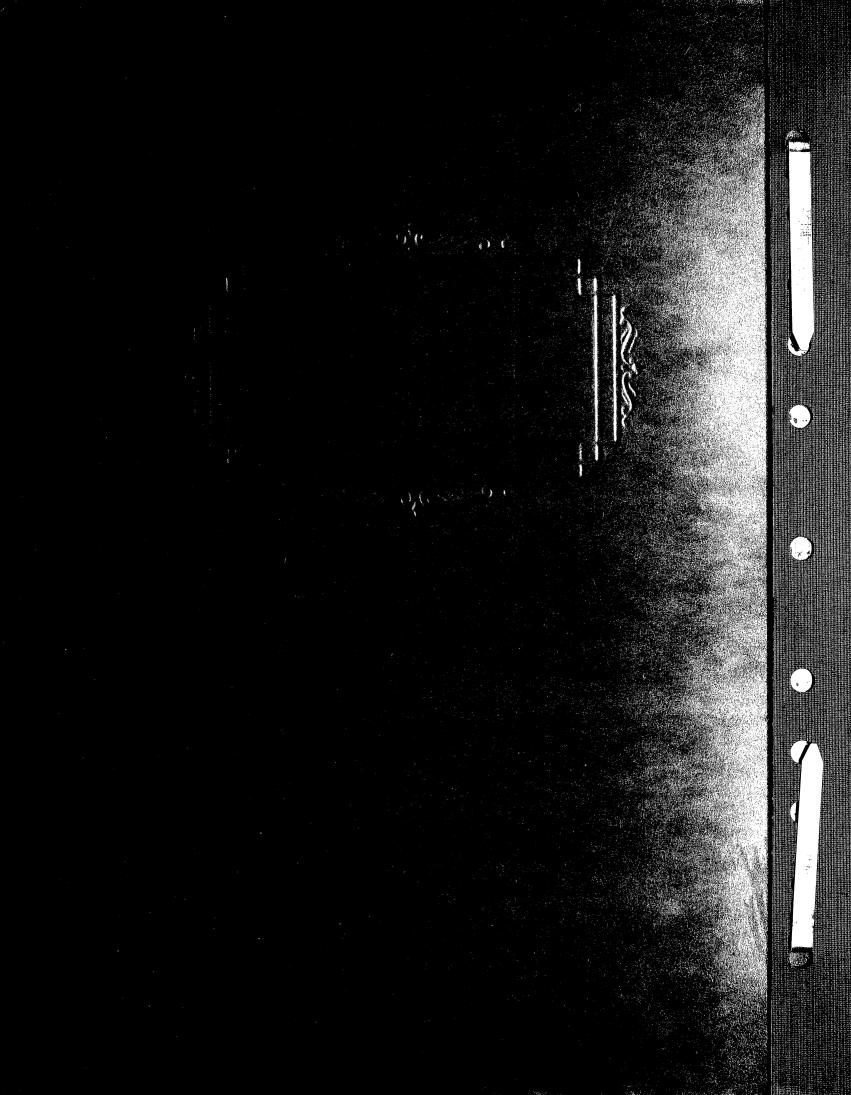
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SOME EFFECTS OF BUDDHISM

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JAPANESE LIFE AND CULTURE

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INTRODUCTION

For the cultural historian the study of Japan offers numerous obstacles and pitfalls. Often, however, these obstructions may be considerably lessened by the manner in which the historian approaches his investigation. To study all of Japanese history or to limit oneself to a microscopic investigation of a single institution is extremely dangerous. Rather, an institution or an important aspect should first be fitted into its entire cultural and social pattern before the student endeavours to evaluate it with the proper perspective. From this point, the cultural historian may gradually increase his specialization, not forgetting that outside influences and forces are continually at work.

With the above method of approach in mind, I have selected the institution of Buddhism and studied it in relation to its effect upon the various ramifications of Japanese life and culture. I choose Buddhism because, in my opinion, this religion forms the dominant cultural force and influence in Japanese history. The social historian can easily study the overt actions, trends, and attitudes of the Japanese from historical texts; but to s study and understand the essential covert attitudes and patterns, he must examine the abstract ideaclogies and philosophy of the people. Since Buddhism has created,

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modified and developed so many of these idealogies and abstract concepts, its study is almost essential if one is to receive a comprehensive understanding of Japan.

Since the forces of Buddhism have affected almost all the ramifications of Japanese life, it is obvious that in such a paper a detailed survey of these effects and influences can not be realized. Consequently, Ι have selected a few of the more important departments of Japanese culture and attempted to show how Buddhism has affected them. My classification of topics and fields is rather an arbitrary one since I have attempted to dovetail these areas together, in order to give some semblance of continuity to the paper. I have also endeavoired to show relationships between the fields covered in this paper and others which could not be emphasized by this study. With such a large subject to cover, it has been necessary to limit the explanations of the various Buddhist sects and their metaphysical doctrince to the bare minimum. In so doing, I focus the greater part of my attention upon two of the many schools of Buddhist thought--the esoteric Shingon and the contemplative Zen. This, in my opinion, does not detract from the study since the majority of other schools differ only on minor technical points--their underlying philosophies are the same or at least similar.

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Therefore, I feel that actually Zen and Shingon have acted as the principal cultural determinates among the other Buddhist sects. THE ORIGINAL IMPACT OF BUDDHISM ON JAPAN AND LATER IMPLICATIONS

With its formal introduction to Japan from Korea in 552 A.D., Buddhism was primarily used for the material benefits which its magic and mystic symbols would bring. During the 6th century there appeared numerous inscriptions which told of an emperor, or of a priest being called upon to pray for good crops by use of his "secret powers". Adopted and promoted by the powerful Soga Clan, The Buddhist "magic" seemed more potent than the Japanese' own liturgies and symbols.

Prince Shotoku Taishi, who lived at the beginning of the 7th century, was a devout believer rather than a political promoter of the Buddhist faith. (1) The most powerful man of his day, the Prince-Regent was chiefly concerned with encouraging Buddhist moral and intellectual benefits. Thus he stimulated relations between Korea and Japan, as well as sending missions to China to gain a more direct access to the knowledge of the religion. Upon their return from China, the awed Japanese students were determined to transplant the culture of T'ang in their own native land. Along with this invasion of T'ang culture, came hundreds of priests, scholars, and craftsmen from Kokuli and Paiche in Korea.⁽²⁾ They taught and intermarried with the Japanese, thereby creating a nucleus

1 Steiger, G.N., Japan's Prospect, Cambridge, Mass., 1946, p. 46. 2 Sansom, G.B., Japan: <u>A Short Cultural History</u>, New York, 1943, p. 71.

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of a new imported culture and fusion with the native elements. Buddhist temples sprang up everywhere in the Yamato and Iga regions, and nobles vied with one another to erect temples and monuments for the benefit of their lords. In 624 A.D. there were 46 temples while 65 years later there were 545.⁽³⁾

Perhaps the most significant event of the Asuka period was the master stroke of Prince Shotoku when, endeavoring to propagate the moral and philosophical content of Buddhism, he set forth a revolutionary code of moral injunctions which were soon to represent a turning point in Japanese government and society. Where there had been no body of laws or written codes, a set of moral injunctions which were a compound of both Buddhist and Confucian principles now appeared. They defined the relations between inferiors and superiors, as well as emphasizing the concept of a strong central government. The latter innovation helped considerably in clearing the way for the consolidation of power into a centralized state at a time when there was no unified central government -- only a loosely knit group of clans. Among these 17 articles which composed Shotoku's code is a paragraph which states, "The sovereign is master of the people of the whole country and the officials to whom he gives charge are his vassals." (4) This is especially noteworthy since it recalls the general tenor of

3 <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 71 and p. 528. Also see: <u>Dai</u> <u>Nippon Kenchiku</u> Zenshi, Osaka, 1933, p. 12. See also APPENDIX B. 4 Sansom, <u>op. cit</u>., p. 74.

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the Meiji Constitution.

Thus at the end of the Asuka period, as Japan was in the midst of a great transition, it could not be doubted that the great cultural and social forces of Buddhism were already in motion. THE EFFECT OF BUDDHISM ON JAPANESE RELIGION AND MORALS

Coming to Japan in the formative period of the nation's life without serious obstacle, ⁽¹⁾ it was inevitable that, as the new concepts and material culture arising with Buddhism gained momentum, Japan should approach a new and higher social and cultural level. Therefore it might be of some value to make a cursory examination of some of the Buddhist religious and moral concepts which influenced Japanese cultural patterns.

To recapitulate, Shingon and Zen Buddhism have hald the dominant role in the originating of Buddhist moral and religious concepts. The other sects, again, differ essentially only in the methods by which they strive to attain an identical goal.

The origin of esoteric thought, as introduced by Tendai and Shingon, is as hard to describe as are its complicated doctrines. While Japanese students of Buddhism traveled about in Asia during the early 9th century in order to study continental Buddhism, numerous foreign doctrines were being introduced and taught in China. The foremost of these new religions and schools of thoughts was the esoteric school of Chen-yen (Indian, Yogachara), which had been taken from India in 720 A.D. But while Japanese Buddhism was unquestionably influenced by alien concepts,⁽²⁾ only the best portions of these ideas were selected and incorporated into the Japanese/re-These were skilfully modified and transformed into someligion. thing quite different from what the Chinese and Indian originators Japanese Buddhism was analogous to some of our modhad intended. ern hybrid plants; it bloomed into something far more fruitful and

1 Knox, George, <u>Japanese Life in Town & Country</u>, New York, 1904, p. 62.

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² Arthur Lloyd notes striking similarities between the Shingon system and Manichaeism. See Lloyd, A., <u>Transactions of the Asiatic</u> Society, London, 1908, Vol. XXXV, p. 201.

enduring than could or did its many parent strains.

It is perhaps foolish for me to even make an attempt to explain the esoteric doctrines of early Japanese Buddhism, for they are extremely intricate and complicated. A definite impasse in any comprehensive study of this religion is that a considerable portion of its doctrines are considered secret (called mitsukyo,= 2) and are therefore taught only to the initiated few. Nevertheless, if only slightly, it is necessary for one to become acquainted with a general picture of the esoteric metaphysical thought which existed at that time if an appreciation of pre-feudal Heian life and culture is desired.

The central underlying idea of esoteric Buddhism was cosmotheism. Buddha was regarded as the embodiment of the universe, being composed of six elements; earth, water, fire, air, ether, and consciousness. The "Three Mysteries" which are the actual thoughts, words, and actions by which men live form another important element in Buddhism. These were also part of and controlled by Buddha.

Humans were but concrete manifestations of Vairocana (Buddha) and therefore living representations of the cosmic life. But because of mankind's manifold illusions and selfishness, persons did not realize this inner relationship with Buddha. Hence it was Buddhism's aim to guide them to the realization of this kinship.

One of Buddhism's most important early doctrines comprised the theory of the development of spiritual life which guides

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the believer to complete enlightenment. In this doctrine, Shingon introduced ten stages through which man must necessarily pass in order to gain this fulfilment of his religion. The first nine stages concern themselves with the evolution of thought as do most systems of philosophy. Shingon's theory differed, however, from the other schools in the essential 10th stage wherein was stressed the importance of esoteric faith (eg. enlightenment may be gained by the practice of mystical and asectic ceremonies as well as by secret formulae). (3) This appears to be one of the keys concerning the vast amount of symbolism found in Shingon and later Buddhist art. The concept. only slightly modified, appears again in the Zen philosophy of the Ashikaga period. Due largely to these original doctrines, esotericism has penetrated into all the fields of Japanese culture. *

Certain moral attitudes developed in Japanese culture as a result of the impact of Buddhist philosophy. The Buddhist conception of life based on <u>Karma</u> had a moral and sentimental influence on Japanese life.⁽⁴⁾ The moral aspect is that every individual existence is sinful. This feeling accounts for the Japanese attitude of resignation in the face of present miseries, reasoning that these hardships are the irrevocable retribution for a past Karma. This concept also carries with it the

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³ Eliot, Sir Charles, Japanese Buddhism, London 1935, p. 344. 4 Karma is one's deeds and thoughts which persist from one life to the next.

^{*} The doctrines and effects of the Zen school of thought are so important I have devoted a separate chapter to them. Also refer to the chapter on ARTS for Zen's influence in aesthetics.

personal aspiration to rid oneself of the hold which Karma maintains on one's existence. (eg. to end the chain of reincarnations and immediately enter Nirvana) "This attitude of resignation is an important feature in the moral life of the Japanese, as so often is shown, for instance, in the ease with which they take the decision to die." (5)

The philosophy of Karma has also had a profound effect upon human relationships. "Whether it be love or hate, whether it be between societies or individuals, every human relation has for its background the accumulation of Karma for which all are jointly responsible, and which may continue to endure far into the future."⁽⁶⁾ This feeling was often illustrated in medieval Japanese literature and drama;⁽⁷⁾ it is also maintained that it was partly responsible for the common custom of joint suicide of lovers (Shinjū) during the 18th century.

