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CONTENTS

Philosophy, Logic and Suffering: Another Perspective on Mādhyamika

Jeffrey R. Timm

INTRODUCTION

The emergence of Mādhyamika Buddhism—through the writings of its central thinkers, Nāgārjuna and Candrakīrti—is one of the great developments in the global history of philosophy. Śūnyatā, or emptiness, at the heart of Mādhyamika has been analyzed and reanalyzed by contemporary philosophers and religious thinkers.[1] Like any seminal religious notion its import is multi-dimentional and appears nearly inexhaustible: a recent contribution is Diane Ames' "Nāgārjuna's Concept of Śūnyatā" [*Pacific World*, Fall 1987]. Perhaps it is appropriate, given the spirit of Mādhyamika, to make some suggestions about Ames' presentation by reconsidering Nāgārjuna's śūnyatā. My basic thesis is that śūnyatā is not a concept at all; rather it is an invitation to embrace the emptiness of all conceptual thinking by exposing the inherent limits of human logic and by revealing the intrinsic, existential connection between the act of philosophizing and the experience of human suffering. This article, then takes yet another look at Mādhyamika's contribution and suggests (along with Ames) that its goal is thoroughly soteriological, but also that its concern with the philosophical is thoroughly deconstructive.[2]

THE PROBLEM OF SUFFERING

Buddhism, perhaps more than any other religion, addresses the problem of human suffering. What is suffering? How may it be voided? Nāgārjuna in the *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikās* develops the Buddha's teaching that no speculative or metaphysical analysis is able to solve the problem of suffering. Taking this one step further, Candrakīrti, in his *Prasannapadā*, shows that philosophy, itself, represents a kind of suffering. Simply stated, every philosophy, every metaphysical position, every religion, every logically constructed characterization of reality is an explicit prescription to view the world in a special way, and carries with it an implicit rejection of alternative viewpoints. But because there is no fixed reality, no unchanging metaphysical "stuff," every metaphysical position is inadequate (including, if it is taken as a metaphysical position, the claim that every metaphysical position is inadequate.) In light of real or imagined adversaries, a philosophical perspective, regardless of its particular content, can produce only anxiety. Wishing to become greater than it is, the ego identifes itself with a particular worldview. Taking such a stand, even in the face of competing alternative views, the ego fortifies itself against all counterclaims which threaten to expose the limits of its favored perspective. It develops reasons and arguments to buoy the assertion of its own position. And because all this effort proceeds from the ego's *a priori* habit to say "I am," it becomes the basis of suffering.

One of the major confusions about the Mādhyamika program results from its *appearance* as a philosophical position: either it must be saying something about "the way it really is," or it must be a kind of nihilism. Both these characterizations miss the mark. Instead, Nāgārjuna and Candrakīrti wished to exhaust every possibility of asserting

and denying existence (*svabhāva*). The goal is not nihilistic, but instead an attempt to show how the problem of suffering is perpetuated by philosophy and metaphysics.

DṚṢṬI

In the final section of his *Prasannapadā* Candrakīrti comments on the last chapter in Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikās*, titled "Dṛṣṭi-parīkṣā". This title has been translated by Kenneth Inada as "Examination of (Dogmatic) Views."[4] The parenthetical addition immediately points to a basic problem of translating the term into English. Its importance is, however, unequivocal: the traditional approach to the text begins with this chapter. The entire *Prasannapadā* can be appropriately understood as the systematic examination and rejection of alternative views on reality. According to Mādhyamika, the Buddha taught not in order to establish some new, truer perspective, but instead to expose the inauthentic character of all perspectives, to cast off all *dṛṣṭi*.

The word *dṛṣṭi*, like the word *darśana*, important in Hinduism, is built on the root *dṛś* which means "to see". By extension it also means to consider, to know, to learn, and to think. As a substantive *dṛṣṭi* indicates a false view, a wrong doctrine, a mistaken viewpoint; however, a false view is not sublimated by some correct view discovered through the power of reasoning. Strictly speaking there is no correct viewpoint. All *dṛṣṭis* are invitations to suffering.

Dṛṣṭis are such an integral part of the human experience that they seem impossible to avoid. Arising out of a fundamental desire for self-existence, every dṛṣṭi embodies a wish to be (*rāga*) and a desire to avoid non-being (*dveṣa*). Sheltered by theories, philosophies, and worldviews the ego fortifies its self-identity. Mādhyamika is pointing out that the desire to say "I am" constructs a world; but the price for such world construction is high. According to Candrakīrti, the person who,

> having fabricated these theories, insists upon them stubbornly, will be hindered, by this stubborn insistence, on the narrow path which leads to the city of nirvana and will be fettered in the cycle of unregenerate existence.[5]

According to the *Middle Length Sayings*, upon meeting the Buddha, the wandering ascetic Dīghanakha states that "I am of this view: All is not pleasing to me."[6] The Buddha points out that adhering to such a view places one in conflict with those who claim otherwise: that the world is pleasing, or partly so. Such difference leads to dispute.

> If there is dispute, there is contention; if there is contention, there is trouble; if there is trouble, there is vexation. So he, beholding this dispute and contention and trouble and vexation for himself, gets rid of that very view and does not take up another view.[7]

The ego-rooted conflict does not arise because one holds on dearly to the *wrong* view, but because one holds tenaciously to any view whatsoever. Thus, the Mādhyamika program—employing the *catuṣkoṭi* or four-cornered negation—attempts to reveal the inherent self-contradiction of all metaphysical views.

ANĀTMAVĀDA

This unqualified rejection of all philosophical positions, all metaphysical assertions, has been as difficult for some Buddhists to accept as for anyone. This is especially apparent when Mādhyamika applies the "four cornered negation" to central Buddhist concepts like *anātman*, *tathāgata*, and *nirvana*. In this regard, consider the Buddha's statement in the *Diamond Sutra*:

> If, Subhūti, these Bodhisattvas should have a perception of either a dharma, or a no-dharma, they would thereby seize on a self, on a being, on a soul, on a person.[8]

It is not that one view rather than another provides the soteriological key. Nor is it the case that one

view is a relative truth and the other an absolute truth, as is suggested by Ames when she suggests that "the Absolute Truth is, in brief, that all things are void."[9] This is a dangerous claim because any *dṛṣṭi*—whether of "*dharma*" or "no-*dharma*" or "all things are void"—may provide a context for the ego's assertion of itself. The goal is not to come up with a better philosophy but rather

> the utter ceasing of I-ing (*ahaṃkāra*) and mine-ing (*mamakāra*) in both personal and non-personal regard through ceasing to take anything whatsoever, whether personal or non-personal, as real in its particularity . . .[10]

The early Buddhist doctrine of *anātman* was an attempt to make explicit the rejection of *ahaṃkāra*, the ego's assertion of itself. Abhidharma, for example, analyzed the phenomenon of an individual person into the momentary collections of self-existent *dharmas*, or "factors of existence." The problem arises when *ātmavāda*, as an ego fortifying dṛṣṭi is merely replaced by the somewhat more metaphysically elaborate categories of *dharmas*. Criticizing this as a substitution of one *dṛṣṭi* for another, Mādhyamika points out that these self-existent *dharmas* facilitate the reassertion of *ahaṃkāra* through a theoretical construct designed to deny the existence of the self! The same holds for the view that "Absolute Truth is that all things are void." According to Candrakīrti,

> Les voies hérétiques affirmatives ou négatives où s'engagent certains religieux et brahmanes du monde profane, associées à la doctrine de la substance personnelle, de l'être, du principe vital de la personne, des présages favorables et cérémonies propitiatiores, lors elles sont pour lui éliminées, connues parfaitement, tranchées dès la racine, disparues comme la tête d'un palmier. . . .[11]

Mādhyamika has made a bold observation. Even apparently helpful concepts may become reified and perpetuate the very problem they hope to dispose. Everything is to be gained only by embracing the utter emptiness of all conceptualization.

TATHĀGATA

Candrakīrti cuts deeply when he examines fundamental concepts like *anātman*, *tathāgata*, and *nirvana*. In doing so he remains honest to the Buddha's "non-teaching", and follows without compromise the path of "no-view". This must have raised the hackles of his contemporaries. In the chapter of his *Prasannapadā* examining Nāgārjuna's "Tathāgata-parīkṣa," Candrakīrti directs the four-cornered negation towards the notion of the "perfectly realized one" (Tathāgata). He points out that

> The perfectly realized one is not identical with the factors of personal existence, nor other than them, he is not in them, nor they in him; and the perfectly realized one is not the possessor of the factors of personal existence. What then is the perfectly realized one?[12]

After showing that no characterization of relationship between the factors of personal existence and the "perfectly realized one" is logically sound, he has his opponents cry,

> . . . you have succeeded in obscuring the great luminous orb of the perfectly realized one by improperly generating a succession of clouds not unlike the ignorance of the world.[13]

To which he replies, no,

> I have destroyed the hope only of people who, like you, have been unable to bear the profound lion's roar of truth that there is no self, a truth absent from all heretical systems.[14]

All cognitions (even a cognition of the Buddha) is consequent upon an imaginative contruct of mind. At the deepest level this applies to the final soteriological goal, the release from suffering. As Śāntideva points out, "The one who is released is

the imagination of another's thought."[15] Unfortunately, imaginative projections become the source of attachment and we remain in the dark, unwitting creators of our own bondage. Trapped in a reified projection, names and signs become the locus of desires. Saying that "x exists" becomes the occasion for believing that "x" really does exist. Mādhyamika's recognition of the linguistically constructed world as a kind of deceptive referring act does not deprecate the central teachings of Buddhism. To the contrary, it shows, in the clearest possible way, Buddhism's redemptive power.

NIRVANA

With their essential emptiness recognized, language, words, and concepts, take on a genuine "spiritual" efficacy. "Neither existent nor non-existent, nor neither existent nor non-existent is *nirvana*."[16] But make an assertion about *nirvana* no matter how subtle, and the *a priori* wish to say "I am" lifts its head. Accordingly, Candrakīrti points out that "those who strain after *nirvana* as the everlasting extinction of all elements of existence . . . are self-deluded heretics."[17] For Mādhyamika there is no discernable difference between nirvana and the everyday world; both are empty. Because they are empty terms *nirvana* and *śūnyatā* are efficacious: they have real value by suggesting an existential moment free from reifying, conceptual thinking.

The apparent iconoclasm of Mādhyamika in its treatment of all *dṛṣṭi* has a most positive intention. Ordinary human existence is characterized by suffering, insecurity, and fear of nonbeing. Fortification against this condition is sought through commitments to social, political, religious, and philosophical constructions. But his fortification is at best tentative and fragile; in the final analysis such narrowing down only perpetuates suffering. Instead of boldly abandoning *dṛṣṭi*, we become "philosophers", creating increasingly complex monuments to the individual and collective ego. Śāntideva, in his *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, describes the condition like this:

> Alas! Exceedingly grievous is the state of those carried by that flood of sorrow, those who do not see their own evil condition and are thus the most miserable. They are like the one who has bathed in fire, yet because he has bathed there, casts himself again and again into the fire. He thinks his condition is pleasurable, and so he makes it even worse.[18]

Human suffering is not alleviated through the powers of reason or philosophy. The best that philosophy can do—as in the case of Mādhyamika—is to reveal in an uncompromising fashion the very limits of logic. Only when the philosopher is silent, only when the manifold of named things comes to rest, can the devotee sing "Namu Amida Butsu."

FOOTNOTES

1. Recent studies include Frederick J. Streng, *Emptiness: A Study in Religious Meaning* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1967), David J. Kalupahana, *Nagarjuna: The Philosophy of the Middle Way* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1987), and the forthcoming study by C.W. Huntington, Jr., with Geshe Namgyal Wangchen, *The Emptiness of Emptiness* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988).

2. I'm not convinced that Diane Ames ("Nagarjuna's Concept of Śūnyatā" *The Pacific World*, Fall 1987: 15.23) would disagree with this, even though she writes that "*developing their philosophy* was part of their practice" emphasis mine (p. 15). More problematic, however, is her claim that emptiness "describes the same old world *in more accurate terms* than the ones in which we are accustomed to thinking" (p. 20). This characterization of *śunyatā* is one, I think, Candrakīrti would be keen to avoid.

3. Considering the importance of this section, one is surprised that it is not included in Mervyn Sprung's translation *Lucid Exposition of the Middle Way: The Essential Chapters from the Prasannapadā of Candrakīrti* (Boulder: Prajñā Press, 1979). Fortunately, it is included in Jacque May's French translation, *Candrakīrti Prasannapadā Madhyamakavṛtti* (Paris: Université de Lausanne, 1959).

4. Kenneth K. Inada, *Nāgārjuna: A Translation of his Mūlamadhyamakakārikā with an Introductory Essay* (Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1970), p. 164-171.

5. Sprung, p. 262.

6. Bhikkhu Nananda, *Concept and Reality in Early Buddhist Thought* (Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society, 1971) p. 83.

7. Ibid., p. 83.

8. Edward Conze, *Buddhist Wisdom Books* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972) p. 34.

9. Ames, p. 19.

10. Sprung, p. 165.

11. May, p. 296-297. [Affirmative or negative *dṛṣṭi* bind one to the doctrine of individual substance, of being, of vital principle, of person, of favorable omens, and propitious ceremonies; when *dṛṣṭi* are eliminated through perfect knowledge, these doctrines are cut at the root and disappear like the top of a palm-tree . . .] translation mine.

12. Sprung, p. 193.

13. Ibid., p. 200.

14. Ibid., p. 200.

15. Śāntideva, *The Bodhicaryāvatāra*, translated by Marion L. Matics (New York: MacMillan, 1970) p. 221.

Firmly Rooted: On Fudō Myōō's Origins

by Richard K. Payne

An examination of the introduction of Fudō Myōō into Buddhist Tantra can help to clarify important aspects of the early history of Buddhist Tantra. Fudō is often associated with the Indian deity Śiva, and in the following I speculate on the significance of this connection both in terms of the Indo-European background of Indian religion, and in terms of Fudō's introduction into Tantric Buddhism. This inquiry will hopefully provide a deeper understanding of Fudō as a religious symbol, while at the same time begin to sketch in some of the historical significance of his entry into the Tantric Buddhist pantheon.[1]

Fudō's Sanskrit name is "Acala(nātha) Vidyārāja." The first part, "Acala," means "immovable" and is represented by the Japanese "Fudō." The second part, "nātha," which is used in some references and not in others, means "lord," particularly in the sense of a person to whom one goes when seeking refuge. The third part, "Vidyā," means "wisdom," while the fourth part, "rāja," means "king."[2] His full name can be rendered variously into English, but "Lord Immovable, the King of Wisdom" is the form I find most euphonious.[3]

"Acalanātha" is often explained as being an epithet of the great Indian deity Śiva.[4] Indeed, it is suggestively similar to the epithet "Acaleśvara" given to Śiva in a temple located in the south Indian city of Tiruvarur. "Acaleśvara" is composed of "acala" (again immovable) and "īśvara," another term which can be translated by "lord." In his *Tamil Temple Myths*, Shulman cites the following story in explanation of Śiva's epithet "Acaleśvara":

> King Camatkāra performed *tapas* and, when Śiva appeared to him, begged him to be present forever in the holy site. The god said he would remain, immovable, in that place. . . . The king set up a *liṅga*, and a voice from heaven announced: "I will dwell eternally in this *liṅga*; even its shadow will never move." So it happened: the shadow of the Acaleśvara-*liṅga* is ever stationary. Only he who is to die within six months is unable to perceive this marvel.[5]

Shulman comments that "Even the shadow of the god is frozen in place, while the miracle is made secure by terror—he who doubts it will die!"[6]

This local tale connects with the widespread motif of Śiva as Sthāṇu, the unmoving pillar. Brahman, the creator god of Indian mythology, desired to create mortals, but was unable to do so. Brahman then directed Rudra (an older name for Śiva[7]) to create mortals for him. However, as Kramrisch expresses it, Rudra "is the prototypal ascetic, and would not think of carnal progeny. He is also Śiva, the compassionate god, who wants to prevent the imperfections and suffering of the human condition." So Rudra refuses to create mortals and "the world thus was at a standstill."[8] The unmoving, unchanging pillar is the erect phallus of Śiva retaining the semen which would otherwise create suffering mortals:

> In his pillar shape Rudra restores the unspent wholeness of the Uncreate. His seed and his breath are held. The fire seed of creation and the breath of life are held within his motionless shape.[9]

The Indo-European background of Indian religion suggests that there are links between this eternally ithyphallic yogi and the ithyphallic deities of Greece and Rome, such as Hermes. Hermes often appears as a pillar known as a "herm". This is itself an ithyphallic form concerning which Karl Kerényi says "In the Herms the masculine aspect of the life-source does not appear as blossoming in the child, nor as unfolding in the classical Hermes image; it appears rather as congealed in its kernel."[10] As pointed out by O'Flaherty, however, this tension is ambiguous:

> The yogi here gathers up his creative powers, retaining the promise of procreation in the form of the erect phallus, the embodiment of creative *tapas*. The raised *liṅga* is the plastic expression of the belief that love and death, ecstasy and asceticism, are basically related.[11]

The yogi's retention of his creative power works to heighten his creative potential. Existing between life and death, Śiva as the unmoving phallic pillar may be described as liminal, in the sense that term is used by Turner. Although not liminal in exactly the same ways, Hermes is also a liminal, ambiguous figure. His connection with journeys and boundaries, his function as guide to the souls of the dead, and his role as messenger of the gods all exemplify the liminal quality of Hermes.

Similarities between the cultic practices associated with Śiva's *liṅga* and cultic practices directed to the Herm also link the eternally ithyphallic yogi with the ithyphallic Hermes. Discussing the Minoan background to Greek religion, Burkert mentions the use of stone pillars to mark the sacred center and comments that "the *Odyssey* describes the stone glistening with oil."[12] The *liṅga* of Śiva is also worshipped with offerings of water, milk and oil, which are poured onto the *liṅga* itself.[13]

Moving forward in time from the Indo-European background of Indian religion of the medieval development of Tantra in India, this image of Śiva "still as a pillar, his organ of procreation itself motionless and pointing upward as a sign of the semen drawn upward, contained, consumed or transubstantiated within the body"[14] may well have served as a model for the Hindu Tantric practices of semen retention while in sexual union. Again, the ambiguity of asceticism and eroticism: "The yogi causes his seed to rise to his head, where it becomes Soma."[15] The denial of sexual pleasure in the form of release, leads to the attainment of a higher, spiritual form of pleasure. O'Flaherty notes, however, that seminal retention "may be considered a manifestation of yogic chastity, but Śiva's raised *liṅga* is symbolic of the power to spill the seed as well as to retain it."[16] Thus, while the symbolism of Śiva as the eternally ithyphallic pillar may have contributed to the development of Hindu Tantric practices, it would be a mistake to read those practices back onto the myths of Śiva.

Examining this single epithet of Śiva as the Immovable Lord, symbolized concretely by the cult of the liṅga, and resting on the mythic concept of Śiva as withholding his creative energies, opens a wide range of symbolic meaning behind the figure of Fudō. Epithets alone, though, are not enough to establish a connection between Fudō and Śiva. In addition, however, there are iconographic links between the two deities.

Śiva has a very complex iconography resulting from his wide popularity and long history in Indian religion. Three aspects of that iconography in particular are shared with Fudō. The first is the serpent. According to Danielou, the snake is symbolic here of "the basic dormant energy, akin to the sexual power, which is coiled at the base of the spinal cord. . . . called Kuṇḍalinī (the coiled), the serpent power."[17] Śiva's phallus, the *liṅga*, is in some cases portrayed as being encoiled by a snake. While Fudō is not portrayed as ithyphallic, he is often portrayed holding a sword—which may be interpreted as having the same symbolic significance as an erect phallus—around which is coiled a snake or dragon.

The second iconographic aspect of Śiva which links him with Fudō is the snare which they both carry. In Sanskrit this is known as *pāśa* and is often translated as "noose" or "lasso".[18] In the case of Fudō, this is often shown as a length of rope with a metal ring on one end and a weight on the other. The weight is passed through the ring to form a loop. Tossed over one who is attempting to flee from the frightening appearance of Fudō, the noose would pull tight.[19] The snare may point to pre-Vedic, indigenous Indic religious influences on the figure of Śiva, since a cursory survey fails to reveal any use of this weapon by Greek deities.

The third, and perhaps most suggestive, of the three iconographic links between Śiva and Fudō is fire. Fudō is described—and usually pictured—as residing in "The Fire Producing Samādhi."[20] This is represented in paintings, drawings and statues of Fudō as a aura of flames which surround his body. The flames are understood as burning away all of one's delusions, *kleśas*, thus purifying one's consciousness and revealing innate enlightenment. In the Shingon fire sacrifice, the practitioner visualizes Fudō: "His entire body emits flames, burning away every kind of obscuration and affliction of oneself and others throughout the whole of the Dharmadhātu."[21]

Śiva also produces a purifying fire, one which cleanses on a cosmic scale: "The universe is periodically burnt by the doomsday fire and reduced to ashes, the seed of fire."[22] This purifying fire is the destructive manifestation of the internal heat (*tapas*) produced by Śiva's yogic austerities.[23] When *tapas* becomes intense enough it may break forth in the form of destructive fire, *tejas*. O'Flaherty sees the imagery of Śiva as entailing a balance between the extremes of total yogic absorption, which destroys the world because Śiva withdraws his energy from the universe, and the uncontrolled outbreak of sexuality, which is destructive of the world as well. "There is a careful balance between the two extremes which shifts from moment to moment, constantly controlled, as the balance between the sexual and ascetic powers of the yogi must be constantly readjusted with the microcosm of his body."[24] The imagery of Fudō displays the same balance. Immovably seated on Mt. Meru, Fudō is surrounded by the "garuda-headed"[25] flames produced by his concentrative absorption, *samādhi*.

Epithets and imagery both serve to link the Tantric Buddhist figure of Fudō to the Indian deity Śiva. While further research may add to our knowledge of the details of the link between Fudō and Śiva, the concept of yogic immobility as the retention of creative energies which produces a purifying fire conducive to insight certainly seems to have been the significant content which was being borrowed from the figure of Śiva and introduced into Buddhist Tantra in the figure of Fudō Myōō.

FUDŌ IN THE BUDDHIST LITERATURE

According to Sawa Takaaki:

> The first mention of Fudō is made in the *Fukukenjaku-kyo*, where he is described as a messenger of the Buddhas. He does not receive the designation of Myo-o, or King of Light (sic), until his appearance in the *Dainichi-kyo*. Later, however, a sutra devoted solely to Fudō Myo-o was composed.[26]

The *Fukūkenjaku-kyō* referred to by Sawa is known in Sanskrit as the *Amogha pāśa kalpa rāja sūtra* (T. 1092, K. 287) which was translated by Bodhiruci in A.D. 707. According to Inagaki, "This sutra expounds the spells, method of recitation, maṇḍala, merit" and so forth of a form of Kannon Bodhisattva known as Fukūkenjaku Kannon, Amoghapāśā-āvalokiteśvara in Sanskrit, or "the Avalokiteśvara of the Unfailing Fishing Line" in English. This form of Kannon "carries a fishing line with which to bring men safely to the bank of enlightenment."[27] Here the *pāśa* which both Fudō and Śiva carry is also carried by Kannon, though interpreted as a fishing line. A sūtra whose central figure is a *pāśa*-carrying Kannon would be a natural point of entry for the *pāśa*-carrying Śiva in

the Buddhist form of Fudō.[28]

The second sūtra mentioned by Sawa is the famous *Dai Nichi Kyō*, or *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (T. 848, K. 427) which was first translated by Śubhākaraṣiṃha and his disciple I-hsing in A.D. 725, and was then retranslated by Vajrabodhi (T. 849). Fudō appears in the third chapter, which Tajima summarizes in his *Étude sur le Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, saying:

> When a maṇḍala is going to be used to celebrate *abhiṣeka* (initiation, RKP), it often happens that, despite everything, there are all sorts of obstacles present. These are of two kinds: spiritual and meteorological. Among the spiritual obstacles, the principal is agitation in the heart of the practitioner. The sutra says: "The obstacles arise in our own heart: it is the consequence of our greed in the past; for the expulsion of the causes (of the obstacles), one should concentrate on the Heart of Bodhi (Bodhicitta, RKP)," and one should invoke Acalavidyārāja (Fudō Myōō), who personifies the firmness of the heart of Bodhi. The meteorological obstacles are the inconvenience of rain, wind, etc. Since in the past the *abhiṣeka* was celebrated in the open air, these obstacles were not always avoidable.[29]

In his *Deux Grands Maṇḍalas*, Tajima quotes the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, which describes Fudō as the:

> servant to the Tathāgata; he holds the "sword of wisdom" and the *pāśa* (snare). His hair hangs to his left shoulder; one eye is somewhat squinted, its look fixed; the intense flames shooting out with violence from his body inspire a sacred awe; he is seated on a large rock; on his forehead are wrinkles like the waves on the ocean; he is a young boy with a stout body.[30]

While Sawa says that later "a sutra devoted solely to Fudō Myo-o was composed," there are seven sūtras which are either devoted solely to Fudō, or in which he takes such a major role as to appear in the title. (Details of these appear in the Appendix.) The seven sūtras are all practice oriented, teaching recitation practices, *dhāraṇīs*, and rituals, e.g., those for the protection and pacification of the state. The existence of so many sūtras concerned with the cult of Fudō would seem to indicate that the cult was fairly well-developed in India.

Alicia Matsunaga also mentions the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra of Benevolent Kings Recitation Manual (Ninnō Gokoku Hannya Haramitakyō Dōjō Nenjugiki*, T. 994, K. 1342) as an important source of knowledge concerning Fudō in Japan.[31] There are maṇḍalas associated with this sūtra which portray Fudō seated, holding a dharmacakra in his right hand, rather than the more familiar snare.[32]

Fudō can also be identified with the Tantric deity Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa. The meaning of this name is explained in the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra*: "Caṇḍa means one who is very violent and he is said to be very wrathful. He is known as being wrathful because he devastates all evil ones with his anger."[33] The Tantra describes Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa as follows:

> In his right fist he holds a sword, and in his left he holds a noose. Threatening with the forefinger and pressing the lower lip with the teeth, he kicks with his right foot, crushing the Four Demons.
>
> With his left knee placed on the ground, squint-eyed, and with a dreadful face, he threatens the earth, with his left knee placed on front.
>
> Having a blue crown adorned with Akṣobhya, and a jewelled head ornament, he is a youth with five knots of hair, decorated with all ornaments.

He has the form of a sixteen-year-old,
with two red, far-reaching eyes. He
(i.e., the practitioner, RKP)
should meditate with resolute mind:
"I am the Perfected One,
Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa."[34]

The identity of Fudō and Caṇḍamahāro-ṣaṇa is established not only by iconographic similarities, but is confirmed by the mantra which in the Shingon tradition is the one most commonly employed to evoke Fudō: "Namaḥ samanta vajrāṇāṃ caṇḍamahāroṣaṇasphoṭāya hūṃ traṭ hāṃ māṃ." This has been translated by Taisen Miyata as "Homage to all the deities of Vajra Rank! The Great Fierce One. Destroy any evil enemies totally! Exterminate any defilements! Hāṃ Māṃ!"[35] Fudō is addressed in this mantra as Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa, the Great Fierce One.

A final bit of evidence is provided by Tibetan common usage. Christopher S. George tells us that "the popular Tibetan name for . . . the deity is *Mi g-yo ba (Acala)* instead of *Gtum po khro bo chen po (Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa).*"[36] Future study of Fudō within the literature of Buddhism will require awareness of this dual identity.[37]

The *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* is one of the earliest Buddhist tantras and Fudō's presence there indicates how early he was integrated into the Tantric Buddhist pantheon. Dating the origin of the Buddhist Tantras is still obscure—particularly the earliest texts, such as the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra.*[38] The development of the cult of Fudō, as indicated by the seven texts, has not been considered thus far in the relative dating of the early Tantric texts, although more work is required before definitive assertions are possible, the development of the cult of Fudō, which probably occurs between the time of the writing of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* and its translation into Chinese (which virtually coincides with the translation of the seven texts), may push the date of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* back by as much as an additional century. The date and extent of the cult of Fudō in medieval Buddhist India is uncertain. What is much more certain, however, is the location of the cult's origin.

SOUTH INDIAN ORIGINS

The Shingon tradition concerning the lineage of its patriarchs claims that Mahāvairocana Buddha proclaimed both the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* and the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra.* Vajrasattva "received the doctrine from the lips of the Tathāgata and, on his order, recorded and deposited it in an 'iron stupa' in South India; and he waits until it can be revealed to humans capable of receiving it."[39]

This South Indian origin is accepted by A.K. Warder in his attempt to delineate the whole history of Buddhism in India. Surveying the traditions associated with the various tantras, Warder hypothesizes four periods of development. The first of these four is in South India, probably in Āndhra, "that great creative centre of Mahāyāna movements," or perhaps in the city of Kaliṅga.[40]

The association of Fudō with Śiva, particularly with the epithet "Acaleśvara" from south India, would seem to support this tradition. Perhaps even the fact that Fudō's skin is black and his hair curly, so as to form waves, may associate Fudō with the Tamil population of South India. The translation of five of the seven texts devoted to Fudō mentioned previously has been attributed to Amoghavajra. His biography tells us that he travelled from China to Sri Lanka and South India, where "He sought everywhere for the scriptures of the Esoteric Sect and (obtained) more than five hundred sutras and commentaries."[41] It is certainly a strong possibility that the Fudō texts were part of Amoghavajra's collection. Finally, while this will require further research, the snare which both Fudō and Śiva hold may point to a background from traditions indigenous to India, those traditions which had been pushed south by the Aryan nomads.

Fudō may well, then, have been "born" in South India, out of the religious matrix which pro-

duced both Buddhist Tantra and South Indian Śaivite Tantra. Fudō's function as intermediary between practitioners and the Buddhas[42] may reflect a Buddhist attempt to locate the highest deity of a competing tradition, i.e., Śiva, in a position subservient to the Buddhas, thus demonstrating the superiority of Buddhist Tantra to Śaivite.

As noted above, further research may alter the picture sketched out here. However, the symbolic significance of Fudō as embodying yogic control and the implications of the development of an Indian cult of Fudō for our knowledge of the early history of Buddhist Tantra do seem to be worthwhile reasons for continuing to examine the Immovable King of Wisdom.

APPENDIX

The English versions of the titles given here are intended only as suggestive, not definitive.

1. *The Vajrapani Brilliant Initiation Sutra, Fascicule Teaching the Supreme Mudrā of the Holy Unmoving Deity, the Great Majestic Wrathful King's Recitation Ritual: Kongōshu Komyō Kanjōkyō Saishō Ryūin Shōmudōson Daiinuō Nenju Giki Hō Bon*, known more briefly as the Fudō Ryūin Ki, (T. 1199, K. 1376), translation attributed to Amoghavajra, between A.D. 720 and 774.

2. *The Teaching of the Trisamaya Immovable Deity, the Majestic Wrathful King Messenger's Recitation: Chirisammaya Fudōson Inuō Shisha Nenju Hō*, known more briefly as the *Inuō Shisha Nenju Hō*, and in Sanskrit as the *Trisamayarāja*, one volume in the Chinese translation (T. 1200, K. 1285), translation attributed to Amoghavajra.

3. *The Esoteric Teaching of the Trisamaya Immovable Deity Sage's Recitation: Chirisammaya Fudōson Shōjan Nenju Himitsu Hō*, also known in Sanskrit as the Trisamayarāja, but running to three volumes in the Chinese translation (T. 1201, no Korean), translation attributed to Amoghavajra.

4. *The Esoteric Teaching of the Immovable messenger's Dhāraṇi: Fudō Shisha Darani Himitsu Hō* (T. 1202, K. 1272), translation attributed by Muitsu, and the Taisho and Hobogirin catalogues to Vajrabodhi, between 731 and 736, while the Korean catalogue attributes it to Amoghavajra.

5. *The Holy Unmoving Deity's Ritual for Preserving and Pacifying the State: Shōmudōson Anchin Kekokuto Hō* (T. 1203, no Korean), Muitsu attributes the translation to Vajrabodhi, although the Taisho and Hobogirin catalogues make no attribution.

6. *The Secret Teaching of the Holy Unmoving Deity's Production of the Eight Great Children from One Syllable: Shoōmudōson Ichiji Shusshō Hachi Daidōji Hiyōho Bon* (T. 1204, no Korean), translation attributed with reservations to Amoghavajra by the Hobogirin catalogue.

7. *The Esoteric Realization Ritual of the Victorious Immovable King of Wisdom's Forty-Eight Messengers: Shōgun Fudō Myōō Shijūhachi Shisha Himitsu Jōju Giki* (T. 1205, no Korean), translation attributed to Amoghavajra and Henchi.

FOOTNOTES

1. For a discussion of Fudō in Japanese literature see my "Standing Fast: Fudō Myōō in Japanese Literature," *Pacific World*, n.s., no. 3 (Fall 1987), p. 53-58.

2. Perhaps it is the redundancy of "lord" (*nātha*) and "king" (*rāja*) which has led to the deletion of the "nātha" portion from Fudō's Japanese name.

3. The Chinese characters for Myōō are "bright" and "king" which has led to Fudō's title being translated as "Bright King" or "King of Brightness". However, the first character, "myō," is in this case an abbreviation for "myōshu," meaning "vidayā".

4. Mikkyō Gakkai, *Sōran Fudō Myōō*, p. 166; Daihōrin Henshu Buhen, *Fudō Sama*

Nyumon, p. 6 (cites the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* as authority for the assertion that "Acalanātha" is an epithet of Śiva, but does not give any section number); *Mikkyō Jiten*, s.v. "Fudō Myōō".

5. David Dean Shulman, *Tamil Temple Myths*, p. 50. *Tapas* denotes yogic austerities, while *liṅga* is the phallic symbol of Śiva.

6. Ibid.

7. "In the Vedas the word *śiva*, meaning 'auspicious,' is used only as an epithet of Rudra. This epithet later, in common usage, replaced the name of Rudra" (Alain Danielou, *Hindu Polytheism*, p. 188, n. 1).

8. Stella Kramrisch, *The Presence of Śiva*, p. 118.

9. Ibid., p. 121.

10. Karl Kerényi, *Hermes, Guide of Souls*, p. 66.

11. Wendy O'Flaherty, *Asceticism and Eroticism in the Mythology of Śiva*, p. 10.

12. Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion*, p. 39.

13. Heinrich Zimmer, *Art of Indian Asia*, p. 23; and Shulman, *Tamil Myths*, p. 96.

14. Kramrisch, *Śiva*, p. 120.

15. O'Flaherty, *Mythology of Śiva*, p. 277.

16. Ibid., p. 10.

17. Alain Danielou, *Hindu Polytheism*, p. 217.

18. See for example, Danielou, *Polytheism*, p. 218; and Alice Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 35.

19. There are a variety of forms shown for the snare. In some cases it is simply a length of rope, while in other cases it is shown as weighted at both ends.

20. Michel Strickmann, "Homa in East Asia," p. 428-9. See ibid. for a discussion of internal fire visualizations.

21. Iwahara Taishin, *Private Directions for the Śāntika Homa, Offered to Acala*, p. 61.

22. *Śiva Purāṇa* 7.28.3-19; quoted in O'Flaherty, *Mythology of Śiva*, p. 287. This purgative fire may be understood to be symbolically similar to the alchemical process of *calcinatio* which, according to Henderson, "has a purging or purifying effect" (p. 44). Henderson himself suggests a symbolic link between this purifying alchemical fire and the fire which Śiva produces at the end of time to destroy the created universe (p. 39). The product of the alchemical *calcinatio* is "a fine, dry powder" (Henderson, p. 17), similar to the ashes produced by the doomsday fire.

23. Although fire can symbolize many different things, e.g., anger and death, the alchemical fire of *calcinatio* which burns off impurities is interpreted by Henderson as deriving from sexuality, or more generally from the frustration produced by not immediately fulfilling desires. The "purging or purifying effect" of this fire is important for psycho-spiritual growth—the exercise of will over the desires, i.e., sublimation. "Such an ordeal of frustrated desire is a characteristic feature of the developmental process" (Henderson, *Anatomy of the Psyche*, p. 22). The psychological symbolism of fire as representing a process of destruction preparatory to new growth and its manifestation in yoga and alchemy is worthy of further study.

24. O'Flaherty, *Mythology of Śiva*, p. 286.

25. Strickmann, "Homa," p. 430.

26. Sawa Takaaki, *Art in Japanese Esoteric Buddhism*, p. 148.

27. Inagaki, Hisao, *A Dictionary of Japanese Buddhist Terms*, s.v. "Fukūkensaku Kannon and Fukūkensaku-kyō" (note alternate pronunciation).

28. Kiyota suggests that the *Amoghapāśa Sūtra* forms a link between the *Mahāvairocana* and the *Tattvasaṃgraha* sūtras on the grounds that the *Tattvasaṃgraha* is modeled on the *Amoghapāśa*, while the *Amoghapāśa* refers in turn back to the *Mahāvairocana* (Minoru Kiyota, *Shingon Buddhism*, p. 23). If Kiyota is correct, this would reverse the temporal sequence implied by Sawa.

