

Buddhism in the Modern World

Adaptations of an Ancient Tradition

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“By Imperial Edict and Shogunal Decree”

*Politics and the Issue of the Ordination
Platform in Modern Lay Nichiren Buddhism*

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Observers are often struck by the “engaged” or even “political” character of modern Japanese Nichiren Buddhist movements. In the first decades of the twentieth century, the movement known as Nichirenshugi (“Nichirenism”), led by Tanaka Chigaku (1861–1939) and Honda Nisshō (1867–1931),¹ deployed Nichiren Buddhist doctrine in a way that bolstered modern nationalistic agendas and justified militant imperialism; in the postwar period, the small monastic order Nipponzan Myōhōji espoused a stance of absolute pacifism, taking active part in the anti-nuclear campaign, while the rapidly expanding lay organization Sōka Gakkai ran candidates for the National Diet and even started a political party. More recently the Sōka Gakkai—like Risshō Kōseikai movement, another large lay Buddhist organization with roots in the Nichiren tradition—has become a nongovernmental organizational member of the United Nations and now engages in global networking for peace, protection of the environment, aid to refugees, and a host of other issues. This “activist” orientation, on one hand, exemplifies the emphasis on social engagement found in Buddhist modernism worldwide. On the other hand, such efforts can be seen as attempts to reappropriate, in modern or contemporary contexts, the vision of the founder Nichiren (1222–1282), who taught that exclusive devotion to the *Lotus Sūtra* could transform the present world into a Buddha land.

One aspect of the medieval Nichiren Buddhist vision, however, has proved difficult for modern practitioners. This is the tradition

that, someday, a great ordination platform (*kaidan*) would be erected “by imperial edict and shogunal decree,” symbolizing the fusion of Buddhism and worldly rule and the conversion of the sovereign and his people to Nichiren’s teaching. One might expect that this ideal, framed in such obviously medieval terms, might be allowed to lapse into obscurity, or be interpreted in purely symbolic fashion. Such has, indeed, been the mainstream tendency within the various Nichiren Buddhist temple denominations. Nonetheless, there have also been two significant attempts within the last century to reframe the goal of establishing the *kaidan* in a literal sense, in the context of political milieus that Nichiren’s medieval followers never imagined: the militant imperialism of the first part of the twentieth century and the parliamentary democracy instituted after the Pacific War. This chapter will consider, first, Tanaka Chigaku’s religious nationalism, forged during Japan’s modern imperial period, and second, the postwar Sōka Gakkai’s entry into politics, focusing in both cases on their refigurations of the future ordination platform that was to represent the fusion of government with the *Lotus Sūtra*. First, however, it will be helpful to touch briefly on those elements in the earlier Nichiren Buddhist tradition that both movements would reappropriate and reconfigure in defining their aims.

Nichiren’s *Lotus* Exclusivism and the *Honmon No Kaidan*

Nichiren taught a doctrine of exclusive devotion to the *Lotus Sūtra* and stressed as a primary practice the chanting of its *daimoku* or title in the formula, “Namu-myōhō-enge-kyō.” In medieval Japan, the *Lotus Sūtra*, with its promise that “all shall achieve the Buddha Way,” was widely revered as the highest of the Buddha’s teachings, reconciling all others within itself. For Nichiren, however, the *Lotus Sūtra* was not simply one teaching supreme among many but the sole Dharma that could lead to Buddhahood now in the Final Dharma age (*mappō*), preached by the Buddha expressly for the people of this degenerate time. In his estimation, the other Buddhist forms current in his day—Pure Land, Zen, and the esoteric teachings—being provisional and incomplete, no longer led to liberation in the *mappō* era; to embrace them and reject the *Lotus Sūtra* was a pernicious inversion of high and low, a form of “disparaging the Dharma” (*hōbō*) that could only invite suffering. Drawing on traditional Mahāyāna ideas of the nonduality of individuals and their container world, the “realm of the land” (*kokudo seken*), Nichiren insisted that it was precisely this evil, a neglect of the *Lotus Sūtra*’s perfect teaching, that had brought down on the populace the calamities of his day: drought, famine, earthquakes, and the threat of invasion by the Mongols. Conversely, Nichiren held that the spread of exclusive faith in the *Lotus Sūtra* would banish such disasters and manifest this world as an ideal realm:

When all people throughout the land enter the one Buddha vehicle, and the Wonderful Dharma [of the *Lotus*] alone flourishes, because the people all chant Namu-myōhō-enge-kyō, the wind will not thrash the branches nor the rain fall hard enough to break clods. The age will become like the reigns of [the Chinese sage kings] Yao and Shun. In the present life, inauspicious calamities will be banished, and the people will obtain the art of longevity. . . . There can be no doubt of the *sūtra*’s promise of “peace and security in the present world.”²

Since, in his view, the devotion paid to outdated and ineffectual teachings was inviting disastrous social consequences, Nichiren saw the dissemination of his message as a matter of urgency. Accordingly, he stressed the practice of *shakubuku*, an assertive approach to proselytizing in which one actively rebukes attachment to views deemed inferior or false. Nichiren practiced *shakubuku* by preaching and writing, engaging in doctrinal debate with fellow clerics, and admonishing officials of the Bakufu, the recently established shogunate or military government that shared power with the imperial court. The place of “the ruler” in Nichiren’s thought is a complex one. Nichiren himself often directed his efforts in *shakubuku* toward those in positions of power because of their influence over the people at large. But at the same time, he strictly subordinated the authority of worldly rule to that of the true Dharma of the *Lotus*. A ruler’s obligation, in his view, was to protect the *Lotus Sūtra* and the monks who upheld it while denying support to those who “disparage the Dharma”; this would ensure general peace and prosperity. If, on the contrary, the ruler gave support to misleading teachings, disaster would plague his realm. This claim was articulated in Nichiren’s famous admonitory treatise *Risshō ankoku ron* (Treatise on establishing the true [Dharma] and bringing peace to the land), submitted to the Bakufu in 1260.

The rhetoric of leading Buddhist institutions of Nichiren’s day held that the “Buddha-Dharma” (*buuppō*) and the ruler’s dharma (*ōbō*) exist in mutual dependence. In practice, this generally meant providing rites of thaumaturgical protection for the emperor or sovereign (*tennō*), the shogun, or other officials in exchange for a guarantee of privileges and economic support. For Nichiren, however, such reciprocal arrangements were untenable where the ruler opposed or was indifferent to the *Lotus Sūtra*, or revered it only as one teaching among many. Until those in power embraced the True Dharma, he held, devotees of the *Lotus* must maintain an oppositional stance, admonishing the ruler, even at the risk of their lives, to take faith in it for the sake of the country and the people’s welfare. In this way, Nichiren’s *Lotus* exclusivism contained an element critical of authority and established a moral basis for defiance of worldly rule in the Dharma’s name.³

However, certain Nichiren writings indicate that, when at some future point the ruler should embrace the *Lotus Sūtra*, a more cooperative relationship of *ōbō* and *buppō* could then be instituted. Envisioning that time, he wrote: "Of my disciples, the monks will be teachers to the sovereign and retired sovereigns, while the laymen will be ranged among the ministers of the left and right."⁴ But the clearest statement attributed to him of a future unity of Buddhism and worldly rule appears in an essay known as the *Sandai hihō shō* (On the three great secret Dharmas):

When the ruler's dharma [*ōbō*] becomes one with Buddha-Dharma [*buppō*] and the Buddha-Dharma is united with the ruler's dharma, so that the ruler and his ministers all uphold the three great secret Dharmas of the origin teaching . . . then surely an imperial edict and a shogunal decree will be handed down, to seek out the most superlative site, resembling the Pure Land of Sacred Vulture Peak [where the *Lotus Sūtra* was expounded], and there to erect the ordination platform. You have only to await the time. . . . Not only will this be [the site of] the dharma of the precepts [*kaihō*] by which all people of the three countries [India, China, and Japan] and the entire world (Skt. Jambudvīpa; Jpn. Ichienbudai) will perform repentance and eradicate their offenses, but [the great protector deities] Brahmā and Indra will also descend and mount this ordination platform.⁵

Nichiren had taught that Buddhism for the time of *mappō* consisted in essence of "three great secret Dharmas" (*sandai hihō*) implicit in the depths of the origin teaching (*honmon*) of the *Lotus Sūtra*—the "origin teaching" being the latter half of the *sūtra*, which presents itself as the teaching of an eternal Buddha who constantly abides in this world. These three secret Dharmas are (1) the *daimoku*, or invocation of the *Lotus Sūtra's* title, "Namu-myōhō-enge-kyō," the central practice of Nichiren's Buddhism and said by him to encompass all the eternal Buddha's merits and virtues; (2) the object of worship (*honzon*), the calligraphic maṇḍala that Nichiren had devised, depicting the assembly of the *Lotus Sūtra* as the eternal Buddha's enlightened realm; and (3) the "ordination platform." The first two Nichiren had himself discussed in detail. But, while some of his later writings make reference to the "ordination platform of the origin teaching" (*honmon no kaidan*), no authenticated work of his explains precisely what he meant by this. Only this one writing, the *Sandai hihō shō*, clearly presents it as an officially sponsored ordination platform, to be erected in the future when "the ruler and his ministers" have embraced the *Lotus Sūtra*.

