

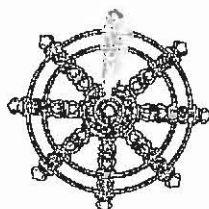
The *PACIFIC WORLD* — Its History

Throughout my life (now 95 years old), I have sincerely believed that Buddhism is a religion of peace and compassion, a teaching which will bring spiritual tranquillity to the individual, and contribute to the promotion of harmony and peace in society. My efforts to spread the Buddha's teachings began in 1925, while I was a graduate student at the University of California at Berkeley. This beginning took the form of publishing the *Pacific World*, on a bi-monthly basis in 1925 and 1926, and then on a monthly basis in 1927 and 1928. Articles in the early issues concerned not only Buddhism, but also other cultural subjects such as art, poetry, and education, and then by 1928, the articles became predominantly Buddhistic. Included in the mailing list of the early issues were such addressees as the Cabinet members of the U.S. Government, Chambers of Commerce, political leaders, libraries, publishing houses, labor unions, and foreign cultural institutions.

After four years, we had to cease publication, primarily due to lack of funds. It was then that I vowed to become independently wealthy so that socially beneficial projects could be undertaken without financial dependence on others. After founding the privately held company, Mitutoyo Corporation, I was able to continue my lifelong commitment to disseminate the teachings of Buddha through various means.

As one of the vehicles, the *Pacific World* was again reactivated, this time in 1982, as the annual journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies. For the opportunity to be able to contribute to the propagation of Buddhism and the betterment of humankind, I am eternally grateful. I also wish to thank the staff of the Institute of Buddhist Studies for helping me to advance my dream to spread the spirit of compassion among the peoples of the world through the publication of the *Pacific World*.

Yehan Numata
Founder
Mitutoyo Corporation



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The journal is distributed free of charge.

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CONTENTS

ISSUES IN BUDDHIST THOUGHT

- Buddhism as a Historical Faith: Answer to John Cobb,
by Whalen Lai..... 1
- The Power of Truth Words: Kūkai's Philosophy of Language and Hermeneutical Theory,
by Paul O. Ingram..... 14
- The New Buddhism of Kamakura and the Doctrine of Innate Enlightenment,
by Ruben L. F. Habito..... 26

TRANSLATIONS AND TEXTUAL STUDIES

- Rennyō's Legacy: *The Letters* as Scripture,
by Minor L. Rogers and Ann T. Rogers..... 36
- The *Hasshū-Kōyō* by the Scholar-Monk Gyōen (1240-1321),
translated by Leo Pruden..... 53
- Shinzei's *Discourse on Practicing the Samādhi of Meditating on the Buddha*,
by Richard K. Payne..... 68
- Genshin's *Essential of Pure Land Rebirth* and the Transmission of Pure Land Buddhism to
Japan. Part III. The Third Phase of Transmission: An Examination of the Populist
Methods and Ideas Introduced by Genshin,
by Allan A. Andrews..... 73

ESSAYS AND COMMENTARIES

<i>Honzon</i> — Object of Worship in Shin Buddhism, by Jōryū Chiba.....	90
Early Buddhism: A Conversation with David J. Kalupahana, by Richard K. Payne.....	94
On the Occasion of Buddha Day 1990: The Future Task of Buddhism, by Masao Abe.....	96

BOOK REVIEWS

<i>Sakyadhītā: Daughters of the Buddha</i> , edited by Karma Lekshe Tsomo; <i>Feminine Ground: Essays on Women and Tibet</i> , edited by Janice D. Willis, reviewed by Stephanie Kaza.....	100
<i>Red Star Over Tibet</i> by Dawa Norbu, reviewed by George McKinley.....	103
<i>To Lhasa and Beyond: Diary of the Expedition to Tibet in the Year 1948</i> , by Giuseppe Tucci, translated by Mario Carelli, reviewed by Edwin Bernbaum.....	105
<i>The Inner Teachings of Taoism</i> , by Chang Po-tuan, translated by Thomas Cleary, reviewed by Louis Aaron Collonge.....	108
<i>The Korean Neo-Confucianism of Yi Yulgok</i> , by Ro Young-chan, reviewed by Christian Jochim.....	110

NOTICES

In Memoriam: Minor Lee Rogers (1930-1991).....	115
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Buddhism as a Historical Faith: Answer to John Cobb

by Whalen Lai, *University of California, Davis*

One of the stumbling blocks in the Buddhist-Christian dialogue is the Christian claim that only the Judeo-Christian (and Islamic) tradition is a historical faith. Buddhism that knows of no Creator God and no promise of final redemption but instead talks of *samsāric* cycles and nirvanic release lacks a sense of history.¹ As so often put by scholars from Heiler to Weber, Christianity is prophetic; Buddhism is mystic. Or, in Mircea Eliade's slightly different phraseology, theophany in the Judeo-Christian tradition alone can face the terror of history without flinching and without trying to escape from it.² All other religions, Buddhism included, know only how to live in a myth of the Eternal Return.