29. Tajima Ryūjun, *Étude sur le Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, p. 116.

30. Tajima Ryūjun, *Deux Grands Maṇḍalas*, p. 84.

31. Alicia Matsunaga, *The Buddhist Phi-*

losophy of Assimilation, p. 248. Conze gives the following, fuller, English title for the sutra: *Rules on the Places of Worship and the Chanting of the Liturgies of the Ninnō* (Edward Conze, *The Prajñāpāramitā Literature*, p. 88). Note: Fudō does not appear in *The Sutra on Perfect Wisdom which Explains How Benevolent Kings May Protect Their Countries* (T. 245, translation by Kumārajīva; T. 246, translation by Amoghavajra) translated into English by Edward Conze (*The Short Prajñāpāramitā Texts*, pp. 165-183). This would suggest that the cult of Fudō had developed significantly between the time that the Sūtra itself was written and the time the Recitation Manual which Matsunaga cites was written.

32. Kyoto National Museum, *The Iconography of Fudō Myōō*, pls. 30 and 31.

33. Christopher S. George, *The Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra*, p. 44, n. 1.

34. Ibid., pp. 59-60.

35. Miyata Taisen, *A Study of the Ritual Mudrās in the Shingon Tradition*, p. 88.

36. George, *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa*, p. 14.

37. In tracing connections it may be of import to note that in the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra*, Fudo is associated with Akṣobhya, rather than with Mahāvairocana as he is in the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*.

38. For a discussion of the dating of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, see my "Reflected Dawn."

39. Tajima, *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, p. 21 (my translation).

40. A. K. Warder, *Indian Buddhism*, p. 487.

41. Chou Yi-liang, "Tantrism in China," p. 291.

42. Fudō "was thought to serve willingly as a messenger for his believers in response to their requests" (Kyoto National Museum, *Iconography*, p. 315).

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Shinran's Religious Thought and Christian Mysticism

by Donald W. Mitchell

INTRODUCTION

Through study and also through dialogue with such persons as Professors Alfred Bloom, Taitetsu Unno and Ryusei Takeda, I have gained a better understanding and a great respect for the Pure Land Buddhist tradition. Through reading about the life of Shinran, and reading his own writings, I have also gained a deep appreciation for the profundity, the genius, and the sanctity of Shinran himself. This increase in my understanding and respect is what one might expect from the type of interfaith dialogue in which I have been engaged as a Christian. But, I have found another result of the dialogue; namely, I have come to a greater understanding and appreciation for my own Christian tradition in light of what I have learned about Pure Land Buddhism. More specifically I have gained a clearer understanding and appreciation for the place of faith and grace in my Catholic mystical tradition through my encounter with Shinran's religious thought concerning faith and grace.

What I would like to do in this article is to re-examine a particular type of Christian mysticism in light of what I have learned about Shinran's religious thought. In so doing, I will suggest along the way particular comparisons with some of Shinran's ideas. But, my main intent will be to share some reflections on my own tradition in light of Pure Land Buddhism with the hope that these reflections will enable Pure Land Buddhists to better reflect on their tradition in light of Christianity. This will, hopefully, contribute to a greater mutual understanding in the contemporary Buddhist-Christian dialogue.

In terms of the Christian tradition, I take "mysticism" to refer to the dynamic of God's grace wherein one receives from God a loving knowledge that transforms one's life at its deepest core. Since the beginning of Christianity, there have been certain persons who, through the grace of God, seem to have been especially blessed in the mystical life. It would be impossible to relate the views of Shinran to each of the many varieties of Christian mysticism that have flourished throughout the centuries. So, I have chosen to speak only about one of the most important and orthodox mystics of our tradition. She is St. Teresa of Avila, the great Spanish mystic of the sixteenth century.

ST. TERESA'S 7 STAGES TO GOD

St. Teresa of Avila was an important reformer of our monastic tradition. She and her friend St. John of the Cross, of whom I will speak later, reformed the Carmelite monastic communities of which both were members. Among her writings is a book entitled *The Interior Castle* which is considered one of the foremost classics in mystical theology.[1] In this book, St. Teresa imagined the soul or self to be like a round castle with many mansions leading to the innermost chamber where the King resides. The King in the center of the castle represents God in the center of the soul or in the heart of the self. St. Teresa imagined the mansions of the castle to be arranged in seven concentric circles.

The Spanish term for mansions is *Moradas* from the verb *morar*—meaning "to dwell".[2] So, the seven concentric circles of mansions are really seven ways or levels of dwelling in God's grace. St. Teresa believed that many people live outside the castle paying attention to things other than the inner spiritual life. Outside the castle, these people live with "reptiles and other beasts" which represent sinful desires, and in so doing "they have become almost like them."[3] When these persons attempt to enter the castle, to dwell in God's grace, the reptiles pursue them and try to turn them back to the life they lived before. The persons are attracted to the "light" coming from God's presence within the castle, but they are disturbed and tempted by the "snakes and vipers and poisonous creatures."[4]

This metaphor reminds me of the parable by the Chinese Pure Land Buddhist Shan-tao (613-681) about the man traveling west on a narrow path between two rivers pursued by "evil beasts" and "poisonous insects".[5] Shan-tao's advice in this situation is the same as St. Teresa, namely, detachment, single-hearted perseverance, and especially entrustment to God's grace. This entrustment is essential because the entering into the first mansions of the castle is through God's grace. To desire or even think about turning to God is already to be influenced by His grace. St. Teresa would have understood Shinran when he said that "Amida Buddha also gave the mind which precedes and moves the individual to take up the discipline."[6]

FIRST STAGE: PRAYER

According to St. Teresa, the first stage of dwelling in this life of God's grace moves the person to prayer. Now, by "prayer" I do not mean what is often implied by the Japanese word "*inori*", namely, asking for this-worldly benefits in a way that denotes a lack of trust in God. What prayer means for St. Teresa, and Catholicism, will hopefully become clear as we look at the different types of prayer that she describes. For now let me make two points. First, prayer at the beginning of the religious life does help the person turn his or her attention to the God that saves. But second, St. Teresa saw that the recitation of prayer itself does not generate salvation. It does not have the power to save, because only the grace of God is what saves. Without the faithful entrustment to God, recitation for St. Teresa is not fully prayer: "If a person does not consider whom he is addressing . . . I do not consider that he is praying at all even though he be constantly moving his lips."[7] Again, this seems similar to the Shin Buddhist viewpoint that "mere recitation itself is insufficient unless it is inspired by a deep trust in Amida Buddha's vow."[8]

SECOND STAGE: GOD'S CALL

At the second level of dwelling in grace, God calls the person "ceasinglessly:" "and this voice of His is so sweet that the poor soul is consumed with grief at being unable to do His bidding . . . it suffers more than if it could not hear Him."[9] That is, the grace of God is like a light that attracts the person but also illumines the person so that he or she realizes how sinful he or she really is. So in this situation, the person experiences even more painfully the attacks of the reptiles that have followed him or her into the castle. The poor soul now painfully experiences its own wretchedness and may want to leave the castle or may even wish that it had never entered the castle in the first place. This reminds me of Shinran's sensitive statement about his own experience of the wretchedness of this human condition: "I do not rejoice that I have entered the company of the truly assured; I do not enjoy the fact that I am approaching the realization of true attainment. O how shameful, how pitiful!"[10]

When St. Teresa spoke of her "wretchedness" or "miserable" condition, one should not see this as a negative psychological expression of self-deprecation. Rather it expresses what she felt as the burden of her own lack of response to God's grace.

The more she experienced His grace, the more she felt the weight of her natural lack of responsiveness. However, while the light of God's grace illumines our wretched condition, it also presents us with the power and beauty of His grace and mercy. One realizes that this grace and mercy is the only source of our salvation. We cannot save ourselves by any "calculated self-work", as Shinran said.[11] So for the Christian mystics, this painful self-knowledge is a very important grace. In St. Teresa's words, it leads us to "reflect upon the wretchedness of our nature and what we owe to God. . . ."[12] This grace stimulates our faith in God as the only source of our salvation.

This again seems similar to Shinran's view that the infinite light of Amida Buddha both illumines one's sinful condition as well as makes one aware of Amida's compassion in a way that stimulates faith and trust in Amida Buddha's vow.[13] St. John of the Cross described this religious experience with the metaphor of a log enkindled by a flame.[14] The log represents the soul and the flame represents God's grace. When the log is in darkness it does not realize how wretched and dirty it is. But when it is enkindled, it gives off smoke and bad smells and is able to see what a state it is in. But it also realizes that if it entrusts itself to the flame, the fire will consume all of it into a new life of light and warmth.

THIRD STAGE: DISCURSIVE MEDITATION

So, the person enkindled by God's grace enters the third set of mansions. Here the person is led into a deeper prayer life. At this level, we have "discursive meditation," a prayer state in which one is illumined by God's grace through reflecting on scripture and theology. One is said to have acquired a "taste" for scripture. In this way, reading scripture is like eating a meal. One is nourished in the knowledge of spiritual things. There is also "affective meditation." In this type of prayer, God's grace stirs feelings, such as love and reverence, that are directed toward God in gratitude for His grace and mercy. In both of these types of prayer, we are not talking about "meditative good works." For it is not the person who through his or her own work generates these insights and affections. Rather, they are generated by the indwelling of God. They are experiences of grace.

As one is drawn closer to God dwelling within, God's mind and heart arises more fully in the believer. To use St. John of the Cross' metaphor, as one is drawn by grace more and more deeply into the flame of God's love, God's light and warmth (mind and heart) permeate more and more one's whole life. This may be a similar process to what Shinran referred to as receiving the "sincere mind" which settles as the mind of faith.[15] It is this activity of Amida Buddha's saving grace, and not the efforts of the person, that transforms the quality of the person's life. This faith is a light and warmth that dispel illusion and results in deeper reverence, virtue, and devotion.

While this may be true, it is possible for a person to begin to believe that he or she is responsible for the more healthy spiritual condition enjoyed in the third mansions. St. Teresa said that the "good" religious person can become very "careful," "upright," "obedient," and "orderly."[16] These are some characteristics of their life that connote, to use Shinran's term, "calculation".[17] As time goes on, one may trust more in oneself than entrust oneself to God's grace. For St. Teresa, and I think Shinran too, this is "pride". And it is pride that St. Teresa said "prevents us from making progress."[18] The danger here is that one focuses on the spiritual riches that are received and not the source of the riches. In the end, this means to be focused on oneself and always to be concerned about how to improve or maintain one's spiritual status. St. Teresa said that this type of person is like a woman always powdering her nose, or a person who is always checking their spiritual temperature to see how holy they are.

What is needed in this situation is spiritual poverty and simplicity, self-forgetfulness and

humility. Therefore in the third mansions, God reminds persons that apart from Him they can do nothing. He does this by sometimes withdrawing His consolations. This is called "spiritual aridity" or, in a stronger form, a "dark night." Here, one does not feel any consolation from God. One's religious life seems to have dried up and the light gone out. One does not find pleasure or happiness in anything including religious practice. Through this experience, one realizes that practice or virtue is not what saves. One cannot save oneself, rather God alone is the source of everything including salvation. In this state of desolation, St. Teresa suggested that one can only renounce oneself in humility and entrust oneself into God's hands. St. John of the Cross said that one should have no desire, no concern, and no effort. One must renounce any self-calculation or reasoning, and rest quietly in one's faith in God's love and grace even though one does not "feel" that love or grace. One must have the "faith" that Paul implied when he said that "nothing that exists . . . nor any created thing, can ever come between us and the love of God made visible in Christ Jesus our Lord."(Rom. 8:38-39)

FOURTH STAGE: CONTEMPLATION

Purified in this way, the person goes on to the fourth mansions and a deeper welling in God's grace. The kind of prayer life that begins in this dwelling place is called by our tradition "contemplation." For us, contemplation is different from meditation. The term "meditation" is used to refer to the discursive and affective experiences mentioned above. The contemplative experience is deeper and one is very much aware that it arised from God. Sometimes it is referred to as "infused grace" because one senses that one's prayer experience is "infused" by God into the very depths of one's soul.

The first of these contemplative states is called "recollection."[19] Here, one feels oneself being recollected by God. One's mind and senses are involuntarily stilled, and one is drawn within oneself like "a tortoise withdrawing into itself."[20] The effect that God works in this state of recollection is the "enlargement" of one's heart to love God and others, an increase in freedom, and a deeper realization of God's greatness and one's own miserable condition.

The second type of contemplative state increases these effects and is called the "prayer of quiet."[21] It lasts for only a minute or so, and is characterized by a deep sense of peace and quiet welling up from within which stills even the body. St. Teresa said that it is like being a fountain constructed over a source of water that quietly fills it from deep within. Through this type of graced prayer welling up from God present in one's center, one receives "ineffable blessings."

This image of being filled by a deep source of water reminds me of the description of the spiritual significance of the repetition of the name of Amida Buddha given by the contemporary Japanese Buddhist philosopher Yoshinori Takeuchi:

> It is like someone excavating a well who has to bore through the layers of earth one after another until reaching the real, richest underground water-course, in order then to let the water gush forth from its inexhaustible source. In the same way, one must wander perseveringly through the many torments of the heart so that the genuine achievement of an encounter with the name of Buddha (the steadfast utterance of the name) can take place in one's innermost being."[22]

FIFTH STAGE: MYSTICAL UNION WITH GOD

For the Christian, it is through such "water of grace" that the person is introduced into the full mystical life and is thereby "softened" to be more gentle and receptive to God's inner action. God's life infuses more fully into the person. This mys-

tical life takes form in the fifth mansions where one begins to experience what is called "union with God." Here, the person feels absorbed into God. The light and life of God become more and more the light and life of the soul. St. Teresa said that it is like a butterfly emerging from a cocoon.[23] The process of metamorphosis has actually been taking place from the beginning of the religious life in a hidden way. Now the person realizes that it is renewed with the very life of God, and is able to live that life of love and compassion more and more fully with others.

As for love of neighbor, St. Teresa pointed out that while it is often hard to tell if one loves God, it is rather easy to tell if one loves his or her neighbor. So, at this stage there should be a decrease in self-will, self-love, and attachments, and a corresponding increase in freedom and compassion. Two things are important to keep in mind in this regard. First, St. Teresa said that this is not achieved by self-effort. It would certainly be difficult if not impossible to rid oneself of self-will by self-effort. Rather, she said that all these things come through grace, and that one must learn to "allow his Majesty to work."[24]

The second thing to keep in mind is that the person in this union with God is not perfect. In allowing God's grace to work, he or she realizes even more deeply that blind self-will is still there, or in Shinran's terms, we are "foolish beings" who must depend to God's grace.[25] As evidence of this fact, St. Teresa often pointed to "the many faults that we always commit, even in doing our good works!"[26] As the Shin tradition is fond of pointing out, even if we gain some virtue, God saves us qua sinners.

SIXTH STAGE: MYSTICAL PHENOMENA

In the sixth mansions, this mystical life becomes characterized by certain mystical phenomena such as ecstasy, rapture, locutions and visions. People often incorrectly identify these phenomena with the goal of the mystical life. However, they only make up a small part of the life of grace. And they are in the sixth mansions not the seventh, so they are not the final goal. In fact, some mystics do not experience these phenomena at all. However, I should perhaps say a few words about these experiences as St. Teresa came to understand them.

Ecstasy is not an "extraordinary" state of prayer. Rather, it is an ordinary part of spiritual growth where the faculties are stilled in a "sweet and gentle reflection on God." However, the mind is weak and sometimes the person falls into a swoon or a faint. Or the person can be so caught up in this state that he or she seems to be in a trance. On the other hand, a rapture is extraordinary. Unlike ecstasy that grows gently out of prayer, rapture happens suddenly and even explosively to the person. The person may feel transported or taken out of the body. St. Teresa said that when God "enraptures" the soul, He takes the person to Himself and "is showing her some little part of the Kingdom which she has gained. . . ."[27] Here, I am reminded of where I have read that in the Pure Land tradition there are times when people experience with great "joy" and "gratitude" a glimpse of the Pure Land.[28]

A locution is when one hears something supernatural. In this way, God often awakens the soul through what is heard in a manner that transforms the person in a particular way. For example, one may hear "Be at peace," and then be able to be peaceful in a difficult situation. In a vision, the mystic sees something that awakens him or her to a deeper religious life. There are three types of visions. The first is when one sees something external to oneself. The second is when the object seen is experienced as an image only within the mind. The third type of vision is an imageless or "intellectual" vision. An intellectual vision is when one does not actually see something but realizes a truth deeply within one's heart. For St. Teresa, this type of imageless vision is the most important type. The other two types could be just the product of deception or an over active imagi-

nation. St. Teresa described a particular intellectual vision that may be of special interest to Buddhists. This was a vision "in which is revealed to the soul how all things are seen in God, and how within Himself He contains them all."[29] This refers to a dimension of God that embraces all beings like a boundless horizon and in which all things "live and move and have their being." (Acts 17:28)

Before going on to the final mansions, I would like to point out three things. First is that these mystical phenomena need to be discerned as to their validity. St. Teresa constantly warned that one can be fooled about these things and she suggested many rules for discernment that have been used down to today. Second, she also stated that these phenomena are not at all necessary for religious growth. Many very saintly people have never had any of these things happen to them. In fact, these phenomena could get in the way of growth if a person focuses on them and gives them undue importance. Such a person could become attached to these phenomena and end up calculating ways to gain more experiences. This could lead to all sorts of problems. So, St. Teresa warned that given this pitfall, and many others as well, one should not consciously seek these experiences nor try to cultivate them. Third, when we look at all the above-mentioned types of prayer (discursive and affective meditation, recollection, the prayer of quiet, the prayer of union), we can clearly see that prayer is not a "good work," nor does it mean asking for this-worldly benefits as the Japanese term "*inori*" may imply. Rather each prayer form is a different type of experience of God's grace.

SEVENTH STAGE: SPIRITUAL MARRIAGE

Finally, we reach the last mansions, the seventh mansions. Here is the true center of the soul where God resides. St. Teresa said that this is true for all persons. She said that God, "who is within it and is giving it being," is like "the sun."[30] All persons receive the light from this sun, as I think Shinran teaches.[31] But some people do not entrust themselves to its saving power and allow it to transform their lives. On the other hand, for those who through God's grace do enter the castle and discover this center of their being, the fullness of the spiritual life is found. Here, the person "feels within himself this Divine companionship . . . the most certain assurance of this Presence."[32] And St. Teresa said that this condition is, to us a Pure Land term, "non-retrogressive": "She [the soul] has confidence that God will not leave her and that, having granted her this favor, He will not allow her to lose it."[33]

St. Teresa referred to this state as a "Spiritual Marriage" which will never be broken, but which will also never be perfected here on earth. This union is only perfected after death, in heaven. But here on earth, there is a degree of unity. St. Teresa said that it is "as if in a room there were two large windows through which light streamed in: it enters in different places but it all becomes one."[34] Or elsewhere she said "it is here that the little butterfly to which we have referred dies, and with the greatest joy, because Christ is now its life."[35] As Paul said, "It is no longer I who live, but Christ within me who lives."(Gal. 2:20) To use Pure Land terminology, the mind of Christ arises fully in the mind of the believer.

What is a person like in this state? St. Teresa said that the unusual mystical phenomena, such as the raptures and visions that were experienced in the sixth mansions, no longer happen. Or if they do, it is only rarely. In these last mansions, the person's life is more peaceful and tranquil. In many ways it is more natural and simple. The person does not focus on himself or herself, but enjoys what St. Teresa calls "self-forgetfulness."[36] The person is very active in helping others but not in a busy, willful, and striving way. Rather, one's compassion and love is the spontaneous functioning of the mind of God expressing itself from the person's true center. The little things of daily life take on a new importance. One realizes, St. Teresa said, "that the Lord does not look so much at the

magnitude of anything we do as the love with which we do it."[37] Finally, there is a new ability to embrace the sufferings of daily life and draw from them a more pure love and compassion. Obviously, there is much suffering in following the journey that St. Teresa described. However, one is able to find a special presence of God in the midst of suffering and, united to Him, transform that suffering into a compassionate love for others. And perhaps this is the real goal of Christian mystical life.

JINEN-HŌNI

When I read again St. Teresa's chapters on the seventh mansions in preparation to write this article, I was reminded of Shinran's notion of a naturalness or "*jinen*".[38] It seems to me that Shinran clearly saw that the consciousness of self in calculated efforts in religious practice must be replaced with the consciousness of Amida Buddha working as Other Power within oneself. This Other Power functions in a way that "makes one so of itself (*jinen-honi*)"[39] It is the basis of realization which absorbs the person until he or she can act "spontaneously (*jinen*) totally with the mind of Amida."[40] Amida functioning in the person is *jinen*, that is, wholly natural and spontaneous. The person's actions are thereby not forced from the human will and are free from egotistical self-awareness. And, since the mind of Amida Buddha is compassionate, then its spontaneous expression in the person will result in compassionate activity. I think that both Shinran and St. Teresa would have agreed that whatever of this process is not finished in this world will be completed through grace in the next world.

SHINRAN AND RELIGIOUS TRANSFORMATION

Now that we have traced each of the seven spiritual stages of growth in St. Teresa's *The Interior Castle* and compared them with some of Shinran's religious thoughts, I would like to suggest a comparison of this whole developmental process of the seven mansions with the three transformations of the spirit outlined by the Japanese philosopher mentioned above, namely, Yoshinori Takeuchi.[41] Takeuchi has suggested a threefold transformation of the religious individual that corresponds to Kierkegaard's aesthetic, ethical and religious stages of existential transformation. For Takeuchi, the first stage is at the aesthetic or ethical level where one strives through one's own power for theoretical or ethical ideals. This stage ends in "shipwreck," when one realizes the depth of one's sinfulness. Out of despair, one turns to an encounter with the "name" of Amida Buddha and enters the second stage of religious consciousness. But this stage is a "misappropriation of the name", to use Shinran's terms. One does not yet accept the name as pure gift but "as one's own merit for one's own profit."[42] However, over time with the repetition in prayer of the name escorted by Amida Buddha, one reaches the third level. There in total surrender to a dependence on Amida Buddha, one finds a final transformation of religious consciousness.

I would like to suggest that those people who pursue aesthetic and ethical ideals as described in Takeuchi's first stage, are living outside St. Teresa's Interior Castle. When they experience the "shipwreck" of their ideals and turn to the spiritual life of grace, they enter the Castle. So the first to third mansions would correspond to Takeuchi's second stage. Here the religious life is "good" but is also compromised by pride and self-centeredness. This situation begins to be healed through the aridity and dark night experiences at the end of the third mansions and one is led to a more authentic life of grace through contemplation. This life progresses through the fourth to seventh mansions that correspond to a movement into Takeuchi's third stage of genuine spiritual transformation. For both St. Teresa and Takeuchi, the final stages of religious life and consciousness are stages of pure grace that entail the complete surrender of faith.

CONCLUSIONS

To conclude, one of the goals of interfaith dialogue is mutual understanding. Through my study of Shinran's religious thought, I have not only gained a hopefully clearer understanding of the experience of grace in Pure Land Buddhism, but also of the experience of grace in my own Christian tradition. What I have presented here is a re-examination of St. Teresa's *The Interior Castle* in a way that emphasizes the place of grace and faith in the mystical life in light of my study of Shinran's religious thought. I hope this re-examination in light of Shinran's religious ideas will be a step in helping Buddhists to re-examine in turn their own tradition in a way that will foster a deeper mutual understanding of both Buddhism and Christianity in the context of our contemporary Buddhist-Christian dialogue.

FOOTNOTES

1. St. Teresa of Avila, *The Interior Castle*, Trans. and Ed. E. Allison Peers, New York: Doubleday, 1961.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.
5. Alfred Bloom, *Shinran's Gospel of Pure Grace*, Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 1965, p. 16.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
7. St. Teresa of Avila, p. 47.
8. Bloom, p. 73.
9. St. Teresa of Avila, p. 47.
10. Bloom, p. 29.
11. Shinran, *Letters of Shinran*, Ed. Yoshifumi Ueda, Kyoto: Hongwanji International, 1978, p.23.
12. St. Teresa of Avila, p. 53.
13. Daigan and Alicia Matsunaga, *Foundations of Japanese Buddhism*, Vol. II, Tokyo: Buddhist Books International, 1976, p. 100.
14. St. John of the Cross, *The Collected Works of St. John of the Cross*, Trans. and Ed. K. Kavanaugh, O. Rodriguez, Washington D.C.: Institute of Carmelite Studies, 1973, p. 587.
15. Bloom, p. 38.
16. St. Teresa of Avila, pp. 59-69.
17. Shinran, p. 23.
18. St. Teresa of Avila, p. 66.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 85-94.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 87.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 80-85.
22. Yoshinori Takeuchi, *The Heart of Buddhism*, New York: Crossroads, 1984, p. 57.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 104.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 117.
25. Shinran, *Notes on "Essentials of Faith Alone"*, Ed. Yoshifumi Ueda, Kyoto: Hongwanji International, 1979, pp. 6-8.
26. St. Teresa of Avila, p. 123.
27. *Ibid*, p. 153.
28. Bloom, p. 66.
29. St. Teresa of Avila, p. 194.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 207.
31. Bloom, pp. 55-58.
32. St. Teresa of Avila, p. 210.
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*, p. 215.
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*, p. 219.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 233.
38. Shinran, *Letters of Shinran*, pp. 14-16, 74-75.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
40. Matsunaga, p. 102.
41. Takeuchi, pp. 50-58.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

Luther and Shinran on *Fides Sola*: A Textual Study

by Jean Higgins

This paper concerns two men, three hundred years and immeasurable cultural distance apart, who come together in remarkable agreement on the age-old question of means to salvation. How is one saved? By grace? By self-help? Or by a combination of both?

The two men in question: Shinran Shonin and Martin Luther[1], share the answer to this question, and a good deal more. Both were monks within religious traditions which required disciplined exercise of meditative and non-meditative practices for the attainment of their spiritual goals. Both eventually left monastic life, married, and had children. Both continued in ministry, introducing thereby a married clergy into their respective traditions and bringing to an end a long-standing ideal of priestly celibacy.

Both men were profoundly spiritual by nature. As monks, they were conscientious in the fulfillment of the vows and precepts of their monastic traditions. Over time, both became increasingly aware of the futility of their traditional disciplines and of their own efforts in the quest for peace of mind and certitude of salvation. In their persons, both reflected the spiritual anxiety of their troubled and pessimistic ages: if they as spiritually elite (monks) experienced insecurity and anxiety with respect to salvation, how much more the common man.

Both men turned anew to their sources for answer. Despite the fact that the sacred scriptures of the one tradition posited a compassionate superior being (Buddha), and those of the other a loving supreme being (God), both men experienced an unbridgeable gulf between themselves and their respective Absolutes. Despite heroic striving, they believed themselves unsavable. Eventually, in anguished re-reading of their scriptures, both men came to a discovery which radically changed their conception of their supreme/superior beings and the relationship of needful humans to them. They discovered a compassionate self-giving that asked nothing but receptivity of believers. To the question of means to salvation, Shinran Shonin and Martin Luther answered as with one voice: salvation[2] is by faith,[3] by *faith alone.*

Careful note should be taken at the outset that while Shinran and Luther answer with one voice on the means to salvation, this unison is not carried through to other aspects of their experiencing, thinking and teaching. The cultures and religious traditions which shaped them differ greatly: cosmologically, anthropologically, historically, intellectually, linguistically, experientially. The emphasis in this paper on similarities in one aspect of the soteriological systems of Shinran and Luther, in no way suggests that there are not a great many more dissimilarities in their basic understanding of self, cosmos, and Absolute.

The aim of this paper is not to draw parallels but to draw attention to a shared interpretation of human spiritual and moral weakness and the experience of inadequacy (more powerful in some historical periods than in others) which drives man to seek salvation in and through a supra-human Other. The similarity in the insights of Shinran and Luther into this existential situation, and their response to it in terms of "salvation by faith alone," is shared ground on which Shin Buddhists and Christians can stand in these early stages of what

promises to be mutually enriching exchange between two religions of salvation.

The noting of common strains in the teaching of Shin Buddhism and Christianity in its Lutheran mode has quite a long history. Francis Xavier became aware of them in his conversations with Buddhist "bonzes" (monks) in his journeys in Japan in the late sixteenth century.[4] In the late nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century a number of Western scholars, including Friederich Heiler, Gustav Mensching and Henri de Lubac, drew attention to similarities in the teaching of the two founders. Karl Barth treated briefly and somewhat brusquely of Shin Buddhism, considering it "the most adequate and comprehensive and illuminating heathen parallel to Reformed Christianity."[5]

In the recent past more text-oriented comparative studies past more text-oriented comparative studies have considered the commonalities in the two reformers. Fritz Buri's article: "The Concept of Grace in Paul, Shinran and Luther,"[6] concerns itself with salvation through grace showing Paul, Shinran and Luther as religious thinkers whose personal spiritual experiences within the context of their particular, "latter-day" times led them to view salvation as unattainable through human effort. Salvation is shown in all three to be a gratuitous gift attained to only through trust in a divine power. In the course of his investigation of the concept of grace in these reformers, Buri notes how their grace-monism (emphasis on grace as opposed to works) created both misunderstanding of their doctrine of grace and problems with respect to ethics. He deals at some length with the latter problem.

Paul O. Ingram's study: "Shinran Shonin and Martin Luther: A Soteriological Comparison,"[7] is a more general treatment of the soteriology of Shinran and Luther. It treats of "latter-day" context in Shinran and "sin" in Luther as concepts descriptive of man's spiritual problem; of Amida Buddha and God as objects of faith; of Other-power and grace as means to salvation; and of the gift of faith as necessary prerequisite for salvation.

In what follows I hope to advance the work of comparison by considering aspects of the soteriology of Shinran and Luther not previously treated, for example, *tariki/jiriki* compared to Luther's "active"/"passive" righteousness; the concept of transference of merits in Shinran and Luther, and the role of hearing in coming to faith in both traditions. Through textual comparison, both founders will come to voice in their own words. Subsequent exegeses or eisegeses of primary texts by followers will not be considered.

SHINRAN SHONIN

Shinran was a follower of the Pure Land School which developed within Mahayana Buddhism in India around the first century B.C. Mahayana, as opposed to Theravada Buddhism, was and is a tradition which addresses itself in particular to the common man in an effort to provide a more realistic, existential response to the quest for enlightenment. The history of Mahayana's various branches reveals a progressive simplifying of the austere ascetic practices held to be necessary for the attainment of enlightenment.

Pure Land Buddhism can be seen responding sympathetically to the needs of those seeking enlightenment as it made its way from India east to China into Korea and eventually to Japan. In the course of its journeyings the original teachings of the Buddha are reinterpreted and adapted to changing times and cultures. Along the way, elements appear which could be read as contradicting the original teachings of the Buddha. A case in point is belief in a force outside of man in whom is fused the compassion of the bodhisattva and the saving power of a transcendent Buddha. This seems a far cry from the self-help, self-emancipation admonition of Gotama Buddha to "work out your salvation with diligence," or the universal Buddhist motto: "Be ye lamps unto yourselves... Hold fast to the *dharma* as a lamp. Seek salvation in *dharma* alone."

In Pure Land Buddhism, the force outside of

man: "Other Power," is used specifically of a savior-figure known as Amida Buddha.[8] As the bodhisattva Dharmākara,[9] Amida Buddha was moved by compassion for ignorant, passion-ridden human beings who were incapable, unaided, of attaining birth in the Pure Land[10] and thereby eventual enlightenment. His concern was expressed in a series of forty-eight vows contained in the *Larger Sutra of Immeasurable Life*, a sutra of central importance both to Pure Land teaching and tradition and to the development of Shinran's reform thought.[11] In the 18th Vow (also known as the 'Primal' or 'Original' Vow) Dhamākara pledged to renounce attainment of supreme enlightenment until all sentient beings attained it. This vow reads:

> "If, when I attain Buddhahood, the sentient beings throughout the ten quarters, realizing sincere mind, joyful faith, and aspirations to be born in my land and saying my Name up to ten times, do not attain birth, may I not attain supreme enlightenment..."[12]

The conditions of this Vow being fulfilled, Dharmākara attained both the Name, Amida (Buddha of Infinite Life and Light), and the Pure Land of Ultimate Bliss. The 18th Vow is the source and guarantee of Amida's saving power.[13]

SHINRAN'S REFORM INSIGHT: TEXT AND CONTEXT

The insight which was to transform Shinran and radically reform Pure Land teaching, arose from his contemplation of a particular text in a particular context. The text was the *Larger Sutra of Immeasurable Life*.[14] The context was the age of *mappō*.[15] In one of his many re-readings of the *Larger Sutra of Immeasurable Life*, Shinran came to new insight with respect to the saving activity of Amida and his Vow[16] and Name.[17] The 18th Vow had traditionally been read in the context of its teaching that sentient beings could attain to enlightenment through good works (particularly the saying of Amida's Name) and the consequent accrual of merit. In his new reading of this text, Shinran found himself unshakably unconvinced that works and hence the accrual of merit, played no role in the attainment of enlightenment. Self power was to no avail. One was saved *solely* by faith in Other Power, or, as he later expressed it (following his master Honen): "In Other Power, no selfworking is true working."[18]

In that he could not nor would not yield on his revolutionary reading of the 18th Vow (and indeed his new reading of all the Pure Land sutras in the light of his reform insight) Shinran found himself the unwilling originator of a new branch of Pure Land Buddhism, The name of his school, Shin (true) expressed his conviction that his foundation was not only an authentic development of the original teaching of the Buddha and the writings of the seven patriarchs of the Pure Land tradition,[19] but that it also brought the entire Mahayana tradition to perfection.[20] Its simple call to "faith alone" as means to salvation made unnecessary the division between sacred and profane, priest and lay. Its 'easy practice'[21] met and answered the existential anxiety of those whose honest assessment of their weakness gave them little hope for attainment of birth in the Pure Land. Shinran's revolutionary interpretation brought assurance of Amida's undiscriminating compassion for all, but especially for "small, foolish beings," for the "dull and ignorant."[22] Among these Shinran counted himself.

What for Shinran had earlier been the awesome requirements of the 18th Vow: to realize sincere mind, joyful faith, desire for birth in the Pure Land, were now seen in new light. They were not *demanded*. They were *given*. Amida's gift to those who single-heartedly, single-mindedly abandoned self-power and doubt (for doubt revealed a clinging to self-effort), was the transfer of his own pure, true, real sincerity, joyful faith, desire, and the worthy saying of his Name. Viewing self and reality with the mind of Amida made manifestly clear both the compassionate saving

intent of Amida's Vow, and the extent to which blinded human nature needed to be saved. This led to displacement of self-trust by absolute trust in Amida, displacement of faith in self-power by absolute faith in Other Power.[23]

Surrendering self-power and embracing Other Power, Shinran experienced himself saved, "grasped, never to be abandoned."[24] In Pure Land terminology, he had realized *shinjin*[25] or, more correctly, 'had been made to become so'; for there was no doubt in his mind that it was not self-power but Other-power, the Vow-power of Amida, that had brought him to *shinjin*.[26]

Shinran describes his moment of conversion as an abrupt "leaping crosswise," a being "carried over" by Another. This contrasts with the traditional understanding of self-powered, gradual progression from one stage of spiritual attainment to another. It is an experience on instantaneous, radical, irreversible transcending of the realm of samsara (birth-and-death).[27] Through Amida's sharing of mind and merits with the devotee, birth in the Pure Land is experienced in the here and now, in the midst of karmic-bound existence.[28] Peace of mind and joy of heart take over. Particularly moving for Shinran is the knowledge that Amida's promise "was for myself, Shinran, alone! . . . a being burdened so heavily with karma . . ."[29]

Shinran's new reading of the sources of his tradition assured him that salvation was by faith alone, that faith was an unmerited gift, and that this gift was, in part, the Giver himself.[30]

LUTHER'S REFORM INSIGHT: TEXT AND CONTEXT

The text which brought Luther to a new and comforting understanding of salvation was Paul's *Epistle to the Romans*. The context was an age of anxiety and decadence unparalleled in the history of the West.[31]

Paul's *Epistle to the Romans*, 1:17 contained the awesome words: "In it the righteousness of God is revealed." This saying had long been a stumbling block for Luther. His personal sense of sinfulness before God struck terror in his heart on every reading; for by "righteousness" he understood that "formal or active righteousness . . . with which God is righteous and punishes the unrighteous sinner."[32] But as he struggled to understand Paul's meaning, all of a sudden he came to insight. What he discovered (as did Shinran in another text and another context) was not God's impossible demanding of righteousness but his gratuitous giving of it:

> "There I began to understand that the righteousness of God is that by which the righteous lives by a gift of God, namely by faith . . ."[33]

In this radically new reading of *Romans* 1:17, Luther found the gracious God he had so anxiously sought. He was now possessed of the conviction that the merciful God who had promised to save mankind was a God to be trusted. Not by sullied human works and practices, not by merit-centered self-effort would man be saved but *solely*[34] by trustful faith in the saving promise of God, fulfilled in the Word (Christ).[35]

In the space of a moment Luther felt that he was "altogether born again and had entered paradise itself through open gates."[36] All of Scripture now appeared in new light, all of it revealing God as Initiator and Giver, man as passive receiver of God's action.[37] In all this gracious giving, Luther felt personally addressed: "He who was completely God (Christ) . . . gave Himself for me—for me, I say, a miserable and accursed sinner."[38]

As was the case with Shinran, Luther's new interpretation conflicted with the accepted teaching of his tradition. It was the position of the Church that man, aided by God's grace, cooperated in his own salvation. Even Augustine, Luther's mentor on the doctrine of righteousness, and the one to whom Luther appealed for support in his new reading of Paul, could not be stretched to the lengths Luther now wished to go.[39] The Augustine who had argued for justification by faith alone against Pelagius had elsewhere argued that "The

God who created you without your cooperation, will not redeem you without your cooperation . . . "[40] But for Luther, Augustine's *sola gratia* had now to give way to *sola fide*. Emboldened by his reform insight, he swept aside any cooperation whatsoever.[41] Salvation was by *faith alone* in *Christ alone*. His own self-powered striving for merits, his scrupulous fulfillment of the letter of the law, despair over his inability to feel that he was pleasing God, were revealed for what they were: prideful trust in "works-righteousness" as a means to salvation.

