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Description and Analysis of the Structural Symbolism of a Buddhist Ritual

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Description and Analysis of
the Structural Symbolism of
a Buddhist Ritual

by
Benedict Perrino

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Loyola University in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of
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INTRODUCTION

Statement of Organization of Introduction

A significant part of religious behavior takes place in the context of ritual ceremonies. These ceremonies embody both overt and covert expressions of cultural norms. The analysis of ritual symbols and the symbolic structure of ceremonial behavior, therefore, contributes to the comprehension of these norms. Where the participants in the ritual ceremonies are of different generational sets and have different cultural identities, the results of culture change can also be examined.

An excellent field of research is open in metropolitan Chicago to the student who wishes to investigate this problem. The Japanese Americans, a relatively small ethnic minority of the city's total population, are not culturally homogeneous. Composed of four generational groups, the community's identification with Japanese culture is extremely variable. A continuum from those with a great degree of ethnic identity to others who are almost indistinguishable from the dominant American culture can be found in the community. This diversity is also evident in the Japanese American's religious behavior. Several religious denominations are represented in the community. A segment of the minority group has become affiliated with a temple which is technically a non-sectarian Buddhist

organization. The temple offers its culturally-varied membership a variety of religious and social services. Of interest to this study is the weekly Sunday service which is conducted in two versions for the benefit of the different generational groups.

This thesis will examine the two basic forms that the ceremony assumes. It is suggested that the variations in structure reflect the different cultural backgrounds of the two congregations whose perceived needs cannot be satisfied by one common religious ceremony. These two services, then, should contain different interpretive understandings of the symbols used within them if different cultural norms are maintained by the congregations.

The introduction of the thesis presents some of the anthropological literature concerning Japanese religions and Japanese social organization, since these cultural institutions have created the preliminary foundation for the social and the ideological structures analyzed in the paper for this particular American population. Because the analysis of symbols can aid in the comprehension of cultural norms, the theoretical model employed in the thesis deals with ritual behavior, the ritual symbol, and the symbol and society. The introduction briefly examines the background to this approach. Finally, the method of analysis and the data collecting techniques will also be given.

Ethnographies Concerning Japanese Religions and Japanese Society

It is first necessary to present some of the background material available dealing with the nature and types of religion in Japan and with the structural characteristics of Japanese society.

Formal Japanese religious organizations can be divided into three major classes with an extensive number of subclasses. The classes are Christian, Shinto, and Buddhist organizations. Christianity is recognized as an established religion (kisei shukyo) in Japan with between 600,000 and 700,000 members scattered through the various sect subclasses (Norbeck 1970: 73). Shinto can be divided into three subclasses: Shrine, Sect, and Popular Shinto, with six types of Sect Shinto being distinguished. These types are: Pure, Confucian, Mountain, Purification, and Faith Healing (or Peasant) sects. State Shinto, abolished at the close of the war, has become Shrine Shinto, a weak remnant of its pre-war predecessor. Tenrikyo, Konkokyo, and Kurozomikyo are examples of Peasant-type sects.

The third class, Buddhism, has about 70,000,000 members in Japan. The major subclasses are listed by Norbeck (Ibid.: 65) as,

Amida (principle subgroups, Jodo-shu, Jodo Shinshu Honganji-ha, and Shinshu Otani-ha, the latter two of which are commonly known as Shin sects and by the names Nishi Honganji and Higashi Honganji, respectively); Shinkon; Zen (principle subgroups, Soto-shu and Rinzai-shu); Nichiren (Shoshu); and Tendai.

New sects include: Soka Gakkai, Riesho Koseikai, PL Kyodan, and Seicho no Ie.

The literature concerning Japanese religions and society that is pertinent to the study can be classified into three broad categories. The first of these categories contains studies made of Japanese religions: either descriptive analyses, historical accounts, or studies of the interrelationship between religion and society. Descriptive analyses would include: Basabe 1967, 1968; Hori 1968; Lebra 1966; Norbeck 1952, 1955; and Sakurai 1966. Historically-oriented accounts can be illustrated by Anesaki 1930, 1961; Kishimoto 1957; and Kitagawa 1966. Studies of the role of religion in social activity can be listed as: Bellah 1957; Embree 1941, Morioka and Newell 1963; and Norbeck 1970.

Norbeck (1970:104-105) has summarized the functionally significant aspects of Japanese religions. He states,

In form, content, and function, the religions of Japan differ fundamentally in no way from the religions elsewhere . . . In Japan the individual has sought through religion--and doubtless often gained--hope, comfort, reassurance, and solace, thereby also fortifying the social groups and the entire society of which he is a part. Rituals performed at times of crisis--the normal crises in the human life cycle of birth, maturity, reproduction, and death, and extraordinary misfortunes such as sickness and bodily injury--have also been functionally significant . . . Joint acts of religion, through the common ties of belief and social interaction they provide, have served to unite those who perform them. Moral values that are expressed in creed and rite are thereby taught, supported or reinforced, and supernatural sanctions for moral

rules have doubtless served similarly to help prevent social disorder and to promote social conformity. Religion in Japan has also been a primary source of recreation and entertainment and a major vehicle for the development of music, drama, art, and other forms of aesthetics.

The second category may be labelled as that containing research about the new religions (shinko shukyo) which have resulted from the forces of culture change in recent Japanese history. While there are many studies available concerning this social phenomenon, these vary considerably in thoroughness and objectivity. Examples of these are: Dator 1969; Lebra 1969-70, 1970; May 1954; Murata 1969; Plath 1966; and Thomsen 1963. These studies are pertinent to this paper because the ceremony being examined exhibits many facets that have affected by out-group forces, while still maintaining a recognizable Japanese cultural orientation.

The third category contains more general ethnographic descriptions of Japanese society. Such works as Beardsley, Hall, and Ward 1969; Dore 1971; Embree 1964; Norbeck 1954, 1965; and Nakane 1967, 1970 illustrate large-scale anthropological studies which examine the component parts and processes of Japanese society. Some data given in most of the books on Japanese religion and its characteristics in the rural and the urban Japanese social milieu have provided a comparative basis for analyzing ideological and practical changes that have arisen in the ceremony described in the thesis.

Theoretical Background

The theoretical foundation for the analysis of ritual symbolism used in this paper is largely provided by work done in religious symbolism by Victor W. Turner. In a number of his books and articles (Turner 1967, 1968, 1969a, 1969b), he has explored the significance of symbolic representation. Proceeding with the assumption that Turner's generalities, definitions, and suppositions are accurate and useful for productive anthropological research, this thesis can serve as an example of the applicability of his ideas and their scientific value in analyzing a field situation.

It is a basic assumption of this paper that the religious activity is, in fact, a ritual ceremony since it fulfills the requirements for such a classification. For example, it manifests the "elementary particles of ritual" (Wallace 1966: 83) which have been developed. These "particles" (prayer, song, physiological exercise, exhortation, recitation of texts, simulation, inspiration, and symbolism) are implicitly accepted by Turner who places his own emphasis on the significance of symbolism. He says that,

In most known societies (ritual) is a time for meditation upon, or veneration of, the transcendental, and behavior regarded as appropriate during this timeless time is both formalized and symbolic. It tends to be rigid and patterned and the gestures, words, and objects that compose it, and the myths and doctrines that explain it, represent far more than they appear to do . . . No doubt, much of the rigidity and repetitiveness

of ritual . . . is to instill into the mind of the participants, certain axiomatic truths which form for them, an appropriate evaluative framework (Turner 1968:5).

Put most simply, ritual is defined as "prescribed formal behavior for occasions not given over to technological routine, having references to beliefs in mystical beings or powers" (Turner 1967:19).

The two variations of the Buddhist ritual service show different structural features and component parts. In order to analyze the symbolic structure of such features it is necessary to break the services down into the most significant units. Turner's remarks on the construction of the ritual service are, therefore, noteworthy.

A ritual is segmented into 'phases' or 'stages' and into sub-units, such as 'episodes', 'actions', and 'gestures'. To each of these units and sub-units corresponds a specific arrangement of symbols, of symbolic activities or objects. The nature of the relationship between two or more symbols is a valuable clue to the relationship between those of the significata which are contextually specified as important . . . Each phase and episode has its explicitly stated aim, and the end of one stage is normally a means to the fulfillment of the next, or to the ultimate end of the ritual (Turner 1968:3).

However, it is not satisfactory to cease the investigation at the level of ritual composition to understand the symbolic structure of the service and its symbols. It is necessary to proceed further in the analysis to obtain the most basic cognitive unit. This unit is the symbol. The symbol is, according to Turner (1967:19),

the ultimate unit of specific structure in a ritual context. A 'symbol' is a thing regarded by general consent as naturally typifying or representing or recalling something by possession of analogous qualities or by association in fact or thought. The symbols observed in the field were, empirically, objects, activities, relationships, events, gestures, and spatial units in a ritual situation.

Ritual symbols reveal three properties which are characteristic of symbolic representations. These properties are: (1) condensation, (2) unification of disparate significata, and (3) polarization of meaning (Ibid.:27-28). They join what might be construed as unrelated qualities and processes into a coherent structure with variable interpretive features. It is important to note that the "polarization of meaning" is composed of elements which relate the symbol to natural phenomena (the 'physiological', 'sensory', or 'oretic' pole) and to principles of social organization (the 'ideological', or 'normative' pole). These poles are crucial in the analysis of symbolic activity since they express perceived cultural norms and cognitive categories of nature in a concise, concentrated nucleus.

There are two distinct types of ritual symbol. The first is the dominant symbol. Turner (Ibid.:29) states,

The basic unit of ritual, the dominant symbol, encapsulates the major properties of the total ritual process which brings about this transmutation. Within its framework of meanings, the dominant symbol brings the ethical and jural norms of society into close contact with strong emotional excitement and directly physiological stimuli,

such as music, singing, dancing, alcohol, incense, and bizarre modes of dress, the ritual symbol we may perhaps say, effects an interchanging of qualities between its poles of meaning.

The dominant symbol is an important factor in the production of social interaction. "Groups mobilize around them, worship before them, perform other symbolic activities near them, and add other symbolic objects to them, often to make them composite shrines" (Ibid.).

The second type of symbol is the multivocal symbol. Turner has determined that such symbols which manifest an iconic quality (readily associated perceptual characteristics), a set of primary meanings, and a set of connotations can be labeled multivocal symbols, distinguishing them from the dominant symbol. The multivocal symbol exhibits "three major dimensions of significance" (Turner 1969b:11). These are the exegetic dimension (what the informants say about the symbol), the operational dimension (what the informants do with the symbol), and the positional dimension (what relationship the symbol has to other symbols). The exegetic dimension is subdivided into the nominal basis (the name given to the symbol), the substantial basis (what material composes the symbol), and the artifactual basis (the symbol after it becomes a cultural artifact) (Ibid.).

The ritual symbol, in its dominant and multivocal forms, has a significant role to fulfill with both creative and expressive aspects in its interrelationship with society. The

symbol creates "the categories through which men perceive reality--the axioms underlying the structure of society and the laws of the natural and moral order" (Turner 1968:7). It "portrays in symbolic form certain key values and cultural orientations" (Ibid.:6).

The Buddhist services being examined contain ritual symbols whose normative poles point to a characteristic of the symbol in general which is extremely important in the maintenance of group cohesion.

The ritual symbol has the characteristics . . . of being a compromise formation between the need for social control, and certain innate and universal drives whose complete gratification would result in a breakdown of that control. Ritual symbols refer to what is normative, general, and characteristic of unique individuals (Turner 1967:37).

This characteristic proves to be a predominant theme in the analysis of the Buddhist ritual ceremony.

The ritual symbol, then, is integrally related to the culture of which it is a part. In studying the relationships between groups, the values and norms of a society, or the beliefs of a culture, the sensory pole of the ritual symbol remains constant. It is the society's variability in the interpretations of the normative pole which leads the anthropologist to the synthesis of basic cultural constructs (Ibid.:36).

Methodologies and Data Collecting Techniques

As stated in the previous section, the interpretations of the normative pole suggest the rules and principles which pervade a culture's structure. Let us turn to the methodology used in gathering data for the thesis, since one goal of the paper is to analyze the symbols of a cultural group to find underlying social relationships. Turner, again, has provided a succinct theoretical guide for compiling and analyzing the material for the study. He proposes that,

The structure^{*} and properties of ritual symbolism may be inferred from three classes of data:
(1) external form and observable characteristics;
(2) interpretations offered by specialists and by laymen; (3) significant contexts largely worked out by the anthropologist (Turner 1967:20).

In this way, the sensory pole of the symbol, the variations in the normative pole, and the synthesis of meanings and the symbolism of interrelationships can be observed ethnographically.

This tripartite system of analysis merits clarification because it is essential to the investigation conducted in the thesis. The explanation justifies the role of the anthropologist in describing the physiological aspects of ritual symbolism and in constructing a synthesis of varied interpretations. Turner states that,

(The anthropologist) can place (the) ritual in its significant setting and describe the structure and properties of that field. On the other hand, each participant in the ritual views it from his own particular corner of observation

His vision is circumscribed by his occupancy of a particular position, or even of a set of situationally conflicting positions, both in the persisting structure of his society, and also in the role structure of the given ritual. Moreover, the participant is likely to be governed in his actions by a number of interests, purposes, and sentiments, dependent upon his specific position, which impair his understanding of the total situation. An even more serious obstacle against his achieving objectivity is the fact that he tends to regard as axiomatic and primary the ideals, values, and norms that are overtly expressed or symbolized in the ritual . . . What is meaningless for an actor playing a specific role may well be highly significant for an observer and analyst of the total system.

On these grounds, therefore, I consider it legitimate to include within the total meaning of a dominant ritual symbol, aspects of behavior associated with it which the actors themselves are unable to interpret, and indeed, of which they may be unaware, if they are asked to interpret the symbol outside of its activity context (Turner 1967:27).

It is necessary that the researcher include those behavioral aspects not consciously perceived by the actors within a ritual ceremony since they are the factors ultimately supporting or disproving the suggested functions of the ritual symbol.

Controlled comparison of the symbolic characteristics of the ritual ceremony's variants is also a significant part of the methodology employed in the thesis. The concept of controlled comparison and its historical background in anthropology have been examined by Eggan. Having summarized the applications of large-scale cultural comparisons and

their questionable results, he states,

My own preference is for the utilization of the comparative method on a smaller scale and with as much control over the frame of comparison as it is possible to secure. It has seemed natural to utilize regions of relatively homogeneous culture or to work within social or cultural types, and to further control the ecology and the historical factors so far as it is possible to do so (Eggan 1954:747).

Working with the comparative method, this thesis has used the model for the comparative analysis of symbolic structure. The frame of comparison is provided by the basic ritual ceremony manifested in two variable formats. A relatively homogeneous cultural group has provided the human setting for the comparison. The same physical environment is used for both services, so that there is no real difficulty interrelating disparate sets of symbols. Though historical factors have not been developed in the body of the thesis, it is noted that the ethnic community does not share the same history since four generational sets are involved. The exact relationship between the groups participating in the two services is often of direct lineal descent. In other circumstances, the relationship may be based on collaterality. Although the temple group does not share the same history, there is a tight historical relationship between the participants.

Ethnographic procedures involved in the acquisition of data and the analysis of information for this thesis fall into

two classes. The first class includes the interviewing conducted to establish significant categories concerning the structure and content of the services. Informants were free to develop those topics which they felt were most important and more formalized interviews were used to tie together the common features. This was done so that the basic symbolic units could be compared and contrasted for variations in meaning. Once the informants' ideas and attitudes were established, their behavior toward the ritual symbols and the ceremony could be observed.

Participant-observation was essential to the analysis. Entry into the Japanese American community took place in September, 1970, as the acquisition of the proper background information for the thesis was begun. By May, 1971, the investigation of published research material was nearly completed. The intensive collection of ethnographic data concerning the services at the temple began in September, 1971. Services are conducted every Sunday and the research was continuous for eight months.

Beside the time spent every week in participant-observation at the services and in interviewing members of the congregations, involvement in such secular activities as the temple's presentation of Japanese-language films, the kendo (Japanese fencing) class held at the temple, and various social activities that have arisen in which members of the temple

participated, had also been beneficial. This social contact provided the opportunity to build rapport with informants and to gather data in non-ritual surroundings.

The second class includes those mechanical, or secondary, devices which assisted the analysis of the symbolic content of the services. Taping of the ceremonies made repeated performances and discussion about the activities possible. Photographing the temple and its surroundings, the visible symbols, and the spatial distributions of the ritual services' participants also has contributed to the analysis insofar as the technique gives support to statements made about symbolic activity.

Statement of Organization of Thesis

The introduction has presented the theoretical and methodological foundations used in the paper. The body of the thesis is divided into five sections. There are, in addition, two appendices.

Chapter I gives general ethnographic material about the ethnic group's urban situation and specific data on the temple community and its organization. This chapter also lists the ritual activities and the secular events which are associated with the temple.

Chapter II is an ethnographic description of the two services; differentiated as Service A and Service B. This classification is based primarily on the language difference

between the two services. Service A is conducted, for the most part, in English, while Service B is exclusively in Japanese. The comparison of the symbolic content that follows in later chapters is based upon the description presented in this chapter. Noted, too, are the reasons for conducting two services, an explanation of the differences between them, and the varied practical aspects of the ceremonies.

Chapter III contains the analysis of the symbolic content and structure of Service A and Service B. The chapter concludes with a comparison of the content and structural forms of the ceremonies and their interpretations.

Chapter IV examines the ritual services as manifestations of cultural adaptation since their uniqueness mirrors ideological changes based somewhat on acculturative factors. It is argued that symbol interpretation is directly affected by cultural identity.

The concluding remarks of the thesis form the fifth section. Several brief statements can be made at this point. The thesis contains material which is generally applicable toward anthropological research in religious symbolism. The nature of symbols and their role in society is presented and the structural diversity of the ceremony with its variation in the fulfillment of individual needs coupled with the perpetuation of societal values is given.

There are two appendices. Appendix A is the symbolic

analysis of a chant performed during one of the services. Appendix B is a glossary of the Japanese and the Buddhist vocabulary found in the text. It also contains an explanation of the conventions followed in representing Japanese terms, their glosses, and the other forms used in the analysis of the services.

CHAPTER I

ETHNOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND

The Chicago Community

Chapter I presents the large-scale cultural context in which the ritual ceremony being examined occurs. In the first part of the chapter the previous work done in the Japanese American community is listed, a brief statement concerning the distribution of the community is made, and its present status is given. The second part explores the temple community.

Two significant works have been written about the Japanese American community in Chicago. W.A. Caudill (1956) and S.M. Nishi (1963) are excellent sources for data on the economic conditions, psychological states, and social organization problems to be found in the urban population. The degree of culture change that becomes evident through the period of study covered by Caudill and Nishi is of particular interest to this study. A general trend toward greater assimilation of American middle-class values, satisfactory employment, and psychological stability becomes apparent. Japanese Buddhism had already begun to show the effects of acculturation when Spencer wrote in 1947. This was an inevitable development as Buddhist organizations changed to meet new demands and forces

which had not been handled by the traditional forms of the religion.

