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## *Prayer Beads in Japanese Sōtō Zen*

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WHEN A LAY parishioner visits a Buddhist temple, he or she usually carries a Buddhist rosary.<sup>1</sup> It marks a parishioner versus the occasional visitor and is considered a necessary item of proper attire. For most Japanese, not wearing a rosary when putting the hands in prayer or reverence seems to be improper.<sup>2</sup> Likewise, the official webpage of the Sōtō Zen school instructs lay followers to not forget prayer beads when attending funerals or memorial services. Parishioners should further put a rosary on the lowest shelf of their home altar, ready to be used during prayers.<sup>3</sup> Also, the members of the choirs singing Buddhist hymns at Sōtō temples wear short rosaries while singing and playing a bell. Thus, prayer beads serve “as sources of identification,” to borrow John Kieschnick’s words.<sup>4</sup> The rosary is an especially interesting object because—besides the robe or *o-kesa*—“prayer beads are kept closer to the practitioner than any other ritual object. They become physical evidence of faith, devotion, and practice.”<sup>5</sup>

In contrast to Tendai, Shingon, or Pure Land clerics, Sōtō clerics rarely use prayer beads in ritual settings. Moreover, images of Zen masters usually do not depict monks or nuns holding prayer beads; instead, a fly-whisk or another kind of staff signifies their status as a Zen cleric. Therefore, Buddhist rosaries are typically not associated with Zen. Nevertheless, prayer beads have been used for various purposes in the Sōtō school as well.

This chapter aims to illuminate some of the functions and interpretations of the rosary in Japanese Sōtō Zen. I analyze how its uses and meanings changed throughout history and were adapted to fit the agenda

of the Sōtō school at certain times. Before examining rosaries in Zen Buddhism, I will first give a general overview of Buddhist prayer beads in India, China, and Japan. Then I will examine Chinese Chan monastic codes before turning to Japanese Sōtō Zen and analyzing the history of the rosary starting with Dōgen (1200–1253) to *kirigami* (esoteric transmission documents) from the early Tokugawa period (1603–1868). A final section on the functions of prayer beads since the Meiji era (1868–1912) concludes the study.

### *A Brief History of the Buddhist Rosary in India and China*

Scholars have speculated that prayer beads entered Buddhism from Brahmanism,<sup>6</sup> but as Kieschnick notes, “The evidence is so slim and ambiguous that the search for the ultimate origins of the Indian rosary is probably a lost cause.”<sup>7</sup> In any case, the earliest Buddhist texts do not mention prayer beads and, therefore, it can be assumed that Buddhists adopted the rosary several hundred years after the establishment of the Buddhist order, probably around the second or third century.<sup>8</sup>

“The earliest datable textual reference to the rosary in any language is the *Mu huanzi jing*, a very brief scripture said to have been translated into Chinese in the Eastern Jin (317–420 CE), purportedly from an Indian original.”<sup>9</sup> This text narrates the story of a king who asks the Buddha for advice how he, the king, can practice with a peaceful mind despite his problems ruling a troubled kingdom. The Buddha advises him to string together 108 seeds of the arīṣṭaka, and whether he walks, sits, or sleeps, he should mindfully recite the words “Buddha, dharma, sangha,” after which he passes one of the beads. If the king finishes 200,000 rounds, he will be free of confusion in body and mind and be born in the third heaven. If the king recites one million rounds, he will cut off all 108 forms of karma and achieve nirvana.<sup>10</sup>

The *Mu huanzi jing* suggests that the rosary was used by the laity from the very beginning. The text describes the benefits of reciting the names of the three treasures, namely, the Buddha, dharma, and sangha, and clearly states how the number of recitations relates to the gained rewards. Most important, however, the rosary is described as an aid to count recitations, which is its main function. Likewise, later sources also explain how the rosary serves to count the recitations of spells or the names of a Buddha or bodhisattva.

Kieschnick writes about the development of the rosary: “In addition to its function as a counting device, the rosary is often assumed to have magical properties of its own. Not only did the rosary count recitations; a recitation marked with a rosary somehow counted more.”<sup>11</sup> He further comments, “The relationship here between symbolism and magical power is particularly important. The 108 beads of the rosary, symbolizing the 108 afflictions, did more than convey information—it was more than a reminder to the adepts of the precise number of their potential problems. Precise symbolic criteria were necessary for the ritual of recitation to work.”<sup>12</sup>

Over time, the rosary gained a function as a talisman. The *Manshushili zhouzangzhong jiaoling shuzhu gongde jing* (*Sūtra on the Evaluation of Merits of the Rosary from the Spell Treasury of Mañjuśrī*), for example, states that if one is not able to chant the names of buddhas or mantras, then one can gain the same amount of merit by just carrying a rosary.<sup>13</sup>

Although several texts that mention rosaries were translated into Chinese since the Eastern Jin, there seems to be no references to Chinese people using rosaries before the Tang dynasty (618–907). Nonetheless, we cannot say with certainty whether the rosary gained in popularity in the Tang or whether it is a question of the available sources that do not give information about rosaries in prior times. The first Chinese monk who promoted the use of the rosary was the Pure Land advocate Daochuo (Jp. Dōshaku; 562–645), who advised his followers to chant the name of Amida (Skt. Amitābha). Sources suggest that the use of the rosary in recitation practices was widespread in the Tang dynasty and the rosary had become a common item used by clerics and lay devotees.<sup>14</sup> Over time the rosary acquired uses beyond its religious meanings, such as gifts valued for their aesthetic appeal, as a means to lull oneself into sleep by counting breaths, or as necklaces for the emperor, empress, and high officials in the Qing court.<sup>15</sup>

### *The Rosary in Japanese Buddhism*

The Buddhist rosary was introduced to Japan in the early stages of Japanese Buddhism. It is said, for example, that Shōtoku Taishi (574–622) had received a Buddhist rosary from the Korean kingdom of Paekche,<sup>16</sup> and around one hundred years later, the Indian monk Bodhisena (Jp. Bodaisenna; 704–760) and the Chinese monk Jianzhen (Jp. Ganjin; 688–763) brought rosaries with them to Japan.<sup>17</sup> In 756, the widow of Emperor Shōmu (701–756), Empress Kōmyō (701–760), donated

seven rosaries of the deceased emperor to Tōdaiji. Some of these rosaries have been preserved at Shōsōin.<sup>18</sup> Eighth-century inventories of other major Nara temples such as Hōryūji and Daianji also list several rosaries.<sup>19</sup> In the Heian period (794–1185), Japanese monks returning from China also carried rosaries with them. The most well-known prayer beads are the ones that Kūkai, the founder of the Japanese Shingon school, brought back to Japan.<sup>20</sup> Although rosaries were probably considered valuable objects since the introduction of Buddhism in Japan, it seems they were not widely used in religious practices for another several centuries.<sup>21</sup>

Only by the Kamakura period (1185–1333) do prayer beads seem to have become common ritual implements. From then on, portraits and sculptures of monks were usually made depicting a cleric holding a rosary in his hands. Zen monks, however, were not depicted with rosaries.<sup>22</sup> Thus, in a time during which clerics of most schools were portrayed with prayer beads, Zen monks were not. In this way, the very absence of a common ritual implement served as a marker of Zen clerics, clearly distinguishing them from Pure Land advocates.

The form of the first prayer beads in Japan already varied,<sup>23</sup> but over the centuries, the rosary was further modified to fit the usage and doctrine of different schools. As a result, various distinct forms developed, which can be easily distinguished from each other today.<sup>24</sup> The rosaries differ, for example, in the number of larger beads, tassels, or beads on the strings attached to the larger beads.<sup>25</sup> Likewise, the form of the Sōtō rosary changed over time. Today's formal Sōtō rosary with 108 beads has a small metal ring. In the Rinzai and Ōbaku schools this ring is not part of the rosary and, therefore, a Sōtō rosary can easily be distinguished from rosaries of the other Zen schools.<sup>26</sup> When Sōtō clerics added this metal ring is unclear. The *kirigami* studied later in this chapter suggest that this metal ring was not part of the Sōtō rosary in the Tokugawa period and therefore must have been added later. Also, the manner of how to hold a rosary differs depending on the school.<sup>27</sup> Consequently, the form of the rosary and its handling indicate the sectarian affiliation of the person using the rosary.

### *The Terminology and Form of the Buddhist Rosary in Japan*

The most common term for the rosary is *juzu* 数珠 (Ch. *shuzhu*), literally “counting beads” or “telling beads,” which hints at the ritual usage of the beads for counting recitations. The other common term, *nenju* 念珠

(Ch. *nianzhu*), can be understood either as “recitation beads,” describing the beads as an aid in chanting practices, or as “mindfulness beads,” suggesting that “chanting is an aid to meditation and even a form of it.”<sup>28</sup>

The earliest text on prayer beads, the *Mu huanzi jing*, states that the rosary should have 108 beads, which is the most common number of beads in a Buddhist rosary. Other sutras further mention rosaries with 1,080, fifty-four, forty-two, twenty-seven, twenty-one, and fourteen beads. Lower numbers than 108 are encouraged, if one has difficulties obtaining 108 beads.<sup>29</sup> Rosaries with thirty-six or eighteen beads are also used in Japan. For these numbers, however, we do not find references in sutras.<sup>30</sup>

The number 108 has many symbolic associations. Most commonly the 108 beads are associated with the 108 defilements, an association mentioned already in the *Mu huanzi jing*. The number 108 further represents the 108 deities of the diamond realm (*kongōkai*) in esoteric Buddhism, or the 108 kinds of samādhi.<sup>31</sup> The other numbers are also thought to have deeper meanings; for example, the number fifty-four stands for the fifty-four stages of practice consisting of the ten stages of faith, ten abodes, ten practices, ten transferences of merit, ten grounds, and the four wholesome roots. The number forty-two expresses the ten abodes, ten practices, ten transferences of merit, ten grounds, plus the two stages of “equal” and marvelous enlightenment (*tōgaku* and *myōgaku*). Twenty-seven symbolizes the stages toward arhatship. The number twenty-one further represents the ten grounds of inherent qualities, plus the ten grounds of the qualities produced by practice, plus buddhahood.<sup>32</sup> Accordingly, the different numbers of beads are invested with elaborate doctrinal meanings.

The form of the rosary is more or less prescribed but varies to a certain degree depending on the school. As explained earlier, the rosary consists of a fixed number of beads, usually 108. It has at least one large bead, which is called the mother bead (*boju*) or parent bead (*oya dama*). It alerts the user that he has finished one round of the rosary. When finishing one round, the user should not cross over the mother bead, as this would be a major offense; instead, he should reverse the direction. The *Jin'gangding yuija nianzhu jing* (*Sūtra on the Rosary of the Vajraśekhara Yoga*) interprets the mother bead as Amida, while the string is supposed to represent Kannon (Skt. Avalokiteśvara), and the smaller beads symbolize the fruits of the bodhisattva.<sup>33</sup> This interpretation was further elaborated in Shingon Buddhism, where it is said that when one moves through the beads of the rosary, one is to move up the bodhisattva stages on the string of Kannon's compassion. Moving from one mother bead to the other is

to achieve enlightenment, and when one turns around, he or she returns into the world to help sentient beings.<sup>34</sup> As we will see later, however, the mother bead can be interpreted differently.