In this new reading of *Romans* 1:17, Luther finds his 'gracious God' and certitude of salvation. He does so by an interpretation of Scripture that presents righteousness as imputative and passive. Not only does he here depart from traditional teaching, but he finds himself obliged to reshape the entire soteriological teaching of the Church around this new reading. This involves redefinitions or reconfigurations of a good many doctrines including 'grace', 'sin', 'merit', 'good works', and 'fallen human nature', particularly with respect to freedom/bondage of the will.

HUMAN NATURE IN SHINRAN AND LUTHER

The shared belief of Shinran and Luther in salvation by faith alone is matched by a shared belief in the depravity of human nature, despite the manifest differences in their perceptions of what it is to be human.[42] Moreover, it would appear to be the case that their pessimistic conception of human nature was greatly influenced by a personal sense of sinfulness and by the degenerate spirit of the age in which each lived.

Shinran grew up in a tradition which divided history, at least with respect to *dharma*, into three major periods.[43] The first period (*shōbō*), thought to have covered the first five hundred years after Gotama's death, was held to be the period of "true doctrine." The second period (*zōbō*), of one thousand years duration, was known as the period of "counterfeit doctrine." The third period (*mappō*), thought to last ten thousand years, was considered the period of "degenerate doctrine".[44]

In the period of "true doctrine," the Buddha's teachings were applied in true (hence meritorious) practice, with the consequence that devotees could attain to enlightenment by means of self-effort. In the period of "counterfeit doctrine," the teachings continued, but such practice as there was, was false, with the result that no one could attain to enlightenment. In the age of "degenerate doctrine," teaching alone existed, practice was totally absent. In this age of the Last Dharma, no one, monk nor lay, was able to perform any meritorious work. Attainment of enlightenment was absolutely beyond human reach.[45]

Shinran recognized this "Last Age" of degeneracy—an age marked by wars, disasters, false teaching, impurity of life—in the period in which he lived. But he did more than recognize it as an objective historical situation. He internalized it, locating it within human beings. He recognized it in his own experience of spiritual debility[46] and in that of his time. It was an age of impotence: he spoke to it of the unlimited power of Other Power. It was an age of inability to merit: he spoke to it of the compassionate undiscriminating transference of Amida's merits. It was an age of existential anxiety: he spoke to it of assured salvation by faith alone. It was an age deeply convinced of the fact that none could attain to birth in the Pure Land: he spoke to it of Amida's concern for all, especially for the weak and sinful. He spoke of the "true" (Shin) teaching of entrustment to the compassionate Primal Vow, which was their one and only gate into the Pure Land.[47]

Luther's view of human nature, while essentially that of his tradition, was clearly influenced by the despairing, guilt-conscious spirit of his age. For the Christian tradition up until the time of Luther, human nature is a fallen nature. Through the sin of Adam (original sin), the original justice (harmony) of the various levels of man's being was destroyed, leaving him weakened and disposed to

wrongdoing. Every human being, therefore, was the victim of an external influence: the human society burdened by original sin into which he was born, and an internal influence: his own weakened nature characterized by concupiscence. Whereas the tradition read concupiscence as "propensity to sin" and considered man capable of performing good works, Luther read it as "total depravity" and denied man this capacity.[48] He saw the divine image in man being replaced in the Fall by "the image of the devil."[49]

In order to understand Luther's pessimistic view of human nature, one must understand the historical context within which he contemplated the scriptures of his tradition (particularly the Pauline) and the major religious figures who preceded him (particularly Augustine). The age in which Luther was born has been described as "a time of human tragedy unparalleled in Europe, and perhaps elsewhere in world history";[50] "the most psychically disturbed era in European history";[51] an age in which people saw "their fate and that of the world only as an endless succession of evils";[52] and age whose "most characteristic feature" was acute anxiety.[53] Famine, plague, war; social, political and religious upheaval; hopelessness and despair with respect to salvation; morbid preoccupation with death and judgment; conviction that disaster and tragedy were the deserved judgment of God upon an evil age—such was the sin-burdened setting in which developed Luther's conception of self, world, and God.

While writers[54] and artists[55] of this period discovered "everywhere signs of decadence and of the near end . . .,"[56] Luther concentrated his attention on decadence within the Church. His particular concern was with what he held to be false teaching based on incorrect interpretation of the scriptures.[57] On the basis of his reform insight, he rejected the traditional teaching which held that man was saved by a combination of God's grace and meritorious works on the part of man. In its place he presented what he held to be "the pure teaching"[58] rooted in the conviction that salvation was by faith alone.

To an age beset by anxiety, a heightened sense of sinfulness, and an often unspiritual drive to merit righteousness, Luther preached the comforting doctrine of an "alien righteousness" gratuitously bestowed upon man by virtue of the infinite merits of Christ.[60] To an age in which popular belief held that the gates of Paradise were closed to all[61]—despite the greatest exercise of self-power—Luther spoke with confidence of the power of Another.[62]

The reform insights of Shinran and Luther reveal a human nature burdened by moral and spiritual weakness.[63] For Shinran, these burdens are blind passion and ignorance resulting from the evil carried over from one's beginningless karmic past. For Luther, the burden is concupiscence (in his peculiar reading of this term) resulting from original sin and intensified by personal sinning. Human nature is further burdened by being born into and living in an age of corrupt doctrine and corrupt practice. So depraved and spiritually incapacitated is this age that it is, in and of itself, unsavable.

Given the existential situation described above, it follows as a matter of course that Shinran's buddhology and Luther's theology are preeminently soteriologies. Their concern is not primarily with the being (essence) of their respective Absolutes but with their doing, with their saving activity. Their message to an anguished age is of a *Soter* who takes upon himself the sole meriting of salvation and, in doing so, creates a new double-layered reality for those who abandon themselves in trusting belief.

SALVATION IN SHIN BUDDHISM

The essence of salvation for Shin Buddhism is enlightenment. It is liberation from the darkness of error, ignorance and an evil heart, and the attainment, through Amida's Light, of right-seeing and hence right-mindedness. It is entry into eternal bliss, that is, rebirth in the Pure paradaisical Land

(understood differently according to differentiation of consciousness). The source and guarantee of salvation for Shin Buddhists is the self-denying Vow of the Bodhisattva Dharmākara. Its "efficient cause" is Amida's Name, which is empowered by the Vow to effect salvation.

The means to salvation for Shin Buddhists is the transference to the devotee of the merits acquired by Amida in his prolonged, self-sacrificing striving for enlightenment. Merit-transference is the heart and soul of the concept of *tariki*. The devotee contributes nothing but receptivity to this saving activity, which includes the very disposing of the believer to believe.

In Pure Land teaching prior to Shinran, merits accrued through self-power were directed towards rebirth in Amida's Pure Land. But Shinran's revolutionary reading of the *Larger Sutra* (and other pertinent texts) consciously and consistently places the directing of merit with Amida and not with the aspirant.[64] This understanding of merit-transference follows logically from Shinran's teaching on the active role of Amida (*tariki*) and the receptive, passive role of the believer. It is also of a piece with Shinran's "mappō-soteriology." The directing of self-powered (*jiriki*) merits towards attainment of birth in the Pure Land is simply not possible given the corruption of human nature, the absence of the Buddha-nature in the age of the Last Dharma.[65] It is by virtue of Amida's merits, and Amida's merits alone that sentient beings are freed from the endless cycle of birth-and death and transported to the Pure Land. The understanding of merit-transference is crucial to the undertanding of the generosity and compassion of Amida as expressed in the Primal Vow.[66]

For the Pure Land tradition in general, Amida's compassion and saving intent are universal.[67] His illuminating Light embraces all, nor "does it differentiate by time, or place, or any circumstance."[68] Reflecting on this, Shinran writes: "There is absolutely no falsehood in the statement: 'All will be taken up and none left behind'."[69] In fact, on Shinran's reading of Amida's saving intent, one would have to conclude that Amida has a predilection for those least likely to be considered candidates for buddhahood. In a classic text, Shinran states this reading powerfully: "Even a good person is born in the Pure Land, how much more so an evil person!"[70]

In Shinran's understanding, an evil person's awareness of his sinfulness may open his eyes to his need for Other Power while a good person's awareness of his virtue may blind him to his depravity and confirm him in the illusion that self-power is a means to enlightenment. Amida's compassion, however, will eventually find a way to reach both the disillusioned evil and the illusioned good. Where the opening lines of Shinran's major work, *The Kyōgyōshinshō*, make it clear that Amida's Vow assures universal deliverance, the *Tannishō* (a collection of Shinran's utterances by a disciple) underlines this all-inclusiveness: not only the good, but above all the evil; not only those engaged full-time in austere practices, but also the stupid and the ignorant, the small and the helpless; all manner of people, in all walks of life, dwell in Amida's constant compassion.[71] All will be taken up and none left behind.

SALVATION IN LUTHER

Whereas for Shinran, Amida expresses compassion for sentient beings through the Primal Vow, Luther sees God's mercy toward fallen humanity expressed in what he calls "God's first promise"[72] contained in *Genesis* 3:15:

> I will put enmity between you and the woman and between your seed and her seed; he shall bruise your head, and you shall bruise his heel."

The "seed of the woman" in this text was read as Christ,[73] who would liberate humanity from the evil power which held it in bondage. For this reason, the Christian tradition saw *Genesis* 3:15 as the *protoevangelium* (the first 'good news'), because it was understood to contain the promise of

a savior.

Salvation, for Luther, begins with this primal promise which is "certain and reliable, and is surely carried out, because God carries it out."[74] God's vow to save, restated in many forms down through the history of the Hebrew Scriptures,[75] is always found yoked together with faith,[76] the object of which is Christ[77] who, as Word made flesh is the historical fulfillment of the saving promise of God.

Luther speaks of God revealing himself to humanity "dressed and clothed in His Word and promises."[78] The Word of God is the means by which everything that is, was brought into existence. When God outers (utters) his inner Word, creation comes to be.[79] When God in saving compassion speaks out his Word in flesh, a fallen creation comes to new being in fulfillment of God's promise. To hear the word, to believe the promise, to trust unreservedly in the saving power of Christ, is all that is asked in this scheme of salvation; for "no man by his works, but God by His promises, is the author of our salvation."[80]

The saving of mankind begins and ends in self-renunciation on the part of God. This is expressed in Pauline terms as "*kenosis*"; that is, the self-emptying of the Word who is "God Himself."[81] The Word divests himself of his divinity, renounces paradise, and enters human history in order to fulfill God's saving promise and regain paradise for fallen humanity.[82] In clothing himself in the poverty of human flesh, he heals its infirmity and overcomes the various levels of alienation that sunder man from God, from himself, from others, and from nature. God's emptying of self for the sake of mankind is consummated in the crucifixion when Christ's humanity is "given over" in atonement for the sins of man. For Christ's self-denial and self-giving on the cross, "God has highly exalted him . . ." (*Phil.* 2:9) Resurrected, he enters triumphant into paradise, opening wide its gates to mankind. And there he has "bestowed on him the name [Jesus] which is above every name . . . " (*Phil.* 2:9)

The closed doors of Paradise[83] were opened when Christ "once and for all merited and won for us forgiveness of sins on the Cross."[84] The notion of transference of merits[85] found in Shinran are found here also. Again, it is of a piece with a soteriology which hold human nature incapable of any meritorious action, and proclaims salvation "by faith alone." Luther calls upon the believer to "have confidence in nothing but the merits of Christ,"[86] who, as "Proprietor and Savior . . . has performed a superabundance of works and merits."[87] Luther's certitude of salvation lies in knowing that the attainment of eternal life is based not on his own virtues and merits, but rather on Christ who is "my merit and the price of my righteousness and salvation."[88]

In contradistinction to the teaching of his age on merit, Luther harshly rejects the presumption that it lies in one's own power to contribute towards one's salvation.[89] In fact, one who so presumes "adds sin to sin so that he becomes doubly guilty."[90] The action of saving lies entirely with God in Christ.[91] We are saved by no other means than Christ "imputing his righteousness to us, bestowing his merits on us, and holding his hand over us."[92] Like everything else that pertains to salvation, the merits of Christ are "the gifts of God and works which he alone performs."[93] Righteousness is attained to "not actively but passively."[94] Luther makes very clear distinction between "active" and "passive" righteousness.[95] Active righteousness is the attempt to merit salvation through self-effort.[96] Passive righteousness, on the other hand, is absolute abandonment in faith and trust to the saving activity of God, in Christ.[97] What for Shinran is *jiriki* and *tariki* is for Luther *active righteousness* and *passive righteousness.*

Luther calls passive righteousness "the righteousness of faith," whereas active righteousness is human reason's claim to righteousness[98] and as such is "but filthy rags."[99] There is no middle ground between these two kinds of righteousness.[100] They are simply antithetical. On this distinction between the two rests the whole doctrine

of justification (righteousness) by faith. Justification is not self-gift, it is gratuitious gift of God.[101] Human merits (self-power) and Christ's merits (other-power) cannot coexist together.

Even though man stands in God's favor by virtue of an alien (extrinsic) righteousness imputed to him, not merited by him,[102] Luther nevertheless urges the Christian to "glory in the merits of Christ as though he himself had won them."[103] The believer who in faith and trust has surrendered self to Christ, shares with Christ all that he has merited.[104] He may "boast of the merits of Christ and all his blessings, as though he himself (the believer) had accomplished them all himself."[105] But it is not only his virtues and merits that Christ gives over to the believer—it is his very self.[106] Passive righteousness means that the believer is peacefully and joyfully "set down amid strange treasures merited by the labors of Another."[107]

As with Shinran, this transference of merits takes place instantaneously. In the instant of being justified through faith, Christ's righteousness "swallows up all sins in a moment."[108] To this gift of faith is added grace which "does not come in portions and pieces, separately, . . . rather it takes us up completely into its embrace . . ."[109] Nor is sin "nullified or eradicated"(to use Shinran's words with respect to evil karma at the moment of *shinjin*);[110] for the believer is "semper peccator, semper penitens, semper justus," that is, at one and the same time sinful and just.[111] Sin is in one as long as one lives. Because of the merits of Christ, God declares the sinner righteous in spite of the sin.[112] Luther's righeousness is extrinsic, imputed; it is Christ's righteousness. The believer, remains "semper peccator," a sinner in the totality of his being and doing. Clearly, 'faith alone' is the only means to this righteousness. Human works are but "filthy rags" compared to the spotless garment Christ spreads over the believer who, though transformed by the power of faith (granted as gift), nevertheless is and remains a sinner.[113]

The sinner has always been at the heart of Christianity. God's love goes out in a special way to the weak and needful.[114] Matthew's gospel, for example, has Christ say: "For I came not to call the righteous, but sinners" (9:13). Luther, reflecting *Romans* 5:20, draws attention to the relationship between the mercy of God and man's need: "for grace does not abound except where sin and wretchedness abound."[115] It abounds where there is admission of need.[116] Nor is grace bestowed because of status or practice. The works of priests and nuns are no different than the works of laborers or housewives, "all works are measured before God by faith alone."[117] The saving Word is addressed to all who can hear, not simply to the literate and the learned. Trusting faith, simplicity of heart, and genuine humility are the only prerequisites for the reception and the gift of grace that brings salvation.

THE FAITH-EVENT IN SHINRAN

"Hearing" (listening to the teaching) is central to the Buddhist striving for enlightenment, especially in the early stages of practice. But in Shin Buddhism, according to one commentator:

> ". . . hearing is not just the beginning, it is the alpha and omega of religious life; for ultimately what is heard defines what one is, the complete identification being none other than the experience of *shinjin*."[118]

That faith (*shinjin*) comes through hearing is a central tenet of Shin Buddhism. Hearing is the means by which the saving power of Amida's Vow and Name is directed to the devotee and *shinjin* is realized.[119] 'Hearing' and 'awakening' to Amida's call are two inseparable aspects of the one moment in which a person is grasped by the saving power of the Vow. Awakening to *shinjin* is an instantaneous event rather than a process,[120] despite the fact that it involves a number of factors: hearing, being illumined, awakening, trusting, responding, and abandoning (self). It is instantaneous because it is solely the work of Amida and not the laborious, cumulative achievement of weak and sinful human beings.

The compassionate call of Amida heard by the receptive devotee is a startling call which brings one to awareness of who and what one is: ignorant, blinded by passions, deluded as to one's true nature. Hearing the call in Shin Buddhism creates the possibility for illumination. Illumination, the work of Amida's saving Light,[121] opens man's closed and blinded self to the truth of his depravity and to his inability to rise, of his own power, above his abject state. With illumination comes wisdom, a new kind of knowing which discloses not only man as captive to his passion but Amida, in a sense, as captive to his compassion. For what one now realizes is that one is saved not only *despite* one's depravity, but *because* of one's depravity.

'Hearing' and 'responding' are also yoked together in coming to faith in Shin Buddhism. Shaken in one's depths by the enormity of what one has heard and understood, the devotee responds with the grateful and trustful utterance of Amida's Name: namu-amida-butsu (*nembutsu*). The *nembutsu* expresses a wealth of meaning: it expresses, first and foremost, absolute faith and trust in the veracity and sincerity of Amida's Primal Vow.[122] It bears witness to the fact that *shinjin* has been realized.[123] It is humble affirmation of the truth of one's depravity, revealed by Amida's light. It is rejection of self-power and the embracing of Other Power. It is a spontaneous expression of gratitude for rebirth in the Pure Land, settled here and now in *shinjin*. The *nembutsu* is all these things brought to being and expression in the devotee not by self-power, but by Other Power.[124] It is solely by virtue of the transference of Amida's own merits (virtues) that man can rise above doubt and calculation to single-minded abandonment to Amida. Arriving at *shinjin* in Shin Buddhism is something *undergone*, not *undertaken*, by the devotee. The closest one comes to independent human action is trustfully 'letting-be-done-unto'.[125] Amida is the active Giver, man the passive receiver.

It was clear to Shinran, from his own experience, that those who were practitioners of self-power as means to salvation might well have difficulty accepting his teaching on salvation by faith alone. His so-called "easy-practice" demanded the difficult virtue of humility. The merit-minded would have to be disabused of the belief that they were, in part, the instruments of their own salvation. They would have to be brought to acknowledge the fact that tallying merits and self-glorying in one's good deeds sullied even the best of human acts (if man could, in his depraved state, do *any* good deed in the age of mappō).

Shinran knew also from personal experience how the self-power practice of merit-accruing and recitation of the Name deluded man into thinking that these actions would bring him to enlightenment. He had himself undergone a series of conversions, progressing from meditative and meritorious practices, inspired by the 19th Vow (which prescribed prayers, practices and desires) to the more centered and purer practice of the recitation of Amida's Name in the 20th Vow.[126] He had seen in himself and sensed in other devotees a certain duplicity, a submerged conviction that it was the practice (their *saying* of the Name)[127] and not faith in the power embodied in the Name, which would bring them to salvation. In his heart of hearts Shinran was aware that if salvation depended, even in part, on his own works and practices, it was not an assured thing. With this conviction he embraced the "faith alone" demand of the 18th Vow (as he interpreted that Vow). The shift to the 18th Vow is none other than a leap of faith. For there is a moment between yielding self-power and trustfully embracing Other Power when one imagines one stands nowhere. But in actual fact, the trust and faith, the relinquishing of doubt required to make the leap, are all the gift of the merciful Giver who has brought one to *shinjin*. One finds oneself accepted, affirmed, in all one's poverty and delusion, by the Vow which "grasps us, never to abandon . . ."

> "To realize this *shinjin* is to rejoice and be glad . . . to leap and jump, expressing bound-

less joy . . . to dance to the heavens . . . to dance on the earth."[128]

Leaping and dancing express, for Shinran, the joy and gratitude that floods the being of the person of *shinjin* in that moment of sudden, radical shift from self-centeredness to Other-centeredness, from self-mind to Amida-mind. With this new mind comes a new view of self and of Buddha-nature. The existential anxiety that is rooted in ignorance is dispelled. Doubt is cast out. Concern with good and evil is eliminated.[129] The new self, liberated from calculative self-effort (*hakarai*),[130] lives on amidst the suffering of the karmic world with a peace and joy not of this world.

THE FAITH-EVENT IN LUTHER

When one turns to the faith-event in Luther one notes the centrality of 'Word' and 'hearing'. The Word is the means by which God reveals himself and his compassion for fallen humanity.[131] That God chose 'Word' as his means of communication with humanity underlines the central Christian belief in the personal nature of God. Conversation is his mode of relationship. He is a God "who never appears except in the only vehicle of the hearing of the Word."[132] The Word is God addressing man. The Word is God redressing man. And it does so by disposing him to be a truster and a believer. But this he can only be if he is a hearer. "To such an extent has everything been reduced to an easy way of life," writes Luther, that God "requires only ears."[133] Not the burden of ceremonies, not works, simply passive acceptance of the Word of God by an organ more adapted to receptivity than to action:

> "Therefore the ears alone are the organs of a Christian man, for he is justified and declared to be a Christian, not because of the works of any other member [organ] but because of faith."[134]

External hearing of the Word is linked with the internal activity of the Spirit.[135] The Spirit disposes the soul to hear this word as Word of God.[136] The Spirit illumines[137] the self-centered darkness of man and brings him to awareness of his depraved state. Perceiving his inability to rise unaided from his depths, man opens self to the saving Word, which both bears and is the good news of God's merciful promise of salvation. Illumined by the Spirit, man accepts and assents to this Word in unshakable certitude that God has spoken and that what he has said is true, even though he does not fully understand this Word in its depth and mystery.[138] He then yields himself passively and trustfully to the power of the saving Word, for ". . . as the soul needs only the Word of God for its life and righteousness, so it is justified by faith alone and not any works.[139]

When man in sincerity and honesty opens self to God's saving Word, he encounters truth. In a sudden, shattering insight, the unholy nature of the human and the all-holy nature of the divine is revealed. This insight, thus far precluded by self-satisfaction and self-glorying, heightens man's awareness of his ungodliness and creates the moment for genuine self-accusation. The Word of God, heard in the conscience, accuses man of sin and self-righteousness. Man recognizes his sin as hateful,[140] accuses self of sin,[141] and in so doing confirms the judgment of God that in his presence "there is none who is just."[142] That man can attain to insight as to his true nature, and rise to self-judgment, lies not within depraved human powers. It is solely the merciful work of the Word and the illumining Spirit within him:

> "For the fact that we declare His word righteous is His gift, and because of the same gift He Himself regards us as righteous, that is, He justifies us."[143]

Acknowledging his true state, man abandons self-righteousness and the constant justifying of himself and his sin before God. The 'letting-go' of self-righteousness is, at the same time, and embracing of external (alien) righteousness, " . . . for it cannot happen that he who is filled with his own

righteousness can be filled with the righteousness of God."[144] For the merit-minded, this is a step demanding courage and profound humility.[145]

Humility is a basic step in coming to faith in Luther.[146] But it is not, strictly speaking, *self*-humiliation; that is, a work wrought by the self. It is the Spirit who works humility by confronting man with his true image.[147] Word and Spirit reveal to man that his unbelief and self-glorying have, in fact, been a form of self-idolatry.[148] In the light of this new view of needful self and merciful God, confession is now made as to man's rightful relationship to the divine.[149] With this sincere admission, a shift has taken place from egocentricity to theocentricity, a dethronement of prideful self and an enthronement of God as Lord, and Savior, and gracious Giver of all good things.

It is important to note that Luther never loses sight of the fact that man, though fallen and depraved, nevertheless lives in an order of redemption. No sooner has the Fall taken place than God, moved by compassion, speaks out his promise of the advent of the saving Word. Thus the leap of faith that demands self-accusation and the abandonment of self-effort as preludes to true faith, always take place in human awareness of divine fidelity to a promise made. So unshakable is Luther's belief in the compassion behind this promise that he is prepared to offer himself "to the will of God even for hell and eternal; death, if God so will . . ."[150] It is, then, in a benevolent and merciful (if chastising) presence that man, informed by the Word and enlightened by the Spirit, contemplates the truth about himself and the human predicament. Misery and mercy; impotence and omnipotence; hatefulness and holiness; emptiness and fullness, judgement and justification—these are all held in paradoxical unity on Luther's thought.

In the hearing of the Word; in believing the promise; in acknowledging one's sinful state revealed by the Spirit; in accusing self before the all-holy God (and thereby justifying God in his words); in rejecting dependence on one's own merits; in embracing Christ alone as Savior, one arrives at faith, according to Luther's teaching. But at each stage of the way, it is God who works the transformation. As with Shinran, coming to faith is something undergone by man, not undertaken: "This faith is no human achievement . . . it is God's good gift."[151]

With faith, comes grace and salvation, unearned, unmerited, by virtue of the Word and the promise. Faith alone, in Christ alone, creates "a different spirit and different mind, and makes a quite new man."[152] Man now lives in a new relationship to self, world and God. The grace and graciousness of God fills him with joy and gratitude, and a certitude of salvation that dispels all anxiety:

> "Faith is a living and unshakable confidence, a belief in the grace of God so assured that a man would die a thousand deaths for its sake. This kind of confidence in God's grace . . . makes us joyful, high-spirited, and eager in our relations with God and all mankind."[153]

CONCLUSION

The soteriological teachings of Shinran and Luther come to be in existential faith-crises. Their personal, spiritual anxiety as to salvation reflects that of their age. Their teaching is profoundly influenced by text and context. The inherited text, in each case, undergoes emendation to respond to the needs of the context in which they are reflecting on and interpreting their traditional sources.

Salvation for Shinran lies in the work of Amida's Vow and Name. The Vow expresses compassionate intent to save all sentient beings. The Name, empowered by the Vow, effects what is promised.

Salvation for Luther lies in God's promise and Word. The promise expresses God's merciful intent to save fallen beings. The Word effects what is promised.

In the teachings of both traditions, salvation

is worked by virtue of the transference of merits; in both, the human element is represented by passive receptivity of this saving activity, by *faith alone.*

Vow, Name and Faith. Promise, Word and Faith. These sets of inseparables form the essence of the soteriology of two religious founders whose religious traditions are in most other respects worlds apart.[14]

FOOTNOTES

1. Shinran Shonin (1173-1262) was a Buddhist monk of the Tendai sect, later a student of Pure Land Buddhism under Honen (1133-1212) and finally founder of the Shin Buddhist sect. Martin Luther (1483-1546) was an Augustinian monk, later reformer and founder of the Lutheran tradition.

2. Western scholars frequently refer to Shin Buddhism as a religion of salvation (cf. Alfred Bloom, *Tannisho: A Resource for Modern Living* [Honolulu: The Buddhist Study Center, 1981, p. 11]; Joseph Spae, *Buddhist-Christian Empathy* [Tokyo: Orient Institute for Religious Research, 1980, pp. 88,90, 183]). For Shin Buddhists, salvation is understood as release from the eternal cycle of birth-and-death and the assurance of supreme enlightenment.

3. The word 'faith', despite its inadequacy, comes closest to translating the Japanese word '*shinjin*' (cf. footnote 24 below).

4. Cf. James Brodrick, *Saint Francis Xavier* (New York: The Wicklow Press, 1952), p. 382.

5. *Church Dogmatics* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1956), Vol.1 pp. 340-344.

6. *The Eastern Buddhist*, IX, 2 (October 1976).

7. *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, XXXIV, 4 (Dec., 1971).

8. "Other Power" (*tariki*) refers both to Amida Buddha and to his saving power. It is set over aginst *jiriki*, signifying self-powered activity with respect to salvation. It was the Pure Land patriarch T'an-luan (476-542) who "illustrated Amitabha's (Amida's) soteriological role by calling the Other Power and the supreme Reality engaged in the salvation of all sentient beings." Spae, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

9. For Shinran's understanding of the bodhisattva Dharmākara, cf. *Passages on the Pure Land Way* (Jōdo monrui jusho) gen. ed. Yoshifumi Ueda, Shin Buddhism Translation Series (Kyoto: Hongwanji International Center, 1984), p. 76-77.

10. The Pure Land is the realm of ultimate bliss, a realm of enlightened and purified beings. It is not to be understood spatially or geographically but as a "way to express a formless reality through concrete form or imagery." *Notes on 'Essentials of Faith Alone'* (*Yuishinshō-mon'i*), gen. ed., Yoshifumi Ueda, Shin Buddhism Translation Series (Kyoto, 1979), p. 99.

11. Although Shinran's teaching is based on the three principal sutras constituting the Pure Land group of Mahayana Literature: the *Larger Sutra of Immeasurable Life* (2 vols.); the *Meditation Sutra* (1 vol.); and the *Amida Sutra* (1 vol.), it is the *Larger Sutra* in particular which is the source of Shinran's thought.

12. Translation by Taitetsu Unno. Cf. "The Nature of Religious Experience in Shin Buddhism," in *The Other Side of God: A Polarity in World Religions*, ed. Peter Berger (New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1981), pp. 261-262.

13. *Passages on the Pure Land Way*, p. 129.

14. Shin Buddhists hold that this sutra contains "the true teaching for which Śākyamuni Buddha appeared in the world." *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

15. Cf. below, p. 12f.

16. The Original Vow is Amida himself expressed in human terms . . . " D. T. Suzuki, *Collected Writings on Shin Buddhism* (Kyoto: Shinshu Otaniha, 1973), p. 68.

17. Amida's Original Vow is none other than

the pronouncing of his Name . . ."*Ibid.*

18. *Letters of Shinran* (*Mattōshō*), ed. Yoshifumi Ueda, Shin Buddhism Translation Series I (Kyoto: Hongwanji International Center, 1978), p. 23.

19. In his major work, *The Kyōgyōshinshō: The True Teaching. Practice and Realization of the Pure Land Way*, 4 Vols. (Kyoto: Shin Buddhism Translation Series, 1983)—a somewhat eclectic collection of Buddhist sutras and commentaries—Shinran shows himself rooted in authentic Buddhist tradition and deeply previous masters (particularly Honen) who were instrumental in leading him to his reform insight.

20. Cf. *Letters*, p. 21, where Shinran speaks of Shin Buddhism as "the consummation of Mahayana Buddhism."

21. 'Easy practice' is related to Other Power; 'difficult practice' to the self-effort means to salvation. Cf. *Passages on the Pure Land Way*, p. 78; *Tannishō: A Shin Buddhist Classic*, translated by Taitetsu Unno (Honolulu: Buddhist Study Center Press, 1984), p. 20,

22. Cf. *The True Teaching, Practice, and Realization of the Pure Land Way*, vol. I, p. 58; cf. *Tannishō*, p. 21, 28.

23. "To be free of self-power, having entrusted oneself to the Other Power of the Primal Vow—this is faith alone." *Notes on 'Essentials of Faith Alone'*, p. 29.

24. *Letters*, p. 19.

25. *Shinjin* expresses an experience of radical religious transformation which awakens one to a new and true grasp of self. It sets one irrevocably on the path to appropriation of one's Buddhanature and to birth in the Pure Land. A central feature of *shinjin* is the realization that salvation is not a human achievement but the work of Other Power.

26. 'To be made to become so' (jinen) "means that without a practicer's calculating in any way whatever, all his past, present and future karmic evil is transformed into the highest good. To be transfomed means that karmic evil, without being nullified or eradicated, is made into the highest good, just as all waters, upon entering the great ocean, immediately become ocean water." *Letters*, Intro. p. 15; *Notes on 'Essentials of Faith Alone'*, p. 32.

27. "In the space of a moment, quickly and immediately, one leaps and attains supreme true enlightenment. Thus it is called leaping-crosswise." *Notes* p. 93; cf. also *Notes*, pp. 34-35.

28. Suzuki, *Collected Writings*, p. 152.

29. *The Tannishō*, Epilogue, p. 35.

30. Suzuki, *Collected Writings*, p. 149; cf. also *Notes on Once-calling and Many-calling (Ichinen-tanen mon'i)*, gen. ed. Yoshifumi Ueda, Shin Buddhism Translation Series (Kyoto, 1980), p. 14.

31. Cf. p. 14f.

32. *Luther's Works* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press; St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, various years and editors), vol. 34, p. 328 (hereafter abbreviated *LW*).

33. *Ibid.* "Justice" and "righteousness" are used interchangeably in translations of this text.

34. So clear was this to Luther that he took an extraordinary step. In his translation of Paul's *Epistle to the Romans* 3:28, he altered the text: "a man is justified by faith" to read: "A man is justified by faith alone."

35. "For by the mercy of God the Word took on flesh for the purpose of fulfilling the truth of the promise made to the fathers of the Old Testament concerning the incarnation of the Son of God." *WA*, 4.12.13 (*WA=The Weimar Edition: D. Martin Luthers Werke, Kristische Gesamtausgabe* [Hermann Bohlaus Nachfolger, 1883-]). English translation of texts not contained in LW are drawn for the most part from Gordon Rupp, *The Righteousness of God* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1953).

36. *LW*, 34: 328.

37. *Ibid.* Luther now finds God's action all over Scripture: "I also found in other terms an analogy as, the work of God, that is, what God does in us; the power of God, with which he makes us

strong; the wosdom of God, with which he makes us wise; the strength of God, the salvation of God, the glory of God."

38. *WA* 56.204.14ff; cf. also *WA*, 57.169.10 (Hebrews); *WA* 40.I.299.9.

39. *WA* 2:489.

40. "Sine te fecit te Deus. Non enim adhibuisti aliquem consensum, ut te faceret Deus . . . Qui ergo fecit te sine te non te iustificat sine te. Ergo fecit nescientem, iustificat volentem." Serm., 169, II, 13 in *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J.P. Migne (Paris: 1879-1890), 38, 923.

41. ". . . [the] faith alone that justifies is the work of God, not of man . . . other works he performs with our cooperation, this alone he works within us without our cooperation." *WA*, 57.222.5 (Hebrews); cf. *WA*, 18.754.6.

42. *Letters*, pp. 57, 61; *The Tannishō*, p. 26; *Notes on Once-calling and Many-calling*, p. 48; Suzuki, *Collected Writings*, p. 18; *WA*, 57.69.15; *WA*, 56.361.15; *WA*, 40.297f.

43. A number of theories and timetables are to be found in Buddhism's eschatological view of history. Cf. Taitetsu Unno's "Mappō," in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Mircea Eliade (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1986).

44. The period of *mappō* is also known as "the Last Age." Cf. *Shinran's Hymns on the Last Age* [*Shozomatsu Wasan*] (Kyoto: Ryukoku University Press, 1980). In these hymns, Shinran's intent "is not merely to lament the degeneracy of the Last Age but to clarify salvation through Amida's Primal Vow. . . ." Ibid., 1980), p. xvi; Cf. Alfred Bloom, "Shinran's Philosophy of Salvation," in *Contemporary Religions in Japan*, vol. 5, no. 2 (June, 1964), pp. 120-127.

45. The Jewish tradition expresses a similar sentiment. When the Baal Shem Tov, founder of Hasidism, found himself in a difficult situation he would go to a certain place in the woods, light a sacred fire, pray a certain prayer, and answer would be given. His successor did likewise, he knew the place, he knew the prayer, but he did not know how to light the fire. Yet his prayer too was answered. After another generation or so, not only the art of the fire, but also the prayer had been lost. Yet the place was still known and that sufficed. Eventually, all three means to enlightenment had been lost. But Judaism continued to tell the story.

46. In the first six *Hymns of Lament* (contained in *Hyms on the Last Age*), Shinran—out of the realization of *shinjin*—speaks of himself.

47. "Because the power of the Vow is without limits, /Even our evil karma, so deep and heavy, is not burdensome; /Because the Buddha's wisdom is without bounds, /Even the bewildered and wayward are not abandoned." Shinran's *Hymns on the Last Age*, p. 37.

48. ". . . no man can either have or do anything good, but only evil, even when he performs the good." *WA*, 56.355.24f; cf. also *WA*, 40.293.23ff.

49. *WA* 42:478

50. Lynn White, Jr., "Death and the Devil," in *The Darker Vision of the Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974) p. 44.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

52. J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (New York: Doubleday 1949), p. 30.

53. White, p. 46.

54. Cf. a poem of Eustache Deschamps: "Time of mourning and of temptation, /Age of tears, of envy and of torment, /Time of languor and of damnation, /Age of decline nigh to the end. / Time full of horror which does all things falsely, /Lying age, full of pride and of envy, /Time without honor and without true judgement, /Age of sadness which shortens life." Huinzinga, p. 33.

55. Cf. Pieter Bruehghel's "Triumph of Death" in the Prado, " . . . it is a pageant of the annihilation of the human race, unrelieved by any hope for this world or another." White, p. 31. Cf. also the works of Hieronymus Bosch and the 'Dance of Death' woodcuts of Hans Holbein the Younger. All three artists were contemporaries of Luther.

56. Huizinga, p. 31.

57. *WA*, 43.386.21.

58. *WA*, 51.536.11; cf. also *WA*, 51.529.1.

59. *LW*, 31: 298; *WA*, 56.158.10f.; 56.158.14.