However, the *Sandai hihō shō* does not survive in Nichiren's handwriting, and in the modern period his authorship has been heatedly disputed. In particular, in the years following Japan's defeat in the Pacific War, in the mood of revulsion against institutional Buddhism's support for the nation's ill-judged imperialist venture, some scholars of the Nichiren tradition denounced the work as a forgery

and denied that Nichiren would ever have embraced a state-sponsored *kaidan* as a religious ideal.⁶ Nonetheless, from the time of Buddhism's introduction to Japan in the sixth century, the ordination of monks had at least in principle been regulated by the imperial court, and the four ordination platforms existing in Nichiren's day were all court sponsored. He and his rather marginal religious community existed outside this official system of ordination, and it seems quite possible—whether he personally wrote the *Sandai hihō shō* or not—that he envisioned the establishment of an "ordination platform of the origin teaching" mandated by the court and the Bakufu, the two ruling structures of his day, as symbolic of the official acceptance of his Buddhism. Whatever Nichiren's own views, throughout premodern times, the future establishment of an imperially mandated *kaidan* was widely accepted within the Nichiren tradition as a task whose achievement Nichiren had entrusted to his later followers. Rival lineages sometimes debated over whose head temple would house the eventual *kaidan* structure. Yet at the same time, perhaps in part because the likelihood of realizing this goal seemed so remote, a corollary interpretation emerged in which the *honmon no kaidan* referred simply to that place, wherever it might be, where the follower of Nichiren embraces faith in the *Lotus Sūtra* and chants *Namu-myōhō-enge-kyō*—a reading closely linked to Nichiren's own claim that wherever one chants the *daimoku* of the *Lotus Sūtra* is the Buddha land. Under the rule of the Tokugawa shogunate in the early modern period (1603–1868), when religious proselytizing was severely restricted, this abstract interpretation of the *kaidan* became the predominant one. Not until the Meiji period (1868–1912), with a radical restructuring of Japan's government, would the ideal of an imperially sponsored *kaidan* be reimagined as something achievable in concrete terms.⁷

Tanaka Chigaku's Religious Nationalism

The first person to reenvision the establishment of the *kaidan* in a modern context was Tanaka Chigaku (1861–1931).^{*} As a young man, Tanaka had abandoned his training for the priesthood of Nichirenshū, the chief denomination of Nichiren Buddhism, to embark on a career of lecturing and proselytizing as a lay teacher. What he advocated was not the traditional Nichiren Buddhism of temples and priests but "*Nichirenshugi* [Nichirenism]," a popularized, lay-oriented Nichiren doctrine applicable to contemporary social realities. In particular, he saw Nichirenshugi as providing a spiritual basis for Japan as a modern state, and "the fusion of Dharma and nation" (*hōkoku myōgō*) would be his lifelong concern. In 1881 Tanaka founded the Rengekai (Lotus Blossom Society) in Yokohama to propagate Nichirenshugi ideals. It was reorganized in 1885 as the Risshō Ankokuikai (after Nichiren's *Risshō ankoku ron*) and again in 1914 as the Kokuchūkai, or "Pillar of the Nation Society" (after Nichiren's words, "I will be the pillar of Japan").

Over the course of his career, Tanaka would shift his base of activities from
* Note for revision: Ogawa Taidō (1814–78) is earlier.

Yokohama to Tokyo, Kyoto and Osaka, Kamakura, Miho in Shizuoka, and then back to Tokyo, all the while continually traveling to preach and lecture. His was not a large organization; Kokuchūkai membership has been estimated at only somewhat more than 7,000 at its height in 1924.⁸ But Tanaka's influence extended well beyond his immediate circle. He was outspoken in defense of clerical marriage and a passionate advocate of lay Buddhism.⁹ His style of lay organization appears to have influenced modern Nichiren Buddhist new religions.¹⁰ He made innovative use of print media to disseminate his message; Kokuchūkai published a number of magazines and journals that made Nichiren Buddhist teachings available in the vernacular language, interpreting them in light of contemporary events. Tanaka also sponsored the compilation of the first dictionary of Nichiren's teachings.¹¹ The literary figure Takayama Chōgyū (1871–1902) and the poet Miyazawa Kenji (1896–1933) were drawn to Tanaka for a time, though they would ultimately reject his nationalistic views. Perhaps his most famous disciple was General Ishiwara Kanji (1889–1949), operations officer of the Kwantung Army, whose actions during the so-called Manchurian Incident (1931) seem to have been inspired by his apocalyptic reading of Tanaka's nationalistic Nichirenism.¹² Here, however, our concern is not to present a detailed overview of Tanaka's career but to consider how he reappropriated medieval Nichiren Buddhist visions of the ruler's future conversion and the establishment of the *honmon no kaidan* in the context of modern Japanese nationalism.¹³

Tanaka's Millenarian Vision and the State-Sponsored *Kaidan*

Tanaka first addressed these themes in detail in his 1901 essay *Shūmon no ishin* (Restoration of the [Nichiren] sect), a manifesto for radical sectarian reform. Tanaka excoriated the traditional Nichiren temple institutions of his day as outmoded, parochial, and indifferent to the needs of modern Japan. "Nichiren Buddhism should not exist for its own sake," he admonished, "but for the sake of the nation. It is the doctrine that can protect the Japanese state, and to which, in the future, all humanity must inevitably convert."¹⁴ Toward Buddhist practice, he urged a spirit of restoration and in particular, a return to Nichiren's foundational emphasis on *shakubuku*, directly challenging the teachings of other sects. Under the Tokugawa regime (1603–1868), when Buddhism had been incorporated into the shogunate's administrative apparatus and religious debates were prohibited by law, the practice of assertive proselytizing by *shakubuku* had been largely abandoned. Doctrinal interpretation had assumed an accommodationist stance, one inherited by Nichiren sectarian leaders of the Meiji period. In addition, in the wake of the brief but violent anti-Buddhist persecution (*haibutsu kishaku*) that had erupted in the early 1870s, Buddhist leaders saw their best chance of institutional survival in transsectarian cooperation. Tanaka despised this ecumenical move; Nichiren had taught that only the *Lotus Sūtra* could

protect the country, and, now that Japan was struggling to assume a place among the world's powers, refutation of inferior teachings by *shakubuku* was what the times demanded.¹⁵ In the areas of education, proselytizing, and sectarian organization, however, Tanaka stressed reforms. He urged, for example, that the various Nichiren denominations transcend their divisions and unite as one tradition, not by abandoning their separate lineages and institutional identities but by establishing a common head temple.¹⁶ He also recommended modern methods of proselytizing, including preaching at roadsides, in halls and auditoriums, at military installations, at hot-spring resorts, and aboard ships; the publishing of a daily newspaper and other propaganda materials in colloquial Japanese; and the organizing of lay women into a nursing corps and the establishment of charitable hospitals run by the sect.

In its wealth of concrete detail, *Shūmon no ishin* gives the impression of a blueprint for action, but it is more accurately understood as a highly embellished millennial vision, decked out with modern trappings. This becomes clear especially in the appendices to Tanaka's essay, which outline a fifty-year plan for world conversion to Nichiren Buddhism, beginning from the year that his envisioned sectarian reform should have been achieved. Here Tanaka plotted with charts and maps the growth he estimated in the numbers of students, doctrinal instructors, and adherents of the sect, as well as its capital, income, and expenditures over ten five-year periods. Adherents, he imagined, for example, would increase over this period from three million to well over 113 million. The Nichiren sect would steadily dominate the nation's economy and infrastructure by building and maintaining railways, shipping lines, and a national bank. He also envisioned the progress of conversion efforts in foreign countries on a "Map of World Unification through Propagation [of Faith in the *Lotus Sūtra*] throughout Jambudvīpa," giving the locations of projected Nichirenist colonies and missionary bases throughout the world.

Central to Tanaka's millenarian vision was the *honmon no kaidan*, the ordination platform of the origin teaching, to be established, according to the *Sandai jihō shō*, by "imperial edict and shogunal decree." Substituting the relevant political structure of his own day, Tanaka argued that the mandate for the *kaidan's* establishment would now have to come from the Imperial Diet; it would be, in his terms, a *kokuritsu kaidan*, a "national *kaidan*" or; literally, a "*kaidan* established by the state." To win a majority of sympathizers in both Diet houses, it would be necessary to convert a majority of the Japanese populace by *shakubuku*. Tanaka depicted a scenario in which, one by one, other religions, acknowledging the superior righteousness of the *Lotus Sūtra*, would declare their own dissolution and convert. Within Buddhism, Hossō and Kegon would capitulate first; their temples, passing to the Nichiren sect, would be respectfully preserved and offered to the state as national treasures. Tendai and Shingon would follow suit, and so, after some initial resistance, would Jōdo and Zen. Jōdo Shinshū and Christianity would resist mightily, and a great Dharma battle

would ensue, but before the fifty years were out, the whole nation would embrace the one vehicle, and establishment of the *kaidan* would be proclaimed.