The Chicago Japanese American community is the result of the relocation program carried out during the Second World War. A great number of the original members of the community had been residents of the West Coast, but these people found Chicago a suitable place to live after the war. The community presently numbers nearly 17,000 (U.S. Census Bureau figure, Chicago Shimpō 1971:1). In 1950, two major concentrations of Japanese Americans could be found in Chicago. One group was located in an area approximately surrounded by North and Chicago Avenues on the north and south, and State and Halsted Streets on the east and west, while the second was bounded by 35th and 47th Streets from north to south and Cottage Grove and Stony Island from west to east (Chicago Plan Commission 1950). By 1970, these two areas and the Japanese American population distribution had changed radically. Japanese Americans are currently scattered around a number of Chicago localities. Heavy concentrations are contained in such neighborhoods as Rogers Park, Uptown, Lakeview, the Near North side, and Hyde Park. The 1970 Chicago Japanese American Directory lists fifty-five Chicago-area municipalities which have at least two Japanese American families inhabiting them (1970 CJAD:109-115).

A brief picture will be drawn of the organization of the

Chicago community today. Concerning the communications media, there is one Japanese-language radio program and one Japanese American newspaper found in Chicago. The paper is printed in English and pre-World War II kanji and it is the only Japanese-language newspaper published in the Midwest region. The following data are from the 1970 CJAD:75. There are six Japanese American community service organizations in Chicago. These service organizations assist members in legal counseling and representation, give members a choice of job opportunities, aid in financial problems, hold social events, and create employment and useful activities for members who would normally be left out of the mainstream of American activity. These organizations are given in Figure 1. Two business organizations found in the city are the Chicago Japanese American Hotel-Apartment Association and the Chicago Japanese American Civic Association Credit Union. A very random sample of diversified occupations is shown in Figure 2.

Fifteen culture and amusement organizations are found in the city. A common feature of Japanese society, these organizations are formed by groups of people sharing interests in the pursuit of some desired entertainment. They are: (1) Golf club, (2) Engeikai (Gardening society), (3) Haiku-kai (Haiku society), (4) Mokuyokai, (5) Igo-club (Nihon-Kiin) (go-club: Nihon-technique), (6) Kendo club, (7) Nishokai Flower Arrangement, (8) Nichibei Bunka Shinkokai (Japanese American Culture Society), (9) Senryu Chicago-kai (Senryu

Figure 1

SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS

1. Japan America Society of Chicago
 2. Japanese American Association of Chicago
 3. Japanese American Citizens League,
Chicago Chapter
 4. Japanese American Service Committee
(the only one of its kind in
the continental United States)
 5. Japanese Chamber of Commerce of Chicago
 6. Japanese Mutual Aid Society of Chicago
-

Figure 2

OCCUPATIONS AND NUMBER IN CITY

OCCUPATION	NUMBER IN CITY
Apartment, Hotel, and Room Rental	58
Art Suppliers	10
Cleaners and Dyers	16
Food Stores	11
Flower and Garden Suppliers	6
Importers	5
Insurance	6
Optometrists	7
Physicians	7
Restaurants	17

society), (10) Shigin Daigenkai (Shigin society), (11) Shigin Kinyukai, (12) Shigin Shodokai, (13) Shodokai (Calligraphy society), (14) Urasenke Tea Society, and (15) Uwamachi Judo club. Ten Kenjinkai (society formed by immigrants from the same prefecture in Japan) have been established in Chicago. They are: (1) Ehime Club, (2) Fukuoka Kenjinkai, (3) Hiroshima Kenjinkai, (4) Kagoshima Kenjinkai, (5) Kumamoto Kenjinkai, (6) Okinawa Kyoyukai (joint society), (7) Wakayama Kenjinkai, (8) Yamazuchi Kenjinkai, (9) Yamanashi Kenjinkai, and (10) Peru Kai (society formed by immigrants from the colonies founded in Peru). There are four churches of the shinko shukyo type, ten Christian churches, and seven Buddhist temples of the kisei shukyo classification.

The Temple Community

It is necessary to set the ritual service in its proper cultural context for an adequate understanding of its symbolic content. A general description of the temple community, therefore, will be given. The research for this thesis was conducted at a Buddhist temple whose membership has been influenced by the teachings of the Shinshu Otani sect, a kisei shukyo type of religion. The organization, itself, will be referred to as a temple and not as a church since this is in accordance with the members' general usage.

The temple (PLATE I) was founded in 1944. Originally located in a building on the south side of the city, the temple

is now in a poor, ethnically-mixed, northside neighborhood. The founder, presently retired as pastor but still active in temple business, was, at first, reluctant to establish a formal Buddhist organization because he felt such structures to be contrary to Buddhist philosophy. With this in mind, he was persuaded to found a temple which was oriented more toward individual needs, rather than to the propagation of a specific Buddhist school's ideology. Maintaining an ecumenical outlook, the founder has infused various Buddhist sects' practices into the temple's ritual activities. Thus, the temple is not formally affiliated with a central temple in Japan, though most of the Issei and the sensei have been influenced by the Higashi Honganji Temple in Kyoto. The services contain prominent traces of Shinshu (Amidist) practices, more so for Service B than for Service A.

The temple community is composed of approximately two hundred registered members. About fifteen non-Japanese and their families are part of the temple membership. Out of the remaining number, nearly fifty are Issei (the immigrant generation); sixty-five, Nisei (first generation born in the United States); and seventy, Sansei (second generation born in the United States) and Yonsei (third generation born in this country). Three sensei (teacher, master) live, with their families, in a building in the temple area. One is the retired pastor, while the others are the present pastor and

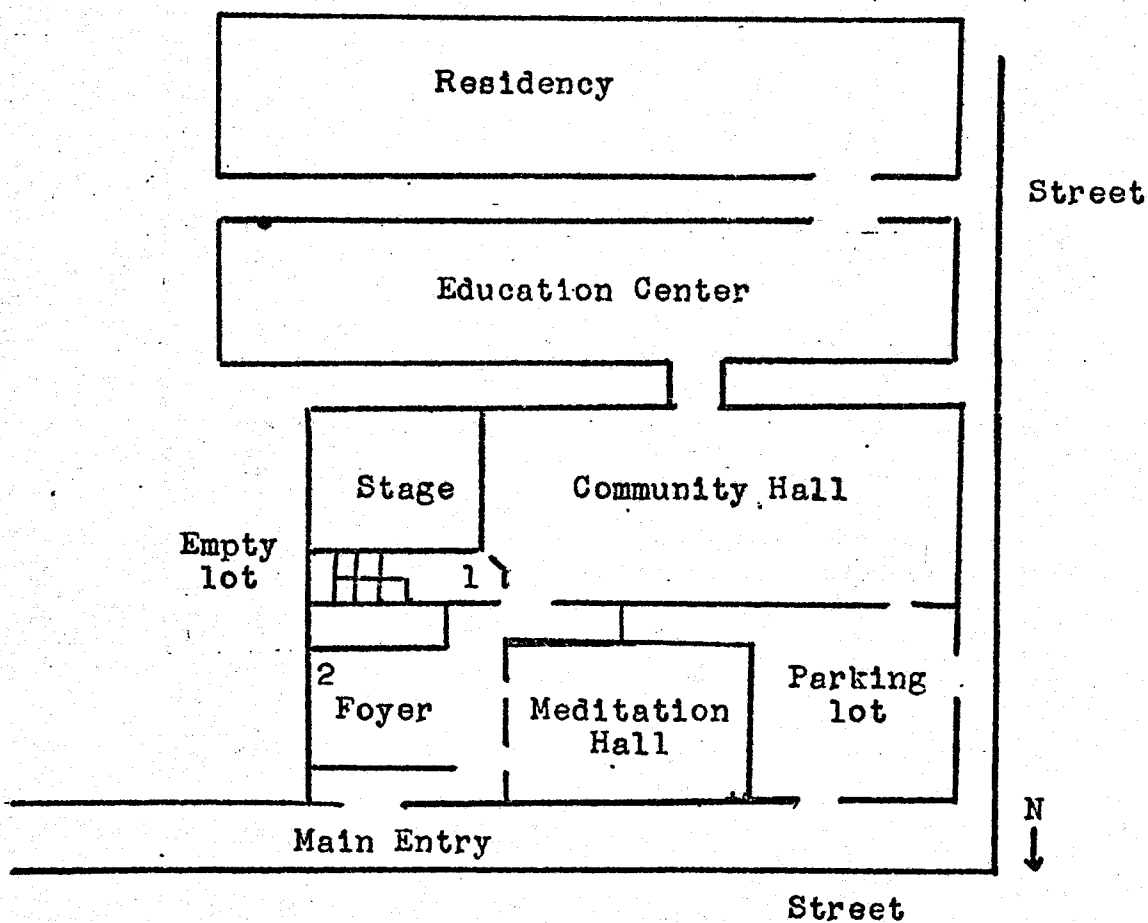
his assistant.

The non-sectarian Buddhist temple is open to visitors and tour groups from area high schools often come to witness the ritual service or to hear lectures on Buddhism. Video-taping, filming, and tape-recording sessions were conducted several times by various groups. A primary factor in determining a person's attendance and actual membership, in fact, is whether or not one's parents' ashes (or those of a close relative) are held in the repository (nokotsudo) in the temple (PLATE II). If there are no ashes, then members may attend another temple where the ashes are kept for memorial services. As it is, the weekly attendance is quite small since the congregation is not compelled by negative moral or doctrinal precepts to attend the service (Figures 3 and 4).

A chart (Figure 5) representing the formal organization of the temple is available to the members. It shows that three adult socio-religious groups are composed of persons from the general temple membership. The organization of these groups--Asoka Society (Nisei membership), Hoyukai (Issei Men's Society), and Fujinkai (Issei Ladies' Society)--is relatively independent of the temple's leadership, though officers of the Asoka may also be officers on the temple's other boards or councils. The general membership, ideally, elects persons to the posts of President, Vice-President, Treasurer, and Auditor at an annual meeting. As members of the Board of Trustees, they

Figure 3

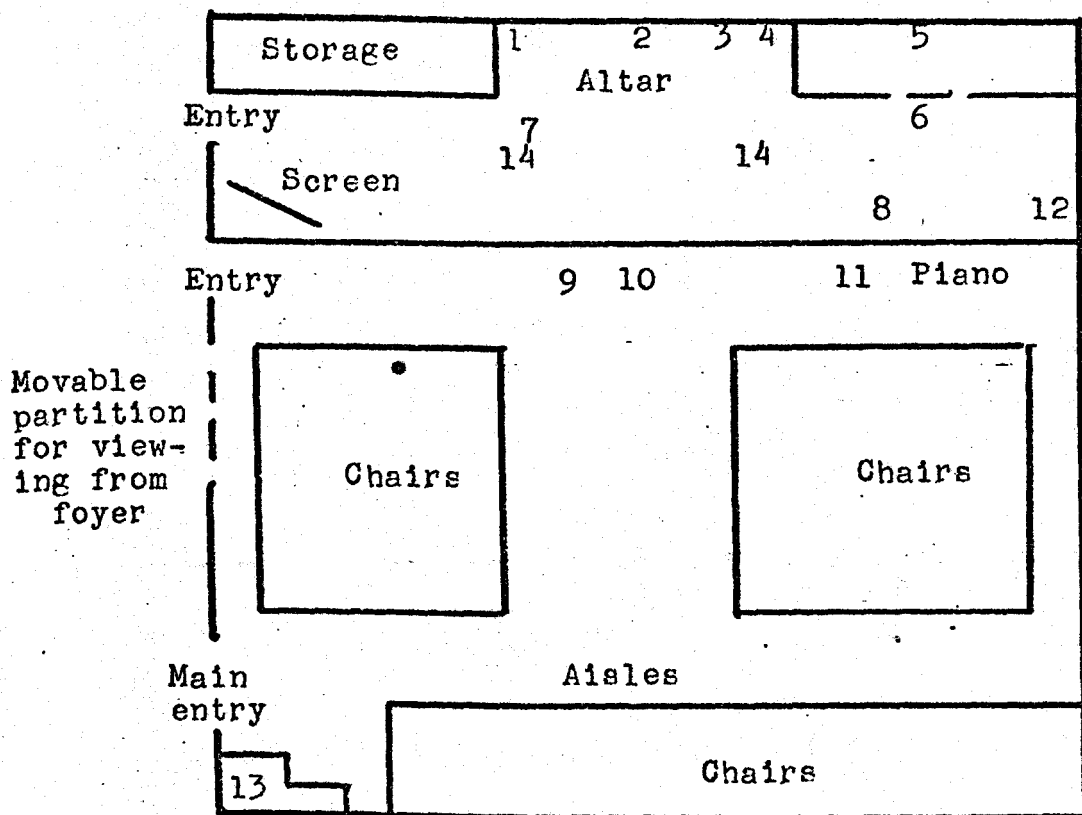
PLAN OF TEMPLE AND VICINITY (not to scale)



1. Temple Bell (Kane)
2. Portrait of Daruma (PLATE III)

Figure 4

DIAGRAM OF MEDITATION HALL INTERIOR
(not to scale)

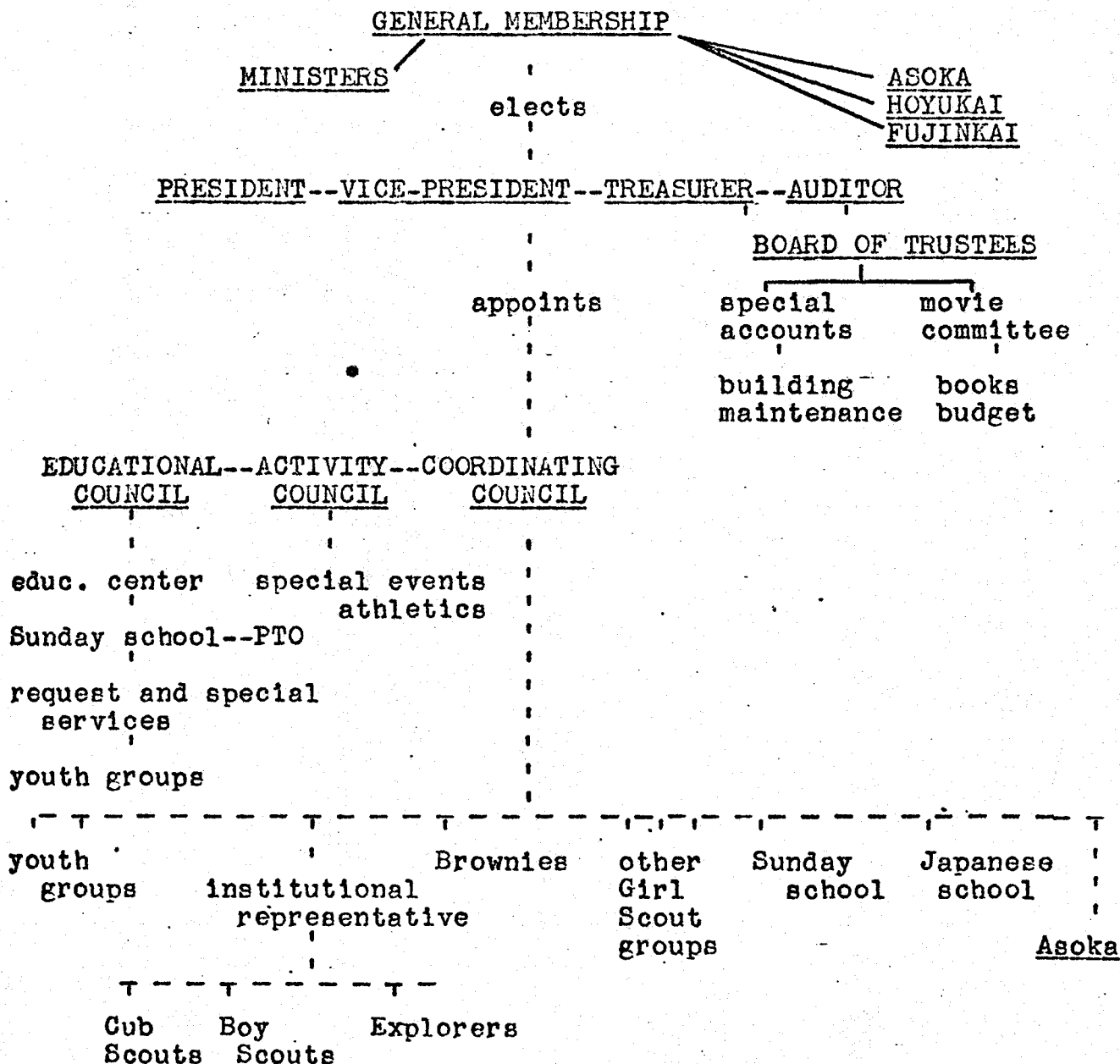


Statues

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Shinran Shonin (PLATE IV) | 6. Partition for <u>nokotsudo</u> |
| 2. Amida Buddha (PLATE V) | 7. <u>Keisu</u> (Gong) |
| 3. Akegarasu-sensei (PLATE V) | 8. Lectern (PLATE VII) |
| 4. Meditating Buddha (PLATE VI) | 9. <u>Koro</u> (Incense-burner) |
| 5. Amida Buddha | 10. Offertory |
| 11. Microphone for Chairman (PLATE VII) | |
| 12. Portrait of Akegarasu (PLATE VIII) | |
| 13. Service Books (PLATE IX) | |
| 14. Location of <u>sensei</u> during Service (PLATE X) | |

Figure 5

FORMAL ORGANIZATION OF TEMPLE



assist in the management of financial matters associated with the maintenance of the temple. The Executive Board appoints officers to the Coordinating Council, which handles the problem of centralizing the diverse interests of the subsidiary councils and groups. Directly connected with the Council are the Activity Council (managing special event and athletics) and the Educational Council (handling educational activities conducted in the Educational Center and the Sunday school). Associated with the Coordinating Council in a more indirect, vertical relationship are the two youth groups, the Scouts, and the Japanese language school. The Council also organizes the clearance and scheduling of activities conducted by the Asoka and the Sunday school.

The temple organization is so constructed that it will include both ritual and secular activities. There is an over-all tendency for the community to become introverted in this kind of organization since ties between successive vertical layers may be based on financial connections with horizontal ties strong because officers and members of one group are often members of another group to the exclusion of less active temple members. There is, moreover, an interesting diversity of interests expressed in the temple organization. Varying degrees of American or Japanese cultural identification are evident in the temple. The Sunday school, the Japanese language school, and the youth groups, for example, reflect

degrees of a conscious effort to maintain what are perceived to be traditional Japanese or Buddhist values. The Boy and the Girl Scouts (sukaute), while obvious American features for the third and fourth generations, also serve to perpetuate certain perceived values.