Sometimes a rosary has two larger beads; in this case, the second larger bead is either called middle bead (*nakadama*), as it marks the middle of the rosary, or also mother bead. In early sutras we do not find references to two mother beads. Accordingly, later clerics must have developed these.<sup>35</sup> The other beads on the main string are called retainer beads (*ju dama*) or children beads (*ko dama*). There are four beads among the retainer beads that are usually of smaller size and/or different color. They are placed after the seventh and the twenty-first beads on both sides of the (main) mother bead and therefore mark the seventh or twenty-first recitation. These four beads are called *shiten* 四点 beads (lit. four point beads). They are often interpreted as the four heavenly kings (Shitennō), Jikokuten (Skt. Dhṛtarāṣṭra), Tamonten (also called Bishamonten, Skt. Vaiśravaṇa), Zōjōten (Skt. Virūḍhaka), and Kōmokuten (Skt. Virūpākṣa). The beads are therefore also called “four heavenly kings” (*shiten* 四天), a homophone of “four points.” In the Shingon school, the beads of the four points are interpreted as the four bodhisattvas in the hall of the central dais eight petals in the womb realm (*taizōkai*) mandala: Fugen (Skt. Samantabhadra), Kannon, Monju (Skt. Mañjuśrī), and Miroku (Skt. Maitreya). Yet sutras do not mention these beads.<sup>36</sup>

The main mother bead, and sometimes also the middle bead, has tassels attached. Usually, there are two short strings with smaller beads, known as recorder beads (*kishi dama*) or disciple beads (*deshi dama*), attached to the main mother bead. These beads help to count the rounds of recitations. They are thought to symbolize the ten pāramitās or, especially if they are called disciple beads, the Buddha’s direct disciples.<sup>37</sup> At the end of the strings just above the tassels are the recorder bead stoppers, which are called dewdrop beads (*tsuyudama*), because they are often shaped like teardrops.<sup>38</sup> The string between the mother bead and the recorder beads has usually a small loop, and on one side of this loop is a small bead, which is called *jōmyō* 淨明 (lit. pure and bright). A homonym is *jōmyō* 淨名, literally “pure name” or “pure reputation,” which is a name that stands for Vimalakīrti. Therefore, the bead is sometimes called layman Vimalakīrti (*Yuima koji*). The bead is also called successor bodhisattva (*fusho bosatsu*) because it might take the place of any recorder bead that might be broken.<sup>39</sup>

These are the general features of Buddhist rosaries. However, as mentioned earlier, depending on the school, the form of the rosary differs.



**FIGURE 4.1** Contemporary rosary of the Sōtō school.  
Photograph by the author.

Today's formal Sōtō rosary has two mother beads, one larger one, and a slightly smaller one. It has tassels only on the main mother bead, but there are no beads on the strings attached to this bead. The contemporary formal Sōtō rosary has also the four point beads and additionally a metal ring (Fig. 4.1).<sup>40</sup> One rosary producer explained that the main mother bead represents Śākyamuni, while the middle bead stands for Jizō, and the metal ring attached symbolizes the circle of rebirth in the six realms. It is important to note, however, that none of the Sōtō clerics I asked about the symbolic meaning of the rosary knew this interpretation.

### *The Rosary in Zen Monastic Codes*

After having explored the rosary in general, I will now turn to prayer beads in Zen Buddhism. Monastic codes of the Zen tradition contain only a few entries on rosaries. The oldest extant monastic code in China, the *Chanyuan qinggui* (*Pure Rules of the Zen Garden*), compiled in 1103 by the monk Changlu Zongze (Jp. Chōro Sōsaku; d. 1107?), only refers to prayer beads once. In the rules for visiting monasteries, the *Chanyuan qinggui* states, "When reciting a sutra or mantra, it is better to chant silently and to avoid making noise with the prayer beads."<sup>41</sup> This statement suggests

that monks owned rosaries and that some monks used it while chanting. However, since this is the only entry regarding prayer beads, it can be assumed that the rosary did not play an important role in Chan during the time when the *Chanyuan qinggui* was compiled.

The *Ruzhong riyong qinggui* (*Pure Rules of Daily Observances for Novices*), written in 1209, likewise states that a monk should not make any noise by manipulating his rosary on the raised platform.<sup>42</sup> Several later codes, such as the *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui* (*Pure Rules of Baizhang Revised Under Imperial Edict*) compiled by Dongyan Dehui (Jp. Tōyō Tokki, dates unknown) after he had received an imperial order in 1335, quote the *Ruzhong riyong qinggui* on this matter.<sup>43</sup>

The *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui* further mentions the rosary twice. First, it is included in the necessary items for practice along with three kinds of robes, the sitting cloth, the undergarment, the loincloth, the one-piece garment, the alms bowl, the *shakujō*, the walking stick, the fly-whisk, the water jar, the water filter, and the precept knife.<sup>44</sup> The explanation of the rosary refers first briefly to the *Mouni mantuoluo jing* (*Sage Mandala Sūtra*) explaining the name of the rosary and stating that the rosary is a “tool that assists the concentration of the mind and the discipline of practice.”<sup>45</sup> Then the *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui* quotes the *Mu huanzi jing* narrating the story of the king whom the Buddha advised to chant the words “Buddha, dharma, and sangha” while counting the recitations with the rosary.<sup>46</sup> The inclusion of the rosary in the essential items suggests that the rosary had become one of the necessary belongings of Chan clerics by the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368).

The *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui* further explains the role of the rosary during the funeral for a resident practitioner. The text describes how the belongings of a deceased cleric are supposed to be collected and then displayed for auction.<sup>47</sup> The clothing and items that the deceased will be dressed in during the funeral, however, are to be kept aside. Among these items, we find a rosary.<sup>48</sup> The practice of equipping a deceased with a rosary, which was supposed to be cremated together with the body, seems to have become customary by that time, because two monastic codes written slightly earlier also mention it: the *Chanlin beiyong qinggui* (*Auxiliary Pure Rules of the Zen Forest*), written in 1311, and the *Huanchuan qinggui* (*Pure Rules of the Huanchu Hermitage*), written in 1317.<sup>49</sup> This practice suggests that the rosary was considered a necessary emblem of clerical status.

The *Keizan shingi* (*Pure Rules of Keizan*), the first Japanese Sōtō code, which was written by Keizan Jōkin (1268–1325) in 1315, does not contain a



reference to this practice. Only a few later codes, such as the *Jushō shingi* (*Pure Rules of Jushō[zan]*) written by the Chinese Immigrant monk Xinyue Xingchou (Jp. Shinetsu Kōchū; 1639–1696) and edited by his disciple in 1727, and the *Tōjō sōdō shingi gyōhōshō* (*Selections for Ritual Procedures from the Pure Rules for the Sōtō Monks' Hall*) written by Menzan Zuihō (1683–1769) in 1753 mention a rosary in the description how to dress a deceased monk.<sup>50</sup> Moreover, a rosary was put into the coffin during the funerals of Tettsū Gikai (1219–1309) and Meihō Sotetsu (1277–1350).<sup>51</sup> Thus, in some cases rosaries were used in funerals in Japanese Sōtō Zen, but this does not seem to have been a widespread practice.

### *Dōgen and the Rosary*

To study the history of the rosary in Japanese Sōtō Zen, it is, of course, necessary to examine what Dōgen, the school's founder, wrote about prayer beads. Dōgen refers to the rosary only three times in his large oeuvre. The earliest reference is included in the *Shōbōgenzō* fascicle *Jūundō shiki*, regulations for the zazen hall at his first temple, Kannon Dōri Kōshō Hōrinji, written in 1239. Dōgen states therein, "You should not hold a rosary in the hall."<sup>52</sup> Dōgen wrote these regulations purely for the meditation hall, and we do not know whether monks in Dōgen's early community used a rosary in other halls. Nevertheless, this statement indirectly indicates a focus on zazen in Dōgen's community.

In his *Bendōhō*, a treatise on the daily observances and proper conduct in a Zen monastery probably written between 1244 and 1246 at his new temple Daibutsuji (later renamed to Eiheiiji) in Echizen province (present-day Fukui prefecture), Dōgen quotes the aforementioned *Ruzhong riyong qinggui* and writes that a monk should not disturb others by making a sound with the rosary on the raised platform.<sup>53</sup> Dōgen further writes in his *Kichijōsan shūryō shingi* (*Pure Rules for the Study Hall at Kichijōsan*), composed in 1249 at Eiheiiji, "In the study hall, you should not disturb the pure assembly by reading sutras with loud voices or loudly intoning poems. Do not boisterously raise your voice while chanting *dharani*. It is further discourteous to hold a rosary facing others."<sup>54</sup> This instruction might hint at one of the reasons why Sōtō monks were not depicted with rosaries in portraits, for the monk would face the viewer.

It is noteworthy that the *Kenzeiki*, the primary traditional biography of Dōgen, cites the *Kichijōsan shūryō shingi* but omits "facing others." It thus only states, "The *Shūryō shingi* says [Zen monks] do not hold a rosary

because it is discourteous.”<sup>55</sup> The entry in the *Kenzeiki* suggests that rosaries were not important in Dōgen’s community and, therefore, Kosaka et al. assume that the monks of Eiheiji upheld the regulations regarding the rosary after Dōgen’s passing.<sup>56</sup> Considering these three brief statements in Dōgen’s works, we can presume that the rosary played no significant role for Dōgen and his community. Yet some prayer beads left by early Sōtō monks have been regarded as temple treasures and have been venerated as a contact relic in remembrance of the master. One example is a rosary made of beautiful rock crystal that Keizan used and that is now preserved at the temple Yōkōji in Ishikawa prefecture.<sup>57</sup>

### Kirigami: *The Rosary as a Mandala*

Sōtō *kirigami* dating from the Tokugawa period give a fascinating picture of how Sōtō monks interpreted rosaries.<sup>58</sup> *Kirigami* are initiation documents that were handed down from master to disciple and that were written on single sheets of paper. Originally, they were transmitted one by one in a succession of meetings, but at the end of the medieval period, monks started to receive several *kirigami* at once, and later in the Tokugawa period, *kirigami* were put together in the form of bound volumes.<sup>59</sup>

*Kirigami* covered various topics, including funerals, kami worship, prayer rituals, and kōans. Among the large corpus of extant *kirigami*, we also find documents related to Buddhist implements and objects. These *kirigami* usually contain an explanation, a graph, and sometimes a brief question-answer-dialogue and thus elucidate, for example, the meaning of the robe, the sitting mat, various kinds of staffs, the water vessel, the bowl, and the rosary.<sup>60</sup> Only a few *kirigami* on rosaries are extant, and we can distinguish between two different transmission lineages. In one lineage, two *kirigami* have been preserved at Shōryūji, a major Sōtō temple in today’s Saitama prefecture. In the other lineage, three *kirigami* have been preserved at Kōrinji in Kanagawa prefecture, as well as at Daianji and Ganshōin, both in Nagano prefecture.