In the present exchange between Buddhists and Christians, that is still where the line is often drawn. Take John Cobb for example. Cobb goes farther than most theologians in accepting Emptiness as *Pratītya-samutpāda* as the equivalent of God as Process. He even accepts the equation of Amitābha and the Christ *Logos*, but still he is confident that the Jesus of history is preferable to the fiction of the bodhisattva Dharmākara (Amitābha-to-be).³

On the Buddhist side, not everyone is eager to show up the historicity of the faith. Quite the contrary. There is, since the time of D. T. Suzuki, the equally proud and confident defense of the timelessness of its Truth. The draw of the Buddha-Dharma is precisely that it is good in the beginning, in the middle, and in the end. Engaging the Christian in that kind of antithetical exchange is Nishitani Keiji in his book, *Shūkyō to wa nani ka* now translated into English by Jan van Bragt in the Nanzan translation series as *Religion and Nothingness*. The last two chapters on Time and History counters the Christian perception of the lineal flow

of history. In a Heideggerian twist, Nishitani shows how if the finite progress of time Past, Present and Future is what is disclosed to the being of the Western man, then as the being of that self is emptied and then grounded in the *Ungrund* or field (*topos*) of Absolute Nothingness, time and history will be disclosed as a kind of infinite duration—the interpenetration of infinite past and infinite future in the eternal moment of the present.⁴

Perhaps that indeed is the difference between Christianity and Buddhism. However, in this essay I will propose to present Buddhism as a "historical faith." That is, instead of looking to find the antithesis to the Christian sense of history, I hope to locate a common ground upon which the differences between myth and history can be better understood and resolved. This is because I believe that, in the end, we are not dealing with Christian History vs. Buddhist Timelessness but with two different senses of what is historical and what is more than historical. To better demonstrate this, I will also be shifting the Buddhist discussion away from the mystical tradition of Zen to the legacy of faith in Pure Land. A sequel to an earlier piece on "*Avadāna-vāda* and the Pure Land Faith,"⁵ the present essay will attempt to disclose the temporal horizon (*i.e.*, the sense of time) assumed by, and made present anew through, the Amitābha *avadāna*. *Avadānas* are extension of the *jātaka* genre. *Jātakas* tell of the past birth stories of the Buddha Śākyamuni; they rose as pious folk tales. *Avadānas* tell of the prehistory or past careers of other Buddhas and bodhisattvas; they provide much of the mythical side to the Mahayana sutras.

In keeping with the nature of the mythic materials dedicated to the Buddha, our discourse will try to avoid dwelling excessively on doctrines,

the province of the Dharma. Too much of the Buddhist-Christian comparisons have been informed by dogmatic concern. Doctrines and dogmas are developed by intellectual highbrows whose task is often to find differences. We want to turn to the language of the everyday, and root it in plain, human experience shared by Buddhist and Christians alike. We hope to expose certain basic assumptions but do so without mystification.

To sound learned, one can call this approach one based on a "phenomenology of the everyday." But being academic has come to mean being irrelevant and talking in a language no simple folk can understand, which is hardly the purpose of the *avadānas*, the literature of the people. Because of that, I will avoid technical vocabulary; all the big words will be put in brackets and only for reference. We begin with the simple fact that the average Buddhist does not dwell in "Eternity" any more than a Christian sees God face to face. He does not ponder the beginninglessness of *samsāra* and not count the years before a kalpa ends. The average Christian cannot tell history and eschatology apart; the average Buddhist cannot explain what the infinite *dharmadhātu* is.

This is not to say such sophisticated ideas do not impact their lives. They do — but only if and when they are translated into the everyday world (*Lebenswelt*). Thus, the theological caricature of the Buddhist as one living on some nirvanic cloud notwithstanding, the fact is that the average Buddhist orients himself toward his surrounding with as much "ethico-historical responsibility" as the Christian would. The cloud of nirvana may well be what allows him to live responsibly in this world. In other words, whether time is considered finite or infinite, linear or circular, a curse or a blessing, what really matters is how that sets up the "temporal horizons" of the everyday world Buddhist and Christians alike live in. And for all the fantastic time-scale of the Buddhist worldview, the Buddhists live, love, and work in history, not in alleged resignation, but with very much the same degree of faith (in the past), hope (in the future) and love (in

the present) as would any honest-to-God Christian.

