations of many early Sōtō monasteries, later temples tend to be located along river basins and crossroads or at the outer boundaries of towns—all locations where walled temples could be used for a wide variety of military purposes. The large number of temples burned in the wars of this period also suggests that these military considerations had not been ignored.

3. See Yamamoto Seiki, “Chihō bushidan no Sōtōshū juyō ni tsuite,” 253–277; “Chūsei ni okeru Sōtōshū no chihō hatten,” 1:447–471; “Kita Jōshū ni okeru Sōtō Zen no denpa ni tsuite: Shiroi Nagaoshi no baai,” 55–82; and “Sengoku shoki ni okeru Zensō no rinri shisō ni tsuite,” 193–216. Many details of Kōzuke local history and family relationships during this period are subject to dispute. The following paragraphs rely on Yamamoto’s interpretations.

4. Isshū Shōi, “Goyō no ki” (1464), in *Kōzuke Sōrinji denki*, in SZ, vol. 15, *Jishi*, 413–414. This temple history actually is a detailed biography of Nagao Kagenaka.

5. Kagenaka’s regular pattern of worship is extremely well documented; see Isshū Shōi, “Goyō no ki,” in *Kōzuke Sōrinji denki*, in SZ, vol. 15, *Jishi*, 413–415.

6. Ise Shrine estates (i.e., *mikuriya*) would usually have an official branch shrine (*shinmeisha*) of Ise because the produce from these lands would be treated as official offerings to the shrine. The branch shrines constructed as a result of this economic arrangement promoted strong faith in Ise among the landed warrior groups during the medieval period. See Hagiwara Tatsuo, *Chūsei saishi soshiki no kenkyū*, 474–486; and Kawai Masaharu, “Ise jingū to buke shakai,” 73–80.



7. Isshū Shōi, “Nagao Shōken yōzōki” (1463), in *Kōzuke Sōrinji denki*, in SZ, vol. 15, *Jishi*, 412.

8. Isshū Shōi, “Goyō no ki” (1464), in *Kōzuke Sōrinji denki*, in SZ, vol. 15, *Jishi*, 412–415.

9. See below, chapters 12 and 13.

10. Information in this paragraph is based on Yamamoto, “Kita Jōshū ni okeru Sōtō Zen,” 72–79.

11. This speculation is founded on the fact that the second abbot of Sōrinji, Don’ei Eō, in his opening address at another Sōtō temple (Chōnenji) in Shiroy, specifically mentions that the retainers of that temple’s patron had contributed to its construction; see his *Kasugazan Rinsen kaisan Don’ei Zenji goroku*, in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:373–374.

12. Isshū Shōi, “Isshū oshō isho” (1484), in *Sōrinji rentōroku*, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:663.

13. Yamamoto, “Chūsei ni okeru Sōtōshū,” 447–471; and Yamamoto, “Chihō bushidan no Sōtōshū juyō,” 253–277.

14. Hanuki Masai, “Chūsei Aizuryō no Zenshū shoha to sono dan’otsu,” 18–36.

15. Baisan Monpon, *Monpon jihitsu shojō*, in *Komonjo*, no. 1890, 2:745–746.

16. Jochū Tengin, *Tengin yuikai* (1437:1:25), in *Komonjo*, no. 1284, 2:313.

17. Although Sōtō abbots served sake to patrons, they repeatedly forbid their students to drink alcohol; see, for example, Baisan Monpon, *Tōzan hatto no shidai*, a.k.a. *Ryūtakuji hatto*, in *Komonjo*, no. 1282, 2:311.

18. See, for example, Daitetsu Sōrei, *Sōjiji hattō zōritsu chūmon* (1389:9:29), in *Komonjo*, no. 99, 1:70, 72; and *Seigenzan Yōtakuji gyōji no shidai*, copied ca. 1582, recopied 1633, in SZ, vol. 4, *Shingi*, 550b, 552b, 553. The first document records the amount of money spent on sake served during the dedication ceremony of Sōjiji’s new lecture hall. The Yōtakuji monastic code is especially noteworthy since the compiler noted that it conforms to the norms found at other major Sōtō monasteries (such as Eiheiji, Sōjiji, and Ryūtakuji).

19. Hirose Ryōkō, “Chūsei no Zensō-Zenji to rinri-chitsujo: Sōtōshū wo chūshin to shite,” 178–183.

20. Regarding influence of abbotship succession on the formation of temple factions, see Hirose Ryōkō, “Zenshū no kyōdan un’ei to rinjūsei: Kaga Butsudaji-Echizen Ryūtaiji no baai,” 280–281; and Hirose Ryōkō, “Honmatsu seido no seiritsu to tenkai: Sōtōshū,” 55–60.

21. The figures cited in this and the following paragraphs regarding the numbers of monasteries with alternating abbotships are based on Hirose, “Zenshū no kyōdan un’ei to rinjūsei,” 280–281.

22. According to the Tokugawa-period *Enkyōdo Sōtōshū jūin honmatsuchō* (1745), this faction claimed the allegiance of 8,931 monasteries and temples; see Yokozeki, *Edo jidai Tōmon seiyō*, 321, 347, 525; and Hirose Ryōkō, “Kinsei Sōtōshū sōroku jūin no seiritsu katei: Tōtōmi Kasuisai no baai,” 88–89.

23. For the lineages of Yōtakuji’s first fifty abbots, see Kuriyama, *Gakusan shiron*, 119–122.

24. According to the *Enkyōdo Sōtōshū jūin honmatsuchō*, the Taigen faction claimed the allegiance of 4,358 monasteries and temples.

25. See Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, 119–122.

26. Nakajima, *Tsūgen oshō no kenkyū*, 101–109. Regarding date of the founding of Yōtakuji, see *ibid.*, 98–100.

27. The earliest extant imperial order appointing a *Gozan* monk to the office of registrar of monks was issued 1379:4:12 for Shun'oku Myōha (1311–1388). However, scattered references to Shun'oku's service in this office exist from as early as 1367 and 1368, thereby indicating that the imperial order merely had confirmed a previous appointment; see Imaeda Aishin, “Zenritsuhō to Rokuon sōroku,” 276–278.

28. Yōtakuji tradition claims that the imperial court also named Tsūgen the official registrar of monks for the Sōtō school at this time; see, e.g., Nisshin Monrō, *Tsūgen oshō gyōjitsu*, in ZSZ, vol. 10, *Shiden*, 522a; and Meikyoku Sokushō (1684–1767), *Yōtakuji Tsūgen Zenji gyōgō* (1751), in SZ, vol. 17, *Shiden*, 2:270b.

29. Tsūgen Jakurei, *Tsūgen oshō yuikai kibun* (1391:2:28), reprinted in Manzan Dōhaku, ed., *Tsūgen oshō tan'enshi* (1699), in ZSZ, vol. 10, *Shiden*, 526. This 1391 version of the *Tsūgen oshō yuikai kibun* (the original of which is stored at Yōtakuji) should not be confused with the version dated 1390:2:15 having the same title (also included in *Tsūgen oshō tan'enshi* on the same page, as well as in the *Shimofusa Sōnejiki* [1721], in SZ, vol. 15, *Jishi*, 439–440). The 1390:2:15 version is generally regarded as a forgery, created in 1648 as part of an attempt to promote Sōnejiji's status; see Kuriyama, *Sōjijishi*, 480.

30. Baisan Monpon [and Ryōdō Shinkaku], *Butsudaji miraisai no okibumi no anmon* (1396:8), reprinted in Hirose Ryōkō, “Shiga-ken Tōjuin monjo ni tsuite,” 161–162.

31. Baisan Monpon, *Ryūtakuji Monpon okibumi* (1415:12:18), in *Komonjo*, no. 1886, 2:741–742.

32. Baisan Monpon, *Ryūtakuji Monpon okibumi* (1416:12:13), Ryūtakuji DS, in *Komonjo*, no. 1887, 2:742–743. Baisan issued three separate directives on this date. Although all three have the same title and date, in *Komonjo* they each have different serial numbers. The enrollment fees and other expenses required of abbots are discussed below.

33. Baisan Monpon, *Ryūtakuji Monpon okibumi* (1416:12:13), Ryūtakuji DS, in *Komonjo*, no. 1888, 2:743–744.

34. Baisan Monpon, *Ryūtakuji Monpon okibumi* (1416:12:13), Ryūtakuji DS, in *Komonjo*, no. 1889, 2:744–745.

35. Hirose, “Chūsei no Zensō-Zenji to rinri-chitsujo,” 154–155.

36. Baisan Monpon, *Baisan oshō jūshichikajō kingo*, in *Komonjo*, 2:309–311.

37. Jochū Tengin, *Tengin yuikai*, in *Komonjo*, 2:312–314.

38. Baisan Monpon, *Ryūtakuji Monpon okibumi*, in *Komonjo*, no. 1887, 2:742; and Jochū Tengin, *Tengin yuikai*, in *Komonjo*, 2:313.

39. *Aizu Jigenji satasho* (ca. 1559–1560), reprinted in *Yūkishishi, 1: Kodai chūsei shiryōhen*, 94b; and Hirose Ryōkō, “Gennōha no Eihei-ji Sōjiji shusse mondai to Kantō jiin no dōkō: ‘Annonji satasho’ ‘Aizu Jigenji satasho’ wo chūshin to shite,” 193, 212a.

40. Nakajima, *Tsūgen oshō no kenkyū*, 153. Comparing *kanmon* (a monetary unit) to *ryō* (a unit of weight used for precious metals) is rather like comparing apples and oranges. In spite of the fact that in 1601 the Tokugawa shogunate des-

ignated the value of one *ryō* as equal to four *kanmon*, in actual use, temporal and geographical differences produced wide variations in the values of these units.

41. *Kōtakuzan Fusaiji nichiyō shingi* (1527), comp. Shūmo, in SZ, vol. 4, *Shingi*, 640a–b; and Tokugawa Ieyasu, *Tokugawa Ieyasu hatto* (1585:2:12), Fusaiji (Shizuoka Pref.) D, in *Komonjo*, no. 1636, 2:563–564.

42. Hirose, “Honmatsu seido no seiritsu to tenkai: Sōtōshū,” 55.

43. Shōdō criticized the widespread lineage switching practiced by Sōtō monks in his day (*Entsū Shōdō Zenji goroku*, fasc. 3, in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:451a, 459a).

44. Kuriyama (*Gakusan shiron*, 322–328) has demonstrated the actual results of this practice by comparing the number of disciples attributed to each abbot of the Meihō-line monastery Daijōji (in *Daijō renpōshi*, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1: 577–594) both before and after the Sōtō school forbade the practice of switching lineages in 1704. The seventeen successive Daijōji abbots before the 1704 reform are credited with having produced a total of only nineteen disciples; yet the next seventeen successive Daijōji abbots produced 404 disciples.

45. Kuriyama, *Gakusan shiron*, 270–276; and Kuriyama, *Sōjijishi*, 331–332.

46. Many later biographies mention this practice. As early as the fifteenth century it was described as being commonplace; see Kindō Ryōkiku, *Gessen Ryōin Zenji gyōjōki*, in ZSZ, vol. 10, *Shiden*, 537.

47. Yamamoto, “Chihō bushidan no Sōtōshū juyō,” 253–262.

48. Kōchi Eigaku, “Sōtōshū zensho shijō shozō Jōshū Daisensan Hodaji zoku denki ni tsuite,” 30–34.

49. See, for example, *Jōseki monto renbanjō*, in *Komonjo*, 1:57–58; Tsūgen Jakurei, *Tsūgen oshō yuikai kibun* (1391:2:28), reprinted in *Tsūgen oshō tan’enshi*, in ZSZ, vol. 10, *Shiden*, 526; Baisan Monpon [and Ryōdō Shinkaku], *Butsudaji miraisai no okibumi no anmon*, reprinted in Hirose, “Shiga-ken Tōjuin monjo,” 161–162; Jochū Tengin, *Tengin yuikai*, in *Komonjo*, 2:312–314.

50. Baisan Monpon, *Ryūtakuji Monpon okibumi*, in *Komonjo*, no. 1886, 2:742.

51. Jochū Tengin, *Tengin yuikai*, in *Komonjo*, 2:313.

52. See Juun Ryōchin, “Preface” (1509), *Shōbō shingi*, fasc. 1, in ZSZ, vol. 2, *Shingi*, 45; and “Shōbōji Shōbō genzō no yūrai” (1512), in *Shōbō genzō*, Shōbōji Ms., in SBGZST, 1:452; as well as Etō Sokuō, *Shōbō genzō josetsu*, 32–35; and Matsuda, “Keizan Zenji no jinmiraisai okibumi,” 132–133.

53. Meihō Sotetsu, *Sotetsu okibumi* (1346:5:24), in *Komonjo*, no. 693, 1:554.

54. *Tsūgen Jakurei Zenji sōki* (pub. 1698), ed. Baihō Jikushin, in ZSZ, vol. 2, *Shingi*, 26–27.

55. Nan’ei Kenshū, *Ketsudō oshō gyōjō oyobi Kenshū oshō nenpu*, in ZSZ, vol. 10, *Shiden*, 570b.

56. Sakurai, “Keizan Zenji monryū no kyōdan keisei,” 197–199.

57. *Tsūgen Jakurei Zenji sōki*, in ZSZ, vol. 2, *Shingi*, 30b.

58. See chapter 7. The following review of abbotship policies at Eiheiji and at Sōjiji is indebted to Hirose, “Eiheiji no suiun,” 379–501.

59. *Nobutane kyōki*, entry for 1507:11:23, in *Zōho shiryō taisei*, 45:218b; as well as Imaeda, “Chūsei Zenrin ni okeru jūji seido no sho mondai,” 395; and Hirose, “Eiheiji no suiun,” 384–386.



60. *Shoshū chokugōki*, in *Zoku gunsho ruijū*, 14:428b.
61. *Nobutane kyōki*, entries for 1507:11:23, 1507:12:16, in *Zōho shiryō taisei*, 45:218b, 221b.
62. Kikuin Zuitan, *Kikuin oshō agyo*, eulogy dated 1514:9:6, in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:558b.
63. *Eiheiji sadame* (1509:4), reprinted in Hirose Ryōkō, “Chūsei kōki no Eiheiji jiryō to kihan,” 283–284. For an analysis of this document, see *ibid.*, 284–287.
64. Hirose, “Eiheiji no suiun,” 399.
65. Tanrei Sochū (1624–1710) restored meditation sessions at the Sōjiji monks’ hall in 1686; see Enzan Somei and Reiun Bonryū, *Taiyō kaisan Tanrei Zenji kinenroku* (1710), in SZ, vol. 17, *Shiden*, 2:410–411.
66. Sakyū, *Eiheiji Sakyū shojō* (1592:2:18), in *Komonjo*, no. 1830, 2:701–702; also see Hirose, “Chūsei kōki no Eiheiji jiryō to kihan,” 285.
67. These payments are not mentioned in early sources, but in 1581 Shibata Katsue (1522–1583; Oda Nobunaga’s representative in Echizen) reprimanded Eiheiji for failure to account for its payments to the government (*kumonsen*); see *Shibata Katsue gechijō* (1581:9:7), in *Komonjo*, no. 15, 1:12; and Hirose, “Eiheiji no suiun,” 393–394.
68. *Aizu Jigenji satasho* (ca. 1559–1560), reprinted in *Yūkishishi, 1: Kodai chūsei shiryōhen*, 107b; as well as Hirose Ryōkō, “Chihō hatten ni tomonau Sōtōshū monpa no taiō,” 165; and Hirose, “Gennōha no Eiheiji-Sōjiji shusse mondai to Kantō jūin no dōkō,” 193, 215–216.
69. Hirose Ryōkō, “Eiheiji jūji seido ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu: Shusse-Zuisse no mondai wo chūshin ni,” 127–128; and Hirose, “Eiheiji no suiun,” 432–435.
70. Kikuin Zuitan, *Kikuin oshō agyo*, in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:539b.
71. Hirose, “Eiheiji no suiun,” 458.
72. *Ibid.*, 456–457.
73. *Nobutane kyōki*, entry for 1511:1:16, in *Zōho shiryō taisei*, 45:238a; and Hirose, “Eiheiji no suiun,” 387. The *Nobutane kyōki*, an impartial source, is considered to be more reliable than the texts of imperial edicts in the possession of the monasteries themselves. Sōjiji possesses a document that purports to be a 1322 edict from Emperor Godaigo (*Komonjo*, no. 1966, 3:2), in which he authorized imperial purple-robe status for Sōjiji, yet this document is widely regarded as a forgery. Moreover, even authentic edicts contain questionable content since the stated reasons for the proclamation usually are based on the often self-serving claims of the monastery or person who petitioned to receive the edict.
74. *Gonara tennō rinshi* (1539:10:7), Eiheiji DS, in *Komonjo*, no. 11, 1:9. The document states that it reconfirms an edict, originally sent to Eiheiji during the Ōan era (ca. 1368–1375), that had been lost in a fire of 1473. Although this edict is generally considered authentic, its reference to the Ōan era probably resulted from misinformation supplied by Eiheiji.
75. *Gonara tennō rinjisha* (1540:2:27), Sōjiji D, in *Komonjo*, no. 2002, 3:22. Needless to say, the authenticity of this edict is very doubtful.
76. *Taigen Sūfu oboegakisha*, copy of ms. dated 1550:12:1, reprinted in *Shizuoka-ken shiryō*, vol. 3, as cited by Hirose, “Eiheiji no suiun,” 389.
77. *Annonji satasho*, reprinted in *Yūkishishi, 1: Kodai chūsei shiryōhen* (1977): 80–82, 84, 90a; and Hirose, “Gennōha no Eiheiji-Sōjiji shusse mondai to Kantō



jiin no dōkō,” 181–183, 186. According to the last missive in the *Annonji satasho*, the Ryōan-line monasteries learned of Annonji’s plans when the monks at Annonji began soliciting funds with an authorization letter from Eiheiji dated 1528:11:17.

78. See Hirose Ryōkō, “Kanganpa no Eiheiji shusse mondai,” 84–85.

79. Interestingly, both monks were inaugurated on the same day, indicating that Sōjiji’s abbotship was purely ceremonial; see *Aizu Jigenji satasho*, reprinted in *Yūkishishi, 1: Kodai chūsei shiryōhen*, 91–109; and Hirose, “Gennōha no Eiheiji-Sōjiji shusse mondai to Kantō jiin no dōkō,” 188–213.

80. Hirose, “Eiheiji no suiun,” 450.

81. *Ibid.*, 464–471.

82. *Ryūtakuji saiken kangechōsha* (1581:3:7), in *Komonjo*, no. 1920, 2:769; and Hirose, “Eiheiji no suiun,” 471, 476.

83. Hirose, “Zenshū no kyōdan un’ei to rinjūsei,” 291.

84. Kuriyama, *Gakusan shiron*, 165–166.

85. Hirose, “Eiheiji no suiun,” 464–471.

86. Oda Nobunaga, *Oda Nobunaga kingo* (1575:9), in *Komonjo*, no. 13, 1: 11–12.

## 12. KŌAN ZEN

1. Herein the word *kōan* (Ch. *kung-an*) is used in its conventional sense of actions, sayings, or questions recorded by past Zen practitioners because they reveal insight.