The ninth abbot of Shōryūji, Fuman Shōdō (1601–1671), owned the earlier of the two documents preserved at Shōryūji (Fig. 4.2). Because he had received several other *kirigami* from his master Tesshin Gyoshū (d. 1664), who had served as abbot of Eiheiji and Ryūonji, we can assume that Shōdō received the *kirigami* before 1664, the year in which his master died.<sup>61</sup> The other *kirigami* was copied in the second month of 1682. On this occasion, the abbot Fukushū Kōiku of Ryūonji, who also had served



**FIGURE 4.2** *Juzu kirigami*. Archive of Shōryūji (Saitama prefecture). Facsimile by the Sōtōshū Bunkazai Chōsaiinkai.

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as abbot of Eihei-ji, instructed Tsūgai Kōmon (d. 1715), the twelfth abbot of Shōryūji, in the symbolic meaning of the rosary.<sup>62</sup> Both *kirigami* differ only in small details.

The *kirigami* contains an image of the prayer beads with a deity being assigned to each bead as well as a brief explanation in the middle of the image. The graph shows a rosary that has two mother beads, both with tassels attached. While the strings on the main mother bead have beads, the strings on the middle bead do not. Therefore, its form differs from today's formal Sōtō rosary. According to the *kirigami*, the main mother bead represents the bodhisattva Nikkō (Skt. Sūryaprabha) of the diamond realm. Next to the name of the bodhisattva, it is written in smaller font, "This is *yin*, heaven, fire, and father." The other mother bead is thought to represent the bodhisattva Gakkō (Skt. Candraprabha) of the womb realm. Next to it, it is written in a smaller font, "This is *yang*, earth, water, and mother." In standard esoteric Buddhist iconography, however, Nikkō and Gakkō are associated with the womb and diamond realm mandalas, respectively.<sup>63</sup> Moreover, in traditional yin-yang symbolism, yin usually indicates earth, water, and feminine attributes, whereas yang indicates heaven, fire, and masculine attributes. Thus, the *kirigami* conflate these complementary opposites, or perhaps plant the seed of the one within the realm of the other in order to emphasize their ultimate nonduality.

As a result, the two mother beads present opposite yet complementary entities: the bodhisattvas Nikkō and Gakkō, the diamond and womb realms, yin and yang, heaven and earth, fire and water, and father and mother. In this way, the rosary represents a cosmology encompassing the whole universe. This explanation cannot be found in sutras, so presumably it was developed in Japan. In a graph of a rosary in the archive of the Shingon temple Ishiyamadera (Shiga prefecture), written in the twelfth

century, the names “Gakkō Bodhisattva” and “Nikkō Bodhisattva” are written next to the strings of the two mother beads, probably indicating that the recorder beads attached to the two mother beads represent the two bodhisattvas. In this case, the larger mother bead is supposed to represent “Vairocana Buddha or Śākyamuni Buddha,” while the smaller mother bead represents “Vairocana Buddha or the Buddha of Infinite Light [i.e., Amida Buddha].”<sup>64</sup> Nevertheless, the names of Gakkō and Nikkō on both sides remind one of the Sōtō *kirigami*.

The rosary in the *kirigami* has the common four point beads, which are indicated by black circles in the graph. They represent the four heavenly kings who are believed to protect the four directions: Jikokuten (east), Tamonten (north), Zōjōten (south), and Kōmokuten (west). Next to the 108 beads of the rosary, we find the names of various deities: the seven Buddhas of the past [i.e., Śākyamuni and his six predecessors], twenty-eight lunar mansions, sixteen protective gods, nine vajra holding warriors, nine luminaries, five wisdom kings, twenty-eight manifestations of Kannon, and seven luminaries. The beads on the string attached to the mother bead also have a description: the first five on each string are the ten rākṣasīs, and the next six are the twelve heavenly generals serving the medicine Buddha. In this way, the rosary describes a highly eclectic pantheon, showing influences of esoteric Buddhism, *onmyōdō* (“Way of Yin and Yang”), and *sukyōdō* (“Way of Lunar Lodgings and Luminaries”).

In the middle of the prayer beads, the *kirigami* contains the following text that explains the rosary in more detail:

The four tassels:

Kongōken Bodhisattva<sup>65</sup> (Skt. Vajrasaṃadhi), Kongōsaku Bodhisattva (Skt. Vajrapāśa), Kongōai Bodhisattva (Skt. Vajrarāga), Kongōgo Bodhisattva (Skt. Vajrabhāṣa).<sup>66</sup>

These are the four bodhisattvas [of the four directions]. The colors of the tassels further symbolize the two essences of red and white.<sup>67</sup>

Eighteen defilements arise from the defilement of sleepiness.  
 Eighteen defilements arise from the defilement of greed.  
 Eighteen defilements arise from the defilement of sexual desire.  
 Eighteen defilements arise from the defilement of desire.  
 Eighteen defilements arise from the defilement of anger.  
 Eighteen defilements arise from the defilement of stupidity.  
 Together these are the 108 defilements.

The 108 defilements are simultaneously eliminated in a very instant. Therefore, striking the bell eighteen times quickly and eighteen times slowly one after another is a means to eliminate all 108 defilements.

*Kirigami* on the rosary  
Dōgen's seal (*zaihan*)

The text suggests that the 108 beads represent the 108 defilements; at the same time, however, the beads symbolize a highly eclectic pantheon, as the graph shows. Thus, two layers of meaning are completely intertwined. The four tassels are further supposed to represent four directional bodhisattvas of the assembly of the perfected body in the diamond mandala. Consequently, the rosary contains two groups of deities that protect the four directions: the four heavenly kings and the four directional bodhisattvas, both protecting the prayer beads' sacred pantheon in a mandalic fashion. In addition, the two colored tassels in red and white presumably represent Nikkō and Gakkō, who are the central deities in this cosmology, as they are associated with the two mother beads.

The *kirigami* claims to originate with Dōgen, a typical claim for *kirigami* that is not based on historical grounds. In any case, it indicates that Sōtō clerics in the early Tokugawa period did not perceive the cosmology and the ideas described in *kirigami* as heretic or heterodox, but rather as in accord with their own tradition, even assuming that these kinds of interpretations originated with Dōgen. At the end of the *kirigami*, we also find another statement that this *kirigami* was secretly transmitted at Eiheiji, the temple founded by Dōgen, purportedly supporting the idea that this *kirigami* did originate with Dōgen.

I was further able to find three *kirigami* on the rosary of another transmission lineage. These documents also contain an image of the rosary with each bead being assigned to a deity or spiritual stage. But the names we find differ greatly from the *kirigami* in the archive of Shōryūji. The oldest of the three *kirigami* is a manuscript in the archive of the temple Kōrinji (Fig. 4.3). Tsūkoku, the thirteenth abbot of Kaizōji, a branch temple of Kōrinji, wrote it in 1609.<sup>68</sup> Another *kirigami* on the rosary, written in the first half of the seventeenth century, is held by Daianji in Nagano prefecture,<sup>69</sup> while the third *kirigami*, preserved nearby at Ganshōin, is undated and does not provide any information about who owned it.<sup>70</sup> Accordingly, at least two of the three *kirigami* are older than the ones in the archive of Shōryūji.

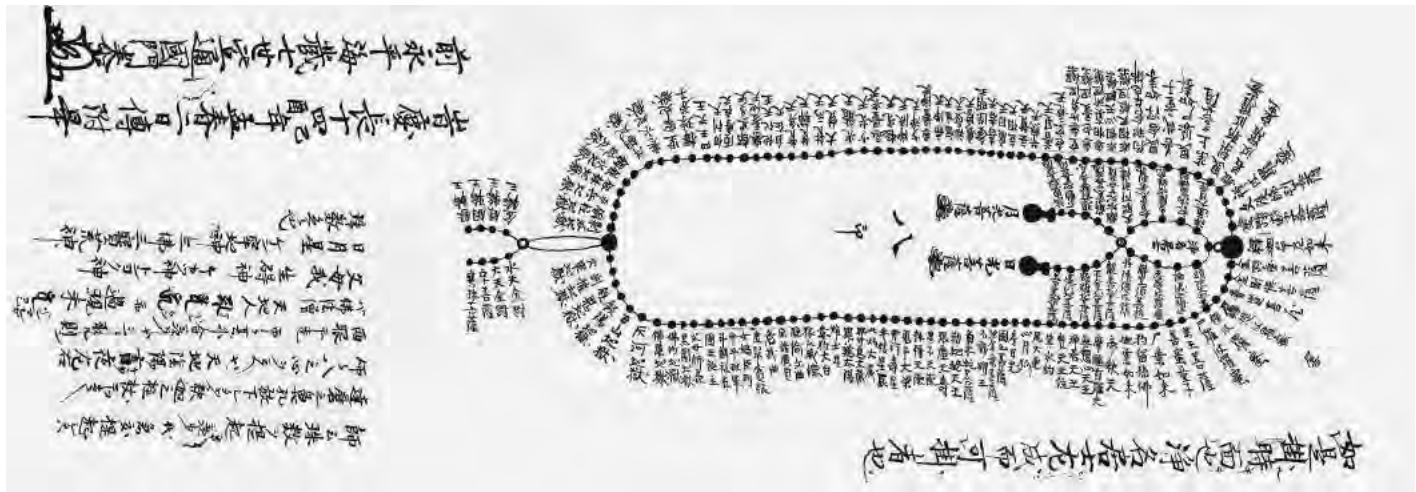


FIGURE 4.3 *Juzu daiji*. Archive of Kōrinji (Kanagawa prefecture). Facsimile by the Sōtōshū Bunkazai Chōsaiinkai. Reprinted with permission of Kōrinji and Sōtōshū Bunkazai Chōsaiinkai.

The rosaries in these three *kirigami* have two mother beads with strings and tassels attached, like the rosary in the Shōryūji *kirigami*. All *kirigami* state that the main mother bead represents Śākyamuni, but only one of the three *kirigami* indicates a name for the secondary mother bead and suggests that it represents the bodhisattva Jizō. In all three *kirigami* we find the bodhisattvas Nikkō and Gakkō, who are associated with the two mother beads in the Shōryūji *kirigami*, but this time they are supposed to be the tear beads at the end of the tassels attached to the main mother bead. The documents do not indicate that Nikkō and Gakkō would represent the diamond and womb realms. The first five beads on the strings attached to the main mother bead represent the Buddha's ten principal disciples and the next five beads the ten bodhisattva stages. The beads on the strings attached to the secondary mother bead are the four wheel-turning kings (Skt. *cakravartin*) on the one string, and the Indian gods Varuṇa (Jp. Suiten) and Agni (Jp. Katen) as well as the two bodhisattvas Ji 字 and Hōju 宝殊 on the other. The latter two bodhisattvas might indicate esoteric manifestations of Kannon: Ji may refer to Rokujiten 六字天, a manifestation of Kannon that was invoked in exorcisms and healing rituals, while Hōju may be a moniker for Nyoirin Kannon's wish-fulfilling jewel (*nyoi hōju* 如意宝珠).<sup>71</sup>

The 108 beads represent again a highly eclectic pantheon. The deities are structured symmetrically around the two larger beads. Śākyamuni is surrounded on both sides by the four directional bodhisattvas, followed by Fugen and Monju. Then we find three of the six pāramitā and three of the six buddhas of the past on each side. Thereafter, the symmetrical structure is interrupted; on one side we find the twenty-eight lunar mansions and on the other side various stages of the four meditation heavens and of the realm of enlightenment. After these beads the symmetrical structure starts again, and Jizō, who is said to save beings in the hells, is surrounded by nine hells on both sides. Thus, the beads reach from the enlightened realm with Śākyamuni in its center to the hells with Jizō in the center. Freely interpreting, it seems as if practitioners, while telling the beads, are going through the hells, through the meditative heavens to the area of enlightenment, and back to help all sentient beings. The documents, however, do not include any information about how Sōtō clerics interpreted the symbolic associations of the beads.