The practice of charity has greatly been affected by the idea of Karma. "Every work intended for the benefit of others is called eko, or a dedication, and this covers religious ceremonies performed for the spiritual welfare of the dead, all kinds of acts to relieve the unfortunate, and all organizations for social welfare."⁽⁸⁾ By these acts of charity one links himself

5 Anesaki, Masaharu, <u>Religious Life of The Japanese People</u>, Tokyo, 1938, p. 78. 6. Ibid.

7 The Genji Monogatari, by Lady Murasaki, the <u>Heiji Monoga-</u> tari, the <u>Heike Monogatari</u>, etc., well illustrate this feeling. 8 Anesaki, op. cit., p. 79.

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with the saints and is one step nearer salvation. Fairly early in Japanese History (ca. 8th century), Buddhist "Free Hospitals" (Ryobyo-in) and infirmaries were established as well as charity funds for the needy in many of the temples. Even the imperial family was known personally to aid the needy in these charities.⁽⁹⁾

The same charitable attitude still exists in Japan and in Buddhism today. Nearly all the branches of Buddhism are at present engaged in work of a charitable and social nature. Hospitals, relief organizations, foreign missions (prior to the war), Young Men's and Young Women's Buddhist Associations, the chaplaincy of all the Japanese jails are only a part of the modern Japanese Buddhist charities.

Buddhism's Effect Upon Shinto

In any paper where there is such a preponderant wealth of source material available, it is always difficult to decide what should be incorporated and what must be excluded. So at the risk of some criticism, I am including a brief summary of Buddhism's influence upon Japanese Shinto; for it is my belief that the later course of this indigenous faith was greatly stimulated by the effect of Buddhist ideas.

Buddhism as an institution possessed the ability to absorb and assimilate new concepts as well as the deeply rooted native ideas of the Japanese. The relationship between Buddhism and Shinto is certainly an exemplification of this fact. Buddhism gained its greatest triumph when it sagaciously came to the realization that in Japan it needed to adopt a new approach and appeal if it hoped to persist. This, it was reasoned, could best be accomplished by a blending with the informal and latently powerful Shinto.

Originally, Buddhism was adverse to recognizing ancestor worship in any of its doctrines. But it was rationalized that, since Buddha was the embodiment of the universe, it would be an easy matter to maintain that the Shinto deities were incarnate forms of the cosmic Buddha. By a loose interpretation of certain tenets, it was also possible to absorb the Shinto practice of deifying and making saints of famous mortals after death. Such a sutra is the following:

> "Life had a limited span, and naught may avail to extend it. This is manifested by the impermanence of human beings; but yet, whenever necessary, I will hereafter make my appearance from time to time as a god (Kami), a sage (Confucian teacher) or a Buddha (Hotoke)."(11)

After Buddhism had eliminated differences between the two faiths in point of doctrine, it gave each of the Shinto deities a new Chinese-Buddhistic name. For every Shinto festival was arranged a corresponding Buddhist's saint's day or fete. The culminating movement in which religious rites, prayers, and

old temple histories; they are also to be observed in many of the old paintings. There is even record of the Empress Komyo washing leperous people in the public baths. 10 In Shingon this is called the doctrine of <u>Honchi-</u> <u>Suijaku</u>.

11 Quoted from Satow and Hawes' <u>Handbook</u> for Japan, 1894, p. 83.

deities of Shinto formed a place in Buddhism was called Ryobu Shinto.

The blending of the two systems proved, as has been mentioned previously, an all-important factor in the development of Shinto as a religion in form and spirit.⁽¹³⁾ Besides adding a formalized ritual to the Shinto services, Buddhism gradually changed the architecture of many of the Shinto shrines from early Malayan-type to that of the "low Chinese temple with great sweeping roof, re-curved eaves, many columned auditorium and imposing gateway, with lacquer, paint, gilding and ceilings, on which, in blazing gold and color, were depicted the emblems of the Buddhist paradise."⁽¹⁴⁾

This remarkable ability to harmonize and assimilate has contributed to developing the Japanese spirit of toleration, which is sometimes difficult to distinguish from a general indifference to religious matters. The old Japanese proverb, "Every Japanese is born a Shintoist and dies a Buddhist" would illustrate the Japanese eclecticism and their seeming apathy in religious matters.

All the many moral and religious outgrowths can not be mentioned, and I allude to only a few here. Other important

12 The meaning and etymology of the word is interesting; Shinto means "the way of the gods", while "Ryobu Shinto" means "the double way of the gods". In other words, now the Japanese could enter Nirvana by two roads rather than one. 13 Suma, Yakichiro, "Religious Life In Japan", <u>The Japan Society</u>, London, Vol XX, p. 62. 14 Griffis, W.E., <u>The Religions of Japan</u>, N.Y., 1912, p.210.

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Buddhist conceptions which have found their way into Japanese daily life include ideas of rewards and punishments, the origin of the Eta Class, life after death, reincarnations, paradise, etc. By 700 A.D. cremation had begun to replace the primitive custom of burial in mounds and tombs -- and today Buddhism monopolizes the ceremonies and rites of the dead. (15) Since it was a sin to take life, for centuries exile was the punishment rather than death. This also developed into a widespread prejudice against consuming fish and animal food--especially during times of mourning.⁽¹⁶⁾ Although this idea is gradually changing, even today Osaka and Tokyo butchers set aside one day during the month to pray for the souls of the animals they have slaughtered. Slavery was also condemned by the religion, and although it was practiced, its advocates were severely ostracized. Prostitution was also a part of the Buddhist ritual. And in the early days, the priestesses were often objects of sexual pleasure. Even today one finds the houses of prostitution usually surrounding the temple areas. Fertility festivals included seductive dances, usually ending in sexual orgies. This practice is still carried on in some of the rural communities.

Buddhism's dynamic religious forces appear still active, transcending both past and present. Inwardly and outwardly there yet remains throughout the country these Buddhist beliefs and concepts, keeping alive in spite of the changes to be

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Sansom, G., <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 263. Yamashita, Yoshitaro, "The Influence of Shinto and Buddhism ", <u>The Japan Society</u>, Lodon, 1897-98, Vol IV, Part IV, 16 in Japan", p. 263.

witnessed day by day.⁽¹⁷⁾ Dormant as they may seem, the moral attitudes and social solidarities fostered by the religion are still integral factors in the Japanese mental life.

17 Suma, Yakichiro, op. cit., p. 75.

TWO OUTGROWTHS OF BUDDHISM

Temples

From Shotoku Taishi's era to the present Buddhist temples have formed the principal medium through which the religion projects itself into Japanese social life and culture. For centuries they were the centers for not only religious worship but art, learning, commerce, and philosophy.⁽¹⁾ In the medieval era they were, in truth, great feudal strongholds containing thousands of militant monks. "Until reduced by Hideyoshi in 1585, the monastery of Negoro as a fighting power was much more formidable than that of any feudal chief within a similar district of the capital."⁽²⁾ These temples were able to enjoy complete freedom from taxation and the various restrictions and regulations placed on other daimyo by the Shogunate. Up until the Meiji Restoration, it was possible for an escaped state-prisoner to find sanctuary within the limits of such temples. Their sphere of influence was not restricted to the temple boundaries alone, but stretched as far as the temples' armed-Sohei flourished their swords. Today, while they have lost their former military aspects, the temples still form an important part in Japanese community life. Their festivals. celebrations, rites, funerals, markets and fairs often form the focal point for everyday living in many of the rural localities.

Unfortunately, sometimes their influence upon these commun-

l See the chapters on the ARTS, EDUCATION, EDONOMICS, and RELIGION and MORALS for a more detailed account.

² See Murdoch, J., <u>A History of Japan</u>, London, 1925, p.21, vol 2.

ities is regressive and harmful. T. O'Conroy gives in the following the extreme example of Buddhism's present-day detrimental aspects. The reader should note that, while the following often occurs, in many areas the Buddhist priest and the temple are constructive and progressive forces.

> "The rural folk are superstitious and must pay an offering at all costs (to their local temple or priest). In the rural districts the farmer can hardly pay his rent, but the priest will come to demand his tithe without pity. It is a picture of desolation. The old wife squats on her dirty mat, hoping that the day will come when she will be able to buy a new one, when possibly there may be a yen or two to spare, but first the priest must be fed and clothed and have his wine. It is a matter of years since her husband tasted sake. Her whole body aches with toiling in the field and in the house. She sits down to the meal of the evening. It does not consist of the fine white rice grown by her husband, that is too good and must go to the temple or to the landlord in lieu of rent. Their bowl is of imported Saigon of Singapore, much cheaper and less nourishing. She takes out her pickled plum, one plum must last them a couple of days, at least it gives some flavour to the tasteless mess. When the meal is over the old lady goes to the hibachi, the charcoal brazier, and burns the tips of her bleeding fingers to disinfect them, the priest told her it was safer. Then she goes to the bag in the corner and prepares the white rice for the priest on the morrow. She looks at the little girl in the corner; she has to fast the whole of this year, she must abstain from one special thing and it is her turn this year. Last year it was the father, but this year it is hers. The temple must not want. And soon it will be the "yearly gathering" for souls and something must be made for the Bonze Sama, something special, some special little cakes for the honourable priest. If they cannot manage the neighbours will sneer. At all costs there must be something for the priest. She looks at her husband. He goes to a wrapping-cloth and takes out a yen note, hidden from the landlord, and carefully smooths out the wrinkles. He heats a bit of iron and presses out the note smoothly. The

priest would be offended with a crumpled note. Then they wash themselves and then the children. Shyly they slip into the temple group and squat on the floor. The priest is talking, he is telling them the great news of the day, how their friend bfought him a special sweet. They wonder how or where he managed to get the sweet. The priest takes their presents one by one and pushes them behind him. He nibbles at any tit-bit that is given him and pushes the rest into his deep Then he addresses them again, he tells sleeve. them of the glory of Dai Nippon, of how proud they should be to be countrymen of Dai Nippon. He speaks of their Gods, Shinto, not Buddhist. Finally he reminds them of the anniversaries for the Founder of the Temple, of other temples, of the high priest, of his son's education, all need money, he reminds them. He gently infers that the offerings this year are not so good as last. He tells them that the temple is in need of repair. They must try hard, deny themselves more, he says, the priest must not want. He tells them of "O Bon--the return of the souls; of Sho-gatsu--the new year; of the yearly Ho-On-Ko--rice offering to the Buddhas: of the first wheat, of the first daikon or long turnip--prerequisites of the temple; of O-fuse-money to be brought in white paper; of Ho-e--the monthly offering of money, oil, orei, rice; of Ekobukuro--any voluntary offerings when the name of the giver is put up on a wooden tablet for all the world to see. Everything entails offerings and then the people disperse -- the priest must not want." (3)

O'Conroy, I feel, rather melodramatically magnifies this modern aspect in Buddhism. While we must take it into account we should also realize that Buddhism is also doing much commendable work in the fields of education and social work. Besides this, it has done much to integrate the vast fields of Japanese culture.

3 O'Conroy, T., <u>Menace of Japan</u>, H.C. Kinsey & Co. New York, 1934, pp. 86-7.

The Physical Aspects of Buddhist Temples

"Buddhist temples vary from great structures such as the Zojoji in Tokyo or the Kyomizudera in Kyoto to the humble little ten-foot-square halls serving to house some neighborhood deity. In contrast to the severe simplicity of Shinto Shrines, the architecture is often flamboyant with characteristic flaring roofs, elaborate wood carving, and colorful wall paintings. In place of the humble 'shintai' as the sacred object of worship in a Shinto shrine. Buddhist temples house wood or metal images of the deities, often elaborately carved and of imposing magnitude."(4) In the rural areas, the temples are more or less restricted and only appeal largely to the peasants who abide in near-by localities. "A Shingon temple is very often not an edifice built for the performance of a particular kind of religious service like a Nichiren temple, but a shrine dedicated to the worship of some special deity who has perhaps selected that spot to manifest himself or show his power, and the deity is often not well known except locally, and from the point of view of the strict Buddhist, may be of doubtful antecedents."(5) In certain rural villages, the inhabitants select the most respected men of the community, who have recently passed away; these men Tablets bearing are then enshrined within the village temple. the names of these exemplary men are found surrounding the principal Buddhist deities.

⁴ Embree, F.J., <u>The</u> <u>Japanese</u> <u>Nation</u>, Rihehart and Co., New York, 1945, p. 204. 5 Eliot, <u>Sir Charles</u>, op.cit., p. 337.