2. The concepts of “world as lived” (i.e., ethos) and “world as imagined” (i.e., worldview) are discussed by Clifford Geertz, “Religion as a Cultural System,” 3–4, 28.

3. E.g., Kagamishima Genryū, “Nihon Zenshūshi: Sōtōshū,” 4:114.

4. E.g., Kurebayashi Kōdō, *Dōgen Zen no honryū*, 181.

5. Kagamishima Genryū, “Dōgen Zenji no in’yō tōshi-goroku ni tsuite (shō-zen),” 5.

6. I intend to discuss Dōgen and kōan study in a future publication.

7. E.g., Dōgen claimed that Japanese had had no custom of daily face washing until he introduced the practice from China (see SBGZ, “Senmen” chap., in DZZ, 1:432).

8. Tamamura, “Rinka no mondai,” 1006–1007.

9. Dōgen, “Eihei juko,” in *Kōroku*, sec. 9, in DZZ, 2:167–185.

10. Tamamura, *Gozan bungaku*, 173–175; and Akamatsu Toshihide and Philip Yampolsky, “Muromachi Zen and the Gozan System,” 321–322.

11. Tamamura Takeji, “Zen no tenseki,” 3:156.

12. As mentioned in chapter 10, medieval *Gozan* monks pejoratively referred to all Zen temples (even urban ones such as Daitokuji) not included within the *Gozan* system as *rinka* (i.e., “lower [-class] monasteries”). Modern scholars (based on Tamamura’s “Rinka no mondai”) have redefined *rinka* in a neutral sense to refer to all rural-based medieval Zen institutions.

13. The following description of early Japanese kōan training is based on the work of these two scholars; see Suzuki, “Nihon ni okeru kōanzen no dentō,” 1: 233–302; and Tamamura, “Rinka no mondai,” 1006–1032.

14. For descriptions of kōan curriculums in modern Rinzaï, see Kajiya Sōnin,

“Kōan no soshiki,” 7:263–270; Miura Isshū, “Koan Study in Rinzai Zen,” 33–76; and Shibayama Zenkei, “Hakuin Zen no kanna ni tsuite,” 111–150.

15. Suzuki, “Nihon ni okeru kōanzen no dentō,” 242–243, 274; and Tamamura, “Rinka no mondai,” 1007–1009.

16. Suzuki, “Nihon ni okeru kōanzen no dentō,” 238–239, 243; and Tamamura, “Rinka no mondai,” 1007–1009.

17. Ishikawa Rikizan, “Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui shiron,” pt. 5, 102–103.

18. Enni Ben’en, “Ji Nyo jōza,” in *Shōichi kokushi goroku* (1417), in T, 80:20b.

19. Nanpo Shōmyō, *Daiō kana hōgo* (pub. 1646), in *Zenmon hōgoshū*, ed. Mori Daikyō (1932), rev. ed., ed. Yamada Kōdō, 2:438.

20. Wu-hsüeh Tsu-hsüan, “Kokkō fusetsu,” in *Bukkō kokushi goroku* (pub. 1726), fasc. 9, in T, 80:229b–c.

21. All quotes from Musō Soseki in this paragraph are from “Seisan yawa” (ca. 1338–1314), in *Musō kokushi goroku*, fasc. 2:b, in T, 80:495a, 493c, 494c–495a.

22. Regarding the nuances of *dōnin*, see Tamamura, “Rinka no mondai,” 1006.

23. Regarding Musō’s emphasis on scriptural learning, see Akamatsu and Yampolsky, “Muromachi Zen and the Gozan System,” 322–324.

24. *Hekiganshūshō*, Nanzenji Konjiin Ms., owned by Matsugaoka Bunko as cited by Tamamura, “Rinka no mondai,” 1007.

25. Suzuki, “Nihon ni okeru kōanzen no dentō,” 274.

26. See, for example, Suzuki, “Nihon ni okeru kōanzen no dentō,” 284; and Ruth Fuller Sasaki, “The History of the Koan in Rinzai (Lin-chi) Zen,” in *Zen Dust*, 21–22.

27. *Ch’an-yüan ch’ing-kuei*, fasc. 1, “Rushi” (Jpn. “Nyusshitsu”); rev. ed., *Yakuchū Zennen shingi*, ed. Kagamishima et al., 66–69.

28. These private sessions were known as *missan* (secret instructions). This definition comes from a commentary on the *Record of Lin-chi* titled *Gogyakunin monrai* (Five Wayward Men Hear Thunder), said to have been copied by Takuan Sōhō (1573–1645); see Kaneda Hiroshi, *Tōmon shōmono to kokugo kenkyū*, 143.

29. The most detailed study of Rinzai kōan manuals to date remains the pioneering work of Suzuki, “Nihon ni okeru kōanzen no dentō,” 233–302. Twenty-five years before Suzuki’s study, Tominaga Shūho first revealed the content and structure of *missanroku* when—under the pseudonym “Hau Hōō” (i.e., a traditional term for Buddhism as the “King of the Teachings that Refute Substantiality”)—he published *Gendai sōjizen no hyōron*, a criticism of the kōan training taught in Rinzai lineages and one *missanroku*. The *missanroku* portion of Tominaga’s book has been translated by Yoel Hoffmann, *The Sound of the One Hand: 281 Zen Koans with Answers*.

30. Kaneda Hiroshi, “Tōmon shōmonorui shomoku kaidai-zoku kō,” 106–107.

31. All quotes from Ikkyū in this paragraph are from the *Jikaishū*, reprinted in *Kyōunshū: Kyōun shishū, Jikaishū*, ed. Nakamoto Tamaki, 351, 357, 377–378.

32. In his *Jikaishū* Ikkyū further claimed that Meihō (i.e., Keizan’s disciple) similarly had initiated a lay disciple who then taught Zen to other laymen.

Although Ikkyū's charge cannot be verified, it is noteworthy that Dōgen's most famous essay on kōan (his "Genjō kōan" chapter) was also addressed to a layman.

33. *Shūmon no ichi daiji innen*, copied 1607 by Chūgan Shōteki (d. 1622), as cited by Ishikawa Rikizan, "Minokuni Ryūtaiji shozō no monsan shiryō ni tsuite," pt. 2, 195–196.

34. *Jōshū Daisenzan Hodaji zoku denki* (1714), in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:631a.

35. See volume 6 of *Tōmon shōmono to kokugo kenkyū—shiryō*, ed. Kaneda Hiroshi. In his accompanying study (pp. 279–280), Kaneda reports that this text might actually be a later recopy.

36. Baisan Monpon, *Baisan oshō jūshichi kajō kingo*, in *Komonjo*, 2:310. *Watō* (Ch. *huatou*) is often completely synonymous with kōan. In a more narrow sense, *watō* refers to a single key word, such as *Mu* (i.e., "No"), that occurs in a kōan. One form of kōan contemplation is the constant repetition of that key word.

37. Tajima Hakudō, "Nikkō Chōzenjibon 'Hekiganshū' ni tsuite," 265–269.

38. Tamamura, "Rinka no mondai," 1012–1028.

39. *Ibid.*, 1009–1010, 1012–1017, 1022–1025; and Tamamura Takeji, "Nanbokuchō-Muramachi jidai no tenkai: Kyōdan," 2:96–98.

40. This Genjū line actually comprised several otherwise unaffiliated Japanese lineages that traced their origins to Chung-feng Ming-pen (1263–1323).

41. Tamamura, "Rinka no mondai," 1009–1010, 1012–1017, 1022–1025; and Tamamura Takeji, "Nanbokuchō-Muramachi jidai no tenkai: Kyōdan," 2:96–98.

42. Tsūhō Meidō, *Bassui oshō gyōjitsu*, in *Zoku gunsho ruijū*, 9:640b.

43. Ungai Shōton, *Fusō zenrin sōbōden* (1675), fasc. 6, in NBZ, 109:251a; and Mangen Shibān, *Honchō kōsōden*, fasc. 26, in NBZ, 102:366b.

44. *Eihei Dōgen oshō kenshōron* (copied 1448 by Hōzan), included in *Mumei sasshi* (ca. 1468), as cited by Shiina Kōyū, "Roku Jizōji shozō 'Mumei sasshi' ni tsuite," 171–172.

45. Shiina Kōyū, "'Eihei kaisan Dōgen oshō kana hōgo' ni tsuite," 103–108.

46. Mangen Shibān (1626–1710), *Honchō kōsōden* (1702), fasc. 24, in ZSZ, vol. 10, *Shiden-jishi*, 732.

47. The editors of JDZ ("Kaidai," p. 45) suggest that the *Shōbō genzōgo* mentioned by Mangen Shibān and the *Himitsu shōbō genzō* are the same text.

48. Ōkubo Dōshū, "Himitsu shōbō genzō," in *Kaidai*, 117.

49. Ishikawa Rikizan, "'Himitsu shōbō genzō' saikō," 173–178. The complete text of the Ryūtaiji *Jūsoku shōbō genzō* is included in Ishikawa Rikizan, "Minokuni Ryūtaiji shozō no monsan shiryō ni tsuite," pt. 3, 232–235.

50. *Shūmon no ichi daiji innen*, as cited by Ishikawa Rikizan, "Minokuni Ryūtaiji shozō no monsan," pt. 2, 195–196.

51. Kaneda, *Tōmon shōmono to kokugo kenkyū*, 157.

52. *Ibid.*, 142–143, 156; and Ishikawa Rikizan, "Hizen En'ōji shozō no monsan shiryō ni tsuite," 362a.

53. Ishikawa Rikizan, "Chūsei Zenshū kyōdan no tenkai to Zenseki shōmono shiryō," 414–417.

54. *Jūsoku shōbō genzō*, Ryōan-line text and Sekioku-line text as cited by Ishikawa Rikizan, "'Himitsu shōbō genzō' saikō," 177–178.

55. If the kōan is well known, the name alone presents no problem for modern



scholars. If the name is obscure, however, it is often impossible to know which kōan is intended.

56. *Pi-yen lu*, fasc. 9, example 83, in T, 48:208c–9a. The Yün-men referred to in this example is Yün-men Wen-yen (864–949).

57. *Isshūha honsan* [tentative title], copied 1625:8:8 by Sonsa (n.d.), leaf 16b, as cited by Kaneda, *Tōmon shōmono to kokugo kenkyū*, 158.

58. *Hodaji honsan*, as cited by Ishikawa Rikizan, “Minokuni Ryūtaiji shozō no monsan,” pt. 1, 263. Also see *Jingde chuandenglu*, fasc. 15, in T, 51:321b.

59. *Hodaji honsan*, leaf 5a, example 39, from an unpublished manuscript cited with permission. Regarding this manuscript, see Ishikawa Rikizan, “Minokuni Ryūtaiji shozō no monsan,” pt. 1, 261–263; and Kaneda, *Tōmon shōmono to kokugo kenkyū*, 325.

60. Dōgen, *Kōroku*, sec. 6, lec. 432, in DZZ, 2:109.

61. *Shūmon no ichi daiji innen*, as cited by Ishikawa Rikizan, “Minokuni Ryūtaiji shozō no monsan,” pt. 2, 195.

62. E.g., Yokoyama, *Zen no kenchiku*, 177–179.

63. Most Sōtō lineages abandoned *kirikami* after these texts were excoriated by Menzan Zuihō; see his *Tōjō shitsunai danshi kenpi shiki* (1749), in SZ, vol. 15, *Shitsuchū*, 197–218; and *Denbō shitsunai mitsuji monki* (n.d.), in SZ, vol. 15, *Shitsuchū*, 176–177.

64. Examples of these types of *kirikami* are mentioned in Tamura Yoshirō, “Tendai hongaku shisō gaisetsu,” 544–548.

65. Regarding monastic codes, see Martin Collcutt, “The Early Ch’an Monastic Rule: *Ch’ing kuei* and the Shaping of Ch’an Community Life,” 165–184; and Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, 133–149. For a detailed examination of Chinese monastic codes as historical documents, see Foulk, “The ‘Ch’an School’ and Its Place in the Buddhist Monastic Tradition.”

66. *Denju no san: Nenge no wa*, version dated 1531, and additional version transmitted 1575:12:1 by [Shōgen] Sōju to [Eigen] Keishō, unpublished Yōkōji initiation D cited with permission. Regarding the identities and dates of the individuals named in Yōkōji initiation documents, see Hibe Noboru, “Aru shu no Tōmon shōmono: Noto Yōkōjizō kirikamirui kara,” 89–90. The two *kirikami* cited above are not the only ones concerning this theme at Yōkōji, but are the oldest.

67. Ishikawa Rikizan, “Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui shiron,” pt. 2, 128.

68. *Shichidōsan*, copied by Ryūkoku Donshō, reprinted in Ishikawa Rikizan, “Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui shiron,” pt. 5, 99.

69. *Kōro no san*, in *Bukke ichi daiji yawa*, reprinted in Ishikawa Rikizan, “Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui shiron,” pt. 2, 150.

70. *Kosoku sanzen narabi ni kirikami* (copied 1713), as cited by Ishikawa Rikizan, “Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui shiron,” pt. 1, 345. Two texts in particular, the *Nyo Gen kakugaishū* and the *Nankoku rōshi sanjūshikan*, contain detailed descriptions of the thirty-four kōan supposedly taught by Ju-ching to Dōgen on 1225:9:18, and by Dōgen to Ejō on 1252:1:15; see Ishikawa Rikizan, “‘Eiheiji himitsu chōō zanmaiki’ saikō,” 192–193.

71. *Sōiōke Tendō Nyojō Zenji Dōgen oshō shihōron*, reprinted in Ishikawa Rikizan, “Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui shiron,” pt. 6, 121–122.



72. For an introduction to these commentaries as Zen literature (rather than as linguistic artifacts), see Tamamura Takeji, “Zen no tenseki,” pt. 7a, “Shōmono,” 3:186–199.

73. A representative product of the *Gozan* environment is the *Shikishō* (1477), 19 fascs., based on the lectures of the Rinzai monk Tōgen Zuisen commenting on the *Shih chi*, the classic early history of China; see *Shikishō*, ed. Okami Masao and Ōtsuka Mitsunobu; and, Ōtsuka Mitsunobu, “Shikishō ni tsuite,” in *Kaiseitsu sakuin*, 3–44.

74. The term *shōmono* is written with the same two Sino-Japanese ideographs as the more common word *shōmotsu*, with which it should not be confused. The latter word can designate any type of manuscript. The term *shōmono*, however, is a technical term coined by modern Japanese linguists to refer to that genre (i.e., “*mono*”) of medieval Japanese colloquial-language texts with titles ending in the suffix *-shō* (i.e., “commentary”). Even medieval texts without *shō* in their titles, however, also are included within the same *shōmono* genre if written in the informal language. For a discussion of the meanings of *shōmotsu* versus *shōmono*, see Okami Masao and Ōtsuka Mitsunobu, “Hashigaki.”

75. These three versions are (1) Matsugaoka Bunko Ms., copied 1536, 3 fascs. bound as 2 vols., reprinted in Furuta Shōkin, ed., *Ninden genmokushō*; (2) Tokyo University Shiryō Hensanjo Ms., based on a copy once owned by Shunpo Sōki (1416–1496), recopied ca. early seventeenth century, 8 fascs.; and (3) Ashikaga Gakkō Iseki Toshokan Ms., once owned by Gyokukō Zuiyo, a.k.a. Kyūka (d. 1578), originally 3 fascs., missing first fascicle. The second and third copies are reprinted in Nakata Iwao, ed., *Ninden genmokushō*. The *Jen-t’ien yen-mu* (1188, 6 fascs.) was composed by Hui-yen Chih-chao as a compendium of Zen terminology and teaching devices arranged in categories according to the five major Chinese Ch’an lineages.

76. This is the position originally argued by Furuta Shōkin, *Kaidai*, supplementary brochure to Matsugaoka Bunko Shozō Zenseki Shōmonoshū, first series, 44–45.

77. Ishikawa Rikizan, “‘Ninden genmokushō’ ni tsuite,” 269–273.

78. This is the position originally adopted by Toyama Eiji, “Sensō kō ‘Ninden genmokushō’ ni tsuite,” 32, 42.

79. Historically, more commentaries on the *Kōans of Wu-men* (Jpn. *Mumonkan*) have been produced by Japanese Sōtō than by Rinzai teachers; see Nakao Ryōshin, ed., *Mumonkan*.

80. Kaneda, *Tōmon shōmono to kokugo kenkyū*, 39–60, 316. Recently, a manuscript copy (dated 1666) of Esai’s *Mumonkanshō* has been discovered among the papers once owned by the late Kishizawa Ian (1865–1955).

81. The *Ch’an-lin lei-chū* was first printed in Japan by 1367. The complete version fills twenty fascicles, within which the kōans and verses are systematically arranged according to 102 thematic categories. The *Dai Nihon Zokuzōkyō* version (2:22:1) is a four-fascicle abridgement; see Sakai Tokugen, “Kaidai,” 505–506.

82. Many scholars have assumed that the *Tsung-jung lu* was unknown in Japan until its 1607 Chinese reprint became available. This view is mistaken, however, since the text is cited by name; see, e.g., Ishō Tokugan (1360–1437), *Sekioku*

*Zenji tōmei* (1434), in SZ, vol. 17, *Shiden*, 2:283; and Ryōnen Eichō (1471–1551), *En'ō chūkō Ryōnen dai oshō hōgo*, as cited by Ishikawa Rikizan, “‘En'ō chūkō Ryōnen dai oshō hōgo’ ni tsuite,” 70a.

83. Kokai Ryōtatsu, *Kokaidai*, pub. 1653, 1 fasc., hand copied (1933) in Komazawa University Library, cited with permission.

84. Kokai Ryōtatsu, *Kokaidaishō*, Zenmon Shōmono Sōkan, 1. This text is extremely difficult to understand without consulting a copy of the unpublished *Kokaidai*.

85. *Zoku Nichiiki Tōjō sho soden* (1708), ed. Tokūō Ryōkō, fasc. 3, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:118.

86. Ishikawa Rikizan, “‘Ninden genmokushō’ ni tsuite,” 271–272.

87. Furuta Shōkin, ed., *Ninden genmokushō*, 95; and Nakata Iwao, ed., *Ninden genmokushō*, 28, 293.

88. Shiryō Hensanjo Ms., reprinted in Nakata Iwao, ed., *Ninden genmokushō*, 247 (see note 75).

89. *Kenzeiki*, in *Shohon Kenzeiki*, 72.

90. Furuta Shōkin, ed., *Ninden genmokushō*, 82; and Nakata Iwao, ed., *Ninden genmokushō*, pp. 15, 247. The words of Sensō's comment are recorded somewhat differently in each of these three versions. Here I am following the Matsugaoka Bunko manuscript (ed. Furuta Shōkin; see note 75).

91. Ishikawa Rikizan, “‘Ninden genmokushō’ ni tsuite,” 272–273; and “Chūsei Zenshūshi kenkyū to Zenseki shōmono shiryō,” 85–87. An alternate interpretation of this passage has been suggested by Furuta Shōkin, *Kaidai*, 44–45 (see note 76).

92. Regarding this genre, see Yanagida Seizan, “The ‘Recorded Sayings’ Texts of Chinese Ch’an Buddhism,” 185–205; and Yanagida Seizan, “Goroku no rekishi: Zen bunken no seiritsu shiteki kenkyū,” 211–663.