The four point beads in these *kirigami* do not represent the four heavenly kings. Instead, the beads after the seventh beads are said to represent the divine boys Zenzai (Skt. Sudhana) and Zenmitsu, and the ones after

the twenty-first beads are thought to represent the two wisdom kings Fudō and Aizen, who are often paired in Japanese esoteric Buddhism.<sup>72</sup>

The *kirigami* of Kōrinji additionally contains the following question-answer dialogue:

The master says: “Take up the rosary.”

Substitute:<sup>73</sup> “To explain briefly, [it is like] the letting go of Bodhidharma’s nostrils [and] the *shujō* [staff] of Śākyamuni.”<sup>74</sup>

The master says: “Say an idea in eight.”

Substitute: “Heaven and earth, *yin* and *yang*, day and night, left and right eye!”

The master says: “Beyond that, express more.”

Substitute: “If I take three, then it is Buddha, dharma, and sangha; heaven, earth, and humans; *a-ban-un*;<sup>75</sup> furthermore, past, present, and future; father, mother, and I; Shōge-jin (God of Hindrances), Kekatsu-jin (God of Hunger and Thirst), and Tonyoku-jin (God of Desire);<sup>76</sup> sun, moon, and stars; Kenrōji-jin (Standfast Earth God), three buddhas, and Kōjin of the three treasures.”

The question-answer dialogue conveys the meaning of the rosary in a Zennish fashion, and it supports the idea expressed in the graph that the rosary symbolizes a metaphysical universe by stating several groups of complementary entities.

The two *kirigami* of Daianji and Kōrinji further state that the image of the rosary can be produced as a hanging scroll. Remarkably, other schools used a graph of the rosary as a hanging scroll as well. The Nichiren school, for example, uses it as a rosary *daimoku* mandala.<sup>77</sup> The origins of the rosary *daimoku* mandala are unclear and, therefore, it is impossible to say anything about a mutual influence.<sup>78</sup> The deities included in the rosary *daimoku* mandala are similar to the Sōtō *kirigami* just introduced, but because it is a *daimoku* mandala, we find the words “I take refuge in the marvelous teaching of the *Lotus Sūtra*” in the middle of the rosary. I was further able to find another image of the prayer beads as a hanging scroll, which is even more similar to the Sōtō *kirigami* and contains almost the same deities as the *kirigami* at Daianji, Kōrinji, and Ganshōin. These hanging scrolls do not give clues about which school produced them; therefore, they may have been used across sectarian boundaries.<sup>79</sup> The image of the rosary is aesthetically very appealing and therefore might



have inspired its use as a hanging scroll displaying Buddhist devotion. The rosary as a material object thus entered another medium of representation. The beads were clearly labeled in order to present a cosmology, easily readable for the patient viewer who would like to read the more than one hundred names. Interestingly, a Nichiren priest told me that he has seen this image on a shopping bag of a Buddhist supply store. Presumably, the store thought the image was ideal for aesthetically displaying Buddhist devotion and for this reason might have tried to employ it as a sophisticated marketing strategy.

### *The “Mandalization” of Other Objects in Kirigami*

To understand the concepts described in the *kirigami* on rosaries, it is important to briefly examine *kirigami* on other objects.<sup>80</sup> This section therefore slightly overlaps with the chapters on the robe and the staff in this volume. However, it demonstrates that the *kirigami* on prayer beads provide a complete symbolic vision of the Buddhist pantheon.

One of the most elaborate interpretations can be found in *kirigami* on the robe. In the *Fukuden'e kirigami* (*Kirigami on the Field of Merits of the Robe*), the four squares in the four corners of the robe are interpreted as the four heavenly kings, in the same way as the four *shiten* beads of the rosary are often interpreted.<sup>81</sup> The *Kesa no kirigami* (*Kirigami on the Robe*), *Kesa daiji* (*Great Matter of the Robe*), and *Kyūjō e no zu* (*Graph of the Nine-Striped Robe*) clearly depict the robe as a mandala.<sup>82</sup> The middle stripe of the nine-stripe robe represents the central deity: In the *Kesa no kirigami* and *Kesa daiji*, the stripes represent either the Pure Land of the Vulture Peak of Śākyamuni Buddha or Mahāvairocana Buddha, and in the *Kyūjō e no zu*, only Śākyamuni Buddha. The other horizontal pieces are ordered around the central deity and represent various buddhas and bodhisattvas, as well as the diamond and womb realm mandalas. The horizontal stripes further symbolize various fields of merit, whereas the long vertical stripes represent the ten worlds.<sup>83</sup> The four squares in the four corners represent again the four heavenly kings. Thus, as Bernard Faure writes, the robe “becomes the symbol (and mnemonic device) for the metaphysical universe.”<sup>84</sup>

The *Fukuden'e kirigami* further contains an explanation about the robe and its symbolic interpretation. One paragraph in particular refers to the rosary. The explanation is written next to the cord by which the middle and

upper end of the robe are tied together when one puts the robe on. The *kirigami* says: “The cord of the robe is the [navel] string from the time one was inside the womb. Both the strap of the sword (*tetsu* 鉄) and the thread of the rosary express this. The shoulder strap of the red yamabushi’s [trumpet] shell<sup>85</sup> (*kai*) is also like this.”<sup>86</sup> This explanation suggests that the cord of the robe is the navel string. Other texts also describe the robe as resembling the development of the fetus in the womb as well as suggest that the robe is the placenta.<sup>87</sup> The third Indian patriarch, Sanavāsa, for example, is “said to have been born wrapped in a robe, which became a *kāṣāya* when he was ordained.”<sup>88</sup> Additionally, other *kirigami* associate the process of gestation with the robe as well as with Buddhist practice.<sup>89</sup> Interestingly, the *Fukuden’e kirigami* interprets the thread of the rosary as the navel string and includes it in the discourse of gestation as well. Unfortunately, other extant *kirigami* on the rosary do not explore this idea further. Nonetheless, the *Fukuden’e kirigami* puts the rosary on the same level as the robe.

Another central object in the Zen tradition is the bowl. It was often transmitted together with the robe as a sign of correct dharma transmission. Thus, not surprisingly, it is covered in many Zen texts, including *kirigami* that describe the monk’s bowl as a mandala. The round shape is supposed to represent Śākyamuni, and the four directions are guarded by the four heavenly kings.<sup>90</sup> Accordingly, the graphs in the *kirigami* resemble a Śākyamuni mandala, in which the four heavenly kings surround the Buddha, usually flanked by two bodhisattvas.<sup>91</sup> Similarly, Dōgen wrote in the *Shōbōgenzō* fascicle *Hatsuu* (Bowl) that the four heavenly kings would protect the bowl.<sup>92</sup> In other words, the idea presented in *kirigami* is already included in Dōgen’s work. Another essential implement of clerics that is covered in *kirigami* is the water vessel. In the *kirigami* each part of the vessel is identified with a deity. The buddhas and bodhisattvas from the bottom to the top are Dainichi (Skt. Mahāvairocana), Śākyamuni, Kannon, Amida, and Yakushi. As a result, it also resembles a mandala.<sup>93</sup>

The *kirigami* on the *shujō* staff describe a very different pantheon, and while all extant *kirigami* on the *shujō* differ to a certain degree, they always include a graph of the *shujō*.<sup>94</sup> In all graphs, parts of one side of the *shujō* correspond to the twenty-eight lunar mansions and parts of the other side to the thirty-six animals of the earth. Graphs in some *kirigami* additionally contain the seven and nine luminaries as well as the five agents. In two *kirigami*, the top of the *shujō* is further said to represent Dainichi.<sup>95</sup> Moreover, one *kirigami* indicates that the very bottom represents earth and yang, whereas the area above the top represents heaven and yin.<sup>96</sup>

Another *kirigami*, which includes the most detailed graph, says that the bottom represents the womb mandala and the top the diamond mandala. We further find the names of the four heavenly kings and the four seasons in this *kirigami*.<sup>97</sup> In this way, the *shujō* describes a complex cosmology spanning earth and heaven. This time the pantheon consists mostly of stars and different kinds of beings, in contrast to mainly buddhas or bodhisattvas indicated in the *kirigami* about the robe, bowl, and water vessel.

As these examples show, Buddhist objects were mandalized in *kirigami* and became manifestations of a sacred pantheon. The objects further served to visualize complex cosmologies and therefore carried deep meaning for the initiated adept. In some cases, the symbolic interpretation was further supported by a question-answer dialogue included in the *kirigami*. The cosmologies described in the *kirigami* differ: from the simple Śākyamuni mandala described in the documents on the bowl, to the robe representing a complex mandala not including any lunar deities, to the staff that centers around lunar constellations and animals. The rosary combines all these different ideas in a highly complex pantheon, and for this reason, it could be said that the rosary eclipses the symbolic interpretations of the other implements.

### *The Rosary Since the Meiji Era: From Lay Propagation to Buddhist Weddings*

The mandalic interpretation included in the *kirigami* reflects the highly eclectic nature of Sōtō Zen in medieval and early modern Japan. In the middle of the Tokugawa period, these kinds of interpretations became considered heterodox and therefore were slowly forgotten, but sources from the Meiji era onward illuminate other, partly new, functions and usages.

When Sōtō clerics started to reach out more actively to lay people in the Meiji era, the rosary also played a role in their effort. For example, Nishiari Bokusan (1821–1910), the founder of modern *Shōbōgenzō* studies and later abbot of the head temple Sōjiji, used rosaries in his propagation of Buddhism. In the aftermath of the separation of buddhas and kami and the subsequent oppression of Buddhism in the early Meiji era, Nishiari “became an outright street evangelist”<sup>98</sup> and enthusiastically propagated Buddhism throughout Japan trying to raise the people’s faith in Buddhism. Around the time when Nishiari took over the abbacy of the influential temple Kasuisai in 1877, he bought a cart full of rosaries and presented one to every person he met, saying, “These beads will give you

faith in Buddhism, bring you happiness, and protect you.”<sup>99</sup> This example shows that rosaries were used to propagate Buddhism, precisely because the objects themselves were thought to bring benefits (*genze riyaku*) to their user, in this case happiness and protection.