It is rather difficult to illustrate "the general-type of Japanese Temple" since they vary in size and usage to such a great extent. B. H. Chamberlain has, however, given a good general description of what one might expect in the set-up of a moderate-size Buddhist temple: The roofing of these Buddhist temples, he states, are generally tile--forming a contrast to the primative thatch of their Shinto rivals. The principal buildings which form the average-sized temple are: the Sammon or two-storied gate at the entrance to the temple grounds; the Ema Do--or Ex voto Hall, also called the Gakudo: the Shro or Belfry lies behind this; the Shoshi-do or Founder's Hall, dedicated to the founder of the sect to which the temple belongs; the Hondo or the main temple; behind the Hondo is usually found the Taho-to or pagoda--shaped reliquary, perhaps containing the remains of the founder or some other saint: directly beyond this is the Rinzo or revolving library. containing complete copy of the Buddhist canon; the Shoin-Zashiki or priests' apartments which are beside this include: reception rooms, Kyaku den, the treasure house, Hozo, the kitchen, daidokoro, a cistern for washing the hands before worship, Chozu-bachi, etc; in the temple precincts it is not uncommon to find a Koro or drum tower, another pagoda, some stone lanterns which have been presented by the laity as offerings, etc. (6)

It is interesting to observe that a new style in temple

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⁶ Chamberlain, B.H., <u>Handbook for Travelers</u> in Japan, Scribners, New York, 1893, pp. 25-26. See Appendix A for a detailed diagram and list of principal structures at Koya San. It is hoped that this will serve as an example of what the larger Japanese is like.

architecture has come about since the 'twenties'. The following example of a Kobe Buddhist temple, erected in 1934, is quite representative of this trend. This new temple is a huge structure built completely of ferro-concrete, and is three stories in height. On the ground floor there are rooms adequate for a large Sunday School. It has all the latest fixtures, including a large Japanese bath and Western style toilets. Elaborate temple offices and reception rooms for pilgrims occupy the second floor. The third floor interior is constructed of plain old-fashioned English panels and is used for the nonconformist chapels. There is a large organ, a space for an orchestra and choir, and chairs for the congregation. The "temple" is steam heated throughout, and there is easy access to electric lights and outlets. A modern elevator system serves priests and worshipers. Many of the temple buildings at Koya San, although appearing to be made of ancient pine, actually have a base of ferro-concrete. This was done by the Japanese government to protect the relics from fire.

From a mere forty-six temples in the Asuka period, that number has increased in Japan today to hundreds of thousands. They remain the vestiges of Buddhism's dynamic influence of the past as well as Buddhism's integrating force today and its hope for the future.⁽⁷⁾

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⁷ See Appendix B for mapping studies of these early and modern temples of Japan in about the Kinki and Kii regions.

Pilgrimages

As a result of the increase of Buddhist temples and the origination of various Buddhist sects, the institution of pilgrimages arose. This movement also did much to spread the effects and influences of Buddhism throughout the Japanese culture.

At first pilgrimages were greatly limited in their scope, with pilgrims only visiting the temples in their respective localities. As tradition gathered about certain temples, the pilgrim made his devoted journey to the most famous of these, and these selected temples gradually became known as "rounds". Pilgrimages were made to such "rounds" as "The Thirty-three sacred temples of Kwannon",⁽⁸⁾ and to the "Sacred Eighty-eight temples" in Shikoku, or to the "Sacred 1000 Temples" scattered over Honshu. The practice scon developed that by making the complete rounds of such groups of temples as the "Thirty-three" or the "Eighty-eight", a pilgrim could guarantee his salvation from the Buddhist hell.

Outside of this reward in the hereafter, the chief benefit from a pilgrimage, in the religious experience of the pilgrim, was supposed to be the spiritual ecstasy he attained as he was confronted by hardships and dangers along the way. Japanese books of folk lore and fairy tales are full of anecdotes concerning devout pilgrims narrowly escaping ferocious orgres and demons as they struggled to make their way to a temple.

8 See Appendix B for a map of "The Thirty-three sacred Temples of Kwannon".

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Many believe that western ideas have caused a great decline in the popularity in the institution of pilgrimages. True the mode of transportation to the temples has changed greatly, but the incentive to make the annual visit is still present. A little over a year ago while in Japan, I saw thousands crowding trains and buses to make a short trip to several of the temples in Nara or Wakayama. In the summer months, it is not uncommon to see persons making their pilgrimage by foot, carrying large canvas knapsacks and dressed in the white pilgrim garb. The modern pilgrims have organized themselves into groups or sects called Ko under a trained leader. These leaders, although devout Buddhists, are usually not regular priests, but laymen who devote a part of the year to making pilgrimages and also practicing as sorcerers and diviners.⁽⁹⁾ The members of such a group contribute a small sum each month and draw straws at the end of the year to pick winners who will go, expenses paid, on a pilgrimage to the group's temples.

One difference between present-day pilgrimages and those of a century ago is that today they have taken on a definite social nature, and the pilgrimage becomes more of a sightseeing treat than a display of religious devotion. The Inns along the way still benefit from these pilgrimages--especially now since the inauguration of the new associations. They have in themselves become a traditionally-fixed part of the pilgrimage. Many bear the name of the pilgrim association on a flag or wooden board displayed in full view along the road to the temple.⁽¹⁰⁾

9 Anesaki, M., op. cit., p. 138

10 For reference to early pilgrimages in Japanese economic history see the chapter on ECONOMICS.

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The average pilgrim today makes little or no inquiry into the doctrines of the sect of the temple he visits. Most of the time he can be found repeating the invocations without the slightest degree of understanding. The greater percentage of pilgrims come from the lower classes and scarcely know the difference between Buddhism and Shintoism.

The great monastery of Koyasan has long been one of the most famous and traditional pilgrimages in Japan. Since the 9th century, its sacred environs have been open to pilgrims, and its customs and traditions have varied little since then. By using Koyasan as an illustration, the reader may be able to acquire a clearer insight into how Japanese pilgrimages are conducted.

At Koyasan there are fifty temples set aside especially for travelers and pilgrims in which to spend the night. Theoretically there is no charge for this service, but actually the patron is expected to make a donation to the temple coffers--a sum wrapped in tissue paper, equal to the price of first-class lodgings.

The pilgrim is not quartered in the temple of his choosing, but rather by the sect to which he belongs, or according to the amount of prestige he bears. Those select few who bear introductions to the abbot are housed in the elaborate Shojo Shin-in. As would be expected, there is no foreign food, meat, or fish. The rooms are kept up by young boys--women not being permitted in most of the temples.⁽¹¹⁾

11 Until shortly after the Meiji Restoration, women were not permitted to come within three miles of the sacred limits.

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Koyasan is actually a temple-city, for it comprises many small shops as well as its temple-inns. Much of the monastery's income is derived from the "sale of objects associated with the worship of Buddha--rosaries, images of saints, and a host of sanctified things similar to those sold in the Roman Catholic places of worship in Europe. The priests sell indulgences (0-fuda) against sickness, the devil, small pox, and other things, and make not a little money by the sale of sand (called dosha) from a sacred mountain (Murosan in Yamato). ⁽¹²⁾ Money is also made from the sale of paper shrouds (Kio-Katabiru) painted all over with Sanskrit (Japanese, Bonji) characters. ⁽¹³⁾

There is a great tendency for present-day temples such as the above to become over-commercialized, and much of the sincere enthusiasm originally devoted in the pilgrimage is lost. However, it would be questionable to state that pilgrimages are on the wane in Japan when it is observed that even today one million annually make the "pilgrimage" to Koyasan.

12 After being consecrated by the priests, this dosha is supposed to have the power of softening the rigid joints of a corpse when sprinkled over it, so the body can easily be laid in a coffin.

13 Terry, T.P., <u>Terry's Guide to The Japanese Empire</u>, Boston, 1927, p. 512.

THE EFFECTS OF BUDDHISM UPON JAPANESE ECONOMICS

While Buddhism's influences in the conomic field were perhaps not as striking as they appeared in some fields such as colorful Bushido or politics, they were nevertheless in evidence.

Before Buddhist influences had consolidated themselves into a motivating force, it had been the custom in early Japan to move the Imperial Court each time a sovereign died. Buddhism was scon able to modify the ancient superstition that the death of the ruler corrupted the court environs thereby necessitating the building of a new court. But perhaps a more practical cause for adopting a permanent capital involved certain economic reasons. With Buddhism, the architecture of temples and palace buildings became elaborate and costly. This, together with the time and manpower necessary for their construction, raised a strong financial objection to the older practice of temporary courts.⁽¹⁾ Paradoxically enough, the reason for the shifting of the court from Nara to Nagaoka, although requiring a tremendous financial expenditure, was also due to Buddhist influence. It was actually attributable to the Fujiwara's intense fear of the growing power which the Buddhist priests wielded at the Imperial Court.

Buddhism during the Heian and Fujiwara periods became a costly institution to maintain and soon dangerously taxed the finances of the court. Nobles competed with each other to see

^{1 300,000} men worked night and day for a half a year to erect the palace at Nagaoka.

who could erect the most costly and ornate structures. What little income remained after this was usually drained off by payments to priests for the reciting of prayers and the celebration of costly ceremonies. For example, in 818 A.D. all the court was put on short ration and reduced in pay because the priests had been repeatedly called that year to pray for good weather and bountiful harvests; for this they received rich gifts. One official chronicle states they received 100,000 bolts of cotton cloth, exclusive of other payments, during that three year period.⁽²⁾

These mounting costs together with the growing power of the priests, which engulfed the Imperial court in continuous backstairs intrigue, weakened considerably the Fujiwara admin-(3) On the other hand, the temples "by stealth, threats, istration. and bribery, in connivance with powerful court officials who held mannors themselves, . . . contrived to hold back the hand of the tax collector from their domains."⁽⁴⁾ They also fourished by the practice in which tax-ridden farmers and landholders donated their lands and estates to the nearest temple. This was accomplished by a "gentleman's agreement" whereby the original ownership of the land would be maintained. These agreements, however, were soon forgotten, and the land never reverted to the helpless landholders. But "these tax-free estates

2 See Sansom, op. cit., p. 189.

3 See Haring, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 236. An illustration of the conditions at that time is exemplified by the monk Dokyo who, through his intimacies with the Empress Shotoku, almost succeeded in displacing the Yamato dynasty in his own favor.

4 Takeyoshi, Yosoburo, The Economic Aspects of the History of the Civilization of Japan, London, 1930, p. 124.

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provided the safest refuge and a paradise of liberty for farmers who placed their holdings under the protection of the mannors to escape oppression by local governments or to resist encroachments by neighboring grandees. The simple peasant had no definite concept of private title to land; to them the right of tillage was synonymous with ownership. Readily they yielded nominal title to their lands in return for sure protection, without which ownership meant little when powerful individuals were annexing lands by force."⁽⁵⁾

From the early Kamakura era through the Ashikaga period, Buddhism's strong position warranted her leading role in the It was almost essential, due to Japanese commercial scene. considerable civil strife during this period, that traders obtain the protection of some powerful institution. This considerably enhanced the growth of the young merchant guilds which developed into combinations between the merchant class and the powerful temples and court nobles. The temples received a sizeable source of income from the guilds by imposing fixed dues on them. (6) The oil guilds of Hachiman temple, the cotton guild of Gion-sha, and the numerous other fish, sale, and horse dealers guilds were but a few examples of temple and guild partnerships. The Enryaku temple of \overline{O} mi province is said to have (7)had 41 different guilds attached to it. These temples also

5 Wakukawa, Seiyei, "The Japanese Farm-Tenancy System", Japan's Prospect, Cambridge, Mass., 1946, p. 124. 6. See Thomas and Koyama, <u>Commercial History of Japan</u>, Tokyo 1938, p. 59. 7 <u>Ibid</u>., p. 61.

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acted as judges in the disputes between the guilds.⁽⁸⁾

Another source of income during this period was the lucrative levies imposed upon those who crossed the temple's numerous road barriers. (9) Since the period was filled with much civil strife, the feudal lords ordered that fairs and markets be held at the temples, the safest and most peaceful spots in Japan at that time. Even today during temple festivals in Japan, one usually finds a fair or market being conducted within the "tera" gates. The sacred precincts also became the designated centers for the daimyo to collect his tax remittances. With many of the temples becoming outstanding commercial centers in their respective localities, it was only a question of time before towns developed outside their gates, The towns of Usaka, Katori, and Kanazawa are only a few examples of temple-towns. (10)

"From ancient times the development of economy was so related to temples and shrines that the priests themselves engaged in business."(11) The Todaiji temple in Nara sold "Ki-O-Gan" (pills of remarkable efficiency) similar to our patent medicines. The Kudara and Kongo temples sold saké, while other temples produced such things as pottery, fans, etc. (12)

8 Guilt or innocence in these disputes was "proved" by the two parties passing their hands through a tub of hot water -those whose hands were not scalded won the "just" decision. 9 The distance from Kuwana to Hinaga on the pilgrim's highway

to Ise was only 11 miles, and yet there were over 60 toll barriers. See Thomas and Koyama, op. cit., p. 67.