If showing how Buddhism is "historical" might appear unnecessarily apologetical to some, it is hoped that by the end of the essay, it will be evident that the reconstruction of the Buddhist sense of history is at the same time a critique of the Christian one. After all, although the idea that Christianity is a "historical" faith, as Gnosticism was judged not to be, went back to the early church, for much of the medieval period, the difference between a Christian and a pagan was seldom divided along that line. It was more that the pagan worshipped idols, nature instead of its creator, this world instead of the world beyond. The theologians of the Enlightenment, trusting in universal Reason, were not particularly eager to stress historical details. That was left to the Romantic, such that it is really Hegel that gave Christian history its unique due.⁶ Being historical in the nineteenth century was aligned with being progressive, and even Weber worked on that assumption of a dynamic Protestant Europe and a stagnant Orient.⁷ It is precisely that unholy alliance of history and progress and its disillusionment that came with the world wars, especially the Holocaust, that has opened up the question "What is meant by a historical religion? What is the meaning of history itself?"

THE "LEAP OF BEING" THAT LIBERATES AND DIVIDES

The idea that only the Abrahamic tradition knows of prophets has actually been already disputed by Robert N. Bellah's seminal essay "Religious Evolution." Unlike Weber who still accepts the mystic/prophetic distinction, Bellah accepts the presence of the prophetic individual or prophetic individualism in all major, world religions.⁸

Following Vagoelin, Bellah speaks of a "Leap of Being" in the "historic" phase of religious development, a time when certain individuals achieved direct contact with Transcendence that allows these founder figures to break away from

the bondage to Nature and Cosmos in primitive-archaic religions, and critically review the hitherto sacred socio-political order. The Buddha, despite his mystical tendencies, was no less a critic of Brahmanical society. His response to a higher norm ruling all men allowed him to renounce the *mythos* of nature (Eliade's Eternal Return) that underwrote the cosmos of order (the sanctity of the old caste system).⁹

With that "Leap of Beings," these founders and paradigmatic personalities also resolved the religio-cultural identity of the Axial Age and set up a model lifestyle for their followers to imitate. Thus Christians, imitating Christ, would naturally

make more of martyrdom than, say, Buddhists who, walking in the footsteps of the Buddha, accept death with an equanimity of mind free from undue hope. And Muslims still make better holy warriors than record-keeping Confucians who make better retirees. But precisely so, historic religions so tied to such identities also tend to regard their solutions to life's problem the normative one and judge each other according to its own norm. The result is that they habitually misunderstand one another.

Thus, the irony is that whereas they are all united in rejecting the primitive-archaic faith, they are divided by what they found. Take, for example,

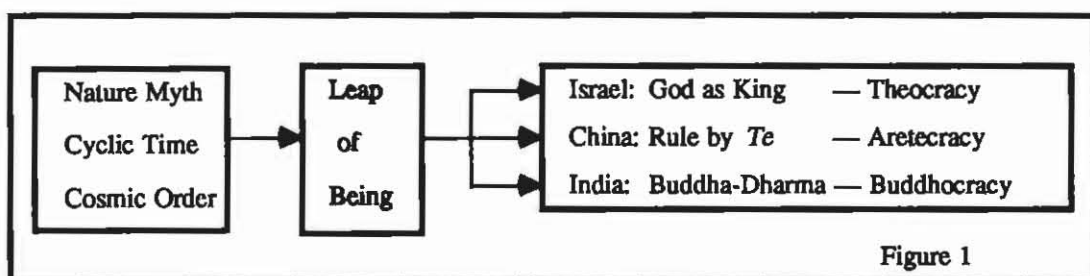


Figure 1

Israel, China, and India. Under Moses, Confucius, and the Buddha, they each came to restructure their society along new but different principles as shown in Figure 1. The Hebrews had God as their King (Theocracy); China accepted a Heaven-mandated Virtue (Ch., *Te*; Gk, *arete*) as its judgment; and Buddhist India set up a Buddhocracy based on the Buddha-Dharma.