93. Ishikawa Rikizan, “Chūsei Zenshūshi kenkyū to Zenseki shōmono shiryō,” 85.

94. Ishikawa Rikizan, “‘En'ō chūkō Ryōnen dai oshō hōgo’ ni tsuite,” 68–71.

### 13. PRECEPTS AND ORDINATIONS

1. For a discussion of what this “formless spirit of religion” signified for Suzuki, see Margaret H. Dornish, “Aspects of D. T. Suzuki's Early Interpretations of Buddhism and Zen,” 47–66.

2. This was especially so in early Indian Buddhism; see Hiraoka Akira, “The Rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism and Its Relationship to the Worship of Stupas,” 77, 98–105.

3. For a succinct overview, see Kagamishima Genryū, “Nihon Zenshūshi: Sōtōshū,” 116–125.

4. The following summary of the roles of the vinaya precepts, bodhisattva precepts, and monastic codes in China is indebted to my notes from Kagamishima Genryū's lectures on Zen precepts at Komazawa University, 1985–1986. Mistakes of interpretation, however, are my own.

5. *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*, fasc. 1, “Kua-ta” (Jpn. “Kata”); rev. ed., *Yakuchū Zennen shingi*, ed. Kagamishima et al., 39. All subsequent citations of the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* are to this edition.

6. *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*, fasc. 10, “Pai-chang kuei-sheng sung” (Jpn. “Hyakujō kijōju”); rev. ed., 353.

7. *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*, fasc. 9, “Sha-mi shou-chieh wen” (Jpn. “Shami jukaimon”); rev. ed., 307. The three refuges (p. 308) are the Buddha, his teachings, and the community of monks (i.e., his followers). The five lay precepts consist of vows against taking life, stealing, illicit sex, lying, and drinking alcohol. The ten precepts of a novice consist of the same five vows above (with number three strengthened to ban all sexual activity) plus vows against eating after noon, sleeping on luxurious beds, viewing theater or listening to music, using perfume or cosmetics, and handling money or other valuables; see *Ssu-fen lü* (Jpn. *Shibunritsu*), fascs. 32 and 34, in T, 22:790b, 810b.

8. The *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* stated that the precepts of the *Ssu-fen lü* should be recited regularly. This practice also is mentioned in Eisai's account of his training at Chinese Ch'an monasteries; see *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*, fasc. 1, “Hu-chieh” (Jpn. “Gokai”); rev. ed., 16; and Eisai, *Kōzen gokokuron*, fasc. 2, in *Chūsei Zenke no shisō*, ed. Ichikawa Hakugen et al., 55. All subsequent citations of the *Kōzen gokokuron* are to this edition.

9. *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*, fasc. 1, “Shou-chieh” (Jpn. “Jukai”); rev. ed., 13.

10. See *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*, fasc. 1, “Hu-chieh”; rev. ed., 16; and Eisai, *Kōzen gokokuron*, fasc. 3, p. 73.

11. The ten major precepts of the *Fan-wang ching* consist of vows against directly doing or indirectly causing loss of life, theft, illicit sex, falsehoods, sale of alcohol, reports of transgressions by others, self-praise or criticism of others, parsimony, resentments, and slander of Buddhism; see T, 24:1004b–5a.

12. Ikeda Rosan, “Bosatsukai no keisei to tenkai,” 106–125.

13. These ritual formulae lack standard format, but in general the four universal vows consist of saving limitless beings, overcoming infinite delusions, mastering inexhaustible Buddhist practices, and attaining the unsurpassed Buddha Way, while the three pure precepts consist of embracing all precepts against evil, embracing all types of good, and embracing (or benefiting) all beings.

14. Dōgen stated that the Japanese concept of monkhood (i.e., one based on the bodhisattva ordination alone) was totally unknown in Sung China; see his “Postscript,” *Myōzen gusokukaichō* (1199), in *Komonjo*, no. 1, 1:4–5; alt. titled “*Myōzen oshō kaichō okugaki*,” in DZZ, 2:397.

15. *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*, fasc. 10, “Ch'üan-t'an-hsin” (Jpn. “Kandan-shin”); rev. ed., 337.

16. *Ssu-fen lü*, fasc. 9, in T, 22:623b.

17. The precepts of the *Ssu-fen lü* are divided into eight categories based on the severity of the possible consequences for transgressions. The first and most severe category (fasc. 1, in T, 22:568c–579a) consists of precepts the violation of which result in expulsion from the Buddhist order. These precepts ban (in order) sexual activity, stealing, taking life, and false speech.

18. *Ssu-fen lü*, fasc. 11, in T, 22:640b.

19. Regarding the nature and significance of *ch'ing-kuei*, see Martin Collcutt, “The Early Ch'an Monastic Rule: ‘Ch'ing kuei’ and the Shaping of Ch'an Community Life,” 165–184.

20. *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*, fasc. 10, “Pai-chang kuei-sheng sung”; rev. ed.,



340. Compare the *Pai-chang kuei-shih*, in *Ching-te chuan-teng lu*, fasc. 6, in T, 51:250–251. For a detailed analysis of this text, see Foulk, “The ‘Ch’an School’ and Its Place in the Buddhist Monastic Tradition,” 328–367, 369–375.

21. *Ch’an-yüan ch’ing-kuei*, fasc. 10, “Pai-chang kuei-sheng sung”; rev. ed., 343–344, 347. The abbot’s participation in monastic chores seems to have been widely practiced in Chinese monasteries already by the T’ang dynasty; see Ennin, *Nittō guhō junrei gyōki*, fasc. 2, entry dated 839:9:28, in Edwin O. Reischauer, trans., *Ennin’s Diary: The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law*, 150.

22. The controversy over precepts in the establishment of the Tendai school is described at length in Groner, *Saichō*.

23. *Nanto Eizan kaishōretsu no koto*, in NBZ, 105:16a.

24. The *Shibunritsu* divides Buddhists into seven different groups according to the types of ordinations and precepts they receive. These seven groups are monks and nuns (*biku*, *bikuni*), male and female novices (*shami*, *shamini*), laymen and laywomen (*ubasoku*, *ubai*), and probationary female novices (*shikishamana*). In Chinese Ch’an monasteries, this last category was replaced by lay workers (*zunnan*).

25. Groner, *Saichō*, 217–218.

26. *Ibid.*, 272.

27. Annen, *Futsū bosatsukai kōshaku*, fasc. 1, in T, 74:766b. For this citation I am indebted to Ikeda Rosan, “Zenkai to Kamakura Bukkyō,” 106. Regarding Annen’s attitude toward the precepts, see Paul Groner, “Annen, Tankei, Henjō, and Monastic Discipline in the Tendai School: The Background of the ‘Futsū bosatsukai kōshaku,’” 129–159.

28. *Kankō ruijū*, fasc. 2, in NBZ, 17:40b–41a. For this citation I am indebted to Tamura, “Tendai hongaku shisō gaisetsu,” 541–542. For the translation of *musa* (originally “unconditioned”) as “naturally,” see Shimaji, *Nihon Bukkyō kyōgakushi*, 471.

29. See Eisai, *Shukke daikō*, leaf 6a, as cited by Yanagida Seizan, “Eisai to ‘Kōzen gokokuron’ no kadai,” 461–462.

30. This is not meant to imply that moral decline or political corruption within Japanese Buddhism was by any means confined to the Tendai school. For examples of the abuses afflicting all Buddhist schools during the late-Heian period, see Tsuji, *Nihon Bukkyōshi*, vol. 2, *Chūseihen I*, 133–141.

31. *Kōfukuji sōjō*, attributed to Jōkei, in *Kamakura kyū Bukkyō*, ed. Kamata Shigeo and Tanaka Hisao, 40–41. Also see Morrell, “Jōkei and the Kōfukuji Petition,” 32–33.

32. James C. Dobbins, *Jōdo Shinshū: Shin Buddhism in Medieval Japan*, 17. Regarding Hōnen’s contradictory attitudes toward these doctrines, see Furuta Shōkin, “Kamakura Bukkyō ni okeru jikai jiritsu shūgi to han jikai jiritsu shūgi: Hōnen no bai,” 243–258.

33. Kokan Shiren, *Genkō Shakusho*, fasc. 2, in NBZ, 101:156b.

34. *Jōtō shōgakuron*, 203b. Compare this passage with Nichiren’s assertion that followers of Zen distort the precepts to permit the most outrageous conduct (*Senjishō* [1275:6:10], in Philip B. Yampolsky, ed., *Selected Writings of Nichiren*, 218).



35. *Hyakurenshō*, fasc. 10, entry for 1194:7:5, in *Shintei zōho Kokushi taikai*, 11:125.

36. These five themes occur throughout the length of Eisai's *Kōzen gokokuron*. Only Eisai's most direct assertions are cited below.

37. Eisai, *Kōzen gokokuron*, fasc. 1, p. 35, also see pp. 47, 80.

38. *Ibid.*, fasc. 1, pp. 37, 47.

39. Yü-shu (Jpn. Gucho), *Jih-ben-kuo Ch'ien-kuang fa-shih tz'u-t'ang chi* (Jpn. *Nipponkoku Senkō hōshi shidōki*; 1225), in *Zoku gunsho ruijū*, 9:274b.

40. Eisai, *Kōzen gokokuron*, fascs. 1–2, pp. 36, 37, 43.

41. *Ibid.*, fasc. 2, p. 55.

42. *Ibid.*, fascs. 1, 3, pp. 11, 73, 81.

43. *Ibid.*, fasc. 3, p. 73. The editors of this edition of the *Kōzen gokokuron* cite two scriptures for the saying in question: *Hsiu-ch'an yao-chüeh* (Jpn. *Shuzen yōketsu*), in *ZZK*, 2:15:479b; and *Ta-pao-chi ching* (Jpn. *Daihōshakkyō*), fasc. 90, in *T*, 11:516c.

44. *Ibid.*, fascs. 2–3, pp. 39–40, 73, 79.

45. Ejō, *Zuimonki*, sec. 2, in *Koten bungaku 81*, 332–334; alt. in *DZZ*, 2: 428–429.

46. Dōgen, *Kōroku*, sec. 5, lec. 390, in *DZZ*, 2:96–97.

47. Dōgen, SBGZ, “Sanjūshichi bodai bunpō” chap., in *DZZ*, 1:517. Also see Kagamishima Genryū, “Endonkai to Eisai-Dōgen,” 27–28, 31–32 n. 2.

48. Dōgen, SBGZ, “Shoaku mokusa” and “Sanjūshichi bodai bunpō” chaps., in *DZZ*, 1:280, 517.

49. Dōgen, SBGZ, “Sanjūshichi bodai bunpō” chap., in *DZZ*, 1:517.

50. Kuromaru Kanji, “Eihei shingi no seikaku: Toku ni bosatsu daikai to no kankei ni oite,” 233–235.

51. Ishida, “Dōgen: Sono kai to shingi,” pt. 6, 1–2.

52. See, for example, Dōgen, *Bendōwa*, in *DZZ*, 1:740–741, alt. 758; or Dōgen, SBGZ, “Shukke kudoku” chap., in *DZZ*, 1:610.

53. See Ishida, “Dōgen: Sono kai to shingi,” pt. 1, 3; Kagamishima Genryū, “Zenkai no seiritsu to endonkai,” 159–160; and Kagamishima Genryū, “Nyojō to Dōgen,” 125–127.

54. Kagamishima Genryū, “Zenkai no seiritsu to endonkai,” 160–164. For Dōgen's description of Chinese norms regarding precepts, see his “Postscript” (n.d.), *Myōzen gusokukaichō*, in *Komonjo*, no. 1, 1:4–5; alt. in *DZZ*, 2:397.

55. Dōgen, *Sankoku shōden bosatsukai kechimiyaku*, in *DZZ*, 2:289; and Shinchi Kakushin, *Kakushin ju Shin'yu kaimiyaku*, in *DZZ*, 2:291. It is not clear whether Chinese monks conceived of “precept lineages” in the same way that Japanese monks did.

56. These texts are found as follows: “Jukai” chap., in *DZZ*, 1:619–622; *Bosatsukai sahō*, in *ZSZ*, vol. 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 37–41, alt. in *DZZ*, 2:263–270; and *Kyōju kaimon*, in *DZZ*, 2:279–281. The authenticity of these texts is well documented. Early copies of *Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō* exist from the Giin, Jakuen, Meihō, and Gasan lineages. Quotations from the *Kyōju kaimon* occur both in Kyōgō's *Ryakushō* and in Keizan's writings. Kyōgō and Keizan both attribute the explanations recorded in this text to Dōgen (see SBGZST, 14:495, 583; and Keizan, in *DZZ*, 2:285). Moreover, all three of these texts substantially

agree on the number, content, and order of the precepts administered by Dōgen. Another ordination manual, the *Shukke ryakusahō* (a.k.a. *Tokudo sahō*; in DZZ, 2:272–278), which lists different precepts, also has been attributed to Dōgen. This manual, however, originated well after Dōgen’s death. No copies of this text or independent references to its existence have been found earlier than the sixteenth century. The three extant versions contain widely variant content. One of these three versions exists within a compilation of Rinzai rituals, but without any attribution to Dōgen (see *Kaihō no honji*, in *Sho ekō shingishiki* [1566], in T, 81:676c–678a).

57. For the standard precepts used in Japanese Tendai ordinations, see Saichō and Enchin, *Ju bosatsu kaigi*, in T, 74:625–633, esp. 626a, 628b, 628c; and Annen, *Futsū bosatsukai kōshaku*, 3 fascs., in T, 74:757–778, esp. 766c, 773b, 775c.

58. In ZSZ, vol. 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 42a, alt. in DZZ, 2:270.

59. Kagamishima Genryū, “Zenkai no seiritsu to endonkai,” 158–159.

60. Kagamishima Genryū, “Endonkai to Zenkai,” 143–149.

61. Ishida, “Dōgen: Sono kai to shingi,” pt. 3, 1–2. The text cited by Ishida is the *Ju bosatsukaigi*, attributed to Eryō (812–860), in NBZ, 72:7–8. These precepts also are discussed in the *Ken Jōdo denkairon*, by Shōgei (1341–1420).

62. Ikeda Rosan, “Zenkai to Kamakura Bukkyō,” 104; and Seiryū Sōji, “Dōgen Zenji no Bukkai shisō: Toku ni jūrokujōkai no seiritsu wo megutte,” 199.

63. Kyōgō, *Ryakushō*, in SBGZST, 14:482–632. The bulk of this text (pages 487–589) derives from the *Kyōju kaimon*.

64. Nakayama Jōni, “‘Bonmōkyō ryakushō’ kō,” 133–144.

65. Kyōgō, *Ryakushō*, in SBGZST, 14:488, 510, 541, 545, 546, 607, 614, 615, 619, 621, 622, 623. In these passages, the Zen interpretation usually is designated as “our sect” (*shūmon*) as opposed to “other sects” (*yomon*). It is clear that “our sect” is meant to refer to Dōgen’s Zen teachings since these words also introduce passages from his *Shōbō genzō*.

66. *Ibid.*, 14:520.

67. *Ibid.*, 14:487–489.

68. *Ibid.*, 14:590–591. Also see *ibid.*, 14:485, 490, 509, 522, 530, 531, 537, 541, 542, 567, 596, and *Fan-wang ching*, fasc. 2, in T, 24:1004a, lines 19–21; and *Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō*, in ZSZ, vol. 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 41a; alt. in DZZ, 2:269.

69. Kyōgō, *Ryakushō*, in SBGZST, 14:590–591.

70. Compare *ibid.*, 14:485, 490, 509, 522, 530, 531, 537, 541, 542, 567, 596, with *Fan-wang ching*, fasc. 2, in T, 24:1004a, lines 19–21, and *Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō*, in ZSZ, vol. 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 41a; alt. in DZZ, 2:269.

71. See Ishida Mizumaro, ed., *Bonmōkyō*, 70–71.

72. See *Tōkoku shingi*, fasc. 1, in JDZ, 292–293.

73. “Bosatsukai sōden no koto,” sec. of *Sanmoku issōji*, in ZSZ, vol. 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 63. Regarding this text, see Azuma, *Keizan Zenji no kenkyū*, 190–194.

74. See chapter 5 and Keizan Jōkin, *Tōkokuki*, ed. Ōtani Teppu, 238b; alt. in JDZ, 395.

75. Keizan Jōkin, *Tōkokuki*, ed. Ōtani Teppu, 234; alt. in JDZ, 430–431.

76. Tenkai Kūkō (1348–1416), *Hōō Nōshō Zenji tōmei* (1400:10:17), in SZ, vol. 17, *Shiden*, 2:278a. Even today insects that perch on the stone die. In Gennō's time gas from the stone also killed birds and small animals.

77. See Hanuki Masai, “Tōmon Zensō to shinjin kado no setsuwa,” 44–51; and Hirose Ryōkō, “Sōtō Zensō ni okeru shinjin kado-akurei chin'atsu,” 233–236; reprinted in *Zenshū chihō tenkaishi*, 415–411. Hirose analyzed fifty-four accounts of supernatural encounters found in volume 16 (*Shiden* 1) of SZ, identifying fifteen standard motifs, five of which involve precept ordinations. The following description of Sōtō supernatural encounters incorporates many of the conclusions found in these two articles.

78. For an exploration of this theme in an earlier context, see W. Michael Kelsey, “Salvation of the Snake, the Snake of Salvation: Buddhist-Shinto Conflict and Resolution,” 83–113.

79. *Nichiiki*, fasc. 2, and *Rentōroku*, fasc. 7, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:77a, 368b. This story concerns the founding of Ryūkeiji (Snake Valley Temple; Aichi Pref.) in 1444. Although Rogaku Tōto actually founded this temple, he listed his teacher Morin Shihan (1392–1487) as the temple's official founder.

80. *Nichiiki*, fasc. 1, and *Rentōroku*, fasc. 3, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:55b, 273–274. This story concerns the founding of Saijōji (Kanagawa Prefecture) in 1394.

81. See Hanuki, “Zenshū no hatten to jippō danna,” 112–132.

82. *Nichiiki*, fasc. 2, and *Rentōroku*, fasc. 4, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:63–64, 296b. These events are said to have happened at Daitōin (Shizuoka Prefecture) in 1411.

83. Hori, *Folk Religion in Japan*, 150–151.

84. Hu Shih, “Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism in China,” 22–23. This same point in regard to the ability to locate new sources of water also is mentioned by Hirose, “Sōtō Zensō ni okeru shinjin kado-akurei chin'atsu,” 236.

85. Kōzan Tetsuma, *Taikyūji yuraiki* (1833), in ZSZ, vol. 10, *Jishi*, 135–136. This story concerns the founding of Taikyūji (Tottori Prefecture) in 1356.

86. Meikyoku Sokushō, *Yōtakuji Tsūgen Zenji gyōgō* (1751), in SZ, vol. 17, *Shiden*, 2:270b.

87. *Gennō Zenjiden*, in *Zoku gunsho ruijū*, 9:329.

88. See Sakauchi, “Sōtōshū ni okeru mikkyō no juyō,” 39.

89. Hirose, “Sōtō Zensō ni okeru shinjin kado-akurei chin'atsu,” 235.

90. *Rentōroku*, fasc. 5, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:324. Other examples are discussed below in the section on mass ordination ceremonies.