60. That " . . . the merit of Christ . . . is the treasury of the church only a heretic would deny. For Christ is the Ransom and Redeemer of the world, and thereby most truly and solely the only treasury of the church." *LW*, 31: 216. Luther distinguishes the "treasury of the church" from "the treasury of indulgences." *Ibid.*

61. Huizinga, p. 31-31.

62. " . . . Another, who has freed me from the terrors of the Law [works], form sin and from death, and who has transferred me into freedom, the righteousness of God, and eternal life." *LW*, 26:177; cf. also *LW* 26:9.

63. Suzuki, *Collected Writings*, p. 124.; *Letters*, p. 64.

64. To arrive at this revolutionary reading, Shinran took liberty with the grammatical rendering of the 18th Vow. Cf. Suzuki, *Collected Writings*, p. 50, 72; Bloom, *Shinran's Gospel of Pure Grace* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1965), pp. 48-49. Luther likewise took liberty with the sacred scriptures of his tradition in adding the word "alone" to *Romans* 3:28.

65. "With my mind as deceitful as serpents and scorpions, I am incapable of accomplishing virtuous deeds of self-power. Unless I rely on the Tathagata's [Amida Buddha's] merit-transference, I will end without shame or repentance." *Hymns of Lament*, p. 99.

66. The same generosity and compassion is expected of those who Amida has "directed" through merit-transference to the Pure Land. Shinran gives expression to this in his teaching on *ōso-ekō* ("going forth" to the Pure Land) and *gensō-ekō* ("returning" to the world to help relieve the burden on other sentient beings with whom one is related through interdependence.) Cf. *The True Teaching, Practice and Realization of the Pure Land Way*, vol. I, p. 63.

67. "Amida's Primal Vow does not discriminate between the young and the old, good and evil; true entrusting alone is essential." *Tannishō*, p. 5; cf. also op. cit., p. 22.

68. *Passages on the Pure Land Way*, p. 42

69. *The Kyōgyōshinshō*, p. 4.

70. *Tannishō* p. 8; cf. *Letters*, p. 61. Shinran cautions those who would distort this teaching with the words: "Do not take poison, just because there is an antidote" (*Tannishō*, p. 24).

71. *Tannishō*, p. 24; cf. also *The Kyōgyōshinshō*, p. 103.

72. John Dillenberger, p. 16, ed., *Martin Luther: Selections from his Writings* (New York: Doubleday, 1961).

73. "Christ is the Seed of the woman. . . . Without this seed it is impossible for any man to escape sin, death, hell. Dillenberger, p. 16.

74. *LW*, 3:26; *LW*, 26: 386; *WA*, 42, 567.9.

75. Dillenberger, pp. 274-275.

76. Dillenberger, p. 277: For "God never has dealt, and never does deal, with mankind at any time otherwise than by the word of promise. Neither can we, on our part, ever have to do with God otherwise than through faith in His word and promise."

77. *LW*, 26: 296.

78. *LW, Companion Volume: The Exegetical Writings*, p. 50.

79. *LW*, 22: 11-13.

80. Dillenberger, p. 274.

81. *LW*, 22: 12.

82. " . . . Christ Jesus, who though he was in the form of God . . . emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being born in the likeness of men." *Philippians* 2: 5-7.

83. *LW*, 1: 66.

84. *LW*, 37: 192; *LW* 25: 32; *WA* 40: II: 22, 24. After his reform-insight, Luther was critical of the traditional concept of merit insofar as it was claimed that "Christ's merits are the treasure from which the indulgences come." (*LW*, 32: 62-63) He continued nevertheless to speak in soteriological context of the merits of Christ, though he now set these sharply in contradistinction to human merit-

ing. (Scholars in the Lutheran tradition are, in general, uncomfortable with the concept of merit. They consistently feel themselves called upon to explain away Luther's use of "the merits of Christ" in his post-reform teaching and preaching. Luther, however, holds that "No Christian is so naive as not to know that Christ's merits and suffering take away our sins and save us. All believe that he died for our sins. From this it is clear that Christ's suffering and merit are a living treasure and give everlasting life to all who share in it." *Ibid.*)

85. D.T. Suzuki, *Collected Writings*, pp. 60, 72, states that merit transference is more commonly known as vicarious atonement in the Christian tradition. But in actual fact the two ideas are not the same. Vicarious atonement merely takes away the debt, it makes possible the meriting, but is not in itself the meriting. Atonement and meriting are two different notions, two different effects of Christ's suffering and death.

86. *LW*, 30: 309.

87. *LW*, 26: 132; *WA*, 40.I.232.30; *LW*, 26: 374.

88. *LW*, 26: 295; *WA*, 56.318.14; *WA*, I.264.29ff.

89. *LW*, 32: 63.

90. *LW*, 31: 40; *WA*, 18.636.4f.

91. "For Christ alone it is proper to help and save others with his merits and works." *WA*, 8: 599.

92. *LW*, 42: 165.

93. *WA*, 5: 169.

94. *LW*, 26: 392; *WA* 40.I.597.28f.

95. "This distinction is easy to speak of; but in experience and practice it is the most difficult of all, even if you exercise and practice it diligently." *LW*, 26: 10.

96. *LW*, 26: 9; *WA*, 40.I.48-50.

97. "... we work nothing, render nothing to God; we only receive and suffer Another to work in us, to wit, God." *WA*, 40.I.41.; *WA*, 18.728.27f.

98. *LW*, 26:5.

99. *WA*, 2:44; 2.411.1; 7.433f. Quoted in U. Saarnivaara, *Luther Discovers the Gospel* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1951), 113. Cf. also Dillenberger, p. 17.

100. *WA* 40.I.48.30; *LW* 26: 9.

101. *LW*, 32: 228; 25: 31.

102. *LW*, 42: 165; cf. *WA*, 56.158.10f.

103. *LW*, 42:164.

104. Dillenberger, pp. 86-87: "Therefore a man can with confidence boast in Christ and say: 'Mine are Christ's living, doing and speaking his suffering and dying, mine as much as if I had lived, done, spoken, suffered, and died as he did.' "

105. *WA*, 6: 132ff.

106. *LW*, 31: 298 ". . . all that he has becomes ours; rather, he himself becomes ours." Cf. also *LW*, 26: 167-168; *WA* 5.608.8ff.

107. *WA* 6.132.8.

108. *Ibid.*

109. Dillenberger, p. 23.

110. *Letters*, Intro. p. 15; *Notes on 'Essentials of Faith Alone'*, p. 32.

111. "Thus a Christian man is righteous and a sinner at the same time. . . . None of the sophists will admit this paradox, because they do not understand the true meaning of justification." *LW*, 26: 232. Cf. also *LW*, 25: 434 (*WA*, 56.442.17.); *WA* 56.270.6.9.

112. Dillenberger, p. 129: "For as long as I live in the flesh, sin is truly in me. But because I am covered under the shadow of Christ's wings, as a chicken under the wing of the hen, . . . God covereth and pardoneth the remnant of sin in me. . . . "

113. *WA*, 56.268.31ff.

114. "... the love of God which lives in man loves sinners, evil persons, fools, and weaklings in order to make them righteous, good, wise, and strong. Rather than seeking its own good, the love of God flows forth and bestows good." *LW*, 31: 57.

115. *LW*, 10: 367, Luther cautions those who would say: "If grace is superabundant where sin was abundant, then let us be abundant in sin, so that we may be justified and grace may be superabundant." *LW*, 26: 169 (*WA*, 40.I.286.10ff;

30ff.)

116. "The one who is most depraved in his own eyes is the most handsome before God and, on the contrary, the one who sees himself as handsome is thoroughly ugly before God, because he lacks the light with which to see himself." *LW*, 10: 239.

117. *WA* 6: 540-541.

118. *Notes on 'Essentials of Faith Alone'*, p. 90.

119. "Hear means to hear the Primal Vow and be free of doubt. Further, it indicates *shinjin*." *Notes on Once-calling and Many-calling*, p. 32. Cf. Also *Notes on the Inscriptions on Sacred Scrolls (Songō shinzō meimon)*, gen. ed., Yoshifumi Ueda, Shin Buddhism Translation Series (Kyoto, 1981), p. 35.

120. *Notes on Once-calling and Many-calling*, pp. 32-33; 36; Suzuki, *Collected Writings*, pp. 127-128.

121. Light plays an important role in Buddhist teaching. The Buddhas are always represented as luminous beings who have overcome the darkness of ignorance, the root cause of delusion and suffering. In the Pure Land tradition where the depravity of human beings is painted more darkly, light symbolism plays a central role. The name Amida, means 'infinite light', and Amida's light is understood to be a crucial instrument in bringing one to a true view of self and reality.

122. "The Buddha speaks no falsehood, and how can the Original Vow lie?" "Tract on Steadily Holding to the Faith," in Suzuki, *Collected Writings*, p. 127.

123. ". . . there is no *shinjin* separate from *nembutsu* . . . [and] *nembutsu* separate from *shinjin*." *Letters*, p. 40; cf. *Tannishō*, p. 18-19.

124. *Letters*, p. 64.

125. Shinran, in one of his letters, writes: "the right way to plan salvation is not to plan at all."

126. Cf. Unno, *op. cit.*, p. 266-268.

127. *Tannishō*, p. 19.

128. *Notes on 'Essentials of Faith Alone'*, p. 46; cf. *Notes on Once-calling and Many-calling*, p. 40.

129. *Tannishō*, p. 27; p. 19.

130. *Hakarai*, for Shinran, is "a synonym for self-power, it refers to all acts of intellect and will aimed at achieving salvation." *Passages on the Pure Land Way*, p. 73.

131. ". . . for the Lord Himself to speak is to give out and manifest His Word, but as something to be heard." *LW*, 11: 164.

132. *WA*, 57.215.1ff.; cf. also *WA*, 2.509.13.

133. "A man becomes a Christian not by working but by listening." *LW*, 26: 214; *LW*, 29: 224.

134. *LW*, 29: 224 (*WA*, 57.222.5); cf. also *WA*, 3.262.7f.

135. " . . . while the Word of life, grace, and salvation is proclaimed outside, the Holy Spirit teaches inside at the same time." *LW*, 29: 198; Cf. also *WA*, 3.256.10-13; 1.632.9; 57.186.25.

136. "Thus hearing does not come from the flesh, even though it is in the flesh; but it is in and from the Holy Spirit." *LW*, 26: 171; *LW*, 51: 166f; *WA*, 5: 550.

137. On the Spirit as Illuminator, cf. Regin Prenter, *Spiritus Creator* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1953).

138. *WA*, 10.1.328.

139. Dillenberger, p. 55.

140. *WA*, 3.465.5.

141. *WA*, 56.254.9.

142. *WA*, 56.229.7ff.;' cf. *WA*, 56.449.20; *WA*, 3.289.33f.

143. *LW*, 25: 212.

144. *WA*, 56.219.3-4.

145. *WA*, 18.632.30.

146. *WA*, 56.218.13; 3.429.9.

147. *WA*, 3.429.7ff; *WA*, 56.366.14; *WA*, I.2.42.

148. *LW*, 31: 46.

149. *WA*, 56.218.7-20.

150. *WA*, 56.391.9-10.

151. *WA*, 4.266.27; 3.649.17.

152. *WA*, 42.452.19-21.

153. Dillenberger, p. 2.

154. The concern of this paper has been the noting of similarities in the soteriology of Shinran and Luther. The differences in their world view and spiritual worlds of meaning are many. Shin Buddhism, for example, has no Creator, no deity, no Fall (and its consequences for a debilitated human nature), no judgment, no vicarious atonement (through physical sacrifice), and no predestination (though this has to be questioned). But of these another time.

Bruno Petzold's Understanding of Shin Buddhism as Expressed in His Major Work:

The Classification of Buddhism: Bukkyō Kyōhan comprising the Classification of Buddhist Doctrines in India, China, and Japan

by Shohei Ichimura

INTRODUCTION

Bruno Petzold (1873-1949) is known in pre-war Japan to have been one of those Westerners who have contributed most to the post-Meiji Reformation Era of Japanese education, and also a unique scholar of Buddhist Studies in the sense that he accomplished in his own right a bridging of the Buddhist thought of the East and the modern thought of the West as a German by birth and culture. His Buddhist study is said to have begun in 1919 with Professor Daito Shimaji of the Imperial University of Tokyo until the latter's death, and then with Professor Shinsho Hanayama till the early 1940's. The work, the title of which is introduced above, truly represents his life work because it is as voluminous as nearly 2,000 typewritten pages in the editorially completed text. It is also truly a work of unique enterprise, because, as written in English and comprehensively covering all the schools of Buddhist doctrines developed in Northern Mahāyāna tradition, especially in China and Japan (exclusive of Tibetan tradition), the work embodies a universalist approach not only in trying to see the existing schools of Buddhist thoughts in terms of historical perspective, but also in trying to review them in terms of forthcoming trends of inter-religious and cultural perspective.

This paper is intended to introduce some of the basic criteria upon which Bruno Petzold organized his understanding of the Shin Buddhist thought in this particular work, which is yet to be published. Secondly, it is intended at this occasion to report the current status of my editorial task, in which I have been engaged since January 1983 as requested by A.H. Petzold, the author's son (who died in 1985) and also as recommended by Professor Shinsho Hanayama.

KYŌ-HAN, OR CLASSIFICATION OF BUDDHIST DOCTRINES

In medieval Japan, the Kyō-hans or Classification of Buddhist Doctrines had an important role in Buddhist sectarian affairs, not only in providing the theoretical practical basis for a school to distinguish itself from other schools, but also in defining its position in absolute terms as the only path of Buddhist salvation. 'Kyō-han' or 'Kyō-sō Han-jaku' in full means a 'classification of Buddhist doctrines based on critical interpretation'; it is an intelligible system of Buddhist doctrines constructed out of a conglomerate of all the doctrines historically developed as a unified knowledge of Buddhist religion.

The term 'Chiao-p'an' was initially used by Chih-i (531-597) in China to signify his system of 'Five Periods and Eight Teachings' [Wu-shih-pa-chiao or Go-ji Hakkyo]. In China, the Kyō-han flourished during the Six Dynasties because it was through such systematization that Buddhist thinkers not only could make their respective position clear in the field of Buddhism, but also could critically examine all other schools as well as non-Buddhist schools from their individual standpoint. The trend took hold of itself until the latter part of T'ang Dynasty and then was introduced to Japan

during the Nara period, to begin with the Kyō-hans of those six scholastic schools, such as Kusha, Jōjitsu, Hossō, Sanron, Kegon, Nehan, and Ritsu, and then during the Heian period, Japanese Buddhist thinkers produced the Kyō-han of Esoteric Tendai and that of Shingon Esoteric Buddhism, which were followed in the subsequent Kamakura period by the Kyō-hans of the religious reformers, such as Hōnen, Shinran, Nichiren, and so forth. By then, the nature and function of Kyō-han, significantly changed from the theoretical scheme of doctrines organized in an intelligible system based on objective rationalization to the practical scheme of doctrines for exclusive choice and commitment of a certain doctrine and practice based on subjective force of faith. Shinran's Pure Land (Jōdo) Kyō-han, which subsequently became the basis of the Jōdo Shin School of Buddhism, was one such specimen.

VALUE AND MEANING OF KYŌ-HANS

From the point of view of modern and contemporary scholarship, as it has been based on historical exactness and linguistic and textual critique, such Kyō-hans appear to be mere curious products of theological fancy and entirely unsuited to be taken seriously for critical studies of Buddhism. Buddhist scholarship today has already replaced those medieval sectarian and dogmatic systems by a comprehensive system based on scientific and academic disciplines. Yet, for an individual modern man, in order not only to understand Buddhism as his own religion but also to make his own Buddhist standpoint clear in relation to secular forms of culture and ideology and especially in relation to non-Buddhist religions, such as Christianity and Islam, we are compelled to rethink the value and meaning of the past Kyō-hans and to freshly re-study Buddhism on the basis of particular forms of its doctrines and practices.

It should have been a similar context and reason as to why Bruno Petzold, born and reared in the West and despite his rich cultural and religious heritage, found it necessary to affiliate himself with a particular school, such as the Japanese Tendai school, even holding a priestly rank in it, to carry out his career of Buddhist study and understanding of Buddhism as his own religion. Yet, may I quickly say, although he was a modern universalist endowed with scientific broadmindedness, Petzold chose for his subject of study all the Kyō-hans that existed in the past, some of which still have their function today, obviously for the sake of finding his own system of Buddhism. This is very significant, precisely because he did not simply affiliate himself with a school of Buddhism but broadly sought his own system of Buddhism. As we are living today in the period of global communication and of all kinds of interreligious encounters, from violent confrontation to gentle dialogue, I believe that the precedence demonstrated by Petzold and his way of understanding varieties of Buddhist Kyō-hans should provide an excellent opportunity for us to find some new way for meeting the challenge of the present-day world.

PETZOLD'S CLASSIFICATION OF KYŌ-HANS

After going through an enormous number of Petzold's manuscripts and closely tracing his studies that cover the vast areas of past Buddhist worlds in India, China, and Japan, as well as over a millenium of time span from the Classical to the Medieval period, it is my distinct impression that Petzold succeeded with his ambitious enterprise to classify all the classifications of Buddhist doctrines into a unified whole despite the fact that the work was still incomplete in some parts of the systems he dealt with. As editor of Petzold's yet unpublished manuscripts, I feel obliged to inform the community of Buddhist scholars of Petzold as to the reason of its success and possible implication by commenting on the basic criteria he adopted and demonstrating how his criteria worked with his treatment of Shinran's Kyō-han.

The key criteria to which his success must be

attributed are the basic Japanese Tendai doctrines of Hongaku-mon [the Gate of Original Enlightenment] and Shikaku-mon [the Gate of Enlightenment having its Beginning]. Although he humbly introduced these criteria in his introductory chapter, saying that he appropriated these concepts from Prof. Shimaji's insight, I am compelled to surmise that, because of his deep understanding of these fundamental doctrines of Tendai, Petzold decisively converted himself to Mahāyāna Buddhism. In short, he saw the universal nature of human religiosity as best expressed in these doctrines and hence foresaw them as applicable not only to classifying all the systems of Buddhist religion, be it theoretical or practical, but also applicable, as he demonstrated in his introductory chapter, equally to his Western religious and cultural heritages.

HONGAKU-MON VERSUS SHIKAKU-MON

According to Petzold's exposition, the Hongaku-mon, or Gate of Original Enlightenment, encompasses the religiosity of Buddhism from the absolute standpoint, whereas the Shikaku-mon, or Gate of Enlightenment, having its beginning encompasses it from the relative standpoint. Whatever the former denotes belongs to the realm of freedom and pure reason, whereas whatever the latter denotes belongs to the realm of necessity and historical conditionality. While, thus, man in the Shikaku-mon follows the way of tradition in getting hold of the thought of absolute (being thereby inspired to ascend the passage of religion) the one who has realized the state of original enlightenment wants to comprehend the absolute in perfect freedom. In doing so, the man of Hongaku-mon endeavors to divest it as far as possible from all fetters of tradition and authority and of all conditionality imposed upon him by determined and acknowledged forms of religion, by moral precepts, laws, educational systems, and by time, space, and causality. In short the Hongaku-mon stands for the realm of Paramārtha in the dual truth system of Buddhism, whereas the Shikaku-mon stands for the realm of Vyavahāra or the practicality of convention. Petzold expresses his own thought as to the relation between the two approximately as follows:

> The Hongaku-mon becomes thus the real bearer of the religious paradox, by presuming that we, creatures of transient feelings, of passing caprices, of various and willful longings, and we, ignorant, fallible creatures of a day, who are in need of salvation, are able to discern what is absolute from what is relative, and are able to possess an intimate and immediate acquaintance with the plan of all things and get into direct touch with that power which is generally called 'Divine'.

CONFLICT BETWEEN THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

Let me now give some examples to explain how and why Petzold considered the two Buddhist categories of Hongaku and Shikaku as applicable to analysis and classification of the pre-war Western trends of thought, culture, and religion. For instance, in parallel to the Hongaku and Shikaku categories, he distinguished the category of universal religion which is eternal and that of existing religions that are temporal, or between the category of original experience (*urerlebnis*) and that of cultural experience (*bildungserlebnis*). He also distinguished two equivalent categories between the irrational side and rational side of our philosophical consciousness, be it in idealism or realism, or between the dynamism of original experience and the inherent conflict of cultural experience, for whose unity the two categories ought to be harmonized, or between the category of meta-basis comparable to the Einsteinian principle of relativity and that of the Aristotelian individual which, being overruled by abstraction, nevertheless lies in the same sphere with the meta-basis. Finally, Petzold especially emphasized the fact

that the doctrine of original enlightenment and that of enlightenment having its beginning constitute a form of classification applicable not only to Buddhism but also to other higher religions. He asserts that the distinction underlying the two is comparable to the discrepancy between religion and theology in the West. For, the philosophers of religion frequently voiced, saying: "Religion is the enemy of theology and *vice versa*, precisely because the former tries to soar high transcending the latter, while the latter tries to imprison the former under the iron framework of its abstraction. For, over and over again, in the history of religion, theology failed to embody the higher truth to which religion had attained." Having thus described the discrepancy between the ideal and the actual, however, Petzold correctly expressed his opinion as to the relation between the Hongaku and Shikaku categories: "But the true inference surely is that religion and theology are reciprocal, to the effect that as religion develops, theology may be in advance of religion, just as that religion may be in advance of theology."

SHINRAN'S CLASSIFICATIONS

It is generally acknowledged that Shinran did not intend to establish an independent school apart from his master Honen's. As he named the seven patriarchs for his religious standpoint as Nāgārjuna and Vasubandhu in India, T'an-luan (Donran), Tao-ch'o (Dōshaku), and Shan-tao (Zendō) in China, and Genshin and Genkū (Hōnen), he thought to have merely organized faithfully those classifications which his predecessors left behind. Nevertheless, because he felt from his inner force of faith and insight, he asserted his own standpoint as the absolute 'other power' [*tariki*] teaching by distinguishing it from the several schools of Pure Land [Jōdo] teaching which seems to him to take their stand on some mixed path between self-power [*jiriki*] and other power. Thus, Shinran was compelled by the existing historical context to formulate a set of relative classification on the one hand and an absolute classification on the other, expressing his religious conviction that salvation, i.e., rebirth in the Pure Land, derives from total dependence on the power of Amitābha Buddha. Petzold rightly analyzed Shinran's two sets of classifications in terms of his two criteria of Hongaku and Shikaku doctrines.

The Pure Land doctrine of 'Other Power' had its beginning with Nāgārjuna's distinction between the difficult and easy passages toward the goal of religion. It was, however, T'an-luan (Donran, 476-542) in China who interpreted the two paths in terms of 'self power' and 'other power,' thereby suggesting an implication, such that the difficult and easy paths could be correlated with the Saintly Gate [Shōdō-mon] based on self power and the Pure Land Gate [Jōdo-mon] based on other power. Tao-ch'o (Dōshaku, c.645) then brought forth this distinction into the initial classification of the Saintly teaching and Pureland teaching in parallel with the Śrāvaka and Bodhisattva Vehicles, and introduced an absolute classification, to the effect that the Pure Land teaching is the only path through which one could enter into that land. Shan-tao (Zendō, c. 681) further added a distinction between gradual [Zen] and abrupt [Ton] teachings in parallel with the foregoing distinctions and another distinction within the Pure Land confinement between the Main Passage [Yō-mon] in which the saintly practice of meditation and other virtues admixed with the Pure Land practice of calling Amitābha's name on the one hand and the genuine Pure Land teaching based on the Universal Vow [Gugan-mon]specially willed by Amitābha Buddha. Now, coming to Japanese Pure Land thinkers, Genkū [Hōnen Shōnin] gave a clear system to Shan-tao's idea of distinction between the Main Gate and the Universal Vow Gate respectively inculcated in the *Kuan-wo-liang-shou-ching* [*Kwan-muryōju-kyō*] and in the large *Sukhāvatīvyūha-sūtra* [*Wu-liang-shou-ching*], and adopting Genshin's threefold distinction of the Pure Land practice of Buddha's name calling [Nembutsu], introduced the three

graded distinctions as follows: (1) 'Gradual teaching [Zen-kyō] based on self power toward termination of Defilements' comprising all Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna open but temporal teachings, such as, Kusha, Hosso, Sanron, etc.; (2) 'Abrupt-in-gradual teaching based on self-power toward termination of Defilements' comprising Mahāyāna open and secret as well as true [*shih-chiao, jitsu-gyō*] teachings, such as Kegon, Tendai, Busshin, etc.; and (3) 'Abrupt-of-abrupt teaching based on both self and other power, though without termination of Defilements,' comprising the three Pure Land texts and Vasubandhu's treatise on the large *Sukhāvativyūha-sūtra*. Thus, Honen placed his Pure Land teaching in the last category of his classification.

Shinran (1173-1262) introduced three relative classifications: (1) the classification of Buddhist and non-Buddhist teachings [Nai-ge Sōtai], which compares Buddhist religion and non-Buddhist ones, involving selection, namely: throwing away non-Buddhist teachings and taking up Buddhist teaching, which is common to all Buddhist schools; (2) The classification of Saintly and Pure Land paths [Shō-Jō Sōtai], which compares the teaching of Saintly passage [Shōdō-mon] and that of Pure Land passage [Jōdo-mon] and is known by the name of 'Ni-sō Shi-jū' literally meaning: 'Two Pairs Four Piles' or 'two pairs of alternatives combined into four alternatives,' and is intended to distinguish the Pure Land path to salvation from those non-Pure Land teachings; and (3) the classification of True and Temporal teachings [Shinōke Sōtai], which compares the true and temporal Pure Land teachings in view of distinguishing the unmixed Pure Land practice from those mixed ones with non-Pure Land forms of practice in reference to the four criteria of 'teaching' [*kyō*] practice' [*gyō*], 'faith' [*shin*], and 'enlightenment' [*shō*]. Now, the Absolute Classification that is unique to Shinran, hence also to the Shin-shū School, denies all the teachings that implicate self-power and affirms the teaching that centers upon other power alone as the sole teaching. Shinran expressed it, stating: "There is the only way of the Jodo teaching which is able to go through and enter into the Pure Land [*yui-u-jōdo-ka-tsū-nyū-ro*]" and also "Tens of thousand forms of practice and varieties of good are nothing but temporal gates to enter into the Pure Land [*man-gyōsho-zen kore ke-mon*]."

The classification of 'Two Pairs combined into Four Alternatives' [Ni-Sō Shi-jū] can be obtained by combining the pair of 'going out' [*shutsu*] and 'passing over' [*chō*] and that of 'lengthwise' [*jū*] and 'crosswise' [*ō*] thereby to categorize the four different ways through which each practitioner would realize the goal of entering into and being born in, the Pure Land: (1) 'Lengthwise going out' [*jū-shutsu*] embodying the gradual teaching of the saintly path, the hardest of all, which comprises the Śrāvaka and Pratyeka Vehicles and Mahāyāna temporal teaching based on self power; (2) 'Lengthwise passing over' [*jū-chō*] embodying the abrupt teaching of the saintly path, the harder one, which comprises the Mahayana true teaching based on self power; (3) 'Crosswise going out' [*ō-shutsu*] embodying the gradual teaching of the Pure Land path based on both self power as well as other power, the less hard one, which comprises the *Kan-muryoju-kyō's* teaching, such as, sixteen forms of fixed and unfixed meditation and varieties of virtues to be practiced by three kinds of practitioners each differentiated into three qualities [San-pai Kyū-bon]; (4) 'Crosswise passing over' [*ō-cho*] embodying the abrupt teaching of the Pure Land path exclusively based on other power, which comprises the large *Sukhāvatīvyūha-sutra's* absolutely true teaching based on Amitābha's original vow, the easiest of all, which Shinran deemed to be the basis of his religion. The True and Temporal Classification [Shin-ke Sō-tai] is further intended to make the distinction clearer between the last two teachings, namely, between the temporal Pure Land teaching based on self as well as other power and the true Pure Land teaching exclusively based on self power. The rationale behind was that despite

Honen's distinction between the Main Gate [Yō-mon] equivalent to the third path here and the Wide-Vow Gate [Gu-gan-mon] equivalent to the fourth, his disciples could not understand the true idea of the fourth path and went astray into various kinds of the third path. It was in such a context that Shinran is said to have been compelled to make manifest his teacher's true opinion.

SHINRAN'S ABSOLUTE CLASSIFICATION

Shinran's absolute classification is known by the name of 'San-gan Ten-nyū' or 'Three Vows Rolling and Entering.' Of the 18th, 19th, and 20th vows out of the forty-eight that are enumerated in the large *Sukhāvatīvyūha-sūtra* as attributed to Amitābha Buddha, Shinran selected the 18th vow as the primary vow of that Buddha, and for this reason he regarded the large *Sukhāvatīvyūha-sūtra* as the only real Sūtra of his Pure Land teaching. The passage of the 18th vow reads:

> If I (Amitābha Buddha himself) should become Buddha, all living beings in the ten directions should raise their faith in me, feel joy with their sincerest mind, wish to be born in my land, and meditate upon my name ten times at the utmost, and should they not be born in the Pureland, then I would not accept the perfect enlightenment, except for those who committed the five deadly sins or abuse the true teaching.

Now, for Shin-shū followers, unlike those of the Jōdo school, calling the name of the Buddha is not a necessary cause for being born in the Pure Land, but it is the faith in the power of the Buddha's vow that counts for their salvation. The 19th vow, on the other hand, implies the elements of self power as it refers to those people who raise the thought of enlightenment (*bodhicittotpāda, hotsu-bodai-shin*) and start to practice various virtues, wishing to see the Buddha's appearance at the time of their death. While this is the Jōdo School's position, Shin-shū followers do not necessarily expect such appearance. The 20th vow, which, though implicates some elements of self power, refers to those people who hear the name of the Buddha and are engaged in cultivating various virtues, and by the effect of their virtues, meditate on the Pure Land, wishing to be born in that land, is more in harmony with and nearer to the 18th vow than the 19th one. Thus, Shinran classified the 19th vow as the Main Gate [Yō-mon] set forth by the Buddha in the *Kwan-muryoju-kyō*, the 20th vow as the True Gate [Shin-mon] set forth in the small *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, and the 18th vow as the Universal Vow Gate [Gu-gan-mon] revealed in the large *Sukhāvatīvyūha*.

It is now plain that the role of this absolute classification is to activate a dialectical process between the aforementioned three vows to culminate into the 18th vow. The doctrine that denotes this process, namely, 'Three Vows Rolling and Entering' [San-gan Ten-nyū] means that initially from the faith in the 19th vow (i.e., the Yō-mon), a practitioner enters into the faith of the 20th vow (i.e., the Shin-mon) by throwing away the former and taking up the latter, and then further from the faith of the 20th vow, he enters into the faith of the 18th vow (i.e., the Gu-gan-mon) by throwing away the Shin-mon and taking up the Gu-gan-mon. Shinran deemed the state of believing in this last vow to be the ultimate teaching of his religion, namely: 'Hon-gan Ichi-jō' or 'One Vehicle of the Original Vow,' and characterized it as the most abrupt teaching [*ton-gyō*], the swiftest teaching [*ton-soku*], the teaching of perfect harmony [*en-yū*], the teaching of perfect fullness [*en-man*], and the teaching of absolute non-duality [*zettai-funi*] and one real truth [*ichi-jitsu-shinnyo*].

PETZOLD'S UNDERSTANDING OF SHINRAN'S SYSTEM

Having thus briefly laid down both the relative and absolute classifications of Shinran in accordance with Petzold's writings and notes and

in consultation with Prof. Hanayama's dissertation: *Bukkyō Kyōhan Ron no kenkyū* [*A Study of the Treatises on Buddhist Doctrinal Classifications*] handed to the University of Tokyo in 1921, I am obliged to make two points clear as to my evaluation of Petzold's understanding of the Shinshū system. First, although, while going through both [i.e., works of Petzold and Hanayama], I tried to find anything different between the opinions of these two scholars, I have not been able to find any passage that can be interpreted as distinctly Petzold's understanding as different from Hanayama's. This means that Petzold accepted whatever Hanayama lectured and outlined along with his dissertational scheme. It is true that the Jōdo system was Petzold's last subject of study and that his writing was not yet well organized while many portions of it were in the form of notes taken from Hanayama's lecture. Therefore, he may not have had enough time to make out his own critical or appraisal statements. Yet, I am strongly inclined to believe that Petzold did not really need to change anything over what he learned from his teacher consultant in order to suit Shinran's system to his own overall scheme of writing. Secondly, therefore, my attempt to find Petzold's own understanding of Shin-shū teaching must be shifted toward examining the degree of correlation between his criteria of Hongaku and Shikaku doctrines in the way he understood them and Shinran's classifications as laid down above by Petzold along with Hanayama. For, the criteria of Hongaku and Shikaku which Petzold applied to studying Buddhism were from the very beginning, his own basis, of which he must have been convinced since the time he was studying under Prof. Shimaji. Thus, in evaluating Petzold's understanding, I am prepared to comment on some points concerning the said correlation between Shinran's system and Petzold's criteria of Hongaku and Shikaku principles.

First of all, the Tendai doctrine of Hongaku and Shikaku was the general basis of Japanese Buddhism upon which all the subsequent sectarian offshoots had their foundations in common. This very reason alone justifies the assertion that the Hongaku and Shikaku doctrines can provide the fundamental framework within which any sectarian Buddhist doctrines developed from that original system of doctrines. In his introductory chapter, Petzold characterized the Hongaku-mon, the fountainhead of Buddhist religiosity, and its reciprocal relation with the Shikaku-mon in the following terms: (1) The Hongaku-mon [Original Enlightenment] constitutes paradoxical affirmation and negation as common to all Buddhist doctrines; (2) the Hongaku-mon is the spontaneous consciousness, whereas the Shikaku-mon is the formal expression; (3) the Hongaku-mon embodies the paramount absolute, whereas the Shikaku-mon the relative conditionality; (4) the Hongaku-mon, as absolute, comprehends all that falls in the category of Shikaku-mon and hence is harmonious with all. Moreover, I must also introduce here some of theoretical contrasts by which Petzold tried to explain the Hongaku and Shikaku categories: (1) mon-duality *versus* duality; (2) factuality *versus* ideality; (3) transcendentality *versus* phenomenality; and (4) experientiality *versus* analyticity. In reference to the foregoing set of conceptual schemes, Petzold is justified to characterize Shinran's relative classifications as belonging to the Shikaku category, precisely because they constitute formal expressions based on the principle of logical duality, abstract ideality, temporal phenomenality, and analyticity, but should eventually be forsaken (denied) before the occurrence of spontaneous consciousness of the original enlightenment [Hongaku-mon] in terms of non-duality, factual directness, transcendental freedom, and experiential comprehension.

DIALECTICAL PROCESS UNDERLIES BUDDHIST DOCTRINES

The fact that Petzold understood a dialectical process as underlying all Buddhist doctrines in common is significant and crucial to his successful

treatment of Shinran's absolute classification to which all his relative classifications culminate. Petzold commented, to some detail, on Murakami Sensho's exposition of the dialectic of 'San-gan Ten-nyū.' In fact, the term 'dialectic' is not used in Petzold's writing, nor in Hanayama's nor in Murakami's, but for the sake of convenience, I have taken the liberty of using this term as denoting the process of simultaneous negation and affirmation involved in all Buddhist doctrines. Petzold took up Murakami's insight, such that the three basic principles underlie every and any doctrinal classification, namely (1) that of dividing or analyzing; (2) that of dual process of picking up one and throwing away another, both being involved in selection process of anything; (3) that of unifying or comprehension. Petzold, along with Hanayama, understood 'absolute' as meaning 'absolute affirming' and 'absolute negating.' He wrote thus: "Therefore, having made selection after selection [i.e., from the 19th vow to the 20th, from the 20th vow to the 18th], we come to the 'absolute negation' of other theories, and when we enter into the absolute belief of the highest teaching [i.e., the 18th vow], then we affirm absolutely all other teachings which we negated once before. Therefore, the term 'absolute' must have two sides, namely it must be 'affirming' as well as 'negating'."

In order to clarify how Petzold understood this dialectical process, the crucial aspect of Shinran's absolute classification, I am obliged to comment on another point worthy of attention. If faith in the 18th vow [the Wide Vow Gate, Gu-gan-mon] which Shinran praised as 'the One Buddha Vehicle of Amitābha's Vow' is considered to be one of the two gates [i.e., in contrast to the Main Gate of the 19th vow and the True Gate of the 20th vow], the Wide Vow Gate of the 18th vow must still be regarded as relative as it has its comparable alternatives. On this point, Petzold argued approximately as follows: The divisions into two or three (as mentioned above) speak of Amitābha's vow in reference to the capacity of the people who listen to the Buddha's preaching, and insofar as this is the case, they are relative classifications. It is only when the one Buddha-vehicle theory of vow speaks of the teaching itself on the part of the Buddha and not of the capacity of the listeners on the part of humanity, it is the absolute classification. In summarizing his argument, Petzold said: "In short, the absolute theory speaks only about the Dharma or the teaching of Truth and that is the general rule for Mahāyāna Buddhism, like the Kegon's 'absolute' or Tendai's 'absolute'. Therefore, the absolute doctrine of the Shin-shū does not contradict this general rule." This comment may have been Petzold's own, just as Hanayama's. In any case, the Dharma or Teaching of Truth on the part of the Buddha is one and the same, namely 'Bhūta-tathatā or the transcendental totality of all things as they are in themselves,' and hence it is absolute, but it is only on the part of the people who try to understand it that the Dharma is to be divided or analyzed into various forms as temporal, empirical, phenomenal or dualistic.