The three paradigms that freed them also bound them, so that even now discourse across paradigms remains difficult. Each "Leap of Being" misjudges the others as incomplete and as falling back on a primitive-archaic phase as each sees it. Thus, converts to Yahweh cannot but help to see others as being still slaves to the gods of nature. Christian scholars often still reduce Buddhist enlightenment to being "nature mysticism" (i.e., short of revelation) — despite the fact that *samsāric* nature holds even less attraction for the Buddhist

than it would to the Psalmist of Psalm 104. In turn, the Buddhist, having renounced the Vedic gods, can never quite understand how the Christians would still worship a Creator, like Brahma, yet unenlightened. And few Confucians could understand why Matteo Ricci would like them to go back, beyond Heaven, to *Shang-ti*, the Lord on High — China's Ur-monotheism according to Ricci — when clearly *Te* (virtue) is the higher standard to rule over both man and gods.¹⁰

These barriers between historic religions notwithstanding, no hermeneutical circle is so tight that the religions cannot understand one another better. Touched by Transcendence, they are not as culture-bound as primitive and archaic religions are. Men may meet as strangers, but with a little patience and imagination, they can part as friends. To get behind the differences that now divide the Christian and the Buddhist, we can try retracing the

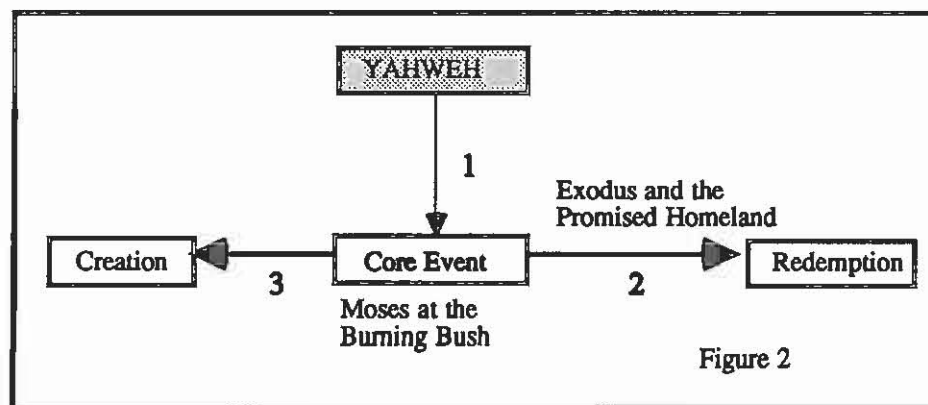


Figure 2

steps leading to those two different “Leaps of Being” and, see how, before dogmas and doctrines divided them, each defines the world they share (*Mitwelt*) in similar ways. We will begin with reliving the Biblical side of the story and come to the Buddhist one later.

RELIVING THE BIBLICAL SENSE OF HISTORY

There is no denying that the central event in the Hebrew Bible is the Exodus. That happened when Yahweh, through Moses, called up a hitherto loose confederation of twelve tribes as His People (“Israel”) and led them out of slavery in Egypt.

If I define “history” as the linking up of the temporal horizons of past, present, and future with a purposive goal, such that man has a meaningful sense of where he came from and where he is heading, then Sinai is what gave the Israelites that sense of history or historical destiny. The initiative in this tradition comes from God (Theocracy). It is Yahweh who called up His People. His being in the present (or presence) — his “being there” — in that and future hours of need is proven by his action. But it is his promise of deliverance in the near future and of a homeland within a generation that mark the horizon of the future, the “project” that makes this a future-looking faith.

Figure 2 capturing that “Core Event” — the historic event that defines all future and past understanding of the most significant moments in history — depicts that disclosure of the temporal horizons in three movements: (1) the present as presence; (2) the future as promise; (3) the past as what leads providentially up to the present.

What this Figure hopes to show is that it is only with the interruption by Transcendence (vertical line downward) upon profane time (the horizontal base line) that a person and/or a people would develop a sense of history. Profane time itself does not make history. Before that interruption, profane time comes across only as an inevitable flow of time from the past wherein the past appears only as a series of contingencies randomly “thrown together” with no seeming purpose except to remind man that he is a creature of circumstance. For creatures of circumstance, the present is just another ontic moment in time, not an opening to possibility; and the future holds no particular promise, being just the consequents of past actions.