91. See Ishikawa Rikizan, “Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui shiron,” pt. 6, 138–140.

92. *Ryūten jukai kirikami*, transmitted on 1595:12:13 by Hanshitsu Ryōei, reprinted in Ishikawa Rikizan, “Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui shiron,” pt. 6, 136–137.

93. *Ryūten no san*, in *Bukke ichi daiji yawa*, reprinted in Ishikawa Rikizan, “Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui shiron,” pt. 2, 148. In this document, there are three different sections titled “*Ryūten no san*,” each of which examines this concept from a different perspective.

94. One of the earliest is Menzan Zuihō, *Jakushū Eifuku oshō sekkai* (1752;



pub. 1760), in SZ, vol. 3, *Zenkai*, 141–175. Until Hirose Ryōkō's research (see below), many Sōtō scholars commonly assigned the development of formal mass ordination ceremonies to the late seventeenth century; see, for example, Nakano Tōzen, “Sōtōshū no sekkai no kyōkajō no seikaku,” 302–304.

95. Shōdō Kōsei, *Entsū Shōdō Zenji goroku*, fasc. 3, in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:454a.

96. Tsūhō Meidō, *Bassui oshō gyōjitsu*, in *Zoku gunsho ruijū*, 9:638–639. For this reference, I am indebted to Hirose Ryōkō, “Chūsei rinka Zenrin no fukyō katsudō: Sōtō Zen no jukaie ni tsuite,” 136.

97. These two texts are the *Kechimyakushū* (Gekiō Sōjun's mass ordination ceremonies conducted between 1477:7:17 and 1488:2:10) and the *Shōshichō* (Shikō Sōden's mass ordination ceremonies conducted between 1491:10:10 and 1492:7:17), both of which were recopied during the Kan'ei period (1624–1643). Hirose Ryōkō announced the discovery of these texts in his, “Chūsei rinka Zenrin no fukyō katsudō” 136–137. Since then, he has published typeset editions in his *Zenshū chihō tenkaishi*, 640–654.

98. The *Kechimyakushū* contains the following list of dates, names of Sōtō teachers, and numbers of laymen who received precepts: 1418—Jochū Tengin, 902 people; 1438—Hōzan Ajō, 119 people; 144?—Getsuin Shōsho [d. 1433], 331 people; 1452—Morin Shihan, 256 people; 1462:8:3—Ungaku Tōgen [d. 1491], 89 people; 1474—Sōshi Shōtai [1414–1496], 157 people; 1478—Sekichū Eisan [d. 1487], 203 people; [n.d.]—Seizen Dōseki [1434–1518], 146 people; 1487—Gekiō Sōjun, 276 people. The meaning of this list and its entries is unclear; see Hirose Ryōkō, “Chūsei Zensō to jukaie: Aichi-ken Chita-gun Kenkon'inzō 'Kechimyakushū' 'Shōshichū' no bunseki wo chūshin to shite,” 357; reprinted in *Zenshū chihō tenkaishi*, 475.

99. Hirose, “Chūsei Zensō to jukaie,” 305–359; reprinted in *Zenshū chihō tenkaishi*, 422–481.

100. The dates of the ordination ceremonies listed in the *Kechimyakushū* and *Shōshichō* are listed in Hirose, “Chūsei Zensō to jukaie,” 314–318, 320; reprinted in *Zenshū chihō tenkaishi*, 430–433, 435.

101. Forty-two locations where Gekiō and Shikō conducted ordination ceremonies are listed in Hirose, “Chūsei Zensō to jukaie,” 326–330; reprinted in *Zenshū chihō tenkaishi*, 441–444.

102. The intermediaries are analyzed in Hirose, “Chūsei Zensō to jukaie,” 322–325; reprinted in *Zenshū chihō tenkaishi*, 438–439.

103. Participants in the ordination ceremonies are listed according to social class, familial relationships, and occupations in Hirose, “Chūsei Zensō to jukaie,” 349–356; reprinted in *Zenshū chihō tenkaishi*, 469–475.

104. Hirose, “Chūsei Zensō to jukaie,” 357–358; reprinted in *Zenshū chihō tenkaishi*, 475–478.

105. *Ibid.*, 347–348; reprinted in *Zenshū chihō tenkaishi*, 466–468.

106. For maps showing the names and locations of villages represented at the ordination ceremonies, see Hirose, “Chūsei Zensō to jukaie,” 335, 340; reprinted in *Zenshū chihō tenkaishi*, 450, 457.

107. *Ibid.*, 333–337; reprinted in *Zenshū chihō tenkaishi*, 448–453. Regarding the term “*kechi bakari*,” also see Hirose, “Chūsei rinka Zenrin no fukyō katsudō,” 137.



108. *Baisan oshō kaihōron*, attributed to Baisan Monpon, in SZ, vol. 3, *Zenkai*, 1a; and *Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō*, in ZSZ, vol. 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 41a; alt. in DZZ, 2:269.

109. *Rentōroku*, fasc. 5, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:335b.

110. See *Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō*, in ZSZ, vol. 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 37b; alt. in DZZ, 2:264; and Sugimoto, *Zōtei Tōjō shitsunai kirikami*, 164–169.

111. *Kechimyaku no san*, in *Bukke ichi daiji yawa*, reprinted in Ishikawa Rikizan, “Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui shiron,” pt. 2, 144.

112. Hirose Ryōkō, “Zensō no katsudō to chihō bunka: Sonraku no jūmin to kaimyō,” 78–79.

113. Hirose, “Chūsei Zensō to jukaie,” 340–342; reprinted in *Zenshū chihō tenkaishi*, 456–459.

114. Hirose, “Sōtō Zensō no chihō katsudō,” 153–154; and Hirose, “Chūsei Zensō to jukaie,” 337–339, 357; reprinted in *Zenshū chihō tenkaishi*, 452–456, 476.

115. Hirose, “Chūsei Zensō to jukaie,” 324–325; reprinted in *Zenshū chihō tenkaishi*, 439–440.

116. *Ibid.*, 318; reprinted in *Zenshū chihō tenkaishi*, 434.

117. *Ibid.*, 319, 330; reprinted in *Zenshū chihō tenkaishi*, 434–435, 445.

118. Hirose, “Sōtō Zensō ni okeru shinjin kado-akurei chin’atsu,” 236.

119. Shōdō Kōsei, *Entsū Shōdō Zenji goroku*, fasc. 1, in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:404b. Shōdō was equally critical of the widespread failure of Zen monks to observe the precepts; see fasc. 2 of the above, in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:425b.

120. Kikuchi Takemori, *Kikuchi Takemori kishōjō* (1338:8:15), in *Komonjo*, no. 679, 1:543–545; and Hirose, “Chūsei no Zensō-Zenji to rinri-chitsujo,” 163–167.

#### 14. ZEN FUNERALS

1. *Soku Nihongi*, fasc. 2, entry for 702:12, in *Shintei zōho Kokushi taikai*, 2:16.

2. Tsuji, *Nihon Bukkyōshi*, vol. 1, *Jōseihen*, 85.

3. Tamamuro, *Sōshiki Bukkyō*, 211–222.

4. For an overview of these rites, see James L. Watson, “The Structure of Chinese Funerary Rites,” 12–15.

5. See Tamamuro, *Sōshiki Bukkyō*, 100–112; and Nakata Hisao, “Heian jidai no kizoku no sōsei: Toku ni jūichi seiki wo chūshin to shite,” 183–204.

6. See *Ruijū zatsurei*, extracts from the diary of Minamoto Tsuneyori (975–1039), entries for 1036:5:1–19, pp. 613–621.

7. All Japanese schools except Nichiren and Jōdo Shinshū generally follow the sequence of ceremonies described in the Zen monastic codes (*shingi*). Even the terminology is the same (e.g., note the use of Zen term *gan* [Ch. *kan*; literally “niche”] for coffin); see *Bukkyō girei jiten*, ed. Fuji Masao, 281–336.

8. Modern Japanese rural areas still exhibit wide variations in funeral rites, even among members of the same Buddhist sect or of the same hamlet; see Robert J. Smith, *Ancestor Worship in Contemporary Japan*, 70.

9. Doi Takuji, “Fūsō ni kansuru mondai,” 1:113–127; and Ōbayashi Tairyō, *Sōsei no kigen*, 35–36.

10. Tamamuro, *Sōshiki Bukkyō*, 96–97; also see Mujū Dōgyō, “Yakushi no riyaku no koto,” in *Shasekishū*, ed. Watanabe Tsunaya, chap. 2, p. 94.

11. E.g., burial remained more common than cremation until postwar urbanization restricted access to graveyards; see Hori Ichirō, “Wagakuni ni okeru kasō no minkan juyō ni suite,” 1:88–93; and Inokuchi Shōji, *Nihon no sōshiki*, 109.

12. Studies based on these approaches are readily available: see Ronald P. Dore, *City Life in Japan: A Study of a Tokyo Ward*, 312–328, 427–435; Herman Ooms, “The Religion of the Household: A Case Study of Ancestor Worship in Japan,” 201–333; David W. Plath, “Where the Family of God is the Family: The Role of the Dead in Japanese Households,” 300–317; and Smith, *Ancestor Worship*. For a useful collection of essays on Japan, China, and Africa, see William H. Newell, ed., *Ancestors*; also note Carmen Blacker, *The Catalpa Bow*, 152–161.

13. For detailed discussion of textual evidence for Buddhist monastic funeral rites, see Gregory Schopen, “On Avoiding Ghosts and Social Censure: Monastic Funerals in the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya,” 1–39. Schopen seems to suggest that the sequence of events in Indian Buddhist monastic funerals (within the Mūlasarvāstivāda at least) consisted of the follow key events: First a gong was rung to announce the death to the community of monks. Next, the corpse was carried away for disposal by one of four methods (cremation, submersion in a river, burial, or placement in an isolated spot). At the disposal site certain unspecified rituals (including recitation of dharma) were performed, and the merit generated thereby was ritually transferred to the deceased. The monks who participated in the funeral washed to remove the pollution of death. Finally, the dead monk’s property was distributed to the monastic community, with the monks who participated in funeral rites claiming precedence over monks more removed from the proceedings. According to Schopen, key concerns in these proceedings were to prevent ghosts of deceased monks from disrupting monastic harmony, to resolve disputes over legitimate inheritance of property, and to avoid lay censure for failure to conform to local social norms.

14. T. W. Rhys Davids, trans., *Mahā parinibbāna sutta*, chap. 5, secs. 24–31, pp. 91–95. Regarding the implications of this passage, see Gregory Schopen, “Monks and the Relic Cult in the ‘Mahāparinibbānasutta’: An Old Misunderstanding in Regard to Monastic Buddhism,” 187–201.

15. *Kao-seng Fa-hsien chuan*, in T, 51:865b.

16. *Nan-hai chi-kuei nei-fa chuan*, fasc. 2, in T, 54:216c. The scripture in question usually is identified with a translation by I-ching, the *Wu-ch’ang ching* (Jpn. *Mujōkyō*), in T, no. 801, 17:745–746.

17. The cultural and historical context of conflicts between Buddhist practices and Chinese familial norms is discussed by Kenneth K. S. Ch’en, *The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism*, esp. 14–19, 50–55, 67–69. As noted by Gregory Schopen, in his critique of Ch’en’s position (see Schopen, “Filial Piety and the Monk in the Practice of Indian Buddhism: A Question of ‘Sinicization’ Viewed from the Other Side,” 110–126), expressions of filial piety were not foreign to Indian Buddhist monks. The point of conflict, thus, was not a lack of filial piety in Buddhism, but how to express it in a ritual manner acceptable to Chinese sensibilities.

18. Tao-ch’eng, *Shih-shih yao-lan* (1019; pub. 1024), fasc. 3, in T, 54:307–310.

19. Ishikawa Rikizan, “Zen no sōsō,” 140–142. Regarding the importance of traditional Chinese ritual concerns in Chinese Buddhism see Michihata Ryōshū, *Bukkyō to Jukyō*, 49–64. The ritual structure of Chinese funerary rites is explored in terms of cultural constructs such as hierarchy, gender, and ideology in James L. Watson and Evelyn S. Rawski, ed., *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*.

20. *Ch’an-yüan ch’ing-kuei*, fasc. 7, “Wang-seng” (Jpn. “Bōsō”) and “Tsun-su ch’ien-hua” (Jpn. “Sonshuku senge”); rev. ed. *Yakuchū Zennen shingi*, ed. Kagamishima Genryū et al., 237–248, 259–263. All subsequent citations to the *Ch’an-yüan ch’ing-kuei* are to this edition. Unless otherwise noted, the following description of Ch’an funerary rites is based on this monastic code.

21. See Tao-ch’eng, *Shih-shih yao-lan*, fasc. 3, in T, 54:307c.

22. Compare *Ch’an-lin pei-yung ch’ing-kuei* (1311), fasc. 9, in ZZK, 2:17:62a.

23. In the following description, for the sake of clarity I have not distinguished the component parts of each of these ceremonies.

24. Compare J. Prip-Møller, *Chinese Buddhist Monasteries: Their Plan and Its Function as a Setting for Buddhist Monastic Life*, 165, fig. 203.

25. This ritual mourning is an important element in the process that publicly establishes the master-disciple relationship; see Jorgensen, “The ‘Imperial’ Lineage of Ch’an Buddhism,” 110–111, 112.

26. See *Tsung-lin chiao-ting ch’ing-kuei tsung-yao* (Jpn. *Sōrin kōtei shingi sōyō*; 1274), fasc. 2, in ZZK, 2:17:23; *Ch’an-lin pei-yung ch’ing-kuei*, fasc. 9, in ZZK, 2:17:61c–d; and *Ch’ih-hsiu Pai-chang ch’ing-kuei*, fasc. 3, in T, 48:1127c.

27. *Tsung-lin chiao-ting ch’ing-kuei tsung-yao*, fasc. 2, in ZZK, 2:17:23a; *Ch’an-lin pei-yung ch’ing-kuei*, fasc. 9, in ZZK, 2:17:66b; and *Ch’ih-hsiu Pai-chang ch’ing-kuei*, fasc. 3, in T, 48:1128c.

28. *Ch’an-lin pei-yung ch’ing-kuei*, fasc. 9, in ZZK, 2:17:64a. This list also appears in the *Tōkoku shingi*, fasc. 1, in JDZ, 284.

29. *Tsung-lin chiao-ting ch’ing-kuei tsung-yao*, fasc. 2, in ZZK, 2:17:21c, 2d line from end; *Ch’an-lin pei-yung ch’ing-kuei*, fasc. 9, in ZZK, 2:17:61c, line 3; and *Ch’ih-hsiu Pai-chang ch’ing-kuei*, fasc. 3, in T, 48:1127b, line 4.

30. Compare Prip-Møller, *Chinese Buddhist Monasteries*, 168.

31. *Ch’an-yüan ch’ing-kuei*, fasc. 7, “Tsun-su ch’ien-hua,” rev. ed., 261–263.

32. Kenneth Ch’en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey*, 252.

33. *Ch’an-yüan ch’ing-kuei*, fasc. 7, “Wang-seng,” rev. ed., 240–241, 246–247.

34. *Ch’ih-hsiu Pai-chang ch’ing-kuei*, fasc. 7, in T, 48:1149b–c.

35. See Ju-ching “Hsiao fo-shih” (Jpn. “Shō butsuji”), in *Ju-ching lu*, fasc. 2, reprinted in “Yakuchū ‘Nyojō goroku,’” in Kagamishima Genryū, *Tendō Nyojō Zenji no kenkyū*, 367–368. Dōgen cites the concluding line of this sermon in SBGZ, “Baikē” chap., in DZZ, 1:463. Regarding the development of lay funeral sermons in Chinese Ch’an, see Miriam Levering, “Ta-hui and Lay Buddhists: Ch’an Sermons on Death,” 181–206.

36. Dōgen, *Kōroku*, secs. 1 and 7, lecs. 111 and 507, in DZZ, 2:27, 134.

37. See *Kyūki*, reprinted in Kawamura Kōdō, “Dōgen Zenji to Eihei-ji,” 1:150; and Ishikawa Ryōiku, “Shari raimon ni tsuite,” 272–276.

38. *Gikai sōki*, in ZSZ, vol. 2, *Shingi*, 1–7. All the information in this paragraph is based on this source.

39. *Meihō Sotetsu Zenji sōki*, in ZSZ, vol. 2, *Shingi*, 10–17.



40. *Tsūgen Jakurei Zenji sōki*, in ZSZ, vol. 2, *Shingi*, 25–35.
41. Of these proceeds, 10 *kan*, 300 *mon* was used to pay for the material expenses of the funeral; 18 *kan*, 31 *mon* was used to pay the monastery for its services; and 10 *kan* was sent to Eiheiji for a vegetarian feast in honor of Tsūgen; see *Tsūgen Jakurei Zenji sōki*, in ZSZ, vol. 2, *Shingi*, 30.
42. A later (ca. 1509) Sōtō monastic code suggests that precept recitation ceremonies came to form a regular part of Sōtō funeral services (see *Shōbō shingi*, fasc. 2, in ZSZ, vol. 2, *Shingi*, 88–89). This code purports to be a faithful copy of the *Tōkoku shingi*, but note that the precept recitation ceremony occurs among the funeral rites. Contrast this with *Tōkoku shingi*, in JDZ, 288–295.
43. Regarding Hōjō Tokimune and Wu-hsüeh Tsu-hsüan, see Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, 70–73.
44. Wu-hsüeh Tsu-hsüan, *Bukkō kokushi goroku*, fasc. 4, in T, 80:174c–175a. The “Hōkōji Dono” in these passages refers to Hōjō Tokimune.
45. These details were recorded by Yoshihito’s son, Sadafusa; see *Kanmon gyoki*, entries for 1416:11:20–26, 1417:2:30, in *Zoku gunsho ruijū hoi*, 3:49–53, 70; and Ishikawa Rikizan, “Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui shiron,” pt. 9, 169.
46. For a detailed diagram of the layout used for this type of funeral, see *Sho ekō shingishiki*, fasc. 4, in T, 81:661a–b.
47. Japanese Rinzai monks chanted this dhāraṇī instead of the name Amitābha specified in Chinese codes; see *ibid.*, fasc. 4, in T, 81:661c.
48. The Rinzai monk Kokan Shiren asserted in his very influential *Zenmon ju bosatsukaiki* (Rules for Bodhisattva Ordinations in the Zen School) that Eisai had transmitted only the bodhisattva precepts; see reprint in *Zengaku taikei*, vol. 7, *Kaihō bu*, text pp. 2, 4. Also see Kagamishima Genryū, “Endonkai to Zenkai,” 151–155. An abbreviated version of the *Zenmon ju bosatsukaiki* (retitled “*Zenkaiki*”) is included in the *Sho ekō shingishiki* (T, 81:678a–679a), but it lacks many of Kokan’s most influential statements.
49. *Motsugo jukai no sahō*, transmitted 1567; and [*Sasō gishiki*:] *Motsugo jukai sahō*, Yōkōji initiation D, transmitted 1616 by Kyūgai Donryō, reprinted in Ishikawa Rikizan, “Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui shiron,” pt. 2, 128–129.
50. Ishikawa Rikizan, “Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui shiron,” pt. 9, 173–177.
51. *Fan-wang ching*, fasc. 2, in T, 24:1004b.
52. *Motsugo sasō no san*, in *Bukke ichi daiji yawa*, reprinted in Ishikawa Rikizan, “Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui shiron,” pt. 2, 148.
53. *Busso shōden hōsan no daiji*, copied 1631 by Kyūgai Donryō, reprinted in Ishikawa Rikizan, “Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui shiron,” pt. 9, 175–176.
54. For details of this practice see Joseph H. Lynch, *Simoniactal Entry into Religious Life from 1000 to 1260: A Social, Economic and Legal Study*, 26–36.
55. Sharon Farmer, *Communities of Saint Martin: Legend and Ritual in Medieval Tours*, 141, 219.
56. For European expressions of this sentiment, see Susan Wood, *English Monasteries and Their Patrons in the Thirteenth Century*, 131.
57. Tamamuro, *Sōshiki Bukkyō*, 129.
58. E.g., Kishi Iban, *Kishi Iban Zenji goroku geshū*, in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1: 576–578; and *Sho ekō shingishiki*, fasc. 5, in T, 81:682b.