Tanaka also considered the location and funding of this structure. Its site would be that of the future "single head temple" of a restored Nichiren sect, which Tanaka said should be built in Shizuoka at the foot of Mt. Fuji, "the sacred place at the center of Japan, which is the sacred country at the center of the world." He calculated that, if even a quarter of all believers were to take out hundred-yen life insurance policies with the head temple as beneficiary, careful management of such funds could, over a fifty-year period, result in a sum of 1,190,151,541 yen, sufficient to build the *kaidan*.¹⁷ Tanaka's 1909 decision to relocate his headquarters to Miho in Shizuoka was evidently informed by his vision of this future *kaidan*. As noted above, the *Sandai hihō shō* stipulates that the ordination platform should be erected at "the most superlative (*saishō*) site, resembling the Pure Land of Sacred Vulture Peak." For Tanaka, Mt. Fuji corresponded to "Vulture Peak," and Miho, to the "most superlative site" where the *kaidan* would be built. The name of his new headquarters, the Saishōkaku ("pavilion of the most superlative [site]"), is derived from this passage. The top floor of this new structure even contained a room prepared to house the imperial edict that would mandate the *kaidan's* establishment.¹⁸

Tanaka's vision underwent elaboration in his lectures and writings over the next few years. He divided the *mappō* era, the Final Dharma age for which the *Lotus Sūtra* was intended, into three periods: the founding period, when Nichiren had lived and declared his teaching; the era of dissemination, when faith in the *Lotus Sūtra* was destined to spread; and the era of unification, when all people would embrace it.¹⁹ For Tanaka, this era of unification would be the "golden age" of *ōbutsu myōgō*—the merging of the ruler's dharma with the Buddha-Dharma—another phrase he derived from the *Sandai hihō shō*. At this time, a majority of the nation having been converted, the Diet would pass an amendment revising the constitutional article allowing for freedom of religion and make Nichiren Buddhism the state creed, and an imperial edict would be issued to build the *kaidan*, thus formalizing the merger of Buddhism and government. Politics, society, ethics, thought—all would all be unified on the basis of the *Lotus Sūtra*, a goal that Tanaka referred to as the "realization of Buddhahood by the land" (*kokudo jōbutsu*). This goal was "not like heaven or the Pure Land, which are never actually expected to appear before our eyes. We predict, envision, and aim for it as a reality that we will definitely witness."²⁰

Tanaka's Theory of the "National Essence"

Tanaka may well have been the first person in modern Nichiren Buddhist history to have imagined the universal spread of Nichiren's teachings and the establishment of the *kaidan*, not as a remote future ideal but as a target within

actual reach. The appeal of his vision to followers and sympathizers, however, lay not merely in its immediacy but in the central role it assigned to Japan and its resonance with both official ideology and the popular patriotic sentiments of the day, which had been fanned by Japanese victories in the wars with China (1894–1895) and Russia (1904–1905), the annexation of Korea (1910) and later imperial expansion on the Asian continent. The "Buddhahood of the land," in the sense of peace, just rule, and the manifestation of the *Lotus Sūtra's* blessings in all spheres of human activity, was something Nichiren himself had envisioned. But neither Nichiren nor his medieval followers had understood this goal as necessarily allied to any specific regime or form of government; whether court or Bakufu, any government that upheld the *Lotus Sūtra* would serve to help realize this ideal. For Tanaka, however, "the Buddhahood of the land" was to be exemplified, mediated, and extended to all humanity by the imperial Japanese state. Already in *Shūmon no ishin*, he had written:

At that time [when the *kaidan* is established]—being exhaustively interpreted in connection with our holy founder Nichiren, who in his own person manifested the original Buddha Śākyamuni and the original Dharma of the *Lotus Sūtra*—the sacred plan of the divine ancestors of great Japan, her wondrous and unsurpassed national essence [*kokutai*], and her imperial house, divinely descended in a direct line, will manifest their true worth. Thus the authority of our teaching and the light of our country will fill the universe and instruct the people of all nations. This will accomplish the spiritual unification of the world, without need of a single soldier or sword.²¹

Nichiren Buddhism and Japan, in Tanaka's view, shared a divine mission to unite the world.

This theme would become increasingly prominent in Tanaka's writings from the time of the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905). At this point, Tanaka consciously shifted his efforts from internal reform of the Nichiren sect to "study of the national essence" (*kokutaigaku*), by which name he termed his attempt to interpret the Japanese *kokutai* from the standpoint of Nichirenshugi. The notion of Japan's unique national essence formed the ideological pillar of the modern state; its key elements included the myth of an unbroken imperial line, descended directly from the Sun Goddess and her grandson, Emperor Jinmu, and the concept of the emperor as benevolent father to the "family" of his subjects. The myth of the *kokutai* was disseminated through the media, school ceremonies, educational curricula, and observances on national holidays, and was iconized in ubiquitous pictures of the Meiji emperor. Especially as the nation prepared for war, notions of Japan's divine destiny were promoted to rally public support for the sacrifices this venture would demand. Buddhist sects and other religious institutions for the most part offered wholehearted support, sending chaplains to the front, conducting prayers for victory, and, as the fighting con-

tinued, providing aid to bereaved families.²² At this juncture, Tanaka felt increasingly compelled to communicate his conviction that only Nichirenshugi could provide the spiritual basis for the realization of Japan's unique destiny. Ritualized expressions of reverence for the emperor, with a Nichirenshugi slant, were incorporated into Risshō Ankokuikai observances; at the organization's headquarters in Osaka, for example, during the New Year's ceremony, portraits of the imperial couple were hung at either side of the Nichiren mandala, and prayers were conducted for the eventual realization of *ōbutsu myōgō*.²³ Toward society at large, Tanaka now began to offer his emerging Nichirenist version of *kokutai* theory.²⁴

Tanaka first seriously addressed this issue in a lecture delivered in Nara in 1904, shortly before the war's outbreak, to some two hundred participants in a study training session whom he had taken on a visit to Emperor Jinmu's tomb. It was published as a pamphlet titled *Seikai tōitsu no tengyō* (The divine task of world unification), and several thousand copies distributed to soldiers departing for the front. Its central argument, in Buddhist terms, was that the *kokutai* is the truth to be interpreted (*shoshaku*), and Nichirenshugi, that which interprets it (*nōshaku*).²⁵ Tanaka's hermeneutical strategy, here and in later writings, was to homologize the *Lotus Sūtra*, or, more specifically, Nichirenshugi, with the Japanese national essence through a logic of analogy and numerical correspondence. From the legendary account of Emperor Jinmu's founding of the Yamato kingdom, as related in the eighth-century chronicle *Nihon shoki*, Tanaka drew three phrases describing Jinmu's achievements—"fostering righteousness, accumulating happiness, and increasing glory"—which he identified as the three original acts that had established the Japanese *kokutai*. These he in turn equated with the three imperial regalia—the sword, mirror and jewel—and with Nichiren's three great secret Dharmas: the *daimoku*, the object of worship, and the ordination platform.²⁶ The mission of Japan was the divine task of world unification inherited from Emperor Jinmu, to extend the blessings of the *kokutai* to all people. It would be spearheaded by the emperor, who was at once both Jinmu's lineal heir and also the "wheel-turning monarch" of Buddhist tradition, who supports and protects the Dharma. At the same time, its fulfillment required the spiritual basis provided by Nichirenshugi; incomplete religions, such as Christianity or other forms of Buddhism, could never supply it. "Nichirenism is precisely Japanism," Tanaka wrote. "Nichiren Shōnin appeared in order to interpret Japan's spiritual essence as Buddhist doctrine, providing all humanity throughout the ten thousands years of the Final Dharma age with the ultimate refuge. The great teaching of Nichiren is the religion for Japan, and the religion for Japan is the religion for the world."²⁷

From this point, Tanaka's writings increasingly suggest that the underlying purpose of the *Lotus Sūtra* and Nichiren's teaching was to explicate the Japanese national essence. "Śākyamuni, being in India, preached the Japanese *kokutai* as Buddhism," he asserted. Japan was "the country that gave form to

the *Lotus Sūtra*" while the *Lotus Sūtra* "spiritualized Japan."²⁸ By thus identifying the *Lotus Sūtra* with the Japanese *kokutai*, Tanaka elevated a particular "national essence" to the status of universal truth. This rhetorical move abolished the critical distance that the early Nichiren tradition had advocated toward rulers who do not embrace the *Lotus Sūtra* and legitimated unreserved support for the imperial system. It also conflated the spread of the *Lotus Sūtra* by *shakubuku* with the expansion of Japanese hegemony. At this point, Tanaka's "spiritual unification of the world, without need of a single soldier or sword" gave way to frank endorsements of militant imperialism.

Tanaka's conviction that only Nichirenshugi could manifest the Japanese national essence led him, in 1923, to take the unprecedented step of founding a political party. "Now is the time for adherents of Nichirenshugi to assume their places to the emperor's right and left and take up the reins of a government based on the *Lotus Sūtra*. The time for realizing rule based on the true Dharma has come," he said.²⁹ The party was called the Rikken Yōseikai, or Constitutional Party for Fostering Righteousness; Kokuchūkai leaders were appointed as party officials. As the name suggests, its platform was to be grounded in the three essential principles of the *kokutai*—"fostering righteousness, accumulating happiness, and increasing glory"—that Tanaka had formulated nearly two decades earlier based on his reading of the *Nihon shoki*. Tanaka and two other Kokuchūkai members stood for the May 1924 election to the House of Representatives, running in Nihonbashi in the fifth Tokyo electoral ward. None of the three was elected. Yet, as the first Japanese religious organization to found a political party, Tanaka's Kokuchūkai set a historically significant precedent—one that would be followed, with far greater success, by the postwar Sōka Gakkai.