Schedule of Ritual Activities

The ritual service performed weekly is an attempt to bring the members of these varied groups together for meaningful social interaction. This is both so perceived by the people involved and given as a result of the analytic inquiry. Some of the people who attend Service A are, at this time, attempting to change the format of the service to a certain degree that will allow for more group interaction. The formal interaction in a specific phase of the ceremony has met with some resistance. Informally, it becomes immediately apparent that before (sometimes during) and after the services (the hour between Service A and Service B is "prime time") persons who have not seen each other during the week, or those with a little time and the latest news, enjoy the opportunity to socialize.

Ritual activities conducted at the temple can be divided into two sets. The first set contains weekly activities which occur on a regular basis for the benefit of the total congregation. The second set is included in the standardized annual calendar.

On an average Sunday, a Zen meditation session is conducted early in the morning. Shortly thereafter, an abbreviated Sunday school service is held where about fifty or more children and adults attend. Immediately following this, Service A is performed. The Sunday school is in session during that hour. A one hour break in which tea is served and much socializing occurs succeeds Service A. Service B then is held. On days of special events, Service B is eliminated and part of that congregation attends Service A.

Those ritual activities which are conducted irregularly as the need arises are weddings, funerals, and kuyo (memorial services). The kuyo are held at the members' homes in honor of that family's specific dead. These traditional services include forty-ninth day, one hundredth day, first year, third year, and annual memorials for the deceased.

The annual calendar shown in Figure 6 is composed of traditional, temple-oriented, and civil dates which are of interest to the temple membership. Those dates which have services held on them, or are of very special interest to the congregation are marked on the calendar with the emblem of the American Buddhist Association (a wheel with eight spokes) and in the figure they are signified by #. Traditional Japanese Buddhist dates, such as those listed in Beardsley, Hall and Ward 1969; Embree 1964; and Dore 1971, are marked by *. There is, of course, some overlapping of the dates with special

Figure 6

ANNUAL CALENDAR

MONTH	TRADITIONAL	TEMPLE-ORIENTED	CIVIL
Sept.	#Shotsuki-hoyo *#Ohigan	#White Elephant Sale #Sunday school starts	Labor Day
Oct.	#Shotsuki-hoyo	#Temple Anniversary Dr. Suzuki's birth	Columbus Day
Nov.	#Shotsuki-hoyo *#Hoonko (Shinran Shonin memorial)	Boy Scouts Anniversary	Veteran's Day Thanks-giving
Dec.	*#Jodo-e (Bodhi Day)	*#Asoka <u>mochi-tsuki</u> #Year end family service general clean up day at Temple	Christmas
Jan.	*#Shusho-e #Shotsuki-hoyo	#Sunday school New Year party #Temple New Year party and General Meeting	

(cont.)

ANNUAL CALENDAR
(cont.)

MONTH	TRADITIONAL	TEMPLE-ORIENTED	CIVIL
Feb.	#Shotsuki-hoyo *#Nehan-e (Buddha's Death)	#Scouts Sunday Service Blue and Gold Dinner #Brotherhood Sunday	Lincoln Washing- ton
Mar.	*#Hinamatsuri (Girls' Day) #Shotsuki-hoyo *#Ohigan		
April	*#Hanamatsuri (Buddha's Birth) #Shotsuki-hoyo	#Shinran Shonin Birth #Wesak Festival	
May	*#Tangonosekku (Boys' Day) #Shotsuki-hoyo	#Parents' Day Service	Mother's Day Memorial Day
June	#Shotsuki-hoyo	Rosenki: Rev. Kiyosawa's Mem. Gakugeikai Promotion exercise #Graduation Service	Father's Day
July	#Shotsuki-hoyo	#Temple Picnic	#Fourth of July Festi- val
Aug.	*#Obon #Shotsuki-hoyo	#Rev. Akegarasu Mem.	

interest.

An outstanding feature of the calendar is the monthly celebration of the shotsuki-hoyo (the month of death service) held in memory of those who have died in that particular month, either in the current year or in previous years. This is a special life crisis ritual conducted for the temple membership and its ritual procedures differ somewhat from those carried out for Services A and B.

Other Activities Associated with the Temple

An examination of the temple organization and the temple calendar shows that the temple and the temple area are used for many activities beyond those of a ritual nature. Non-ritual activities fall into one or more of four categories. The first category contains those educational activities which are of a secular nature. The temple runs a number of classes designed with the expressed purpose of perpetuating the practice of certain Japanese cultural arts. For example, there are classes offered in sumi-e (ink painting), shodo (calligraphy), cha no yu (the tea ceremony), flower arrangement, and the gakugeikai (lit., society for literary attainment, the Japanese language school). The second category includes those activities centered upon religious education. They are the Sunday school sessions and a variety of courses in Buddhism conducted at the Center. The third category includes temple-sponsored athletics. These are softball, volleyball, and bowling teams, and judo

and kendo clubs

The fourth category contains the social groups and entertainment facilities provided by the temple. A few members belong to a square-dancing club and the temple community hall is sometimes used for dance practice. A social event which draws large crowds is the week-end presentation of Japanese-language films. These films serve to entertain and to bring members and non-members of the temple together for interaction. Other social groups under the sponsorship of the temple are the Asoka society, the Hoyukai, the Fujinkai, and the tanomoshi (mutual aid) groups. These different organizations cooperate particularly effectively at the annual Fourth of July Festival which brings in a large sum of money from sources outside the community. There are also various social gatherings, often where food is prepared by women of the temple, which are quite informal. These are celebrations of particular events connected with the temple, either as traditional or fund-raising events. Examples are the mochi tsuki New Year's festival, the White Elephant Sale, and the temple anniversary.

This chapter has presented the data necessary to place the ritual ceremony in its proper cultural context. The Japanese Americans of Chicago are relatively few in number. The membership of the temple represents a fraction of that ethnic population. The smallness of the membership contributes to the tight structure of the temple. The temple's activities

are geared to satisfy a variety of needs. The annual calendar, as one example, shows the influence of different Buddhist schools which is present in the temple and some of the results of culture change which have taken place in the community.

CHAPTER II

ETHNOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF THE TWO SERVICES

This chapter is a description of the two variants of the ritual service conducted at the Buddhist temple. On an average Sunday morning, there will be thirty-six people present at Service A. Four men and three women are non-Japanese, while another twelve men and seventeen women are of Japanese ancestry. The majority of the participants are Nisei, since the Issei attend their own service (Service B), and many of the Sansei and Yonsei are in Sunday at the time. The service is conducted primarily in English. Certain ritual phrases are spoken in Japanese and one phase contains ritual statements in the Pali language. The congregation of Service B, conducted on Sunday afternoon, can be divided into two groups. The Issei may average nine men and twenty women (though at one service there were only two elderly ladies in the congregation because of bad weather). The other group is composed of those who prefer the Japanese language service. These would include the three senseis' wives, some new immigrants, and so on. This service is conducted exclusively in Japanese.

Service A

The service begins with the ringing of the temple bell (kane) (PLATE XI) by one of the sensei. Upon hearing this bell, those who have not entered the meditation hall do so. The people entering bow slightly toward the front of the room with their hands clasped in the attitude of the gassho and then find seats. Usually, some people are already seated. Conversation ceases as the people file into the area.

After the participants have entered and are silent, the pastor sounds the ritual keisu (gong) (PLATE XII). The loud, clear sound reverbrates throughout the temple for several seconds, as its purpose is to give the congregation the opportunity to meditate. The service book states, "When a beautiful sound is heard, we listen to its resonance through to the soundless sound upon which depends the meditation". The sensei then silences the echoing. The chairman goes to the koro (incense-burner) (PLATE XIII), sprinkles some incense into it, bows, and holds his hands in the gassho while repeating the Nembutsu (a Shinshu ritual formula: Namu Amida Butsu, 'Praise to the Buddha of Infinite Light'). Finishing this he takes his place at the microphone. The chairman is a person (man or woman) who has been chosen previously to lead the congregation in the responses during the service. It is his responsibility to keep the service in its proper order and to initiate specific phases of the ceremony. On a nodded cue

from the pastor, who is seated with the other two sensei on the raised area at the front of the meditation hall, the chairman welcomes the congregation, asks the people to rise, and reads the "Aspiration". (The phrase titles are always in English unless otherwise noted). The chairman reads,

With deepest reverence and compassion, we are here together in the spirit of Gautama, the Buddha, the Enlightened One. Life is One. We are One with the Buddha. We are One with the Teaching We are One in the spirit of Universal Brotherhood. We resolve to be earnest followers of the Buddha and to dedicate our lives to the Way he has pointed out. Then, may we like him attain the noblest and most peaceful state of Nirvana.

The gong is rung after the reading and the pastor recites the "Homage". This is a Pali excerpt from the Pansil.

Pansil, a contraction of Pancha Sila, the Five Rules of Morality, is the name given to a recitation used in the Theravada (tradition) for many purposes. It is 'taken' individually before a Buddhist Shrine or collectively at the beginning of a Buddhist meeting of any kind. It begins with the Praise of the Buddha, thrice repeated. This is followed by the Refuge formula, also repeated three times. Finally, come five affirmations difficult to translate with an easily memorable phrase (Humphrey 1969:240).

The sensei chants, "Namo Tassa Bhagavato Arahato Sammasam Buddhassa", and the congregation replies with a gloss, "Homage to Buddha, the Exalted One, the Enlightened One, the Supremely Awakened One". Then, the same sensei begins the "Tisarana" (again an excerpt from the Pali text).

The sensei's statements and the congregation's responses are:

Sensei: Buddham Saranam Gacchami.

Cong. : I go to Buddha for guidance. Namu Ki-e Butsu. I shall become One with the Buddha. I resolve that I shall each day follow the Way of Life he laid down for us to walk and awaken to his supreme wisdom.

Sensei: Dhammam Saranam Gacchami.

Cong. : I go to the Dharma for guidance. Namu Ki-e Ho. I shall become one with the Dharma. The gates of Dharma are manifold, I vow to enter them all. The goal of wisdom is ever beyond, I shall attain it.

Sensei: Sangham Saranam Gacchami.

Cong. : I go to the Sangha for guidance. Namu Ki-e So. I shall become One with the Sangha. In the spirit of Universal Brotherhood and as a member of the Sangha, I pledge myself to strive for the enlightenment of all beings.

This is an oral restatement of the "Three Treasures" of Buddhist ideology. The three concepts form an essential foundation for Buddhism.

When the recitation is over, the chairman asks everyone to sit. He (or she) picks two people, usually a man and a woman, to represent the congregation during the incense offering which occurs during the next phase of the service. The chairman also announces the "Chanting of the Sutra". There are two sutras used by this temple for chanting during Service A. One is the Juni Rai, chanted on special occasions; the other is the Tanbutsuge, used for regular services.

The same sensei strikes the keisu twice and chants the

first line of the Tanbutsuge. The analysis of the chant appears as Appendix A. The congregation and the other sensei then come in. At the end of the chant, the sensei strikes the keisu once more. He proceeds to chant, "Namu Amida Butsu", a single time. The keisu sounds loudly again. The other sensei join him for a series of three Nembutsu after which the keisu is struck. The pastor begins to chant the first line of a short verse in Japanese:

Gan i shi ku doku
byo do se issai
do ho bo dai
o jo an raku koku.

'I vow through this merit
to practice charity equally to all
in the same brotherly bodhi spirit
in order to be reborn in Paradise'.

The other sensei join in at the second line. The keisu is sounded once after an, again after raku, and a third time after koku with a hard blow so that the note is long and loud.

During the chanting, the representatives have offered incense. They approach the koro, assume the gassho, bow, offer the incense, repeat the action murmuring the Nembutsu, and return to their seats. After the Tanbutsuge, the chairman reads the "Incense Offering",

When a person burns incense, there is a thought that just as this incense burns, it is our joy to diffuse sweet fragrance. There are many different incense of varied colors and shapes--but when it burns, it transcends its individual shape and color and becomes one in the smoke . . . symbolizing the

transcending of individual selfishness or ego to become one with all others . . . to become one with the Oneness of Life.

The chairman asks the congregation to stand and he leads everyone in a reading of the "Four Noble Truths" and the "Eightfold Path". He begins,

Upon his enlightenment, Buddha gave his first sermon in beautiful Deer Park on the outskirts of Benares in north-east India. The contents of this first sermon were the Four Noble Truths and the Eightfold Path, which are the foundation of the Buddhist Teachings. Let us recite them now so that each of these words may become more meaningful and one with our life.

All sit when this is finished and the chairman announces who will read the selection from the "Dhammapada" (Path of Virtue), one of the works of the Buddhist Canon, and who will deliver the "Message". The selections from the "Dhammapada" are in English with obvious moral lessons in their content. The sensei who leads the reading steps in front of the altar, bows with his hands in the gassho attitude, recites the Nembutsu three times, and then goes to the lectern. When the "Dhammapada" reading is finished, all repeat the Tisarana in English once. They say, "I go to the Buddha for guidance. I go to the Teaching for guidance. I go to the Brotherhood for Guidance". The sensei again recites the Nembutsu to himself, bowing slightly to the book in an act of respect.

The "Message" is the central part of the ceremony. It is generally a talk devoted to some moral lesson taken from

Buddhist tradition or from a current event, or to the clarification of a Buddhist concept (e.g., tariki versus jiriki), or to an explanation of some aspect of Buddhist symbolism. The familiar procedure of bowing, gassho, and recitation is repeated by the sensei who is to deliver the "Message". When the sensei has completed his lecture, he repeats the Nembutsu (gassho and bow, holding his service book and ojuzu) and returns to his seat.

The chairman asks a few members of the congregation to help collect the "Offertory" after the "Message" has been delivered. This is done quickly and the collection baskets are put next to the incense-burner.

The chairman asks all to stand for the "Closing Meditation". The pastor goes to the lectern and reads,

May the wisdom of Buddha, the All-Compassionate One, so shine within us that the errors and vanities of self may be dispelled (sic). So shall we understand the changing nature of existence and awaken into spiritual peace.

The congregation answers,

I pledge myself to strive for the enlightenment of all beings. I pledge myself to renounce all wrong desires. I pledge myself to follow the Laws of the Eightfold Path.

The sensei replies, "To the Buddha, the Enlightened One", and the congregation responds,

who promised to be present in his Teachings, we pledge our loyalty and devotion. We consecrate our lives to the way of life he laid down for us to walk. We resolve to follow

his example and labor earnestly for the enlightenment and welfare of all mankind.

With this completed, the gensel and the congregation form the gassho and repeat the Nembutsu three times. The service is over.

Before the congregation disperses, the chairman asks for any announcements. If there are none, he may thank the congregation for attending the service and request that the participants move to the foyer for tea. The time involved in the performance of the service is usually one hour. Fifteen or twenty minutes might elapse during the phases prior to the "Message". The "Message" may be twenty or thirty minutes. The remaining time is used for the "Concluding Meditation" and announcements. After the service, those who do not return home carry out temple business, socialize over tea and cakes, or pursue their own interests in temple activities.

Service B

This service, too, begins with the ringing of the temple bell (kane). While some people may already be in the meditation hall, the remaining congregation enters upon this signal. As the people enter the temple, they bow with their hands in the gassho. Most of them carry the ojuzu (meditation beads). The members engage in conversation, bowing as they see acquaintances, and generally sit with men on the right and women on the left. One woman repeatedly sits on the right of

the meditation hall when she attends and, when asked if she did so for any particular reason, she replied in the negative.

After all have seated themselves and the sensei are in their chairs, the keisu is rung once. The congregation begins meditation and the chaman (chairman) goes to the koro to offer incense. He then stands at the microphone and greets the assemblage in the formal Japanese language style which he will use throughout the service. From this location, he announces which sutra will be chanted. Three sutras may be used by this congregation for chanting. At shotsuki-hoyo (memorial services), the sensei chant the Bussetsu Amida Kyo (the Amida Buddha Sutra); the Tanbutsuge is chanted for special, shortened services; while the Shoshinge (Song of Right Faith) is used for the usual service. The Shoshinge is the appropriate chant for this analysis.

The keisu is rung twice and the pastor begins the chant. He recites the first line, "Kimyo muryo ju Nyorai", 'We must return our lives to Nyorai's realm', and then the congregation and the other sensei accompany him for the next ninety-one lines. The pastor recites the ninety-second line, "Zendo doku myo bussho i", 'The Buddha's true mind Zendo alone made clear'. Everyone follows for twenty-seven more lines. During the last line, "Yui ka shin shi ko so se", 'Merely have good faith in this high priest's thoughts', the keisu is rung after shi and the ko (high) so (priest) se (thought) are said while

the sound of the gong lingers.

During the chanting of the second section of Shinran Shonin's (1173-1263, popularizer of Shin Buddhism) work, the congregation performs the "Offertory". Usually the ladies rise first and line up single-file in front of the koro. They are followed by the men. The order, however, is not strictly maintained. Each person offers incense and puts his contribution in the basket. The ojuzu is a necessary instrument for respect at this time and one woman who had no meditation beads was seen borrowing an ojuzu from a man seated nearby. Since the procession may take some time, it often continues into the chanting of the next phase.

The keisu is rung again. The pastor chants the Nembutsu and sounds the gong once more. The other sensei join him and intone the Nembutsu about four times. They then chant,

Mida jobutsu no ko ni no kata wa
ima ni jikko o hetamaeri
hosshin no korin ki wa monaku
ee no momyo o terasunari.

'Ever since Amida became the Buddha
until now, ten ko have passed,
from the Dharma's body, the circle
of light has no limit, it shines
upon the world's ignorance'.

The chanting of the Nembutsu resumes. Again, the pastor chants, "Gedatsu no korin wa monashi", 'Enlightenment's circle of light is limitless', and the others reply,

Ko soku ka mu ru mono wa mina
u mu o hanaru to no betamo

kotaku ka mu ra nu mono zonasa
nanshiki o kimyo seyo.

'The light touches everyone; the Buddha truly said that it departs from being and non-being. No one is not shown its luster; we must return our lives to what is inconceivable'.

The chanting of the Nembutsu continues. After a short time, the pastor intones, "Shojo komyo narashibinashi", 'Thanks to the pure light there is no equal to this'. He is then followed by the others who chant,

Gushi ko no yuenareba
issai no goke mono zokorinu
hitsu kyo e o kimyo seyo.

'As we encounter this light
All karma and sufferings are discarded;
We must return to that which can finally
be depended upon'.

The pastor recites, "Gan i shi ku doku", 'I vow on this merit', and the others come in with,

Byo do se issai
do ho bo dai shin
o jo an raku koku.

'to practice charity equally to all
in the same brotherly bodhi spirit
in order to be reborn in Paradise'.

After each of the final three words, an (peace), raku (peaceful), and koku (country), the keisu is rung once, greater emphasis being placed on the stroke following koku. While the sound hangs in the air, the sensei and some in the congregation quickly recite the Nembutsu beginning a short period of meditation.