As an epilogue to my attempt to correlate Petzold's criteria of Hongaku and Shikaku doctrines and Shinran's system of Kyō-hans, especially concerning the relation between relative and absolute classifications, I am obliged to call attention to the fact that there underlies a dialectical process that activates abstract forms of classifications, which otherwise remain to be all relative, to acquire new meaning as part of the comprehensive totality of all things as they are in themselves. Considering the fact that the principles of difference and identity underlie all logical and linguistic phenomena, that the Buddhist insight of *śūnyatā* recognizes their simultaneous operation at every moment of consciousness, and that it is this dialectical process that provides all the distinctions and analyses in our empirical world and yet transcends them in terms of simultaneous identification and differentiation, I am inclined to say that Bruno Petzold rightly found his search for the principle of harmony within the dynamic force of dialectical negation and affirmation despite myri-

ads of analyses and distinctions with which he dealt.

PUBLICATION OF PETZOLD'S WORK

Since I succeeded my colleagues, a group of Buddhist scholars in Japan, in 1983 in taking up the formidable task of editing Petzold's manuscripts, four and a half years have passed. Because of the state of the manuscripts in the portion of the Jōdo system, I have not been able to advance as quickly as I wished in completing the initial but most time-consuming preparation. As this present paper indicates, my own research in understanding the Jōdo systems has been accomplished, at least as far as required for organizing the notes and papers for editorial purposes. Since Petzold's general conclusion is more or less in completed form, my initial step will be completed within this year. The edited text has been divided into two books, respectively dealing with Chinese and Japanese Buddhist Kyōhans. Altogether fourteen parts and thirty-four chapters have been set for expedience to meet the complex schemes of the work, of which a brief table of content is given after notes below. My appreciation is due to Prof. Shinsho Hanayama for providing me with the copy of his dissertation so that I could successfully edit Petzold's manuscripts on the Jōdo Kyōhans.

NOTES

1. For Section II here, esp. for Petzold exposition of Hongaku and Shikaku doctrines, refer to the edited text: Part I: General Introduction; Chap. 3: Hongaku-mon and Shikaku-mon [the Gate of Original Enlightenment and the Gate of Enlightenment having its Beginning].

2. For Section III, esp. for Honen's and Shinran's classifications as discussed here, refer to Pt. XII: The Jodo System; Chap. 31 and 32; also, to Hanayama, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, Chap. 10: The Jodo Kyohans.

3. For Section IV, refer to Pt. I, Chap. 3 and Pt. XII, Chap. 32.

4. *Brief Table of Contents*: *BOOK ONE*: Pt. I: General Introduction [Chaps. 1, 2, 3]; Pt. II: Indian Buddhism and Classifications [Chap. 4]; Pt. III: Chinese Buddhism and Primitive Chinese Classifications [Chaps. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10]; Pt. IV: The Tendai system [Chaps. 11, 12, 13, 14]; Pt. V: The Sanron System [Chap. 15]; Pt. VI: The Hosso System [Chaps. 16, 17, 18]; Pt. VII: The Kegon System [Chaps. 19, 20, 21]; Pt. VIII: The Ritsu system [Chap. 22]; *BOOK TWO*: Pt. IX: The (Japanese) Shingon System [Chaps. 23, 24, 25]; Pt. X: The Esoteric Tendai System [Chap. 26]; Part XI: The Nichiren System [Chaps. 27, 28, 29]; Pr. XII: The Jodo System [Chaps. 30, 31, 32]; Pt. XIII: The Zen System [Chap. 33]; Pt. XIV: General Conclusion [Chap. 34]; Appendix: Glossarial Index and Various Charts.

Shinran and Human Dignity: Opening An Historic Horizon

by Kenko Futaba
Translated by Kenryu T. Tsuji

SHINRAN'S CONCEPT OF ŌJŌ (REBIRTH)

What new thought did Shinran introduce to human history? To answer this question we are immediately reminded of his teaching of the salvation of the evil person and his opening of the doors of the Buddha-Dharma to all peoples. However, what we are asking here is: how did his path of salvation and his teaching of rebirth for the common person, who was considered as lowly as rocks, roof tiles and grains of sand, actually affect the behavior of people in the course of history.

Ōjō means to be reborn into the Pure Land, commonly interpreted as the rebirth of a person after his death into the realm of perfect happiness that transcends history. After the middle of the Heian period (794-1185) many books such as "Rebirth into the Pure Land," and "A Chronicle of Rebirth," a book relating the lives of people who desired rebirth, were published. All these books dealt with people who desired rebirth into the Pure Land after death.

It is clear that Shinran taught rebirth into the Pure Land. In his most important treatise, *Teaching, Practice, Faith and Enlightenment,* he wrote that faith was the true cause of rebirth into the Pure Land. In the well known tract *Tannishō* he said,

> When we have faith that rebirth into the Pure Land is attained . . . The noble resolution of each of you in crossing the boundaries of more than ten provinces without regard to your life was solely to hear the way of rebirth in the Land of Bliss. You would, however, be greatly mistaken if you suspect me of knowing some other way of rebirth than Nembutsu or that I possess some other scholarly knowledge.

It is clear, therefore, that Shinran's teaching of rebirth into the Pure Land does have aspects of rebirth after death.

This aspect became more pronounced when Shinran's teaching became known as the way of rebirth into the Pure Land. Rennyo, the eighth descendant of Shinran, greatly increased the number of Shinshu followers by popularizing the teaching. In his letters to them he wrote,

> As I deeply contemplate the nature of human existence, I realize that enjoyment of human life is as momentary as the flash of lightning or a drop of morning dew. Even if one were to enjoy the ultimate luxuries of life, such enjoyment lasts only for a period of fifty or a hundred years. If the winds of transciency should blow upon him, he will suffer the pains of illness and eventually pass away. In death one can neither depend on his wife or children nor on his wealth and treasures. One must traverse alone the path over the mountain of death and cross the river of no return. Therefore, what one must seriously seek is the after-life and wholeheartedly trust in Amida Buddha. Embracing a firm faith in Amida Buddha one must be reborn in the Pure Land of Peace.

Rennyo considered the after-life to be of supreme importance and encouraged all to seek rebirth in the Pure Land, for after all, the present life was a

dream, an illusion. Through the years Rennyo's philosophy of rebirth was accepted as Shinran's traditional teaching and was transmitted to the present day. Even today in the proclamation by Kōnyo Shonin we find the following words:

> This is the Buddha-Dharma. When we singlemindedly trust in Amida Buddha for our salvation in the after-life, abandoning doubt and all self-centered practices, in that single act of faith we will be embraced by Amida who will never cast us away. Our rebirth is assured now—we will complete our rebirth in the after-life in the western Pure Land and will become free from eternal suffering.

If Shinran's religion of rebirth in the Pure Land was solely for the purpose of finding peace and bliss in the after-life, it could offer no practical meaning for this present life. Therefore, it could give no new direction to human conduct to change the course of history. There are some modern historians who state that Shinran's religion of Other Power rose from the ground of human despair and therefore could do nothing for the real world; nor should it do anything for the world.

I call this grave misconception of Shinran's teaching of rebirth in the after-life "the burial of Shinran." My reason is that I do not think that the main object of Shinran's teaching was simply rebirth in the Land of Bliss. When Shinran taught rebirth in the Pure Land, he proclaimed the attainment of Buddhahood as the ultimate objective, which was for the purpose of saving all sentient beings from suffering through the work of Great Compassion. Therefore, the purpose of rebirth in the Pure Land in the after-life was not for the self-enjoyment of a blissful state but to become a Buddha and return to the world of suffering to exercise Great Compassion for the enlightenment of all sentient beings. At the very beginning of his major work entitled, *Teaching, Practice, Faith and Enlightenment*, Shinran stated, "When I carefully consider Jōdo Shinshū it has two kinds of movement—the phase of going and the phase of returning." When Shinran thought of the Pure Land, he visualized the dynamic world of Buddha's Compassion which did not exist independent from the suffering of sentient beings. The general framework of his teaching was that we attained Buddhahood in the after-life (a state free from the limitations of human existence) and returned to this world. Thus it was clear that the main purpose of rebirth was to return and practice Great Compassion. Shinran's ultimate concern was the exercise of the compassionate power in the present life, which was "empty, vain and false." To disregard this phase of the great return, which was of paramount importance to his teaching, and depicting Shinran as a person living in despair, is alienating him completely from the real world of human life. This is what I mean by "burying Shinran."

What Shinran meant by faith (*shinjin*) was a faith that was a gift granted from the power of the Primal Vow (*Teaching, Practice, Faith and Enlightenment*). Thus faith, the awakening to the true mind of Amida, was given to all sentient beings. To receive this faith was none other than to accept "the benefit of practicing Great Compassion." Shinran said,

> The True Buddahood. The Mind Aspiring for Buddahood is the Mind to Save Sentient Beings. The Mind to Save Sentient Beings is the Mind which embraces sentient beings to make them attain Birth in the Pure Land of Peace and Bliss . . .
> This Mind (Faith) is the Great Bodhi-Mind; this Mind is the Great Compassionate Mind. This Mind arises from the Wisdom of Infinite Light . . .
> The Ocean-like Vow being equal, our aspiration is equal. The aspiration being equal, the Great Compassion is equal. The Great Compassion is the right cause for the attainment of Buddha's Enlightenment.

The attainment of faith meant to be endowed

with the great Bodhi mind, which was the power of Great compassion that surrounded all sentient beings and actualized their rebirth into the realm of Buddhahood or the Pure Land. Shinran realized this faith in which he was embraced in Amida's Primal Vow, here and now, and practiced great compassion from this ground of Amida's Primal Vow.

In recent years there have been attempts to extricate the historical and realistic Shinran—who has been buried too long under the traditional teaching of rebirth into the Pure Land in the after-life. Even today this task remains incomplete.

This tradition completely neglected Shinran's Buddhist position of the negation of the self and his criticism of the religious society which revolved around the monastic life. It was this tradition that buried Shinran under the mass of secular morality. The most representative school within this tradition promulgated the idea that Shinran's teaching constituted a belief of rebirth in the Pure Land in the after-life and mere subservience to the prevailing social code of ethics in this life. Rennyo's interpretation of Shinran was typical of this tradition. What was Shinran's place in history, how did he view society and the world in which he lived? These questions were completely neglected.

In the last century, Manshi Kiyosawa (1863-1903), a priest of the Ōtani denomination of Jōdo Shinshū, rediscovered Shinran. He said that the ultimate religious experience was to become one in this present life with the absolute unlimited being. Here he experienced complete satisfaction and overcame the notion of rebirth in the Pure Land in the after-life. He said that so long as there was spiritual satisfaction, evil, poverty and other social ills posed no problems. The problem with such a person who entrusted himself to an absolute unlimited power and lived solely in the peace that transcended this world, was that he had nothing to contribute to human history. Therefore he had no criticism against the ethico-religious and political system of Shintoism which negated human personality.

In the so-called period of Taishō democracy there emerged a person known as Naotarō Nonomura. In a book entitled *A Critique of Jōdo Teaching*, he stripped from Shinran's religion the teaching of rebirth into the Pure Land and tried to probe the essence of Jōdo doctrine. Rebirth in the Pure Land, he said, was merely an Indian myth and Shinran only used this verbal symbol to teach the truth of religion. Nonomura further stated that the essence of Shinran's religion was to transform the person gripped by self-attachment and free from this self-attachment. His theory was brilliantly presented but gained neither the support of his contemporaries nor their successors. The Jōdo Shin Buddhist Sangha could not understand him and finally expelled him. Shinran and his doctrine of rebirth in the Pure Land was closely related with the essence of his religion and could never be taken lightly. This relationship has yet to be thoroughly investigated and still remains a question for present day Jōdo Shin followers.

Nonomura made a brilliant critical analysis of the Jōdo teaching. He made an important point by stressing that Shinran's teaching was to release the individual from his self attachment. But he did not go far enough in elaborating on one's mission in history. He stopped at the point of the individual's release from self-attachment which was a transcendental experience, but did not go one step further to criticize the ego-centered power of the state and its institutionalized morality. He did not question Shinto as the state religion but simply accepted the authority of the state and its morality. Therefore, he could not align himself with Shinran's position in criticizing the state and the morality of the times. He also buried Shinran.

The collapse of nationalism after World War II brought on a reexamination of Shinran's position in history. The peculiar viewpoint of present day nationalism sees Japanese Buddhism as a state religion and equates the laws of Buddha to the laws of the nation. Some consider Shinran's Buddhism also a state religion for he was said to have recited

the Nembutsu for the good of the imperial household as well as its subjects. If so, why was Shinran persecuted and treated as a criminal and exiled by the government? Why did Shinran himself defy the government and say, "I disobey both the laws of the Emperor and the laws of the nation, and differ with opinions." (*Teaching, Practice, Faith and Enlightenment*) Why did he resent the injustice of the authorities? These questions remain unanswered by these proponents.

In the postwar period the historian Hattori Yukifusa (1901-1956) attempted to clarify Shinran's place in history by denying the existence of the patriotic Shinran who was buried under the secular and national systems. His thesis prompted much debate among the scholars. Although he made many people aware of Shinran's place in history, the general public did not take notice. Let us now reexamine this important subject in the following pages.

SHINRAN IN HISTORY

As I have mentioned above, the way of faith as expounded by Shinran was not to seek peace and happiness for oneself in the after-life. It was the way of becoming a Buddha to lead all sentient beings to Buddhahood out of great compassion. Faith (*shinjin*) for Shinran was the realization of the true mind of Buddha which was completely free from all ego-centeredness. This faith was none other than the transcendental wisdom given equally to all sentient beings from the absolute Compassion of the Buddha.

When the Nembutsu originated in man's ego-centeredness, it operated only for the purpose of self-profit. This activity was of course contrary to the Buddha-Dharma and ceased to be Buddhism. The Nembutsu Faith was the manifestation of the mind of great compassion which had the power to sever all ties of self-attachment. The Nembutsu was not a means to gain benefits for oneself. The Nembutsu itself gave ultimate value to human life. In describing the process of the attainment of faith Shinran wrote that the ego-centered mind was awakened to the true mind of Buddha which was working unceasingly to enlighten all beings.

In Shinran's passage which I quoted above, he stated that the mind of faith given to us by Amida Buddha was a mind of great compassion that leads us to Buddhahood and at the same time leads others to Buddhahood. Thus the Buddha mind that was transferred to Shinran at once gave birth to a new personality which was now committed to fulfill the work of great compassion in the world of suffering. For Shinran, to be surrounded by Buddha's compassion was not to wait for rebirth in the Pure Land in the after-life. The decision to take refuge in the Buddha was in itself a result of the work of Amida's Primal Vow. At the moment he became aware of Amida's Compassion surrounding him, he became identified with this power of compassion and he assumed a new identity which now worked to fulfill the work of Buddha's Compassion. This was what rebirth in the Pure Land meant for Shinran.

The power of Absolute Truth transformed Shinran's ego-centered mind and now made him one with Amida's Primal Vow of Great Compassion. Thus anyone who awakened to Amida's Primal Vow immediately assumed a new personality that was imbued with Amida's compassion and worked for the enlightenment of others.

Such an individual also became more acutely conscious of the depth of his own ego-centeredness. The wisdom of the Primal Vow also was the wisdom that made him clearly see the evil side of his imperfect human existence and awakened in him the never ending desire for its transformation. It became natural for him to confront the problems of his society and the world and to work for its solutions with new religious insights.

What problems then did Shinran face in history? The new Shinran, who was awakened to the Primal Vow of Amida, found a world that was suffering from human injustice. He, therefore, confronted this injustice and worked for the estab-

lishment of equality in human society.

Shinran's master, Hōnen, taught the exclusive practice of Nembutsu which was the way for all people to be born equally into the realm of Buddhahood. Amida's Primal Vow was the power that enlightened all people equally. Because of this truth he encouraged all to recite the Nembutsu. Equality meant that the wise and the ignorant were equal. So were the good and evil. Any discrimination against the ignorant and the evil could not possibly be called equality. Therefore, Amida brought forth the way of Nembutsu that could be easily recited by all. Hōnen proclaimed his teaching in the following words:

> The Nembutsu is easy and therefore can be recited by all. Other practices are difficult and cannot be followed by all. Why do we call it the Primal Vow of Amida? Because it offers rebirth to all sentient beings by discarding the difficult way and adopting the easy way.
>
> If building statues and temples were the way to Buddhahood, then there is no hope for the poor. Moreover, the rich are few and the poor are many. If the wise and the talented were the objects of salvation by the Primal Vow, the ignorant would have no hope of rebirth. Moreover the wise are few and the ignorant are many. If only those who listen to and observe the Dharma often were the objects of the primal Vow, there is no hope for those who rarely listen and observe. Moreover, those who often listen to the Dharma are scarce and those who rarely listen are many. If those who uphold the precepts were the object of the Primal Vow, there is no hope for those who break the precepts or those who have no precepts at all. Moreover, those who observe the precepts are few and those who break the precepts are indeed many.
>
> Know, therefore, that it is the same with all other practices. You must never doubt this. If all the practices listed above were necessary to become the object of the Primal Vow, then those who attain rebirth are few and many are those who cannot attain rebirth. Therefore, Amida Buddha when he was the Bodhisattva Dharmākara in the infinite past was moved by compassion to save all beings equally and did not make the carving of statues and the building of temples prerequisites for rebirth required by the Primal Vow. Amida made the sole practice of the Nembutsu recitation the essence of the Primal Vow.

Hōnen viewed all people as equal and further emphasized that all people attained Buddhahood equally. What significance did this new teaching have on society? It goes without saying that the poor, the ignorant, the undisciplined and the precept breakers all belonged to the lowest strata of society. Those in the position of power and the landowners were never considered evil even when they heavily over-taxed the laborers. Those who did not give up the harvests of their labors to the authorities were considered evil. Not only that, they were punished by the gods and abandoned by the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. The poor and the uneducated who opposed the establishment could receive neither the blessing of the gods nor the salvation offered by the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas. However, if all these common people were saved equally by the Nembutsu they would fear neither the punishment of the gods nor the abandonment by the Buddhas. Thus if all were saved by the Nembutsu, it constituted an extremely dangerous teaching, threatening the power of the authorities by encouraging the practice of evil. Therefore, the imperial court and the newly established Kamakura government had to clamp down harshly on the Nembutsu movement. Jōkei, a typical example of the old Buddhist school, attacked the Nembutsu followers by accusing them of disobeying the gods, disrupting the nation and tearing apart the system that had conveniently equated the

nation's law with the Dharma of the Buddha.

The governing authorities had been using Buddhism and Shintoism as watchdogs to keep the people in check. Now the exclusive practice of Nembutsu gave the people and opportunity to free themselves from the bonds of this servitude, discover their human dignity and strive for its complete fulfillment.

Disobedience to the authorities led to both Honen's and Shinran's exile in 1207. Jōmon, Chōsai, Kōkaku, Hyōku, Kōsai, Shōku were also exiled and Sai'i, Shōgan, Jūren and Anraku were executed. The Nembutsu was banned. Now, Shinran in exile could expend all his energies showing the way of Buddhahood to the poor, the underprivileged, the uneducated and especially those who were considered evil. Shinran gave hope to people who found a new life in the Primal Vow of Amida Buddha because he taught the way of Buddhahood for all the ignorant and evil people. From this ground of universal salvation he criticized a society that tried to establish an exclusive world built on power, knowledge, and wealth.

Shinran wrote, "Lords and vassals who opposed the Dharma and justice bore indignation and resentment (to the Nembutsu teaching)." All persons with faith in the Nembutsu tried to establish a world in which every person would be equal in realizing his humanity. Any government that tried to destroy this world could be none other than enemies of the Dharma and human justice.

What was behind this authority that opposed the Dharma and human justice? As Jōkei said, the power behind this authority was a system that equated the rule of the temporal ruler with the eternal Dharma and the basis of this system was the unification of religion and politics.

From ancient times the supreme authority of the Japanese nation was ordained in this unique system. In the ancient book of *Kojiki* was written, "Our Mikado is the Ruler of all under heaven, and with the one hundred and eighty gods of heaven and earth performs the sacred rites of spring, summer, autumn and winter." Thus the emperor was the chief officiant of the festivals and his political authority was derived from this religious position. The laws of the country were therefore based upon a system in which religious authority of the emperor was identified also with his political authority. This was a theocratic system.

All the Shinto shrines in the nation came under the jurisdiction of the emperor and his subjects without exception were forced to observe the festivals. In every town and village the people were organized around the shrines to uphold the laws of the land. The people had no freedom and were the instruments of the state. The emperor was sanctified and became a living god. The people were thrown into degradation and their individual freedom was usurped. They were firstly and lastly tools of the state. Praying to the gods meant obedience to the political authorities and the people could not escape this system. Those who did not pray to the gods were punished according to laws of the state and further incurred the wrath of the gods.

This unification of religion and politics (church and state) was revived after the Meiji Restoration. The emperor ruled his subjects as a living god and under his authority a government was organized that had absolute religious and political powers. Any person who did not bow before the emperor or worship the gods was considered disloyal to the crown and was subjected to great pressure. Such oppression occurred even within our recent memory. This kind of oppression has continued through Japanese history from the distant past to the present. Even the modern government is organized under this system. In the middle ages governors were dispatched to strategic locations around the country and these lords governed their domain under this religious-political authority.

The unity of the Buddha's Dharma and the emperor's law was justified under the system of the unification of religion and politics. Such a system was the Buddhist edition of the oneness of church and state.

Buddhism, a universal religion offering enlightenment to all peoples equally, was degraded and became a secular force when it was identified with a political system. This system further caused confusion by not differentiating the Buddha from the Shinto gods. The Buddha was the same as the Shinto gods to be prayed to for selfish needs and the Buddha-Dharma became just an instrument to satisfy one's greed. However, the faithful followers of the Nembutsu refused to yield to this system and worship the gods. Jōkei, therefore, attacked the Nembutsu devotees as disloyal subjects who broke the law. The imperial court and the military rulers suppressed the traditional Buddhist movement and the Nembutsu followers because they feared the disruption of their religious-political authority.

The persecution of the Nembutsu followers became very severe. During the Kenchō period (1249-1256) the governing authorities from the lord of the manors and his administrators down to the village chiefs all persecuted the Nembutsu Sangha which was organized by Shinran during his twenty years in the Kantō area. This happened twenty years after Shinran's return to Kyoto.

The Nembutsu followers were accused by the authorities as immoral people who feared no punishment even when they commited evil. Therefore, it was only natural for the authorities to use this reason to ban the Nembutsu movement. Śākyamuni called such authorities people who had neither the eyes to see the truth nor the ears to hear the voice of the Dharma. These people who wallowed in their power and were intolerant of any other religious faith were people to be pitied. Shinran also said that Nembutsu followers should have compassion on their persecutors and embrace the hope that they, too, might someday awaken to the truth. It was a fervent hope that they would be delivered from the illusion of grandeur based upon a temporal power and realize true human dignity founded on the mind of the Buddha. Shinran saw the fallacy of a system that equated the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas with its gods and taught, "In the *Nirvana Sutra* it says—those who take refuge in the Buddha will be worshipped by the gods of heaven."

The Nembutsu followers who parted from a social system established by the authoritarian government of the imperial court and the warrior class proceeded to create their own society founded on the principle of equality of all peoples. Thus was opened a new community founded on a principle quite contrary to that of the traditional society that denied human freedom. This was a community that transcended even the instability, divisiveness and suffering of the new Sangha.

Towards the end of the Kenchō era (1256) the persecution of the Nembutsu followers was intensified with greater force. In order to escape from this intolerable condition Shinran's eldest son, Zenran, abandoned the Nembutsu practice that did not pay homage to the Shintō gods and encouraged the followers to submit to the authorities. When Shinran discovered what Zenran was doing, he had no choice but to banish him from his family in 1256. He then advised his followers to move to another area if they could not endure the persecution; there should not be any compromise whatsoever with a system that did not recognize human freedom. Any power structure that trampled on human dignity was absolutely contrary to the Nembutsu way which proclaimed equality of all human beings. To align themselves with this kind of establishment was undermining the historical significance of the Nembutsu.

Shinran's Nembutsu which proclaimed universal enlightenment for all people could not possibly be equated with a religion, whose main purpose was only to satisfy one's greed. For after all, the Nembutsu Sangha stood for the establishment of the equality and the dignity of all human beings. Shinran's burning faith prompted him to free the farmers who suffered from the exploitation of the political-religious government that justified the use of force to achieve their ends. Shinran tried to reform a society, built on an outdated feudal system ruled by an emperor with divine rights and the

subsequent military government ruled by the warrior class, and create a society founded on Truth.

Those who recited and practiced the Nembutsu broke the law of the land and were considered unpardonable evil criminals. In the eyes of the authorities, Shinran and the farmers who followed him had broken the law of Nembutsu prohibition.

The Nembutsu devotees were awakened to their own evil nature by Amida's Light of Wisdom but for the authorities it was another matter. The Nembutsu devotees were evil because they were lawbreakers. However, from the standpoint of Amida Buddha both the Nembutsu devotees who had awakened to their own evil nature and the authorities, who lived under the illusion of their goodness, were to be saved equally. If these authorities could be saved by Amida's Compassion, how much more so the Nembutsu devotees, hence, the ringing words of the *Tannishō*, "Even a good person is saved by Amida Buddha, how much more so the evil person." In teaching the way of salvation for the evil person Shinran offered the people suffering under the yoke of despotism a bright hope for a new free society.

So far we have examined how Shinran's teaching was virtually buried under the heavy notion of salvation in the afterlife and have rediscovered the real purpose of his teaching. His was a powerful message based on the Primal Vow of Amida Buddha, offering enlightenment to all beings equally. Shinran tried to build a society on this basic principle.

Shinran's faith involved a drastic transformation of the self-centered heart that awakened to Amida's Heart of Great Compassion working tirelessly to bring enlightenment to all beings. Thus, in faith the human heart became identified with the Primal Vow of Amida Buddha and human beings became the vehicle of Amida's great compassionate activity. To make all human beings equally realize their true humanity was the work of Amida's Primal Vow. This work only was the true good. On the other hand, any person or system that interfered with this process could only be a false good. The religious political system of Shinto and the identification of the Buddha-Dharma with the emperor's law advanced by some Buddhist closed the doors to the establishment of equality and dignity of the human person. It was Shinran's unique teaching that offered salvation to all these people considered evil by the establishment.

Any morality that disregards the human person cannot but be, as in Shinran's words, vain, empty and false.

> I know neither good nor evil. The reason is that when I know good which appears good in the mind of Amida, only then can I say I know good; and when I know evil which appears evil in the mind of Amida, only then can I say I know evil. This is because we are being possessed of passions and our world is impermanent like a house on fire. All things are vain and empty and are not true in themselves. The Nembutsu alone is true. (*Tannishō*)

The only way in which human beings could truly know good and bad was when they judged good and bad from the standpoint of Amida's mind. Shinran felt that he could judge good and bad only from this position. Shinran categorically denied all other positions and he could not permit the existence of an evil system that trampled on the dignity of the human person and denied him the possibility of fulfilling his true human potential:

> One must seek to cast off the evil of this world and to cease doing wretched deeds; this is what it means to reject the world and to live the Nembutsu. (*Mattōshō*)

This was Shinran's moral stance. Shinran stated,

> If, therefore, we have faith in the Primal Vow, there is nothing that can surpass the Nembutsu; there is no need for fear of evil because there is no evil that obstructs the power of Amida's Primal Vow." (*Tannishō*)

Since Shinran's morality was based on the transcendental foundation of Amida's Primal Vow, it

was beyond any temporal morality enforced by the government. Thus, nothing surpassed the true good of the Nembutsu that guided all peoples equally to the way to Buddhahood. And there was nothing to be feared, for Shinran's moral standard was based on the Infinite Compassion of Amida Buddha. The supreme purpose of Shinran's morality was to realize the ultimate good of Amida Buddha and to work for the actualization of Amida's Great Compassion.

It has long been thought, however, that Shinran's teaching was simply to follow the prevailing moral standards of the nation and at death be born in the Land of Bliss, finally enjoying the peace and bliss of the Pure Land. This view of Shinran relegated his teaching to the after-life and buried him in the secular morality of the establishment.

The ultimate objective of Shinran's Nembutsu (*shinjin*) was to realize Buddhahood and live dynamically in the flow of history in harmony with Amida's Primal Vow. Thus, he opened a world where all peoples could live equally in truth. He took issue with any social condition that obstructed the realization of human dignity—the complete fulfillment of the human person in the way of the Buddha.

Note: This translation by Rev. Kenryu T. Tsuji is the first chapter of a book entitled, *All of Shinran* (*Shinran no Subete*), edited by Kenko Futaba, former President of Ryukoku University and currently President of Kyoto Women's College. Professor Futaba's chapter is entitled, "Shinran's Opening of an Historic Horizon." (Shinran no hiraita rekishiteki chihei).

Confucian and Buddhist Values in Modern Context

by Alfred Bloom

INTRODUCTION

In 1985, the centennial of the immigration of Japanese contract laborers to Hawaii was celebrated. Pictures were displayed in various publications, and TV productions dramatized the difficult living and working conditions endured by the laborers. The laborers had received support in their troubles from traditional values of Confucianism and Buddhism which they brought with them. Diligence, frugality, loyalty, perseverance, duty, patience, adaptiveness and solidarity are values derived from these social and religious heritages. These values sustained the community when it was discriminated against and regarded as alien. Today, since the economic and political change of American society, it appears that these values may have spent themselves and are not as meaningful to the current generation which experiences greater social acceptance and success. The religious traditions that have promoted them have also waned, and it is more difficult now to communicate those values. This issue of values is immediate not only for the Asian-American community, but also for American society as a whole.

Let us approach the subject from the standpoint of the humanities, which stress the importance of values at the heart of every issue. In our scientific and technological age, we are apt to think only of the practical or immediate aspects of the various issues confronting us. We are always looking for methods and procedures to solve our pressing problems. Nevertheless, as the basis of our problems usually lies in the conflict of values and perspectives on the nature of life, whether conscious or unconscious, the major problems of contemporary society result from varying value priorities and interests.

We are not only confronted by conflicting value priorities, but we also live in a time of rapid social change, quickened by the pace of technological development and advances in communication. People now have many more options open to them as to how they can invest their time and resources. The level of expectation to satisfy personal interest and desires have enormously increased. Problems in the distribution of wealth have increased our social tensions and conflict. As a consequence, the traditional values of many cultures have been shaken by social change.

In our American society, the principles of individualism and independence have become uppermost in our economic goals and our personal ideals. We want to achieve as much as we can, have as large a piece of the pie as we can, and to be as completely independent of the control of others as possible. This extends from our children, who are nurtured to be independent, to the elderly who wish to maintain as independent a life as they possibly can, financially and socially.

The ideals prevalent in American society present a considerable challenge to Asian value systems by which many people have regulated their lives. In earlier times, discrimination of one sort or another required a group to maintain its solidarity by applying traditional values in its effort to preserve a sense of self-worth and to establish itself economically. As an example, we

can observe the close relationship that has generally maintained itself between the first- and second- generation Japanese-Americans who have lived through the era of plantation life and wartime situations. This relationship differs considerably from those of the succeeding third- or fourth-generations who have not had those experiences. With the broadening of acceptance in American society, these young people find the traditional values which had given support to older generations are sometimes now the basis of misunderstanding and conflict. The Asian values based in Confucianism and Buddhism appear obsolete and obstructive when insisted upon by elders.

In contrast to American values nurtured in Western history, Confucian and Buddhist values stress group relations and the ideal of harmony based on submission to hierarchical status. It is quite common to hear that Confucian ethics is based simply on filial piety and the five relationships of husband and wife, father and son, elder and younger brother, and friend and friend. These relationships have assumed an authoritarian character as a result of developments in Chinese and Japanese societies in earlier ages. However, these relationships have become the object of criticism in modern society, which aspires to be more democratic and offers greater fulfillment for the individual.

It is the aim of this essay to survey the fundamental values of Confucianism and Buddhism and to indicate their relevance for contemporary life, despite problems in traditional understanding. When we look into the foundations of Confucian thought and Buddhist teaching, we can observe that they were not intended to become authoritarian systems. Rather, when they became institutionalized as either orthodox teaching or recognized religious traditions, there has been an alliance with social powers which employ such teachings as ways to control people. In the course of time, through training in society, in communities, and in families, people began to accept such perspectives as the natural and original meaning of those teachings. What is required today is a re-examination of those values and their interpretations so that a more meaningful and relevant understanding of their contribution to human relations can be made. It is significant that after decades of denunciation of Confucianism by the communist government in China, it has now realized that Confucius was a great social thinker with deep insight into human affairs. Communist leaders are now calling for a more careful study of Confucianism.

CONFUCIAN VALUES IN MODERN CONTEXT

The newspaper account of the communist re-evaluation of Confucius, relates that, at the commemoration of Confucius' birthday, scholars described Confucius as "a great philosopher and educator." According to them, he taught an introspective speculation into one's own life and at the same time a sense of unity of the self with the outer universe."[1] Here is recognition that Confucius dealt with universal problems of humanity and not merely support for some class system. We should note that the Confucian teaching, which originated in the 6th century B.C.E., is one of the world's oldest and most durable moral philosphies, along with those developed in Hinduism and the Biblical tradition. Within East Asia, its influence has been deeply pervasive, being transmitted to all cultures sharing in the Chinese cultural heritage.

While there is a long history of Confucianism—some 2,500 years or more—we want to look directly at the values stressed in his text, the *Analects*, otherwise known as the Words of Confucius. There are five Chinese classics and four Confucian texts which were the basis of moral training of the scholarly class. However, only the Analects contain whatever we may have of Confucius' own words. It is a book worthy of contemplation and study by all people for its deep insight into human relations. Though it was designed for training government officials, it has applications in all areas of social life.

Confucianism is usually associated with filial piety and loyalty (in Japanese, *chū-kō*), and the *sanjū*, or three submissions of a woman: to her father, her husband and her eldest son. There is a common principle expressed in the phrase messhihōkō, the abolition of the self and serving the public. It implies the submission of the individual to the good of the group. Thus, Confucianism has been regarded essentially as a philosophy of subordination to authority, obligations and duty to parents and family, and the repression of individual will and aspirations in favor of harmony dictated by the group. It also tended to favor an elitism, or hierarchy, in the social order.

To discover the relevance of Confucius in the present society, we must carefully distinguish the teachings of Confucius himself from the interpretations and applications made in later times. His teaching underwent transformation into a more authoritarian character while it was being taught to the masses to encourage their acceptance of dominant political and social powers of the state and community.

The problem which Confucius himself faced was much like our situation today. He lived in a world of conflict and struggle which lacked mutual trust among the powers. Although his society operated on a smaller dimension and scope, its problem is ever present. The questions posed by his teaching are: "How can people live together without destroying each other?" "What is to hold society together when its ideals and traditions are no longer effective?" "How can a leader exert power and influence without resorting to coercion?" One of the important manifestations of the changed social situation in Confucius' day was the growing individualism which resulted from the breakdown of feudal relations. Tribalistic, communal thought which submerged the individual to the interests of the whole, gave way to selfish and personal considerations. Mere appeal to ancestors and traditions could no longer assure proper social action. Individuals had to be convinced in themselves as they saw the value of a certain way of action. Authoritarian approaches to enforce behavior were seen to have limited effectiveness.

The essential insight of Confucius lies in his understanding that the quality of life is determined by the way in which our human relations are carried out. In the background of his time, which was superstitious, or where leaders used force to gain their goals, his view was exceptional. A further insight is that the quality of a society depends on the quality of its leaders and ultimately on the character of all the members of the group. If the true welfare of the group in long-range terms is to be secured, there must be something more than merely the threat of coercive force to guarantee that welfare in the hearts and minds of the people. A later Confucian text called *The Great Learning* gives, in essence the reciprocal relations of the individual and the group and the foundation of social harmony and well-being in the character of all the people.

Providing a basis for the establishment of true social welfare, Confucius, in addition to filial piety, advocated the cultivation of a group of values that give substance and meaning to filial piety itself. These values are Benevolence (or humaneness), Propriety, Rightness, Reciprocity, Conscientiousness (which came to mean loyalty), Faithfulness, Learning and Wisdom, and Efficacious Character embodied in the Gentlemen or Superior Person.

Filial Piety in Confucius' thought is a two-way street as embodied in the principle of reciprocity. It has been pointed out in community studies by Prof. Yasumasa Kuroda, that while the ideal of Japanese people may be *kodomo no tame ni*, for the sake of the children, it is expected that the children will be obedient and submissive to the parents' wishes. Recently a student in my class, writing a review on a film on Confucianism, related her experience with her parents who have specified what she must become in her career development on the basis of her obligation to them as daughter and without regard to her wishes in the matter. As a mild-mannered child, she does not

rebel, but resentment is growing over the fact that she is given no choice in the matter. The obligation of the children to the parents receives more emphasis on practical attitudes.