59. Tamamuro, *Sōshiki Bukkyō*, 128–129.
60. Kishi Iban, *Kishi Iban Zenji goroku geshū*, in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:227a, 227b, 228b, 231a, 232a, 236a, 247a, 256b, 261b.
61. Shōdō Kōsei, *Entsū Shōdō Zenji goroku*, fasc. 1, in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:411b.
62. See chapter 11 (section on transcription commentaries).
63. In Sensō Esai's *Sensō Zenji goroku* (in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1) not a single Zen story or kōan is cited in full or by name, although a few references to Chinese Ch'an teachers, such as Zhaozhou Congshen (Jpn. Jōshū Jūshin; on pp. 288a, 317b, 334b), and a few stock Zen phrases, such as "barbarian beards are red" (on pp. 334b, 347a) do occur.
64. Shōdō Kōsei, *Entsū Shōdō Zenji goroku*, fascs. 1, 2, in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:409a, 424a–b.
65. The starting point for this type of analysis is the *Sho ekō shingishiki*, a sixteenth-century guide to rituals used at rural Rinzaï temples. This text explains in detail the proper titles to be used on mortuary tablets (*ihai*). More than thirty different titles are listed for every type of person, from an emperor, to yamabushi, to a blind man (*Sho ekō shingishiki*, fasc. 4, in T, 81:668a–b); see Matsui, "Chūsei kōki ni okeru Sōtō Zenryō no katsudō," 236; and Hirose, "Sōtō Zensō no chihō katsudō," 148–150; and Hirose, *Zenshū chihō tenkaishi*, 384–390.
66. These figures summarize the more detailed statistical analyses presented in Hirose, "Sōtō Zensō no chihō katsudō," 148–150.
67. Texts that conform to the format described herein include: Kishi Iban, *Kishi Iban Zenji goroku geshū*; Sensō Esai, *Sensō Zenji goroku*; Don'ei Eō, *Kasugazan Rinsen kaisan Don'ei Zenji goroku*; Shōdō Kōsei, *Entsū Shōdō Zenji goroku*; and Kikuin Zuitan, *Kikuin oshō agyo*; see SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:227–234, 287–289, 368–373, 488–494, 558–561.
68. Kikuin Zuitan, *Kikuin oshō agyo*, entry for 1511:9:16, in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:559a.
69. Hirose, "Zensō to sengoku shakai," 395–396.
70. Don'ei Eō, *Kasugazan Rinsen kaisan Don'ei Zenji goroku*, in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:369a, 371a–b; also see *ibid.*, 372a, 373a–b, 374a.
71. Shōdō Kōsei, *Entsū Shōdō Zenji goroku*, fasc. 4, in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:489a, 491a.
72. Fusai Zenkyū, *Fusai Zenji goroku*, fasc. 2, in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:156b.
73. E.g., Kishi Iban, *Kishi Iban Zenji goroku geshū*; Sensō Esai, *Sensō Zenji goroku*; Don'ei Eō, *Don'ei Zenji goroku*; and Shōdō Kōsei, *Shōdō Zenji goroku*; all in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:237b, 238a, 243a–247a, 249b, 250a, 252a, 253b, 254a–b, 255b, 258a, 263b, 314a, 319b, 323a, 328b, 335a, 349b, 353b, 354b, 361a, 362ab, 363a, 364a, 381a, 382a, 384a–b, 385a, 495a, 498b, 499a–b, 503a, 505b, 506b, 510a–b, 511a–b, 513b, 516a, 569b.
74. Shōdō Kōsei, *Entsū Shōdō Zenji goroku*, fasc. 5, in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:513a–b. The word for "name" in the text indicates where the deceased person's name was inserted.
75. E.g., Giun, *Giun oshō goroku*; Tsūgen Jakurei, *Tsūgen Zenji goroku*; Fusai Zenkyū, *Fusai Zenji goroku*; Kishi Iban, *Kishi Iban Zenji goroku geshū*; Sensō Esai, *Sensō Zenji goroku*; and Kikuin Zuitan, *Kikuin oshō agyo*; all in SZ,

vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:18a, 76a, 92a, 93a, 96a, 97a, 157b, 247a, 311a, 317a, 318a, 336a, 345b, 348b, 361a, 573a.

76. E.g., Kishi Iban, *Kishi Iban Zenji goroku geshū*; and Sensō Esai, *Sensō Zenji goroku*; both in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:236a, 242–245, 248a, 251b, 255b, 260a, 261b, 315b, 339a, 341b, 348a, 353b.

77. Takeda Chōshū, *Sosen sūhai: Minzoku to rekishi*, 240–244.

78. For examples of these expressions, see Fusai Zenkyū, *Fusai Zenji goroku*; Kishi Iban, *Kishi Iban Zenji goroku geshū*; Don'ei Eō, *Don'ei Zenji goroku*; and Shōdō Kōsei, *Shōdō Zenji goroku*; all in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:159a, 238a, 244a, 246a, 254b, 257a, 260a–b, 385a, 497b, 506b, 513a, 518b.

79. For examples of this assertion, see Kishi Iban, *Kishi Iban Zenji goroku geshū*; and Sensō Esai, *Sensō Zenji goroku*; both in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:236b, 243a, 246a, 248a, 343b, 348b. Regarding the Japanese conceptions of where the departed reside, see Smith, *Ancestor Worship*, 63–68.

80. *Kanmon gyoki*, entry for 1416:11:24, in *Zoku gunsho ruijū hoi*, 3:52b.

81. Kishi Iban, *Kishi Iban Zenji goroku geshū*, in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:256b.

82. Mujū Dōgyō, “Kenninji no monto no naka ni rinju medetaki goto,” in *Shasekishū*, ed. Watanabe Tsunaya, chap. 10B, pp. 451–452.

83. Ishikawa Rikizan, “Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui shiron,” pt. 8, 179–183, 191–192; and Ishikawa Rikizan, “Zen no sōsō,” 144–146.

84. For the statistics used in this paragraph, see Hirose, “Zensō to sengoku shakai,” 406–407; and Hirose, *Zenshū chihō tenkaishi*, 499. The figures used below cannot be completely reliable due to the inherent ambiguity of medieval terminology.

85. Although the term *Zenni* originally meant “Zen nun,” it is one of the lowest Buddhist titles used for laywomen in Japanese Zen funerals, memorial services, and mortuary tablets.

86. *Gikai sōki*; and *Gasen Jōseki Zenji sōki*; both in ZSZ, vol. 2, *Shingi*, 2, 21.

87. An example of a medieval Sōtō convent is the one known as Sōjiji (located in Mikawa [modern Aichi Prefecture]).

88. Tajima, *Sōtōshū nisōshi*, 200–225.

89. *Rentōroku*, fasc. 4, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:301–302.

90. Eshun's biography prefaces this incident by explaining that Engakuji, with more than 1,000 monks, had a reputation for severe treatment of outsiders. When Ryōan wished to send a message to Engakuji's abbot, none of the monks from Saijōji would go. Only Eshun was willing to volunteer for the task. When the Engakuji monks saw her walk in through the main gate, they were determined to embarrass her. One of the monks rushed forward, raised his robe to expose himself and said: “This old monk's thing is three feet long.” Eshun, however, just calmly lifted her robe, spread her legs toward the monk, and said: “This nun's thing is deeper than that.” She then continued walking down the corridor. The only ones embarrassed were the monks.

91. Giun, *Giun oshō goroku*, ed. Ishikawa Rikizan, 47–48; alt. in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:18a.

92. Kishi Iban, *Kishi Iban Zenji goroku geshū*; and Sensō Esai, *Sensō Zenji goroku*; both in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:247b, 328b; also see 239a, 244a, 253b, 256b, 317a, 337a.

93. Tsūgen Jakurei, *Tsūgen Zenji goroku*; Fusai Zenkyū, *Fusai Zenji goroku*, and Don'ei Eō, *Don'ei Zenji goroku*; all in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:76a, 92a, 153a, 159, 385.

94. Kishi Iban, *Kishi Iban Zenji goroku geshū*; Sensō Esai, *Sensō Zenji goroku*; and Kikuin Zuitan, *Kikuin oshō agyo*; all in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:253b, 256b, 310a, 337a, 360b, 503b, 515a, 521a, 522b, 566a, 570a, 571a, 574a.

95. E.g., Kikuin Zuitan, *Kikuin oshō agyo*, in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:565a, 566a, 567a, 569b, 570a.

96. Shōdō Kōsei, *Entsū Shōdō Zenji goroku*, fascs. 4–5, in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:497b, 517–518; also see 508b, 509b, 510b, 513b, 517b, 518b.

97. Kikuin Zuitan, *Kikuin oshō agyo*, in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:571a; also see 566a, 567a, 569a, 574a.

98. The five obstructions mentioned in these sermons refer to the special defilements that are said to prevent women from ever attaining Buddhahood (see Lotus Sūtra, fasc. 5, chap. 12, in T, 9:35c). The three obediences refer to the belief that in youth, in maturity, and in old age, women always must obey first their parents, then their husbands, and finally their sons. The five obstructions also appear in Kishi Iban, *Kishi Iban Zenji goroku geshū*; and Sensō Esai, *Sensō Zenji goroku*; both in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1:239a, 244a, 247b, 307a, 309a, 313a, 315a, 318a, 322a, 336a, 339a, 348a, 358a, 362a.

99. Tamamuro, *Sōshiki Bukkyō*, 175–177.

100. For a detailed description of the *Ketsubonkyō* and its use in Japanese Buddhism, see Takemi Momoko, “‘Menstruation Sutra’ Belief in Japan,” 229–246.

101. *Ibid.*, 240–242.

102. According to this text, *mokuren* trees remove pollution.

103. In place of an illegible character I have inserted the word “confusion.”

104. *Kawara konpon no kirikami*, transmitted ca. 1628 by Meian Tōsai, reprinted in Ishikawa Rikizan, “Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui shiron,” pt. 4, 165b.

## 15. CONCLUSION

1. *Kenzeiki*, in *Shohon Kenzeiki*, 85–86.

2. Stanley Weinstein, “The Concept of Reformation in Japanese Buddhism,” 75–86.

3. Regarding organizational similarities between these two groups, see Foard, “In Search of a Lost Reformation,” 261–291. For an overview of the religious significance of these developments, see James C. Dobbins, “Envisioning Kamakura Buddhism,” 1–11.

4. Funaoka, “Kamakura shoki Zenshū no seiritsu,” 178–181; and *Zenshū no seiritsu*, 120–128.

5. Satō Shūkō, “Sōtō Zensha no Nitchū ōrai ni tsuite,” 281.

6. Funaoka, *Zenshū no seiritsu*, 241–242.

7. Regarding the Nanzenji Gate incident, see Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, 120–122.

8. *Nanzenji taiji soshō* (1368:8:4), reprinted in Tsuji, *Nihon Bukkyōshi*, vol. 4, *Chūseihen* 3, 308–329.

9. Funaoka, *Zenshū seiritsu*, 248.
10. Rapid promotions ended during the Tokugawa period because of government regulations requiring all Sōtō teachers to possess a minimum of twenty years' experience; see Tokugawa Ieyasu, *Eiheiji sho hatto*, in *Komonjo*, 1:20.
11. Holmes Welch, "Dharma Scrolls and the Succession of Abbots in Chinese Monasteries," 93–115; and Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism, 1900–1950*, 156–177.
12. Hirose, "Gennōha no Eiheiji-Sōjiji shusse mondai to Kantō jiin no dōkō," 212.
13. Baisan Monpon, *Ryūtakuji Monpon okibumi*, in *Komonjo*, no. 1886, 2:742.
14. In modern Sōtō the most well-known kōan debates (known as *hossen*; "Dharma Battles") occur at the beginning of the ninety-day training session.
15. Manzan Zuihō, *Manzan oshō Tōmon ejoshū*, leaf 7a, in *SBGZTS*, 20:606.
16. Dōgen, *Fukan zazengi* (1233:7:15), in *DZZ*, 2:4; and *Bendowa*, in *DZZ*, 1:732, 737, 741–742, alt. at 749, 755, 758–759.
17. *Kyakuhaimeiki*, fasc. 1, reprinted in *Kamakura kyū Bukkyō*, ed. Kamata Shigeo and Tanaka Hisao, 116.
18. Kōsō, "Zenshū kyōke idō no koto," in *Keiran jūyōshū*, fasc. 2, in *T*, 76: 539c–540a.
19. *Nanzenji taiji soshō*, reprinted in Tsuji, *Nihon Bukkyōshi*, vol. 4, *Chū-seihen* 3, 314.



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## Glossary

- agyo* 下語  
*Aizu Jigenji satasho* 會津示現寺沙汰書  
*ajari* 阿闍梨  
*Ajimi river* 味見川  
*aku muge* 惡無碍  
*Ama Ken'iu kishinjō* 尼けんいふ寄進狀  
*Ama Ryōko yuzurijō* 尼りやうこ讓狀  
*Ama Shiyun kishinjō* 尼しゆん寄進狀  
*Ama Soichi kishinjō* 尼祖一寄進狀  
*Amida* 阿彌陀  
*Amidaju* 阿彌陀咒  
*andojō* 安堵狀  
*ango* 安居  
*Ango* 安居  
*ankoku jidai* 闇黑時代  
*Annen* 安然  
*annon* 安穩  
*Annonji* 安穩寺  
*anri* 行履  
*anshō zenji* 暗證禪師  
*Aohara* 粟生原  
*Arachi* 愛發  
*Arakan* 阿羅漢  
*Asakura Takakage* 朝倉孝景  
*Ashikaga Gakkō* 足利學校  
*Ashikaga Tadayoshi* 足利直義  
*Ashikaga Takauji* 足利尊氏  
*ashō* 亞相  
*Asuwa river* 足羽川
- Atobe Kageie* 跡部景家  
*Atobe Kagetsugi* 跡部景次  
*Azegami Baisen* 畔上襟仙  
*Azucaridokoro Kamo bō* 預所鴨某
- Baihō Jikushin* 梅峰竺信  
*Baiin* 梅隱  
*Baika* 梅華  
*baiken* 賣券  
*Baikōin* 梅香院  
*Baisan Monpon* 梅山聞本  
*Baisan oshō jūshichikajō kingo* 梅山和尚十七箇條禁語  
*Baisan oshō jūshichikajō sadame* 梅山和尚十七箇條掟  
*Baisan oshō kaihōron* 梅山和尚戒法論  
*Ban'an Eishu* 萬安英種  
*Ban'an oshō monjū* 萬安和尚文集  
*Banjin Dōtan* 萬仞道坦  
*bansan* 晚參  
*Banshōji* 萬松寺  
*Bassui oshō gyōjitsu* 拔隊和尚行實  
*Bassui Tokushō* 拔隊得勝  
*Benchū* 辯註  
*bendō* 辨道  
*Bendōhō* 辨道法  
*Bendōwa* 辨道話  
*Benzaiten* 辯才天  
*Beppu Kageyuki* 別府景行

- besshi* 別弁  
*betsugo* 別語  
*biku* 比丘  
*bikuni* 比丘尼  
*Bishamon* 毘沙門  
*bō* 某  
*Bō gechijō* 某下知狀  
*Bokusan* 穆山  
*Bonmōkyō* 梵網經  
*Bonmōkyō ryakushō* 梵網經略抄  
*Bonsei* 梵清  
*bosatsukai* 菩薩戒  
*bugyōsō* 奉行僧  
*Bukke ichi daiji yawa* 佛家一大事夜話  
*Bukke no daiji* 佛家之大事  
*Bukkōjōji* 佛向上事  
*Bukkō kokushi goroku* 佛光國師語錄  
*bushi no kokoro* 武士ノ心  
*Bussetsu jūshikyō* 佛說咒齒經  
*Busshari sōden* 佛舍利相傳  
*Busshō* 佛生  
*Busshō* 佛性  
*Busshō no san* 佛性參  
*Busshū Sen'ei* 佛州仙英  
*Busso shōden bosatsukai kyōkai jumon*  
 佛祖正傳菩薩戒教授文  
*Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō* 佛祖正傳  
 菩薩戒作法  
*Busso shōden hōsan no daiji* 佛祖正傳飽  
 參之大事  
*Busso shōden zenkaishō* 佛祖正傳禪  
 戒鈔  
*Butsubutsu no yōki, soso no kiyō* 佛佛  
 之要機祖祖之機要  
*Butsudaji* 佛陀寺  
*Butsudaji miraisai no okibumi no anmon*  
 佛陀寺未來際之置文之案文  
*Butsuden* 佛殿  
*Butsudō* 佛道  
*Butsu nehan* 佛涅槃  
  
*Ch'an-lin pei-yung ch'ing-kuei* 禪林備  
 用清規  
*Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* 禪苑清規  
*Chieh-hsia* (Jpn. *Kaige*) 解夏  
*Chieh-hsia* (Jpn. *Ketsuge*) 結夏  
*Chien* 知圓  
*Chigen* 知玄  
*Chih-hsiu Pai-chang ch'ing-kuei* 勅修百  
 丈清規  
*Chikuba Kōtaku* 竹馬光篤  
*Chikudō Ryōgen* 竺堂了源  
*Chikuko Shōyū* 竹居正猷  
*Chikusan Tokusen* 竺山得僊  
*Chikusan Tokusen goroku* 竺山得僊  
 語錄  
*Chikushō jukai kirikami* 畜生授戒切紙  
*Chikusō Chikan* 竹憲智嚴  
*Ching-fu ssu* 景福寺  
*ch'ing-kuei* 清規  
*ch'ing-ming* 清明  
*Ching-te ssu* 景德寺  
*Ching-tz'u ssu* 淨慈寺  
*Ch'ing-yüan Hsing-ssu* 青原行思  
*chinjuki* 鎮守忌  
*Chiō Eishū* 智翁永宗  
*chishiki* 知識  
*Chishō* 智照  
*Chita* 知多  
*Chitō Shōgen* 智燈照玄  
*Chōenji* 長圓寺  
*Chōkai* 澄海  
*Chōkai ihai* 澄海位牌  
*Chōkei* 長溪  
*Chokushi Shinkū Zenji gyōdōki* 勅諭真  
 空禪師行道記  
*Chokushū Hyakujō shingi Untōshō* 勅修  
 百丈清規雲桃抄  
*chōsan* 朝參  
*Ch'üan-t'an-hsin* 勸檀信  
*Chūgan Engetsu* 中巖圓月  
*Chūgan Shōteki* 中巖正的  
*chūko Tendai* 中古天台  
*chūmon* 注文  
*Chung-feng Ming-pen* 中峰明本  
*chūshū* 中宵