The chaman (chairman) announces the gata (gatha, song) for that particular day. All stand and, as the piano accompanies them, they sing such hymns as: "Hotoke no Kodomo" (The Buddha's Children), "Shinshu Shuka" (Shinshu Anthem), "Kiyoki Madoi" (Happy Purity), and "Ondoku San" (In Praise of Favored Virtue). One of the favorites of this congregation is "Nori no Miyama" (The Mountain of the Law).

When the singing is finished and all are still standing, the pastor recites the beginning of the "Sankiemon" (Document of the Three Beliefs). He says,

Jin shin uke gatashi, ima sude ni uku.
 Buppo kiki gatashi, ima sude ni kiku.
 Konomi konjo ni oite dose zunbo,
 sara ni izure no sho ni oite ka konomi o dosen.
 Dai shu morutomoni,
 Shishin ni sanbo ni kieshi tatematsubeshi.

'It is difficult to receive the human form,
 now already I have received it. It is
 difficult to hear the Dharma, now already
 I have listened to it. Unless I save
 this body in this life, in which life
 shall I save it. With the great multitudes,
 I must wholeheartedly believe in and revere
 the Three Treasures'.

The congregation and the sensei then chant,

Mizukara butsu ni kieshi tatematsuru.
 Masa ni negawaku wa shujo totomoni,
 dai do o taikeshite, mujoi o oisan.
 Mizukara ho ni kieshi tatematsuru.
 Masa ni negawaku wa shujo totomoni,
 fukaku kyoze ni irete, chie umi no gotoku naran.
 Mizukara so ni kieshi tatematsuru.
 Masa ni negawaku wa shujo totomoni,
 dai shu o torishite, issai muge naran.

'I must personally believe in and revere the Buddha. Truly I wish, with other people, to understand the great Way and give birth to the highest spirit. I must personally believe in and revere the Dharma. Truly I wish, with other people, to enter deeply into the Dharma-house, my wisdom will be like the sea. I must personally believe in and revere the Sangha. Truly I wish, with other people, to make peace with all things and to become without hindrance in everything'.

The pastor then recites,

Mujo shinshin mimyo ho ho wa,
hyaku sen man go ni mo ai a u
ni to katashi. Ware ima ken mon
shi juji suru koto o etari.
Negawaku wa nyorai no shinjitsu
gi o geshi tatematsuran.

'I am not able to encounter in this life this highest, most profound, and subtle Dharma in the time covered by 100, 1000, or 10,000 ko. But I have been able to see, hear, and receive this faith. I wish to understand and revere the true meaning of Nyorai'.

When he finishes this, all bow, hold their hands in the gassho attitude, and recite the Nembutsu several times. Then everyone sits.

The chairman goes to the microphone again and announces who will be the speaker for the "Message" of the day. That particular sensei who is to speak goes to the lectern, while the others either remain where they are or sit with the congregation. The speaker may bow to the congregation who then bows with the gassho in return. Topics in the "Message" cover such aspects as: having the necessary perspective concerning life and death; the explanation of more complex

issues of Buddhist ideology; the impact of certain sensei upon the lives of others and their role in living the precepts of Buddhism; the importance of respect and acceptance in everyday life; and the use of other examples which tend toward a conservative interpretation of life.

Several titles, phrases, and terms often appear in the oral "Message" and their frequency of usage in the sermon and the ceremony reflects the import that they carry for the congregation. The titles; (1) Nyorai (Tathagata, Thus Come), (2) Hotokesama (The Buddha), and (3) Oshakasama (Holy Shaka-muni), refer to different ideological aspects of the Buddha. Two significant phrases express distinct ideological concepts and the concerns of the congregation. Makoto no kokoro (the heart of truth) is a Shinshu ideal which is often held before the congregation as a desirable achievement. The verb, shinu (to die), is replaced by the euphemism, ojo suru, which connotes passing away and being reborn in Paradise. As an expression of religious belief and a sign of the congregation's interests, it is most effective. A series of terms also shows the ideological background and emotional expressions that find an outlet during this ritual ceremony. Some of these are; (1) Jodo (Paradise), (2) bonno (the passions), (3) inochi (life), (4) ningen (mortal), (5) shinjin (faith), (6) jinsen (existence), (7) shinjitsu (truth, reality), (8) jiriki (selfishness), and (9) tariki (outside help, reliance upon

others, salvation by faith).

After the "Message", the chairman may comment upon the talk. He thanks the speaker and announces the song which is to be sung. Usually the hymn will be the last few verses of the one which was sung earlier. If the other sensei have been seated in the congregation for the "Message", they will remain there for the rest of the service. At the request of the chairman, everyone stands and the piano accompaniment, played by a sensei's wife, begins. With the end of the song, the congregation remains standing. The pastor recites the Nembutsu and the congregation repeats it after him. This is done three times. The service is completed.

Service B (the borrowed English word, sabisu, is appropriate for this ceremony since there is no satisfactory label in Japanese) lasts about an hour. The phases prior to the "Message" usually take from twenty to thirty minutes. The "Message" may be of similar duration. The concluding component may last five minutes or less.

Comparison and Conclusions

As has been previously mentioned in the introduction, the two services, as related manifestations of a basic ritual ceremony, satisfy a variety of needs for the temple membership. It is first necessary to present a comparison of the organizational formats of the services in order to proceed

with the analysis of symbolic content and structure. After the organization of the services has been illustrated, differences between them as responses to the needs of the two congregations can be developed.

There is an obvious degree of structural dissimilarity between the two services. Figure 7 shows the structural characteristics of the services. Those episodes of the ceremony which show intrinsic relationships of symbolic content and general structural unity have been designated phases. The phases are further subdivided into components which are the processual steps necessary to the development of the symbolic content of the service. These phases and components were found through four means. Formal statements of the organization of the services were of great assistance. Informants' perceptual observations supported the symbolic organization and formal structure suggested to the informants by the researcher. Note was made of changes in the physical attitudes of the participants, and fluctuations in the degree of tension, or emotion, present in the congregation also contributed to the construction of the phases and components.

The most important features noted in Figure 7 are the use of the kane (temple bell) to initiate the service, the symbolic keisu (gong) which creates periods of meditation in contrast to its use in signalling structural changes, the rather unorthodox composition of Service A in Phases 1 and 3, the

Figure 7

PHASE STRUCTURES OF THE SERVICES

SERVICE A	SERVICE B
Phase 1 1. Temple bell rung 2a. Symbolic <u>keisu</u> 2b. "Aspiration" 2c. Symbolic <u>keisu</u> 3. "Homage" 4. " <u>Tisarana</u> "	Phase 1 1. Temple bell rung 2. Symbolic <u>keisu</u> 3. Chanting of " <u>Shoshinge</u> " 4. "Offertory"
Phase 2 1. <u>Keisu</u> 2. Chanting of <u>sutra</u> , " <u>Tanbutsuge</u> " 3. <u>Keisu</u>	Phase 2 1. <u>Keisu</u> 2. Chanting of " <u>Nembutsu</u> " and text 3. <u>Keisu</u>
Phase 3 1. "Incense Offering" 2. "Four Noble Truths and Eightfold Path" 3. " <u>Dhammapada</u> " 4. "Message" 5. "Offertory"	Phase 3 1. " <u>Gatha</u> " (1a) 2. " <u>Sankiemon</u> " (1b) 3. "Message" (2) 4. " <u>Gatha</u> " (3a) 5. " <u>Nembutsu</u> " (3b)
Phase 4 1. <u>Keisu</u> 2. "Closing Meditation"	

difference in the orientation of the "Message" component which has already been shown, and the typical employment of songs in Service B which is not usual for Service A.

Comparison of the phase structures of the two services does show some similarities. Service A, composed of four phases, resembles Service B's three phases insofar as each has a recitation of the foundation of Buddhism (the Three Treasures), an "Offertory" of varying symbolic value and ritual importance, a distinct second phase which is both symbolically individual and group oriented, and a "Message", or "howa" (lit., Dharma speech; sermon) component whose intrinsic importance is common to both services.

Of greatest significance is the symbolic content which varies between the two services. The processual character of the phase structures of the two services suggests a symbolic content and structure which is also supplemented by the various multivocal symbols found in the temple. It is claimed that the form of the Buddhist ideology disseminated by this temple lays great emphasis on the role of the individual concerning the course of action and the responsibilities which one assumes upon accepting and practicing that particular model for salvation. This emphasis could possibly reach an extreme in which the temple community would splinter as each member attempted to pursue his own salvation independent of the lives of others. A prime example of this is the basic assumption

held by some members of the temple that a stratified organization is a hindrance to the ideal practice of Buddhist philosophy and, so, the temple structure is an obstacle to the individual's pursuit of enlightenment. It is also noteworthy that there is no negative obligatory moral force behind the attendance of the ceremony. Attendance is a highly personal endeavor and decision.

The general structure of the services, therefore, emphasizes the group and its role in assisting the individual to reach salvation and the necessity of the individual to depend on aid outside his own powers (e.g., the devoting of a whole "Message" toward the explanation of jiriki and tariki).

The symbolic content and structures of Service A and Service B will be analyzed and a comparison of the different structures and different symbolic emphases will be given in Chapter III.

The variation in structure of the services suggests that the ritual ceremonies may have arisen in response to different needs felt by the two congregations. This is supported by the fact that Service A is presently undergoing modification in structure as its congregation experiences more effects of culture change. The extent of this change and adaptation will be examined in Chapter IV.

Service A, principally in English, is comprehensible to those who attend. It strives to create a desirable religious

atmosphere where there may not have been one, to bring about personal satisfaction with the ritualized behavior, and to instill a sense of spirituality that reinforces social norms.

The service is currently undergoing changes in structure and interpretation. A visitor to the temple said that the service he had just attended reminded him of an Unitarian service. Service A is the result of a process in culture change that is still in action. Service B, while exhibiting change to some degree, has retained enough of a traditional character so that the Issei congregation can still get a satisfactory "religious feeling" from attending it.

Service B, the sabisu, is the result of an interesting condition. Many of the Issei do not feel that they can relate to the style of expression in Service A. They are not comfortable with the English language; their Shinshu backgrounds are firmly established; and, as they approach the end of life, their hope in a favorable future condition after death is a growing concern. Service B provides the occasion where they can find some reassurance.

A brief summary of the kinds of differences between the two services shows that three types can now be listed. The first contains those organizational features which are illustrated in Figure 7. These structural phases and components are the means which construct, develop, and elaborate upon the second type of differences. This second type contains the

symbolic contextual variations found in the ceremonies. The third type shows the adaptive features which have taken place. These are such things as the English (with Japanese and Pali) and Japanese language distinction in the performance of the ceremonies, the use of various Buddhist schools' contributions in the construction of the services, and the elements of culture change which are shaping the organization of Service A.

CHAPTER III

COMPARATIVE SYMBOLIC ANALYSIS OF THE TWO SERVICES

The chapter deals with the analysis of the symbolism, in the structure and content of the services and in the cultural artifacts, found at the temple. To facilitate the organization of this discussion, Service A will be examined first and then Service B. The phase structure of each service will be listed and each phase will also be subdivided into its component parts so that the processual development of the service will be more apparent. Finally, the necessary comparison and concluding remarks will be given.

Service A: Symbolic Content and Structure

Service A is composed of four phases. Phase 1 consists of; (1) the ringing of the kane, (2a) the symbolic keisu, (2b) the "Aspiration", (2c) another symbolic keisu, (3) the "Homage", and (4) the "Tisarana". Phase 2 is made up of the ringing of the keisu, the "Chanting of the Sutra" and a short period of meditation, and another keisu. Phase 3 consists of five components. They are; (1) the "Incense Offering", (2) the "Four Noble Truths and the Eightfold Path", (3) the "Dhammapada", (4) the "Message", and (5) the "Offertory". Phase 4 is the

final keisu and the "Closing Meditation".

Phase 1

Phase 1 of Service A begins with the ringing of the kane (temple bell). This in itself is not a symbolic act. It is a signal to the congregation that a special time, a ritual period, is about to commence. The sound of the keisu (gong) is both a signal to the congregation that a phase has begun and a symbolic representation for a period of meditation. While the sound of the gong is in the air, the congregation gathers its thoughts, pays the proper respects to the Buddha and the ancestors, and meditates. The gong is a mobile element; moving from the symbolic (when used to initiate a meditative attitude) to the non-symbolic (when it is employed as a timing device or a phase marker).

After the introduction to the meditation, all stand and the chairman reads the "Aspiration", or meditation, which is the second component of the phase. The chairman acts collectively for the congregation; creating the proper mood of respect and humility, stating the foundation of belief and the basic unity of all things, and giving the resolve necessary to pursue the way to salvation. The chairman begins by saying, "We are here together". It is proposed that this phrase is the first oral indicator (in conjunction with his spatial location) which shows his symbolic transitory position. He is

both partial generator of the ritual and a representative of the collective spirit present in the congregation.

The members of the congregation read the passage as the chairman speaks and when the symbolic gong sounds again, they are prepared for the last two components of Phase 1. The chairman has introduced, at this point, the theme of unity and, in the "Homage", the sensei and congregation recite the first attributes of praise. This begins the third and fourth components of Phase 1 in which the individual expression of belief and resolve is stated. The sensei presents three primary tenets of the ideology, each person replies with his acceptance, and finally the individual's vow to pursue these tenets is given with the statement of the "Tisarana". The service has come to the end of Phase 1.

Two overt themes permeating the service are those of revering the Buddha and the oral expression of the unity of existence as proposed by Buddhist philosophy. Beside the two overt themes, the underlying current of the individual's attempts at salvation versus the necessity to maintain the group's cohesiveness is beginning to emerge (Figure 8). The chairman acts as a mediating factor, being neither sensei nor of the congregation as such. He leads the congregation in the recitation of common beliefs and norms, thus stressing a common goal and interests. The "Homage" and the "Tisarana" are more individual-oriented and, at the same time, occur as

Figure 8

REPRESENTATION OF THE SYMBOLIC
CONTENT OF SERVICES A AND B

	SERVICE A	SERVICE B
PHASE 1	emergence of themes: individualism in the practice of the ideology and the pursuit of salvation; necessity to maintain group cohesion	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. individual sentiments find expression in chanting 2. formal requirements are fulfilled 3. offertory enables individuals to act in united effort with visible results
PHASE 2	overt group activity marked by extreme individualized interpretation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. individual fulfillment and satisfaction through group reproduction of ideological requirements

(cont.)

Figure 8

REPRESENTATION OF THE SYMBOLIC
CONTENT OF SERVICES A AND B

(cont.)

	SERVICE A	SERVICE B
PHASE 3	<p>use of symbolic activity and explanations of symbolic artifacts to resolve conflict between individual extremism and a necessity to preserve group cohesion</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. individual satisfaction through reiteration of group beliefs 2. individual needs met by moral lessons, stereotyped behavior, and ritual formula 3. necessity for group unity met by social conditions and forces in traditional culture; reinforced by communal effort in service
PHASE 4	<p>reiteration of individual determination in group setting</p>	

acts of the group. It is still necessary to have an event or some behavior which is primarily group-oriented.

Phase 2

Phase 2 begins and ends with the ringing of the gong. The "Chanting of the Sutra" (Component 2), while overtly a group activity, is, under examination, an extremely individualistic action. Although it is remarked in the service book that,

Everyone will participate vocally in the chanting. Your active participation signifies the ideals of Oneness. Many different voices in many ranges all joined in chanting combine into a harmony that is wondrous and inspiring,

the actual attitudes of the chanters vary considerably (Figure 8). Some do, indeed, chant with the growing feeling of group oneness, others chant for the individual effect upon their religious awareness, others chant to express the ideas contained in the Tanbutsuge, and a few do not chant at all. When the chanting of the sutra is completed, the sensei recite the Nembutsu, the Shinshu ritual formula, itself spoken of as a symbol of Oneness (unity). It is followed by the "Gan i shi ku doku", 'I vow through this merit', verse emphasizing the expression of Paradise with the ringing of the gong.

Phase 3

The ringing of the gong at the end of the previous phase also marks the beginning of Phase 3, the central point

of the ritual service. One of the most important multivocal symbols employed in the entire ceremony has been surrounded with its own phase component. The burning of incense by representatives of the congregation is actively stressed as a symbolic activity with the unification of group aspirations as its goal. The chairman reads the "Incense Offering" and two representatives, a man and a woman, offer the incense. The congregation is quite consistent in its interpretations of this symbolic activity, although some also see incense as a means to express respect to the deceased and the Buddha and as a reflection of the transiency of life. At any rate, the activity comes very close to reconciling the individual and his membership in the group since it deals with the needs of both. It was stated by an informant that,

Incense is a symbol which signifies the spirit of self-purification and self-dedication. Incense has the potential of producing a sweet fragrance; only when it burns does it diffuse this fragrance. When a person burns incense, there is a thought that, just as this incense burns, it is our joy . . . to diffuse sweet fragrance: 'I will dedicate my body for higher purposes, more than just for myself'. A person who is always willing to go more than half way in helping others, who is friendly and amiable, such a person is always liked by others and such a person diffuses a sweet fragrance of personality as incense diffuses its fragrance.

Incense has different colors and different shapes. Some kinds of incense are powdered; others are in the form of sticks or cakes of various shapes. There are also different colors: purple, black, yellow, green, and brown. But regardless of the shape or color, when incense

burns it transcends its individual shape and color and becomes one in the smoke. This symbolizes the transcending of individual selfishness or ego to become one with all others, to become one with the oneness of life.

Incense is used in the same sense as in the offering of flowers. It is offered in memory of the Buddha. It is another form of meditation.

As a note, the Japanese at one time refined the appreciation of fragrant incense to an art-form and the quality of incense burned during a ritual could greatly affect the sense perceptions of the actors who were aware of its beauty. In this context, the comment that the incense used in this ceremony is "cheap stuff, bad for hay fever" and not really helpful in meditation was made. This stresses the importance of the total act upon the congregation apart from the formal interpretations of the role played by the material objects.

The next component of Phase 3 is the group reading of the "Four Noble Truths and the Eightfold Path". After an introduction by the chairman in which it is remarked that, "the contents of this first sermon . . . are the foundation of Buddhist teaching. Let us recite them now so that each of these words may become more meaningful and one with our life", the congregation and sensei read the appropriate texts. The Four Noble Truths state the universal reality of life and the efficacy of Buddhist teachings. The Eightfold Path is an enumeration of the guidelines which will lead the individual

to salvation. Here again, the congregation acts as a unit in reciting individual-oriented beliefs. The stereotyped dialogue between the chairman and the congregation expresses the means whereby an individual may attain enlightenment (salvation), but it is conducted as a group activity and, in fact, the chairman concludes this component in the plural,

May the Buddha, the Enlightened One, who is present in his teachings, be our guide. May we follow his way with deepest reverence and gratitude . . . and tread upon his noble path with confident, positive steps . . . until we, too, shall awaken into enlightenment.