10 The large number of aza, mura and shi that retain the same name as the temple which they surround is surprising, as can be seen when glancing through any Japanese gazetteer. 11 Thomas and Koyama, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 71. 12 The priests at almost every temple still profit from the

sale of remedies, charms, etc. Koyasan makes a great profit in its sale of brooms and wood carvings. See RELIGION "Pilgrimages". The origin of travelling peddlers in Japan can also be traced to the early peddling-priests of this period. The routes followed by the pilgrims while making their annual "Rounds" of the temples proved to be lucrative roads for these priests to sell their products. "The Thirty-three sacred temples of Kwannon" for centuries has been the most popular round for pilgrimages in Japan, and its roads are still traversed by many thousands of Japanese peddlers hawking their wares.⁽¹³⁾ The custom of making pilgrimages to these temples became so prevalent that hundreds of small hotels, inns and tea houses grew up along the established roads. Often the temples, as they still do, served as hotels and inns for the pilgrims.⁽¹⁴⁾

Banking also became another sideline for temples when persons began leaving their precious documents and valuables in the temple depositories for safe-keeping. In the Ashikaga period, temples began making loans and realizing high interest rates.⁽¹⁵⁾ There was no great risk involved in making such a loan because of

14 "Somewhat comparable to the Daimyo castle as a lodestone attracting population were certain important shrines and temples. To these holy spots came pilgrims by the thousands . . . Since these pilgrims had money to spend for services and goods, inns, shops, theaters, and a variety of service establishments catering to their needs sprang up along roads leading to the holy places. Like the castles, the shrines and temples were large and were set in spacious grounds, and hence they were located on the peripheries rather than at the centers of their service towns. It seems likely that these holy places played an auxiliary role in the origin and development of feudal towns or cities." Quoted from Trewartha, G.T., Japan: <u>A Physical Cultural & Regional Geography</u>, University of Wisconsin Fress, 1945, pp. 172-173.

15 Temple records, such as those of the Enkaku Temple, Kamakura, the Cho-fuku Temple, Umezu, Yamashiro, etc., point to a prosperous loan business carried on by the temples of that day.

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¹³ See Appendix C.

the protection afforded them by the feudal lords and also due to the debtor's fear of divine retribution in case of nonfulfillment of contracts.⁽¹⁶⁾

It seems obvious that Buddhism should have had great influence in Japanese early foreign relations and trade, since the priests alone were conversant with Korean and Chinese conditions. During the Feudal period, the government usually relied upon clerical trade experts from the five large temples of Kyoto (Go Zan Ji) to supervise foreign trade. The priests who controlled this trade drafted diplomatic notes, wrote trade contracts, and also formed the majority of the envoys who were sent to the continent.

Many of the temples also sent ships to China under their own auspices. The Tenryuji temple sent vessels to China beginning in 1340 A.D. to obtain funds for the cost of building and maintaining its temples. The Tenryuji trade, carried on solely by Zen monks, marked the resumption of Chinese and Japanese trade and foreign relations, which had ceased due to the piratical expeditions of the Japanese "Wako".

Other economic implications such as the temples' mutual financial associations, their tax-in-kind exacted from their tenants, and various exchange enterprises, are far too numerous to describe. Yet the above should serve to indicate to the reader to some degree as to the extent Buddhism was involved in the development of Japanese trade and commerce.

16 See Kanno, The Commercial History of Japan, Tokyo, p. 71.

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THE ARTS AND AESTHETICISM

Sculpture And Painting

Japanese art, especially before Tokugawa, was inextricably interwoven with the Buddhist religion. From the 9th to the 14th century, the art of Japan was based largely upon the religious thought expressed by the Shingon school. In fact, at this time art and religion were actually one. Anesaki says, "The worship of Divinity should not and cannot be dissociated from the cult of beauty, and art, and therefore, must be an integral part of religion."(1) Certain religious ideas of Buddhism at this time could neither be expressed by the spoken nor printed word. Largely due to the efforts of Kobo Daishi, the founder of the Shingon sect, Buddhism began to use art as a visual method to explain and illustrate its more intricate doctrines. This necessitated each artist becoming completely versed in the prescribed esoteric doctrines of the faith. In other words, from this time on, every priest must also become an accomplished craftsman. Evidence of this is illustrated by the fact that Kobo Daishi required all his novices to attain a high degree of artistic skill before they might expect to receive the holy orders of priesthood. Even today, it has been an important part of the discipline and function of every Shingon bonze both to paint and carve Buddhist altar pieces. (2)

In order to properly interpretate the art, the introduction of certain prescribed iconographic forms were necessary.

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Anesaki, Masaharu, Buddhist Art, Houghton Mifflin Co. 1 Boston and New York, 1923, p. 42. 2 Fenollosa, E.F., <u>Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art</u>, W. Heinemann Co., London 1921, Vol 1, p. 147.

These were adopted to explain such complicated Buddhist concepts as the "Universal Cosmotheistic" principle⁽³⁾ and other deeper esoteric ideas. In order to effectuate its art, Buddhism freely borrowed from foreign sources. There are, in its mass of ceremony, scripture, ritual and art, many indications which hint of Indian, Persian, Tibetan, Chinese, and even Egyptian influences.⁽⁴⁾ The greatest source of influence was that of T'ang China--the most dynamic cultural force in the world at that time. Japanese Buddhism took the best portion of T'ang art, modified it, and used it as its own.

Now the Japanese images in sculpture and painting, which hitherto had been only symbolic, began taking on more nearly human forms, and we find a noticeable current directed towards the growth of a distinctly creative tendency.⁽⁵⁾ However, religious symbolism was still the purpose of the images, and they illustrated it chiefly by facial expression and bodily posture. Yet, no less important, were the details of each image's attire, the shape of the crown, the decorations and the colors, and the manner in which the hands were held (called mudra), all of which were to symbolize virtues and functions as well as the embodiment of cosmic activity.⁽⁶⁾ Every tilt of the head or

3 The concept that Buddha is the universe, and everything which exists in it, to "a particle of dust or drop of water", is part of him.

4 A. Lloyd refers to Egyptian influences in Buddhist art in his book, <u>The Creed of Half Japan</u>, London, L911, p. 60. R. Grousset draws analogies between Japanese Buddhism and Chinese Taoism and Indian Vendanta. He maintains that the values of Hinduism transpose into those of Japanese Buddhism, and offers as an illustration the 6-armed, seated Kwannon of the Kanshingi, in Kawachi, Kyoto. See Grousset's <u>Civilizations</u> of the East; Japan, Knopf, N.Y. Vol. IV, p. 67-68.

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raising of a finger held deep meaning, and the priest-craftsman had to be alert lest a slight variation in form or shape of his image cause a misrepresentation of the spiritual message the image was supposed to offer. Thus with the rigid iconographic requirements which were set down, greater emphasis was placed upon detail and upon the precise differentiation among the individúal images.

Soon. however. with the multiplication of mystic ideas and complicated doctrines, the Buddhist tenets became so intricate and comprehensive that they could only be explained through This gave rise to an artistically ingenious device painting. called the Mandara.⁽⁷⁾ which. in simple terms, is a symbolic projection of the cosmotheistic universal pattern in the form of a composite picture. This pictorial representation of the Buddhist doctrines is usually divided into separate parts in which Sanscrit letters known as Shuji (余章子 in Sanscrit bija) are mystically used to express the names of deities and their manifest powers and virtues. (8)

With the beginning of the Kamakura period, a new influence became apparent in Japanese culture -- the contemplative philosophy

See Akiyama, Kenzo, The History of Nippon, Kokusai Bunka Shinkoku, Tokyo, 1941, p. $14\overline{0}$.

6 See Anesaki, M., Op. cit., p. 34. 7 美化 法准, meaning a picture of Buddhas; in Sanscrit it is called a Mandala, meaning "assemblage".

8 The two types of Mandara most popularly utilized were the "Womb Store" (Jap. "Taizokai" 月台病政) and the "Diamond Cycle" (Jap. "Kongokai"全副 史). Illustrations of these two types may be found in Anesaki, op. cit., Plate XVI A & B p. 38.

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of Zen. Instead of the intricacy and elaborateness which had been so common during the Fujiwara period, Zen now stressed abstract simpl@city with great emphasis upon nature. Ink drawings, abstract landscapes and nature scenes became the vogue in art.

Aesthetic Concepts

The visible manifestations of Zen's influence among the arts became apparent in two of the most important attitudes of Japanese culture. One is the Japanese' love of natural beauty. The Zen practice of selecting picturesque retreats far off in the mountains for the location of their temples and monasteries contributed greatly to this attitude.⁽⁹⁾ This policy also opened up the country as a natural outcome of making new roads leading to these temples and, but for these roads, many villages would never have arisen until a much later date.⁽¹⁰⁾

This element in Zen which extols the spiritual value of nature is certainly in evidence even today in almost every Japanese household. The Kakemono which hangs in the alcove of the main room of the house is usually a Zen abstraction of a nature scene denoting one of the four seasons. The daily floral arrangement below the large kakemono is also an outgrowth of Zen naturalism. This seemingly simple practice is, if fact, an institution in itself, requiring the Japanese bride-to-be two years to accomplish its art. The institution of Japanese gardening is even more deeply bound in Zen's idea of "closeness to nature". The restraint and

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⁹ Temples of former periods had previously been situated on flat ground or in the large cities of Nara or Kyoto. 10 Yamashita, Y., op. cit., p. 267.

simplicity which are emphasized in the Zen tenets finally manifest themselves in the nationally popular tea ceremony (Cha no Yu), which like so many other Japanese practices, combines religion and pleasure. (11)

Modifying and drawing the complicated esoteric element of Shingon into the every-day circle of things, Zen developed a second attitude which still persists in Japanese art and society. "Not only religion, but every art is or has been esoteric -- poetry. music, porcelain making, fencing, even bone settint and cookery itself." (12) It is an element very difficult to explain although it is found everywhere in Japan today. Perhaps it can best be defined as a spiritual force which, when attained, means the difference between mere excellence and absolute perfection. The most famous artists believe there is something more than skill achieved by means of tedious mechanical practice; and this something, attained only by the rigid training of the mind according to the strict Zen discipline. is the mystic element which can mark the expert from the master. No fencer, artist, post or scholar can hope for realgreatness or perfection without this vital ele-The spiritual training to obtain this fine, hidden quality ment. is rather commonly practiced among the intellectuals today. "A good number of judges, lawyers, officers in government, scholars and students attend a Zen session from time to time for the sake of deriving composure of mind and the quickness of intuitive insight." (13)

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For further information on these subjects, refer to Har-11 ada, Jiro, The Gardens of Japan, London, 1928, and Sadler, A.L., <u>Cha No Yu--The Japanese Tea Ceremony</u>, London, 1934. <u>12 Yamashita, Y., op. cit.</u>, p. 204.

¹³ Anesaki, M., op. cit., p. 71.

Literature

With the introduction of the phonetic "Hiragana" syllabary, the native literature was considerably enhanced by being released from the fetters of the complicated Chinese ideograph. Kobo Daishi is believed to have originated or, at least introduced it. At any rate, Japanese Buddhism was familiar with the Indian Sanscrit, which it used frequently in its art, so it is not surprising to find "Hiragana" based upon both Sanscrit and Chinese characters. The "Hiragana" system is supposed to have been a poem based upon an Indian sutra which was written using 47 mixed Chinese and Indian symbols. These were so arranged that the same character was never repeated--forming, what is today called, the "I-RO-HA". This poetic as well as phonetic verse can be compared with out short-hand or phonetic alphabets.

The following is the "Hiragana" arranged in the popular order of the "I-RO-HA", which has been used since the 10th century:

i	ro	ha	n i	ho	he	to
chi	ri	nu	ru	0	wa	ka
уо	ta	re	S O	tsu	ne	na
ra	mu	u	i	no	o	ku
ya	ma	ke	fu	ko	е	te
a	Sa	ki	yu	me	mi	shi
e	hi	mo	se	su		

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B.H. Chamberlain's translation reads: "All is transitory in this fleeting world. Let me escape from its illusions and vanities!"

With this tremendous aid, prose and poetry could be written by Japanese in their pwn native tongue. The effects of this phonetic alphabet were both widespread and penetrating, for today, "Hiragana" is indispensible in the writing of any text book, newspapers, or, in fact, any printed material in Japan.