Tanaka, on the one hand, inherited the totalizing vision of his medieval Nichiren Buddhist forebears, in which temporal government, and indeed, all worldly activities, would someday be based on the *Lotus Sūtra*. On the other hand, Tanaka's reinterpretation was innovative, in being indissolubly linked to the modern imperial state. In the latter part of his career, he increasingly identified "the *Lotus Sūtra*" with the Japanese national essence, an interpretive move that raised the Japanese *kokutai* to the status of universal truth and served to legitimate the armed extension of Japanese empire. It was a distinctly "Nichirenist" mode of *kokutai* exegesis, different in that regard from more prevalent discourses on the *kokutai* expressed in the language of state Shinto. But it stood in unequal competition with the structurally very similar, totalizing vision of official ideology, in which government, public affairs, and eventually the world itself would be united under sacred imperial rule. By assimilating to Nichirenshugi elements of imperial ideology, such as the myth of Japan's divine origins and the uniqueness of its national essence, Tanaka drew his message ever closer into alignment with the official program. As Edwin Lee notes, he stood among "that group of men who helped in an important, if indirect, way to provide the context within which the leaders of government were able to achieve many of their goals."³⁰

Within the context of the Nichiren tradition, however, he was the first individual to redefine the goal of the unity of government and the *Lotus Sūtra* and the establishment of the *honmon no kaidan* in a modern context. These efforts set an important precedent for another such modern revisioning in the postwar period.

Sōka Gakkai's Postwar Vision

The next individual to envision a modern unity of politics and the *Lotus Sūtra* was Toda Jōsei (1900–1958), second president of the Sōka Gakkai, which is now Japan's largest lay Buddhist movement.³¹ Like Tanaka's Kokuchūkai, the Sōka Gakkai under Toda's leadership would run candidates for political office with the aim of eventually winning a majority in the National Diet, in order to establish a state-sponsored ordination platform. There was no direct connection between the two; they had emerged from very different streams within the Nichiren tradition, and, where Tanaka had framed his goals in terms of the rhetoric and ideology of modern imperialism, Toda drew on those of postwar participatory democracy. To my knowledge, Tanaka is nowhere mentioned in Toda's writings. Nonetheless, Toda's vision undoubtedly owed something, however indirectly, to Tanaka's precedent.

The Sōka Gakkai (originally Sōka Kyōiku Gakkai) was founded in 1930 by Makiguchi Tsunesaburō (1871–1944), an educator who had converted to Nichiren Shōshū, a small independent sect of Nichiren Buddhism. The society's original aim was to implement Makiguchi's system of value creative pedagogy (*sōka kyōiku*) on the basis of Buddhist principles. In the 1940s—faithful to Nichiren Shōshū doctrine, which condemns all objects of worship other than Nichiren's mandala as heretical—Makiguchi defied the wartime government policy of religious control, which sought to enforce the observances of state Shinto by demanding that all citizens enshrine the talismans of the imperial Ise Shrine. He was arrested on charges of *lèse majesté* on July 6, 1943, along with other leaders of the society, and died in prison the following year.

Makiguchi's disciple Toda, who had been among those imprisoned, was released in 1945, shortly before the end of the Pacific War, and began the task of rebuilding. He renamed the society "Sōka Gakkai" to reflect an expanded orientation that would seek to implement Buddhist principles, not only in education but in all human activities. Toda devoted the first few years of his postwar efforts to establishing an economic foundation for the organization's activities and training leaders through doctrinal study. He also emphasized *shakubuku*, which for Sōka Gakkai members meant converting individuals specifically to the Buddhism of Nichiren Shōshū. Such activities centered on local discussion meetings (*zadankai*), the chief venue for the society's proselytizing since Makiguchi's day. In a manner reminiscent of Nichiren's explana-

tion for the calamities of his own day, Toda stressed that Japan's sufferings during the war and its aftermath were fundamentally attributable to "disparaging the Dharma"; that is, a willful neglect of the *Lotus Sūtra*. Only by embracing the practice of Nichiren Shōshū could the country, indeed the world, achieve happiness and peace. The term "*kōsen-rufu*," the universal spread of faith in the *Lotus Sūtra*, was used to designate this ideal.³² Where Tanaka had linked *shakubuku* to the spread of divine imperial rule, Toda, who was active in the years immediately following the collapse of the empire, saw it as the means to create a world in which the sufferings epitomized by the recent war could not happen again. His message also appealed on an individual level, emphasizing the power of chanting the *daimoku* and converting others to bring about good health, improved material conditions, harmony in personal relations, and similar benefits. Sōka Gakkai practice thus promised to generate merit for individuals and, at the same time, bring about a harmonious world.

Toda's Vision of The *Kaidan*

Toda's particular vision of the *honmon no kaidan* began to emerge from the time of his formal inauguration as the Sōka Gakkai's second president on 3 May, 1951. This *kaidan* would be located in Shizuoka near Mt. Fuji—not in Miho, at the future head temple of a someday-to-be-unified Nichiren sect, as Tanaka had envisioned, but in Fujinomiya at Taiseikiji, the specific head temple of Nichiren Shōshū. Nichiren Shōshū had a deeply rooted sense of its unique sectarian identity and had long claimed, among the various Nichiren Buddhist lineages, to alone uphold Nichiren's true teachings. According to its tradition, someday its precincts would house the *honmon no kaidan*, to be built by imperial decree.³³ Thus, in Toda's vision, the building of the *kaidan* would not only signify the official acceptance of Nichiren's teaching but also legitimate Nichiren Shōshū over other forms of Nichiren Buddhism. In speaking of this goal, Toda used the terms that Tanaka had popularized—*ōbutsu myōgō* and *kokuritsu kaidan*—but in a manner shorn of their earlier nationalistic connections. Toda himself had experienced firsthand the repressive policies of the wartime government, which he held responsible for his teacher Makiguchi's death, as well as the economic hardships, dislocation, and general misery that followed in the wake of defeat. In his inaugural address, he made certain to divorce the goal of building the *kaidan* from imperial ideology:

There are those who think that *kōsen-rufu* can be achieved by having the emperor accept a *gohonzon* [personal object of worship, i.e., Nichiren's mandala] and issue an imperial edict [for the building of the *kaidan*] as soon as possible, but this is a foolish way of thinking. Today, *kōsen-rufu* means that each of you must grapple with false

teachings and convert the people in this country through *shakubuku* one by one, having everyone receive the *gohonzon*. Only then will the *honmon no kaidan* be established.³⁴

Similarly, Toda's rhetoric of *ōbutsu myōgō*, the fusion of Buddhism and government, had little to do with the nation-state. Ordinarily, Toda observed, government was willing to sacrifice the interests of individuals, small businesses, and so forth to implement its policies; in having sacrificed the lives of so many of its own citizens, Japan's wartime government had been "the worst government in the world." The aim of Buddhism, however, was to enable each individual to flourish. When that spirit would be implemented in public policy, a fusion of the two could take place and bad government would vanish. The spirit of *ōbutsu myōgō* was that prosperity and happiness should obtain on both an individual and societal level.³⁵

At the time of Toda's inauguration, the Sōka Gakkai numbered only about three thousand households. Yet Toda fervently believed that he was living at a key historical juncture, when an extraordinary effort could make the goal of *kōsen-rufu* a reality in the space of a mere twenty-some years. In his inaugural address, he announced a seven-year proselytizing campaign—the "great march of *shakubuku*"—vowing to achieve a membership of 750,000 households before his death. This massive undertaking was supported by a thorough organizational restructuring and the systematic promotion of doctrinal study, geared toward one-on-one conversion efforts. The campaign was spearheaded by the youth division, which was organized in a military-style corps under Toda's direct leadership. They planned strategy and often confronted leaders of other religious groups, forcing them to engage in debate.³⁶ The "great march of *shakubuku*" drew much criticism, even some official scrutiny, for high-pressure conversion tactics.³⁷ At the same time, however, the Sōka Gakkai's promise of personal benefits and a chance to participate in creating an ideal world clearly appealed to many. Toda's goal of 750,000 member families would be achieved well before his death in 1958.

In addition to gaining converts through *shakubuku*, a second prong of Toda's campaign focused on "cultural activities" aimed at winning broad-based support for Sōka Gakkai's aims within the larger society. In particular, Toda decided that Sōka Gakkai should enter the political arena. The society ran fifty-two candidates for the 30 April, 1955 local elections, chiefly ward assemblies in the Tokyo metropolitan area. Of these, fifty-one were elected, including the Sōka Gakkai general director, Koizumi Takashi. Subsequent efforts would also prove remarkably successful, and by 1967, there would be nearly 2,000 Sōka Gakkai members serving in local assemblies. In 1956, three Sōka Gakkai members were elected to the House of Councilors, the Upper House of the National Diet.³⁸

Several reasons have been adduced for Sōka Gakkai's entry into politics. Electing Sōka Gakkai members to political office helped promote internal solidarity and demonstrate the organization's presence to the larger society; it may

also have been seen as a defense against the possibility of repressive measures.³⁹ Fundamentally, however, the venture into politics was driven by Toda's religious vision of an ideal world in which politics, economics, government, and all human activity would be informed by the *Lotus Sūtra*—a unity symbolized by the establishment of the *honmon no kaidan*. His mid-1950s editorials in the society's newspaper are quite frank about this: The culmination of *kōsen-rufu* will be the establishment of the *kokuritsu kaidan*, and for that purpose, a resolution by the Diet will be necessary. Thus, it is needless to say that representatives of those people with firm convictions as to the truth or falsity of religion, people who desire the establishment of the *kokuritsu kaidan*, must occupy a majority in the Diet.⁴⁰ Or, more explicitly yet, "We must establish the *kokuritsu kaidan* at Mt. Fuji, and make Nichiren Shōshū the state religion. For that purpose, we must occupy a majority of the Diet within the next twenty years."⁴¹