- Chūtei 中庭  
 Chūyō 中庸  
  
 dai 代  
 Daianji 大安寺  
 dai anraku hōmon 大安樂法門  
 Daian Shueki 大菴須益  
 Daibutsuji 大佛寺  
 Daichi 大智  
 Daichi Zenji geju 大智禪師偈頌  
 Daichū Kōshun 大仲光椿  
 Daie 大慧  
 Daien Monsatsu 大淵文刹  
 Daigaku 大學  
 daigo 代語  
 Daigo 大悟  
 Dai hannyakyō 大般若經  
 Daihi jinshu 大悲神咒  
 Daijiji 大慈寺  
 Daijiji saikō chokushosha 大慈寺再興勅  
 書寫  
 Daijikkō 大集經  
 daijōbu 大丈夫  
 Daijōji 大乘寺  
 Daijōji ichiya hekiganben 大乘寺一夜碧  
 巖辨  
 Daijōji Sotetsu uketorijō 大乘寺素哲請  
 取狀  
 Daijō renpōshi 大乘聯芳志  
 Daiken Hōju 大賢鳳樹  
 Daiko 大古  
 Daikokuten 大黑天  
 Daikō Myōshū 大綱明宗  
 Daikū Genko 大空玄虎  
 Dainichi 大日  
 Daiō 大應  
 Daiō kana hōgo 大應假名法語  
 Dairyō Gumon 大了愚門  
 daisan 大參  
 Dai shugyō 大修行  
 Daisō Shūsa 大翁宗佐  
 Daitetsu Sōrei 大徹宗令  
 Daitōin 大洞院  
  
 Daitokuji 大德寺  
 Daitokuji Shūon'an 大德寺酬恩庵  
 Daitsūji 大通寺  
 Daiyūji 大用寺  
 Daruma 達磨  
 Darumaki 達磨忌  
 Darumashū 達磨宗  
 datsuraku shinjin 脫落身心  
 deigyū nyūkai 泥牛入海  
 denbō 傳法  
 Denbō shitsunai mitsuji monki 傳法室  
 內密示聞記  
 Den'e 傳衣  
 Denju no san: Nenge no wa 傳授參拈華  
 之話  
 Denkōroku 傳光錄  
 dentō 傳燈  
 Dentōin 傳燈院  
 Dentō kōroku 傳燈廣錄  
 deshī 弟子  
 dōgata 堂方  
 Dōgen 道元  
 Dōgenki 道元忌  
 dojijin 土地神  
 Dokuan Genkō 獨庵玄光  
 Don'ei Eō 曇英慧應  
 Don'ei oshō gyōjō 曇英和尚行狀  
 Don'ei oshō yuikai no sho 曇英和尚遺  
 戒之書  
 dōnin 道人  
 Donki 曇希  
 dono 殿  
 Donshū Tōrin 吞舟透鱗  
 Dōshin 道心  
 dōshu 堂衆  
 Dōsō Dōai 道叟道愛  
  
 e (transmission syllable) 懷  
 Echizen Eiheiji shōmei 越前永平寺鐘銘  
 Edo bakufu jisha bugyō tōshi 江戸幕府  
 寺社奉行達  
 Egi 懷義  
 ehon 會本

- Eichi 永智  
 Eigenji 永源寺  
 Eigen Keishō 榮嚴慶松  
 Eigi 永義  
 Eihei 永平  
*Eihei Buppō Dōgen Zenji kinenroku*  
 永平佛法道元禪師紀年錄  
*Eihei chūkō* 永平中興  
*Eihei daisandai Daijō kaisan dai oshō*  
*senge sōji kiki* 永平第三代大乘開山  
 大和尚遷化喪事規記  
*Eihei Dōgen oshō kōroku* 永平道元和尚  
 廣錄  
*Eihei Gen Zenji goroku* 永平元禪師語錄  
 Eiheiji 永平寺  
*Eiheiji jūjishoku no koto* 永平寺住持  
 職事  
*Eiheiji kaisan kigyō Hokke kōshiki* 永平  
 寺開山忌行法華講式  
*Eiheiji Sakyū shōjō* 永平寺祚球書狀  
*Eiheiji sanko ryōzuiki* 永平寺三箇靈  
 瑞記  
*Eiheiji sanso gyōgōki* 永平寺三祖行  
 業記  
*Eiheiji sho hatto* 永平寺諸法度  
*Eihei juko* 永平頌古  
*Eihei kaisan Dōgen dai oshō kana hōgo*  
 永平開山道元大和尚假名法語  
*Eihei kaisan Dōgen Zenji gyōjō Kenzeiki*  
 永平開山道元禪師行狀建擿記  
*Eihei kaisan gogyōjō* 永平開山御行狀  
*Eihei kaisan goyuigon kiroku* 永平開山  
 御遺言記錄  
*Eihei sanso gyōjōki* 永平三祖行業記  
*Eihei shitsuchū monsho* 永平室中聞書  
 Eikyō disturbance 永享ノ亂  
 Eikyū 永久  
 Einin 永仁  
 Eisai 榮西  
 Eishōin 永昌院  
 Eishū 英就  
 Eitokuji 永德寺  
 Ejō 懷辨(斐、弊、省)
- Ejō shōjōsha* 懷辨證狀寫  
 Ekan (Darumashū leader) 懷鑿  
 Ekan (Keizan's mother) 懷觀  
 Eki 懷暉  
 Ekkei Rin'eki 越溪麟易  
*ekō* 回向  
 ekyū 慧球  
 Enchi 圓智  
 Enchin 圓珍  
*endonkai* 圓頓戒  
*engaku* 緣覺  
 Engaku Daishi Daruma 圓覺大師達磨  
 Engakuji 圓覺寺  
 Enkō 圓公  
*Enkyōdo Sōtōshū jiin honmatsuchō* 延享  
 度曹洞宗寺院本末牒  
 Enni Ben'en 圓爾辯圓  
 Ennin 圓仁  
*enoki* 榎  
*Enpō dentōroku* 延寶傳燈錄  
 Enryakuji 延曆寺  
*Enshū Horie Shukuro Zenji kaisan*  
*Meiten Keiju dai Zenji goroku* 遠州  
 堀江宿蘆禪寺開山命天慶受大禪師  
 語錄  
*Ensō monsan* 圓相門參  
*Entsū Shōdō Zenji goroku* 圓通松堂禪  
 師語錄  
 Enzan Somei 圓山素明  
 Enzūin 圓通院  
*Enzūin gyōji no sadame* 圓通院行事定  
 Erin 慧林  
 Eryō 慧亮  
 Eshō 懷照  
 Eshun 慧春  
 Etsuō 悅翁  
  
*fa-chüan* 法卷  
 Fa-hsien 法顯  
*Fan-wang ching* 梵網經  
 Fugeshi District 鳳至郡  
 Fujiwara Masatsugu 藤原雅繼  
 Fujiwara Noriei 藤原教家

- Fujiwara Norikane baiken* 藤原章兼  
賣券  
*Fujiwara Norikane sarijō* 藤原章兼避狀  
*Fujiwara Toshihito* 藤原利仁  
*Fujiwara Toshitada baiken* 藤原利忠  
賣券  
*Fujiwara Toshitada sarijō* 藤原利忠避狀  
*Fujiwara Yoshiyasu* 藤原義康  
*Fu-jung Tao-k'ai* 芙蓉道楷  
*Fukan zazengi* 普勸坐禪儀  
*fukatoku shin* 不可得心  
*fukko* 復古  
*Fukushōji* 福昌寺  
*Fusaiji* 普濟寺  
*Fusai oshō jū Nōshū Shogakuzan Sōji*  
*Zenji goroku* 普濟和尚住能州諸  
 嶽山總持禪寺語錄  
*Fusai Zenkyū* 普濟善救  
*Fusan Yūden* 斧山勇傳  
*fusatsu* 布薩  
*Fusatsu ekōryō sokkagyō chūmon* 布薩  
 回向料足下行注文  
*Fusetsu* 附說  
*Fushaku* 不借  
*Fushiminomiya* 伏見宮  
*Fushukuhanhō* 赴粥飯法  
*fūsō* 風葬  
*Fusō zenrin sōbōden* 扶桑禪林僧寶傳  
*Futsū bosatsukai kōshaku* 普通菩薩戒  
 廣釋  
*Fuzōin kishiki* 普藏院規式  
  
*Gabyō* 畫餅  
*gaki* 餓鬼  
*gaku* 學  
*gakuryo* 學侶  
*gakushu* 學衆  
*ganbō manzoku* 願望滿足  
*gan* 龕  
*garanbō* 伽藍法  
*Gasan Jōseki* 峨山詔碩  
*Gasan monpa no shū Sōjiji jūban no koto*  
 峨山門派之衆總持寺住番之事  
  
*gechijō* 下知狀  
*Gekiō Sōjun* 逆翁宗順  
*Genanpō* 銀杏峰  
*Gen'e* 玄慧  
*Gengomon* 言語門  
*genjō* 現成  
*Genjō kōan* 現成公按  
*Genjū* 幻住  
*Genka Tekkyō* 眼可鐵鏡  
*Genkō Shakusho* 元亨釋書  
*Genmyō* 玄明  
*Gennō Shinshō* 源翁心昭  
*Gennō Zenjiden* 源翁禪師傳  
*Genshō Chinzan* 源照珍山  
*Genso Koun Tettsū san daison gyōjōki*  
 元祖孤雲徹通三大尊行狀記  
*genze riyaku* 現世利益  
*geshū* 外集  
*Gessen Ryōin* 月泉良印  
*Gessen Ryōin Zenji gyōjōki* 月泉良印禪  
 師行狀記  
*Getsuan* 月菴  
*Getsudō Sōki* 月堂宗規  
*Getsuin Shōsho* 月因性初  
*gi* (transmission syllable) 義  
*Gidaiji* 祇陀寺  
*gidan* 疑團  
*Gien* 義演  
*Giin* 義尹  
*Giin (Hōkyōji abbot)* 義印  
*Gijun* 義準  
*Gikai* 義介  
*Gikai (Higo Sōtō monk)* 義海  
*Gikan fuhōjō* 義鑿附法狀  
*Ginnanpō* 銀椀峰  
*Ginō* 義能  
*Gishō* 義勝  
*Gison* 義苐  
*Giun* (disciple of Jakuen) 義雲  
*Giun* (Darumashū monk) 義運  
*Giun oshō goroku* 義雲和尚語錄  
*Giyū* 義勇  
*go* 悟

- Godaigo 後醍醐  
 Gogyakunin monrai 五逆人聞雷  
 Gohanazono 後花園  
 goi 五位  
 Goichijō 後一條  
 gokikigaki 御聞書  
 Gokikigakishō 御聞書抄  
 Gokokuji 護國寺  
 Gokoku shōbōgi 護國正法義  
 Gokurakuin 極樂院  
 goma 護摩  
 go migo shihō 悟未悟嗣法  
 Gonara tennō rinji 後奈良天皇綸旨  
 Gonara tennō rinjisha 後奈良天皇綸旨寫  
 gon risshi 權律師  
 Gon risshi Jōken sademegaki 權律師定賢定書  
 Gorōhō 五老峰  
 goroku 語錄  
 Gosaga 後嵯峨  
 Gosha 五社  
 Goshikikō fushigi nikki 五色不思議日記  
 Goshiki saiunki 五色彩雲記  
 Goshō 御抄  
 Gotoba 後鳥羽  
 Goyō no ki 御影之記  
 Goyōzei tennō rinji 後陽成天皇綸旨  
 Goyūigon 御遺言  
 gozan 五山  
 Gozan jissatsuzu 五山十刹圖  
 Gozu 牛頭  
 Gukoku 愚谷  
 Guzeiin 弘誓院  
 Guze Kannon 弘誓觀音  
 Gyōbutsu Igi 行佛威儀  
 Gyōgi 行基  
 Gyōhō 行表  
 Gyōji jijo 行事次序  
 Gyokuin Eiyo 玉隱英瑛  
 Gyokukan 玉澗  
 Gyokukō Zuiyo 玉崗瑞輿  
 Gyokusenji 玉泉寺  
 Gyōnin 暁仁  
 Hachi dainingaku 八大人覺  
 Hachiman 八幡  
 ha (i.e., seppa) 破・說破  
 Hajakuji 波着寺  
 Hanrei 凡例  
 Hanshitsu Ryōei 繁室良榮  
 Ha'nyū Mura 羽生村  
 hanza 半座  
 Hasebe Hidetsura 長谷部透連  
 Hasebe Masatsura 長谷部正連  
 Hasebe Norinobu 長谷部のりのふ  
 Hasebe Ruriwaka 長谷部るりわか  
 Hasebe Yoritada 長谷部よりたた  
 Hasebe Zenshin 長谷部禪信  
 Hasshiki no sanwa 八識之參話  
 Hatano Izumo-no-kami Jirō Kongo 波多野出雲守次郎金吾  
 Hatano Motomasa 波多野元尚  
 Hatano Shigemichi 波多野重通  
 Hatano Tokimitsu 波多野時光  
 Hatano Yoshishige 波多野義重  
 hatsunehan 般涅槃  
 hatto 法度  
 Hau Hōō 破有法王  
 Heisenji 平泉寺  
 hekigan 碧巖  
 Hekigan Daikūshō 碧巖大空抄  
 Hekiganroku 碧巖錄  
 Hekiganshū 碧巖集  
 Hekiganshū dankan 碧巖集斷簡  
 Hekiganshūshō 碧巖集抄  
 hekigo 碧後  
 Hekizan nichiroku 碧山日錄  
 hekizen 碧前  
 Hiei, Mt. 比叡山  
 higan 彼岸  
 Higashiyama Kōtaiji 東山高台寺  
 Higo Daijiji Hokke shosha sekitōmei 肥後大慈寺法華書寫石塔銘  
 Higo Daijiji shōmei 肥後大慈寺鐘銘



- Higoshū Daijiji kaisan Kangan Zenji ryakuden* 肥後州大慈寺開山寒巖禪師略傳
- Higo Sōtō* 肥後曹洞
- hihon* 秘本
- hi'i* 被位
- hijiri* 聖
- hikkyō* 畢竟
- Hiko, Mt. 彦山
- Himitsu shōbō genzō* 秘密正法眼藏
- Himitsu shōbō genzō chūkai* 秘密正法眼藏注解
- hinin* 非人
- Hisodera 比蘇寺
- hisoka ni iwaku* 私云
- hizō* 秘藏
- Hoda kaisan Mugoku zenji goroku* 補陀開山無極禪師語錄
- Hodaji 補陀寺
- Hodaji honsan* 補陀寺本參
- Hoda kaisan Gessen Zenji goroku* 補陀開山月泉禪師語錄
- Hōgo: Kaisan no kotoba* 法語開山之言葉
- Hōgyoku 芳玉
- Hohan 浦帆
- hōin* 法位
- hōjō* 方丈
- Hōjō Noritoki 北條業時
- Hōjō Sadaaki 北條貞顯
- Hōjō Takatoki 北條高時
- Hōjō Tokimune 北條時宗
- Hōjō Tokiyori 北條時賴
- hōki* 法諱
- Hokkai 北海
- Hokke senbō* 法華懺法
- Hōkō bosatsu 放光菩薩
- Hōkōji Dono 法光寺殿
- Hōkyō 寶慶
- Hōkyōji 寶慶寺
- Hōkyōki* 寶慶記
- Hōkyō yuishoki* 寶慶由緒記
- hon* 本
- Honchō kōsōden* 本朝高僧傳
- Hōnen 法然
- hongaku hōmon* 本覺法門
- honji* 本寺
- honke* 本家
- honrai fushinin* 本來不死人
- honshō myōshu* 本證妙修
- honzan* 本山
- Hōō 法王
- Hōōji 寶應寺
- Hōonji 報恩寺
- Hōō Nōshō Zenji tōmei* 法王能照禪師塔銘
- Hōsenji (founded by Jōken) 寶泉寺
- Hōsenji (sponsored by the Yokose) 鳳仙寺
- Hosokawa Yoriyuki 細川賴之
- hossen* 法戰
- Hōten Ryūun 法天龍雲
- hōtō* 法燈
- Hottō 法燈
- hōza* 法座
- Hōzan (Yōkōji abbot) 寶山
- Hōzan Ajō 法山阿淨
- Hsiao fo-shih* 小佛事
- Hsiao-jen 儵然
- Hsia-t'ang Hui-yüan 瞎常慧遠
- Hsing-chuang* 行狀
- Hsiu-ch'an yao-chüeh* 修禪要決
- Hsü-t'ang Chih-yü 虛堂智愚
- Huan-chu-an ch'ing-kuei* 幻住庵清規
- Huang-po Hsi-yün 黃檗希運
- Hu-chieh* 護戒
- Hui-yen Chih-chao 晦巖智昭
- Hung-chih Ch'an-shih kuang-lu* 宏智禪師廣錄
- Hung-chih Cheng-chüeh 宏智正覺
- Hung-jen 弘忍
- Hyakurensō* 百練抄
- Hyakushaku kantō ni zashi yō wo? Dai, bōnen to shite zasu. Iwaku, jippō gen zenshin wo? Dai, odoridaosu. Iwaku, ku wo? Shinjin datsuraku; datsuraku*

- shinjin.* 百尺竿頭こ坐シ様ヲ・弋  
忘然ト坐ス、云、十方現全身ヲ、弋、  
躍倒ス、云、句於、身心脱落、脱落身  
心
- I-ching 義淨  
*ichi no miya* 一ノ宮  
Ichiunsai 一雲齋  
*Ichiya hekiganshū* 一夜碧巖集  
*ihai* 位牌  
Ichi 以一  
Ijira Ensō 伊自良圓聰  
Ijira Tomonari 伊自良知成  
Ijira Tomotoshi 伊自良知俊  
Ikka Bun'eī 一華文英  
Ikkei Eishū 一徑永就  
Ikkō ikki 一向一揆  
Ikkyū Sōjun 一休宗純  
Ikō 以磨  
I-k'ung (Jpn. Gikū) 義空  
Imazu Hiroataka 今津洪巖  
Inari 稻荷  
*inari* 居成  
Inazu 稻津  
*in'in ekishi* 因院易師  
*innen* 因緣  
*ino* 維那  
*ippō wo shōsuru toki wa ippō wa*  
*kurashi* 一方を證するときは一  
はくらし  
Ise 伊勢  
I-shan I-ning (Jpn. Issan Ichinei) 一山  
一寧  
Ishō Tokugan 惟肖得巖  
Isō Chūshin 爲宗仲心  
*isshi inshō* 一師印證  
*Isshū oshō isho* 一州和尚遺書  
Isshū Shōi 一州正尹  
Isurugiyama 石動山  
Itō Dōkai 伊藤道海  
Itsū Kieju 惟通桂儒  
Iwamatsu Iezumi 岩松家純
- Jakuen 寂圓  
*jakugo* 着語  
Jakushitsu 寂室  
*Jakushū Eifuku oshō sekkai* 若州永福和  
尚說戒  
*Jen-tien yen-mu* 人天眼目  
Jigenji 慈眼寺  
*jigoku* 地獄  
*Jikaishū* 自戒集  
Jikinyo-Chō 直如 叟  
Jikishi Gentan 直指玄端  
Jikokuten 持國天  
Jikugen Chōsai 竺源超西  
*Jikuinmon* 示庫院文  
Jinbō 神保  
*jinenchi* 自然智  
Jinenchishū 自然智宗  
*jinmiraisai okibumi* 盡未來際置文  
*Ji-pen-kuo ch'ien-kuang fa-shih*  
*ts'u-t'ang chi* 日本國千光法師祠  
堂記  
*jippō danna* 十方檀那  
Jippō Ryōshū 實峯良秀  
*Jippō Ryōshū Zenji goroku* 實峯良秀禪  
師語錄  
*Jiritsu zazen no koto* 持律坐禪事  
*Ji Ryōnen ni hōgo* 示了然尼法語  
*jisha* 侍者  
*Jisha bugyō* 寺社奉行  
*jishō no ichiro, keta no riyaku ni*  
*mukawazu* 自證之一路、不向化他  
之利益  
*Ji Shōzen shikō* 示性禪師公  
Jitō (empress) 持統  
*jitō* 地頭  
Jitokuji 自得寺  
*jitōshiki* 地頭職  
Jizō 地藏  
Jōa 成阿  
*jōan* 狀案  
Jōbokuin 淨牧院  
Jochū Tengin 如仲天閻