Literary activity expanded quickly beginning with the Fujiwara, and Buddhist thought pervaded much of the work which was written at this time. After the Ashikaga era, poetry and prose began to smack of Zen philosophy, and countless anecdotes about fabulous Zen masters flooded the Japanese literary circles. The No plays, which constituted one of the chief forms of enjoyment during the feudal period, and are still popular today, are Zen in structure, presentation and terminology.⁽¹⁴⁾

14 Sansom, op. cit., p. 388; also Waley, A., The No Plays of Japan, New York, 1922.

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ZEN AND THE JAPANESE SPIRIT

Having briefly examined how Zen has been a dominant factor in the aesthetic ideals of the Japanese, we should now pass to the broader social aspects of Zen's effect upon man to man relationships and its promotion of the concept of "self". "The spiritual influence which Zen exercises upon the men of today, chiefly among the military and intellectual classes, is still a factor to be reckoned with, to say hothing of its pervasive influence in the daily life and artistic taste of the Japanese people."(1)

At the turn of the 12th century. Zen was part of the protestant movement to bring religion back to the people, and it gradually began to displace the earlier and more complicated doctrines. Denouncing traditional religious thought, the Samurai and the Kamakura court embraced the dictrines of Zen as their creed and were thereby brought under its potent influence. The military were especially disgusted with the decadent court life, the corrupt clergy, and the uncomprehensible tenets of the esoteric sects. "Zen flourished under the patronage of the Shoguns and the great barons to such an extent that it might well be described as the official if not the state religion." (2)

Zen offered the rough military a simple, easy to under-stand faith which used no text or elaborate philosophy and therefore

- 1
- Anesaki, M., <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 62. Sansom, G. B., <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 369. 2

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would not require long tedious years of study to comprehend. Most important, Zen taught that which was peculiarly suited to the life and spiritual needs of the Samurai. (3) Enlightenment. they said, lies in the mind, and it is the fundamental principle that each should work out his own salvation and enlightenment by meditative and ascetic practices. The natural outgrowth of this was a rigid disciplining of the mind, body and spirit to foster the idea of self-reliance and self-strength. "There is no doubt that this doctrine implanted in the minds of the mass of the people the realistic and courageous sentiment of achieving one's object by bravely overcoming all trials and difficulties."⁽⁴⁾ Thus in times of national emergency, such a moral concept of courage rising above life and death would certainly make itself felt.

The same instruction which the Hojo regent Tokiyori received in the Kamakura period as he took the Zen orders was also taught to the conscripts of the modern Japanese army. It included the stressing of qualities of simplicity, frugality, self-control and self-conquest, and the ability to face matters involving life and death calmly. There is a saying, "The Japanese soldier must hold a toothpick between his teeth when his stomach is empty."--as if he had finished a full meal.⁽⁵⁾

3 Anesaki, op. cit., p. 61.

5 "Buddhism persistantly inculcates self-sacrifice, and if it bids the individual work out his own salvation, he must do so

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⁴ Hashimoto, Minoru, "Zen Doctrine and its Influence Upon the Samurai Classes", <u>Cultural Nippon</u>, Tokyo, March 1938, Vol IV, p. 55.

Often the great military heroes of Japan, up until the present day, continued this Spartan ideal of mental and self-discipline, retiring to the humblest home, dining only on a bare subsistence level, and not even using a stove during the damp, cold Japanese winters. ⁽⁶⁾ While this Spartan self-discipline and frugality are perhaps not as rigidly practiced as in the army, nevertheless, the same qualities are apparent in almost all families in Japan. ⁽⁷⁾

Another Japanese attitude which has received impetus from Zen philosophy is the idea of "direct action". Zen holds that "in meditation one experiences an inner illumination, and must act straightway to carry out that inspiration regardless of the cost."⁽⁸⁾

Edwin Reischauer, in his lecture at Michigan, directed his attention to the subject of "direct action" and stated that it is one of the feudal hangovers which lingers today in the modern Japanese institutions. He cited as an example a comparison between China and Japan. The latter, by the use of direct action (eg. by the direct application of a machine system, the adoption of capitalistic methods of enterprise, etc.) was able to raise itself from a feudal mire, while the lack of it was one of the important reasons why China helplessly floundered as the West exploited her.

by learning that he does not really exist as an individual. This fits in with the National Spirit." Eliot, C., Japanese Buddhism, London, 1935, p. 189. 6 Lory, Hilles, Japan's Military Masters, Washington, D.C., 1943, p. 33. 7 Embree, John, op. cit., p. 226.

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The concept of loyalty in Zen thought was perhaps among its most effective and far-reaching ideas in terms of influencing Japanese culture patterns. It was certainly one of the prime contributors to the development of the institution of Bushido, the way of the warrior, which for centuries has served as the Japanese military code. In its scope are included many thoughts and sentiments which find expression in Japanese nationalism, thus forming a bond between church and state.

It should be observed that there is a difference between the Chinese concept of loyalty to one's family and the Japanese idea of a "Universal loyalty" above that of family ties. The personal loyalties of the Chinese led to nepotism while the Japanese loyalty towards duty (Ruth Benedict calls it <u>Gimu</u>) was not as apt to fall into that pitfall. Literature, legend, and history are full of tales of this idealized type of loyalty; it often was carried to the extreme which necessitated the abandoning of friends, wife, children, and home. During the last war, the story of the "Forty Seven Ronin", who gave their lives to avenge their lord, was read and reread to every soldier, who was also taught that his loyalty to his Emperor must be as steadfact, as determined, as selfless as that of these national herces.⁽⁹⁾

8 See Haring, Douglas G., Japan's Prospect, Harvard Press, 1946, p. 236. A definition of "direct action" which has been offered is that it takes the place of thinking and speech--the Japanese call it jiriki.

9 Lory, Hillis, op. cit., p. 24.

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The first virtue which is mentioned in Emperor Meiji's imperial rescript to Soldiers and Sailors is loyalty. It reads, "The soldier and the sailor should consider loyalty their essential duty . . . a soldier or sailor in whom this spirit is not strong, however skilled in art or proficient in science, is a mere puppet; and a body of soldiers or sailors wanting in loyalty, however well ordered and disciplined it may be, is in the emergency no better than a rabble . . . with single heart fulfil your essential duty of loyalty, and bear in mind that duty is weightier than a mountain, while death is lighter than a feather."⁽¹⁰⁾

Thus, to some extent, Zen has moulded the Japanese character, but it has also been an expression of that character.

10 Ibid.

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BUDDHISM'S EFFECT IN OTHER FIELDS

The above can only fulfil a minute portion in the study of Buddhism's effect upon the cultural and social life of the Japanese. To present a broader view and to relate the material, I have not limited myself to a discussion of the chapter titles per-se, but have introduced allied materials from other fields into each of the chapters. And yet many aspects of this vast problem still remain untouched. Two notable omissions are the significant relationship between Buddhism and politics and education. Unfortunately, a comprehensive rendering of either of these topics would consume the better part of a volume; thus for considerations of brevity, I have been forced to omit a detailed examination of these important ramifications. It is necessary, however, for a broad understanding of the subject, to make a cursory examination of some of their more important general features in this vital relationship.

Politics

Mention has already been made of Shotoku Taishi's moral injunctions which were highly instrumental in developing the concept of a centralized government. I have also alluded to the influence which Buddhism exerted to cause the court or capital to situate itself in a relatively permanent location. These courts, Nara and Kyoto, became the focal points for a great influx of Buddhist temples and priests. If only because

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of numbers alone, these priests wielded tremendous influence at the court and with the local nobles. Completely engulfed in the midst of Buddhist clergy, it was not surprising that the administration of the government during the Fujiwara period became bogged down by religious rites and corruption to the extent that it finally disintegrated. But the court was not the only vicinity where Buddhist domination was felt. Through the instrumentality of the governing classes, temple after temple was erected in the various parts of the courtry, and Buddhism soon took firm root everywhere in civilized Japan.⁽¹⁾

Perhaps the most important outgrowth attributable to Buddhism at this time (ca. Nara-Heian eras) was the concept of Emperor rule and the institution of abdication.⁽²⁾ The tenets of Buddhism at first maintained that the Emperor was a manifestation of the "Universal Buddha", and therefore he rightly ruled. Later this interpretation was modified to mean that the real savior and ruler should be one who had become an "expert of the cosmic law". Emperors could, by intense Buddhist study, become such "experts". This served as a strong inducement for the Japanese rulers to abdicate and assume the title of Hoo--actually, however, they still ruled as a sovereign arbitrator from behind the curtain. It is

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Yamashita, Yoshitaro, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 258. The institution of imperial abdication began with 2 Empress Jito, 689 A.D., and extended into Feudal times.

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important to note the fact that this institution had also spread to the lower court circles and nobles as well as to the commoner and agricultural classes.⁽³⁾ The concept was introduced to them in the form of advice to men not to spend all their valuable life amid worldly toils and cares, but to devote at least the latter portion of it to the enlightenment of the soul. It often followed that when the eldest son of a family reached manhood, the father retired and left the management of his affairs and holdings to this son. During the Ashikaga period it was a common practice for a great feudal lord to turn his fief over to his son and take the Zen orders.⁽⁴⁾

Buddhism had become so powerful by the end of the 15th century that it is often argued that this religion, if it had displayed any concerted action, might have gained the secular Empire of Japan.⁽⁵⁾ However after Nobunaga's relegation of the powerful militant Buddhist monasteries to impotency, Buddhism's importance in national politics was greatly diminished. During the Tokugawa period, "... the Shogun patronized Buddhism as a stabilizing force. Partly because of the reaction

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³ In Japanese history it is not uncommon to find the word Nyudo affixed to a man's name--denoting that he has retired and will devote the remainder of his life to "religion". See Yamashita, Yoshitaro, op. cit., p. 263.

Yamashita, Yoshitaro, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 263. 4 During the middle of the 8th century many of the court were taking the orders. The Empress Koken with 407 others took the orders at one time.

⁵ Sansom, G. B., <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 405.

against Christianity, every household was required to belong to some Buddhist sect. The temples thus came to be the registrars of the nation, each one maintaining records of the births, marriages and deaths in its member-family record or <u>koseki</u> kept in township and municipal offices."⁽⁶⁾ As Embree states, however, Buddhism's "organization and teachings were only calculated to maintain the <u>status quo</u>, and as such Buddhism was encouraged by the government."⁽⁷⁾

During the last decade Japan has used Buddhism as a link with the rest of Asia. They told the Buddhist-Burmese assiduously how Buddhist the Japanese were, while at the same time they reminded the Chinese how Confucianist they were.⁽⁸⁾

Education and Learning

Education and learning was another important field which received considerable impetus from Buddhism, and which also, in this study, seemed too broad to include--other than a mere tracing of a few of its most significant points. Besides supplying Japanese education with philosophy, calligraphy, literature, and scholars, it was the only facility equipped to teach the children above the rank of Samurai. These early teacherstudent relationships often aided temples and clergy to maintain a finger in the control of the government. By court order.

⁶ Embree, J.F., op. cit., p. 199.

^{7 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p/ 35.

⁸ Price, Willard, Key to Japan, New York, 1946, p. 78.

temples had been located in every province during the Nara and Heian periods. The temples became the centers of learning in the country, keeping the histories, the biographies and the art of the times. More than this, they were able to give Japan a cultural cohesion and continuity, which, without them, might not have been possible. Throughout the feudal period, Buddhism maintained a strong hand in the education of almost all ranks of society. "The schools and colleges as existed before Meiji were for the most part founded and maintained by Buddhist priests who kept alight the lamp of learning during Japan's dark periods of civil war."⁽⁹⁾ Under the Zen influence in the Ashikaga period, learning flourished. A Zen college was established in 1400 A.D., and at the same time, Zen temples in Kyoto became the centers of historical research as well as popular education. (10) Shortly after this time, the Terakoya (church schools) were introduced and became increasingly popular. Sansom states that they were generally conducted by Zen monks, teaching writing, Buddhist morals, some reading, etc., to persons up to the age of 20. Some of the text books remained in use in Japanese schools until recent times. (11) There has been considerable argument among students on this subject: they argue whether Confucianism or Buddhism had more influence in the development of the Japanese learning and

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Embree, J.F., <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 99. Sansom, G.G., <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 37 <u>Ibid</u>., p. 373. 9

¹⁰

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education. In Sansom's discussion of political philosophy and learning in Japan he states, "A desire to go to the sources of Confucian doctrine was an important motive, but it is probable that it was the emotional stimulus of Buddhism that gave the strongest and most widespread impulse to learning in Japan."⁽¹²⁾ True, after the middle of the Tokugawa period, the leading role in Japanese education was taken by Confucianism, Bor Buddhist education had almost become crystallized. Nevertheless, much of the methodology and thought which was used by the Confucian pedagogs was borrowed from Buddhism.

Today Buddhism still takes a part in education and learning by conducting Sunday schools, high schools (for boys and girls), and colleges at the university level. Their standards conform to the requirements prescribed by the government, and their enrollment is quite large.⁽¹³⁾

¹² Ibid., p. 65.

^{13 &}quot;The most distinctive feature in Buddhist education is the kindergartens, many of which are conducted in the tera by the wives of the priests." Quoted from Anesaki, M., <u>Op</u>. cit., p. 85.