Tanaka Chigaku's vision, as we have seen, while in competition with the official ideology of his day, was nonetheless structurally similar to it; both, although from different perspectives, aimed at the unification of all humanity within the sacred Japanese *kokutai*. It was this structural similarity that made the two visions mutually comprehensible and won Tanaka support from prominent figures, even outside Nichiren Buddhist circles. However, Toda Jōsei's vision of the unity of government and Dharma was profoundly at odds with the dominant political ideology of the postwar period, which mandated a clear "separation of church and state" and relegated religion to the private sphere. On one hand, Toda seems to have strongly supported postwar democratic principles; he hailed the establishment of religious freedom, which made his "great march of *shakubuku*" possible.⁴² On the other hand, he appears genuinely not to have recognized that the very goal of a state-sponsored *kaidan*, to be established by a resolution of the Diet, was fundamentally inconsistent with postwar religious policy. Writing in 1956, he dismissed the concerns of others who clearly did discern an incompatibility:

The campaign for the last House of Councilors election drew considerable attention from society. That we, as a religious organization, should put forward some of our members as politicians has provoked debate on various points both internally and externally. At present, all sorts of deluded opinions are being bruited about, for example, that we intend to make Nichiren Shōshū the state religion, or that in several decades our members will dominate both houses of the Diet, or that Sōka Gakkai will seize control of the Japanese government. But our interest in politics lies solely in *kōsen-rufu*, the spread of *Namu-myōhō-enge-kyō* of the Three Great Secret Dharmas. Establishing the *kokuritsu kaidan* is our only purpose.⁴³

Toda maintained throughout that the Sōka Gakkai had no interest in founding its own political party, nor would it run candidates for the House of Rep-

representatives (the Lower House, which elects the prime minister and thus exerts a correspondingly greater influence than the Upper House in national politics). But the fundamental tension between the Sōka Gakkai's goal of a state-sponsored ordination platform and the postwar ideal of the separation of government and religion persisted, and Toda's successor would be forced to address it.

Ikeda Daisaku and the Privatizing of the *Kaidan*

Ikeda Daisaku (1928–), Toda's youth division chief of staff, assumed leadership of the Sōka Gakkai as general director after Toda's death and was inaugurated as the third president on 3 May 1960. Initially, he reiterated Toda's earlier assurances that the Sōka Gakkai would neither form a political party nor run candidates for the Lower House. But the society was soon expanding sufficiently to consider bolder plans. At the twenty-seventh general meeting, held on 3 May 1964, with the membership nearing four million households, Ikeda made a startling announcement. Sōka Gakkai would formally establish a party, Kōmei Seiji Renmei (Clean Government League) or Kōseiren, to conduct its political activities. Though institutionally distinct, the society and the party would be "one and indivisible" in spirit. Moreover, the Kōseiren would run candidates for the Lower House.

Kōseiren—renamed Kōmeitō (Clean Government Party) in November of the same year—adopted the goals of "ōbutsu myōgō and Buddhist democracy" in its party platform.⁴⁴ With the Sōka Gakkai's formidable organizational resources mobilized for campaigning, it enjoyed considerable success. In 1965, eleven Kōmeitō candidates were elected to the Lower House; in 1967, twenty-five were elected. In 1969, when the number of its representatives in the Lower House rose to forty-seven, Kōmeitō emerged as the third largest party in the country. But, as its influence grew, public criticism mounted. Where earlier criticism had focused on the Sōka Gakkai's aggressive proselytizing, from around the mid-1960s books and articles by scholars and journalists now raised questions about the legality of Sōka Gakkai's political activities under Article 20 of the Constitution, which prohibits religious bodies from exercising political authority. Increasingly, fears were expressed that the Sōka Gakkai's political aims, including the establishment of a state-sponsored ordination platform, were inimical to democracy and the freedom of religion. Poor media management on the Sōka Gakkai's part compounded the problem, and matters would reach a head when Kōmeitō leaders tried to block publication of a book highly critical of the Sōka Gakkai by the political scholar Fujiwara Hirotsu.⁴⁵ Fujiwara went public with the incident, precipitating a public relations crisis.

When such criticism first emerged, around the time of the Kōmeitō's establishment in 1964, Ikeda began attempting to redefine the term "state-sponsored ordination platform" (*kokuritsu kaidan*) in a neutral manner, or even to replace

it with the original and more doctrinally precise expression *honmon no kaidan*. To a gathering of the Sōka Gakkai student division, he explained:

Mr. Toda occasionally used the expression [*kokuritsu kaidan*], and because he did so, I, too, have used it from time to time. But in the *goshō* [Nichiren's writings], the writings of Nikkō Shōnin [1246–1333, founder of Taiseikiji], and in the works of Nichikan Shōnin [1665–1726, systematizer of Taiseikiji doctrine], the expression *kokuritsu kaidan* does not occur. "*Kaidan*" refers to the *honmon no kaidan*, the ordination platform of the origin teaching of the *Lotus Sūtra*.⁴⁶

Alternatively, he suggested that *kokuritsu* or "national" should be understood simply as "belonging to the public" in the sense of a national art museum or a national stadium, and that the establishment of the *kaidan* was "nothing to be feared, nothing special at all" but, rather, comparable to erecting a commemorative marker symbolizing the goal of the people's happiness.⁴⁷ For the Sōka Gakkai study journal, Ikeda wrote: "In a democracy, the collective will of the people is at the same time the will of the nation, so if one speaks of a nationally established *kaidan* in that sense, there is nothing strange about it."⁴⁸

Such apologetics, however, would ultimately prove inadequate. Under the mounting pressure of external criticism, the Sōka Gakkai officially revised its stance on several points concerning both the *honmon no kaidan* and its own political activities. In his address to the thirty-third general meeting of the Sōka Gakkai in 1970, Ikeda announced that, in consultation with the society's directors and with the Reverend Hosoi Nittatsu, chief abbot of Nichiren Shōshū, the term "*kokuritsu kaidan*" would henceforth be abandoned. He offered assurances that the Sōka Gakkai was not aiming to make Nichiren Shōshū the state religion; as a religion for all humanity it did not require that sort of political support. Moreover, the *honmon no kaidan* would be built, not by resolution of the National Diet but "by the power of the people who maintain pure faith." Ikeda elaborated: "The former president, Mr. Toda, and I thought seriously about a Diet resolution [to establish the *kaidan*], as an expression of the people's demand. However, in terms of the spirit of the Constitution, that would not be appropriate, and we abandoned that idea long ago." He further assured his listeners that abandoning the notion of a state-sponsored *kaidan* was in no way a betrayal of doctrine; rather, to establish the *kaidan* "by the collective will of pure believers" would be far more significant. Lastly, reversing Toda's declaration of some years before, Ikeda declared that "[our] venture into politics is in no way a means to establish the *kaidan*. Its purpose is simply to promote the welfare of the people, and I would like to confirm, once again, that it is unrelated to the various [religious] activities of Nichiren Shōshū and the Sōka Gakkai."⁴⁹ In the same address, Ikeda further announced that, while Sōka Gakkai and Kōmeitō were united in a common desire for the people's peace and happiness, use of the expression "one and inseparable" to describe their relationship had invited misunderstand-

ings. Henceforth, the activities of the two organizations would be separate, and Kōmeitō officials would no longer hold leadership positions within the Sōka Gakkai.⁵⁰ The next month, at the eighth general meeting of the Kōmeitō, the expression *ōbutsu myōgō* was dropped from the party platform, and Kōmeitō assumed a more secular self-definition.⁵¹

This sweeping redefinition was in a sense liberating for both bodies. Freed from its explicitly religious ties, Kōmeitō was now able to join forces with other opposition parties, while the Sōka Gakkai from this point began to assume a more moderate, mainstream orientation, modulating its criticism of other religions. But Ikeda's announcement also marked a major readjustment of the society's religious vision. The Sōka Gakkai had entered politics as a means to achieve the goal of a state-sponsored *kaidan*, by winning a majority in the Diet. Ironically, its very success in advancing this means, as measured by the Kōmeitō's growing influence, aroused the criticism that would ultimately force the original goal of a state-sponsored ordination platform to be abandoned.⁵² This did not mean abandoning the goal of establishing the *honmon no kaidan* in and of itself. It was simply now to be "established by the people" (*minshūritsu*) rather than "by the state" (*kokuritsu*). Passages in the major Sōka Gakkai handbooks were revised to reflect the change.⁵³

What, exactly, did that mean? Some years earlier, at the twenty-seventh general meeting in 1964—the same occasion when he had declared the founding of Kōseiren—Ikeda had also announced that the society's members would raise money to donate to Taiseikiji, a large, imposing hall of worship to accommodate increases in the number of pilgrims resulting from the Sōka Gakkai's *shakubuku* campaign. It would be called the Shō Hondō, or grand main sanctuary. At the time, it was designated simply as the latest in a series of buildings donated to the head temple by Sōka Gakkai members. By the following year, however, Ikeda had begun to speak of this project as the "de facto" (*jijitsujo*) establishment of the *honmon no kaidan*.⁵⁴ This suggests that he may already have foreseen the need to distance the Sōka Gakkai from the goal of a state-sponsored ordination platform, well before that goal was publicly renounced in 1970.

It would be hard to overstate the excitement and level of commitment that the Shō Hondō project generated within the society. When the plans were first announced in 1964, members were encouraged to save money to contribute during a fundraising drive that would be held for only four days, 9–12 October of the following year. The money, collected through the Mitsubishi Bank at more than 16,000 locations nationwide, amounted to more than thirty-five and a half billion yen, mostly from Sōka Gakkai members. The noted Yokoyama Kimio was retained as chief architect, and six construction firms were contracted for the project on a joint-venture basis.⁵⁵ The *honmon no kaidan*, the goal of Nichiren Shōshū for seven hundred years, would now be realized, and it was Sōka Gakkai members, under Ikeda's leadership, who were going to make it happen.