In addition, Nishiari advocated the single-minded recitation of the three refuges,<sup>100</sup> in contradistinction to some of his contemporary Sōtō clerics who promoted a *nenbutsu* practice invoking either the name of Śākyamuni, Amida, or Kannon.<sup>101</sup> In his *Tōjō shinto anjin ketsu* (*Meaning on Spiritual Assurance for Followers of the Sōtō School*), Nishiari writes that one should chant the three refuges three times, ten times, a hundred times, a thousand times, or ten million times according to one’s own feeling.<sup>102</sup> Nishiari does not mention whether followers should use a rosary to keep track of their numbers; it seems more likely that each person should chant for how long he or she likes. Nevertheless, the fact that Nishiari promoted the recitation of the three refuges might have been connected to his idea that the rosary would be an ideal implement for lay evangelization.

The Sōtō school offers clerics a lot of freedom in the use of the rosary. Portraits of several abbots of Sōjiji from the Meiji and Taishō eras, for example, show them holding rosaries, in distinct contradistinction to their Kamakura-period predecessors. The current abbot of Sōjiji, Egawa Shinzan, always wears a rosary when serving as officiant, while the previous abbot, Ōmichi Kōsen, did not.<sup>103</sup>

Furthermore, unlike prior proscriptions against making noise with the beads, some Sōtō priests rub the beads together to make a sound during the final transfer of merit. According to conversations with Sōtō clerics, this is done in order to magically empower the transfer of merit as well as to add emphasis to the ritual message. It is important to note that there is a great variety in terms of this practice: For example, at the prayer temple Daiyūzan Saijōji, the officiant priest makes a sound with the rosary during *go-kito* (prayer rituals), but he does not rub the beads together during funeral services or other death rituals. A *rōshi* of Saijōji explained that at this temple they utilize the rosary only for rituals related to this-worldly matters; for rituals concerning other-worldly matters, they do not use it. Priests of other temples, however, told me that they do rub the beads together during funerals or memorial services as well.

On the other hand, some priests do not use a rosary in this way or not at all; one priest reasoned that his master instructed him not to use a rosary because Dōgen had not used a rosary. During my fieldwork at the head temple Sōjiji, I never heard a priest making a sound with the rosary, but

some priests told me that there have been a few *rōshi* who did; but these represent exceptions at the head temple. Nevertheless, the current *ino* (rector), who actually makes a sound with the prayer beads at his home temple during funerals or memorial services, instructs the novices to use prayer beads during the *tanagyō*, the sutra readings for the deceased at individual households in July, if they have prayer beads with them. As we see, the Sōtō school offers clerics a lot of freedom in handling the rosary, and thus we find many variances in usages. Nevertheless, it is important to note that in contrast to the Shingon and Tendai schools, making a sound with the prayer beads is not a widely used practice in the Sōtō school.<sup>104</sup>

Despite the fact that the rosary plays only a marginal role for Sōtō clerics in rituals, it is used as a marker of abbacy. To become head priest at a Sōtō temple, all Sōtō clerics need to observe a rite at the two head temples Eiheiji and Sōjiji during which they act as the head temple's abbot for one night. According to Uchiyama Kan'i, there is a special transmission regarding how to use the rosary during this time. The monk who undergoes this rite of passage would carry a fan and a rosary. If the monk went to the bathroom, he would loop the rosary into a special form and place it on the table in his room. Uchiyama writes that this etiquette is usually only taught to someone who might become abbot of Sōjiji or Eiheiji, and the special handling therefore marks the status of the abbot.<sup>105</sup>

The rosary eventually gained a vital role in a newly invented ritual: the Buddhist wedding. The handing over of the rosaries to the bride and groom is one of the special characteristics of a Buddhist wedding, clearly distinguishing it from Shintō and Christian weddings. The former Nichiren monk Tanaka Chigaku (1861–1939) was the first to perform Buddhist wedding ceremonies in 1885. All Japanese Buddhist schools adopted this new ceremony in the following years. Kuruma Takudō (1877–1964) was the first to adapt this rite of passage for the Sōtō school in the 1910s. Following his example, other Sōtō leaders, such as Ishikawa Sodō (1841–1920) and Nukariya Kaiten (1867–1934), wrote ritual procedures for this ritual and presided over wedding ceremonies. After World War II, the headquarters started to officially promote this new ceremony.<sup>106</sup>

During a Buddhist wedding, the officiant gives the bride and groom a rosary while they both put their hands together in *gasshō*. Alternatively, the couple can exchange rosaries.<sup>107</sup> Unfortunately, the Sōtō sources do not give information why clerics chose a rosary for the wedding ceremony. We can therefore only assume why Japanese clerics selected prayer beads: first, it is clearly a Buddhist implement, and second, its round shape is similar

to a wedding ring. In the official procedures issued by the headquarters of the Sōtō school, the term *juzu* is written not with the common characters 数珠, but as 寿珠, literally meaning long-life beads.<sup>108</sup> The explanation on the Buddhist wedding issued by the Sōtō school headquarters states, “The life-long beads are a symbol of a Buddhist. Its beads express the peacefulness of the heart and its circle the harmony between people.”<sup>109</sup>

The couple usually buys their rosaries in a store for Buddhist implements. The color and material are not prescribed. The bride and the groom also do not need to select the same kind of beads, and so they usually choose rosaries that are distinct for men or women in terms of color and size.<sup>110</sup>

Several sutras discuss the materials used for rosaries and distinguish how much virtue a rosary has based on its materials. The resulting rankings vary, but all texts consider seeds from the bodhi tree to be the most beneficial because the Buddha reached enlightenment under the bodhi tree.<sup>111</sup> When I spoke with rosary shop owners, however, they did not talk about this idea. Instead, it seemed that their customers select rosaries according to personal taste. In addition to the rosaries that shops exhibit, rosary makers offer customized rosaries. One day when I visited Sōjiji, a lay woman came to the salesperson of the temple shop and requested a new rosary made out of red stones with white tassels. These colors would be auspicious and she had one like this, but unfortunately, the thread broke and she wanted to replace it.

Sōjiji, as a head temple with many parishioners visiting throughout the year, has a rather large selection of rosaries for sale. The temple shop also sells bracelet rosaries that can be used as souvenirs, for example, rosaries with Chinese zodiac signs. Other temples also sell rosaries, mostly bracelet rosaries, which are a nice souvenir for friends or oneself, being devotional and fashionable at the same time. Additionally, as stated earlier, rosaries were often considered as talismans, and consequently, bracelet rosaries that are supposed to ward off evil or bring good fortune are very popular in Japan.<sup>112</sup>

One of the most interesting rosaries that I encountered during my fieldwork was the *shimenawa nenju* at the prayer temple Toyokawa Inari Myōgonji, famed for its Inari worship and for providing this-worldly benefits (Fig. 4.4). Remarkably, the *shimenawa nenju* does not have beads; instead, it consists of a thin rice straw rope, similar to the large, thick rice straw ropes (*shimenawa*) that are placed around sacred natural objects, such as trees or stones, and that are today mostly associated with Shintō.



FIGURE 4.4 *Shimenawa nenju* at Toyokawa Inari Myōgonji.  
 Photograph by the author.

The *shimenawa nenju* also has a white paper strip that reminds one of the zigzag paper strips of the large *shimenawa*. Visitors can obtain a *shimenawa nenju* in the Inari Honden, in which Dakini Shinten is enshrined, and write the intention of their prayer, such as economic success, safe travel, or good health, on the white paper strip. The visitors then pay respect to all deities enshrined at the temple before finally visiting Okunoin, the inner sanctuary of the temple, where they can either place their *nenju* in a special tray or take it home. According to a salesperson of the *ema* (wooden tablets) at Toyokawa Inari, the practice of the *shimenawa nenju* at Toyokawa Inari only started around three or four years ago and hence the *shimenawa nenju* was creatively added to the wide array of wish-fulfilling talismans and rituals that the temple offers.

When I interviewed Sōtō clerics about the uses of the rosary in contemporary Sōtō Zen, one priest of Yamagata prefecture told me about a practice at his temple: lay people meet after a funeral of a parishioner in order to pray for the well-being of the deceased by observing a ritual practice

called *o-nenbutsu*. The lay people sit in a circle and chant the names of the thirteen buddhas [and bodhisattvas] (*jūsan butsu*) while counting the recitations with a gigantic rosary.<sup>113</sup> Another priest from Nagoya recounted that around thirty years ago, Shugendō practitioners performed a day-long recitation of the *Heart Sūtra* one thousand times (*sengankyō*) in front of his temple's main hall. During this ritual, around twenty people freely moved the beads of a large rosary—sometimes quickly, sometimes slowly—while reciting the *Heart Sūtra*. These two cases remind one of the communal chanting of Amida's name one million times, which was a very popular Pure Land practice during the Tokugawa period.<sup>114</sup> They further bring us back to the original function of the rosary to keep count of the number of recitations. In the just described cases, the groups of devotees hold and manipulate very large rosaries while communally intoning names of buddhas and bodhisattvas or sacred texts. In so doing, they forge a community of fellow practitioners who are literally connected by the beads and string of the rosary on the one hand, and by the sound of their own voices on the other. The foundation of this communal practice can be found in the individual recitation practice first described in the *Mu huanzi jing*.

### Conclusion

This chapter has examined the development and changing functions of the rosary over time. Many of the cited examples show that prayer beads have served as sources of sectarian identification, as the form and use of rosaries differs depending on the school. The development of the various forms was first inspired by different ritual and devotional uses. At the same time, however, the various forms helped to build a distinct sectarian material culture because objects, such as a formal Sōtō rosary with a metal ring attached, make school affiliation immediately apparent to the informed observer.

Dōgen, however, seems to have not considered the rosary as an important ritual implement, and he advised Zen monks to not hold a rosary when facing someone, because this would be discourteous. Medieval portraits also do not depict Zen monks holding prayer beads. Thus, its very absence once indicated the status of a Zen cleric, distinguishing him from clerics of other traditions. Despite this historical background, however, the special way of handling the rosary during the one-night-abbacy at a head temple, marks a Sōtō cleric as an abbot in contemporary Japan. Nishiari Bokusan further used the rosary as a tool in lay propagation,



claiming it would bring benefits, such as happiness and protection. We can assume that when he handed over a rosary to someone, he was, at least for a brief moment, facing someone holding a rosary and in this way did not follow Dōgen's earlier instruction. Several portraits of Sōjiji abbots also show them holding rosaries.

Based on currently available sources, it is unclear how parishioners at Sōtō temples used the rosary before the Meiji era. Sources since the Meiji era, however, show diverse usages. Most interestingly, the rosary gained a central role in Buddhist wedding ceremonies, performed for laity and clergy alike. The handing over or exchange of rosaries is one of the special characteristics that clearly distinguish a Buddhist wedding from a Shintō or Christian one.