The third component of Phase 3, the "Reading of the Dhammapada", begins an oral exchange between a sensei and the congregation. The lessons contained within the text are illustrations of moral precepts and the result of their practice upon the group and the individual. The selections, themselves, can be interpreted on a personal level, but they are stated collectively. Each reading concludes with the whole group reciting the Three Treasures, another example of formal teachings accepted by individuals who express these in group action.

After the "Dhammapada", the apex of the service is reached in the fourth component of Phase 3. Up to this point, there have been stereotyped dialogues conducted which involve the congregation, the chairman, and the sensei stressing the confirmation of the group's ideology by each individual. The

"Message" provides the opportunity for the sensei (as ritual specialists) to disseminate their knowledge of the Buddhist faith, based on formal training, to the congregation which is always forming personalized interpretations of the ideology. The "Message" is, therefore, a concentrated effort by the religious leadership to convey to and instill within the congregation a formal understanding of the ideology. The context of the "Message" component provides the congregation with the synthesis of the trends appearing in the earlier phases and components by bringing together the problem of individual and group interests in the explication and emphasis of symbolic elements (Figure 8).

Several symbols are repeatedly emphasized and it is suggested that these symbols best reconcile the need for individual expression and the necessity to reinforce group solidarity through shared ideological tenets.

The first symbol is the statue of the Amida Buddha (PLATE XIV). It is stated by informants that,

The Buddha image is a symbol of an ideal, the enlightened one. It represents perfect compassion and perfect wisdom.

The Buddha image is not an idol as many non-Buddhists think. While it is placed upon the altar, it also exists in our minds and hearts. Buddhists do not worship the image: in fact, the word 'worship' as it is known in the West does not exist in Buddhism. The word 'Buddha' means Enlightened One. Buddha was a man, a human being, just as you and I are, but he was enlightened; that is to say, he came to understand the truth about life and the world and he

lived that truth.

The image is the artistic creation of an artist, representing the highest ideal of the perfect one. The Buddha image is not absolutely necessary to have a Buddhist temple. Without the Buddha image, we could still have temples. However, it is nice to have the Buddha image. It is a point of focus. It is a reminder. We obtain inspiration by which we encourage ourselves to attain enlightenment.

There are many different statues of Buddhas as well as the Gautama Buddha, the historical Buddha. There are many statues of the ideal Buddha such as the Amitabha Buddha, Vairocana Buddha, Bhesajyaguru, and others. The Amitabha or Amida Buddha is the ideal Buddha that existed in the mind and heart of Gautama Buddha. Amitabha Buddha is the symbol of eternal life and boundless light or the symbol of compassion and wisdom. Amitabha was the living principle or essence of life. The Vairocana Buddha is the symbol of the source of life, growth, and all activities in our physical world. Buddha images are religious and artistic expressions of Man's ideal and adoration.

It is apparent that this symbol is of central importance to the group. As the tangible, visual image of a historical personage who gained the objective of enlightenment, or salvation, thus making his own life an example for each person to follow, he is the ideal to which one can aspire. But the Buddha has given a set of precepts which guide his followers. The role of the Buddha as a teacher (as sensei) who has united, under a common cause, those who could possibly go their own ways in the pursuit of salvation, creates a cohesive factor in maintaining the unity of the group.

The symbolism of incense is also often explained during the "Message". Its symbolic value has already been examined in the analysis of the "Incense Offering".

Another important symbol is the ojuzu (PLATE XV). This is a common Buddhist religious artifact and its interpretations by different sects are widespread (e.g., Murata 1969; Spiro 1970). The form of ojuzu is varied and the photograph shows the type used by the temple's membership. One sensei often carries a full set (one hundred eight beads) during the service.

An interpretation of the artifact from formal Shinshu doctrine states that,

The religious use of the rosary arose in India thousands of years ago. The Buddhists probably invented it. From India, the rosary slowly spread to other religions around the world.

The full Buddhist rosary usually has one hundred eight beads. These represent the fifty-four human passions and the fifty-four human virtues. Some people use half a chaplet. Then the fifty-four beads recall the steps in the path to Buddhahood. A chaplet of twenty-seven beads reminds Buddhists of the twenty-seven ranks or levels of the spiritually awakened.

The three main beads symbolize the Buddha, his Law or Teachings, and his Congregation.

When the string of beads is put over the hands as the palms are pressed together, they call to mind the teaching that the Buddha and the Ordinary Man are one in essence.

However, the members of the temple interpret the beads along

somewhat different lines. One person remarked,

Meditation beads are a symbol of unity and harmony. The strand is composed of beads strung on a string, each bead representing an individual. However, the bead is not isolated and independent but is connected with all others to compose a whole strand of beads. We individuals may seem independent, but we are not independent and isolated individuals. We are related to each other in the association of life which we call Buddha nature or Buddha thought. We are interrelated and interdependent, one cannot exist without the others. Thus, meditation beads symbolize unity of all being and harmony among them.

This article is a primary multivocal symbol for the congregation. The iconic quality is readily observable: beads= individuals=interdependence. The oretic pole consists of the product itself. Its normative pole bridges the gap between extreme individualism and absolute group unification. The constant emphasis on the ojuzu as a symbol of oneness (the individual being a part of all existence) is an adjunct to the use of the meditation beads as a sign of membership in a particular group sharing common ideological doctrines.

Another significant symbol, an activity characterized by a bodily attitude and a vocalization, is the gassho (PLATE XVI). An informant stated that,

Gassho is the highest form of respect symbolizing unity. Gassho is performed by putting the palms of both hands together in front of your heart. One palm represents the subject, the other represents the object. The object may be the Buddha, teacher, mother, wife or husband, or whatever one chooses. It symbolizes the unity of oneself and the others. In the Gassho, a carnal man and enlightened Buddha become one; the individual and

the Buddha are transcended to oneness. When this is expressed in words, it is 'Namu Amida Butsu'. 'Namu' is to inspire honor and become one; 'Amida' is eternal life and boundless light which is the essence of all beings. Therefore, when one recites 'Namu Amida Butsu', the one who recites becomes one with the Amida Buddha, transcending the petty selfishness of the individual.

The gassho is at one time, a sign of membership, a sign of respect, and a symbol of the individual's expression of his belief and his feeling of belonging to a group united in a common effort. By emphasizing the elimination of the subject-object distinction, an inseparable bond is created, joining all, especially those who adhere to the ideology and who manifest their membership by using this particular expression. It is also significant that the gassho is performed with the ojuzu often either on one hand, over both hands, or on one wrist, thus making more emphatic the point of unification with all things.

A symbol which is less apparent to the congregation and whose significance may only be partially explained during the "Message" is the temple itself. The temple is seen as a place of learning and not properly a place of worship (since this activity can be carried out in one's home). Extending this one step, the interpretations of its normative pole can show highly individualistic variations in meaning. Each person who goes to the temple gets something from his attendance which is applicable to his personal life. The temple attempts to

resolve the dichotomy between the individual and the group since it also is a place where a special activity occurs, where the congregation gathers for a specific purpose, and where the community can share a common identity. Stressing the point of the individual's role in the temple community, it was mentioned during one service that is necessary for all the members of the temple to help in the maintenance of the structure because, as the speaker put it, "the church is a part of you".

There are other symbols which occur in various forms during the service. Their interpretations, though, may be limited to a small part of the congregation. An interesting example of the restriction of symbolic interpretation occurs with the construction of the koro where the incense is burned. What might be taken as a decorative motif by some is really a highly symbolic representation. It was explained that the shishi (lion) and tama (ball) are two of the most important symbols in the temple (PLATES XVII-XVIII). The lion represents the force of wisdom restraining and controlling the meanderings and fundamental instability of the mind (the ball). However, this interpretation is quite esoteric in relation to the common person's view, and is therefore of limited value as a group symbol. The congregation is more concerned with the activity of offering incense and its interpretations than with the paraphernalia involved. Another example occurs with the

wheel emblem (PLATE XII). The wheel has been formally interpreted in this way: "The spokes of the wheel are the rules of pure conduct; justice is the uniformity of their length; wisdom is the tire; modesty and thoughtfulness are the hub in which the immovable axle of truth is fixed". An interpretation of the wheel by a member of the congregation may not exist at all because of its infrequent applicability to anything which is of immediate concern to that member.

Developing this point further, candlelight (and upon examination, light in a metaphorical sense) is said to symbolize wisdom (PLATE XIX). One person said,

In our physical world we see things through a medium of light. If we do not have sun or electric light, this world of ours is so dark that we cannot see anything. In our spiritual and mental world the physical light cannot help us to see. We see only through wisdom. Wisdom is a light through which we understand the truth about life. Wisdom, which is very important in Buddhism, is differentiated from knowledge in Buddhist teaching. Knowledge, or learning, is something acquired from external sources. We can acquire knowledge through reading, listening to lectures, etc., but wisdom one cannot acquire externally; it must be created within a person's own life. Wisdom is obtained only through immediate and direct experience.

Elaborating upon the significance of light, one sensei remarked that sunshine is the "happiness at birth" that a person has, while moonlight is "the light of wisdom" because it clarifies the mind concerning the meaning and understanding of death. At any rate, the importance of light and dark can be seen in various references made during the service and in the texts

used during the ceremony.

Flowers, limited in interpretation and seldom used as a referent during the service, are another symbol. Someone said that,

Flowers are beautiful for decoration. However, flowers in Buddhist temples symbolize the teaching of transiency. The Buddha taught that all things in this world are in constant change, and nothing is permanent. Flowers are beautiful in the morning but fade in the heat of the day. Thus, the transiency of the world can be vividly seen in the flowers. The flowers remind us of this constant change of things and life. We are faced with the facts of old age, sickness, and death, regardless of whether we desire them or not.

The examples of the lion and the ball, the emblem, candlelight, and flowers form a sample of the class of symbols which are not directly involved in the ritual ceremony. Their physical manipulation is nonexistent and interpretations stated in the "Message" are very infrequent.

The last component of Phase 3 is the "Offertory". Since money matters are never mentioned from the lectern, it is the individual's responsibility to contribute as he sees fit. Representatives of the group collect the offerings and the results are placed next to the koro where offerings of a different nature have taken place.

Phase 4.

Phase 4 begins with the ringing of the gong. It is the "Closing Meditation", or denouement, of the service. The

trends have been expressed and resolved and it only remains to reiterate previous statements and decisions. A sensei reads an interpretation of the light symbol and the congregation replies with the pledge to follow the way to salvation. It is significant that this response is in the first person singular and is spoken by the group as a whole. The sensei then begins another pledge, which is given in the first person plural by the group, and that stresses the role of the community's efforts in making salvation available to all men (Figure 8). Finally, the gassho is performed as a concluding unified and unifying action.

Service B: Symbolic Content and Structure

Service B is composed of three phases. Phase 1 consists of; (1) the ringing of the kane, (2) the symbolic keisu, (3) the chanting of the Shoshinge, and (4) the "Offertory". Phase 2 is made up of the ringing of the keisu, the chanting of the Nembutsu and the associated text, and another keisu. Phase 3 has three components. They are; (1a) the "Gatha", (1b) the "Sankieumon", (2) the "Message", (3a) the "Gatha", and (3b) the recitation of the Nembutsu.

Service B, too, begins with the signal from the kane. The congregation, which may have little chance to visit during the week, takes good advantage of the opportunity to socialize prior to the service, often while it is being conducted, and afterwards during the frequent tanomoshi group meetings which

usually follow the service.

Phase 1

At the beginning of Phase 1, the keisu performs the symbolic function of aiding the congregation in meditation. It represents a means to clear the mind and to prepare for the ceremony which is to develop shortly. When the gong is rung twice more, it is a signal to commence the chanting of the sutra, or the text. The chant to be sung during the service has been announced by the chaman (chairman). It is noteworthy that no women have been picked by the sensei to lead the service, and, it was observed several times, that men who sometimes were asked to officiate demonstrated enryo (reserve, deference), unpreparedness, or unwillingness so effectively that the service was delayed a few minutes and a different person had to be chosen. The higher status of chaman carries with it responsibilities which remove the person from his usual group and place him in a transitory position. This position is not, however, primarily a symbolic straddling of the ritual specialist and the layman categories (as partial generator of the service). It is comparable to that of phase announcer and commentator.

With Phase 1 of Service B now underway, the third component, the chanting of the "Shoshinge", takes place. The Shoshinge, a religious text written by Shinran Shonin, is both a poetic tribute to the Amida Buddha and a statement of Shinshu

ideological propositions.

Several observations can be made concerning the nature of the chanting. The chant is written in kanji (Chinese characters), and cannot be read in that form by most members of the congregation. Thus the literal meaning conveyed by the characters is not understood. Those who do chant read the furigana (script alongside the kanji giving the pronunciation). The role of the sensei as ritual leader is made especially clear during the chanting because each one of them, at times, must carry on the tempo and reading when the congregation fails to respond, loses the rhythm, and so on. More importantly, the gross interpretive value of the chanting determines the separation of interests between the congregation and the sensei. The sensei, who are trained specialists, chant the text with an understanding of what is being sung and what objectives are traditionally stressed in the text. The congregation, on the other hand, participates primarily for the effect which is produced by the chanting. The setting, that is provided by the ceremony, enables the group to pursue the fulfillment of individual needs through a socially acceptable communal effort. The chanting creates the "religious feeling" wherein the congregation realizes its individual satisfaction by communicating with the hotokesama (deceased relatives, the Buddha) and by fulfilling its obligations to the ideology. The process is one in which the individual becomes receptive to ideologically

approved stimuli, resulting in the person's perception that something good, worthwhile, or satisfying has been accomplished (Figure 8).

After the utterance of the ninety-second line of the Shoshinge, the "Offertory" (Component 4) is begun. It often extends into the beginning of Phase 2. The "Offertory" overlaps because of the time element. The component is significant since it enables the members of the congregation to express their gratitude, respect, and appreciation to the Buddha, their deceased relatives, and to the temple. Each person goes to the koro, puts his monetary gift in the basket, offers incense, performs the gassho and recites the Nembutsu, and returns to his place. The atmosphere is neither very formal nor completely informal, since there is much bowing to friends and light conversation while standing in line. The "Offertory" in Service B retains a highly personalized quality while providing the congregation with the opportunity to act in a meaningful group endeavor (Figure 8). The ritual importance of the "Offertory" component, however, should not be overstressed. When the congregation is extremely small, the component may be omitted, and offerings will be made after the service.

Phase 2

Phase 2 begins with the ringing of the gong. This phase is geared toward the satisfaction of individual needs. The

constant repetition of the "Nembutsu" is said to be a sufficient act of faith in Amida to insure salvation and rebirth in Jodo (Paradise). Interlaced with comments made by Shinran reflecting on the majesty of Amida, this phase fulfills formal Shinshu belief and individual recognition of the correct procedural operations for membership in the sect, and, ultimately for salvation (Figure 8).

It is necessary to note again that the ritualized language used in the "Shoshinge" and the "Nembutsu" components may not be completely understood by the congregation which is supposed to be chanting along with the sensei. In fact, some persons may not chant at all because of the difficulty maintaining the tempo, in reading the kanji or furigana, or through personal preference. These people generally meditate upon their own lives or use the chanting as a special period in which to communicate with the hotoke-sama. One woman said, after the chanting had ceased, "Now I feel like I spoke to my parents". The chanting of the Nembutsu and the lines by Shinran ends with the ringing of the gong.

Phase 3

Phase 3 starts with the announcement by the chaman of the singing of the "Gatha" (gata, song). Phase 3 can be divided into two primary units. The first is composed of the "Gatha" and the "Sankiemon" components. The second unit is made up of the "Message", "Gatha", and "Nembutsu" components.

The first unit reflects the source of security which this service creates for the congregation. It was noted during the research for this thesis that one particular gata (song) was sung at five consecutive services, in addition to the previous times when it appeared in the schedule. It is suggested that the predictability and knowledge of this hymn helps create a feeling-an aura, perhaps-of satisfaction and reliability for those who attend the ceremony.

Of great importance, too, is the recitation of the "Sankiemon". This statement of Buddhist ideology forms the foundation of faith (the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha) in which the people believe. The text can be read, but most persons in the congregation chant their responses by memory. The sensei introduces the recitation of the Three Treasures. All chant their individual acceptance and resolve to pursue the statement of the ideology. Then the sensei voices his (collectively, for the congregation) gratefulness at being able to recite the passage. The recitation of the "Sankiemon" is significant because it coalesces the various individual sentiments, thus far developed, into a common expression of basic group ideology (Figure 8).

The second unit of Phase 3 begins with the introduction to the "Message" component. As stated previously, the directions that the lessons given in the "Message" take are of a different variety than those of Service A. It can be stated that,

generally, the topics can be divided into two classes. One class is devoted to the group and the clarification of its understanding and interpretation of the formal teachings of the Buddha, and the other class is geared toward the resolvment of any conflicts or doubts which the individual may have about his present or future life.

The explication of symbols, so predominant in Service A, is not well developed in this service. The elderly congregation that attends Service B is not so concerned with the ideological constructs which emphasize group, and on a wider scale, universal oneness. These individuals, through their own social contacts, have created a personal environment which suits them adequately and to which they have learned to adjust as best as possible. Their religious outlook is tinted by traditional Japanese social values and, as they grow older, the ultimate security offered by Shinshu doctrine becomes more real.

Some examples of the interpretations given symbolic artifacts used in Service B show that different needs are expressed and resolved in a manner varying from Service A. The congregation relates to the Amida Buddha, not so much as an example of the "ideal" personage after whom one models his life, but as a divinity watching over the individual and the group. The Buddha has given the congregation the means to salvation and, now, he aids them in attaining this goal from his

existence in Jodo. Since many of the Issei continue to pray to the kamisama (spirits, divinities of nature) in their own homes, they can satisfy very personal needs in private surroundings. The social activity of the service fulfills a need for the expression of group sentiments in an acceptable, restrained manner.

Incense and flowers suggest what was called a "passive" interpretation of the Buddhist ideology. The interpretation of the transiency of life and the impermanence of existence is thought by some in the congregation of Service A to be static, stifling, and not in the true spirit of Buddhism. This congregation, however, finds the interpretation completely compatible with its experience and especially comforting at this stage in life.

The gassho, as a sign of membership, with the recitation of the Nembutsu, is an extremely important symbolic activity. It expresses acceptance of a particular ideology, an active means to achieving salvation, and an act of respect, humility, and compassion. A woman remarked that she was greatly impressed by a well-known television personality who often clasps his hands and bows when he appears at the beginning of his talk-show. Although it is obvious that he is imitating a manner of behavior, the symbolic connotations expressed in such a physical act are favorably interpreted by these people.