Tanaka Chigaku's plan for establishing the *honmon no kaidan* by decision of the Imperial Diet had marked the first reinterpretation of this goal in a modern political context and reflected the ideology of an emerging nation-state. In the postwar period, Toda Jōsei also aimed at establishing the *kaidan* by a resolution of the National Diet, a vision similar to Tanaka's but stripped of its imperialistic connotations and assimilated specifically to Nichiren Shōshū. Ikeda Daisaku's "*kaidan* established by the people," however, marked a major hermeneutical innovation in that it was to be built, not by government authority at all but as a privatized venture of the Sōka Gakkai. It offered, somewhat belatedly, a vision of the *kaidan* consistent with the postwar separation of church and state in a way that notions of a *kokuritsu kaidan* were not. At the same time, however, it was more difficult to legitimate in light of traditional doctrine and presented new definitional problems.

The Rise and Fall of the "De Facto" *Kaidan*

According to Nichiren Shōshū teachings, the *honmon no kaidan* was to be built when *kōsen-rufu*, or the spread of faith in the *Lotus Sūtra*, had been achieved. Though the Sōka Gakkai by the mid-1960s numbered an impressive five million households, still, no one could claim that a majority of the Japanese people—let alone of the world—embraced Nichiren Shōshū. Thus, the goal of *kōsen-rufu* itself had to be redefined in a more immediate manner. Ikeda accordingly introduced the concept of *Shaie no san'oku*, or the "three hundred thousand of Śrāvastī," a phrase from the *Dazhidulun* (Treatise on liberation through great wisdom) referring to the great difficulty of encountering the Dharma. According to this classic Chinese Buddhist work, although the Buddha taught in the city of Śrāvastī for twenty-five years, only one-third of Śrāvastī's nine hundred thousand households had seen him; another third had heard of but not seen him; and the remaining third had never seen or heard of him. In Ikeda's reading, however, the "three hundred thousand of Śrāvastī" became a formula for *kōsen-rufu*. If one-third of Japan's population were to embrace Nichiren Shōshū and another third become Kōmeitō supporters, he said, then, even if the remaining third were opposed, *kōsen-rufu* would virtually have been achieved.⁵⁶ Considering the Sōka Gakkai's rate of expansion at the time, converting one third of the population probably did not seem altogether inconceivable. Redefining *kōsen-rufu* in "de facto" (*jijitsujo*) terms not only made it seem more accessible but also served to legitimate the "de facto" *kaidan* that was to symbolize it.

Not everyone, however, found Ikeda's redefinitions persuasive. Even as the majestic framework for the Shō Hondō began to rise, new difficulties were brewing, this time within Nichiren Shōshū. Although Sōka Gakkai was by now the wealthiest and most powerful of Nichiren Shōshū's *kō* or lay affiliates, some of

the older *kō* resented its growing influence within the sect. Particularly strident criticisms were voiced by the Myōshinkō, formed in 1942. This lay association took a more literalist reading of the *Sandaihihō shō*: The ordination platform was supposed to be nationally sponsored, and the attainment of *kōsen-rufu*, which should precede its establishment, had not yet been achieved. Supported by some sympathetic members of the Nichiren Shōshū priesthood, Myōshinkō members accused the Sōka Gakkai of distorting doctrine, and the head temple, of endorsing their error. Myōshinkō protests culminated in 1974 with a large anti-Sōka Gakkai demonstration staged in Meiji Park in Tokyo. Angered at the group's intransigence, Nichiren Shōshū's chief abbot, Hosoi Nittatsu, eventually ordered the Myōshinkō to dissolve.⁵⁷ But he also required the Sōka Gakkai to cease equating the Shō Hondō with the *honmon no kaidan*—although he left open the possibility that it might later be so designated when *kōsen-rufu* had actually been achieved. Just days before the newly completed structure was to be formally dedicated, an article appeared in the Sōka Gakkai's newspaper under the byline of General Director Izumi Satoru, which read:

In light of [Nichiren] Daishōnin's great resolve to save all humanity, at present, only the first step toward *kōsen-rufu* has been achieved. Accordingly, the Shō Hondō does not yet represent the establishment of the *kaidan* referred to in the *Sandai hihō shō*. . . . Thus it would be a mistake to think that, in building the Shō Hondō, we have finished something, or fulfilled [Nichiren's] will, or accomplished *kōsen-rufu*.⁵⁸

The Shō Hondō, with its glistening marble surfaces and soaring suspension roof, the largest in the world, was accounted an architectural marvel. Upon its completion, Taisekiji did indeed become a major pilgrimage site, visited annually by millions who came to worship, including Sōka Gakkai members from throughout Japan and from the member nations of the rapidly expanding Sōka Gakkai International. A network of facilities, lodging, shops, and transportation services, including a new bullet train station (Shin Fuji), sprang up to serve their needs. But the Nichiren Shōshū leadership had made clear that the structure in which they worshiped, imposing though it might be, was not the *honmon no kaidan*. Nor, today, does the possibility even remain that the Shō Hondō might someday be so redefined. Long-standing tensions between Nichiren Shōshū and the Sōka Gakkai, already evident at the time of the Shō Hondō's construction, escalated over time into mutual mistrust and hostility, eventually leading to a bitter schism in 1991. In a burst of anti-Gakkai sentiment, and over the protests of architects worldwide, the current chief abbot of Nichiren Shōshū, Abe Nikken, had the Shō Hondō demolished in 1998–1999.⁵⁹ Briefly catapulted to the status of a world religion by Sōka Gakkai's international proselytizing efforts, Nichiren Shōshū has reverted to its historically more familiar role as a small, marginal sect within the larger Nichiren Buddhist tradition. Sōka Gakkai, for

its part, now undergoing a period of self-redefinition, has reoriented its goal of an ideal society based on faith in the *Lotus Sūtra* in a manner consistent with Buddhist modernism more generally, joining the global network of socially engaged religionists. Its fierce exclusivistic truth claims of the postwar period—difficult for any religious institution with mainstream aspirations to sustain—have given way to a rhetoric of interfaith dialogue and cooperation. While the goal of *kōsen-rufu* remains, there is no longer talk of timetables or of concrete plans to build the *honmon no kaidan*. The millennial expectations that the *kaidan* represents have been returned to the indefinite future.

Afterword

Practitioners of any historical period who envision for their religion an active social role must continually negotiate two requirements: fidelity to their received tradition, which confers legitimacy, and responsiveness to the needs of the present, by which vitality is maintained. Not infrequently, these two demands—for orthodoxy and for contemporary relevance—are in tension. When that happens, the received tradition undergoes redefinition: hitherto prominent elements may be marginalized or overlooked; others, half forgotten, may be resurrected; and still others, reinterpreted. The hermeneutical strategies by which such choices are made are the vehicles by which traditions continually define and sometimes reinvent themselves. This is by no means a new process, though the attempts of Buddhist traditions to adjust to the social and intellectual transformations of the last two centuries place it in stark relief.

In this light, it is important to note that, from the standpoint of the broader Nichiren tradition, the attempts of Tanaka Chigaku and the Sōka Gakkai—to envision or even build Nichiren's *honmon no kaidan* as an actual institution supported by contemporary political structures—represent a minority move, one seldom encountered in the traditional Nichiren denominations consisting of priests, temples, and lay parishioners. From the early modern period, when Buddhist temples were subsumed within the state administrative apparatus and widespread *shakubuku* became impracticable, Nichiren Buddhist ideologues tended to interpret the *honmon no kaidan* in an abstract sense. The *kaidan* was wherever a practitioner might embrace the *Lotus Sūtra* with faith and chant *Namu-myōhō-enge-kyō*. Or, the entire realm of the eternal Buddha—the cosmos seen through the awakened eyes of faith—could be understood as the *honmon no kaidan*. The mandate found in the *Sandai hihō shō* for the building of an actual physical structure, symbolizing the conversion of the ruler and the people, was indefinitely postponed. What impact Tanaka's ideal of an actual *kaidan* as the spiritual center of Japan's envisioned world leadership may have made on traditional Nichiren temple Buddhism during Japan's modern imperial period remains a question for further investigation. In the postwar period,

however, the mainstream Nichiren temple institutions have, on the whole, been content to let the establishment of the *kaidan* recede into the indefinite future.⁶⁰ More radical postwar scholars of Nichiren, as we have seen, have vigorously challenged the authenticity of the *Sandai hihō shō*, and with it, the entire notion of the *kaidan* as an actual institution; if Nichiren did not write this text, then abandoning the very idea of the union of Buddhism and government that it suggests could be construed as a return to orthodoxy.⁶¹ This move has been driven less by textual evidence calling into question the *Sandai hihō shō*'s authenticity than by a desire to define Nichiren Buddhism in a manner dissociated, both from the Buddhist nationalism of the modern imperial period, such as Tanaka's, and from the controversial political activities of the postwar Sōka Gakkai. Not coincidentally, it is also consistent with the postwar liberal ideal of the separation of religion and state.