As I have shown, the *kirigami* on the rosary describe a complex pantheon in a mandalic fashion. It is important to note that this reading departed from the explanations found in sutras, and presumably Japanese clerics developed these new meanings. Different interpretations found in *kirigami* further suggest that symbolic associations were fluid and that meanings were flexible to a certain degree. Other objects described in *kirigami*, such as the robe, the water vessel, the bowl, and the staff, were also used to express a cosmology and were thereby mandalized. The highly symbolic meanings outlined in the documents thus hint at the eclectic nature of Sōtō Zen in medieval and early modern Japan, showing influences of esoteric Buddhism, *onmyōdō*, and *sukuyōdō*.

In contemporary Sōtō Zen orthodoxy, the focus is on Dōgen and his thought, with *shikan taza* as its very core. In this view, there is no place for highly symbolic interpretations of the rosary as a mandala or for an implement that is closely associated with the counting of recitations, a practice that is considered contrary to *shinkan taza*. Nevertheless, rosaries are necessary items for all parishioners visiting a Sōtō temple and play a central role in Buddhist wedding ceremonies, which Sōtō clerics have actively promoted in recent years. Moreover, contemporary Sōtō clerics also occasionally do use the rosary in ritual settings.

My study of the rosary demonstrates that objects do not have meanings in themselves. Users bring the objects to life and invest them with meanings. These meanings change depending on the needs, doctrines, and approaches of the users. When the doctrines or approaches change, the users adjust the form, uses, and interpretations of the implements accordingly. As a result, the meanings or symbolic associations change, new meanings are added, and others are forgotten.

## Notes

1. Although the term “rosary” originates in the Christian tradition and describes Christian prayer beads, Western scholars have used the term to describe Buddhist prayer beads. Consistent with the existing literature, I therefore use the term “rosary” for Buddhist prayer beads in this article.
2. Itō Kokan, *Gasshō to nenju no hanashi: Bukkyō shinkō nyūmon*, revised edition (Tokyo: Daihōrinkaku, 1980), 65, 146–147; George J. Tanabe, “Telling Beads: The Forms and Functions of the Buddhist Rosary in Japan,” *Beiträge des Arbeitskreises Japanische Religionen* (2012): 14.
3. <http://www.sotozen-net.or.jp/ceremony/memorial/hoji> (last accessed April 29, 2016) and <http://www.sotozen-net.or.jp/ceremony/memorial/obutsudan> (last accessed April 29, 2016).
4. John Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), 85.
5. Anne Breckenridge Dorsey, “Prayer Beads in Asian Buddhist Cultures,” *Arts of Asia* 34, no. 4 (2004): 49. For an in-depth discussion of the rosary in India and China, see Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture*, and for a detailed study of prayer beads in Japanese Buddhism, see Tanabe, “Telling Beads.” For an overview of rosaries in different Buddhist cultures, see Dorsey, “Prayer Beads in Asian Buddhist Cultures.”
6. See, for example, Mochizuki Shinkō, ed., *Bukkyō daijiten*, 10 vols., revised edition (Tokyo: Sekai Seiten Kankō Kyōkai, 1960), 2476.
7. Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture*, 119.
8. Okazaki Jōji, ed., *Butsugu daijiten* (Tokyo: Kamakura Shinsho, 1982), 328; Anne Nishimura Morse and Samuel Crowell Morse, *Object as Insight: Japanese Buddhist Art and Ritual* (Katonah, NY: Katonah Museum of Art, 1995), 64; Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture*, 119.
9. Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture*, 119.
10. T17, no. 786. For an English translation, see Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture*, 119–120.
11. Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture*, 120.
12. Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture*, 124.
13. T17:726c10–15 and *Foshuō jiaoliang shuzhu gongde jing*, a translation of the same work (T17:727b5–8). See also Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture*, 123.
14. Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture*, 124–129.
15. Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture*, 129–138.
16. Itō, *Gasshō to nenju no hanashi*, 83–84; Kawaguchi Kōfū, ed., *Shinpen Sōtōshū jissen sōsho* 1 (Tokyo: Dōhōsha, 2010), 294.
17. Nishimura Minori, “Juzu ni kansuru danshō,” *Sankō Bunka Kenkyūjo Nenpō* 41 (2010): 36; Kawaguchi, ed., *Shinpen Sōtōshū jissen sōsho* 1, 294.

18. Hanayama Shinshō, *The Story of the Juzu* (San Francisco: Buddhist Churches of America, 1962), 7.
19. Hanayama Shinshō, *The Story of the Juzu*, 7; Okazaki, ed., *Butsugu daijiten*, 330.
20. Tanabe, "Telling Beads," 2.
21. Tanabe, "Telling Beads," 2. See also Hanayama, *The Story of the Juzu*, 7.
22. Hanayama, *The Story of the Juzu*, 10; Okazaki, ed., *Butsugu daijiten*, 328.
23. For an overview of the form of these early rosaries, see Itō, *Gasshō to nenju no hanashi*, front matter.
24. For an explanation of the various forms of contemporary rosaries in the different schools, see Itō, *Gasshō to nenju no hanashi*, 149–162, and Okazaki, ed., *Butsugu daijiten*, 334–351. For a discussion of the use of rosaries in the Japanese Buddhist schools, see Tanabe, "Telling Beads," 9–12.
25. For an overview of the various forms, see, for example, Okazaki, ed., *Butsugu daijiten*, 334–351.
26. See, for example, Okazaki, ed., *Butsugu daijiten*, 334; and Kawaguchi, ed., *Shinpen Sōtōshū jissen sōsho* 1, 294.
27. See, for example, <http://www.juzuya.jp/jyuzu2.php> or <https://ssl.yasuda-nenju.com/choice/hold.php> (last accessed June 5, 2016).
28. Tanabe, "Telling Beads," 4. See also Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture*, 118.
29. See *Manshushili zhouzangzhong jiaoliang shuzhu gongde jing*, T17:726c16–17; *Foshuō jiaoliang shuzhu gongde jing*, T17:727b9–10; *Jin'gangding yuija nianzhu jing*, T17:727c27–28; *Tuoluoni ji jing*, T18:802c05–6.
30. Although the Rinzai scholar monk Mujaku Dōchū (1653–1744) writes that Pure Land adherents used rosaries with thirty-six beads and Zen adherents rosaries with eighteen beads (*Zenrin shōkisen* [Tokyo: Seishin Shobō, 1963], 786), the Sōtō scholar monk Menzan Zuihō (1683–1769) states that Zen followers would wear rosaries with thirty-six or eighteen beads (*Eifuku Menzan oshō kōroku*, in *Sōtōshū Zensho Kankōkai*, ed., *Sōtōshū zensho Goroku* 3 [Tokyo: Sōtōshū Shūmucchō, 1973], 689).
31. See, for example, *Mikkyō daijiten*, 6 vols. (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1969–1970), 1782; Itō, *Gasshō to nenju no hanashi*, 88, 105; and Okazaki, ed., *Butsugu daijiten*, 332.
32. *Mikkyō daijiten*, 1782; Itō, *Gasshō to nenju no hanashi*, 90–91, 112–114; and Tanabe, "Telling Beads," 5.
33. T 17:727c15–16.
34. Tanabe, "Telling Beads," 16.
35. Itō, *Gasshō to nenju no hanashi*, 91.
36. Itō, *Gasshō to nenju no hanashi*, 93–94; and Tanabe, "Telling Beads," 4.
37. Itō, *Gasshō to nenju no hanashi*, 91–92.
38. Tanabe, "Telling Beads," 4.
39. Mochizuki, ed., *Bukkyō daijiten*, 2475; and Tanabe, "Telling Beads," 4.

40. Like the origins of this metal ring, its meaning is also obscure. A priest and a sales person both told me that one theory about its meaning is that the ring might resemble the ring of the *rakusu*, a bib-like garment that clerics and lay devotees who have taken the precepts wear around the neck.
41. Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China: An Annotated Translation and Study of the Chanyuan qinggui* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 139. For the original, see X63:528a7–8.
42. X63:558b10.
43. T48:1146a04. For an English translation of the *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui*, see Shōhei Ichimura, *The Baizhang Zen Monastic Regulations: Taishō volume 48, Number 2025* (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2006). The passage quoting the *Ruzhong riyong qinggui* can be found in Ichimura, *The Baizhang Zen Monastic Regulations*, 316.
44. T48:1139a01–1140a12. For an English translation, see Ichimura, *The Baizhang Zen Monastic Regulations*, 248–257.
45. Ichimura, *The Baizhang Zen Monastic Regulations*, 254. For the original, see T48:1139c05. The *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui* refers to the *Mouli mantuoluo zhou jing* (T19, no. 1007). But only the first part of the quote is included in the sutra (T19:667b09).
46. T48:1139c05–12. For an English translation, see Ichimura, *The Baizhang Zen Monastic Regulations*, 254–255.
47. Auctions were one of the many commercial activities Chinese monasteries were engaged in. Others activities were, for example, operating mills and oil presses, pawnbroking, money lending, and holding lotteries. On monastic auctions in China, see Lien-Sheng Yang, *Studies in Chinese Institutional History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963), 206–211, and Michael J. Walsh, *Sacred Economies: Buddhist Monasticism and Territoriality in Medieval China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 59, 62–63.
48. T48:1147c9–10. For an English translation, see Ichimura, *The Baizhang Zen Monastic Regulations*, 334.
49. X63:657a6; X63:585c21.
50. *Jushō shingi*, in Sōtōshū Zensho Kankōkai, ed., in *Zoku Sōtōshū zensho shingi, kōshiki* (Tokyo: Sōtōshū Shūmichō, 1976), 297; and *Tōjō sōdō shingi gyōhōshō*, in Sōtōshū Zensho Kankōkai, ed., *Sōtōshū zensho shingi* (Tokyo: Sōtōshū Shūmichō, 1972), 184, 187.
51. *Tettsū Gikai zenji sōki*, in Sōtōshū Zensho Kankōkai, ed., *Zoku Sōtōshū zensho shingi, kōshiki*, 2; and *Meihō Sotetsu zenji sōki*, in Sōtōshū Zensho Kankōkai, ed., *Zoku Sōtōshū zensho shingi, kōshiki*, 11.
52. T82:27c5.
53. T82:324a25–26.
54. T82:330a08–10.