There was a basis in Confucius' realism for the importance of filial piety. It stands to reason that if one cannot, or will not, treat properly those with whom he is most intimately associated, he is not likely to treat others with the proper respect. While Confucius' own words deal only slightly with filial piety among the categories of values, the book of Filial Piety composed sometime from the fourth to the second century B.C.E. provides the traditional ideal of filial piety that has governed Asian thinking ever since. For the common people, it proposes:

> Follow the laws of nature, utilizing the earth to the best advantage according to the various qualities of the soil, restricting one's personal desires and enjoyment in order to support one's parents—this is the filiality of the common people. So it is that, from the son of Heaven to the commoners, if filial piety is not pursued from the beginning to end, disasters are sure to follow.[2]

In the view of Confucius, there are five relationships which we mentioned earlier. These are basic to all societies and involve a natural distinction of superior and inferior. However, for Confucius, one must not rely on those relationships to attain one's goal. A leader is one who commands leadership as a result of one's character and not merely because of being the leader. To rely on one's given superior position means coercion which is short-lived and gives rise to efforts by others to circumvent that authority. Rather, if one is sensitive to the needs of others, giving them a sense of worth and dignity, they will respond. Confucius declares:

> The Master said, Govern the people by regulations, keep order among them by chastisements, and they will flee from you and lose all self respect. Govern them by moral force, keep order among them by ritual and they will deepen their self-respect and come to you of their own accord.[3]

Again:

> Tzu Kung asked about government. The Master said, Sufficient food, sufficient weapons, and the confidence of the common people. Tzu Kung said, Suppose you had no choice but to dispense with one of these three, which would you forego? The Master said, Weapons. Tzu Kung said, Suppose you were forced to dispense with one of the two that were left, which would you forgo? The Master said, Food. For from of old, death has been the lot of all men; but a people that no longer trusts its rulers is lost indeed.[4]

Leadership is a matter of example, cultivation of moral force by one's general demeanor and increasing the welfare of the people. (Analects, XIV, 45). The leader must put into practice five qualities: courtesy, breadth, good faith, diligence, and clemency. He goes on to point out: "He who is courteous is not scorned, he who is broad wins the multitude, he who is of good faith is trusted by the people . . . he who is clement can get service from the people."[5] A very interesting passage which applies to the broad range of human relations is given in the following passage:

> Tzu-Hsia said, "A gentleman obtains the confidence of those under him, before putting burdens upon them. If he does so before he has obtained their confidence, they feel that they are being exploited. It is also true that he obtains the confidence (of those above him) before criticizing them. If he does so before he has obtained their confidence, they feel that they are being slandered."[6]

It is clear that all areas of human affairs require sensitivity to others in order to sustain fruitful relations. The rules of courtesy emphasized by Confucius are the lubricant of human relations. By these rules one transforms demands into requests.

Confucius' teaching can help with problems today, because it teaches reciprocity—to put ourselves in the other person's place, that is, to walk in his shoes. Through reciprocity we enter into dialogue with the other person and seriously attempt to see his viewpoint. It means also to reflect on one's own limitations. The value of conscientiousness, which later came to mean loyalty, means to be concerned for the welfare of the other person. Faithfulness means to stand by one's word. In later times it came to mean belief and was externalized to believe what one is told. Confucius does not promise that there will be no conflict, but he teaches perspectives and principles that can avert, soften, or resolve conflict. We must understand the implicit distinction in his thought between someone with authority who enforces it and another who is authoritative and attracts the service of others. If we were to put it into an American context, his thought compares in some ways to Dale Carnegie's *How to Win Friends and Influence People* and similar efforts by others to give guidance regarding human relations. In the context of problems of the elderly, it is important that, just as the youth are urged to understand the elderly and respect them, it is equally important for the elderly, in the course of their reflections, to understand the Confucian principle of reciprocity and the nature of leadership so that positive relations between the generations can be established and maintained.

BUDDHIST VALUES IN MODERN CONTEXT

Buddhism begins with the enlightenment of Gautama Buddha, also known as Śākyamuni Buddha, in the sixth century B.C.E. in India. In his search for spiritual liberation from the bondage to cyclic birth and death and all the sufferings involved in such repeated lives, Buddha developed a monastic system which provided the necessary conditions for his followers to attain enlightenment themselves. In the area of moral behavior, Buddhism requires five precepts for lay people, ten for monks. These regulations deal with basic human behavior, such as not stealing, not lying, not being unchaste, not taking intoxicants and not killing. The additional five for monks have to do with luxury in living, such as not sleeping on high beds, wearing simple robes, and not handling money. Eventually the regulations expanded to 248 for men and over 350 for women. The body of rules is now contained in several volumes called *Vinaya.*

The rules of the order, or precepts, are viewed as preliminary and preparatory to the effort of meditation and concentration leading to wisdom. For lay people, good conduct brings merit which benefits their later lives, making it possible for them to attain enlightenment.

Although Buddhism was a monastic system, it did not entirely neglect the lay person. There are several texts which offer guidance for life to lay people. A social ethic is presented in the *Siṅgālovāda Sutta:*

> Mother and father are the eastern quarter, teachers are the southern, wife and children are the western, friends and companions are the northern, slaves and workmen are the nadir, the zenith are ascetics and brahmins. If he worships these quarters, he dwells profitably among his family.
>
> The wise man endowed with virtue, gentle and skilled in speech, of lowly conduct, not obstinate, such a one wins fame.
>
> Energetic, not lazy, he trembles not in misfortunes, of flawless conduct, intelligent, such a one wins fame.
>
> Friendly, a maker of friends, kind, free from avarice, guide, instructor, and adviser, such a one wins fame.
>
> Liberality, affability, useful conduct towards others, impartiality in affairs towards each according to his worth.
>
> Now these elements of sympathy in the world are like the linchpin of a chariot in making it go; without these elements of

sympathy a mother would get no respect or reverence for having a son, nor would a father.

Insofar as the wise ponder these elements of sympathy, to that extent do they attain greatness and become praised.[7]

Other texts such as the *Mahāmaṅgala Sutta* and *Parābhava Sutta* set forth basic prudential, social ethic; that is, the types of attitudes that are necessary for social harmony and prosperity in life. *The Parābhava Sutta* approaches the ethic from the negative side as the causes of downfall. One statement refers to the family: "Though being well-to-do, not to support father and mother who are old and past their youth—this is the cause of one's downfall." Thus, there is an emphasis on filial piety similar to what we find in the Confucian tradition.

Perhaps the most instructive and well-known Buddhist moral and spiritual text among lay people is the *Dhammapada*, or *The Way of Truth*. The opening lines of the text set the perspective which runs through the work. In Buddhism it is the state of mind that determines our actions and our destinies. Thus, it states:

All that we are is the result of what we have thought: it is founded on our thoughts. If a man speaks or acts with an evil thought, pain follows him, as the wheel follows the foot of the ox that draws the carriage . . . For hatred does not cease by hatred at any time; hatred ceases by love—this is an eternal law.[8]

The *Dhammapada* recognizes the principle of reciprocity similar to Confucianism:

All men tremble at punishment, all men fear death; remember that you are like unto them and do not kill nor cause to slaughter.[9]

In Buddha's first sermon, he gave the four noble truths concerning the cause and abolition of suffering. The way to be rid of suffering is through the practice of the Eightfold Noble Path. These eight requirements have frequently been given an ethical and moral interpretation for lay people. They include Right Views, Right Intent, Right Speech, Right Conduct, Right Means of Livelihood, Right Endeavor, Right Mindfulness, and Right Meditation. They move from the practical concerns of behavior to spiritual concentration.

Buddhism eventually evolved into two major traditions in the course of its history, the Theravāda of South Asia and the Mahayana of North and East Asia. The Mahayana traditions possess a higher evaluation of spiritual potential of lay people, who play a greater role in its teaching. Nevertheless, in its progression through Asia, the Mahayana was also monastic. It was highly criticized in China as anti-social, because the celibacy of the monks prevented the producing of offspring to carry on the family name and line. Some Mahayana sutras exalt the lay person and express a high social ideal. The Vows of Queen Śrīmālā are significant for Buddhist social awareness, as well as the Seventeen Point Constitution attributed to Prince Shōtoku in Japan. As example, we may give Queen Śrīmālā's Vows:

I will not be jealous of others or envy their possessions; I will not be selfish either in mind or property; I will try to make poor people happy with the things I receive, and I will not hoard them for myself.

I will receive all people courteously, give them what they need and speak kindly to them; consider their circumstances and not my convenience; and try to benefit them without partiality.[10]

Prince Shōtoku's constitution is significant for its combination of Buddhist and Confucian principles in laying the basis for a harmonious society. As examples of the Prince's social insight, we may call attention to Article Five which calls officials to resist bribery by controlling their desires and to deal impartially. He notes that if there is no impartiality, the complaints of a rich man are like throwing water into a stone. Article Ten calls for more reciprocal and tolerant attitudes among

people, because we are all common ordinary people and each has his own perspective. All of us combine wisdom and foolishness in ourselves and are not always right. In Article Two, the Prince calls for adherence to Buddhism as the means for correcting human nature, suggesting a deeper spiritual basis for morality and human relations.[11]

Because of the social situation of Buddhism in the East Asian countries particularly, it did not develop a specifically Buddhist ethic and morality in clear form but was integrated with Confucian teachings, stressing filial piety. Buddhist ritual relating to the dead became a major means of expressing reverence for one's ancestors and a vehicle for cultivating the appropriate attitudes of social responsibility and respect for authority. In general, Buddhism tended to be passive toward the social order—accepting it as one's destiny according to the law of Karma. Buddhist emphasis on one's ego as the source of problems caused people to look inward for the source of difficulties, translating it to self-blame. With the popular development of Buddhism as the ritual and ceremonial expression of Confucian filial piety, it also became formalized and externalized. The deeper inner resources and teachings could not easily be understood by the masses.

In China, Buddhism was regarded as a folk religion along with Religious Taoism, while in Japan it was revered as a bearer of culture and a rich resource throughout Japanese history. Over time, various monks taught among the people and more popular forms of Buddhism arose, such as Jodo Shinshu, which affirmed the value of lay life and universal hope for salvation.

The fundamental basis of Buddhist social attitudes rests on the principles of interdependence of all beings drawn from the understanding of the process of causation and the Oneness of all things implied in the principle of Voidness, or Emptiness. The cosmic universality of the Buddha nature taught in Mahayana indicates the essential spiritual equality of all beings who possess the Buddha-nature and will ultimately attain Buddhahood.

The underlying insight that is the basis of all Buddhist thought and practice is that the cause of our personal problems is egocentrism or egoism, the attitude of I, my and mine. It is stimulated by our belief in an eternal soul or essence. Our egoism creates delusions about our place in the world and prevents us from seeing deeper into our relationship to other beings. We are the center of our own world. This means that we only see things from our own standpoint and self-interest, and are generally blind to the needs and rights of others.

To deal with egoism, Buddhism offers disciplines which aim to deepen our awareness of our egoism and the changing nature of our existence. Thereby, we can be liberated from the attachment to ego. Buddhism, more than being a system of ethics, is a psychotherapy which deals with the foundations of action in our spiritual condition.

Buddhist inwardness has various implications. In turning away from the world, it can be passive and quietistic, focusing only on one's own inner problems. On the other hand, Buddhism can provide insight into human action and conflict and a more effective means to resolve such problems. It can motivate deep commitment to the welfare of others. The highest ideal of Mahayana Buddhism is the bodhisattva who sacrifices himself for others.

Buddhist values can be expressed in several commonly used Japanese terms which put the ego into context. These are *mottainai, okagesama-de, itadakimasu, arigatai, arigatō, dō itashimashite,* perhaps even *shikata-ga-nai* and *innen.*

These expressions reflect two dimensions of Buddhist perspective. *Mottainai* indicates unworthiness for what we have received. It suggests that we are undeserving (through our own inveterate egoism) to expect anything from others. The phrase *shikata-ga-nai,* though not directly Buddhist, reflects acceptance of a situation as it is. It is a recognition, seeing things as they really are. The same applies to the term *akiramemasu* which means to be resigned, but originally meant to clarify a situation. it does not mean just to give up,

but to act in terms of what is possible. It is a recognition of limits to our efforts.

The awareness of interdependence can be seen in the phrases of everyday greeting. *Okagesama de* means we have obtained some good fortune through the aid of something hidden. It may be the compassion of the Buddha as it is expressed in all the force and influences on our lives. *Arigatai* means literally "difficult to be." It indicates a mystery in things and draws the response of gratitude from us. Whatever happened is entirely unexpected and is essentially a miracle. We frequently hear this term conveying the sense that something is auspicious, blessed, or edifying. The phrase *arigatō*, or "thank you," says essentially the same thing, and *dō itashimashite*, or "you are welcome," points in the same direction and literally means, on the part of the doer of the good, "How do I do it." It is really something else at work. *Itadakimasu* means "to receive" and is the expression that is said before eating as a recognition of our dependence on others for our lives.

In all of these words and phrases, there is a recognition of a larger order of things, a process, of which we are all interrelated parts. It is not just my ego that makes everything work. The causes and conditions of my life, the people who make it up, give me the opportunity to do what I do. *Goen* and *Innen* directly indicate the process within which our lives unfold. They are the Buddhist terms for the process of cause and effect and interdependence.

Buddhism is frequently regarded as pessimistic or otherworldly, passive and inward. During the long history of Buddhism, many different aspects have evolved; however, at its depth, it is none of these characteristics, so long as they are regarded negatively. Through historical and social conditions in its spread through Asia, various characteristics have become more prominent. In our contemporary society and culture, other aspects of Buddhism need to be expressed.

The Buddhist understanding of egoism and its broad vision of the life process provides a deep spiritual basis for the values that are central in Confucius' thought. Buddhist social awareness attains a clearer expression in offering values and principles to guide contemporary people in their decision-making. Both perspectives, as expressions of Asian values, can balance the more competitive, aggressive and individualistic features of Western culture. They can mellow the problems and the relationships with our families when they are understood and taught adequately.

CONCLUSION

We have tried in this essay to suggest the nature of Confucius' teaching in the context of traditional emphases that grew up in Chinese history in order to broaden the understanding of Confucianism as mainly filial or merely filial piety. We have tried to show that it is not an authoritarian system merely advocating submission to elders and rulers, or a formalistic set of rules to be blindly obeyed. Confucius respected persons very highly and saw that all problems can find a solution if each person deals with the other in dignity and respect. The rulers and the elderly must themselves provide examples that will inspire the youth, while the youth must learn to be self-critical, extending respect to rulers and the elderly.

Buddhism points to the real problem in human relations—egoism. Only when we understand the nature of our egoism and become deeply aware of the larger world that creates and maintains our lives, physically, socially, and spiritually, can we resolve any problem. When we become aware of compassion in our own lives, then we can be motivated to realize the Confucian values in our daily lives; they integrate well together.

These ancient teachings remain relevant in the modern world. Despite technological advances, human beings and human relations are essentially what they have always been. Whatever our position in society, these values can be realized. Confucius never demanded perfection. He stressed that to walk a mile, one has to put one foot

in front of the other. We must start somewhere on our path. In Buddhism as a religion, there are transcendent goals and elevated experiences. There is mythology and philosophy. However, the fundamental basis of Buddhism in grappling with the problem of the ego is accessible and understandable by all.

Finally, these two philosophies which have been the basis of life for many people in our community and for the elderly, many of whom have migrated from Asia and shared deeply in them, are immensely important for dealing with personal and social problems relating to the elderly, as well as to society in general. I hope that, just as the communist government of the Peoples' Republic of China is finding out how significant Confucius' thought is, we Americans will also discover the richness of these Asian teachings.

FOOTNOTES

1. *Honolulu Advertiser*, 12 October 1985.

2. Mary Lelia Makra, trans. *Hsiao Ching* (New York: St. John's University Press, 1985), p. 13.

3. Arthur Waley, trans., *Analects*, II, 3 (New York: Random House, 1938), p. 88.

4. Waley, *Analects*, XII, 7, p. 164.

5. Waley, *Analects*, XVII, 6, p. 211.

6. Waley, *Analects*, SIS, p. 226.

7. E.J. Thomas, ed., *Early Buddhist Scriptures: Digha-Nikaya, II, 180: Siṅgālovāda Sutta* (London: Kegal Paul, Trench Trubner & Co., 1935), pp. 151-152.

8. E.A. Burtt, ed., *The Teachings of the Compassionate Buddha* (New York: New American Library, 1955), p. 52.

9. Burtt, p. 59.

10. *The Teaching of the Buddha*, Japanese-English edition (Tokyo: Bukkyo Dendō Kyōkai, 1966), p. 452.

11. William T. De Bary, ed., *The Sources of Japanese Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958-59).

The Four Noble Truths: A Scientific Perspective

by Clarence Hisatsune

INTRODUCTION

If asked by a non-Buddhist to give a concise description of what Buddhism means, I would select the Four Noble Truths as an appropriate representation of basic Buddhism. According to various traditions, these four Truths appear in Gautama Buddha's very first teaching, which led to the enlightenment of his former attendant monk Kauṇḍinya. Some forty-five years later on the very last day of his life on this earth, the Buddha still referred to the Four Noble Truths, this time to open the eyes of Subhadra at Kuśinagara. In the last instructions to his disciples, the Buddha is said to have repeated three times: "If you still have some doubt as to the Four Noble Truths, promptly question me in order to resolve it. Do not leave your doubt unresolved."[1] It seems, therefore, that a central theme in the teachings of the Buddha may, indeed, be the Four Noble Truths and that their comprehension may be a prerequisite to our understanding of Buddhism.

The subject of human suffering is a concern of all religions, but the Buddha's analysis of this universal human problem may be considered as having been crystallized into the Four Noble Truths. However, the world in which the Buddha lived and carried out his analysis has undergone unprecedented changes. In terms of understanding our physical and biological world of which we are an integral part, a great gulf exists between the Buddha's world and ours. Under such circumstances it is not unreasonable to examine from a modern standpoint Buddhist ideas and teachings transmitted to us through the sutras. This approach may reveal the underlying principles that were presumably expounded by the Buddha and should be timeless as distinguished from later descriptive presentations which may no longer be valid today. In this paper, I wish to present an analysis of the Four Noble Truths based upon a current scientific understanding of our world. The readers are forewarned that the views expressed here are those of one physical scientist attempting to look into the world of Buddhism.

FORMAT OF THE FOUR NOBLE TRUTHS

A condensed version of the Four Noble Truths, which summarizes the essential points from various versions found in common Buddhist literature, is presented in the table below. The contents of this table provide the basis of the present analysis.

An Outline of the Four Noble Truths

Truth	Subject	Content
1	Existence of Suffering	Birth into This World
2	Cause of Suffering	Conscious and Unconscious Self-Gratification
3	Cessation of Suffering	Extinction of Self-Gratification
4	Guide to Cessation	Eightfold Path

The first step in this analysis will deal with the question of why the Buddha employed this particular format of four categories of "Truths" to represent his analysis of a very complex human problem. The phenomena of suffering cover a wide range of human experience, so why should such a far-reaching study be summarized in just these four groups of relatively brief statements? It is immediately apparent to anyone doing scientific research that this presentation has a sound logical foundation. This format is what is today referred to as "the scientific method", and it is used in the conduct of research and in the reporting of research results in scientific journals.

The First Truth corresponds to a statement of the problem or an identification of the problem. Such a statement, obvious and even trivial as it may seem, is essential in order to focus one's attention precisely on a specific problem. It also happens to correspond to a cardinal rule in an experimental research laboratory that each worker be fully aware of why he or she is doing a particular experiment so that accidents can be avoided and that any clue however small would not be overlooked. The origin or the cause of the problem is described in Truth No. 2. This is the research phase that traditionally requires the greatest amount of time and resources. For those who enjoy conducting experimental studies, this is the step that provides the greatest interest because during this phase usually more problems are uncovered than are solved. A solution to the problem is presented in the Third Truth. Often, research is terminated at this stage because a solution has now been found. However to have a properly completed research, one must go a step beyond this mere identification of a solution and consider what the solution really means and what consequences it may have. For example, some practical applications of the solution may be presented or a more general solution may be formulated so that all related problems would be solved once for all. The Buddha has done just that by proposing his Fourth Noble Truth which is a practical guide and a general solution to the cessation of suffering.

The Four Noble Truths, therefore, represent a concise report of a carefully planned scientific study of a complex human problem of suffering. It is the product of an exceptionally logical and, at the same time, pragmatic mind.

NATURE OF SUFFERING

The focus of the Four Noble Truths is suffering as it is clearly specified in the First Truth. This fact has been occasionally used to advance an argument that Buddhism presents a dismal view of human life and that Buddhists are overly concerned about human suffering and death. Such a view can be justified particularly with respect to practices in traditional Japanese Buddhist temples where activities often appear to be devoted almost exclusively to memorial and funeral services. However, such practices ignore a basic Buddhist principle of the Middle Way which, while acknowledging that there are always two opposing extremes in every human behavior and experience, teaches us to be aware of but avoid all such extremes. Accordingly in a discussion on human suffering, it must be remembered that there is also happiness and pleasure in our lives. Because we appreciate happiness and pleasure, we can also comprehend suffering. Suffering enhances happiness just as salt enhances the sweetness of sucrose, as every chef knows. It is interesting to note that in the very first teaching of the Buddha the discussion of the Four Noble Truths is preceded by an introduction to the Principle of the Middle Way. This sequence in the presentation of his teaching may be another reflection of the Buddha's logic.

Our understanding of suffering changes with time and place; or in scientific language, suffering is a time- and space-dependent phenomenon. Advances in science and medicine as well as knowledge gained through global communication and travel continually modify our view about the nature of human pain and suffering. What was considered to be an example of suffering yesterday

may not be one today. There are many diseases that caused human suffering previously but not presently. It was not too long ago that a proof of immunization against many contagious diseases was required for overseas travel, but now such requirements have been greatly relaxed. A practice may be a cause of suffering in one community but not in another. Personal difficulties arising from various social rules or from dietary restrictions such as those concerning consumption of certain kinds of food are examples of suffering derived from social or religious customs. Most importantly, suffering is fundamentally a personal experience. Any pain that one feels is one's private experience, and no amount of sympathy from others can cause its total elimination. Suffering is a non-transferable experience, an experience one faces because one is alive and living in this world.

If suffering is dependent on our existence, can there be suffering in the absence of human species? Does nature, including all other living beings, experience suffering? Geological and fossil records show abundant evidence of fires, floods and extinctions of living species long before humans evolved on this planet. In fact, extinction of species seems to have been the rule rather than an exception. Who is to say whether such extinctions, regardless of their causes, represent suffering or non-suffering? Humans have no more control over such natural events than they have in preventing our sun from rising from the eastern horizon each morning. The concept of suffering is a human invention. Suffering exists because we exist. This conclusion is just what seems to be summarized in the First Noble Truth.

CAUSE OF SUFFERING

Why our existence is the cause of suffering is not difficult to trace. Each of us has personal likes and dislikes, perhaps addictions, phobias, and biases of one sort or another. These traits cause suffering, the object of which is always ourselves. To answer why this is so requires us initially to establish what this object, our individual "self", is. We need to define this "self," and it must be done scientifically so that it will describe one and only one individual uniquely and completely. It must distinguish this individual from all other beings of the past, the present, and the future.

There are two features with which all of us are endowed that can be used as a satisfactory definition of the "self". One is the individual's set of genes that is present in the nucleus of every cell in his or her body. The second is the set of information that is stored in a person's brain at any given moment. These representations of the "self" can be called the "genetic self" and the "cerebral self", respectively. Each of these definitions identifies an individual partially but together they characterize him or her completely and uniquely. Our individual identity has this dual nature of "mind" and "body", and it depends totally on our cerebral and genetic selves. Since it will be informative to examine this view of ourselves in greater detail, let me describe, as an example, the origin of my genetic and cerebral self.

DUAL NATURE OF SELF

My set of genes was first assembled when my mother's egg cell, which contained only a half-set of her genes, united with my father's sperm cell with his half-set of genes. The resulting full set of human genes in the nucleus of the fertilized egg cell transmitted to me all hereditary information from my parents and their ancestors as well as genetic information that developed through countless life-cycles from the very beginning of life on this planet. Encoded in my genes is this evolutionary history of life that eventually led to my present existence. My genes make me what I am, that I am Japanese by ethnic origin, and Asian in racial origin, a homo sapien, and a warm-blooded, omnivorous biped. My physical characteristics represented by my features, fingerprints, etc., and my physiological characteristics such as blood type and the immune system are all governed by my

genes. All this amazing amount of information was encoded in the very first set of genes that formed in the fertilized egg cell from which I developed. This is my genetic origin; it is my genetic self, a self that I inherited.

The single fertilized egg cell, which marked the beginning of my genetic self, soon divided into two cells with the original set of genes cloning into two identical sets, one set for each cell. The two cells then divided into four cells, the four into eight, and so on with gene cloning taking place each time. As the number of cells increased, cells began to form groupings and to develop specialized functions leading to the formation of my brain and other body parts. Just when a human brain starts to store non-genetic information is not clear, but it is not unreasonable to assume that as soon as my brain cells began to develop, I started to accumulate cerebral information arising from external stimulations. After birth there was undoubtedly an exponential growth in the amount of information that was generated by my six senses and was stored in my brain. This process is expected to continue throughout my lifetime until my brain ceases to function and I am brain dead.

My set of cerebral information that I developed in the above manner is undergoing perpetual change. Nevertheless, at any instant it is a unique representation of my "self". An exact reproduction of this set of information by another individual, be it my identical twin if I had one, is not possible. This cerebral self is an acquired self, for I cannot inherit a ready-made set of information. I must accumulate every bit of data, one by one, personally, through a time-consuming process of learning.

The cerebral self and the genetic self are interrelated. One cannot survive without the other unless there is external intervention. Under laboratory conditions, human cells and tissues can be kept alive essentially indefinitely. Since the donor's genes are still present in such living specimens, one has in effect the survival of a donor's genetic self in the absence of its cerebral self. A donor's body organ that is functioning in a transplanted patient is another example of the survival of a genetic self without its associated cerebral self. In general, however, without such heroic intervention a genetic self cannot exist without its cerebral counterpart. Our bodies require a functioning brain to survive.

CEREBRAL ORIGIN OF SUFFERING

Having established that we can be represented by our cerebral self, we can now examine why a functioning brain becomes a source of suffering. Terms found in everyday language such as "mental health", "nervous breakdown", and "psychological problems" provide ample evidence that without the cerebral self these problems could not be experienced. What about physical or bodily pain and suffering? It is less obvious in these cases, but all physical pains are also brain-based experiences. An electrical signal originating from a malfunction site in our body, be it a broken bone or an empty stomach, must reach the brain and be recognized as a pain signal before we feel any pain. If this signal is short-circuited, for example, by some chemical anesthetics or by an acupuncture treatment, we would not experience this pain. A functioning brain is absolutely necessary for us to experience physical and mental sufferings.

A brain may be necessary to feel pain, but why should a brain distinguish between pain and non-pain signals? What makes us avoid actions and behaviors that lead to the generation of pain signals? To say that we learn from experience to avoid pain is too simplistic and furthermore does not answer the fundamental question of why we try to avoid pain in the first place. We avoid pain because its cause may threaten our life. That is, our survival instincts make us avoid all painful experiences. These same instincts also encourage us to repeat experiences that enhances our life. Our brain which represents our cerebral self is trying to gratify the cravings of our genetic self.

GENETIC ORIGIN OF SUFFERING

Our genetic self protects us from external threats and prolongs and propagates our life. Wanting not to die, wanting to live longer, and craving to procreate are all powerful manifestations of this inherited self. Just how powerful such an instinct is can be illustrated by a few examples.

We have all experienced hunger pains. These are signals that our stomach sends to our brain telling of its need for nourishment in order for the body to survive. If the brain does not respond or is unable to fulfill this requirement, the body will start to feed on itself. Body fat, body tissues, and even bone marrow begin to be consumed to sustain the body. Eventually, the body turns into skin and bones and perishes. This is the phenomenon of starvation, and the cerebral self is incapable of preventing the genetic self from such self-destructive acts. The same survival instincts give rise to our bodily immune system that protects us from foreign bacterial attacks, to the clotting of our blood which prevents us from bleeding to death from superficial wounds, and to our natural reflexes that automatically cause us to blink our eyes or shield our face and body with our hands and arms when an unexpected sudden external movement occurs.

Our identity started with the formation of a single fertilized human egg cell and then from its subsequent successive divisions into numerous cells. What drove the sperm cell to unite with the egg cell? What caused each cell to divide one after another? These events are also consequences of the genetic self, and they represent a basic human desire to prolong and to propagate life.

A genetic self is present in all living things, but what distinguishes humans from other living species is that the human genetic self is moderated by its cerebral counterpart. Our bodily instincts are tempered by our minds. In fact, a human mind can overcome completely these genetic instincts and can lead to self destruction of the body as in cases of martyrdom and suicides. However, while one remains alive, there is no way that one's cerebral self can have complete control over the genetic self. Being born a human, one can never overcome this fundamental limitation set by one's genetic self.

THIRD NOBLE TRUTH AND ITS REALIZATION

The cessation of suffering is the subject of the Third Truth. Before we examine the way to cessation suggested in this Truth, let us review other available methods of eliminating suffering, particularly those arising from bodily malfunctions. It was implied earlier in our discussion of the cerebral self that physical pain or suffering is becoming less of a problem for us. With the availability of many kinds of painkilling chemicals, there is no longer any reason for anyone to suffer prolonged physical pains. Advancements in our knowledge of physiological and neurological origins of pain are expected to lead to better and more effective drugs, and it may not be long before all humans can expect to live a life almost devoid of pains and sufferings originating from our bodies.

A better understanding of various forms of mental sufferings is also being gained today. Some mental distresses have been traced to genetic origins or to some lack, or an over-abundance, of specific chemical substances, making clinical treatments a possibility. We are now recognizing many mental sufferings as symptoms of diseases and hence medically treatable. There has been a rapid growth in the number of medical professionals, psychologists, therapists, and counselors who specialize in studying and treating mental disorders. Although progress in relieving such sufferings has been relatively slow compared to that in treating physical pains, future prospects seem promising. Therefore, cessation of suffering arising from our cerebral self appears to be realizable, and some day that goal may no longer be a major consideration of the Third Noble Truth.

Cessation of suffering arising from the genetic self is entirely a different problem. The im-

possibility of a complete denial of this self by the cerebral self has already been mentioned. As long as we remain alive, mentally and bodily, we are under the ceaseless influence of the genetic self. Basic instincts originating from this self cannot be turned on or off consciously or unconsciously. Even a practice of celibacy is unlikely to lead to a complete suppression of our sexual desires or our instinct to procreate. Neither can meditation nor dietary practice absolve us from the fundamental requirement of life, that of taking other lives to sustain our own. Making a dietary distinction between animal and non-animal sources is an arbitrary gesture, for there is no scientific justification for drawing any such line. All beings, humans, insects, animals, fish, plants, and even microbes, have survival instincts and resist death. No living thing deserves or desires death to become food directly or indirectly for another life. Living by killing is a natural law, neither good nor bad, that all beings are destined to follow.

It should be evident from this analysis that our instincts or cravings arising from the genetic self cannot be eradicated. It can only be moderated by our mind. A complete denial of this genetic self is beyond the power of a mortal being. This seems to be a disturbing conclusion because it implies that we are incapable of realizing the goals of the Third Noble Truth. Fortunately, such a pessimistic conclusion is not necessary because a solution to our difficulty is given in the Fourth Noble Truth.

THE FOURTH NOBLE TRUTH

A way of achieving cessation of suffering is presented in the last category of Truths. Amazingly, we find here no mention of the denial of one's self, either of cerebral origin or of genetic origin. Neither are we told to abandon our secular life in order to eliminate suffering, nor are we given any specific remedy for curing these pains. What we find here instead is a set of eight actions, all very positive and practical, that is said to lead to the cessation of suffering. These suggestions, rather than being religious rules, seem to be straightforward guidelines for an active but sensible and harmonious life in this real world. There is a quality of timelessness and universality in these suggested actions; they can be followed easily by anyone regardless of his or her religious background. These guidelines hold true not just for the Indian society of 2,500 years ago but also for our own technologically advanced world. It is truly remarkable and totally unexpected that such a pragmatic solution represented by the Eightfold Path was proposed by the Buddha as a way to the cessation of human suffering. This solution is so surprising and at the same time so simple that a careful analysis of this solution is called for, especially since this Path is fundamental to all Buddhist traditions.

A common representation of the Eightfold Path consists of right view, right thought, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right meditation. While there may be some minor variations in the translated English terms (e.g., view vs. understanding, thought vs. aspiration, action vs. behavior, mindfulness vs. thought, and meditation vs. concentration or contemplation), there appears to be a general agreement on the order in which these actions were proposed by the Buddha. Our first question, therefore, concerns the significance of this ordering. After all, the Buddha appears to have been an extraordinarily logical teacher, and it is unlikely that he would have presented the results of his analysis of human behavior in a random manner.

First we note that the actions recommended in the Eightfold Path involve neither our survival instincts nor our natural reflexes. All are associated with our cerebral self and are consequences of a functioning brain. In fact, by considering the Eightfold Path as a representation of a general human brain activity, we discover that there is indeed logic in the order of presentation of these eight categories of actions. This logic can best be shown by considering our brain and its activities to

be equivalent to a modern electronic computer and its workings. The analogy between a human brain and a computer is a good one, and there is much similarity in how each works and is used. At the present time, however, a human brain seems to be superior to a computer except perhaps in computing speed and in data retention. A computer seldom forgets but we often do.

The "brain" of an electronic computer is called the central processing unit (CPU), and it is usually located in a box below the video monitor in most personal computers. The CPU learns to do things by being "programmed" in various, non-English, machine languages which we fortunately are not required to learn. For a computer to be functional, it must have in addition to a CPU, an input system and an output system. An input system, usually consisting of a keyboard and disk drives, is very much like our six sense organs, and it permits our "brain" to acquire data and to receive additional instructions. After the data is processed by the "brain", the results are directed to the output system where they may be printed out on some device or be translated into mechanical motions as in automation processes. The CPU can also be programmed to optimize the output data in some specified manner by including a feedback mechanism in the computer. By such feedback processes, both the input and output data can be selectively screened.

With the above brief description of the use and workings of an electronic computer, we can now view the Eightfold Path. Firstly, "right view" and "right thought" correspond to the computer's input process, and through them our brain acquires knowledge (data). Information generated through our six senses all channel through these input activities. Secondly, the brain's output system is represented by "right speech", "right action", and "right livelihood". In this case, "speech" gives directly the brain's output by audio means whereas "action" and "livelihood" more closely resemble the output in automated systems controlled by the CPU. Finally, the functions of the CPU itself are represented by "right effort", "right mindfulness", and "right meditation". Here, "effort" may be considered to be the power supply of the CPU, and without effort nothing can be accomplished. Inclusion of an optimization feedback process in the CPU is also implied by the qualifier "right" attached to "mindfulness" and "meditation". Through these feedback processes, the optimum choice between "right" and "not right" can be made, thereby satisfying the Principle of the Middle Way. Under such circumstances, the input data will become a source of not just new information but of wisdom, and the output activities will automatically reflect true compassion.

The above analysis provides once again strong evidence of the Buddha's logic and of his astounding understanding of the workings of a human brain. What he presents in the Fourth Noble Truth is not just a way to the cessation of suffering but the essence of Buddhism itself. One cannot help but develop the two basic goals of Buddhism, wisdom and compassion, by following the Eightfold Path.

CONCLUSION

A critical examination of the Four Noble Truths from a scientific standpoint reveals that these Truths are based on a truly remarkable understanding of human brain and bodily functions. The concise statements that summarize the Truths concerning the existence, the origin, and the cessation of suffering are in complete accord with conclusions derived by tracing the origins of human suffering to genetic and cerebral sources. Difficulties due to human limitations in achieving a cessation of suffering by the elimination of cravings may have been foreseen by the Buddha, because a surprisingly pragmatic solution is offered in the Fourth Noble Truth. The Eightfold Path that requires a deep and critical awareness of our real world can, indeed, serve as a rational guide to a life of compassion and wisdom.

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The Lay Zen Buddhist Sangha in the West

by Robert Aitken

The Buddha Sangha in Western Mahāyāna centers is not the same in organizational form as that in traditional Far Eastern cultures. It is different again from Buddhist communities in South and Southeast Asia, and still again from those which developed in the Buddha's time. A quick survey of all these past forms is useful in understanding what the Buddha Sangha has become in the West, and how it might evolve.[1]

Democracy, it seems, was firmly in place in the Śākya clan when the Buddha was born. Generally speaking, the Śākyas and nearby clans were governed by assemblies. An elected facilitator presided over these gatherings, and served as administrator in intervals between them. The Buddha's father was apparently such a leader.

These administrators, the constitutions of the clans, and the assemblies were natural secular models for the Three Treasures of Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha, as the metaphysics of Buddhism began to take form. The Buddha's injunctions to his followers to work out their own salvation had important sociological roots. Where there is no supreme ruler, personal responsibility emerges. Where there is no God, the monks are on their own.

However, from our perspective, we can see flaws in the earliest Sangha. Women did not have equal status, and their "wiles and ways" were condemned by the Buddha himself in the sermons which come down to us. It seems that women were only admitted to the Sangha after it was well established, and even then as subordinate to monks.

After the Buddha's death and as his religion found acceptance, wealthy men and kings began patronizing the Buddhist elders, and democracy within the Sangha started to break down. Spiritual self-reliance weakened to some degree, and responsibility for Sangha administration became more and more the job of the teachers. At first, "Refuge in the Sangha" was among the laity an altruistic investment in people who devoted themselves to the Dharma, but it became tainted with existing Hindu beliefs that giving monks economic support was a way of accumulating merit for rebirth into circumstances conducive to ordination in the next life. This was one factor in the development of the Sangha as a venerated class.