It is significant that both Tanaka's Risshō-Ankokukai (later Kokuchūkai) and the Sōka Gakkai were newly organized lay societies, quite different from the Nichiren Buddhist temples or lay associations of the past. In their initial emphasis on a "return to *shakubuku*," both societies drew, whether consciously or not, on a legitimating strategy used by reformers and schismatic lineages throughout the history of the Nichiren tradition: those who actively confront and repudiate the doctrines of other religions are the ones who can be said to be truly faithful to Nichiren's teachings.⁶² Inspired by dramatic changes in modern forms of government—the emergence of the Japanese empire and the establishment of postwar democracy—their respective plans to realize the *honmon no kaidan* as an actual institution supported by the contemporary political structure served a similar legitimating purpose; in each case, it was the new movement, rather than the traditional institutions, that could claim to be striving to achieve what Nichiren had mandated. The political activities of these modern Nichirenist movements must be seen, not only in the context of Buddhist modernism, with its demand for this-worldly social engagement, but also within the history of the Nichiren tradition and the competing strategies of legitimation by which rival groups and institutions within that tradition have sought to define their orthodoxy.

NOTES

1. Japanese names are given in the traditional order, with the surname first. In notes, I have followed whichever order is used in the sources being cited.
2. *Nyosetsu shugyō shō*, *Shōwa teihon Nichiren Shōnin ibun* (hereafter *Teihon*), ed. Risshō Daigaku Nichiren Kyōgaku Kenkyūjo (Minobu-chō, Yamanashi Prefecture: Minobusan Kuonji, 1952–1959; revised 1988), 1: 733.
3. On this element in Nichiren's thought and in his subsequent tradition, see Satō Hiroo, "Nichiren's View of Nation and Religion," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 26, nos. 3–4 (1999): 307–23, and my "Rebuking the Enemies of the Lotus:

Nichirenist Exclusivism in Historical Perspective," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 21 (1994): 231–259.

4. "Shonin gohenji," *Teihon* 2: 1479.
5. *Teihon* 2: 1864–1865. The formal title of this essay is *Sandai hihō honjōji*.
6. On Nichiren's *homon no kaidan* and the politics of the dispute over the *Sandai hihō shō*'s authenticity, see Pier P. Del Campana, "Sandaihihō-shō: An Essay on the Three Great Mysteries by Nichiren," *Monumenta Nipponica* 26, nos. 1–2 (1971): 205–224; Sueki Fumihiko, "Nichiren's Problematic Works," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 26, nos. 3–4 (1999), especially pp. 264–273; and Jacqueline I. Stone, *Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Medieval Japanese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), pp. 288–290.
7. For an overview of the history of interpretation of the *honmon no kaidan*, see Watanabe Hōyō, "Kaidan," in *Nichirenshū jiten*, ed. Nichirenshū Jiten Kankō Iinkai (Tokyo: Nichirenshū Shūmuin, 1981), pp. 43–47. Nichiren himself understood the merit of receiving and keeping the precepts to be encompassed in the act of upholding the *Lotus Sūtra*, an interpretation which facilitated modern refigurings of the *kaidan* as relevant to lay Buddhists.
8. Ōtani Eiichi, *Kindai Nihon no Nichirenshugi undō* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2001), p. 404.
9. See Richard M. Jaffe, *Neither Monk nor Layman: Clerical Marriage in Japanese Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), pp. 165–188.
10. For Tanaka's influence on the Reiyūkai's founder, Kubo Kakutarō, see Helen Hardacre, *Lay Buddhism in Contemporary Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), pp. 11–13. When Niwano Nikkyō established the Risshō Kōseikai in 1938, he sought the organizational assistance of two Kokuchūkai members, who initially served as Kōseikai's general and vice general director. See Niwano's *Lifetime Beginner: An Autobiography*, trans. Richard L. Gage (Tokyo: Kosei Publishing Co., 1978), p. 88.
11. The three-volume *Honge seiten daijirin* (Great dictionary of the sacred writings of Nichiren), published in 1920. One of the project's chief editors, Tanaka's disciple Yamakawa Chiō (1879–1956), helped to pioneer the modern academic study of Nichiren.
12. Iokibe Makoto, "Ishiwara Kanji ni okeru Nichiren shūkyō," *Seikei ronsō* 19, nos. 5–6 (February 1970): 121–147 and 20, no. 1 (April 1970): 69–100.
13. The most detailed study of Tanaka's career to date appears in Ōtani Eiichi, *Kindai Nihon no Nichirenshugi undō*. Other useful overviews include Edwin Lee, "Nichiren and Nationalism: The Religious Patriotism of Tanaka Chigaku," *Monumenta Nipponica* 30, no. 1 (Spring 1975): 19–35, and Nakano Kyōtoku, "Tanaka Chigaku: Hōkoku myōgōron kara Nihon kokutairon e no tenkai," *Kindai Nichiren kyōdan no shisōka*, ed. Nakano Kyōtoku (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1977), pp. 147–98.
14. *Shōmon no ishin* (1901; 9th printing, Tokyo: Shishō Bunko, 1919). A more recent edition of the text, minus Tanaka's appendices, appears in *Gendai Nihon shisō taikai*, vol. 7, ed. Yoshida Kyūichi, (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō), pp. 165–196. For further discussion of this work, see Lee, "Nichiren and Nationalism," pp. 26–27, and Ōtani *Kindai Nihon no Nichirenshugi undō*, pp. 69–75.

15. On Meiji-period transectarian constructions of Buddhism, see James E. Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan: Buddhism and Its Persecution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990). On the significance of *shakubuku* for Tanaka, see George J. Tanabe, Jr., "Tanaka Chigaku: The *Lotus Sūtra* and the Body Politic," in *The Lotus Sūtra in Japanese Culture*, ed. George J. Tanabe, Jr., and Willa Jane Tanabe (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989), pp. 191–208.

16. In referring collectively to Nichiren Buddhism, Tanaka used the term *Honge Myōshū*, meaning the lineage (*shū*) of the Wonderful Dharma (*myō[hō]*), i.e., the *Lotus Sūtra* (Jpn. *Myōhō-enge-kyō*), borne by those bodhisattvas who are the eternal Buddha's disciples (*honge*), taught by him, not in his provisional manifestation as the historical Buddha, but at the time of his original enlightenment in the remotest past, as described in the origin teaching of the *Lotus Sūtra*. The Nichiren tradition identifies Nichiren as the leader of these "original disciples," the bodhisattva Jōgyō (Skt. Viśiṣṭacārita). *Honge Myōshū* was not the name of any existing Nichiren Buddhist institution but rather suggested an idealized, unified tradition.

17. *Shūmon no ishin, furoku*, pp. 32, 7.

18. Ōtani, *Kindai Nihon no Nichirenshugi undō* pp. 152–53.

19. *Honge myōshū shikimoku kōgiroku* (1904), vol. 1. For discussion, see Ōtani, *Kindai Nihon no Nichirenshugi undō*, pp. 95–103.

20. *Ibid.*, quoted in Ōtani, *Kindai Nihon no Nichirenshugi undō*, p. 98.

21. *Shūmon no ishin, furoku*, p. 25.

22. See for example Yoshida Kyūichi, *Kaitai zōho Nihon kindai Bukkyō shakaishi kenkyū 2, Yoshida Kyūichi chosakushū 6* (Tokyo: Kawashima Shoten, 1991), pp. 120–35.

23. See Ōtani, *Kindai Nihon no Nichirenshugi undō*, pp. 119–20.

24. On the shift in Tanaka's orientation at the time of the Russo-Japanese War, and the development of his *kokutai* thought more generally, see Lee, "Nichiren and Nationalism," pp. 28–33; Nishiyama Shigeki, "Nichirenshugi no tenkai to Nihon kokutairon," *Ronshū Nihon Bukkyōshi*, vol. 9, ed. Kōmoto Mitsugu (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1988), pp. 136–140; and Ōtani, *Kindai Nihon no Nichirenshugi undō*, pp. 114–28.

25. Ōtani, *Kindai Nihon no Nichirenshugi undō*, p. 123.

26. The hermeneutical strategy of establishing identifications by correspondence and analogy constitutes a key feature of medieval Japanese Buddhist secret transmission texts. Interestingly enough, it was widely deployed in the modern period by Buddhist ideologues of every sect to argue that Buddhist teachings were consistent with the imperial project (see, for example, Christopher Ives, "The Mobilization of Doctrine: Buddhist Contributors to Imperial Ideology in Modern Japan," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 26, nos. 1–2 [Spring 1999], especially pp. 89–94). To what extent Tanaka may have set the precedent for this interpretive approach will bear further investigation.

27. "Kōshū no kenkoku to honge no daikyō," *Myōshū* 7, no. 2 (February 1904), quoted in Ōtani, *Kindai Nihon no Nichirenshugi undō*, p. 123.

28. *Nihon kokutai no kenkyū*, quoted in Nishiyama, p. 140.

29. Quoted in Ōtani, *Kindai Nihon no Nichirenshugi undō*, pp. 297–298. See also pp. 322–329.

30. Lee, "Nichiren and Nationalism," p. 35.

31. The Sōka Gakkai today claims more than eight million member families (<www.sokagakkai.or.jp/sokanet/Syoukai/data>, accessed 12/30/01). Useful sources on the postwar Sōka Gakkai include Murakami Shigeyoshi, *Sōka Gakkai, Kōmeitō* (Tokyo: Aoki Shoten, 1967), and Kiyooki Murata, *Japan's New Buddhism: An Objective Account of Sōka Gakkai* (New York: Weatherhill, 1969). For this chapter, I am particularly indebted to Nishiyama Shigeki's "Nichiren Shōshū Sōka Gakkai ni 'honmon kaidan' ron no henshen," in *Nichirenshū no shomondai*, ed. Nakao Takashi (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1974), pp. 241–265.