Only Transcendence can open up the freedom — and with it the responsibility — of the present (1) and grant to man or to a people a purpose in life by a definite promise set in the future (2). It is that given project that then gives the random flow of profane time to date (3) a meaningful structure. The past and the future are then viewed in light of

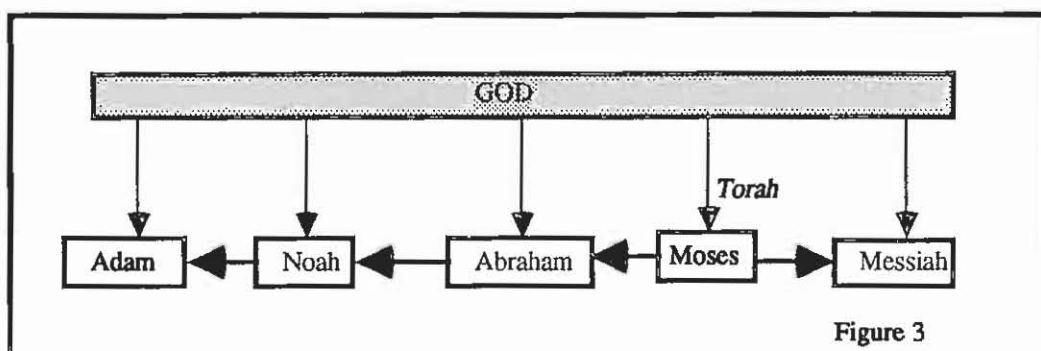
that "Core Event" (1): in terms of past prefigurations (3) and final fulfillment (2). In this Figure, the extreme ends of past and future are, respectively, Creation and Redemption. It is natural for a tradition to eventually extend that coverage of time to such ultimate ends. This is what Christianity nowadays usually means when it claims to have a linear history beginning with Creation and ending with Redemption and Destruction.

But that extension of the base line to Creation and Redemption came much later and should not be made the basis of testing if Buddhism is historical or not. The element in the "Core Event" that gave the Israelites a sense of purpose in history is the *immediate* promise of an Exodus. What that reveals is the Sovereignty of God (Theocracy) and although it is only logical that that sovereignty would be extended to cover all space and time, all of nature and all of mankind, the Israelites crossing the Red Sea were not thinking that far back to the Genesis or that far ahead to an Eschaton. And although we said that a sense of history is what unites past, present, and future, there are indications that the "new" God, the hitherto unknown-by-name Yahweh, soon had some conflicts with the old God. The people were not too happy with the new God so while Moses absented himself by staying up on Mt. Sinai, they pressed Aaron to set up the Golden Calf. Moses put down the cult with wrath and great bloodshed, but Ba'al was just a

cousin of the God El or Elohim to whom the tradition of Yahweh would be joined later. The first major alignment of present and past was, however, through the promise of Yahweh and the promise made by the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob that the homeland promised to the Israelites is the same home given to Abraham on his Exodus from Ur.

That story of Abraham, how historical we cannot be sure, is an example of how the "Core Event" at Sinai is seen as the major paradigm of God's intervention in history against which all major events of the past (and future) should be measured. Past covenants with God were reviewed, revised, and retold as prefigurations of Sinai, starting with Abraham, then going back to a more mythic Noah, reaching finally the anthropogenic myth of mankind as Adam. Those prefigurations, all isomorphic, are retrojected as illustrated in Figure 3.

It is God who called Abraham out of Ur. Abraham obeyed in trust and became the father of a nation. His stay in Canaan became part of the legal justification for the (re)taking of Canaan at the time of Joshua after the Exodus. The Abrahamic covenant then prefigures the Mosaic one. It was sealed, following Babylonian custom, with a sacrifice. The lamb substitutes for the first born, though the sacrifice of Isaac is kept alive in the symbolic rite of circumcision, needed for receiv-



ing the *Torah*. For his trust in God, Abraham was rewarded with the standard blessings, long life, material prosperity, and many sons.

That paradigm is replicated in the less historical story of Noah. Called away to build the Ark, Noah responded and was saved from the Flood. He thanked the Lord with a sacrifice. A dove is picked instead of a lamb, and a covenant was sent by God to man in the form of a rainbow. God promised Noah that he would not so destroy humanity again. Noah lived even longer than Abraham, prospered and multiplied. And God kept his promise not to send the flood so indiscriminately, though his wrath still could fall on whole cities after the good Lot made his escape.¹¹

One cannot help noticing that these earlier covenants seem to tell of a changing Hebraic view of man. When the *Torah* was given at Sinai, the assumption was that the Israelite nation would be able to keep the Law. Men were not so sinful as to be incapable of good. There is also little suggestion that the Hebrews suffered slavery in Egypt because of sin. It was due more to misfortune: A new Pharaoh rescinded the favorite treatment Joseph had secured. In the story of Abraham and Noah, whole cities and humanity itself are wallowing in sin as if every covenant made was only to be broken by evil men. This is a picture of faithless humanity that may be born of the post-Kingdom period of despair.