55. My translation is based on the Meishū 明州 manuscript from 1538. All other extant manuscripts include a similar statement. See Kawamura Kōdō (ed.), *Shohon taikō Eihei kaizan Dōgen zenji gyōjō Kenzeiki* (Tokyo: Taishūkan Shoten, 1975), 101.
56. Kosaka Kiyū, Hareyama Shunei et al., *Dōgen Zenji zenshū 15: Genbun taishō gen-daigoyaku, shingi, kaihō, shisho* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 2013), 258.
57. *Yōkōji no meihō* (Kanazawa: Ishikawa-ken Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 2000), 59.
58. *Kirigami* belong to *shōmono*, a very broad category of transmission records. Regarding the different genres of *shōmono*, and for a detailed study of *kirigami*, see Ishikawa Rikizan, *Zenshū sōden shiryō no kenkyū*, 2 vols. (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2001), 25–31. The most in-depth study on *kirigami* in English is Kigensan Licha's dissertation (Kigensan Stephan Licha, "The Imperfectible Body: Esoteric Transmission in Medieval Sōtō Zen Buddhism," PhD diss., University of London, 2011). Licha has also studied concepts of embryology explained in *kirigami* (Kigensan Licha, "Embryology in Early Modern Sōtō Zen Buddhism," in Anna Andreeva and Dominic Steavu, ed., *Transforming the Void: Embryological Discourse and Reproductive Imagery in East Asian Religions* [Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2016], 480–521). Bernard Faure has examined *kirigami* on the robe and a few ritual implements (Bernard Faure, "Quand l'habit fait le moine: The Symbolism of the *kāṣāya* in Sōtō Zen," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 8 [1995]: 335–369; and Bernard Faure, *Visions of Power: Imagining Medieval Japanese Buddhism* [Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996], chapter 9). William Bodiford has offered a study of *kōan* language in *shōmono* including *kirigami* (William M. Bodiford, *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan* [Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993], chapter 12). He further analyzed secret transmission documents in other articles; see, for example, William Bodiford, "Emptiness and Dust: Zen Dharma Transmission Rituals," in David Gordon White, ed., *Tantra in Practice* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 299–307; and William Bodiford, "Zen and Japanese Swordsmanship Reconsidered," in Alexander Bennett, ed., *Budo Perspectives* (Auckland: Kendo World Publications, 2005), 69–103.
59. Ishikawa, *Zenshū sōden shiryō no kenkyū*, 30, 231. The origins of *kirigami* are difficult to reconstruct. The oldest extant *kirigami* of the Sōtō school were written between 1481 and 1534 (Ishikawa, *Zenshū sōden shiryō no kenkyū*, 228). Most extant *kirigami*, however, date from the sixteenth to seventeenth century, but they might reflect earlier practices. Many *kirigami* claim to originate with Rujing (Jp. Nyojō, 1163–1228), Dōgen, Ejō (1198–1280), or Keizan; but these are later attributions (Ishikawa, *Zenshū sōden shiryō no kenkyū*, 233, 240). After Menzan excoriated *kirigami* in the mid-Tokugawa period, many lineages stopped transmitting them, but a few lineages still hand them down today. In these cases, the documents are transmitted in the form of a collection of previously written *kirigami* as part of the dharma transmission, and therefore their mere possession, not their content, is important to the clerics. One priest, for example, told me he cannot read most of his *kirigami*, as they are written in a very cursive script.

60. Ishikawa, *Zenshū sōden shiryō no kenkyū*, 237–238, 311–389.
61. *Juzu kirigami*. It is listed in Sōtōshū Shūhō Chōsa Iinkai, *Sōtōshū shūhō chōsa mokuroku kaidaiishū 2* (Tokyo: Sōtōshū Shūmuchō, 1994), 280.
62. For a typographical reprint, see Ishikawa, *Zenshū sōden shiryō no kenkyū*, 374–375.
63. For a detailed analysis of the altar arrangements of Gakkō and Nikkō flanking the medicine Buddha, see Pamela D. Winfield, “Esoteric Images of Light and Life at Osaka Kokubunji, Japan,” *Southeast Review of Asian Studies* 34 (2012): 128–152.
64. *Juzu zu*, in Takakusu Junjirō and Ono Genmyō et al., ed., *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō zuzō Vol. 10* (Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1934), *besshi* 2, and in Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kannon no mitera Ishiyamadera* (Nara: Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 2002), 68. For an explanation of the document, see Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kannon no mitera Ishiyamadera*, 130–131.
65. I interpreted the first name here as Kongōken 金剛拳. However, the characters in the manuscript owned by Shōdō are 金剛肩, and the manuscript that Ishikawa published as a typographical reprint gives the characters 金剛眷, but Ishikawa suspected that Kongōken was meant here (Ishikawa, *Zenshū sōden shiryō no kenkyū*, 374). I followed Ishikawa’s suggestion because the group of the four bodhisattvas then includes a bodhisattva of the perfected body assembly (Jp. jōjin’e) of the diamond mandala who represents the north and in this way complements the other three bodhisattvas.
66. These four bodhisattvas belong to the thirty-seven deities of the perfected body assembly in the diamond mandala. This assembly lies in the center of the diamond mandala and represents Mahāvairocana’s perfect universal body. Three of the four bodhisattvas mentioned in the *kirigami*—Kongōken, Kongōai, and Kongōgo—belong to the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas, who surround the four buddhas in four moon circles in the four directions: Kongōken the Buddha in the north, Kongōai the Buddha in the east, and Kongōgo the Buddha in the west. Kongōsaku is the bodhisattva in the southern outer border of the assembly of the perfected body.
67. The rosary has a two-colored thread in red and white. There is one tassel in red and one in white on each mother bead. The colors red and white have several associations. Here they probably represent the bodhisattvas Nikkō and Gakkō. Nikkō (lit. Sun Radiance) is often depicted with a red solar disk, whereas Gakkō (lit. Moon Radiance) is depicted with a white lunar disk. Furthermore, Nikkō is often painted with a red body and Gakkō with a white body (Mochizuki, ed., *Bukkyō daijiten*, 759, 4065; <http://www.onmarkproductions.com/html/nikko-gakko.shtml>, last accessed June 6, 2016). In this way, the two colors of the tassels carry the association of the two mother beads with Nikkō and Gakkō onto the tassels. Another common interpretation is that white and red represent father and mother, in other words, male and female (see, for example, *Nyūtai shusseki kirigami*, in Licha, “Embryology in Early Modern Sōtō Zen Buddhism,” 495–496).

68. *Juzu daiji*. It is listed in Sôtōshū Bunkazai Chōsa Iinkai, *Sôtōshū bunkazai chōsa mokuroku kaidaishū* 6 (Tokyo: Sôtōshū Shūmuchō, 2003), 123.
69. *Juzu no kirigami*. It is listed in Sôtōshū Bunkazai Chōsa Iinkai, *Sôtōshū bunkazai chōsa mokuroku kaidaishū* 7 (Tokyo: Sôtōshū Shūmuchō, 2006), 7.
70. *Juzu no kirigami*. It is listed in Sôtōshū Bunkazai Chōsa Iinkai, *Sôtōshū bunkazai chōsa mokuroku kaidaishū* 7, 109.
71. For Rokujiten, see Bendetta Lomi, “Dharanis, Talismans, and Straw Dolls: Ritual Choreographies and Healing Strategies of the ‘Rokujikyōhō’ in Medieval Japan,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 41, no. 2 (2014): 255–304, and for Nyoirin Kannon, see Bernard Faure, *The Fluid Pantheon: Gods of Medieval Japan, Volume 1* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2016), 285–314. For a helpful compilation of sources on Nyoirin Kannon and the wish-fulfilling jewel, see <http://www.onmarkproductions.com/html/kannon.shtml#sixkannononmarkproductions> (last accessed August 5, 2016).
72. Zenmitsu seems to be an obscure divine boy. I was not able to find any information on him. On the pairing of Fudō and Aizen, see Bernard Faure, *The Fluid Pantheon: Gods of Medieval Japan, Volume 1*, chapter 5. Interestingly, the pair is also included in a *kirigami* on the fly-whisk in the archive of Shōbōji (undated). Whereas the bottom of the fly-whisk is said to represent Fudō, the top is thought to represent Aizen. This manuscript is listed in Sôtōshū Shūhō Chōsa Iinkai, *Sôtōshū shūhō chōsa mokuroku kaidaishū* 2, 167. For a typographical reprint, see Iizuka Hironobu and Tsuchiya Keiko, “Rinka Sôtōshū ni okeru sōden shiryō kenkyū josetsu 6: Yōkōji kankei shiryō hen,” *Komazawa daigaku bukkyōgakubu ronshū* 43 (2012): 173.
73. Substitute (*dai*) indicates here that the teacher gives the answer in place of a disciple.
74. The meaning of the phrase “Daruma no bikū hōge shitafu 達磨之鼻孔放下シタワ” is not clear, and I was not able to find another text that uses a similar phrase. However, important to note is that in the Zen context nostrils often stand for someone’s original face (*honrai no menmoku*) (see, for example, Komazawa daigaku nai zengaku daijiten hensanjo, ed. *Zengaku daijiten, shinhan* [Tokyo: Taishūkan, 1985], 1042).
75. *A-ban-un* is written in Siddham script. *A* is the first letter and *un* (a transliteration of the Sanskrit syllable *hūṃ*) the last letter of the Sanskrit alphabet. *Ban* is a transliteration of the Sanskrit syllable *vaṃ*. All three syllables have many associations. *A* is sometimes interpreted as the beginning or the aspiration to seek enlightenment and *un* as the end or the realization of nirvana. *Ban* indicates wisdom (see Nakamura Hajime, *Bukkyōgo jiten* [Tokyo: Tōkyō Shoseki, 1985], 2, 94, 1118). The inclusion of *ban* in the common pair *a-un* might suggest that wisdom (*ban*) is needed on the path from the aspiration to seek enlightenment to finally obtaining awakening. However, it would be necessary to study other *shōmono* that explain *a-ban-un* in order to understand how Sōtō monks interpreted these

- Sanskrit syllables. The monk Tsūkoku made a note at the end of the line indicating an alternative writing of the Siddham letter *ban* (see Fig. 4.3).
76. The text gives the characters 生碍 (lit. creating obstructions) for Shōge, but I used the homophone 障礙 (lit. hindrances) for the translation of the name, because I found these three names in other sources. The oral sayings of Nichiren, for example, state, “Sanbō kōjin is the ten rākṣasīs. [He] is further Kekatsu-jin, Tonyoku-jin, and Shōge-jin 障礙神” (*Ongi kuden*, T84:335a19–21). In *kagura*, the three faces of Kōjin are also interpreted as Kekatsu-jin, Tonyoku-jin, and Shōge-jin (<http://daijo-kagura.jimdo.com/大乘神樂とは/>, last accessed May 13, 2016).
  77. The *daimoku* mandala (lit. title mandala) is a mandala in script that has the words “*Namu myōhō rengo kyō* (I take refuge in the marvelous teaching of the *Lotus Sūtra*)” in its center. It serves as a central object of worship in the Nichiren school.
  78. One example of the rosary *daimoku* mandala is included in the Petzold Collection at Harvard ([http://hollis.harvard.edu/primo\\_library/libweb/action/dlDisplay.do?vid=HVD&search\\_scope=default\\_scope&docId=HVD\\_ALEPH012708372&fn=permalink](http://hollis.harvard.edu/primo_library/libweb/action/dlDisplay.do?vid=HVD&search_scope=default_scope&docId=HVD_ALEPH012708372&fn=permalink) and <http://ids.lib.harvard.edu/ids/view/24624743?buttons=y>, last accessed April 29, 2016). See also the frontispiece in Itō, *Gasshō to nenju no hanashi* or the second volume of Ukita Ren’yō, *Hokekyō mikuji reikansen*, 3 vols. (Kyoto: Murakami Kanbē, 1861; in the Mitsui Collection at University of California, Berkeley), 36 verso–37 recto.
  79. <http://www.kawasaki-beads.com/blog/?p=5082> (last accessed April 29, 2016) and <http://tobifudo.jp/newmon/butugu/zyuzu.html> (last accessed April 29, 2016). The latter source is the webpage of the temple Shōbōin in Tokyo, which acquired this scroll after World War II. The head priest assumed that the scroll was printed sometime between the end of the Meiji era and the beginning of the Shōwa era (e-mail conversation with Shōbōin).
  80. For a study of *kirigami* on objects, see also Faure, “Quand l’habit fait le moine,” and Faure, *Visions of Power*, chapter 9.
  81. *Fukuden’e kirigami* (undated, seventeenth century, archive of Shōryūji). It is listed in Sōtōshū Shūhō Chōsa Iinkai, *Sōtōshū shūhō chōsa mokuroku kaidaiishū* 2, 280. For a typographical reprint, see Ishikawa, *Zenshū sōden shiryō no kenkyū*, 318–320 or Iizuka Hironobu, “Rinka Sōtōshū ni okeru sōden shiryō kenkyū josetsu 2: Eiheiji shozō shiryō (ge),” in *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyōgakubu Ronshū* 39 (2008), 166–167.
  82. *Kesa no kirigami* (undated, archive of Eiheiji). For a typographical reprint, see Iizuka, “Rinka Sōtōshū ni okeru sōden shiryō kenkyū josetsu 2,” 261–262. *Kesa daiji* (undated, seventeenth century, archive of Shōryūji). It is listed in Sōtōshū Shūhō Chōsa Iinkai, *Sōtōshū shūhō chōsa mokuroku kaidaiishū* 2, 279. For a typographical reprint, see Ishikawa, *Zenshū sōden shiryō no kenkyū*, 321 or Iizuka, “Rinka Sōtōshū ni okeru sōden shiryō kenkyū josetsu 2,” 168. *Kyūjō e no zu*