CONCLUSION

There are few who fail to recognize the fact that the forces of Buddhism have been dominant elements in the moulding of Japanese Society and culture. Today, however, Japan is undergoing a great transition which scorns the ancient customs and the "traditional way". There is a question whether or not these Buddhist forces, which have up to now formed an integral part of traditional Japan, will succumb Today in bomb-shattered Tokyo, children to this change. still learn to burn candles and carry small offerings before the spirits of the dead. Even the college youth who has acquired some scientific knowledge or is acquainted with Tolstoi or Schopenhauer is expected to perform these services during the holidays with some degree of emotion. (1) The summer pilgrimage yet finds hundreds of thousands making their annual visits to the temples; and Buddhist festivals receive as much anticipation and enjoyment as they did two centuries ago. Customs and social patterns which have required centuries to develop will not give way over night. Moreover, "the most salient feature of Japanese Buddhism is its intimate connection with the general conditions of the nation, both political and social. It has vibrated in response to many and abrupt political changes, it has registered them in its sects and expressed in its art the special

1 Suma, Yakichiro, op. cit., p. 72.

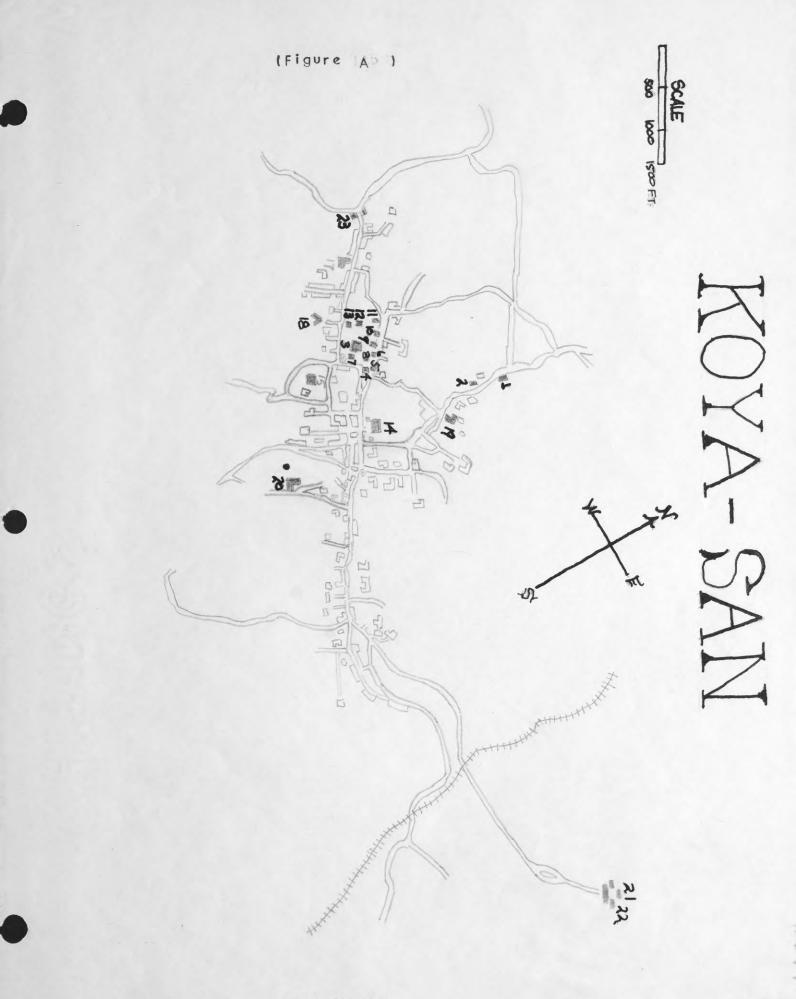
note of each."⁽²⁾ If this great force dies, it will go very slowly, for Buddhism lives in the conscience of the nation.

2 Eliot, Sir Charles, op. cit., p. 179.

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APPENDIX A

Diagram and explanation of the principal temples at Koyasan, Wakayama Ken.



KOYA-SAN -高野山

- 1. NYONIN-DO 女人 堂 (Women's Hall) On the outskirts of the monastery. Women used to worship here when the ban prohibiting the entrance of women into the environs was in effect.
- 2. SHOENBO---Annai jo 戶斤糸彖士方室內仟(Guide House) A place where visitors can ask for information.

The following eleven temples are part of the most important and main temple--its coblective name being KONGO BU-JI () () () When KuKai came to this mountain in 816 A.D., he selected this as the site for his temple. The HONDO or main Hall was completed two years later, and the other halls were gradually added on so that they soon came to be known as the KONGO BU-JI.

The name "Kongobuji" originally was a comprehensive name including all the temples of Koyasan. At the time of the Meiji Restoration, Seigan-ji, which occupied a central position among the temples, came to be called "Kongobu-ji" instead of "Seigan-ji". However the foblowing eleven temples are those found in the area called "Danjo", the original Kongobu-ji:

3. KONDO 全 堂 (Golden Hall) This was originally founded by Kukai in 819, but has burnt several times--each time being restored. This building is representative of the splendor which existed in the past. Chamberlain gives a good description of it: "Burnt in 1843, but restored in 1852, this grand edifice fully deserves its name, for the interior is ablaze with gold and glorious colouring. Nor is it only beautiful. The keyaki wood, of which the huge beams and columns consist, proclaims its solidity, and even the magnificent carvings adorning the exterior are of the same material, some of the slabs being 9 ft. long by 4 ft. high. The plan of the building is three squares, one within the other. The outermost of these squares is the uncoloured carved shell just mentioned; that next to it is the "gejin" or nave, while the innermost is the "naijin" or chancel, and this it is that the artist has so splendidly decorated with gold, with paintings of angels and Beddhist deities, and with coloured carvings of birds. Images of Kongo Satta, Fudo, Fugen, Kongo-o, and Kokuzo-Bosatsu stand on a raided dais, whose sides are filled in with the peony and lion in gilt open-work. while the ceiling above them glows with rich paintings of dragons having a phoenix in their midst." (14)

- 4. SANMAI-DO 三昧堂(Meditation Hall) This is said to be the Hall where the priest Saigyo performed meditation.
- 5. DAIEDO大会 堂 (Preparation Hall for ceremonies. It contains several national treasures.
- 6. AIZENDO 读文堂(Aizen-myoo Hall) Said to have contained an image for the private worship of Godaigo Tenno.
- 7. FUDODO 不 前 堂 (Acala Hall) This is the oldest of all the temple buildings at Koya-san. It was completed in 1198. The Inner Sanctuary contains the Dais said to be the finest at Koya-san. Its railings are of the late Heian period, but in details showing a new style of Sung (China).
- 8. DAITOXIE (Great Stupa) This was founded by Kukai in 819 A.D. for the welfare of the country and also as a monument to the Shingon Sect. It was rebuilt in 1934.
- 9. MIEIDO 作为 新台目 of Kukai's Image) Contains the oldest bronze lantern at the temple dating from 1543.
- 10. JINTEIDO: 作版堂(Jintei-kannon Hall) Contains the image which was especially worshiped by Kukai as a novicate.
- 11. SAITO西长 (W. Stupa) It was first built in 887 A.D. and burnt several times. The present building was built in 1834.
- 12. SHISHA-MYOJIN DATE (Four Shrines for Shinto Deities) It is interesting due to the fact that here are enshrined four Shinto deities among them one being the deity who led Kukai to this mountain in the disguise of a hunter known as Karibą-myojin.
- 13. ROKKAKU KYOJO () 出版 Hexagonal Sutra Depository) Built in 1159 and later rebuilt in 1932 this temple contains a copy of the Issai Kyo or the Tripitaka or whole Buddhist canon. Nearby stands the Shoro (belfry) and is unusually in that it has an inscription written in 'hiragana' a unique feature never seen in other bells.
- 14. SEIGAN-JI (or KongoBu-Ji) Said to have been founded by Toyotomi Hideyoshi in 1593 to pray for the peaceful rest of his mother. This is the head of all temples belonging to the Shingon sect.
- 15. REIHOKAN (Treasure House) Over 5000 pieces of treasure owned by the temples on Koya-san are deposited and exhibited by turns here. These treasures include letters of the Imperial family, sutras, calligraphic writings, Buddhist paintings and sculptures, applied art, etc. of which over 100 pieces are National treasures.

Figure 11 a

- 16. MYOO-IN HI This temple was founded in 830 by Kukai and contains the image of Aka Hudo, one of the most famous pieces in the history of Japanese painting.
- 17. SEINAN-IN 西南岸 (Southwest Temple) Owns several famous art treasures from China.
- 18. HOKI-IN Founded by Priest Kanken in the 1st year of Engi (921). It also contains several famous national treasures.
- 19. MINAMI-NO-IN A (or Nan-In) It was founded in 983. It is said to contain the image of "Namikiri-hudo," created by Kukai himself. It is the oldest statue of this particular figure in the country.

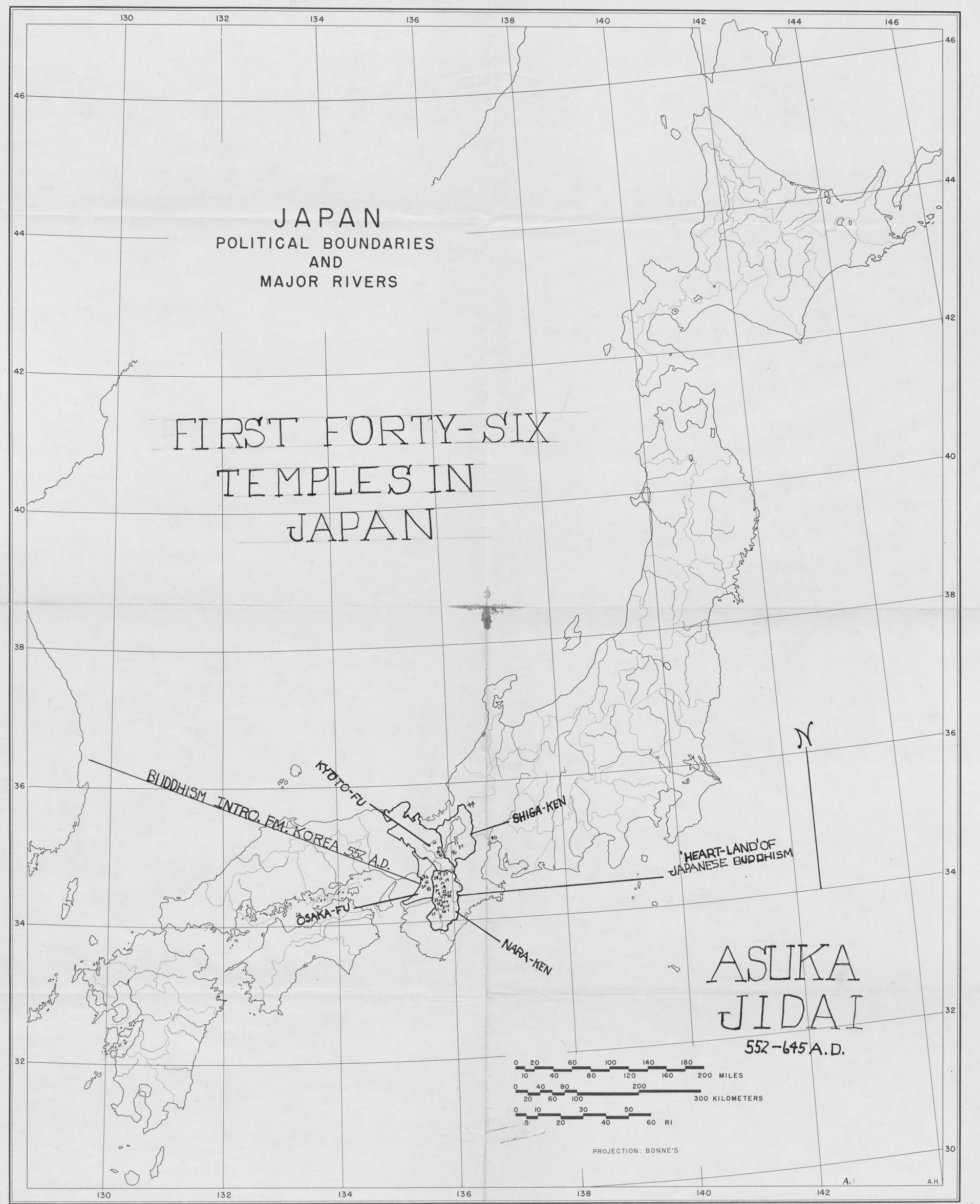
Hojo Masako, wife of Minamoto-no Yoritomo founded a temple here in 1211 for her dead husband. Hereafter the Hojo and Minamoto clans continued to contribute their territory lands to the temple, so that over 3,000 priests were living here. The Ashikaga also made this their temple area.

- 21. OKUNO-IN This is the Mausoleum of Kukai. Surrounding him are the remains and tablets of many who wish to be bur-ied by his side. One can see the graves of many of Japan's historical personages here. The Uwajima, Kaga, and Satsuma Daimyo, Asano Takumi-no Kami the lord of the Forty-seven Ronin, and various Mikado are buried here.
- 22. KOTSU-DO P P (Hall of Bones) Those who are too poor to afford a separate tomb, after their bodies have been cremated, have their adam's apple and a few teeth sent to Koya-san and thrown into this common pit.
- 23. DAI MON 大戶戶 This is the great gate west of the KONDO. It is hardly ever used since the railroad was established.

* In compiling the following material The Art Guide of Japan, Vol. 11, Tokyo, pp 348-383, was helpful in supplying most of the data.

APPENDIX B

A map and key listing the names of the first 46 temples in Japan. (Asuka Jidai); Maps and accompanying keys of the present-day temples of Nara, Mie, and Wakayama prefectures.