The ojuzu is another symbolic artifact which is

interpreted somewhat differently by this congregation. Since these individuals learned their symbolic constructs prior to the current trend toward emphasizing group unity, there is a predominant feeling that the meditation beads represent the passions (bonno) and the virtues (toku), or the steps to Buddhahood. It is a necessary sign of respect and humility, and its conspicuous usage helps contribute to the "religious feeling" that the congregation strives to attain.

It is important to note that the period of the "Message" is of significance to the congregation of Service B for two reasons. As an informant stated, "Most of the Issei can't read the characters (i.e., the service materials in kanji) and they depend on the sensei to explain" how the texts are to be interpreted; "They come for the feeling" that arises out of communal, purposeful action. The "Message" serves to get formal interpretations of the ideology across to the congregation. It also gives each person the opportunity to analyze his own situation, or spiritual disposition, while the sensei use examples of how correct, right thinking persons made use of their faith and positions in life (Figure 8).

After the "Message", the congregation sings a hymn and recites the Nembutsu. A similar interpretation of the earlier "Gatha" can be applied again in this case. The joint recital of the ritual formula fulfills the ideological demands put upon each individual and unites the group in the production of

a religious activity that will insure salvation. The ritual formula reinforces the group's faith in its cumulative power to achieve the merits necessary to gain salvation for its members and for each individual to accelerate his own rebirth into Jodo.

Comparison and Conclusions

The most important observation in the comparison of the structure and content of Services A and B is that concerning the basic theme which is symbolically developed in each service. Service A is a ritual which strives to reconcile the need for individual expression and the necessity to maintain group cohesion. At times, these needs require aspects of the ritual ceremony to be devoted entirely to their vocalization. Their resolution is suggested and developed, and finally comes during the "Message" component when the goals and ideals of the individual and the group are shown to be one and the same. Service B, however, does not emphasize the factor of group unification to the extent that was found in Service A. In this ritual service, individual needs are more important since their ultimate fulfillment (as proposed by the ideology) is a real issue for the congregation. The role of group unity is much more covertly expressed in the structure of Service B, gaining its fullest expression in the "Message" phase.

The linguistic variations in the terminology designating

this "Message" are significant because the variations connote different emphases that reflect individual or group perceptions of the ceremonial unit. In Service A, the commonly accepted term is "Message", implying a statement delivered to the group for its spiritual benefit. Service B acknowledges more than one term which can apply to the unit. The generic ohanashi (speech) can refer to anyone's speech. A more restricted term, howa (lit., Dharma speech; a sermon), connotes a spiritually oriented oral lesson. Two other terms, kowa and kogi (both meaning a lecture) apply to the form of the presentation. The congregation of Service A recognizes the ceremonial unit as group-directed for individual interpretation; categorizing it with a single term. The congregation of Service B interprets the individual emphasis of the speech more emphatically. The unit is classified into an appropriate linguistic category depending on various factors. While the sensei speaks, his address is certain to be referred to as howa. Describing the unit as a part of the total structure of the service, it can be kowa or kogi. In a secular sense, the speech may be called ohanashi, showing that a special usage is in effect, since the o- honorific prefix is attached to the stem, -hanashi (speech). The group is united for the reception of the moral lesson, but its varied classification of the unit points to a difference in social requirements than was to be found for the congregation of Service A.

The most significant contrast between the two services is the interpretation of the symbols employed in the ritual ceremony and the understanding of the service as a social activity. Making use of a similar set of symbolic artifacts and ideological constructs, the congregation of Service A tends to interpret its set as giving meaning to the role of the individual through his membership and participation in the activity of a cohesive group. Service B fulfills personal sentiments by relating the symbolic sets, first, to the individual and his comprehension of the ideology and then to the individual and the content of his interpersonal relationships.

CHAPTER IV

SERVICES AS MANIFESTATIONS OF CULTURAL ADAPTATION

Uniqueness of the Ritual Performances in Comparison to Traditional Japanese Buddhist Ceremonies

Comparison of the ritual ceremonies found in this temple with traditional Japanese Buddhist observances is necessary so that an analysis of the services as manifestations of cultural adaptation can be carried out. As was shown earlier in the paper, the temple's ritual specialists have provided the membership with various orthodox ceremonial activities such as funerals, memorial services, and Shinsbu and traditional Japanese holiday services. The classification of Buddhism as a "funeral religion" (Norbeck 1970:111) is still somewhat applicable to some of the ritual services offered by the temple and the attitudes which they foster. Adapted changes, however, are evident in Service A and these will be examined in the next section.

The influences of culture change have been felt very strongly by the group under consideration, and a significant

shift in cultural identification can be seen in the Ise, Nisei, Sansei, and Yonsei generational sets. Service A reflects a most unique character in its construction and interpretation in relation to traditional Japanese Buddhist ceremonies. In fact, its appearance would be quite unusual even in modern Japan. One person, recently arrived from Japan, stated that "there is nothing like this in Japan. It reminds me of a Christian service". Weekly services exhibiting such an unorthodox structure whose purpose is to assemble a congregation for spiritual instruction and uplifting is not characteristic of traditional Japanese culture. It is more common for a congregation of Shinshu faithful to assemble at special times of crisis or celebration in temples in order to hear lectures or to recite the ritual formulas. At other times, attendance is an individual endeavor aimed at satisfying personal needs or social commitments. In its outward structure, therefore, Service B more closely resembles a Shinshu ritual ceremony because it involves extensive chanting and a specialized lecture.

The uniqueness of the services, especially of Service A, is most apparent when the historical origins of its components are examined. Such diverse sources as Theravada scriptural excerpts, Shinshu texts, Zen koan and anecdotes in the "Message", and so on can be found. While the Japanese penchant for seeking spiritual security in a variety of ideologies is not

a new development, such a ritualistic construction as Service A is an interesting elaboration of this ecumenical spirit.

Ideological Changes Based on Cultural Affiliation

The changing form of Service A and the relatively static structure of Service B reflect more than differences in the interpretations of symbolic designata. It is suggested that the ideological changes and differences which have arisen between Service A and Service B are the results of different degrees of identification with American cultural norms between the varying generations of the ethnic community.

The Issei and Sansei generational sets best exemplify the need to modify the basic ritual activity into two services. Most obviously, the language barrier has necessitated a split in the ritual satisfaction of personal needs. The identification of the two services by the congregations, distinguishing Service A as the "morning" service and Service B as the "afternoon" or "Issei" service, can be noted. In this way, a whole-assumed behavioral pattern is categorized in Service B. There is little purposeful social contact between Issei and Sansei groups outside the temple. The temple does provide the opportunity for the two to meet, as seldom as that may occur. The Sansei world contains a more expansive view of American culture, while the temple serves as an acceptable and pleasing focus for the Issei.

This difference in the emphasis of social foci is

reflected in temple attendance. The Issei have their own social groups associated with the temple and appear to be satisfied with the form, content, and goals of their service. The Sansei group shows a different trend. In a "State of the Temple Report" presented to the congregation, it was mentioned that relatively few temple members were involved in the functions of the temple. Beyond the current lay leaders found in the temple's organization, there has been a poor development of new leadership. Between the ages of 30-40 years, there is weak representation at the service and in the temple structure. There is hardly any representation for the group from 20-30 years of age. Kitano (1969:88) makes an interesting observation that applies well in this case.

The Sansei generation is not especially active in any church. Many have dutifully gone to Sunday school and have been baptized, but few commit themselves to serious churchgoing. Many 'shop around' and join either Christian or Buddhist churches that have good social or athletic programs. In general, they appear no more, and no less, religious than the youth of the larger community. But they may become active when they are older and have families.

In order to build an interest in the temple and in the service, both on a basic membership level and so that more youthful members will attend, certain structural changes are taking place in the performance of Service A. These changes, too, reflect the emphasis on group unity through individual participation. The changes possibly reflect movements within

the larger American cultural milieu and of recent trends in Christian churches.

Two developments are noteworthy. The first involves the selection of the chairman and the topic for the "Message". It is becoming more the practice to have the college-age youth group select a representative to be chairman for a service and to get "relevant" social topics in the "Message" component. The chairmen, whose activities were observed, did not necessarily conduct the service more effectively, but the involvement of youth and the satisfaction of the demand to relate the service to modern needs was partially fulfilled. In this same vein, the dedication of services to such topics as "Brotherhood Sunday", "Boy Scout Sunday", and even more of a departure from traditional views, "Girl Scout Sunday", shows how attempts are being made to revitalize interest in the religious practices of the temple.

The second development is interesting since it has caused some controversy in the temple. There is a certain amount of resistance to the innovation by some of the sensei and congregation, while others in the temple, the "radicals" (so called by themselves), feel that their religion is less meaningful without a further separation from the older practices. They have tried to insert a period of discussion after the "Message" which would help to solve individual misunderstandings of Buddhism, aid in making the congregation's views on subjects

of general interest known, and act as a sounding board for the congregation's reactions to the content of the sensei's lecture in the "Message". This change, considered essential by the "radicals", has been almost completely ignored by the sensei who often merely do not stop after the "Message" to ask for questions, but proceed with the service. Whether the primary concern of the sensei is for the integrity of the service or their behavior is an oversight on their part is apparently based on the particular sensei's individual interests and awareness.

In discussing the ideological changes which have sprung from membership in different generational sets warranting ritual observances which are geared to satisfy the perceived needs of the varied congregations, it is most important to note one trend that has resulted from adaptive culture change. This perceptual need is partially expressed in the innovative structural changes which are being attempted in Service A. It is also mirrored in the real separation of interests between the congregations of both services.

The designation of an "active" and a "passive" style of Buddhism is the most significant perceptual classification that is arising from the trends of culture change. Service B is used as an example of a passive interpretation of Buddhism. This implies that the Issei congregation has accepted a set of Buddhist beliefs and is striving toward the perfection of life

and the fulfillment of these beliefs according to a traditional value system. They recite the Nembutsu, lead the lives of good Buddhists, and sustain a belief in the worth of Meiji or Taisho era values, in the hopes that salvation will be given them by the Amida Buddha. Of course, they are not really troubled by such distinctions as "active" or "passive" since their lives are set and their goals are clear.

The congregation of Service A, however, is not so set in its personalized interpretations of the ideology. The need to make Buddhism a positive part of one's life has led to the distinction of the types. Service B is perceived by some as hopelessly archaic and not at all self-fulfilling. The problem of acceptance as a Buddhist precept is a good example of the distinction made. The interpretation of the phrase, "Shikata ga nai", 'It can't be helped', was used by a member of the congregation of Service A as a dividing point in the comprehension of Buddhism. It was stated that acceptance can be a reaction to an overpowering situation in which one is helpless to change the circumstances and, so, must take the results as best as possible, or acceptance can be a positive application of Buddhist ideals in which one transcends a situation to reach a better understanding of life and oneself. The interpretation of the phrase and its connotations is said to correspond to a person's interpretation of Buddhist teachings.

Those with the greatest degree of recognition and

internalization of American cultural norms, on the whole, strive to make the service an episode in which they can gather spiritual sustenance and understanding in order to live with the awareness of their religious backgrounds in their daily lives. They tend to be primarily youthful members with a smaller number of Nisei sharing a similar opinion. The "passive" interpretation of Buddhism is held by some of the Nisei and by the Issei. Needless to say, the verbal arguments that are proposed to show the better, idealistic value of an "active" interpretation of Buddhism, too, have been a cause for hostility among members of Service A's congregation.

Symbolism as an Instrument of Cultural Identity

With this understanding of the ideological undercurrents present in the two services and the previously examined differences in the interpretations of the symbolic structure, content, and designata of the services, it is suggested that the analysis of symbolism has a significant part to play in the recognition and assignment of cultural identification role behavior. In speaking about the influence of Christianity in Japan, Kitano (Ibid.:86) makes a statement which accurately describes a conclusion that can be derived from this study, if "Christianity" is replaced by "American culture". He says that,

There was one potential source of conflict between Christianity and the Japanese culture.

This was the Christian emphasis on individualism, which, on the surface of things, would seem to be incongruent with the group emphasis of Japanese social principles. But, because within the cohesive Japanese community lay an inherent competitiveness, the apparent philosophical incongruence provided no real practical difficulties.

It has been shown that Service A tends to be interpreted on an individual basis (especially by those with the new spirit of "active" Buddhism). Coupled with American individualistic principles and remnant Japanese cultural influences of individualism, this could lead to the disintegration of group harmony and unity as each person pursued the fulfillment of his own needs. The symbols, then are emphatically geared toward the reinforcement of group unity in a reaction to the splintering effect produced by significant socio-economic factors. Those, again a generalization, with the greatest identification with American culture need the emphasis on the symbolism of group unity. Service B, less symbolically group oriented, is more individualistic in construction since the congregation still maintains, in an idealized and antiquated manner, the "Japanese social principles" which held the traditional groups intact. For these people, religion can fulfill personal needs, while social guidelines make a cohesive group with a center of activity being the temple. The interpretation of the symbols of a group, therefore, is a necessary adjunct in determining cultural affiliation and the degree of culture change and adaptation.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This section is divided into three parts. The first reviews the stages of the analysis developed in the thesis. The stages are; (1) symbolic analysis and controlled comparison, (2) ethnographic background, (3) ethnographic description of the services, (4) comparative symbolic analysis, and (5) extent of cultural adaptation. The second part summarizes the differences between the services and the meanings inherent in those differences. The basic sets of differences which have been found are; (1) different organizational features, (2) symbolic contextual variations, and (3) different adaptive features. The third part presents four concluding remarks concerning the nature of symbols, ritual ceremonies as responses to specific demands, and the expression and development of the basic compromise contained in the symbolic structure of the services.

The theoretical model used in the thesis was largely provided by Victor W. Turner. It was crucial in the analysis

of the services' symbolic structures and in the synthesis of the congregations' interpretations of the symbols. The roles of the dominant symbols and the multivocal symbols as adjuncts to the vocalized expressions of cultural norms were derived from previous work done in ritual symbolism by Turner.

This thesis has been an exercise in comparative analysis. It has controlled the area of comparison as much as possible to minimize the effects of variable elements which could greatly influence the reliability of the study's results. A ritual ceremony manifested in two variations was examined. The two variations provided the general comparative units. The ceremonies are performed among a relatively homogeneous cultural group. A varied historical background is shared by the group and both versions of the ceremony occur in the same physical setting. An analysis of the symbolic structures of the services was considered most productive in order to understand underlying socio-cultural themes emphasized by the two congregations. Although similar sets of symbols are used in the services, their interpretive values depend on the groups using them. Generally, the symbols in Service A tend to emphasize group solidarity, while those in Service B are more open to individual interpretation. This is in complete harmony with the themes pervading the symbolic structures of the services. The symbol sets are necessary reinforcements of the themes of group emphasis and individual expression in the two

services.

In order to place the ritual ceremony in its proper cultural context, a general ethnographic background was given for the Chicago Japanese American community and the temple group. The temple group is a very small proportion of the larger ethnic community. The temple's formal organization and its ritual and secular activities were given.

The description of the services was then presented. The variations of the ritual ceremony were labelled Service A and Service B. Their structural qualities and content and the differences between the services were listed and explored.

The comparative analysis of the symbolic content of the services and the symbolic designata found in the services showed that the basic resolution of the conflict between the need for individual expression and the necessity to maintain group cohesion took different types of expression in the services. Service A stressed group unity to a great degree in its symbolic structure, while Service B, less emphatic in its expression of group unification, tended to satisfy more individualized needs.

The formats of the services were used as examples of the degree of cultural adaptation which has occurred within the temple community. Service A is composed of elements, for example, which have been taken from various Buddhist schools. Its congregation shows a greater assimilation of the norms found in

American culture. Service B is more traditionally organized and its congregation has retained a greater degree of identification with its original culture.

The differences between the services have been classified into three categories, or sets. The first set contains the observable organizational features which distinguish the two services. This set includes such things as: different phases and components, the use of different languages in the performance of the services, and the degree of emphasis placed on the manipulation of various symbolic designata. This set is a response to the needs of the groups involved in the ritual performances. The second set involves the symbolic contextual variations. These variations reflect differences in the socio-cultural composition of the congregations. In this set, the theme of individual satisfaction and group unification is introduced, developed, and resolved. Both services contain the expression of the theme, but its emphasis and treatment varies considerably. Service A expressed the themes as it symbolically developed the preeminence of group unity over individualism in its structure. Service B seldom gave overt expression to the theme of group unity since that is shown in the social circumstances of the service and in forces within the traditional culture which exist in modified form for the congregation. The third set is composed of the adaptive features which are signs of culture change in the

community. The general format of the services was contrasted with traditional religious observances to show the extent of adaptation on a broad level. Service A, in its structure and interpretation, was contrasted with Service B to show the degree of change which has taken place between the services.

Four concluding remarks can be made about the results of the analysis conducted in this paper. The first is a general statement, suggested in Chapter IV, which can apply to anthropological inquiries into symbols and symbol interpretation. In studying the depth and significance of culture change and the extent of adaptation, a useful source of data can be the interpretation of symbols by groups which may outwardly show varying degrees of cultural affiliation. In this way, the degree of acculturation, or cultural adaptation, can be examined through the comparison of internalized comprehension of symbols by the different groups.

The second point is centered around the nature of symbols and their cultural interpretive values. The comprehension of symbols is directly affected by cultural identification; thus, those individuals who are influenced by an idealized image of the traditional culture will show this in their interpretations of cultural or ritual symbols. Those with a more diverse, or less secure, background will show a more varied interpretation, while the group being enculturated into a new system will reflect that system's influence most

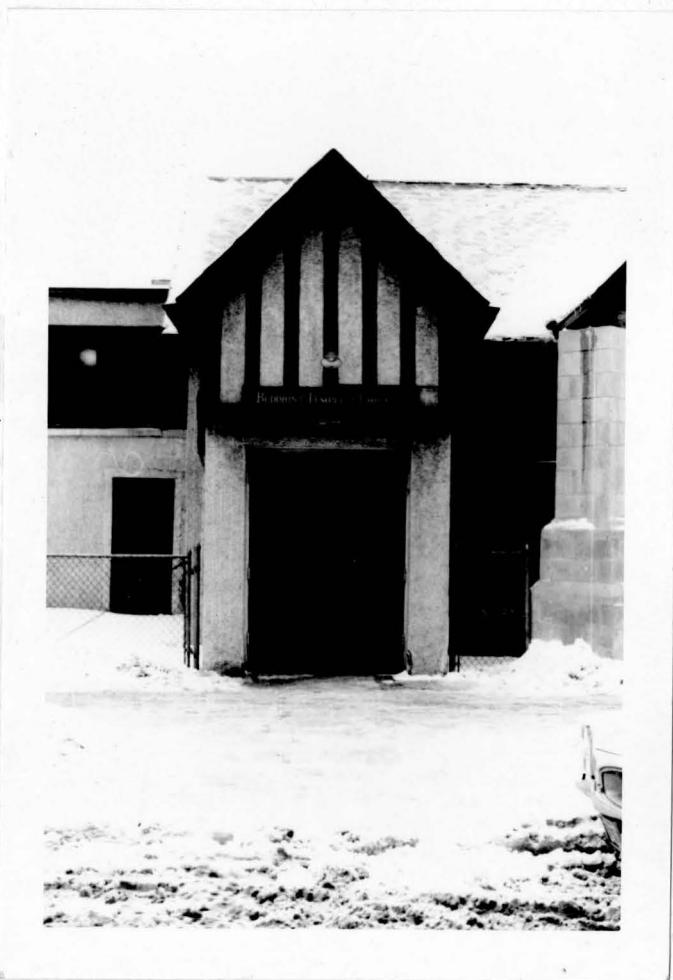
predominantly. Those individuals in a totally acculturated group will mirror the dominant culture's interpretations.