Pushed back to the garden of Eden, a fallible Adam would sin by disobeying just one prohibition — "Do not eat of the fruit." There is no explicit covenant, no animal sacrifice in the Garden, unless we count the snake as the scapegoat. By this stage, the sovereignty of God, which in the Decalogue was over man, is clearly extended to all of nature. Nature was seldom on the mind of the prophets whose points of reference were human history and society, but the Writings — the Proverbs, the Psalms like Psalm 104, and the whirlwind in the Book of Job — do look sometimes to lessons derived from nature. The expansion of the time scale (the base line in Figure 3) is related to the fall

of the Kingdoms. As the prophets criticized the cult of temples and of kings and called for a return to the justice of the Law, the old warnings about the wrath of God came also with new ideas of his patience and compassion. In the elevation of God to cosmic heights, Yahweh's sovereignty now extends to all nations and all nature. Theocracy, not possible now, was removed to the end of time, ushered in by a Messiah, a David reborn, in an eschatological Kingdom or *via* some apocalyptic figures during the final conflict between cosmic Good and cosmic Evil.

It is within that expanded world outlook that Christianity would find its own "Core Event" — a new covenant — in the Cross, from which perspective the past was judged anew. Christianity looked more to the story of Adam, the father of all man, in the past; the reversal of the Fall in the second Adam in the present; and the return of Christ the Messiah in the last days. In that understanding of history, Christianity does draw a straight line between Creation and final Redemption. Confident that only such a sense of history would produce a historically responsible faith and not finding that time-line in Buddhism, it rests sure that Buddhism cannot be historical. But it is almost unthinkable that the Buddhist does not know how to live a meaningful life in time or a purposive life in history. The question is how to make the obvious obvious.

THE DISCLOSURE OF PURPOSIVE TIME IN BUDDHISM

If the sense of history cannot be so defined by a literal belief in Creation and Redemption, but is to be sought in an interruption of Transcendence into profane time resulting in the transformation of meaningless time into purposive temporality, then our task is to look for a similar "Core Event" that marks the "Leap of Being" in the formative days of the Buddhist faith, in which Transcendence also broke into profane time and render it purposive. The event has to be the enlightenment at Bodhgaya

where the Buddha attained enlightenment (*bodhi*).

This historic event, illustrated in Figure 4, changed history itself. Before, *Māra* (*saṃsāra*, death) ruled; after, the Dharma reigns. The sovereignty of the Dharma (Buddhocracy) was a social institution after the Buddha gave men the Law (Dharma) to that kingdom and set down the *vinaya* (monastic rules) for a new brotherhood of men. The Dharma as universal Law was critical of Hindu society and would leave its mark on it. And, just as Christianity looks forward to the final fulfillment in the Second Coming, so too would Buddhism look forward to the coming of Maitreya, the future Buddha. With such an alignment of past ignorance, present awakening, and future fulfillment, can Buddhism be so ahistorical? Can this world-conquering faith be all that essentially world-renouncing?

That the Dharma was earthshaking is well told by the legends. *Māra* saw it coming and tried to stop it. The gods celebrated it with homage. And at Benares, the Wheel of Dharma is said to be set into motion anew. Even as the Buddha passed away, his *parinirvāṇa* became the midpoint of the Buddhist calendar like the Christian BC/AD. Not only that, for New Testament scholars, one can point even to a similar "two age" theory in Buddhism. The age of ignorance "has no beginning but an end"; the age of nirvana or *bodhi* "has a beginning but no end"; the objective *saṃsāra* has

"neither beginning nor end." This structure is illustrated in Figure 5. If we compare this structure at Bodhgaya with the structure of the eschatological kingdom of God commencing with the proclamation of Jesus Christ, taking note how, even as *saṃsāra* or human history persists beyond the two "Core Events," participation in the two kingdom is "already" possible though "not yet" completed, then we will have to say that the two structures are very similar.