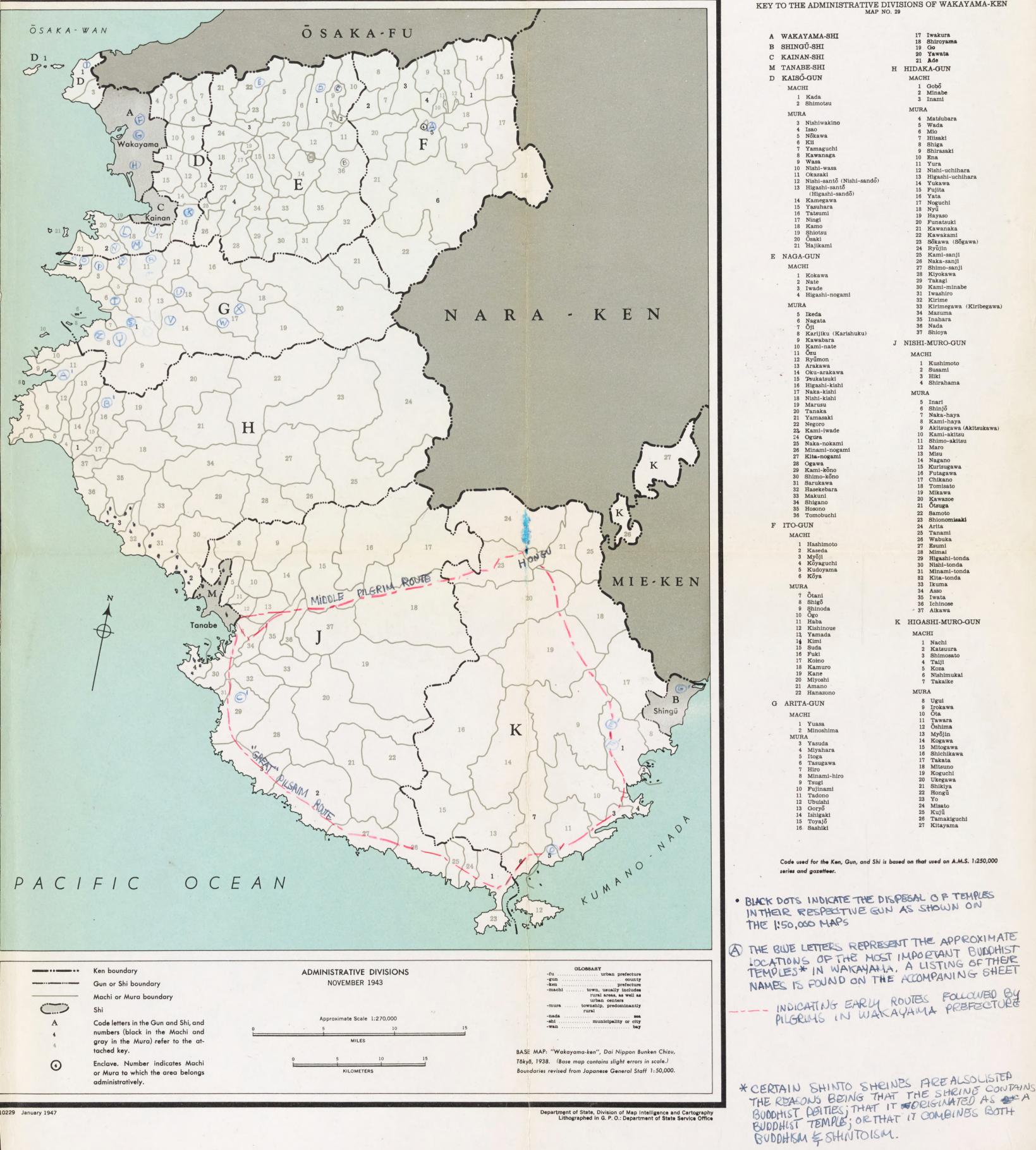


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KEY TO MAP OF THE FIRST FORTY SIX TEMPLES IN JAPAN 1. MUKUHARA TEN向原寺 Takaichi Gun, Asuka Mura, Nara Ken 2. SEISON JI世舜寺 Yoshino Gun, Oyodo Machi, Nara Ken: 3. OWAKE NO OJI大別王寺 Osaka Shi, Tenno ji Ku, Osaka Fu. 4. ISHIKAWASHO JA石牌斋 Takaichi Gun, Shirakashimura, Nara Ken. 5. KAWAHARA 川原寺 Takaichi Gun, Kawahara, Nara Ken. 6. ONOOKAHOKUTO大野白北塔akaichi Gun, Shirakashi Mura, Nara Ken. 7. SAKATA 川坂 時寺 Takaichi Gun, Takaichi Shi, Nara Ken. 8. SHITENNO JI四天王寺 Osaka Shi, Tennoji Ku, Osaka Fu. 9. HOKO 川法興寺 Takaichi Gun, Asuka Mura, Nara Ken. 10. MOOKA 川峰岡寺 Kadono Gun, Taishin, Kyōto Fu. 11. KONGO 川金刷寺 Shiga Ken. 12. IKARUGA王女王大寫寺 Ikoma Gun, Horyuji Mura, Nara Ken. 18. KUDARA NO OTERA百濟大寺 Kitakatsuragi Gun, Kudara Mura, Nara Ken. 14. KUMAGORISHO JA能运起精合koma Gun, Heijo Mura, Nara Ken. 15. TACHIBANA JI木高手 Takaichi Gun, Takaichi Shi, Nara Ken. 16. CHUGUAMA JI中宮尼吉 Ikoma Gun, Horyuji Mura, Nara Ken. 17. KASHIRAKIAMA 篇木尼手 Minami Katsuragi Gun, Katsuragi Mura, Nara Ken. 18. KATAOKASO JI片間伦韩Kita Katsuragi Gun, Oji Mura, Nara Ken. 19. IGAJIRIAMA JI;地省尼寺 Ikoma Gun, Tomisato Mura, Nara Ken 20. TEIRIN JI定林寺 Takaichi Gun, Tatebe, Nara Ken. 21. KARU」中亚寺 Takaichi Gun, Shirakashimura, Nara Ken. 22. KUME 11久米寺 Takaichi Gun 23. OKUBO JI大宰寺 Takaichi Gun "" 24. KIIDERA 纪寺 """""" 24. KIIDERA 紀寺 """""" 25. HIUGA JI日向寺 Shiki Gun, Kaguyama Mura, Nara Ken. 26. OKAYAMAKUBEI JL奥山久米寺 TAKaichi Gun, Asuka Mura, Nara Ken.

27. ABE 川同当下丰 Shiki Gun, Abe Mura, Nara Ken. 28. KIBI JI 吉備寺 Shiki Gun, Kaguyama Mura, Nara Ken. ·29. HORIN JI法車扁井 koma Gun, Tomisato Mura, Nara Ken. 30. CHORIN JI長林寺 Kitakatsuragi Gun, Kawai Mura, Nara Ken 31. KOSEI JI 巨势 并 Minami Katsuragi Gun, Katsuragi Mura, Nara Ken. 32. YAMAMURA 川山村寺 Soekami Gun, Obitoke Machi, Nara Ken. 33. HOKAN JI 法雚見寺 Kyoto FU, Kyoto Shi. 34. NONAKA 川野中寺 Minami Kawaguchi Gun, Hanyu Mura, Ōsaka Fu. 35. YAMADA JI 山田寺 Shiki Gun, Abe Mura, Nara Ken. 36. SEIKO 川西光手 Kyoto Fu, Kyōto Shi. 37. KUDARA JI 百: 齊寺 Echigawa Gun, Kakui, Shiga Ken. 38. WAKAKUSA JI若草寺 Ikoma Gun, Horyuji Mura, Nara Ken. 39. MANHOZO IN 萬法藏院Kita Kawaguchi Gun, Kano Machi, Osaka Gu. 40. JIMOKU JI 悲目寺 Ama Gun, Jimokuji Machi, Aichi Ken 41. DOMYO 川道明寺 Minami Kawaguchi, Domyoji Mura, Osaka Fu. 42. UMAYASAKA JI 尼无坂丰 Kyōto FU, Kyōto Shi. 43. SHOGUN 川將軍手 Naka Kawachi Gun, Ryuge Machi, Osaka Fu. 44. AMIDABUTSU 向弓的 Nagano Ken, Ina Gun. 45. SEIRIN JI西环寺 Minami Kawaguchi Gun, Furuichi Machi, Osaka EU. 46. ISHITO JI石塔寺Gamo Gun, Sakuragawa Mura, Shiga Ken.

JAPAN:WAKAYAMA-KEN

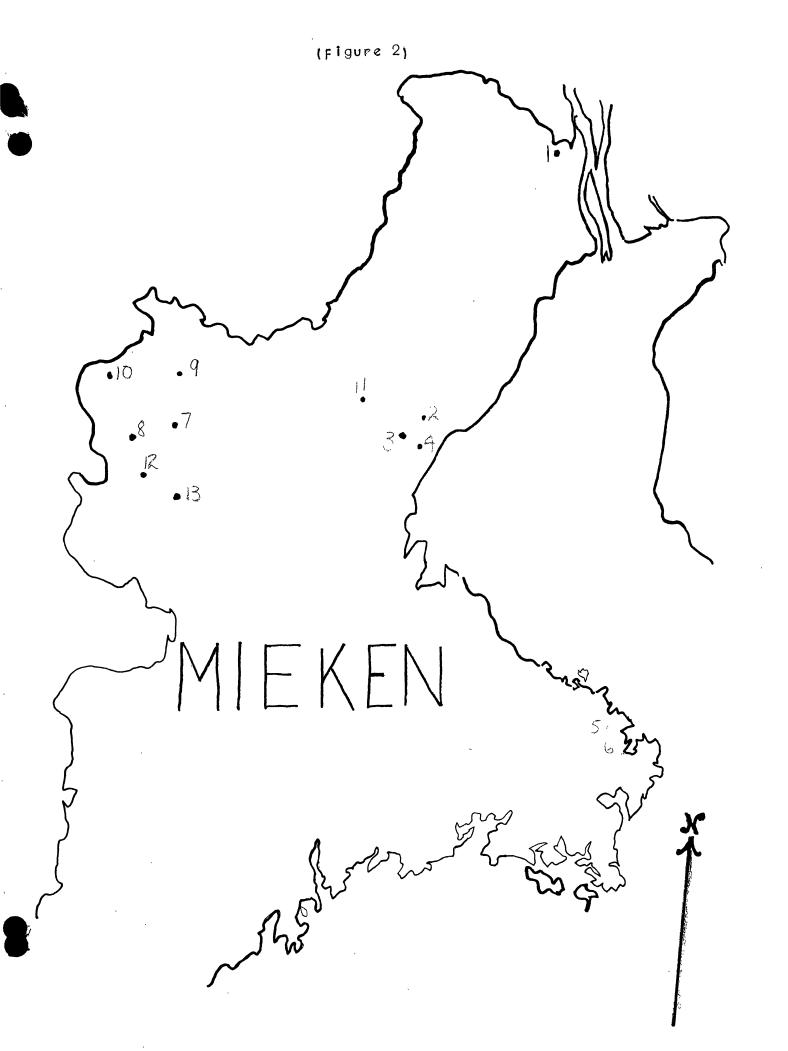


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Figure 1

BUDDHIST TEMPLES IN WAKAYAMA KEN

高野山 A. Koyasan B. Dainichido 大日堂 C. Nibu- Jinja 丹生示中示士 D. Kokawa-dera 米分河寺 E. Daidenpō-in 大傳法院 F. Shōshō-in 松生院 譜念手 G. Gonen-ji H. Wakayama- jo Anaxuta I. Sōji-ji 總計手 J. Kimii-dera 东己三井寺 屈求 K. Ganjō-ji 释迦室 L. Shaka-dō M. lizóbu-ji 地藏茎丰 N. Chōhō-ji 長保寺 O. jomyoji 淨妙寺 P. Susa-linja 須佐示中示土 Q. Kõri-ji 廣利寺 R. jókyō-ji 澤教寺 S. Shōraku-ji 肪樂寺 T. Semui-ji 加無畏寺 藥王寺 U. Yakuō-ji V. Kanki-ji 歡詩 ₩. Hōon-ji 法畜弃 X。 Kichijō-ji 訪祥寺 Y. Hachiman-linja 八小貓示中社 明邦院 Z. Myoo-in 興國寺 A. Kokoku-ji B. Dojo-ji C. Sodo-ji 道成寺 草堂手 B. Zensho-ji 姜照寺 E. Kumano-Nachi-Jinja 熊野那智示标上 Seiganto-ji青岸渡寺 Kumano-Hayatama-Jinja 熊野速玉神社 G H



(Figure 2)

KEY TO MIE KEN

1	Tado Jinja	6	Kongosho-Ji
2	Senju Ji	7	Nenbutsu-Ji
3	Sh o kyu Ji	8	Buddo- Ji
4	Renko-in	9	Takakura-Jinja
	Shitenno Ji Kænnon-in	10	Kanbodai Ji
	Daiho-in	11	Shindaibutsu-Ji
	Sairai-Ji	12	Shoin-Ji
	—		