The ritual ceremony, analyzed in the thesis, has taken two structural forms. As the third point, it can be said that both forms are responses to a need to satisfy the demands for meaningful expression oriented along traditionalistic and modern lines of ideological importance. This need has found expression in the creation of services in the language of the participants and in a form that is satisfactory to the congregation. Service A in its earliest form was not merely a translation of Service B, made for the benefit of the English-speaking congregation. Its composition was developed in order to retain a segment of the community in the ethnic religion. There is a growing division between the two ritual structures in interpretation and form, and it is inevitable that the traditional form will vanish with the last of its supporters. It should be of interest to follow the development that proceeds from the emerging changes in Service A and also to see how the present conflicts are resolved.

The final conclusion concerns the establishment of the primary theme found in the services. This theme, expressed by the symbolic designata, structure, and content of Services A and B, is the compromise between the individual's need to voice personalized attitudes, ideas, sentiments, and emotions in ritualistic behavior and the necessity to reinforce group

solidarity by the formal interpretation of symbols, the reiteration of social values, and the satisfaction of ideological norms through social activity.

PLATE I



The Main Entrance to the Temple

PLATE II



The Movable Partition behind Which
The Nokotsudo Is Located

PLATE III



An Old Portrait of Bodhidharma, or Daruma,
the Traditional Founder of Zen Buddhism,
Is Displayed in the Temple Foyer

PLATE IV



Statue of Shinran Shonin,
Popularizer of Shinshu Buddhism

PLATE V



Statues of Amida Buddha and
Akegarasu-sensei. Picture Shows
General View of Altar Area.

PLATE VI



Statue of Meditating Buddha

PLATE VII



General View of Meditation Hall Interior Showing
Incense-Burner, Lectern, Chairman's Location,
Piano, and Location of Congregation

PLATE VIII



Portrait of Akegarasu-sensei
and Cushions Used in Zen Meditation

PLATE IX



View from Chairman's Location Showing Main Entrance
to Meditation Hall, Positions of Congregation and
Service Books and Three of the Six Panels
Illustrating the Life of the Buddha

PLATE X



Location of Sensei during Services
and the Keisu (Gong)

PLATE XI



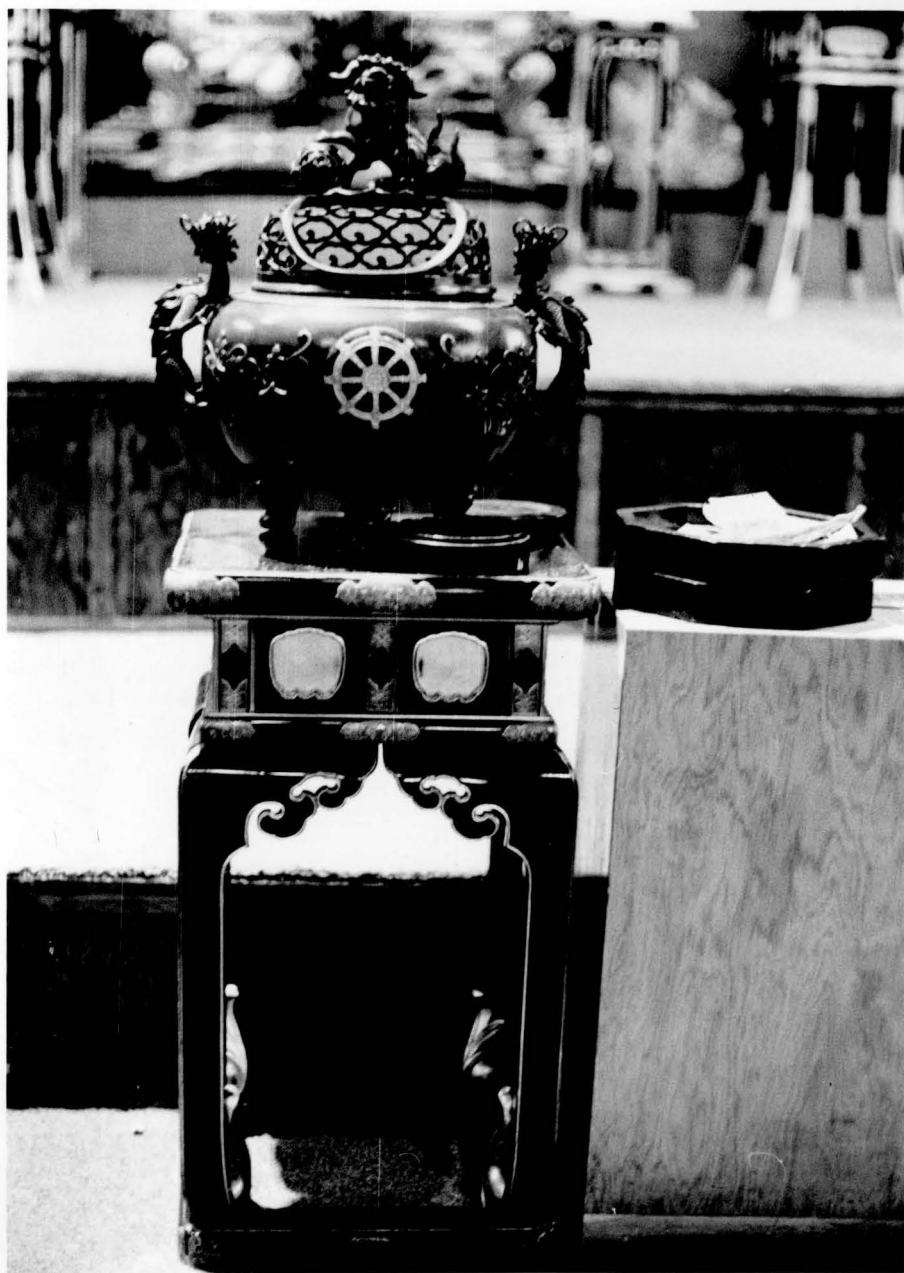
The Temple Bell (Kane) Is Rung by a Sensei
to Announce the Beginning of Services

PLATE XII



The Keisu Which Is Usually
Rung by the Sensei and the ABA Emblem

PLATE XIII



The Koro and the Results of the "Offertory"

PLATE XIV



Statue of Amida Buddha,
the Buddha of Infinite Light

PLATE XV

PLATE XV



The Ojuzu (Meditation Beads) in Its
Common Form Used by Both Congregations

Example of the Physical Structure of the Ojuzu

PLATE XVI



Examples of the Physical Attitude of the Gassho

PLATE XVII



The Symbolic Shishi (Lion)
and Tama (Ball) on the
Koro (Incense-Burner)

PLATE XVIII



The Same Objects from a Different Angle

PLATE XIX



Candles, Whose Light Symbolizes Wisdom,
 Are Supported on Candlesticks,
 in the Form of the Tsuru (Crane) and
 the Kame (Turtle), Which Represent
 Traditional Symbols of Longevity

APPENDIX A

SYMBOLIC ANALYSIS OF THE TANBUTSUGE CHANT

The Tanbuteuge chant is sung during a ritual service in an urban Japanese American Buddhist temple. This presentation is divided into three parts. The first examines the historical background of the chant, its use and position within the service, and the linguistic devices employed in the chant. The second part is devoted to the analysis of the symbols and beliefs which can be observed within or inferred from the chant. The third part gives the text of the chant and its translation.

The Tanbutsuge (Song in Praise of the Buddha) chant is an excerpt from a Buddhist text called the Sukhavati-vyuha sutra--translated by one source as the Great Eternal Life Sutra. This sutra is one of three texts forming a doctrinal foundation for the Amida sect, or school, of Buddhism. The other two texts are the Smaller Sukhavati-vyuha sutra and the Amitayurdhyana sutra (Malalasekera 1961:434). Malalasekera (Ibid.:434-435) summarizes the sutra,

Of these three sutras the Larger Sukhavati-vyuha is set forth as an answer by the Shakyamuni to a question from Ananda who, having noticed that the

Buddha is in a state of spiritual exaltation, asks him what he is seeing or thinking about. Thereupon, the Buddha relates how there was a line of eighty-one Tathagatas, beginning with Dipankara and ending with Lokeshvaraja. In the period of this last Tathagata, a monk named Dharmakara (J. Hozo) forms the resolve of himself becoming a Buddha and asks the Tathagata to become his teacher, and to describe to him what a Buddha and a Buddha-country ought to be. The Tathagata tells him not only of one but of all the Buddha-countries and the Buddhas presiding over them.

Having heard these descriptions, Dharmakara spends five kalpas revolving in his mind all their perfections and excellences and in the end resolves that they should all be concentrated in his own ksetra when he becomes a Buddha. He then reappears before Lokeshvaraja and describes at length what his wishes are and what he wants his Buddha-country to be. These are contained in a list of forty-eight vows. It is these vows that form the nucleus of the sutra and they constitute a kind of prophecy of what, according to Dharmakara's ideas, Sukhavati or the Land of Bliss, ought to be. Dharmakara then becomes a bodhisattva, for having developed the qualities of a bodhisattva . . . he ultimately attains supreme enlightenment.

All this is related by Shakyamuni to Ananda as a sort of vision of what, in fact, had happened ten kalpas earlier. When Ananda asks the Shakyamuni where Dharmakara is at present, the answer is that he is now reigning in Sukhavati as the Buddha Amitabha. The Shakyamuni then proceeds to describe Sukhavati as a place of unparalleled magnificence and splendor, in every way what Dharmakara had resolved it should be.

Ananda expresses a desire to see Amitabha, whereupon that Buddha sends a ray of light from the palm of his hand, so that not only Ananda but every living being could see Amitabha and his retinue of Bodhisattvas in Sukhavati, while the inhabitants of Sukhavati could see the

Shakyamuni and the whole of this, our world of tribulation. The sutra ends with the Shakyamuni exhorting the bodhisattva Ajita . . . to preach the Sukhavati-vyuha to all beings and promising great rewards to all who will learn it, copy it, teach and explain it.

The Tanbutsuge chant is the poetic response by Dharma-kara in praise of Lokeshvaraja's purity and wisdom. The chant also records his determination to become a Buddha. The sutra was originally written in Sanskrit around 100 A.D.; by about 300 A.D. it had been translated into Chinese, and records show that it was being read in Japan around 640 A.D. A current English text, translated from Sanskrit, was made about 1891. The analysis presented here is based upon the Japanese text of the chant used in the services at the temple studied. This text employs Meiji-style characters, though it was printed in the 1960's.

There are three texts of this chant available to members of the temple. One is a Japanese variant, written in a standard form (i.e., possessing sentence structure; using kanji and kana scripts), which is usually sung by older Japanese-speakers at their own service. Another text is written solely in kanji and this, too, may be used by the Japanese-speakers. The third text, a transliteration of the kanji text, is written in romaji (Roman script). It is this romanized text which is read by the English-speaking congregation.

Two methodological points must be brought out at this time. By writing the chant in romaji, the sense of meaning conveyed by the kanji is lost and it is difficult to translate what is being chanted based only on the reproduction of the kanji pronunciation. Moreover, some people in each congregation cannot read written Japanese (and some also are not fluent in spoken Japanese), and so it has become for them, a kind of ritualized, sacred language. Some of those who have studied the sutra and the chant in translation either know what they are saying at each step of the chanting or they realize that the chant is, indeed, a poetic device with its component goals of praise and expression of personal determination. Those who do not understand the spoken chant may use the chanting as a means to attain a mood in which they can be receptive to spiritually oriented stimuli. They may also employ it as a means to get the satisfaction of being members of a group unified, if only at this particular time, in the production of socially acceptable behavior. Since there are these extremes of interpretation and usage of the chant, it was necessary to work with the text which was most useful in overlapping these variations. The second text in kanji was examined because it contains the basic statement which is given, in modified form, in the Japanese-speakers' version and it is, in fact, the text used by the English-speakers.

The position of the chant within the format of the service (Service A) is significant. The Tanbutsuge follows a statement of praise and belief in the reasonable organization of the means to unity and enlightenment. This is a ritual formula proposing the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha as the appropriate organizing principles for the Way to Enlightenment. Then the chant is sung. This is a statement of acceptance of the previous ideological proposition. Next the traditional statement of the Buddhist doctrinal foundation (the Four Noble Truths and the Eightfold Path) is read. Briefly outlined, the organization of the way to salvation is stated by the congregation; the chant is an acceptance of that organization and a vow to pursue the means which have been put forth by the Buddha.

Structurally, the Tanbutsuge is a chant composed of twenty stanzas of four lines each, with four characters per line. The chant is divided into two sections: the first, of twenty-eight lines, contains the laudatory aspect of the chant; the second, of fifty-two lines, contains the vow and expression of determined effort that is supposed to be a part of the individual's search for enlightenment. Grammatical structure is kept to a minimum, with subjects usually occurring first in a sentence, then verbs, and finally objects. Often modifiers follow the object which they modify.

Reduplication takes place in situations where

intensification is necessary. For example, in the text, gi (august, noble) becomes gi gi (most noble) and ku (suffering) becomes ku ku (terrible suffering).

Of apparent importance is the system of borrowing from Sanskrit and Chinese which has occurred especially for names and concepts. This borrowing has taken two forms. One form is the technique whereby the sound of Sanskrit and Chinese words have been approximated in the Japanese pronunciation. The second occurs where the Sanskrit has been translated into Japanese by means of kanji which represent the meaning of the original word (Figure 9). In other words, a term may be represented by kanji merely because their sound combination approximates the sound of the original loan word, or a term can be represented by kanji which reproduce the interpretation of the original word.


Compounding of word units in order to produce new words with emphasized meanings or modified interpretations is extremely important as a productive device within this text. Figure 9 gives some examples of compound word units. Of special significance is the formation of words with a negative connotation. The character used (mu ) has philosophical implications that go beyond its narrow usage as a negative specifier. It also implies non-existence, or nothingness, and it is frequently compounded to words when the lack of or the extinction of the self is intended (Figure 10).

Figure 9

SOUND REPRODUCTION, MEANING REPRODUCTION,
AND COMPOUND WORD UNITS IN THE CHANT

SOUND REPRODUCTION

SANSKRIT	CHINESE	JAPANESE	TEXT USAGE
samadhi buddha nirvana Ganges bodhisattva •	 shih' mani	sammaji butsu nehan go bosatsu shishi mani	sanmai butsu naion go dodatsu shishi mani

MEANING REPRODUCTION

SANSKRIT	JAPANESE
Tathagata (He who has come before) Bhagavat (He who comes blessed into the world) samsara (cycle of births and deaths) pranidhana (vow to become a Buddha) Sukhavati (Pure Land, Paradise)	Nyo rai (as if) (to come) Sei son (world) (noble) sho ji (to be born) (death) gan (to wish, request) goku raku (country) (peaceful)

(cont.)

Figure 9

SOUND REPRODUCTION, MEANING REPRODUCTION,
AND COMPOUND WORD UNITS IN THE CHANT
(cont.)

COMPOUND WORD UNITS

JAPANESE		ENGLISH
<hr/>		
on (to hide completely)	pei (to cover)	completely covered and hidden
sho (right)	gaku (to remember, understand)	right understanding
chi (wisdom)	e (grace, blessing)	wisdom
gu (to study)	go (intensely)	to master
sei (world)	kai (world)	world
riki (strength)	sho (spirit)	effort
<hr/>		

Figure 10

NEGATIVE COMPOUNDS AND
FREQUENCY OF NAMES IN THE TEXT

NEGATIVE COMPOUNDS

JAPANESE		ENGLISH
<hr/>		
mu (negative)	goku (extremes)	boundless
mu (negative)	ryo (measure)	immeasurable
mu (negative)	myo (bright)	ignorance
mu (negative)	ge (limit)	unlimited

FREQUENCY OF NAMES IN THE TEXT

NAME	FREQUENCY	REFERENCE
<hr/>		
Nyorai	1	Tathagata
Butsu	8	achievement of Buddha- hood
Bosatsu	1	Bodhisattva
Seson	2	Bhagavat

The four names that appear in the text of the chant refer to aspects attributed to the Buddha (Figure 10). The frequency of the name, Butsu, within the text indicates a significant emphasis on the achieved state of enlightenment. This is the perceived objective of the religion. Instead of elaborating upon the states of becoming which are part of the process involved in the religion's ideological system, the chant concentrates its emphasis on the final goal that is to be attained.

Similes and metaphors occur throughout the text, usually referring to extreme comparisons that will enhance qualities or attributes. Similes employ nyo (如) meaning like, or as if, as the device for comparison. The most outstanding simile compares the previous Buddhas to the sands of the Ganges, "shu nyo go ja". Three significant metaphors occur within the text. The Universe, or entirety of perceptual experiences, is called jippo (十方), the ten directions, or quarters. This universe is a place of suffering and it is from the worldly cycle of births and deaths that the individual hopes to free himself. Five words referring to the sea are found in the chant: kai (ocean, sea), jūn (depth), gu (the edge), no (depths), and gaitai (the sea bottom). These are used because of the implications of vastness and incomprehensible magnitude associated with the sea. An interesting metaphor which occurs is nin no shishi (valiant man-lion). This phrase

combines the human and the animal qualities into a unit which is at once both compassionate, wise, and courageous.

It is now necessary to proceed into the second part of this analysis. An examination of the thematic development of the chant shows that there is, early in the text, an establishment of the basic dyadic set of light and dark (each having different referential sources). This opposition of light and dark appears to be resolved at an important pivotal point in the chant and the light metaphor reappears showing that the desired goal approved by the religion, i.e., enlightenment, extinction of the passions and resultant salvation; is attainable.

The first part of the chant deals with the praise of Nyorai. In it the basic dyadic set is established. Symbols for light/enlightenment are: ko (light, ray), en (to burn), myo (bright), nichi (sun), gatsu (moon), mani (jewel), shu (pearl), and nyo (brilliant light). Those for darkness include: mumyo (without light, ignorance), moku (sumi, black ink), gaitai (the sea bottom), and jīn (deep). Of great importance is the idea related by mumyo (ignorance) since it is a compound word made up of mu (negative) and myo (light). In order to resolve the conflict, light (salvation) must come from some source. The second stage is a continuation of the descriptive praise. Listed in it are some of the passions which must be extinguished.