- (undated, archive of Ganshōin). It is listed in Sōtōshū Bunkazai Chōsa Iinkai, *Sōtōshū bunkazai chōsa mokuroku kaidaiishū* 7, 111.
83. For an English translation of the diagram included in the *Kesa daiji*, see Bernard Faure, “Quand l’habit fait le moine,” 369.
  84. Bernard Faure, *Visions of Power*, 233.
  85. *Kai* indicates the *hora gai*, a trumpet shell played mainly by Shugendō practitioners.
  86. Ishikawa, *Zenshū sōden shiryō no kenkyū*, 318; Iizuka, “Rinka Sōtōshū ni okeru sōden shiryō kenkyū josetsu 2,” 267.
  87. On the gestation and the robe, see Faure, “Quand l’habit fait le moine.” On gestation in early modern Sōtō Zen, see Kigensan Licha, “Embryology in Early Modern Sōtō Zen Buddhism.”
  88. Faure, “Quand l’habit fait le moine,” 363.
  89. See Faure, “Quand l’habit fait le moine,” 361–364 and Kigensan Licha, “Embryology in Early Modern Sōtō Zen Buddhism,” 506–512.
  90. See, for example, *Hatsuu kirigami* (undated, first half of the seventeenth century, archive of Yōkōji, listed in Sōtōshū Bunkazai Chōsa Iinkai, *Sōtōshū bunkazai chōsa mokuroku kaidaiishū* 7, 598); *Hatsuu no kirigami* (undated, archive of Yōkōji, listed as *Ōki zu* in Sōtōshū Bunkazai Chōsa Iinkai, *Sōtōshū bunkazai chōsa mokuroku kaidaiishū* 7, 598); or *Hatsuu kirigami* (undated, archive of Shōbōji, listed in Sōtōshū Shūhō Chōsa Iinkai, *Sōtōshū shūhō chōsa mokuroku kaidaiishū* 2, 166). For a typographical reprint of the first two *kirigami*, see Ishikawa, *Zenshū sōden shiryō no kenkyū*, 332–334 and for a typographical reprint of the last one, see Iizuka and Tsuchiya: “Rinka Sōtōshū ni okeru sōden shiryō kenkyū josetsu 6,” 169–170.
  91. See, for example, Toganoō Shōun, *Mandara no kenkyū* (Kōyama-chō: Kōyasan Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1932), graphs 106, 108, 126, 128.
  92. T82:260b3.
  93. *Hōbin no zu* (1611; archive of Yōkōji, listed in Sōtōshū Bunkazai Chōsa Iinkai, *Sōtōshū bunkazai chōsa mokuroku kaidaiishū* 7, 598). For a typographical reprint, see Ishikawa, *Zenshū sōden shiryō no kenkyū*, 336.
  94. Three *kirigami* on the *shujō* are preserved at Yōkōji: *Shujō no zu* (1620), *Shujō kirigami* (undated), and *Shujō no zu* (1636). They are listed in Sōtōshū Bunkazai Chōsa Iinkai, *Sōtōshū bunkazai chōsa mokuroku kaidaiishū* 7, 598. For a typographical reprint, see Ishikawa, *Zenshū sōden shiryō no kenkyū*, 339–343. One *kirigami* on the *shujō* is preserved at Shōbōji: *Shumon shujō shi* (undated, listed in Sōtōshū Shūhō Chōsa Iinkai, *Sōtōshū shūhō chōsa mokuroku kaidaiishū* 2, 167). For a typographical reprint, see Iizuka and Tsuchiya, “Rinka Sōtōshū ni okeru sōden shiryō kenkyū josetsu 6,” 170–171.
  95. *Shujō no zu* (1620, archive of Yōkōji) and *Shujō kirigami* (undated, archive of Yōkōji).
  96. *Shujō no zu* (1620, archive of Yōkōji).

97. *Shujō no zu* (1636, archive of Yōkōji).
98. Jiryu Mark Rutschman-Byler, “Sōtō Zen in Meiji Japan: The Life and Times of Nishiari Bokusan,” MA thesis, UC Berkeley, 2014, 79.
99. Rutschman-Byler, “Sōtō Zen in Meiji Japan,” 70. See also Ueda Shetsu: “Nishiari Bokusan to haibutsu kishaku,” in *Nishiari Bokusan Zenji: Botsugohyakunen wo mukaete* (Hachinohe: Nishiari Bokusan Zenji Kenshūkai, 2009), 50–54.
100. The three refuges are “I take refuge in the Buddha. I take refuge in the dharma. I take refuge in the sangha.”
101. The propagation of *nenbutsu* practice was connected to the discussion about which deity should be the main object of workshop in the Sōtō school: Śākyamuni, Amida, or Kannon. The opposing groups instructed devotees to recite the name of the respective Buddha or bodhisattva (John LoBreglio, “Orthodox, Heterodox, Heretical: Defining Doctrinal Boundaries in Meiji-period Sōtō Zen,” *Bochumer Jahrbuch zur Ostasienforschung* 33 [2009]: 77–103). On Nishiari and his promotion of recitation practice, see also Dominick John Scarangelo, “Embodying the Deities: A Study of the Formation of a Modern Japanese Deity Cult,” Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 2012, 315–316.
102. Nishiari Bokusan, *Tōjō shintō anshin ketsu*, in *Sōtōshū Sensho Kankōkai* (ed.), *Sōtōshū sensho* 5 (Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1981), 201–202.
103. Own fieldwork at Sōjiji from 2007 to 2013 and 2015 to 2016.
104. Own fieldwork from 2007 to 2013 and 2015 to 2016.
105. Uchiyama Kan’i, “Shitchū kuden,” in Kawaguchi Kōfū (ed.), *Shinpen Sōtōshū jissen sōsho* 9 (Tokyo: Dōhōsha, 2010), 371–376. Nevertheless, monks at the head temple Sōjiji told me that they rarely see someone using a rosary in this way during today’s one-night abbacy.
106. <http://seesaawiki.jp/w/turatura/d/%CA%A9%C1%B0%B7%EB%BA%A7%BC%Bo> (last accessed April 13, 2016). For Kuruma’s ritual form of the Buddhist weddings, see Kuruma Takudō, *Zenmon hōkan*, revised edition (Tokyo: Kōmeisha, 1956), 953–960. Nukariya and Ishikawa wrote brief explanations of the procedures for Buddhist weddings (Nukariya Kaiten, “Busshiki kekkon ni tsuite,” in *Sōtōshū fukyō sensho* 14 [Kyoto: Dōhōsha Shuppan, 1984], 334–340; originally written in 1923, and Ishikawa Sodō, “Sōtōshū kon’inshiki sahō,” in Ishikawa Sodō: *Daien Genchi Zenji goroku*, bekkkan [Nagoya: Daien Genchi Zenji Goroku Kankōkai, 1932], 44–46).
107. Miyazaki Bunki, ed., *Sōtōshū gyōji kijun* (Tokyo: Sōtōshū Shūmuchō, 1966), 146, 148.
108. See, for example, *Butsuzen kekkon shiki: Gaido nōto* (Tokyo: Sōtōshū Shūmuchō, 1981), 18; Miyazaki, ed., *Sōtōshū gyōji kijun*, 146, 148.
109. *Butsuzen kekkon shiki: Gaido nōto*, 18. For a detailed description of the ritual form used in the Sōtō school, see *Butsuzen kekkon shiki: Gaido nōto* or Miyazaki, ed., *Sōtōshū gyōji kijun*, 143–157. For a description of a Buddhist wedding, see

- also <http://www.teishoin.net/wed/wed.html> or <http://www.sizusosei.com/ceremony/kekkonshiki.html> (last accessed April 13, 2016).
110. Conversations with sales personnel of Buddhist implement stores and Sōtō clerics in October 2015 and February 2016.
  111. See, for example, *Manshushili zhouzangzhong jiaoling shuzhu gongde jing* (T17:726b29-c15), *Foshuō jiaoliang shuzhu gongde jing* (T17:727a22-b8), and *Jin'gangding yuija nianzhu jing* (T17:727c18–22). For a discussion of the rankings, see also Tanabe, “Telling Beads,” 6–7; and Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture*, 121–122. Tanabe writes that the seeds of the bodhi tree are too small to be pierced and strung together. The seeds that are used for the bodhi tree seed rosary are actually “the seeds of the Bodhici tree that grows in the Himalayan mountain region” (Tanabe, “Telling Beads,” 6).
  112. Own fieldwork from 2007 to 2013 and 2015 to 2016. See also Tanabe, “Telling Beads,” 13.
  113. The “thirteen buddhas” include the following buddhas and bodhisattvas: Fudō, Śākyamuni, Monju, Fugen, Jizō, Miroku, Yakushi, Kannon, Seishi, Amida, Ashuku, Dainichi, and Kokūzō. These deities are thought to help the deceased at a certain time after his passing and thus a painting of the appropriate deity is hung up on the respective day.
  114. On the one million times recitation of Amida’s name, see, for example, Tanabe, “Telling Beads,” 12; and Nishimura Minori, “Bukkyō to juzu,” *Sankō Bunka Kenkyūjo Nenpō* 40 (2009), 25–28. Interestingly, this ritual practice was also staged in *kyōgen* plays (see Kitashiro Nobuko, “Juzu guri no shūzoku to Edo gesaku,” *Setsuwa Denshōgaku* 8 [2000]: 113–129).