Buddhist sense of time is, however, seldom presented this way. Most text books would say that Gautama believed in *saṃsāra*, therefore he looked for a release from history (*sic*). Sometimes the Buddha is said to be similar to the Upaniṣadic sages who, in originating the idea of karma and *saṃsāra*, first aspired for liberation from the world *via mokṣa*. But this textbook account distorts the Buddhist teaching; and it is never accepted by the Buddhist tradition — for good reasons, too.¹²

In Christianity, we do not say man feels guilty about his sins and therefore he looks for God. It is in encountering God that he realizes himself to be a sinner. It is the vertical line of Transcendence (Figure 3) interrupting the profane flow of time that reveals the latter for what it is. So the Buddhist tradition never says that Gautama looked for a way out of *saṃsāra*. An end to suffering, yes; and that is possible. An end to an endless *saṃsāra*, probably no. The tradition distinctly remembers the

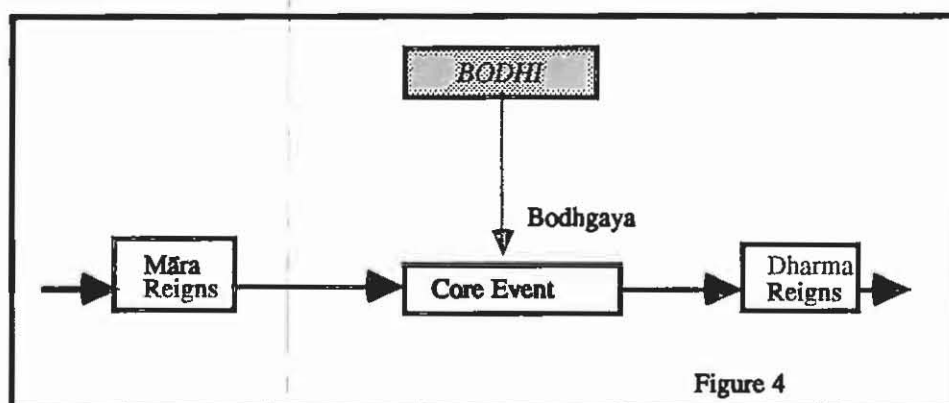
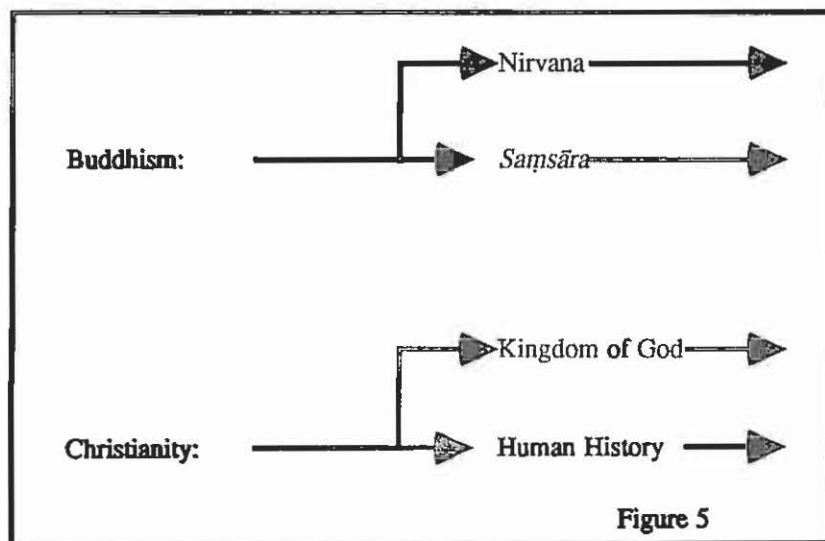


Figure 4



Buddha gaining an insight into past and future lives only upon his enlightenment — not before — because what he found then are the cause and condition leading to *saṃsāric* suffering. That knowledge was not known to the Upaniṣadic sages, or anyone before. In other words, the whole idea of *saṃsāra* as a structured reality (*i.e.*, instead of an inexplicable set of contingencies bearing no meaning or purpose) came only at Bodhgaya. Once the experience of Buddha's nirvana discloses *saṃsāra* in its karmic structure (the twelve *nidānas*), we have then that orderly flow from ignorance to old age and death (till now) that can be, henceforth, reversed (*via* the counter-series of the twelve chains).