Stage three is the pivotal point of gan (vow) wherein the individual states his determination to pursue the way to salvation. It is upon this point that rests the person's fate: positive decision--salvation; negative decision--the cycle of births and deaths. In the fourth stage the person promises to undergo great adversity if he cannot make salvation available to the universe. Stage five illustrates the virtue of compassion which is a primary attribute of one who is seeking salvation. The sixth stage is a comparison with the Buddhas who have preceded the speaker. Stage seven is the key to the resolution of the light/dark conflict (i.e., the struggle between salvation and ignorance). The symbols of darkness no longer appear, while "ko myo shitsu sho", 'My light will shine brightly', occurs because the person has chosen to follow the right way to salvation. The eighth stage is the promise which is important to the Amidist school, for it contains the belief that the individual can establish a paradise if he becomes a Buddha. The ninth stage is a description of the Pure Land, or Jodo, which is the paradise to which those who attain salvation travel. Stage ten is a reiteration of the vow and the determination that the individual has previously stated (Figure 11).

It is worthwhile to relate again the position of this chant within the structure of the service. As stated earlier, the chant is preceded by a statement of the organization

Figure 11

THEMATIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHANT

SYMBOLIC CONFLICT

light versus dark-----resolved---light (no
mention of darkness)

1. Praise of Nyorai
(basic dyadic sets established:
sun, moon, fire--sumi, depths,
being hidden//light (enlighten-
ment and dark (ego, ignorance,
personal desire)//emphasis on
going out, leaving source)
2. Descriptive Praise
3. Individual's vow
4. Undergo adversity
5. Concern for Others (Compassion)
6. Comparison with Those Who
Have Gone before
7. Light Metaphor Reappears
8. Promise
9. Description of Jodo
10. Reiteration of Determination

available for the individual's salvation. In the chant, the person implicitly accepts this organization and agrees to follow the steps proposed in the ideological statement which follows the chant.

There is, within the chant, an emphasis on the process of becoming and the final state to be achieved. There is no overt expression referring to one who is not attempting to gain salvation, but fudo (immobile) seems to be an acceptable label for this category of persons. With this conceptual state as one pole of the linear development of salvation, a most important emphasis is put on gan which has already been examined. A reference is made to Bosatsu (being to be enlightened). Here occurs a point on the continuum which is a reference to the processual recognition of one who is working toward salvation. Finally, the ultimate state in the process of salvation, Buddhahood, is given. The significance of the number of times the name, Butsu, appears has been suggested and this last condition forms the pole on the positive end of the continuum of spiritual existence.

Interrelated with the recognition of the states of a person's spiritual condition, for whose welfare this chant covertly expresses concern, is the basic development, through the use of symbolic devices, of the processual change associated with individual salvation. The symbolic expressions can be categorized into four sets. The first (mumyo;

ignorance) corresponds to a noun class in which morphemes with negative connotations form the starting position of a person's life and existence. The second set (on pei; to hide, to cover completely) is a verb class which is a part of the process in conjunction with the states found in the first set. These two sets can be classified under the labeled condition of fudo (immobile). The pivotal point of gan then signals a new sense of becoming which the individual has begun to undergo. The third set of processual verbs (sho; to shed light on, sho; to be born) have become associated with the symbolism of light which is representative of salvation. The Bodhisattva (Bosatsu; being to be enlightened) appears to apply somewhat to this new stage. The fourth set is the final state to which the process has been developing. In this set (nehan; enlightenment), the goals are expressed and the individual's salvation is complete. In reference to this set, the labeled condition of Buddha (Butsu; the enlightened one) corresponds to the ultimate achievement of salvation.

With this background information, then, it is necessary to explore some of the ideological tenets which pervade the chant. This, of necessity, goes beyond the stated premises of the text into those concepts which are only suggested or implied by key words or phrases. The point of gan is important to the structure of the chant and its usage of the light/dark symbols. In the context of the chant, an individual is

presented with the opportunity to achieve salvation. This person has the option of choosing the way to salvation or of remaining in the cycle of births and deaths (samsara). If one chooses not to seek enlightenment, his first action is to reject, or withdraw from, the proper way. This is not the action taken by the format of the chant.

Rejection (kyaku) condemns the person to the enslavement of the body (shin) with its many passions (bonno). Since the person will not subdue those passions, he must suffer. Suffering means that he must continue to be reborn and die in the cycle of samsara (shoji). Condemnation means being unable to leave this world (sekai); being unable to break the cycle which is part of the temporal, faulty universe (jippo).

To the faithful, however, the chant (and on a wider scale, the sutra from which it is derived) is a statement of acceptance of the way, determination in the face of adversity, and the promise of a paradise for those who attain enlightenment. The symbols representing light and dark have appeared relatively equally up to the point where the expression of the vow appears. After the vow, the representations of light (salvation) prevail. The individual now has committed himself to the arduous pursuit of salvation.

The composition of this system of ideas seems to be in direct opposition to the previous one. The same pattern of action, attribute, state, and result is repeated with concepts

having positive connotations.

The decision reached at the point of gan will impose a certain amount of hardship upon the individual. The action which best represents the appropriate attitude necessary at this point is enduring (nin). Since the body is so encumbered by the worldly passions, it is the spirit's (shin) duty to pursue and practice the virtues (do) whose merits enable one to achieve enlightenment. Enlightenment, in the context of this chant, entails liberation from the cycle of births and deaths (gedatsu). * In opposition to the condemnation of being subjected to the cycle of samsara and its resultant consequence of a life of suffering in this world, the chant describes, promises, and makes available a paradise (kokuraku), whose actual existence is often up to the individual's interpretation, where peace and tranquillity are the final outcome (Figure 12).

This, then is a brief analysis of the underlying ideology which can be derived from the chant. A complementary ideological system is suggested within the structure of the chant. Finally, two points should be stressed which show the primary significance of the chant. The first is the dyadic set of light/dark, or salvation/suffering, symbols which occur in the chant. These symbols express the polarization within the ideological framework which is characterized by the emphasis on enlightenment and ignorance. The apparent

Figure 12

STATE AND PROCESS--
SYMBOLS IN THE CHANT AND IMPLIED IDEOLOGY.

LABELED CONDITION	FUDO (immobile)	GAN (vow)	BOSATSU	BUDDHA
STATE AND PROCESS	MUMYO (personal desire, ignorance)	'	KO (to spread)	NEHAN (ex- tinction of desire, enlight- enment)
	KU (fear, suffering)	'	SHO (to shed light on)	
	ON PEI • (to be com- pletely covered and concealed)	'	RU (to flow)	AN (peace, happi- ness)
	ZETSU (to cease)	'	SHO (to be born)	
	SHI (to stop)	'	JO (to rise)	
		'	YO (to bring up)	
		'	AI (to pity, feel for)	
	(to reject, KYAKU withdraw)	'	NIN (to endure)	
	(body) SHIN		SHIN (spirit, heart, mind)	
(passions) BONNO			DO (virtues)	
(samsara) SHOJI			GEDATSU (libera- tion from samsara)	
(this world) SEKAI (the universe) JIPPO			JODO, KOKURAKU (Paradise)	

conflict between the symbolized forces becomes resolved in the chant; the outcome being decided again in another symbolic expression. The second point of importance, which has been suggested and developed at length throughout the thesis, is the significance of the chant within the structure of the service.

The last section of this presentation is the text of the chant and a prose translation of that text. Verses are numbered accordingly and the Japanese words in romaji script correspond to the original kanji text. The translation was made from the kanji text.

ROMAJI TRANSCRIPTION OF THE TANBUTSUGE
CHANT READ DURING SERVICE A

1. Ko gen gi gi
I jin mu goku
Nyo ze en myo
Mu yo to sha
2. Nichi gatsu mani
Shu ko en nyo
Kai shitsu on pei
Yu nyaku ju moku
3. Nyo rai yo gen
Cho se mu rin
Sho gaku dai on
Ko ru jippo
4. Kai mon sho jin
San mai chi e
I toku mu ro.
Shu sho ke u

(cont.)

ROMAJI TRANSCRIPTION OF THE TANBUTSUGE
CHANT READ DURING SERVICE A
(cont.)

5. Jin tai zen nen
Sho butsu hokkai
Gu jin jin no
Ku go tai tai
6. Mu myo yoku nu
Se son yo mu
Nin no shishi
Jin toku nu ryo
7. Ku kun ko dai
Chi e jin myo
Ko myo i so
Shin do dai sen
8. Gan ga sa butsu
Sai sho ho o
Ka do sho ji
Mu fu ge datsu
9. Fu se cho i
Kai nin sho jin
Nyo ze san mai
Chi e i jo
10. Go sei toku butsu
Fu gyo shi gan
Issai ku ku
I sa dai an
11. Ke shi u butsu
Hyaku sen oku man
Mu ryo dai sho
Shu nyo go ja
12. Ku yo issai
Shi to sho butsu
Fu nyo ku do
Ken sho fu kyaku

(cont.)

ROMAJI TRANSCRIPTION OF THE TANBUTSUGE
CHANT READ DURING SERVICE A
(cont.)

13. Hi nyo go ja
Sho butsu se kai
Fu fu ka ke
Mu shu setsu do
14. Ko myo shi sho
Hen shi sho koku
Nyo ze sho jin
I jin nan ryo
15. Ryo ga sa butsu
Koku do dai ichi
Go shu ki myo
Do jo cho zetsu
16. Koku nyo nai on
Ni mu to so
Ga to ai min
Do datsu issai
17. Jippo rai sho
Shin etsu sho jo
I to ga koku
Ke raku an non
18. Ko butsu shin myo
Ze ga shin sho
Hotsu gan o hi
Riki sho sho yoku
19. Jippo se son
Chi e mu ge
Jo ryo shi son
Chi ga shin gyo
20. Ke ryo shin shi
Sho ku do ku chu
Ge gyo sho jin
Nin ju fu ke

TANBUTSUGE: THE SONG IN BUDDHA'S PRAISE

Your face is an august and noble light. A boundless, majestic divinity, it burns like bright flame. There is none to compare with it. Sun and moon, jewels and pearls, they indeed give light, but your brilliant light burns, covering them all completely, as though they were hidden by black ink. Nyorai's face, I admit, surpasses all in the world, and has no limitations. Your Right Understanding, your Great Cry echoing, flowing throughout the Universe, your restraint, diligence, samadhi, and wisdom, of majestic immeasurable merit, admirably exist in their rarity. You know well the profound Truth, and among the many Buddhas' Laws, those oceans, you have exhausted them. From their shores to their greatest depths--you have mastered the very sea floors. Ignorance, greed, anger; for eternal Seson, these do not exist. You are a man-lion of immeasurable divine virtue. Your meritorious deeds are widespread, your wisdom profound and admirable. Your bright light is of majestic appearance, moving great multitudes to tremble.

I am determined to become a Buddha--through purification, a sage; through the Law, a king. May I pass through samsara many times, if I do not greatly influence the Enlightenment. Giving and adjusting, restraint and diligence, tolerance, samadhi, and wisdom; I will make these rise within myself.

I vow to obtain Buddhahood, going to great lengths to fulfill this oath. For all terrible fears, I will give great peace to the heart. Be they so temporary, there have existed vast numbers of Buddhas, those uncountable great sages, whose numbers are like the sands of the Ganges. I offer to guide all things like those many Buddhas did, not only to seek the Way, but to remain truly steadfast and never to retreat from it. I will be most like the worlds' many Buddhas, like the sands of the Ganges, those again impossible to measure, from uncounted fleeting worlds. My light will shine brightly, favoring all these lands. Like my tolerance, my majestic divinity will be difficult to measure. I will make myself a Buddha through the Law. My land will be the best; most rare and admirable. My Bodhi-garden (the place where one can follow the Way) will surpass all limits. My land, like Nirvana, no equal--none other like it will there be. I shall be equal to it; caring for my people, while they all become Bodhisattvas. From throughout the Universe, they will come to be born, with glad spirits and pure innocence. Reaching my country, they shall find the Pure Land. The Buddha will bless my shining sincerity, as I give testimony to his just Truth; as I calmly promote that determination with all my effort. Seasons of the Universe, with wisdom unlimited, always knowing this noble vow, you know my thoughts. Though

injustice may kill me, though I go through many sufferings and poisonings; I will go diligently, enduring without regret until it comes to an end.

APPENDIX B

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Standard procedure requires that all foreign words be underlined. Those words which have been taken from Japanese, Chinese, Sanskrit, or Pali are so marked. Glosses of quotations in Japanese of one sentence or longer are designated by single quotation marks. Double quotation marks show the phases and the component parts of the ritual services.

Akegarasu Haya	A recent Buddhist scholar whose teachings have directly influenced the type of Buddhism practiced at the temple
Amida	The incarnation of Compassion, the object of adoration in the <u>Shinshu</u> sect, a title of the Buddha
Asoka Society	The temple's <u>Nisei</u> club
bodhi	The state of wisdom, awakening, enlightenment
bonno	The passions resulting from desire and mortal existence
Buddha	In Japanese, <u>Butsu</u> ; a title given to Gautama, The <u>Enlightened One</u>
Bussatsu Amida Kyo	The <u>Amida</u> Buddha <u>Sutra</u>
chaman	Chairman

cha no yu	The tea ceremony
Daruma	Bodhidharma, the traditional Indian founder of <u>Zen</u> Buddhism
Dhammapada	The Path of Virtue, a <u>Theravada</u> religious text
Dharma	In Japanese, Ho; the Law of the Buddha's teaching
Eightfold Path	The precepts for conduct set down by the Buddha for the attainment of enlightenment
enryo	restraint, reserve, deference
Four Noble Truths •	Buddhist statement of recognition of suffering, its cause, and resolvment
Fujinkai	<u>Issei</u> Women's Society
furigana	Script alongside <u>kanji</u> giving the appropriate pronunciation
gakugeikai	The Japanese language school
gaesho	A sign of respect, humility; manifested by clasped hands and the recitation of the <u>Nembutsu</u>
gata	<u>Gatha</u> , song
gedatsu	Liberation from the cycle of births and deaths
Hanamatsuri	The Festival of Flowers; celebration of the Buddha's birth
Hinamatsuri	Girls' Day
Hoonko	Memorial for the death of Shinran
Hotokesama	A title of the Buddha; can also mean the ancestors
howa	Lit., <u>Dharma</u> speech; a sermon

Hoyukai	<u>Issei</u> Men's Society
inochi	Life
Issei	First Japanese immigrants to the United States
jinsai	Existence
jiriki	Selfishness, attempting salvation by one's own means
Jodo-e	Celebration of the enlightenment of the Buddha; <u>Jodo</u> is the state of enlightenment or Paradise
judo	Japanese-style wrestling
Juni Rai	One of the chants used at the temple on special occasions
kame	Turtle; symbol of old age, longevity
kamisama	Spirits, divinities of nature
kane	Lit., metal; the temple bell
kanji	Chinese characters used in the written Japanese language
keisu	A bowl-shaped gong
kendo	Japanese fencing
Kiyosawa Manshi	A famous <u>Meiji</u> <u>Shinshu</u> scholar, 1863-1903
koan	A <u>Zen</u> problem for breaking the limitations of the intellect and developing the intuition
kogi	A lecture
koro	An incense-burner
kowa	A lecture
kuyo	A general term for memorial services

Mahayana	The Greater Vehicle; Northern School of Buddhism found in Tibet, Mongolia, China, Korea, and Japan
makoto no kokoro	A heart, spirit of truth
Meiji	Japanese national era, 1868-1912
mochi tsuki	A rice-pounding festival at New Year's
Nehan	<u>Nirvana</u> ; enlightenment, the state of supreme annihilation of the personal, separate self
Nehan-e	Memorial for the death of the Buddha
Nembutsu	A contraction of <u>Namu Amida Butsu</u> ; Praise to the Buddha of Infinite Light
ningen	Mortal
Nisei	First generation of Japanese Americans born in the United States
nokotsudo	A special repository for ashes
Nyorai	A title of the Buddha from the Sanskrit, <u>Tathagata</u> ; Thus Come
Obon	Celebration in August when the deceased return to earth
ohanashi	A speech
ojo suru	To die; to die and be reborn
ojuzu	Buddhist meditation beads
Oshakasama	A title of the Buddha; Holy Shaka(muni)
Pansil	A contraction of <u>Pancha Sila</u> , the Five Rules of Morality, a <u>Thera</u> -text

sabisu	Service
sammaji	From Sanskrit, <u>sammadhi</u> ; existence, the world of becoming
Sangha	In Japanese, <u>So</u> ; the third of the Three Treasures; the Buddhist Monastic Order
Sankiemon	The Document, or Statement, of the Three Beliefs; lists the Three Treasures in the text
Sansei	Second generation of Japanese Americans born in the United States
sensei	A title of respect; master, teacher
shikata ga nai	Lit., there is not a way to do it; usually translated, it can't be helped
shinjin	Faith
shinjitsu	Truth, reality
shinko shukyo	Designation of a "new religion" in Japan, as opposed to <u>kisei shukyo</u> , an "established religion"
Shinran Shonin	Popularizer of <u>Shin</u> Buddhism, 1173-1263
Shinshu	The cult centering around the concept of the <u>Amida</u> Buddha
shishi	Lion, symbol of wisdom
shodo	Calligraphy
Shoshinge	The "Song of Right Faith" written by Shinran
Shusho-e	New Year's service
shotseuki-hoyo	Monthly memorial service

sukauto	male or female scout or scouts
sumi-e	ink painting
sutra	In Japanese, <u>Kyo</u> ; a Buddhist text, a sermon given by the Buddha
Suzuki Daisetsu Teitaro	A modern <u>Zen</u> scholar
Taisho	Japanese national era, 1912-1925
tama	Ball, symbol of the mind
Tanbutsuge	Song in Praise of Buddha; adapted from the Greater <u>Sukhavati-vyuha Sutra</u> (in Japanese, <u>Dai Muryo Ju Kyo Kanjo</u>)
Tangonosekku	Also <u>Tangonosetsuku</u> ; Boys' Day
tanomoshi	Derived from the verb, <u>tanomu</u> , to request, the term is applied to mutual aid groups which are organized in the community
tariki	Faith, dependence on the help of others for salvation
Theravada	The Southern School of Buddhism (southeast Asia primarily); Teachings of the Elders of the Order
Tisarana	The Three Treasures, or Jewels; <u>Butsu</u> , <u>Ho</u> , and <u>So</u>
toku	The virtues
tsuru	Crane, symbol of longevity
Wesak	Spring festival commemorating the Buddha's birth, enlightenment, and passing
Yonsei	Third generation of Japanese Americans born in the United States

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APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Benedict Perrino has been read and approved by members of the Department of Anthropology.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content and form.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

May 15, 1972
Date

Margaret Harding Fredenli
Signature of Advisor