5 Chokokan

13 Jofuku-Ji

(Figure 2)

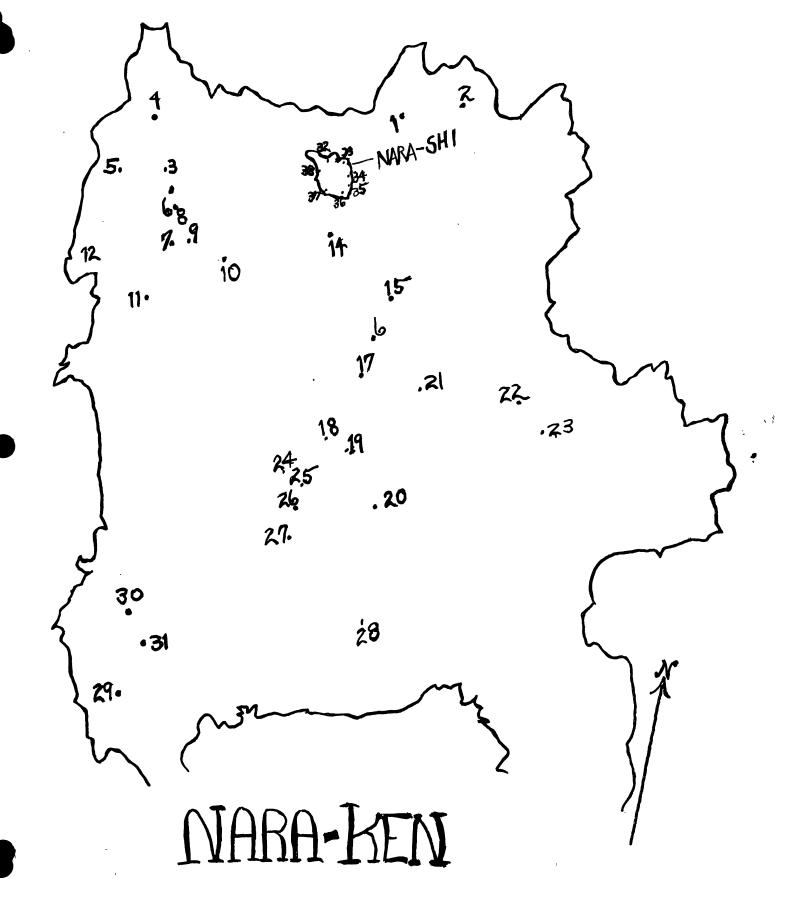
KEY TO MIE KEN

6 Kongosho-Ji 1 Tado Jinja Senju Ji Nenbutsu-Ji 7 2 Shokyu Ji Buddo-Ji 3 8 Renko-in Takakura-Jinja 4 9 Shitenno Ji Kanbodai Ji 10 Kannon-in Daiho-in 11 Shindaibutsu-Ji Sairai-Ji Shoin-Ji 12

5 Chokokan

13 Jofuku-Ji

(Figure 3)



Appendix B

(Figure 3)

KEY TO NARA PREFECTURE

- l Enjo-Ji
- 2 Nanmyo-Ji
- 3 Ryosen-Ji
- 4 Chokyo-Ji
- 5 Hozan-Ji
- 6 Kongosen-Ji
- 7 Horyu-Ji and Chugu-Ji
- 8 Horin-Ji
- 9 Hokki-Ji
- 10 Gakuan-ji
- 11 Daruma-dera
- 12 Chogosonshi-Ji
- 13 Taima-dera
- 14 Obitoke-dera
- 15 Isonokami-Jingu
- 16 Chogaku-Ji
- 17 Omiwa-Jinja
- 18 Monju-in
- 19 Shorin-ji
- 20 Danzan-Jinja
- 21 Hase-dera

- 22 Ono-Ji
- 23 Muro-Ji
- 24 Ango-in
- 25 Oka-dera
- 26 Tachibana-dera
- 27 Kojima-dera
- 28 Yóshinò
- 29 Goryo-Jinja
- 30 Shokoku-Ji
- 31 Eizan-Ji

NARA SHI

- 32 Kairyuo-Ji
- 33 Todaiji
- 34 Gokuraku-in
- 35 Shin Yakushiji
- 36 Gangoji
- 37 Yakushiji
- 38 Toshodai-Ji

(Figure 3)

KEY TO NARA PREFECTURE

- 1 Enjo-Ji
- 2 Nanmyo-Ji
- 3 Ryosen-Ji
- 4 Chokyo-Ji
- 5 Hozan-Ji
- 6 Kongosen-Ji
- 7 Horyu-Ji and Chugu-Ji
- 8 Horin-Ji
- 9 Hokki-Ji
- 10 Gakuan-ji
- 11 Daruma-dera
- 12 Chogosonshi-Ji
- 13 Taima-dera
- 14 Obitoke-dera
- 15 Isonokami-Jingu
- 16 Chogaku-Ji
- 17 Omiwa-Jinja
- 18 Monju-in
- 19 Shorin-ji
- 20 Danzan-Jinja
- 21 Hase-dera

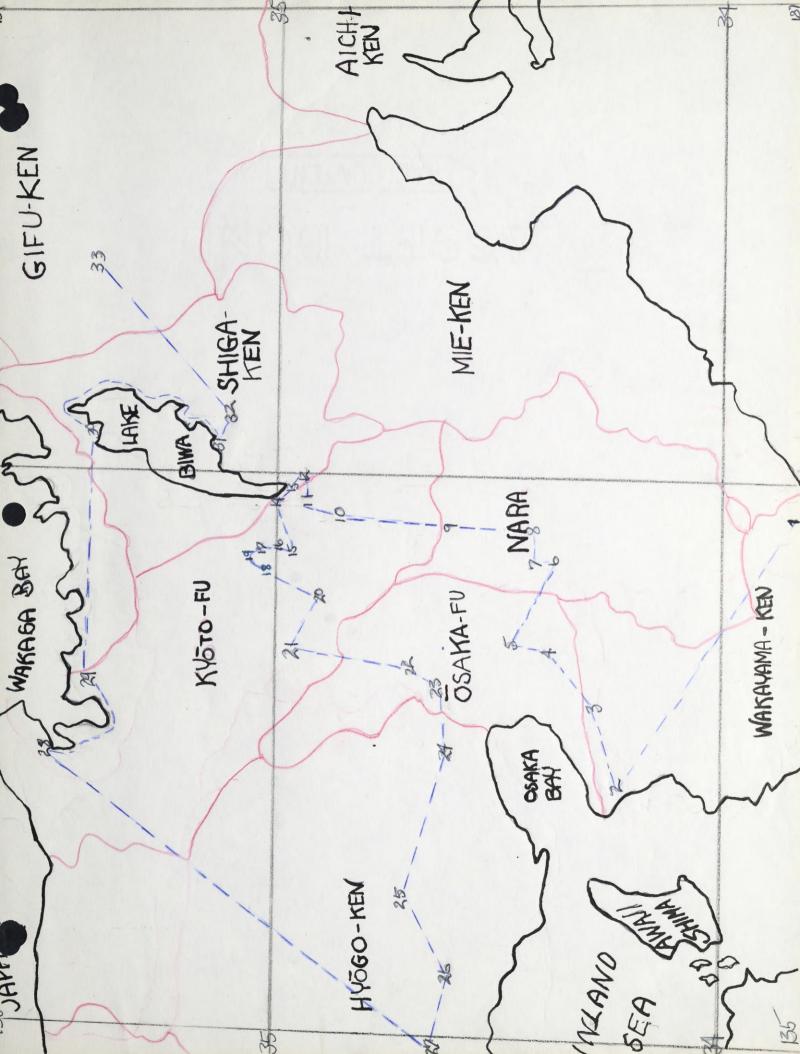
- 22 Ono-Ji
- 23 Muro-Ji
- 24 Ango-in
- 25 Oka-dera
- 26 Tachibana-dera
- 27 Kojima-dera
- 28 Yoshino
- 29 Goryo-Jinja
- 30 Shokoku-Ji
- 31 Eizan-Ji

MARA SHI

- 32 Kairyuo-Ji
- 33 Todaiji
- 34 Gokuraku-in
- 35 Shin Yakushiji
- 36 Gangoji
- 37 Yakushiji
- 38 Toshodai-Ji

APPENDIX C

A map and key listing the names of the "Thirty-three Sacred Temples Of Kwannon", centuries old, but still the most popular pilgrim "round" in Japan.



Key to the Map of the

"Thirty-three Sacred Temples of Kwannon"

- 1. NACHISAN in Wakayama ken, Higashimuro Nachi Mura--a member of the Tendai Sect. 那智山
- 2. KIMII DERA in Wakayama Ken, Kaiso Gun, KimiiDera Machi--a member of the Shingon Sect. 新己三井子
- 3. KOKAWADERA in Wakayama Prefecture, Naka Gun, Kokawa Machi--a member of the Tendai Sect·沃尔河手
- 4. SEFUKUJI in Osaka Fu, Semboku gun, Yokoyama Mura--a member of the Tendai Sect 方在示副寺
- 5. FUJII DERA in Osaka Ey, Kawachi Gun, Fujii Mura,--a member of the Shingon Sect 月条井寺
- 6. TSUBASAKA DERA in Nara Ken, Takatori Machi, Tsubosaka Aza--a member of the Shingon Sect. 重坂丰
- 7. OKA DERA in Nara Ken, Takaichi Gun, Takaichi Mura,--a member of the Hosso Sect. 囧 丰
- 8. HASE DERA In Nara Ken, Shiki Gun, Hase Machi--a member of the Shingon Sect. 初演員音
- 9. NAN EN DO in Nara Ken, Nara Shi, -- a member of the Hosso Sect. 南圓堂
- 10. MIMUROTO DERA in Kyoto Fu, Uji Gun, Uji Mura--a member of the Tendai sect. 三 空户寺
- 11. KAMI DAIGO DERA in Kyoto Fu, Uji Gun, Daigo Mura--a member of the Shingon Sect.上西是胡弄
- 12. IWAMADERA in Shiga Ken, Shiga Gun, Ishiyama Mura--a member of the Shingon Sect. 岩間手
- 13. ISHIYAMA DERA in Shiga Ken, Shiga gun, Ishiyama Mura-- a member of the Shingon Sect. 石山手
- 14. MII DERA Shiga Ken, Otsu Shi--amember of the Tendai Sect.三井寺
- 15. IMAGUMANO KWANNON JI in Kyoto Fu, Kyoto Shi--a member of the Shingon Sect. 今能里予觀音寺
- 16. KIYO MIZU DERA in Kyoto Fu, Kyoto Shi--a member of the Hosso Sect 清大
- 17. ROKUHARA DERA in Kyoto Fu, Kyoto Shi--a member of the Shingon Sect 六波本
- 18. ROKKAKU DO JI in Kyoto Fu, Kyoto Shi--a member of the Tendai Sect. 大街室
- 19. KODO JI in Kyoto Fu, Kyoto Shi, Jokyo Ward--a member of the Tendai Sect. 革堂丰
- 20. YOSHIMINEDERA in Kyoto Fu, Oharano Mura, Otokuni gun-- a member of the Tendai Sect. 芸母手

- 21. ANOJI in Kyoto Fu, Kuwada Gun, Sogabe Mura--a member of the Tendai Sect. 冗太寺
- 22. SOJI JI in Osaka Fu, Mishima Gun, Mishima Mura--a member of the Tendai sect. 幻想样寺
- 23. KATSUO DERA in Osaka EU, Mishima Gun, Tovokawa Mura--a member of Shingon Sect. 所足
- 24. NAKAYA DERA, in Hyogo Ken, Kawabe Gun, Nagaomura--a member of the Shingon Sect.中山寺
- 25. KIYO MIZU DERA in Hyogo Ken, Kato Gun, Kamokawa Mura--a member of the Tendai Sect. 这青水手
- 26. HOKKE JI in Myogo Ken, Kasai gun, Shimosato Mura--a member of the Tendai Sect. 这样手
- 27. SHOSHASAN JI in Hyogo Ken, Shikama Gun, Shosha Mura--a member of the Tendai Sect.書寫手
- 28. NARE AI JI in Kyoto FU, Yosa Gun, Fuchu Mura--a member of the Shingon Sect. 成相手
- 29. MATSUO DERA in Kyoto Fu, Kasa Gun, Shiyaku Mura--a member of the Shingon Sect.太公尾,手
- 30. CHIKUBU SHIMA DERA in Shiga Ken, Higashiasai Gun, Chikubu Mura-a member of the Tendai Sect 作生局车
- 31. CHOMEI JI in Shiga Ken, Gamo Gun, Shima Mura--a member of the Tendai Sect. 長命弃
- 32. KWANNON JI in Shiga Ken, Gamo Gun, Oiso Mura--a member of the Tendai Sect. 霍見言手
- 33. TANIGUMI- Dera in Gifu Ken, Ibi Gun, Tanigumi Mura--a member of the Tendai Sect. 谷文反手



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