Another factor was the separation of the Sangha from the lay community. Though Buddhism has never been a worldly religion, and the Buddha's concern in establishing monasteries was to teach his monks the deepest spiritual truths in this world, monks "left the house" for secluded living arrangements, rigorously guided by the Vinaya to avoid worldly impurities. Thus while communication with the lay community was carefully structured into the earliest Sangha guidelines, the development of exclusive fellowship began with the first ordination ceremonies. Hierarchy is the natural form of an exclusive class, so democracy never really had a chance. A similar breakdown can also be traced in Indian society generally, with trust placed more and more in distinguished leaders.

Yet the Buddha's own teaching was egalitarian and democratic to the core. The doctrines of no-self and impermanence point directly to śūnyatā and the complete absence of distinctions. Full ex-

pression of śūnyatā is found in the Prajñāparamitā compendium of sutras in the Mahāyāna, which states unequivocally that things pass away because they are essentially empty.

The history of the Mahāyāna is the account of how this revelation gradually sank into the consciousness of Northern Buddhists. The distinction between laity and monks eroded little by little, and in Japan we can distinguish milestones that mark this change—the appearance of Saichō and the Bodhisattva Precepts which can apply to both lay and clerical classes, the Kamakura Reformation which brought religious practice within the reach of all people and which permitted priests to marry, and finally Western influences that brought new archetypal tools to justify further changes. All this change was possible with the realization that fundamentally there are no dichotomies: no birth-and-death; no priest-and-lay person.

Also implicit in the Buddha's original teaching is the doctrine of interpenetration and intercontainment which finds full expression in the Hua-yen sutras. Co-dependent arising, an essential element in the Buddha's realization under the Bodhi tree, was the first enunciation of the Net of Indra in Buddhist terms—the multi-dimensional net in which every point is a jewel that perfectly reflects every other jewel—the metaphor which is central to the Hua-yen. This is the last great development of Buddhist metaphysics, and its implications are still working change in the Mahāyāna as it develops in Western society.

In surveying modern Western Buddhism, two groups of expatriates, the new and the old, can be distinguished, as can a group of indigenous Buddhists. The new expatriates, Tibetan, Vietnamese, and other culturally identifiable Buddhists are cut off from their home countries. Though colonies of Tibetans in Northern India work to retain and nurture their home culture, those who have come abroad have quickly adjusted to Western circumstances, and have established Dharma centers in many American European cities with members drawn almost entirely from people of European antecedents.

Vietnamese and other Southeast Asian expatriates, on the other hand, are still suffering from the loss of their home ties. They seek to heal themselves in the course of maintaining the Dharma, and so far cannot reach out to the larger Western community. The single exception is Thich Nhat Hanh and his followers in Duras, France, who concern themselves with international issues of hunger and child welfare.

Meantime the older expatriate sects, originating in Japan, China, and Korea, continue to draw upon headquarters in Kyoto, Hong Kong, Taipei, and Seoul for leadership. The Honpa Hongwanji of Hawaii, for example, has been established for a hundred years, yet its first American born and educated bishop was appointed as recently as 1975. Such old-time expatriate Buddhist organizations are only slowly acculturating, and have lost to Western Christianity and humanism many of the brightest people who were born into their temples.

Certain Japanese priests, particularly in the Zen sect, have chosen to work in the broader Western society, rather than just among their compatriots, beginning with Senzaki Nyogen Sensei in 1928. Korean and Chinese priests also have followed such a path. Indigenous Western Mahāyāna Buddhism has developed around these teachers, now with native-born leaders emerging here and there. In the United States, most of the new indigenous Zen centers have monks, nuns, and lay members, with ordained people taking most of the leadership responsibility. One exception is the Diamond Sangha in Hawaii which is entirely lay with a lay teacher. Another is the Sino-American Buddhist Association of San Francisco, which is entirely clerical, with Theravāda standards for membership in the Sangha.

As a completely lay organization, the Diamond Sangha faces a number of special challenges. With staff limited to volunteers and two part-time paid employees at one of its six centers, the continuity of the teaching, the cultivation of

leadership, and the maintenance of schedule and facilities all are at risk, for the organization is almost entirely dependent on the time and energy its members can afford to take from their families, careers, and education. At the same time, I sense that ordinary members tend to assume responsibility for their religion, and are less passive than members elsewhere in matters of Sangha administration.

Established in 1959 as a center where Nakagawa Sōen Rōshi might lead annual retreats for American students, the Diamond Sangha has passed through several phases and now is affiliated with the Sanbōkyōdan sect of Zen Buddhism in Kamakura, and has centers in Honolulu, on the island of Maui, in Nevada City, California, Tucson, Arizona, and in Sydney and Perth, Australia. The Sanbōkyōdan is a small, independent sect of Japanese Zen Buddhism that developed in the Harada-Yasutani line of Soto Zen, and is led by Yamada Kōun Rōshi, administrator of a large medical clinic in Tokyo. Except for priests and nuns who were ordained elsewhere, its membership is entirely lay, and it has no residential community. Members gather twice monthly for day-long Sunday retreats, and for periodic sesshins (seclusions) of five to seven days. The foreign members have begun meeting regularly in the evenings, often without the teacher's presence and without Japanese members who face work and transportation schedules which do not permit them the luxury of frequent participation. My impression is that the Sanbōkyōdan is the largest and best organized of the few completely lay Zen Buddhist organizations in Japan.

The Diamond Sangha has a residential community in three of its six centers, and each center holds regular evening meetings as well as weekend retreats and longer sesshins. Members seem to strike a balance between personal responsibilities and responsibilities to the temple without too much difficulty, but they acknowledge problems in maintaining and carrying forward a compassionate spirit in our acquisitive society. Sometimes their Bodhisattva ideals seem irrelevant, even in nonprofit organizations. Consumerism, drugs, alcohol, and an exploitive spirit permeate the Western life style, and Zen practice can become just a sanctuary and a way to maintain personal equilibrium.

Nonetheless, it seems to me that perhaps the egalitarian tendencies of Western culture give a strictly lay center like the Diamond Sangha a better chance to apply the Buddha's teaching of nondiscrimination and interpenetration than centers which still practice ordination. Though Western centers with monks and nuns do have an easier time maintaining a program, they must deal with the cultist tendencies that appear with a priestly class. Power corrupts, even in a religious organization, and such a problem can be avoided where there is no sub-grouping from the outset. In seeking guidance on the lay path, the social history of Mahāyāna Buddhism in the Far East is quite instructive. The older religions of Confucianism, Taoism, and Shinto were entrenched when Buddhism appeared, so the new religion was accepted on sufferance, as a guest, so to speak. It survived in monastic enclaves, and then as the monastic system started to break down the elders found it necessary to cooperate closely with worldly authority, a practice that continues to the present day. The willingness of Rinzai Zen temples in modern Japan to hold retreats for new employees of large industries strictly as a way to drill them in conformity is an example of how extensively the Buddha Dharma can become a tool of secular interests.

It is in the Buddha's innermost teaching of non-discrimination and interpenetration that lay Western Buddhists can find inspiration. And just as Pai-chang and his colleagues devised ways for the monk to apply religious experience in daily monastery life back in the T'ang period, so lay Zen students must find skillful means to apply their insights in the modern world of repairing refrigerators and raising children.

The "Pure Conduct Chapter" of the *Hua-yen Sūtra* offers a gāthā for taking food, but not for

taking a drink, or refusing it. The Buddha set forth Right Livelihood as part of the Eightfold Path, but he did not discuss the role of the waitress who must serve whiskey as well as food, pork as well as tofu. Suppose a Zen student works in a store selling agricultural supplies. He sells deadly chemicals as well as things that nurture life. If he promotes natural fertilizer over chemical, but the store makes more profit with chemicals, then he will be out of a job very soon, and his family will suffer.

I like the idea suggested by Thich Nhat Hanh at a recent conference that Western Sangha members write their own gāthā. I also like the method worked out in Quaker organizations for mutual support through sharing meetings. And it seems to me that something as expressive of commitment as "leaving the house" must be worked out. The First Bodhisattva Vow, "Though the many beings are numberless, I vow to save them," has been recited in Mahāyāna monasteries for fourteen centuries. Monastery walls and government demands no longer limit the fulfillment of this vow. Reifying it becomes the practice.

Indigenous Mahāyāna centers in the United States have not yet begun this new path. Some are suffering severe problems, even scandals, that seem related to poor communication, hierarchical organization, and neglect of the Buddha Dharma. With these problems receiving wide public attention, the indigenous American Sangha is at a turning point, and many serious students are evaluating themselves and their religious purposes.

My own evaluation is that anarchism in organization, subsistence living as life style, and the Bodhisattva ideal form the true Buddhist path, now that we in the West are free of old cultural constraints. In our own culture, the Catholic Worker provides a model for this path. In that movement, participants work together to feed the poor, using food that is edible but not salable at supermarkets, and using their own income from part-time jobs to cover expenses. There are no federal grants to the Catholic Worker, and all decisions are made by consensus within the small collectives. Networking between the collectives is informal, and there is no overall authority.

"Taking up the cross" is not that different from the Bodhisattva ideal, and the model of a community that is dedicated to helping others can be instructive generally to Zen students. However, my impression is that the Catholic Worker is beset by problems of burnout, and that Zen students can learn from its mistakes as well as from its virtues.

The virtues are: responsibility, participatory democracy, a way of life that avoids exploiting the environment, and a dedication to service. The lesson is that one needs lots of space for formal religious practice and recreation (re-creation) to sustain Bodhisattva work.

How does one become a teacher in an anarchist organization? I think that the teacher is one who earns that role, the way head men and women earned their roles in traditional societies, by the building of virtue and wisdom. In Far Eastern Zen practice, the prospective teacher may be nominated by the retiring teacher, but he (always he in those patriarchal societies) is confirmed as master by the group itself. The Dharma dialogue included as part of the ceremony of installing a new teacher involves the prospective teacher and the students. If the dialogue does not go well, then the nominee is not accepted by the Sangha. The hierarchical system tends to take over the Buddha Dharma, however. I attended a ceremony to install a new teacher several years ago at a famous Rinzai Zen monastery in Japan where the Dharma dialogue was printed in the program in advance. Still, the tradition for Sangha power cannot be erased, and it is that tradition, I believe, that now must be put into practice again.

Exaltation of the teacher is the way of the cult. Taking charge as the Sangha is the way to avoid cultist corruption. Putting heads and hearts together to generate synergistic responsibility for the Three Treasures will make the Bodhisattva ideal a force for change in streets and public houses, and bring fulfillment on the Buddha's path to participation.

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The Growth of Korean Buddhism in the United States, With Special Reference to Southern California

by Eui-Young Yu

INTRODUCTION

Since the Immigration Act of 1965 removed the severe restrictions on Asian immigrants, the Korean population in the United States experienced an accelerated growth. The number of Koreans in the U.S. increased from about 70,000 in 1970 to more than 700,000 in 1988. Approximately 33,000 Koreans immigrate to the U.S. annually. About one-third of all Koreans in the U.S. live in California, concentrated especially in Southern California. As of 1988, approximately 150,000 Koreans reside in Los Angeles and Orange counties.

There are approximately 400 Christian churches, 15 Buddhist temples, 150 secondary associations, 32 newspapers, two television stations, and one 24-hour radio station serving Koreans in Southern California.[1] These organizations provide a basic network for the dispersed immigrants to interact with each other and form an associational community.[2] Their cultural and artistic activities are conducted through these organizations. They maintain strong ethnic ties and adhere to their linguistic and cultural traditions through these organizations.

Religious institutions play an especially important role in the Korean community. A number of surveys conducted in Los Angeles, New York, and Chicago reveal that about 70 percent of Koreans are affiliated with Christian churches.[3] While the proportion of Buddhists is not clearly determined, a survey conducted in the Los Angeles Korean community in 1981 showed that 5.3 percent of the respondents identified themselves as such.[4] Do Ahn Sunim, a leading monk in the Los Angeles Buddhist community, estimates, however, that about 15 percent of Koreans in Southern California are Buddhists. Korean churches in America, whether they are Christian or Buddhist, not only respond to the spiritual needs of the community but also perform a variety of secular functions.

Churches are the focal point of social interaction for the majority of the immigrants and the center of their community life. Korean values and traditions are reinforced through church activities. Most large-size churches maintain Korean language and culture programs; worship and other church programs are conducted mainly in Korean. Buddhist temples, although small in number and membership compared to Christian churches, maintain similar functions and activities.

There are three distinct paths by which Korean Buddhism is being rooted in American soil. One is through the work of individual Zen teachers. They work on individual bases and their main targets are Westerners. Such activities began in 1964 when Seo Kyongbo Sunim came to visit America and started giving Dharma talks to small groups of people in the New York area. A few years later, in 1972, Seung Sahn Sunim began organized Zen activities in Providence, Rhode Island. Several other Zen masters have been particularly active in spreading Korean Buddhism to American, Canadian, and European audiences.

Another method of spreading Buddhism has been through the activities of temples located in

cities where Koreans are concentrated. Since the first Korean temple appeared (in Carmel, California in 1972), the number has since grown to sixty-seven with about 25,000 active members.[5] The Won Kak Sa temple (Abbot: Bop An) in New York draws approximately 300 worshipers (one fifth of the 2,500 registered members) to its Sunday pophoe.[6] Dae Won Sa in Honolulu also has 2,500 registered members.[7] The average attendance at Sunday pophoe at the Kwan Um Sa temple in Los Angeles is about 150. The temple has 670 registered members. In Los Angeles, there are 15 temples that conduct their services in Korean and mainly serve the needs of first generation Korean immigrants.

The third path has been through research and teaching by scholars specializing in Korean Buddhism. These scholars are making contributions by writing books in English and teaching courses on Korean Buddhism in American universities. Several Ph.D.'s have been awarded to scholars specialized in Korean Buddhism.[8]

KOREAN ZEN TEACHERS

Several Korean monks have actively engaged in promoting Korean Son (Zen: meditation) Buddhism in North America. Due to their efforts, the number of Zen centers (as well as the number of American and Canadian followers) has increased greatly in recent years. Their activities are all on an individual basis and there has been no coordinated effort between them. Although they all stress meditation, their approaches and emphases vary significantly.

The Korean monk who started Zen teaching in America was Seo Kyungbo Sunim, who visited Columbia University in 1964 and stayed in the country for six years. He moved from one city to another giving talks on Korean Buddhism. "I employed a unique method of using the rented house as a temple site. So whenever I moved to a new place, I was able to meet more people and teach Buddha's messages to the American audience," he recalled.[9] Returning to Korea, he served as Dean of the Buddhist College at Dong Kuk University.

Since 1973 he has made frequent visits to America delivering Dharma talks to both Korean and American audiences. He also held numerous calligraphy exhibitions. He is President of the Il-Bung Zen Buddhist Association which coordinates activities of his affiliated groups. His American disciples number approximately forty.[10] His selected poems and Dharma talks have been translated and published in the book, *Zen Mind Buddha Mind* (Seoul: Hoam Choolpan Sa, 1985, 135 pp.)

A disciple of Seo Kyung Bo Sunim, Kosung Sunim, came to America in 1969 and has been active in the East Coast cities. Later, he established the Bulkuk Sa (now Hankook Sa) temple in the Washington D.C. area. In 1976 he established the Seneca Zen Center and American Zen College on a large property in Germantown, Maryland, serving both the American and Korean followers.[11]

Master Kusan of Songgwang Sa made his first visit to the United States in order to inaugurate the Sambo Sa temple in Carmel, California, in 1972. Some of the American audiences he met on the trip returned with him to Korea to receive a traditional Korean Zen training. Later he established the Bul-il International Meditation Center to coordinate the training activities of foreign followers interested in the practice of Korean Zen. Since then scores of his foreign followers have undergone Zen training in Songgwang Sa. In 1976, *Nine Mountains*, a collection of Master Kusan's Zen teachings, was published in Seoul.[12] Another book, *The Way of Korean Zen* by Kusan Sunim was published in New York and Tokyo in 1985.

In 1980, he inaugurated the Korea Sa temple in Los Angeles as the first foreign branch-temple of Songgwang Sa. The temple mainly serves Koreans in Los Angeles. He also delivered many lectures and speeches at universities and community gatherings. In 1983, he toured the United States and Europe delivering lectures and establishing the Bulsung Sa temple in Geneva.[13]

Samu Sunim (one of the two Dharma dis-

ciples of Solbong Sunim) came to the United States in 1967 and established the Zen Lotus Society in New York in 1968. Later that year he moved to Montreal. In 1972, he moved to Toronto and after a three-year solo retreat in his basement apartment he began to teach Zen. The current membership in the Toronto temple is about 170 (mostly Americans). Children's pophoe is conducted once a month.[14]

In 1981, Samu Sunim started a temple in Ann Arbor, Michigan.[15] The director of the Ann Arbor temple is Sudha Sunim, a Canadian, who has been a Zen teacher for ten years. Two additional Zen workers reside at the temple, which is a four-story building including the basement. The living room is used as meditation hall, and there is no Buddha hall in the temple.[16] The membership of the Ann Arbor temple is about 70 (all Americans). Sunday pophoe is attended by 20 to 60 members on the average. About twenty Korean students from the University of Michigan go to temple on Sundays and conduct their own pophoe (in Korean) when Samu Sunim is there. The children's pophoe (which began six months ago) is conducted in English with an attendance of about eight to ten. The daily meditation sessions are attended by 10 to 12 persons on the average. According to Sukha Sunim, Samu Sunim emphasizes the development of American Buddhism rather than focusing on ethnic Buddhism, and the groups under Samu Sunim's leadership are called the North American Buddhist Order.

In 1984, Samu Sunim visited Mexico, and in the following year El Centro Zen Loto de Mexico was born in Mexico City. The Mexican temple is directed by Doyun Sunim (Edith La Brely). Two additional Zen groups have recently been established in Mexico under the leadership of Samu Sunim, one in Moralia and another in Cuernavaca.

Samu Sunim serves as President of theZen Lotus Society, which functions as the umbrella organization for eight meditation groups under his leadership: Zen Buddhist Temple in Toronto, Zen Buddhist Temple in Ann Arbor, meditation groups in London (Ontario) and Ottawa, El Centro Zen Loto de Mexico, and two other meditation groups in Mexico.[17]

The Buddhist Institute of Canada, which was established by Sumu Sunim in Toronto, coordinates series of lecture and training sessions throughout the year. So far six people have completed Dharma teacher training programs at the Institute and eighteen people are currently undergoing the training. The training program at the Institute lasts between three to five years and consists of 300-day meditation, study, and practice sessions each year. Instructors are mostly affiliated with McGill University, the University of Toronto, and the University of Michigan, according to Samu Sunim.

The Ann Arbor temple sponsors Summer Lectures that are attended mostly by Americans. The instructors are poets, writers, and professors, many of who are affiliated with the University of Michigan.[18]

In order to channel meditation to social action, Samu Sunim established the Buddhists concerned for Social Justice and World Peace in 1987. He has actively voiced his concerns about various issues related to social justice, democratization, and world peace. He travels extensively and stays in Mexico for one month a year on the average.

Since 1981, the Zen Lotus Society has published a quarterly journal, *Spring Wind - Buddhist Cultural Forum*. The Society published a booklet, *Zen Buddhism in North America* (70 pp.) in 1986. The *Zen Lotus Society Handbook* (1986) includes a detailed autobiographic sketch of Sumu Sunim and describes activities of the affiliated temples and groups.

Myobong (formerly Daesoo) Sunim is the Dharma disciple of Hyeam Sunim (the last surviving Dharma disciple of the great Zen master Man'gong Sunim) and carries on the work of his teacher at the Neungin Sunwon temple (Hoso Son Academy: Western Son Academy) in Irvine, California.[19] He first came to the United States in 1972. Feeling that his way of teaching Sohn (Zen) was

not going well, he went back to Korea and received Zen training under Hyeam Sunim at the Soodok Sa temple. He returned to the U.S. and established the Neungin Sunwon temple in Mission Viejo in 1980.

When he parted ways with another monk at the temple in 1982, one of his disciples invited him to open a temple in Huntington Beach. The temple moved to rented quarters again in Irvine in 1984.

Myobon Sunim feels that his emphasis on Whadoo (Kong-an: Dharma dialogue) has gained momentum since 1984. He emphasizes the importance of dialogue on an individual basis. So far ten of his disciples have become monks or nuns adopting his methods of Son (Zen). About twenty additional persons are regular members undergoing training at ten Zen groups he has established in California and Texas. Myobong Sunim travels frequently to lead Korean Son (Zen) sessions for these groups. He is currently working on a translation of *Iljo Tankyong*.

Myobong Sunim feels that the individual encounter through dialogue (Hwadoo) is the best approach to Zen. He regrets that most of the Korean monks and nuns working in the Korean community are not practicing Zen because they have to struggle to make a living. He strongly feels that in order for Korean Buddhism to take a firm hold in American soil, this situation must change. Myobong Sunim translated and published a bilingual (Korean and English) text on Master Hyeam's Sohn teaching in 1986.[20]

Simwol Sunim (Julie Hoigaard: Myobong Sunim's first American disciple) is the Abbot of Neungin Sunwon. Its daily programs are coordinated by Yongjo Sunim, and Equadorian nun, who became Myobong Sunim's disciple in 1986 and became a nun after that. Daewoo Sunim (Ken King) is another regular member of the Sunwon. Daily meditation sessions are held at 10:30 a.m. and 6:00 p.m. Three people are staying in the Sunwon. They make a living and contribute to paying the rent by delivering papers in the early morning hours. The Sunday pophoe (they call it the "Retreat") consists of meditation, chanting, Dharma talk, and feasting with a vegetarian diet. Approximately 30 people regularly attend the Retreat. The attendance increases when Myobong Sunim is present, according to Yongjo Sunim.

Seung Sahn Haeng Won Sunim (his foreign disciples call him Soen Sa num) has been the most active monk proselytizing Korean Zen Buddhism in North America and Europe. His emphasis on "doing-together" meditation is gaining a wide acceptance among westerners. With his pleasant personality and strong leadership, he is building a strong network to promote Zen Buddhism worldwide.

Seung Sahn Sunim came to America in 1972 at the invitation of Yu Young Soo, a friend and Dong Kuk University alumnus. he started Zen teaching in Kingston, Mass. to a group of college students whom Professor Jong Sun Kim brought. The number of followers grew and he soon moved to Providence, Rhode Island. On October 10, 1972, he established the first Providence Zen Center and the KBC (Korean Buddhist Chogye Order) Hong Poep Won in Providence. This organization oversaw Buddhist groups under his direction. Chung Jung Dahr Sunim joined him briefly in Providence. He met Dr. Leo Pruden at Brown University, who came to his aid and provided the translation for his Dharma talks.

By 1975 three other Zen centers were established in New York, Cambridge and New Haven all under his leadership. By 1979, five more Zen centers had formed under his direction. By 1982, approximately 1,000 students were receiving meditation training in ten Zen centers established by him in the United States and Canada. The Head Temple (Providence Zen Center) in rural Cumberland grew into a respected residential training center and intensive meditation retreats (90-day Kyol Ches) were initiated.[21]

In August 1983, Seung Sahn Sunim founded the new Kwan Um Zen School in order to accommodate the western Bodhisattva monks who are married and Dharma teachers who are lay believers. The membership of the Kwan Um Zen School

as of 1986 totaled 285, the main body of which consisted of Dharma teachers.[22] The School coordinates activities of the 45 Zen centers and groups established under his leadership. Jacob Perl is the abbot and Richard Streitfeld is the director. The School publishes the monthly newsletter and the quarterly journal, *Primary Point.* The journal has become an important means for spreading the Seung Sahn's teaching world-wide.

In 1984, the Diamond Hill Zen Monastery was established at the Head Temple complex in Cumberland for the traditional monks who would remain celibate and follow the Korean style of training. As of 1986, there were eight monks and one nun of the School who were leading the lifestyle of the traditional monks of the Korean Chogye Order.[23]

According to Seung Sahn Sunim, 45 Kwan Um Zen centers and affiliated groups have been established throughout the world: thirteen in the U.S., two in Canada, ten in western Europe, fifteen in Poland, two in Brazil, and three in Korea. Seung Sahn Sunim says that approximately 2,500 Americans and 1,500 Europeans have received O-Kye (Five Precepts) through these establishments. Additionally, more that 50,000 people became interested in Buddhism although they have not yet received O-Kye. According to Seung Sahn Sunim approximately 250 Americans, 60 Poles, and 20 Europeans have become Ilban Popsa (Dharma Teacher). Thirty of these are designated as Seondo Popsa, who counsel and teach Ilban Popsa. At the top of the lay leadership is Jido Popsa who acts as Seung Sahn Sunim's deputy in his absence. Seung Sahn Sunim has given *inga*, authorization to teach and lead retreats, to eight (seven Americans and one Pole) of his Jido Popsa (Master Dharma Teacher). They travel to different Zen centers of the Kwan Um Zen School to conduct the Yongmaeng Jongjim (intensive meditation retreat for three to seven days) and lead Kido (chanting retreat called "energy path").[24]

The Dharma Sah Zen Center in Los Angeles was established in January 1976 by Seung San Sunim. The Center is presently located at Cloverdale Ave: a quiet residential neighborhood in West Los Angeles. Lincoln Rhodes came from the KBC Hongpop Won in Providence to establish the Zen center. He was affiliated with MIT when he met Seung Sahn Sunim at the Cambridge Zen Center in 21974. He established a Zen center in New York City under the guidance of Seung Sahn Sunim in 1975.

Lincoln Rhodes is optimistic about the future of Korean Zen in America because many people are sick of the materialistic orientation of society and are seeking spritual enlightenment, which Korean Zen offers. According to Rhodes, Americans are interested in Zen for various reasons. Some are interested in meditation to sleep well, others to obtain good health, and still others to find and understand themselves. He is not sure about reincarnation nor about the world of Nirvana after death. His main concern is how to live in the present world according to his interview with a *Hankook Ilbo* reporter (4/30/76).

The daily schedule at the Center starts with a 5:30 a.m. meditation; then comes 108 bows at 6:00 a.m., followed by 30 minute chanting (scripture recital) at 6:30 a.m. The morning meditation sessions are attended by three resident disciples and an additional three or four people from the outside. Kong-an sessions (intensive interviews with master Dharma teachers) are held on Wednesdays. There are 12 regular members participating in Wednesday sessions. Altogether, about 20 people (including irregular members) attend the Wednesday sessions. Their activities include meditation, testimonial, chanting, and Dharma talks. Most of the people attending the meditation sessions are Americans.[25]

Intensive meditation sessions (Yong Maeng Jung Jin) are held from time to time in Seung Sahn's meditation centers. It is a three- or seven-day retreat involving 13 hours of formal meditation practice a day. Although the emphasis is on sitting meditation, the programs include bowing, sitting, chanting, eating, and working. Interviews

with the Master Dharma Teacher or Seung Sahn Sunim are conducted during the retreat.[26]

Seung Sahn Sunim visited Poland in 1978 and established the first Chogye Zen Center in that country. In the opening ceremony 16 people received the O-Kye (*Habkook Ilbo*, May 19, 1978).

Seung Sahn Sunim's Korean style of teaching Zen is earthy, syncretic and vigorous, according to Samu Sunim, a Korean Zen teacher based in Toronto and Ann Arbor. Some describe Seung Sahn Sunim's method as an assimilated form suitable to the American setting, combining both Korean and Japanese ways of meditation.

Seung Sahn Sunim's disciples include some Koreans,but a great majority of his followers are Westerners. Altogether, 11 Koreans (including two second-generation Koreans) now hold the title of Popsa according to Seung Sahn Sunim.

Six books have been published in English bearing Seung Sahn Sunim's name: *Only Doing It for Sixty Years*; *Dropping Ashes on the Buddha*; *Only Don't Know*; *Bone of Space*; *Ten Gate*; and *Compass of Zen Teaching*.

RESEARCH AND TEACHING ON KOREAN BUDDHISM IN AMERICA

An important route by which Korean Buddhism is being transmitted to America is by way of research and teaching in universities and colleges. Several scholars are making significant contributions in this respect and are slowly building a solid theoretical foundation of Korean Buddhism in America.

Park Sung Bae, Ph.D. in Buddhist Studies from U.C. Berkeley (1979), is a professor and Director of the Korean Studies Program at the University of New York at Stony Brook. He teaches courses on "Buddhism," "Religious Traditions in Korea and Japan," and "Introduction to Korean Culture." He has incorporated Korean Buddhism (its history, the theories of Won Hyo, Jinul, Sosan, and Han Yong Woon, Buddhist arts, and Son Schools) in these courses. He also directs a graduate seminar, "Readings on Korean Buddhism." His book, *Buddhist Faith and Sudden Enlightenment* (SUNY Press, 1983), has been popular as a textbook in many universities. He co-authored with Lewis Lancaster at U.C. Berkeley the book, *Descriptive Catalogue to Korean Canon* (University of California Press, 1979). He has another completed work, *Won Hyo: His Commentaries on Awakening of Mahayana Faith*, which will be published soon by SUNY Press.

In addition to these scholarly activities, Professor Park has been actively involved in promoting Buddhism in Korean communities on the West and East Coasts. He has delivered hundreds of lectures and talks on Korean Buddhism to Korean community groups since he arrived in the United States in 1969. He has been a leading member of the Won Kak Sa temple in New York. For several years, he led the general pophoe at the temple every second Sunday of the month.

Robert Buswell, also a Ph.D. in Buddhist Studies from U.C. Berkeley, is one of Kusan Sunim's foreign disciples who has become a productive Buddhist scholar. So far U.C. Berkeley has produced two Ph.D.'s in Buddhist studies with topics on Korean Buddhism. Robert Buswell is presently a professor at the University of California, Los Angeles. At UCLA he has developed and taught courses on Korean Buddhism: an upper division lecture class on Korean Buddhism, and a graduate seminar on Readings on Korean Buddhism. These are probably the first and only courses on Korean Buddhism ever offered as a regular curriculum in American universities. Cho Seung Taek is a Ph.D. candidate in Korean Buddhism working under his supervision.[27]

Professor Buswell's *The Korean Approach to Zen: the Collected Works of Chinul* was published in 1983 by the University of Hawaii Press. The book is the most important work to appear in English on Korean Zen Buddhism.[28] His other book, *Vajrasamadhi Sutra and the Origins of Ch'an: A Korean Apocrython and Sinification of Buddhism*, is to be published in 1989.

Professor Kim Kusan is another Korean who

has taught Korean Buddhism in an American university. He taught a course on Korean Buddhism to American and Third World students at the University of Oriental Studies, Los Angeles from 1981 to 1983, when the school was closed for internal strife.[29] Since early 1980's Professor Kim has been a regular lecturer on Indian philosophy and Korean Buddhism at Buddhist lecture series sponsored by the Kwan Um Sa temple.

BUDDHIST TEMPLES IN THE LOS ANGELES KOREAN COMMUNITY

The appearance of Buddhist temples in Los Angeles coincides with the growth of Koreatown in the early 1970's. Korean immigrants were arriving in Koreatown in large numbers, and for the first time monks were able to visit the United States in significant numbers. Soon afterwards

KOREAN TEMPLES AND ZEN CENTERS IN THE LOS ANGELES AREA, 1988

NAME	YEAR STARTED	ABBOT	ORDER	POPHOE
Korean Temples				
Sam Bo Sa[1]	1972	Mrs. Han Sang Lee	Cho Gye	Yes
Won Bul Kyo	1972	Rev. Suh Se In	Won Bul Kyo	Yes
Dahl Mah Sa	1973	Rev. Jung Do	Cho Gye	Yes
Kwan Um Sa	1974	Rev. Do Ahn	Cho Gye	Yes
Soo Doh Sa	1976	Rev. Kae Jeung	Cho Gye	
Yes				
Jung Hye Sa[2]	1980	Rev. Jung Dhar	Cho Gye	Yes
Korea Sa	1980	Rev. Hyun Ho	Cho Gye	Yes
Ban Ya Sa	1981	Rev. Pyong Il	Cho Gye	Yes
Bo Moon Sa	1981	Rev. In Kwon	Bo Moon	Yes
Hae In Sa	1981	Mrs. Mu Jin Dung	Cho Gye	No
Bop Hwa Hong				
Tong Won	1981	Rev. Won Kyung	Bop Hwa	Yes
Bop Ryun Sa[3]	1985	Rev. Sul Song	Tae Go	No
Moon Soo Chung Sa	1985	Rev. Kyung Duk	Cho Gye	Yes
Bop Wang Sa[4]	1986	Rev. Hyun Il	Cho Gye	Yes
Dae Sung Sa	1987	Rev. Kwon Pob In	Cho Gye	Yes
Bo Kwang Won	1988	Rev. Park Jong Mae	Cho Gye	Yes
Yun Hwa Sa	1988	Rev. Myung Soo	Cho Gye	Yes
Zen Centers				
Dharma Sa	1976	Rev. Seung Sahn	Kwan Um Zen School	
Hoso Son Academy	1980	Rev. Myo-bong	Cho Gye	

1: in Carmel City
2-5: in Orange County

Buddhist groups began to establish temples.

The first Korean Buddhist temple established in Los Angeles was Dahl Ma Sa, which opened on February 1, 1973. Out of this temple have eventually sprung some 15 temples serving the Korean community in Los Angeles.

While activities of Zen centers targeting Westerners are focused on sitting meditation, ethnic temples are largely centered around Sunday pophoe, scripture studies, ceremonies, chanting, cultural, social, and fellowship activities. In contrast to the American emphasis on meditation, Korean practice is much more devotional and religious. Sunday pophoe attendance at Kwan Um Sa and Dahl Ma Sa temples averages more than 100 adults. The attendance at Pyong Hwa Sa, Soo Do Sa, Korea Sa, Jung Hae Sa, Pop Wang Sa, and Won Bul Kyo temples numbers between 50 and 100. Because of the Korean Buddhist tradition of not requiring members to attend Sunday services regularly, the pophoe attendance averages only about one fifth of the registered members. Regular attendants tend to be mostly officers and their families. General members attend the pophoe only occasionally and others attend on special occasions only. Some members never attend. On special occasions such as Buddha's birthday, therefore, several hundred worshipers flock to their respective temples.

The membership of Los Angeles temples has increased rapidly in recent years, and some former Buddhists who were attending Christian churches are now returning to Buddhist temples. For example, about 30 percent of the current membership in the Kwan Um Sa temple are former attendants of Christian churches, according to Do Ahn Sunim. About 20 percent of the members at Pyong Hwa Sa (Abbot: Sung Do Sunim) are former Christians, according to the abbot. The membership of Pyong Hwa Sa increased from 60 families in 1985 to 200 families at the end of 1987. Kwan Um Sa's membership was increasing by 150 families a year recently and now it has reached 670 families.

Until a few years ago all the temples in Los Angeles were using an apartment or single dwelling originally designed for residential use. The situation changed drastically when Dahl Ma Sa completed a spacious Korean-style bop dang (1986) and Kwan Um Sa purchased a large temple formerly used as a Jewish synagogue (1986). Dahl Ma Sa's Korean-style popdang is conspicuous in the middle of Koreatown, at the intersection of Olympic Boulevard and Wilton Avenue. Many local and national Buddhist events take place in the various meeting halls of the Kwan Um Sa temple, which occupies 37,000 square feet of floor space. Korea Sa, a Los Angeles branch of Song Kwang Sa, recently purchased a three-building complex (two two-story and one single-story building) at Ingraham Street. On the other hand, most other temples still use apartment buildings and experience problems related to zoning regulations.

Since 1974, Kun Sunims and other Buddhist scholars from Korea have given Dharma talks and lectures at Korean temples.[30] These talks and lectures provide unique opportunities for Southern California Koreans, both believers and non-believers, to hear the great monks of Korea. Sometimes several hundred Koreans flock to hear such talks. Bop Jung Sunim's appearance at the Hankook Ilbo auditorium on January 21, 1988, for example, drew a crowd of nearly five hundred.

Buddhist cultural festivals, lotus lantern festivals, musical events, Dharma painting and calligraphy exhibitions take place in parks, theaters, and galleries of Koreatown at frequent intervals throughout the year. The International Buddhist cultural festival was held in early 1988 at the Wilshire Ebel Theater and drew several hundred people. The festival was sponsored by Kwan Um Sa; six different national Buddhist groups took part, presenting their traditional music and dance. Buddhist study seminars are regularly held at Kwan Um Sa. A locally-based Buddhist newspaper, Mijoo Bulkyo, is also published, although at irregular intervals. Articles and news items related to Buddhist programs and activities frequently

appear in local community newspapers.

Several temples maintain Korean language and cultural programs and provide many types of social services such as family counseling and senior citizen support. Sunday school programs for children are being attempted at Dahl Ma Sa, Kwan Um Sa and Pyong Hwa Sa. The Federation of Young Buddhists meets regularly for pophoe and scripture study. Sunims contribute Dharma essays to local Korean newspapers and have been active in voicing concern about social justice and democratization in Korea.

The abbot Do Ahn of Kwan Um Sa has been the leading monk in the Buddhist community of Los Angeles. He frequently contributes Dharma essays to local Korean newspapers and magazines and publishes a Buddhist journal, *Bul Kyo Si Bo* (The Buddhist Times). He was instrumental in raising funds to purchase the $800,000 former Jewish synagogue and convert it into a spacious temple, which houses the Buddhist Culture Center. He has actively promoted Buddhist culture in the community by sponsoring Buddhist music, dance and art festivals in the theaters and galleries of Koreatown since the early 1980's.