- Jochū Tengin hōgo* 如仲天閻法語  
*jōdō* 上堂  
*jōgyō* 淨行  
*Jōjūji* 淨住寺  
*Jōkan* 定觀  
*Jōkei* 貞慶  
*Jōken* 定覽  
*Jōken risshi Gasan oshō tōji sen'yūjō* 定覽律師峩山和尚當寺施入狀  
*Jōkin hōe fuzokujō* 紹瑾法衣附屬狀  
*Jōkin hotsuganmon* 紹瑾發願文  
*Jōkinki Butsuji shussen keiyakujō* 紹瑾忌佛事出錢契約狀  
*Jōkin nenki Butsuji sajō* 紹瑾年忌佛事差定  
*Jōkin okibumi* 紹瑾置文  
*Jōkin yuzurijō* 紹瑾讓狀  
*Jōkyū Disturbance* 承久ノ變  
*Jōseki jihitsu shojō* 韶碩自筆書狀  
*Jōseki monto renbanjō* 韶碩門徒連判狀  
*Jōseki okibumi* 韶碩置文  
*Jōseki yuimotsu bunpaijō* 韶碩遺物分配狀  
*Jōshin'in* 定心院  
*Jōshōan* 常昭庵  
*Jōshōji* 常昭寺  
*Jōshū Daisenzan Hodaji zoku denki* 上州大泉山補陀寺續傳記  
*Jōtō shōgakuron narabi ni Eian sōdōki* 成等正覺論并永安僧堂記  
*Jōwa* 貞和  
*jōya* 除夜  
*jōya no shōsan* 除夜之小參  
*Jōyōan* 承陽庵  
*Jōzan Ryōkō* 定山良光  
*Ju bosatsukaigi* 授菩薩戒儀  
*Ju-ching* 如淨  
*Ju-ching lu* 如淨錄  
*jūji* 住持  
*Jūjishoku nin katai monjo no koto* 住持職人可帶文書事  
*jukai* 授戒  
*Jukai* 受戒  
*jukaie* 授戒會  
*Ju Kakushin kaimyaku okugaki* 授覺心戒脈奧書  
*Juki* 授記  
*Juko* 頌古  
*jumon hosshi* 誦文法師  
*jun'itsu narazu* 純一ならず  
*Ju Rikan kaimyaku* 授理觀戒脈  
*jūrokujōkai* 十六條戒  
*Jūroku rakan genzuiki* 十六羅漢瑞記  
*ju-shih* 入室  
*jūsanki* 住山記  
*Jūsoku shōbō genzō* 十則正法眼藏  
*Jusshu chokumon* 十種勅問  
*Jusshu gitai* 十種疑帶  
*Juun Ryōchin* 壽雲良椿  
*ju-yao* 乳藥  
*jūzenji* 十禪師  
*Jūzoku Nichiiki Tōjō sho soden* 重續日域洞上諸祖傳  
*Kageyu Kōji Fujiwara Kanenaka* 勘解由小路藤原兼仲  
*Kaian Myōkei* 快庵妙慶  
*kaidō seppō* 開堂說法  
*Kaiganji* 海岸寺  
*kaige* 解夏  
*Kaihan kenshi no rei* 開版禁止令  
*Kaihō no honji* 戒法之品次  
*kaiki* 開基  
*kairo* 開壚  
*kaisan* 開山  
*kaisantō* 開山塔  
*kaishū* 戒集  
*Kakua* 覺阿  
*Kakuan* 覺晏  
*Kakunen* 覺念  
*Kakushin ju Shin'yu kaimyaku* 覺心授心瑜戒脈  
*Kamakura kanrei* 鎌倉管領

- Kamakura Shōgunke migyōshoan* 鎌倉  
將軍家御教書安  
*kami* 神  
*kan* 貫  
*Kana kenshōshō* 假名見性抄  
*kanchō* 管長  
*Kanchūki* 勘仲記  
*kan'en* 勸緣  
*kan'ensho* 幹緣疏  
*Kangan* 寒巖  
*Kangan Giin Zenji ganmon* 寒巖義尹禪  
師願文  
*kan'in* 監院  
*kanjin* 觀心  
*Kanjin* 觀真  
*Kankai* 寬海  
*Kankei* 環溪  
*kankin* 看經  
*Kankō ruijū* 漢光類聚  
*kanmon* 貫文  
*Kanmon gyoki* 看聞御記  
*kanna* 看話  
*Kannon* 觀音  
*Kannon Dōriin* 觀音導利院  
*kanpaku* 關白  
*Kanshō* 觀照  
*kanshu* 貫首  
*Kao-seng Fa-hsien ch'uan* 高僧法顯傳  
*Karaten* 迦羅天  
*kari ren* 火裏蓮  
*Kasan'in Saishō Zennmon Shakuen* 花山  
院宰相禪門釋圓  
*kashaku* 掛錫  
*Kashū Shōjurin Daijō gokoku Zenji*  
*shitsunai mitsuden kirikami* 加州松  
樹林大乘護國禪寺室內密傳切紙  
*kasō* 火葬  
*Kasuga castle* 春日城  
*Kasugazan Rinsen kaisan Don'ei Zenji*  
*goroku* 春日山林泉開山曇英禪師  
語錄  
*kata gishiki* 掛塔儀式  
*Katsuharan* 活波瀾  
*Kawajiri Minamoto Yasuaki* 河尻源泰明  
*Kawara konpon no kirikami* 河原根本之  
切紙  
*Kazō Gidon* 華藏義曇  
*kechi bakari* 血斗  
*kechien kanjō* 結緣灌頂  
*kechimyaku* 血脈  
*Kechimyakushū* 血脈衆  
*Kegonkyō* 華嚴經  
*Keitokuji* 景德寺  
*Keizan Jōkin* 瑩山紹瑾  
*Keizan oshō shitsuchū okibumi* 瑩山和  
尚室中置文  
*Keizan shingi* 瑩山清規  
*Keizan teison mondō* 瑩山帝尊問答  
*Kenchōji* 建長寺  
*Kendō* 謙堂  
*Kenfukuji* 建福寺  
*Ken'iu* けんいふ  
*Ken Jōdo denkairen* 顯淨土傳戒論  
*Kenkō* 建綱  
*kenkō* 遣蝗  
*Kenkon'in* 乾坤院  
*Kenkon'inbon* 乾坤院本  
*kenmitsu* 顯密  
*Kenninji* 建仁寺  
*Kenninji no monto no naka ni rinjū*  
*medetaki goto* 建仁寺ノ門徒ノ中二  
臨終目出事  
*kenshō* 見性  
*Kenshōron* 見性論  
*Kenzei* 建擲  
*Kenzeiki* 建擲記  
*Kesa kudoku* 袈裟功德  
*Ketsubonkyō* 血盆經  
*Ketsudō Nōshō* 傑堂能勝  
*Ketsudō oshō gyōjō oyobi Kenshū oshō*  
*nenpu* 傑堂和尚行狀及謙宗和尚  
年譜  
*ketsuge* 結夏  
*Kie sanbō* 歸依三寶  
*kigai* 己亥  
*Kijun* 喜純



- kikan* 機關  
*kikigaki* 聞書  
*Kikuchi* 菊池  
*Kikuchi Takemori* 菊池武澄  
*Kikuchi Takenao* 菊池武直  
*Kikuchi Takesada* 菊池武貞  
*Kikuchi Takesada nado rokumei rensho*  
*kishōmon* 菊池武貞等六名連署起  
 請文  
*Kikudō Soei* 菊堂祖英  
*Kikuin oshō agyo* 菊隱和尚下語  
*Kikuin Zuitan* 菊隱瑞潭  
*Kikyōmon* 龜鏡文  
*Kindō Ryōkiku* 金堂良菊  
*Kinome Tōge* 木ノ芽峠  
*Kinryūji* 金龍寺  
*Kinsei Village* 金生村  
*Kippōji* 吉峰寺  
*kirikami* 切紙  
*Kiryū* 桐生  
*kisei* 祈晴  
*Kisen Shūshō* 龜泉周勝  
*kisetsu* 祈雪  
*kishi* 癸巳  
*Kishi Iban* 器之爲璠  
*Kishi Iban Zenji goroku geshū* 器之爲璠  
 禪師語錄外集  
*kishinjō* 寄進狀  
*kishin jōan* 寄進狀案  
*Kishizawa Bunko* 岸澤文庫  
*Kishizawa Ian* 岸澤惟安  
*kishōjō* 起請狀  
*kishōmon* 起請文  
*Kishun* 喜舜  
*kissho hajime* 吉書始  
*Kita Asuwa* 北足羽  
*kitō* 祈禱  
*kiu* 祈雨  
*Kiun Sokyoku* 旗雲祖旭  
*Kiyosumi, Mt.* 清澄山  
*Kiyū* 喜雄  
*kōan* 公按  
*Koan Rintotsu* 虛安麟咄  
*Koan Shikan* 壺菴至簡  
*Kōben* 高辯  
*Kōfukuji* 興福寺  
*Kōfukuji sōjō* 興福寺奏狀  
*Kofuse* 小布施  
*Kōgan Shōden* 光嚴正電  
*Kōgon* 光嚴  
*Kōgon jōkōin sen'an* 光嚴上皇院宣案  
*Kohō Chisan* 孤峯智璨  
*Kohō Kakumyō* 孤峰覺明  
*kōjō* 向上  
*Kokaidai* 巨海代  
*Kokaidaishō* 巨海代抄  
*Kokai Ryōtatsu* 巨海良達  
*Kōka keifuden* 弘化系譜傳  
*Kokan Shiren* 虛關師鍊  
*Kōkenji* 孝顯寺  
*Kokkyōshū* 谷響集  
*Kokūzō* 虛空藏  
*Koma* 小間  
*Komashi* 小間氏  
*komonjo* 古文書  
*Kō Moronao shōjō* 高師直書狀  
*Kōmyō* 光明  
*Kōmyō hōji nyūdō zen kanpaku*  
*Michiiekō shobunjō* 光明峰寺入道  
 前關白道家公處分狀  
*Kōmyō shingon* 光明真言  
*Kōmyōzō zanmai* 光明藏三昧  
*Kongo* 金吾  
*Kongōchō mujō shōshū dentō kōroku*  
 金剛頂無上正宗傳燈廣錄  
*kongō hannya* 金剛般若  
*Kongōkyō* 金剛經  
*Kongō Zanmaiin* 金剛三昧院  
*Konoe Iezane* 近衛家實  
*Konoe Kanetsune* 近衛兼經  
*kōrō no san* 香爐ノ參  
*Kōsan Myōsan* 香山妙三  
*kōshi* 孝子  
*Kōshin* 宏心  
*Koshitsu Shunsaku* 虎室春策  
*Kōshōji* 興聖寺

- Kōshōji goroku* 興聖寺語錄  
*Kōshū* 光周  
*Kōtaiji* 高台寺  
*Kōtakuji* 高澤寺  
*Kōtakuzan Fusaiji nichiyō shingi* 高澤山  
 普濟寺日用清規  
*Koten Shūin* 古篆周印  
*Kōtokuji* 皇德寺  
*Kōzan Tetsuma* 恒山鐵磨  
*Kozen* 古禪  
*Kōzen gokokuron* 興禪護國論  
*Kōzuke Sōrinji denki* 上野雙林寺傳記  
*kū* 空  
*Kua-ta* 掛搭  
*Kuei-ching wen* 龜鏡文  
*kufū* 功夫  
*Kuga Mitsun* 久我密雲  
*Kujō Michiie* 九條道家  
*kumonsen* 公文錢  
*Kuroishi, Mt.* 黑石山  
*Kyakuhaimōki* 却廢忘記  
*Kyōgō* 經豪  
*Kyōjijōron* 教時諍論  
*kyōkai* 教會  
*Kyōkai jumon* 教戒授文  
*Kyōkai shishin* 教海指針  
*Kyōō Unryō* 恭翁運良  
*Kyoshitsu Sokū* 虛室祖空  
*Kyōun shishū* 狂雲詩集  
*Kyōunshū* 狂雲集  
*Kyūgai Donryō* 久外嬭良  
*Kyūgan Tōeki* 久岩東奕  
*Kyūka* 九華  
*Kyūki* 舊記  
  
*Lan-hsi Tao-lung* 蘭溪道隆  
*Leng-yen chou* 楞嚴咒  
*Li chi* 禮記  
*Ling-yin ssu* 靈隱寺  
*Lin-chi* 臨濟  
*Lin-chi lu* 臨濟錄  
*Lin-chi I-hsüan* 臨濟義玄  
*liu-nien* 六念  
*Lü* 律  
  
*Maka hannya haramitsu* 摩訶般若波  
 羅蜜  
*Mangen Shibān* 卍元師蠻  
*Manzan Dōhaku* 卍山道白  
*Manzan oshō Tōmon ejoshū* 卍山和尚洞  
 門衣初集  
*Masadokoro* 政所  
*mata min to omoshi toki no aki dani mo*  
*koyoi no tsuki ni nerareya wasuru*  
 又見んと思し時の秋だにも今夜の  
 月に寝れやわする  
*Ma-tsu Tao-i* 馬祖道一  
*Meian* 明菴  
*Meian Tōsai* 明庵東祭  
*Meihōha Gasanha gizetsu no toki kanrei*  
*Hatakeyama kata soshō no meyasu*  
 明峰派峨山派儀絶之時管領畠山方  
 訴訟目安  
*Meihō oshō hōgo* 明峰和尚法語  
*Meihō Sotetsu* 明峰素哲  
*Meihō Sotetsu Zenji sōki* 明峰素哲禪師  
 喪記  
*Meikyoku Sokushō* 明極即證  
*Meisan* 明珊  
*Meishitsu* 明室  
*Meiten Keiju* 命天慶受  
*Meiten Keiju dai Zenji rinjū Esshū*  
*Kichijōzan Eihei Zenji hōgo* 命天慶  
 受大禪師輪住越州吉祥山永平禪寺  
 法語  
*meiyaku* 盟約  
*mekake* 妾  
*Menju* 面授  
*menju shihō* 面授嗣法  
*Menzan Zuihō* 面山瑞方  
*metsuzai* 滅罪  
*meyasu* 目安  
*migyōsho* 御教書  
*mikawari* 身代り  
*mikuriya* 御厨  
*Minamoto Michitomo* 源通具  
*Minamoto Tsuneyori* 源經賴  
*Miroku* 彌勒  
*missan* 密參

- missanchō* 密參帳  
*missanroku* 密參錄  
*Miyamachō* 美山町  
*Mizuno* 水野  
*Mōan* 蒙菴  
*mokuba kachū* 木馬火中  
*mokuren* 木蓮  
*mon* 文  
*Monjū* 文殊  
*Monkaku* 門鶴  
*Monpon jihitsu shojō* 聞本自筆書狀  
*monsan* 門參  
*monto* 門徒  
*monto hissan* 門徒秘參  
*Morin Shihan* 茂林芝繁  
*Morita Goyū* 森田悟由  
*Morookadera* 諸岡寺  
*Morooka Hiko Jinja* 諸岡比古神社  
*Morotake Ekidō* 諸嶽變堂  
*Motsugo jukai no sahō* 沒後授戒作法  
*Motsugo sasō no san* 沒后作僧參  
*Mugai Chikō* 無涯智洪  
*Mugai Enshō* 無外圓照  
*Mugaku Sogen* 無學祖玄  
*Mugoku Etetsu* 無極慧徹  
*mui* 無爲  
*mui shinnin* 無位真人  
*Mujaku Dōchū* 無著道忠  
*Mujaku Myōyū* 無著妙融  
*Mujū Dōgyō* 無住道曉  
*Mukyū* 無求  
*Mumei sasshi* 無名冊子  
*Mumonkan* 無門關  
*Mumonkanshō* 無門關抄  
*musa* 無作  
*Musai Junshō* 無際純證  
*Musetsu* 無說  
*mushin* 無心  
*Musō kokushi goroku* 夢窓國師語錄  
*Musō Soseki* 夢窓疎石  
*Mutan Sokan* 無端祖環  
*Mutei Ryōshō* 無底良韶  
*Mutō Esū* 無等慧崇  
*Myōchi* 明智  
*Myōden* 妙田  
*Myōe* 明惠  
*Myōgonji* 妙嚴寺  
*Myōjō* 妙淨  
*Myōōji* 妙應寺  
*Myōrakuji* 妙樂寺  
*Myōshō* 明照  
*myōshu* 名主  
*Myōtokusan Senpukujiki* 妙徳山泉福  
寺記  
*Myōzen* 明全  
*Myōzen gusokukaichō* 明全具足戒牒  
*Myōzen oshō kaichō okugaki* 明全和尚  
戒牒奧書  
  
*Nagao Kagenaka* 長尾景仲  
*Nagao Kagenobu* 長尾景信  
*Nagao Kagetora* 長尾景虎  
*Nagao Shōken yōzōki* 長尾昌賢影像記  
*Nagao Yoshikage* 長尾能景  
*Naikaku Bunko* 內閣文庫  
*Nakamikado Nobutane* 中御門宣胤  
*Naka-no-hama* 中濱  
*Namitsukidera* 波着寺  
*Nan'ei Kenshū* 南英謙宗  
*Nan-hai chi-kuei nei-fa ch'uan* 南海寄  
歸內法傳  
*Nankoku rōshi sanjūshikan* 南谷老師三  
十四關  
*Nanpo Shōmyō* 南浦紹明  
*Nanto Eizan kaishōretsu no koto* 南都叡  
山戒勝劣事  
*Nanzenji* 南禪寺  
*Nanzenji taiji soshō* 南禪寺對治訴訟  
*Narita Ietoki* 成田家時  
*Nasu, Mt.* 那須  
*nehan* 涅槃  
*nenbutsu* 念佛  
*nenge* 捻華  
*Nichiiki Sōtō reiso gyōgōki* 日域曹洞列  
祖行業記  
*Nichiiki Sōtō shitsunai tekiteki hitsuden*  
*mippō kirikami* 日或曹洞室內嫡嫡  
秘傳密法切紙