32. In the text of the *Lotus Sūtra*, the expression *kōsen-rufu*, literally "to widely declare and spread," refers specifically to the Bodhisattva Medicine King chapter, which may have circulated independently (*Myōhō-enge-kyō*, *Taishō* no. 262, 9: 54c). Nichiren used "*kōsen-rufu*" to refer to the spread of his teaching.

33. See Murakami, *Sōka Gakkai*, pp. 74–82, for an overview of the *kaidan* in Nichiren Shōshū doctrine. On similarities and differences between Tanaka's view of the *kaidan* and that of the Taiseiki lineage, see Nakano, "Tanaka Chigaku: Hōkoku myōgōron kara Nihon kokutairon e no tenkai," pp. 180–184.

34. *Toda Jōsei zenshū*, ed. Toda Jōsei Zenshū Shuppan Iinkai (Tokyo: Seikyō Shinbunsha, 1981–), 3: 430. An exception to Toda's refusal to invoke the authority of the imperial house is a series of references, made in lectures delivered in the fall of 1954, to the *shishinden gohonzon*, a maṇḍala held by Taiseikiji, which Nichiren is said to have inscribed for bestowal upon the emperor at such time as he should embrace the *Lotus Sūtra* (*ibid.*, 4: 195, 198, 201, 211). Toda's references to this maṇḍala, however, serve to stress, not so much the authority of the emperor as the sole legitimacy of Nichiren Shōshū among all Nichiren Buddhist lineages, by virtue of its possession of this maṇḍala.

35. Toda's views on *ōbutsu myōgō* were first adumbrated in an editorial in the Sōka Gakkai journal *Daihyakurenge* ("Ōbō to buppō," 10 March 1950, reproduced in *Toda Jōsei zenshū* 1: 26–29), and elaborated in his essay "Ōbutsu myōgōron," serialized from August 1956 through April 1957 (*ibid.*, 1: 200–253).

36. The young men and women who had joined Sōka Gakkai just after the war came primarily from the urban working class; with little access to formal higher education or career-track jobs, they were drawn by Toda's personal charisma, his vision of an ideal society, and the opportunity he offered them to exercise their abilities in leadership roles. For the importance of the youth division in the Sōka Gakkai's postwar growth, see Murakami, *Sōka Gakkai*, pp. 119–120, 129, 139, 140–141, 143–147; Murata, *Japan's New Buddhism*, pp. 98–101. It is worth noting that, in the 1920s, the youth of the Kokuchūkai had also been organized into military-style corps and charged with direct responsibility for proselytizing (Ōtani, *Kindai Nihon no Nichirenshugi undō*, pp. 299–301); the question of whether or not their activities inspired Toda's manner of organizing of his youth division will require further research.

37. In 1952, Toda was required by the special investigations bureau of the Department of Justice (Hōmufu Tokushinkyoku) to deliver in writing a statement to the effect that Sōka Gakkai members would refrain from the illegal use of violence or threats in conducting *shakubuku* (*Kyōke kenkyū* 2, ed. Sōtōshū Kyōke Kenkyūjo [December 1957], p. 122, cited in Murakami, *Sōka Gakkai*, p. 136).

38. Hiroshi Aruga, "Soka Gakkai and Japanese Politics," in *Global Citizens: The Soka Gakkai Buddhist Movement in the World*, ed. David Machacek and Bryan Wilson (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 107–108.
39. Nishiyama, "Nichiren Shōshū Sōka Gakkai ni okeru 'hommon kaidan' ron no hensen," p. 247.
40. *Seikyō shinbun* (7 April 1955), cited in *ibid.*, p. 249.
41. *Seikyō shinbun* (17 April 1955), cited in *ibid.*, p. 249.
42. According to Ikeda Daisaku's fictionalized treatment of the Sōka Gakkai's postwar history, Toda saw Douglas MacArthur, head of the American Occupation forces, as carrying out the work of "Brahmā," the Buddhist tutelary deity who punishes those disparaging of the Dharma and protects Buddhism, in this case, by dismantling the wartime religious controls and instituting freedom of religion (*Ningen kakumei*, vol. 1 [Tokyo: Seikyō Shinbunsha, 1965], pp. 132, 149, 152).
43. "Ōbutsu myōgō" (1 August 1956), *Toda Jōsei zenshū* 1: 200. Not much more than a year earlier, Toda himself had spoken of winning a majority in the Diet and making Nichiren Shōshū the state religion (see notes 40 and 41); it is not clear here whether he was being disingenuous or simply inconsistent, or had perhaps begun to shift his thinking.
44. On Kōmeitō's history and policies, see for example Daniel A. Métraux, *The Soka Gakkai Revolution* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1994), pp. 39–69, and Hiroshi Aruga, "Soka Gakkai and Japanese Politics," pp. 97–127.
45. Hirotsu Fujiwara, *I Denounce Soka Gakkai (Sōka Gakkai o kiru)*, trans. Worth C. Grant (Tokyo: Nisshin Hodo, 1970).
46. Address to the seventh student division general meeting (30 June 1964), quoted in Nishiyama, "Nichiren Shōshū Sōka Gakkai ni okeru 'hommon kaidan' ron no hensen," p. 251.
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Daibyakurenge*, November 1964, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 252.
49. "Ningen shōri no daibunka mezashite," *Shinpan Ikeda Kaichō zenshū* (Tokyo: Seikyō Shinbunsha, 1977–1980), 1: 13–16.
50. *Ibid.*, pp. 18–22.
51. Nishiyama, "Nichiren Shōshū Sōka Gakkai ni okeru 'hommon kaidan' ron no hensen," p. 257.
52. This problem has been analyzed in detail by Nishiyama Shigeki. According to Nishiyama, the process by which a religious movement's original goal is modified or abandoned while the means of organizational preservation and expansion become ends in themselves characterizes the transformation of a "sect" into a mainstream "denomination."
53. Nishiyama has compared the 1961 and 1968 editions of the *Shakubuku kyōten* (Manual for *shakubuku*), as well as the 1962 and 1967 editions of *Nichiren Shōshū Sōka Gakkai*, noting that in both texts, references to the state-sponsored ordination platform in the earlier edition have been revised in the later one to reflect the notion of a *kaidan* erected "by the people" (Nishiyama, "Nichiren Shōshū Sōka Gakkai ni okeru 'hommon kaidan' ron no hensen," pp. 254–256). Similarly, one notes that references to a state-sponsored ordination platform in Toda's posthumously published complete works are qualified by endnotes that repudiate the term

- as one no longer in use and explain it as a *kaidan* sponsored by the people (see for example *Toda Jōsei zenshū* 1: 201–202).
54. See Murata, *Japan's New Buddhism*, pp. 129–132; Nishiyama, "Nichiren Shōshū Sōka Gakkai ni okeru 'hommon kaidan' ron no hensen," pp. 252–53.
55. For architectural details, see *Pictorial Report of the Sho Hondo* (Tokyo: Seikyō Press, 1972).
56. The *Dazhidulun* reference appears at *Taishō Shinshū Daizokuyō* no. 1509, 25: 125c. For Ikeda's reading, see Murata, *Japan's New Buddhism*, pp. 129–132, and Nishiyama, "Nichiren Shōshū Sōka Gakkai ni okeru 'hommon kaidan' ron no hensen," p. 254.
57. Nishiyama, "Nichiren Shōshū Sōka Gakkai ni okeru 'hommon kaidan' ron no hensen," pp. 256, 259–259. Myōshinkō reorganized in 1982, however, as the Nichiren Shōshū Kenshōkai, and is now growing rapidly.
58. *Seikyō shinbun*, 3 October 1972, quoted in Nishiyama, "Nichiren Shōshū Sōka Gakkai ni okeru 'hommon kaidan' ron no hensen," p. 257.
59. Jane Hurst, "A Buddhist Reformation in the Twentieth Century: Causes and Implications of the Conflict between Sōka Gakkai and the Nichiren Shōshū Priesthood," in *Global Citizens*, pp. 69–70. The relevant websites cited by Hurst are no longer active; see however <www.nichiren.com/e03/htm>, accessed 30 December 01. On the schism more generally, see Trevor Astley, "A Matter of Principles: A Note on the Recent Conflict between Nichiren Shōshū and Sōka Gakkai," *Japanese Religions* 17, no. 22 (July 1992): 167–175; Jan Van Bragt, "An Uneven Battle: Sōka Gakkai vs. Nichiren Shōshū," *Bulletin of the Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture* 17 (Spring 1993): 15–31; and Daniel A. Métraux, *The Soka Gakkai Revolution*, pp. 71–97.
60. For example, a Nichirenshū handbook explains the *kaidan* as a formal place of practice symbolizing universal conversion to the Wonderful Dharma but says nothing about when or where it might be erected, or about state sponsorship (*Nichirenshū dokuhon*, ed. Asai Endō and the Rishshō Daigaku Nichiren Kyōgaku Kenkyūjo [Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1989], pp. 166–169). An exception to this general trend is Itō Zuiei. See his *Naze ima Sandai hihō shō ka* (Kyoto: Ryūmonkan, 1997).
61. See, for example, the chapter titled "Nichiren o kegasu Sandai hihō shō" ("The Sandai hihō shō that defiles Nichiren") in Tokoro Shigemoto's *Nichiren no shisō to Kamakura Bukkyō* (Tokyo: Fuzankaku, 1965), pp. 152–67.
62. On this point, see my "Rebuking the Enemies of the Lotus: Nichirenist Exclusivism in Historical Perspective," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 21/2–3 (1994): 231–59.