Do Ahn Sunim was elected co-chair of the American Buddhist Congress at its first convention hosted by the temple in November 1987. Other co-chairs elected were the Rev. Karl Springer of Boulder, Colo., and the Venerable Havanpola Ratanasara, a Sri Lankan monk living in Los Angeles. The convention represented some fifty Buddhist groups in the United States.

Abbot Do Ahn attributes the rapid growth of Korean Buddhist temples to the general increase in the size of the Korean population in Los Angeles and also to the modernization of activities at the temples. The abbot notes that church membership increased rapidly after he initiated several social service and family counseling programs, including marriage and youth counseling, hospital arrangement, hospital visits, arrangement for Social Security benefits, etc. The church's van provides transportation for the elderly members. The temple operates with an annual budget of $120,000, most of which is expended for the temple's programs. The abbot lives in the temple and does not receive a salary.

Under Abbot Do Ahn's leadership, Kwan Um Sa has sponsored a regular lecture series on Korean Buddhism starting in May 1980. The series were held once or twice a year, each lasting for one to three months. The 1980 series, which lasted three weeks, featured Professor Park Sung Bae (Buddhist scholar), Lee Nung Ka Dae Seonsa (Dharma master), and Dr. Ha Tai Kim (Methodist minister and scholar). The 1988 series lasted for three months with lectures given every Friday, Saturday, and Sunday for three hours each day. Shin Popta Sunim, Moo Jin Jang Sunim, and Professor Kim Kusan were regular lecturers and guest lecturers included Popjung Sunim, Professor Park Sung Bae, Professor Lee Young Moo, and Chung Kwan Ung Seon Sa Nim. The curriculum dealt with Buddha's life, the history of Korean Buddhism, Indian philosophy, early Buddhism, thought of Won Hyo and Jinool, Buddhist theories, and Kye Yool.

The Sunday pophoe in Korean temples is very much informal compared to Christian church services. People move in and out at ease throughout the service. The service normally consists of hour-long chanting by priests, several Buddhist hymns, scripture recital, yombul, and sermon. Daejoong Kongyang (fellowship lunch) follows the Sunday service in many temples. Most of the temples lack serious meditation programs, although a few are struggling to establish them.

CHALLENGES AND PROMISES

Korean Buddhism is slowly but firmly taking root in American soil. Through the works of Zen masters, Buddhist scholars, and monks working in the Korean community, the central message of Buddhism imbedded in Korean thought and culture—harmony, nonaggression, compassion and benevolence to all beings—is gradually being

transplanted to this new land. The number of Zen centers and temples spreading this message has increased to an impressive level and a growing number of Americans and Koreans are accepting this message.

There are, however, many problems and challenges that the Korean Buddhist body in America faces. The most serious lies in the creation of an effective organizational structure that can plan, coordinate, regulate, and improve Buddhist programs and activities. At the present time, most of the Korean Buddhist activities in the United States are conducted on an individual basis. Some individuals have shown remarkable strength in building their congregations, but there is no organizational network coordinating the works of Zen masters, monks in ethnic temples, and scholars. Many of the temples claim to be affiliated with the Korean Buddhist Cho Gye Order, but there is no formal connection between individual temples and the Order in Korea. Consequently, practices, behavior, and view of individual monks, Zen masters, and lay members are not being evaluated or regulated.

Another challenge lies with the developing of a legitimate credential system for monks and lay leaders working in the Korean community. There is no agency or organization regulating the standard of conduct or the qualification of monks. Almost anybody can claim to be a monk and establish a temple. As a result, some of those claiming to be monks do not have any formal training. In fact, there are some establishments in Los Angeles that practice something quite different from Buddhism.

There is also a need to provide monks the opportunity to adjust to the new situation in America. A majority of Koreans in the United States are college graduates and unless the monks' education level is at least on a par with them, it will be difficult to deal with the general public. Much of the conflict between priests and lay leaders in Korean temples is partly due to this discrepancy. Further, most of the monks serving Korean community temples do not speak English adequately and they cannot relate to the English-speaking younger generations.

Still another problem is related to the level of commitment of some of the monks working in the Korean community. Most of them came to the U.S. for purposes other than administering temples. Therefore, when they encounter problems, many simply leave the temple instead of trying to find a constructive solution. About 50 monks have left the priesthood after receiving the *youngjookwon* (permanent residenceship), according to an abbot of a Korean temple. In Los Angeles alone, there are about ten such former monks.

Additionally, there is a need to reach second generation Koreans and train some of them as monks or lay leaders; but training facilities are totally lacking. Developing an effective training program for lay leadership may be a practical alternative for this problem (like Seung Sahn Sunim's Zen centers). Second generation Koreans growing up in the U.S. would probably be more interested in meditation rather than the religious orientation of their parents and future programs designed to reach the young generation should incorporate meditation training.

Traditionally, the development and operation of programs at Buddhist temples is entirely left to the priests and lay participation has generally been limited. The rise and decline of a temple is attributable for the most part to the monk's individual ability. This tradition of temple operation tends to discourage many able lay people from actively involving themselves in church programs. Therefore, the modernization of the organizational structure of individual temples remains another big challenge.

Financial difficulties often force monks to engage in menial labor, particularly in the beginning of temple establishment. Consequently their images have been negatively affected. Sometimes, monks are not decently treated by lay leaders. Under these circumstances, able monks are dis-

couraged from coming to serve the Korean community. According to an abbot, there are not many incentives for able monks to immigrate to the United States to work in the Korean community.

If these challenges are adequately dealt with, the future of Korean Buddhism in America appears to be bright.

FOOTNOTES

1. *1986-1987 Korean Business Directory* published by The Korea Times Los Angeles lists 339 Christian churches, 10 Buddhist temples, 32 newspapers, and 131 organizations. Figures given here are the author's estimates based on information from various community sources.

2. Ilsoo Kim, *New Urban Immigrants: The Korean Community in New York*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).

3. Won Moo Hurh and Kwang Chung Kim, *Korean Immigrants in America* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1984); Bok Lim C. Kim, *The Korean-American Child at School and at Home* (Urbana, Illinois, 1980); Eui-Young Yu, et al., eds, *Koreans in Los Angeles* (Los Angeles: Center for Korean-American and Korean Studies, California State University, 1981).

4. The survey covered 301 Korean households randomly selected from telephone directories of Los Angeles and Orange Counties. The author was a co-director of the survey.

5. According to Abbot Do Ahn Sunim of the Kwan Um Sah temple in Los Angeles.

6. Telephone interview with Park Sung Bae, March 1988.

7. Interview with Jinwol Sunim, November 11, 1987.

8. They are Seo Kyungbo Sunim (Temple University), Professor Park Sung Bae (UC Berkeley), Professor Robert Buswell (UC Berkeley), and Bop An Sunim (from New York University).

9. *Joong Ang Ilbo*, May 5, 1984.

10. *Joong Ang Ilbo*, May 5, 1984.

11. Sam-Woo Kim, *Zen Buddhism in North America* (Toronto: Zen Lotus Society, 1986) p. 18.

12. Sam-Woo Kim, *Zen Buddhism in North America* (Toronto: Zen Lotus Society, 19860, p. 21; Kusan Sunim, *The Way of Korean Zen* (New York: Heatherhill, 1985), p. 49.

13. Kusan Sunim, *The Way of Korean Zen*, tr. by Martine Fages and ed. by Stephen Batchelor (New York: Weatherhill, 19850. pp. 49-50.

14. Telephone interview with Samu Sunim, March 1988.

15. Sam-Woo Kim, pp. 26-28.

16. Interview with Sudha Sunim, March 1988.

17. Sam-Woo Kim, *Zen Buddhism in North America*, p. 28. Also telephone interview with Samu Sunim, March 1988.

18. Interview with Samu Sunim, March 1988.

19. Sam-Woo Kim, *Zen Buddhism in North America*, p. 29.

20. Hye-am Sunim ed., *Gateway to Son (Ch'an)* (translated by Myobong Sunim) (Irvine: Hoso Son Academy, 1986), 360 pp.

21. Diana Clark, ed., *Only Doing It for Sixty Years* (Cumberland, Rhode Island: Kwan Um Zen School, 1987), p. 31.

22. Sam-Woo Kim, *Zen Buddhism in North America*, pp. 21-26.

23. Sam-Woo Kim, p. 26.

24. Sam-Woo Kim, *Zen Buddhism in North America* (Toronto: The Zen Lotus Society, 1986), p. 26.

25. Interview with Reonald Ross, March 1988.

26. Seung Sahn, *Only Don't Know* (San Francisco: Four Seasons Foundation, 1982), p. 192.

27. Telephone interview with Professor Robert Buswell, March 1988.

28. Sam-Woo Sunim, p. 21.

29. Interview with Professor Kim Kusan, March 1988.

30. They included Seung Sahn Sunim, Kusan Sunim, Seo Kyungbo Sunim, Yun Koam Sunim, Pop Jung Sunim, Sohn Kyong San Sunim, Chung Kwan Ung Sunim, Moo Jin Jang Sunim, Park Wan Il Kosa, Lee Nung Ka Dae Seonsa, and Professor Park Sung Bae.

Book Review

NO ABODE: The Record of Ippen
Translated with an Introduction and Notes
by Dennis Hirota, Kyoto, Ryukoku University Translation Center and the Institute of Buddhist Studies, 1986. Approximately 251 pp. paper, $15.00.

In the world of Buddhism, the spirit of the Buddha is often confused with the structure of the institution. There are, however, individuals who have broken out of the confinement of institutional structures. Ippen was such a person. In his book, *NO ABODE: The Record of Ippen,* Dennis Hirota, presents a clear view of the life and perceptions of a remarkable religious person.

There are three parts which make up the text of *NO ABODE*: the introduction, the translation, and the annotations to the translation. In the introduction, Hirota puts into perspective the development of Ippen's religious views. Using significant events in his life we are led through Ippen's deepening religious understanding. In one such event Ippen was confronted with the validity of his practice of passing out slips of paper printed with the Name of Amida Buddha. Hirota writes:

Ippen realized that he had assumed a relationship between faith and utterance, but if faith was necessary, the distribution of slips to which he had resolved to dedicate his life was not only meaningless, but deceptive. (19)

Ippen's struggle to resolve this dilemma manifested itself in the form of a vision. Hirota continues:

> In this revelation, Ippen found decisive confirmation of the ippen-nembutsu, the genuine utterance in the immediate present. Not only is there no need for practicers to direct their thought or attain a certain state of faith or concentration; all such concerns are rejected as nothing more than self-attachment. (20)

Hirota's journey through Ippen's religious awakening is woven with references to relevant Buddhist view and doctrines. These references help the reader to better understand how Ippen's view fit into Buddhism. The explanations and descriptions are clear and pertinent to the material being presented. The author's broad understanding of Buddhism provides firm ground from which to view and examine Ippen.

As if to reflect the spirit of Ippen, Hirota writes with a style that is not burdened with jargon or unsubstantiated assumptions. He is readable and informative.

The second part of the book is a translation based on the *Record of Ippen.* Hirota explains in A Note on the Text,"I have generally followed the text and the order of the material in *Record of Ippen* (Ippen Shonin Goroku), an Edo-period compilation that remains the most complete and best-edited version of Ippen's words. I have, however, consulted other sources and editions and at points departed from the Goroku text." (51) The accuracy of the translation is beyond the scope of this reviewer. However, as with the introduction, Hirota presents the material in a clear and readable style.

The verses of poetry which make up the first portion of the translation are not muddied by attempts to poeticize the material. Yet, the feelings which are conveyed seem to represent the thoughts of Ippen.

> Buddha-nature is fundamentally One,
> Without distinction of illusion and
> enlightenment,
> But chancing to stir up delusional thought,
> We imagine ourselves in illusion—

it's absurd!
Amida Buddha's Primal Vow, though,
Is given to beings entangled in illusion,
It is for the sake of the foolish and ignorant,
So neither wisdom nor eloquence is
required. (72)

There are also, in the translation, letters written by Ippen and words of Ippen which were remembered and passed down by his disciples. Throughout the translation there are references to explanatory notes found in the third part of the book.

The notes, which make up the last section of Hirota's work, are as important as the introduction and the translation itself. More than definitions of terms and incidents, Hirota's explanations provide the reader with information that deepens the appreciation of the original work. From the explanation of puns which occur in the poems to the description of significant religious sights, the notes are a rich source of supplemental information.

Hirota's book is an important addition to Pure Land Buddhist resources.

Gerald Sakamoto

Setsuwa and Buddhist Homiletics
A Review Article

Dykstra, Yoshiko K. *Miraculous Tales of the Lotus Sutra from Ancient Japan, The Dainihonkoku Hokekyōkenki of Priest Chingen.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984. xiv, 169 p., $25.00.

Jones, S.W. *Ages Ago, Thirty-Seven Tales from the Konjaku Monogatari Collection.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1959. xix, 175 p.

Mills, D.E. *A Collection of Tales from Uji, A Study and Translation of Uji Shūi Monogatari.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970. xii, 459 p.

Moore, Jean. "*Senjūshō*, Buddhist Tales of Renunciation." *Monumenta Nipponica*, 41.2 (Summer, 1986), pp. 127 to 174.

Morrell, Robert E. *Sand and Pebbles (Shasekishū): The Tales of Mujū Ichien, A Voice for Pluralism in Kamakura Buddhism.* Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1985. xxii, 383 p., $44.50, paper: $16.95.

Nakamura, Kyoko Motomochi. *Miraculous Stories from the Japanese Buddhist Tradition, The Nihon ryōiki of the Monk Kyōkai.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1973. xii, 322 p.

One of the means by which Buddhism was spread in Japan was through the telling of stories, sometimes as a means of demonstrating a point of doctrine and sometimes simply as a means of gathering an audience. The stories were drawn from a variety of sources, and various authors made compilations of them over the course of the Nara, Heian and Kamakura eras. In the last thirty years, several of these collections have been translated into English, either in whole or in part. While these collections may be examined from literary, historical and other perspectives, they can also be examined for what they reveal about the growth of Buddhism in Japan.

In chronological order of (probable) date or period of compilation, the works which have been translated into English are:

Nihon Ryōiki, 787
Dainihonkoku Hokekyōkenki, 1040 to 1044
Konjaku Monogatari, 1075
Uji Sūi Monogatari, 1177 to 1242
Senjūshō, 1250 to 1315
Shasekishū, 1279 to 1283

The *Nihon Ryōiki* was compiled by the monk Kyōkai and is the earliest collection of Buddhist tales in Japan. The main theme of the *Nihon Ryōiki* is the miraculous revelation of the workings of karma. There are 116 stories included in the collection, divided into three volumes. The sixteenth story in the second volume ends with the admonition: "The reward of saving living beings helps you, while the penalty of giving no alms returns to you in the form of hunger and thirst. We cannot help believing in the karmic retribution of good and evil" (Nakamura, p. 183).

This typical conclusion closes a story in

which a person suffers from a temporary death. During the seven days in which he seems to be dead, he experiences the effects of his actions, learning the truth of karma. The motif of a pseudo-death appears in several of the stories, as does the motif of what the translator calls "the grateful dead." Tale 12 in volume one is an example of this second motif. In it a skull is saved from being walked on, and demonstrates its gratitude by providing the person who had moved it out of harm's way with a feast. As an indirect result of giving this feast, the murder of the person whose skull it was comes to justice as well.

All of the tales collected in the *Nihon Ryōiki* are set in Japan, and some of the tales refer to figures familiar from Japanese history, such as Prince Shōtoku and Priest Gyōgi. The importance of the *Nihon Ryōiki* has been highlighted by William R. LaFleur: "The *Nihon ryōi-ki* is a watershed work. In arguing as it does for the Buddhist ideas of karma and transmigration, it reflects a time when these ideas were still novel, unacceptable, or unintelligible to large portions of the populace in Japan." (*The Karma of Words*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983, p. 30).

Of the six works examined here, the *Dainihonkoku Hokekyōkenki* by the priest Chingen is the most single-minded. The 129 tales in the collection are all set in Japan, and they all focus on the miraculous powers of the *Lotus Sutra*. Through the surface insistence on the superior efficacy of the *Lotus Sutra*, however, can be discerned the reality of a much more complex religious situation. For example, Tale 20 tells of Ajari Renbō who both recites the *Lotus Sutra* and studies the teachings of the Shingon school. From the frequency of this kind of situation in the *Dainihonkoku Hokekyōkenki*, it seems to have been far from unusual for an individual priest to employ several kinds of practices, either simultaneously or over the course of his lifetime.

The *Konjaku Monogatari* is one of the longest of the Setsuwa collections, containing a thousand tales. These stories are divided into three sections: stories from India, from China and from Japan. Thirty-seven of these are translated in Jones' *Ages Ago*.

Some of the tales which appear in the Konjaku Monogatari are familiar ones. However, others provide an unusual slant on otherwise familiar themes. For example, "How Under Emperor Wu of the Liang Dynasty Bodhidharma Crossed to China" (Tale 12) presents the discussion between Bodhidharma and Emperor Wu concerning the value of meritorious actions. This has become a standard part of the story of Zen's transmission to China, However, in this tale we also learn that Bodhidharma had a disciple, Buddha-yasha, who preceded him to China. Buddha-yasha was only able to transmit the teaching to the Great Teacher Yuan, and so after Buddha-yasha's death Bodhidharma himself comes to China. The tale also has an unusual ending: twenty-seven days after Bodhidharma's death an Imperial Emissary to Central Asia meets a wandering foreign monk who is wearing only one sandal. The monk announces the Emperor's death upon that very day and when the Emissary returns home he discovers that the monk's announcement was correct. Thinking that it must have been Bodhidharma, he has the coffin exhumed, and only one straw sandal is found inside. This last motif presents Bodhidharma as a Taoist sage who has attained "deliverance from the corpse." This is a type of "disappearance which leaves a trace behind . . . the coffin is either empty or contains only a staff, a sword, or a sandal—all objects which characterize the figure of the Taoist and thus symbolize him" (Isabelle Robinet, "Metamorphosis and Deliverance from the Corpse in Taoism," *History of Religions*, 1979, p. 58). Here we see the eclectic quality of popular Buddhism as transmitted to Japan.

The *Uji Shūi Monogatari* contains 197 tales, which are not systematically arranged according to country of origin as are those of the *Konjaku*. Indeed the stories themselves form "an amalgam

of various traditions, with Buddhist miracle-tales accompanied by comic anecdotes of Court life, edifying moral tales by stories of almost grotesque crudeness" (Mills, p. 29).

The workings of karma form the theme of many of the Buddhist tales. While the collection is in no way intended as a consistent development of a theory of karma, there appears to be a feeling that the demands of karma are more stringent for the more spiritually advanced. In Tale 55, despite having never made personal use of temple funds and sincerely longed for rebirth in paradise, the Abbot of Yakushi-ji is condemned to Hell for having at one time borrowed two or three bushels of rice and failing to return them. Fortunately, he is able to revive long enough to have his disciples repay the debt and the demons who had come to fetch him to Hell are replaced by Amida, who accompanies him to Paradise.

In sharp contrast is Tale 82 which tells of a priest, "a truly hardened sinner who was always taking the property of the Buddha for his own use" (p. 252). Following this priest's death the Assistant High Priest learns in a dream that despite the thieving priest's continuous misbehavior, Jizo Bosatsu accompanied him to Hell and secured his immediate release. The reason for this was that the priest had upon occasion paid homage to an old, discarded statue of Jizo.

Other tales in the collection are set in China and India. Included is the famous story of the first encounter between Nāgārjuna and Deva, and another tale of how Bodhidharma penetrated the appearance of worldliness given by two old monks.

The *Senjūsho* has traditionally been attributed to the famous priest and poet Saigyō. His life and work are indicative of a non-sectarian attitude: "Saigyō belonged to the Shingon sect, but in a fashion typical of his time, he did not regard his affiliation as exclusive. He visited, and even collected funds for, temples of other sects; the name he chose expresses his eclecticism, for Saigyō, 'going West', is a statement of Pure Land aspirations" (Moore, p. 128). While the tales display a similar non-sectarian attitude, the collection as it is today could not be from Saigyō.

The *Senjūshō* appears to be a much more focused collection, the author having collected and commented on the tales with a specific intent. The emphasis that emerges is renunciation of the world as a result of aesthetic sensitivity to transience. "The Holy Man of Nishiyama" (Tale 52) exemplifies this theme with its story of a fisherman who replied in linked verse to a verse spoken by the narrator. This demonstrated the refinement of the fisherman's aesthetic sensitivity, and we learn that he is the orphaned son of a member of the Court. Having been completely abandoned in the world at age twelve, he has been able to make his way by fishing, but regrets the suffering which this inflicts on the fish. He has often longed to cut his hair and become a priest, and now the visit by "Saigyō" stimulates him to finally renounce the world. He takes the name Gyōjū, and eventually becomes a famous hermit, residing in the foothills west of the capital. The closing two lines of the story capture its tone:

> A disciple once asked Gyōjū: "What will benefit us in the next world?"
> He replied, "Quieting the mind and contemplating impermanence." (p. 168)

The most recent addition to the translated corpus of Setsuwa, Mujū Ichien's *Shasekishū*, is also the most recently composed, being written in the Kamakura era. Like other Kamakura figures, Mujū was influenced by the concept of the decline of the law (*mappō*), adding to the most basic theme of the Buddhist Setsuwa—karma. Also, the concept of the identity of Shinto and Buddhist deities (*honji-suijaku*), which is implicit in the *Senjūshō* (Moore, p. 133), becomes explicit in the *Shasekishū*, which often makes use of the evocative phrase "the gods who soften their light."

The Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are also shown acting directly to benefit their devotees. One story (2:3 "The Efficacy of Amida") tells of

a servant girl who constantly practiced the nembutsu silently. One New Year's day, however, she accidentally spoke the nembutsu aloud, which her mistress interpreted as inauspicious. To punish her, her mistress heated a coin and pressed it against the girl's cheek. Later, the mistress finds that her own statue of Amida displays a coin-shaped burn mark on its cheek, while the girl is unscarred. Mujū claims to have actually seen this statue, and that no amount of gold leaf would cover over the mark.

The image of Kamakura Buddhism which emerges from Mujū's collection is very different from the typical image which emphasizes the single-practice sects which sought to reform Japanese Buddhism:

> Today we see Kamakura Buddhism largely through the eyes of the heirs of the reformers, now become the establishment. The popular movements did in time replace Heian Tendai and Shingon, but we must remind ourselves that this did not take place overnight (Morrell, p. 6)

The themes which emerge from the collections reviewed here include karma, transmigration, renunciation, and transience. What they tell us about the development of Buddhism in Japan, however, is that eclecticism was much more common than devotion to a single practice or teaching. The sectarian interpretations of the history of Buddhism in Japan seem to have developed after the Kamakura era, and despite this "revisionist" perspective, they have deeply influenced Western conceptions of Japanese Buddhism.

> Lewis R. Lancaster has recently written: There are two major ways of studying a popular approach to the religious life as contrasted with the approach described in the textual sources of the classical canons: one is through field work and direct observation of current practice and the second is through the study of texts which may be excluded from the accepted canons due to their special content ("Elite and Folk: Comments on the Two-Tiered Theory," p. 87 in George A. DeVos and Takao Sofue, eds., *Religion and the Family in East Asia*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

Although the survey given here is only a tentative beginning, we can consider adding a third source of knowledge of popular religion to Lancaster's pair of fieldwork and peripheral religious texts: literary sources, especially those drawn from or intended for the general populace.

Richard K. Payne

Book Note

Inagaki Hisao. *The Anantamukhanirhāra-dhāraṇī Sūtra and Jñānagarbha's Commentary, A Study and the Tibetan Text.* Kyoto: Nagata Bunshodo, 1987. pp. xvii + 384. Four appendices, bibliography and general and Tibetan indices.

This is the first of a projected two volume work on the *Anantamukhanirhāra-dhāraṇī Sūtra*, based on Inagaki's 1968 University of London doctoral dissertation. This first volume is divided into two sections, an introductory study and the Tibetan text of the sutra and Jñānagarbha's commentary. The first section is itself divided into a textual study, and a study of Jñānagarbha and his commentary to the sutra.

This is a relatively early Mahayana text, having been first translated into Chinese in the third century A.D. Inagaki informs the reader that:

> Though the sūtra is short and concise, it contains such basic concepts of Mahayana Buddhist as Śūnyatā, Buddhānusmṛti, Samādhi of visualizing Buddhas, and Anutpattikadharmakṣānti, side by side with Mantra and Akṣarabīja which are characteristic features of Tantrism. The sūtra seems to have become especially esteemed when Tantric tendencies began to prevail in India, i.e., from the latter half of the seventh century. (p. v)

Although repeatedly translated into Chinese, the work does not seem to have enjoyed the popularity there that it did in India and Central Asia.

The complexity of working with a text of this kind is revealed by the fact that Inagaki worked with complete editions, fragments and fragmentary quotations in Sanskrit, Khotanese, Tibetan and Chinese. There are eight complete translations into Chinese alone. Inagaki gives a complete record of his work with the textual remains of this sutra, tracing the continuities and discontinuities between the various editions.

In the second volume, Inagaki plans to present a translation of the sūtra and Jñānagarbha's commentary. Although Inagaki apologizes for the delay between the completion of his dissertation and the publication of it, it seems rather that he should be applauded for having undertaken such a massive, complex and detailed a task as is involved in the publication of this work. The appearance of the second volume will complete a valuable contribution to the study of the history of Mahayana Buddhism.

Richard K. Payne

Book Review:

Thus Have I Heard by Maurice Walshe, Wisdom Publication, 1987. 648 pages, $34.95

During the past few decades, the West has witnessed a rapid growth of interest in Buddhism. More and more Westerners, regardless of their religious affiliations, seem to be discovering the vast knowledge available in Buddhist philosophy. However, most of them depend solely upon secondary sources in their study of Buddhism. since the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Pali Text Society of England has done a great service for those who are interested in Buddhism by translating the Pali Canon and the commentaries into English. These translations have been widely used by scholars (rather than by general readers) right up to the present time. However, these canonical translations can be considered outdated due to their archaic style. For this reason, the modern reader may find these translations to be unappealing or difficult to comprehend. Therefore, there is a growing need for newer and more accurate translations of the original texts.

We are pleased that Maurice Walshe has realized this need in preparing his new translation of the *Digha Nikaya* under the title *Thus Have I Heard*. In the preface he states the following: "The two main reasons for making this translation of some of the oldest Buddhist scriptures are: (1) the spread of Buddhism as a serious way of life in the Western world, and of even more widespread serious interest in it as a subject worthy of close study, and (2) the fact that English is now effectively the world language, the most widespread linguistic vehicle for all forms of communication . . . but existing translations are now dated stylistically as well as containing many errors and a modern version has therefore become necessary."

Thus Have I Heard, by Maurice Walshe is a translation of the complete thirty-four sutras of the *Digha Nikaya*. It is a collection of long discourses of the Buddha that is found in the Sutta Pitaka of the Pali canon. *Digha Nikaya* contains several of the most important sutras in the Pali canonical tradition. Most of these discourses have the capacity to generate great appreciation of the Buddha and his teachings. But not all discourses in this text are regarded as being as philosophical as the suttas in the Majjhima Nikaya. Therefore, this may be a fine introductary book for those who are just beginning to read the early Buddhist texts.

Walshe has done a highly commendable translation of the Pali sutras into readable and comprehensive English without ruining the flavor of the original. Although Walshe's translation has condensed three original Pali texts into one single volume, he has omitted only the unnecessary repetitions found in the original, which is acceptable. It contains a well written thirty-four page introduction and ninety-one pages of notes to the suttas. These additions to the texts offer valuable assistance, even for beginning students, in reading and comprehending the text. This soft bound book is handsomely printed with several illustrations in the Thai art-style. *Thus Have I Heard* would undoubtedly be a valuable addition to any personal or academic library.

Madawala Seelawimala

Project to Translate Classical Chinese Tripiṭaka Text

In 1965, Mr. Yehan Numata, Founder of Mitutoyo Manufacturing company, Ltd., one of the world's leading producers of precision measuring instruments, established the Buddhist promoting foundation (Bukkyo Dendo Kyokai) in Tokyo, Japan. As its first major activity, the Foundation compiled a text entitled *The Teaching of Buddha* and translated it into 24 languages. These texts have been published by the Foundation and placed into hundreds of thousands of hotel rooms and classrooms world-wide.

In 1982, at the request of Mr. Numata, the Foundation initiated a monumental project to translate the entire Classical Chinese *Taisho Tripiṭaka* Buddhist Canon into English. Forming a scriptural base for all Buddhists, the *Tripiṭaka* contains the complete system of Śākyamuni Buddha's teachings and has been called a cultural legacy for all humanity.

In order to implement this new translation project, an English *Tripiṭaka* Editorial Committee was formed in Tokyo. Composed of leading Japanese Buddhist scholars, this committee selected 70 eminent scholar-translators from many parts of the world and made arrangements for the translation of 139 carefully selected texts, which are to be considered the "First Series."

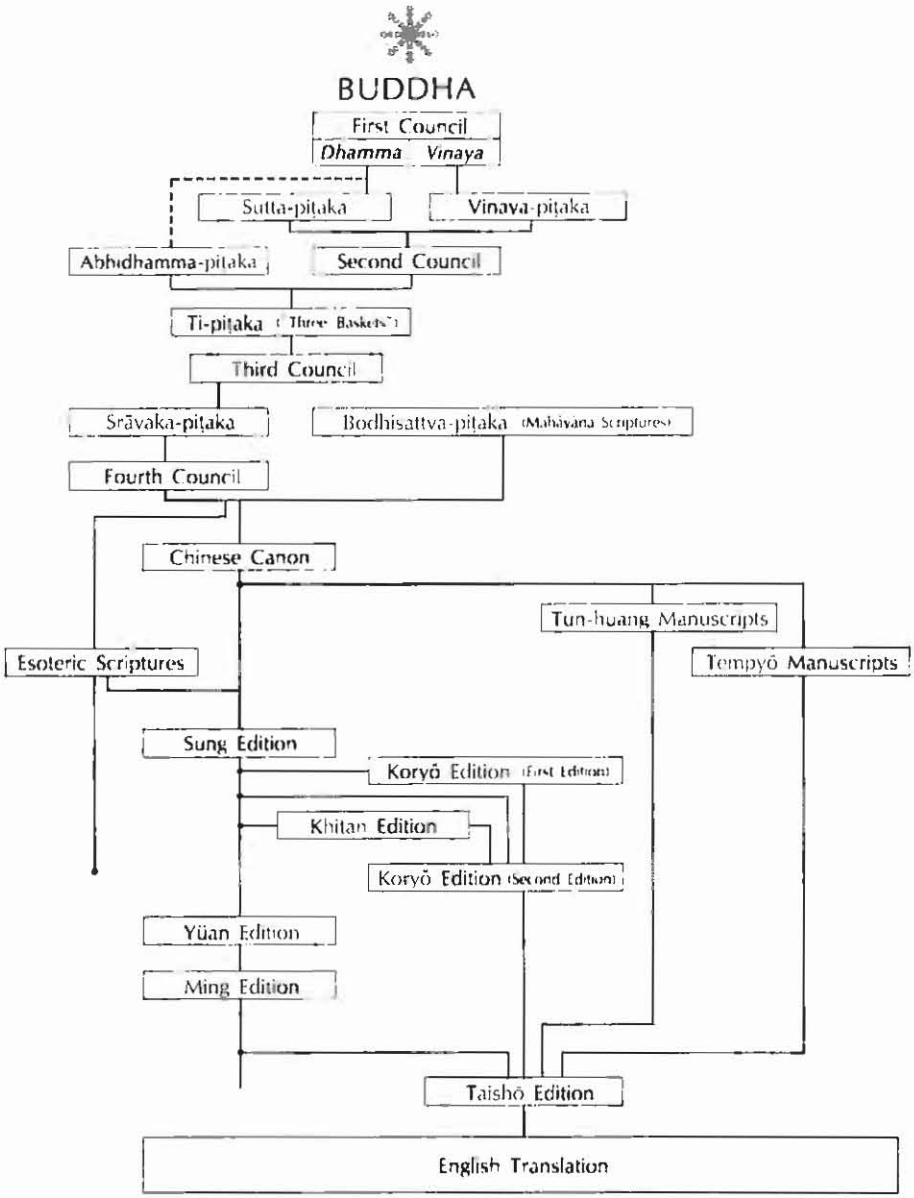
Much progress has been made. By the year 2,000 A.D., it is expected that these "First Series" texts, in 100 volumes, will be published. They represent 11 percent of the complete *Tripiṭaka* Canon. In order to give a clearer conception of the magnitude of this ambitious and epochal undertaking, one must be aware that it is expected to take an additional 80 years to complete this project, as it consists of thousands of works.

In 1984, to bring this project to fruition, the Numata Center for Translation and Research was established at Berkeley, California. The role of the Numata Center is to monitor the translators, and to ready the texts for publication.

The Numata Center, through the generosity of Mr. Numata, has also established Chairs in Buddhist Studies at three major universities in America and, just recently, at the Institute of Buddhist Studies, Berkeley. Additionally, the *Pacific World* Journal is published under the sponsorship of the Numata Center as one of the many ancillary projects of the Buddhist Promoting Foundation.

By utilizing the vehicles of the Buddhist Promoting Foundation in Japan and the Numata Center for Translation and Research in California, Mr. Yehan Numata has been able to bring into focus his singular objective to make available the message of the historical Buddha to all the world's people in the sincere hope that the teachings will lead eventually to universal harmony and World Peace.

A Genealogical Chart of the Original Texts of
the English Translation of the Buddhist Canon



(based on Dr A Hirakawa's "Daizōkyō no kisetu")

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The Institute of Buddhist Studies
Seminary and Graduate School

History: Its predecessor, the Buddhist Studies Center, was started in 1949 in Berkeley, and in 1966 the Institute of Buddhist Studies (IBS) was founded as a graduate school for Jodo Shinshu ministry and for Buddhist studies. The IBS was founded by the Buddhist Churches of America (BCA), which is affiliated with the Hompa-Hongwanji branch of Jodo Shinshu Buddhism, a school of Pure Land Buddhism.

Affiliation: In 1985, the IBS became an affiliate of the Graduate Theological Union. The GTU is the coordinating organization for one of the most inclusive concentrations of religious educational resources in the world. This marks the first time another major world religion has joined in a consortium with religious schools from the Judeo-Christian traditions. In addition to the IBS, the GTU includes six Protestant and three Roman Catholic seminaries, a Center for Jewish Studies and eleven other specialized centers and Institutes.

Degrees: Master in Jodo-Shinshu Studies (M.J.S.), a Professional degree for Jodo Shinshu ministry granted by IBS. GRE exam required.

Master of Arts specializing in Buddhist Studies, an accredited degree granted jointly by GTU and IBS. GRE exam required.

Deadline: Admissions applications are due February 1 for fall semester and September 30 for spring semester.

Resources: Credits for the degrees can also be earned at the University of California, Berkeley. University of California students, in turn, can take courses at IBS and GTU for credit.

Core Faculty:

Alfred Bloom:	Dean and Professor S.T.M. Andover Newton Theological School; Ph.D., Harvard University.
Kenneth Tanaka:	Assist. Dean and Assist. Professor B.A., Stanford University; M.A., Institute of Buddhist Studies; M.A., Tokyo University; Ph.D., University of California, Berkeley.
Ronald Nakasone:	Assist. Dean for Student Affairs, Assist. Professor B.A., M.A., University of Hawaii; M.A., Ryukoku University; Ph.D., Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison.

1988 Highlights of the Institute of Buddhsit Studies

February 1	Spring semester begins.
February 11	Public Lecture Series begins: Dr. Richard Payne (Fire: Archetypal Symbol of Transformation, Dr. Masao Abe (The Buddhist Import in a Buddhist-Christian Dialogue), Dr. Yutaka Yamada (Japanese Comics As Popular Religion), Ven. Manjuvajra (Buddhist Revival in India).
March 8	Mr. Azel Jones hired as Business Manager.
May 20	Spring semester ends.
June 30	First of outreach lectures by IBS faculty at Oakland Buddhist Temple; others at Phoenix, San Luis Obispo and Denver.
July 9	IBS participates in the Tent of Meeting, an interfaith and cultural exchange program, held in San Francisco.
July 11	Summer Session on Buddhist Ethics with Robert Aitken Roshi (Diamond Sangha, Honolulu), Prof. Tensei Kitabatake (Ryukoku Univ., Kyoto) and Prof. John Keenan (Middlebury College) as instructors.
July 30-Aug. 14	Extension division: Annual Summer Youth Program with 15 high school age participants.
August 18	IBS moves to the new facility; the former building converted to student residence hall.
August 29	Fall semester begins.
Sept. 14	Extension division: Adult course for the general public begins on Pure Land Buddhism.
Sept. 23-24	Inauguration of the Numata Lecture Series on Foundations of Shinshu with Prof. Roger Corless of Duke Univ.; Profs. Julian Pas (Univ. of Saskatchewan), Allan Andrews (Univ. of Vermont) and Whalen Lai (Univ. of Calif, Davis) to follow.
Sept. 27	IBS faculty participates in a Fall joint seminar on Buddhist soteriology with the faculties of Stanford Univ., Univ. of Calif., Berkeley and the Graduate Theological Union.
December 10	Dedication of the new campus with Prof. John Carman of Harvard Univ. and approximately 250 guests.
December 16	Fall semester ends.