- Nichiren 日蓮  
*Nidai iwaku Eihei monka san datsuraku*  
*no wa ari, kedashi kore kaisan oshō*  
*Tendō ni aru toki no gosho nari* 二代  
 曰永平門下有三脱落之語，蓋是開  
 山和尚在天童時悟處也
- nien-fo-ch'ien* 念佛錢  
*Nien-sung* 念誦  
*Nihon shoki* 日本書記  
*Nihon Tōjō rentōroku* 日本洞上聯燈錄  
*Niji Gozan* 尼寺五山  
*Ninden genmokushō* 人天眼目抄  
*Ninkū* 仁空  
*Ninnō Jōki* 仁叟淨熙  
*ninnun* 任運  
*Nipponkoku Echizen Eiheiji chiji shingī*  
 日本國越前永平寺知事清規  
*Nipponkoku shuden Zenshūki* 日本國首  
 傳禪宗記  
*Nippon Tōjō shiha no zu* 日本洞上枝派  
 之圖
- Nishiari Kin'ei* 西有瑾英  
*nisoki* 二祖忌  
*Nisshin Monrō* 日辰文貌  
*nissō denbō* 入宋傳法  
*Nittō guhō junrei gyōki* 入唐求法巡禮  
 行記  
*Nobutane kyōki* 宣胤卿記  
*Nōgaku kyōhō* 能巖教報  
*Noma* 野間  
*Nōnin* 能忍  
*Nonoichi Mura* 野野市村  
*Nōshū Tōkoku kaisan hōgo* 能州洞谷開  
 山法語  
*Nōshū Tōkokusan Yōkōji Keizan oshō*  
*goroku* 能州洞谷山永光寺瑩山  
 和尚語錄
- Numata* 沼田  
*Nyo Gen kakugaishū* 如元格外集  
*Nyoirin Kannon* 如意輪觀音  
*Nyojō* 如淨  
*Nyokin* 如忻  
*Nyorai* 如來
- Nyoraiji* 如來寺  
*nyūjō* 入定  
*nyusshitsu* 入室
- Ōan Taihaku* 應菴太白  
*Ōbaku Kiun* 黃檗希運  
*Obata* 小幡  
*Oda Nobunaga* 織田信長  
*Oda Nobunaga kingo* 織田信長禁語  
*Ō hashi kan'ensho* 大渡橋幹緣疏  
*Ō hashi kuyō sōki* 大渡橋供養草記  
*okibumi* 置文  
*Onjōji* 園城寺  
*onkai* 陰界  
*Ōno District* 大野郡  
*Onryōken nichiroku* 蔭涼軒日錄  
*Ōryū* 黃龍  
*Oshino* 押野  
*oshō* 和尚  
*otsubi* 乙未
- Pai-chang Huai-hai* 百丈懷海  
*Pai-chang kuei-sheng-song* 百丈規繩頌  
*Pai-chang kuei-shih* 百丈規式  
*p'ien-li-wen* 駢儷文  
*Pi-yen lu* 碧巖錄  
*p'u-ch'ing* 普請
- Rai Yōkō Kaisantō* 禮永興開山塔  
*rakan* 羅漢  
*Rakan kuyō shikimon* 羅漢供養式文  
*rakkyo* 落居  
*Ranzen Shun'yū* 懶禪舜融  
*Reiju* 靈儒  
*Reinan Shūjo* 嶺南秀恕  
*Reishōji* 靈松寺  
*Reiun Bonryū* 嶺雲梵龍  
*renbanjō* 連判狀  
*Renchū* 練中  
*richi* 理智  
*rinji* (a.k.a. *rinshi*) 繪旨  
*rinjū* 輪住  
*rinka* 林下



- Rinzai 臨濟  
 Rinzai Gigen 臨濟義玄  
 Rinzairoku 臨濟錄  
 rishōtō 利生塔  
 Rissenji 立川寺  
 rissshi 律師  
 rissō nyusshitsu 立僧入室  
 rissō shuso 立僧首座  
 rōbashin 老婆心  
 Rogaku Tōto 盧嶽等都  
 rōhachi 臘八  
 Rokuharamitsuji 六波羅密寺  
 Roku Jizōji 六地藏寺  
 Ruijū zatsurei 類聚雜例  
 ryaku kaigi 略戒儀  
 ryō 兩  
 Ryōan Emyō 了菴慧明  
 Ryōdō Shinkaku 了堂真覺  
 Ryōgonshu 楞嚴咒  
 ryōkan 兩關  
 Ryōkan 了鑑  
 ryōke 領家  
 Ryōke bō kishinjō 領家某寄進狀  
 Ryōke Sakurai bō kishinjō 領家櫻井某  
 寄進狀  
 Ryōko りやうこ  
 Ryokugan Gonryū 綠巖嚴柳  
 Ryōnen 了然  
 Ryōnen Eichō 了然永超  
 Ryōshitsu 了室  
 Ryōshō yumeki 良昭夢記  
 Ryōzen'in 靈山院  
 Ryūenji 龍淵寺  
 Ryūen nisei Kiun-Kyoku oshō goroku 龍  
 淵二世旗雲旭和尚語錄  
 Ryūen sansei Itsū oshō goroku 龍淵三  
 世惟通和尚語錄  
 Ryūen Seijun Kiun Itsū goroku narabi ni  
 gyōjō 龍淵清順旗雲惟通語錄並  
 行狀  
 Ryūkain 龍花院  
 Ryūkeiji 龍溪寺  
 Ryūkoku Donshō 隆谷吞紹  
 Ryūonji 龍穩寺  
 Ryūsenji 龍泉寺  
 Ryūsui Nyotoku 龍水如得  
 Ryūtaiji 龍泰寺  
 Ryūtakuji 龍澤寺  
 Ryūtakuji hatto 龍澤寺法度  
 Ryūtakuji Monpon okibumi 龍澤寺聞  
 本置文  
 Ryūtakuji saiken kangechōsha 龍澤寺再  
 建勸化帳寫  
 ryūten 龍天  
 Ryūten jukai kirikami 龍天授戒切紙  
 Ryūten kankin 龍天看經  
 Ryūunji 龍雲寺  
 Sadafusa 貞成  
 sadame 定  
 sadamegaki 定書  
 Saemonjō Taira bō kishinjō 左衛門尉平  
 某寄進狀  
 Saga 嵯峨  
 Saichō 最澄  
 saidō 西堂  
 saidōi 西堂位  
 saigin 再吟  
 Saijōji 最乘寺  
 Saijū 齊柔  
 saimon 祭文  
 Saishōkōin 最勝光院  
 saitan 歲旦  
 Sakai 堺  
 Sakai Norikane 酒井章兼  
 Sakai Noritsune 酒井章長  
 Sakai Toshitada 酒井利忠  
 Sakō Yorichika 酒勾賴親  
 Sakō Yorimoto 酒勾賴基  
 Sakyū 祚球  
 san 參  
 san (mistake for san) 贊  
 Sanbōji 三寶寺  
 sandai sōron 三代相論  
 sangaku 三學  
 sankan 三關

- Sanjigō 三時業  
 Sanjūshichi bodai bunpō 三十七品菩提  
 分法  
 Sankoku shōden bosatsukai kechimiyaku  
 三國正傳菩薩戒血脈  
 Sankon zazensetsu 三根坐禪說  
 sanmi 三位  
 sanmi no kirikami 三位之切紙  
 Sanmoku issōji 三木一草事  
 sanmon 山門  
 sanro 三路  
 Sansen 山川  
 Sanshū Hakuryū 三洲白龍  
 Sanshū Taki Hōsenji kyūki 參洲龍法泉  
 寺舊記  
 Sansuikyō 山水經  
 San'un kaigetsu 山雲海月  
 sanwa 參話  
 sanzen 參禪  
 Sanzen gakudō myōjutsu 參禪學道妙術  
 sarijō 去狀  
 Sasō gishiki: Motsugo jukai sahō 作僧儀  
 式、沒後授戒作法  
 satori 悟  
 satsu 撈  
 segaki 施餓鬼  
 seidō 聖堂  
 Seigenzan Yōtakuji gyōji no shidai 青原  
 山永澤寺行事之次第  
 Seihō 青峰  
 Seizen Dōseki 盛禪洞爽  
 sekensō jōjū 世間相常住  
 Sekichū Eisan 石宙永珊  
 Sekidōzan 石動山  
 Sekioku Shinryō 石屋真梁  
 Sekioku Zenji tōmei 石屋禪師塔銘  
 Sekitō Kisen 石頭希遷  
 Sekkō Tokuchū 節香德忠  
 Senjishō 撰時抄  
 senju 專修  
 Senkeiji 泉溪寺  
 Senkōji 千光寺  
 Senmen 洗面  
 Senne 詮慧  
 Senpuku gentō rokushō 泉福源燈錄抄  
 Senpukuji 泉福寺  
 Senpukuji Yōshitsu 泉福寺影室  
 senshi 先師  
 Senshin 專信  
 Sensō Esai 川僧慧濟  
 Sensō Zenji goroku 川僧禪師語錄  
 Senten 先天  
 seppa 說破  
 Sesonji 世尊寺  
 sesshōseki 殺生石  
 Shaka 釋迦  
 Shakuen 釋圓  
 Shakuun 釋運  
 shami 沙彌  
 Shami Chien nado kishinjō 沙彌知圓等  
 寄進狀  
 shamini 沙彌尼  
 Sha-mi shou-chieh wen 沙彌受戒文  
 Shao-pao ssu 紹寶寺  
 shari 舍利  
 Shari sōdenki 舍利相傳記  
 Shasekishū 沙石集  
 shasui 灑水  
 shi 師  
 Shibata Katsuie 柴田勝家  
 Shibata Katsuie gechijō 柴田勝家下  
 知狀  
 Shibunritsu 四分律  
 shichibutsu tsūkaige 七佛通戒偈  
 Shichidōsan 七堂參  
 shichiseki 七夕  
 Shidō Shōyū 斯道紹由  
 Shigeno Nobunao 滋野信直  
 Shigetsu Ein 指月慧印  
 Shihi 志比  
 shihinju 四賓主  
 shihō 嗣法  
 Shih-shih yao-lan 釋氏要賢  
 Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien 石頭希遷  
 Shih-tzu 獅子  
 shikan'in 止觀院

- shikishamana* 式叉摩那  
*Shikishō* 史記抄  
*shikō* 師香  
*Shikō Sōden* 芝岡宗田  
*Shimazu Atsutada* 島津敦忠  
*Shimofusa Sōnejiki* 下總總寧寺記  
*shin* 信  
*shinchi* 心智  
*Shinchi Kakushin* 心地覺心  
*Shin fukatoku* 心不可得  
*Shingaku gyōyōshō* 新學行要鈔  
*Shingan Dōkū* 真巖道空  
*shingi* 清規  
*Shingon* 真言  
*Shingon ajari* 真言阿闍梨  
*shingon'in* 真言院  
*Shingonshū kyōjigi* 真言宗教時義  
*Shingyō* 心經  
*shinji* 真字  
*shinjin datsuraku* 身心脱落  
*Shinjin gakudō* 身心學道  
*shinjin kado* 神人化度  
*Shinkō Shōzoku Zenji* 真興正續禪師  
*Shinkū* 真空  
*shinmeisha* 神明社  
*shinnyo hosshō no kaihō* 真如法性之  
 戒法  
*shinri* 真理  
*Shinsan jisan narabi ni geju* 真贊自贊并  
 偈頌  
*Shin Zenkōji* 新善光寺  
*Shinzo, a.k.a. Baika shisho, Baika, Den'e,*  
*Shisho, Shinsho* 陞座、梅花嗣書、梅  
 花、傳衣、嗣書、信書  
*Shinzō estate* 神藏莊  
*Shiroi* 白井  
*Shiryō* 至遼  
*shisetsu raigi* 四節禮儀  
*shishaku* 四借  
*Shishihō* 事師法  
*shisho* 嗣書  
*Shisho* 嗣書  
*shishō Gasan oshō* 師匠峨山和尚  
*Shitsuchū kirikami--zen* 室中切紙, 全  
*Shiyun* しゆん  
*shō/jō* (transmission syllable) 紹  
*Shoaku makusa* 諸惡莫作  
*shoaku makusa shozen bugyō* 諸惡莫  
 作、諸善奉行  
*Shōan* 照菴  
*Shōben* 勝弁  
*shōbō* 正法  
*shōbō genzō* 正法眼藏  
*Shōbō genzō benchū* 正法眼藏辯註  
*Shōbō genzō bonmokuju narabi jo* 正法  
 眼藏品目頌并序  
*Shōbō genzō bonmoku jussan* 正法眼藏  
 品目述贊  
*Shōbō genzō byakujaketsu* 正法眼藏闡  
 邪訣  
*Shōbō genzōgo* 正法眼藏語  
*Shōbō genzō gokikigaki* 正法眼藏御  
 開書  
*Shōbō genzō senpyō* 正法眼藏僭評  
*Shōbō genzōshō* 正法眼藏抄  
*Shōbō genzō zatsubun* 正法眼藏雜文  
*Shōbō genzō zuimonki* 正法眼藏隨聞記  
*Shōbōji* 正法寺  
*Shōbōji Shōbō genzō no yūrai* 正法寺正  
 法眼藏由來  
*Shōbō shingi* 正法清規  
*Shōbō tekiden shishi ikkushū* 正法嫡傳  
 獅子一吼集  
*Shōchū Shōtan* 正中祥瑞  
*Shōden* 聖天  
*Shōdō Kōsei* 松堂高盛  
*Sho ekō shingishiki* 諸回向清規式  
*shōen* 莊園  
*Shōenji* 祥園寺  
*Shōfukuji* 聖福寺  
*Shōgaku* 正學  
*Shōgan* 松岸  
*Shōgei* 聖岡  
*Shōgen Sōju* 松嚴宗壽  
*shogo kōten* 初後更點  
*shōgun* 將軍

- Shōhō 招寶  
 Shōichi kokushi goroku 聖一國師語錄  
 Shōji 生死  
 shokan 初關  
 shoki 書記  
 shōmono 抄物  
 shōmotsu 抄物  
 Shōrin 少林  
 Shōryūji 正龍寺  
 shōsan 小參  
 Shōsan Chihō 蕭山智鳳  
 Shōshichō 小師帳  
 Shōshin 證真  
 Shoshū chokugōki 諸宗勅號記  
 Shōshusō 請主喪  
 Shōtōshiki 抄劄式  
 Shou-chieh 受戒  
 Shōwa 正和  
 Shōyū 紹由  
 Shōzen 性禪  
 shū 宗  
 Shugan 珠岩  
 Shujing 書經  
 Shukke kudoku 出家功德  
 Shukke ryakusahō 出家略作法  
 Shukke taikō 出家大綱  
 Shūkō 秀香  
 Shūkō oshō yuzurijō 秀香和尚讓狀  
 shukuha fugin 粥罷諷經  
 Shukuroji 宿蘆寺  
 Shukuyōgyō 宿要經  
 Shūmo 秀茂  
 shūmon 宗門  
 Shūmon no ichi daiji innen 宗門之一大事因緣  
 Shundō Sengyoku 春堂僊玉  
 Shun'oku Myōha 春屋妙葩  
 Shunpo Sōki 春浦宗熙  
 Shūon'an 酬恩庵  
 shuro hossu 樓欄拂子  
 shuryō 衆寮  
 Shūryōgongyō 首楞嚴經  
 Shuryō shingi 衆寮箴規  
 shūsei 宗制  
 shuso 首座  
 shūso Dōgen no kakun to senshi Keizan no sokai 宗祖道元ノ家訓ト先師荃山ノ素懷  
 Shūtō fukkoshi 宗統復古志  
 sōan 送行  
 Soboku 祖朴  
 Sodemori 外守  
 sōdō 僧堂  
 Sōei 宗英  
 soejō 添狀  
 Sōen 宗緣  
 Sōgenji 曹源寺  
 Sōgo (Eiheiji abbot) 宗吾  
 Sōgo (name in funeral sermon) 宗悟  
 Soichi 祖一  
 Sōjiji 總持寺  
 Sōjiji chūkō engi 總持寺中興緣起  
 Sōjiji hattō zōritsu chūmon 總持寺法堂造立注文  
 Sōjiji jinmiraisai jōjō okibumi no koto 總持寺盡未來際條々置文事  
 Sōjiji jōjū monjo shin mokuroku 總持寺常住文書新目錄  
 Sōjiji jōjū monjo mokuroku 總持寺常住文書目錄  
 Sōjiji kyūki 總持寺舊記  
 Sōjiji monto keiyakujō 總持寺門徒契約狀  
 Sōjiji nidai oshō shōtō 總持寺二代和尚抄  
 Sōjiji sho hatto 總持寺諸法度  
 Sōji Zenji jūsan no shidai 總持禪寺住山之次第  
 Soju 祖受  
 Sōka 宗可  
 Sōkai 僧海  
 Soki 祖機  
 Sōkō 宗興  
 sōkō shinsai 竈公真宰  
 sō kumon 想公文物  
 soku (principle) misprinted as soku (leg) 則、足  
 Soku Nihongi 續日本記



- Sokyū 祚玖  
 Somyō 素妙  
 Sōneiji 總寧寺  
 Sonin 祖忍  
 Sonpi bunmyaku 尊卑分脈  
 Sōrinji rentōroku 雙林寺聯燈錄  
 Sōrin sansei Rinsen kaisan gyōjōki 雙林三世林泉開山行狀記  
 sōroku 僧錄  
 sōron 相論  
 Sosan 祖珊  
 Soshi 祖之  
 Soshiki kaisei jōrei 祖師忌改正條例  
 Sōshinji 崇信寺  
 Sōshi Shōtai 崇芝性岱  
 Sōshō 僧生  
 Sotetsu hōe sōden hōgo 素哲法衣相傳法語  
 Sotetsu okibumi 素哲置文  
 Sōtō 曹洞  
 Sōtōke Tendō Nyojō Zenji Dōgen oshō shihōron 曹洞家天童如淨禪師道元和尚嗣法論  
 Sōtō kyōkai jōrei 曹洞教會條例  
 Sōtōshū 曹洞宗  
 Sōtōshū hōmyaku kefu 曹洞宗法脈系譜  
 Sōtōshū kakushin dōmeikai 曹洞宗革新同盟會  
 Ssu-fen lü 四分律  
 ssu-sheng-hao 四聖號  
 Sugyōroku 宗鏡錄  
 Sukō 崇光  
 Suzu 珠洲  
 Suzuki Shōsan 鈴木正三  
  
 Tachibana Kachiko 橘嘉智子  
 Ta-chien 大建  
 Ta-hui Tsung-kao 大慧宗高  
 Taichō 泰澄  
 Taigen Sōshin 太源宗真  
 Taigen Sūfu 太源崇孚  
 taikyoku 太極  
 Taikyoku 太極  
 Taikyūji 退休寺  
 Taikyūji yuraiki 退休寺由來記  
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