So just as God reminds man how sinful the latter is, it is nirvana that discloses the reality of *saṃsāra*. Not *vice versa*. And to consider Buddhism and the Upaniṣads to be both teaching the same world-denial is to forget how the Buddha rejected the Brahmanical idea of an eternal *ātman* untouched by the karma of the world. In rejecting *ātman*, the Buddha rejected the Gnostic solution: pneumatic world-flight. To proclaim *anātman* is to accept that everything is karma and that liberation

requires facing this "terror of history" and passing through it. That is why the Buddha lists nirvana as the fourth mark of all existent things: impermanence, suffering, no-self, and nirvana. What that means is that in Buddhism, unlike in Hinduism, there is no confusion of Nature and Man. Nature goes through eternal cycles but man, a product of ever-changing karma, never exactly relives the same life twice. The Buddha *jātakas* know this: no two past lives of the Buddha are ever the same. Hinduism believes the cosmos to go through cycles of Creation and Destruction. Buddhism never really does. Buddhist therapy considers human suffering as changeable but the material conditions of *saṃsāra* ("with no beginning and no end") may not be within its purview.

If Buddhism is so "historical" as alleged here, one might ask, what is this about the Six Buddhas of the Past? These six past Buddhas lived in time preceding the present aeon that produced a Śākyamuni. They are virtual clones of him, being born princes who left home to sit down under various species of Bodhi trees gaining the same Noble Truths thereby. Before too much is made of them, they should be seen as Buddhism's equiva-

lents of a Noah or an Adam — retrojections of the “Core Events” at Bodhgaya backward in time. The point is that just as the sovereignty of God should be there in the Beginning, so the sovereignty of the Dharma must be warranted by the presence, in those six aeons of Buddhas before our Buddha. The historical sense in Buddhism — the magnetizing of meaningless time into meaningful temporality — is dependent on recognizing the sovereignty of the Dharma, but not on the number of past Buddhas. If science should discover still more galaxies that the Hebrew never dreamt of, God’s sovereignty would still rule over them all as their Creator. The Christian Theocracy does not stand or fall on the number of galaxies, six more or six less, either.

There are, of course, differences between the sovereignty of God and the sovereignty of the Buddha-Dharma. Buddhas do not create the world of suffering; they passed away in nirvana and therefore there cannot be one Buddha for all times; and the past Buddhas are clones, not prefigurations, of Śākyamuni such that there is, in this Theravāda series, no progressive disclosure of *bodhi* as there is, in the *Bible*, a progressive revelation of God.

THE OTHER POWER IN THE VOW OF AMITĀBHA.

We cannot lay out all of the differences between the Christian and the Buddhist preunderstanding of the world, but there are two objections pertinent to the parallel we drew between the two traditions earlier. The “Core Event” in Christianity has God calling Man or becoming Man; the arrows are downward in Figures 2 and 3. The “Core Event” in Buddhism is a spiritual ascend; the arrows are drawn pointing upward (Figure 6). Downward grace still goes with the prophetic call to change the world according to a divine will; upward ascend still suggests an inner flight of the spirit. The metaphor of “kingdom” might have been applied by the tradition to describe nirvana, but it is hard to see how nirvana is communal and still harder to see how it is empowered to change the world.

To track down a possibility within Mahayana for a downward grace coming from an empowered and communal Other, we will have to acknowledge that Buddhism was never a homogeneous tradition (as neither was Christianity) and to see how the Pure Land faith in Amitābha could and did provide that possibility.

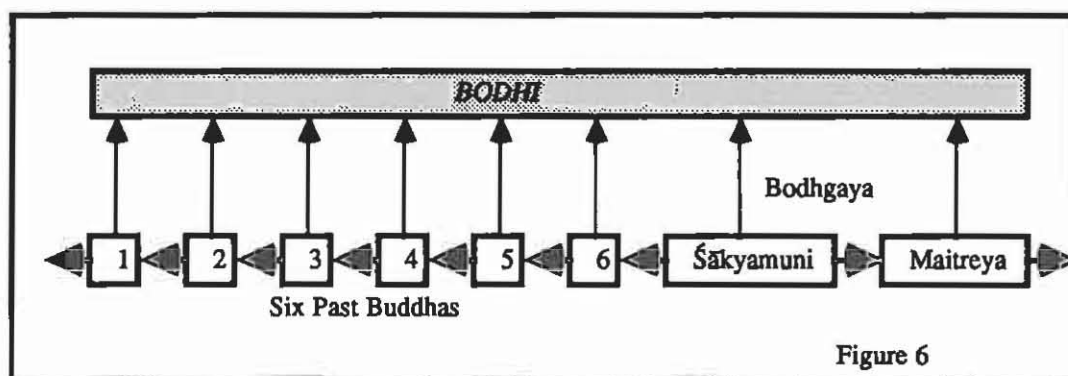


Figure 6

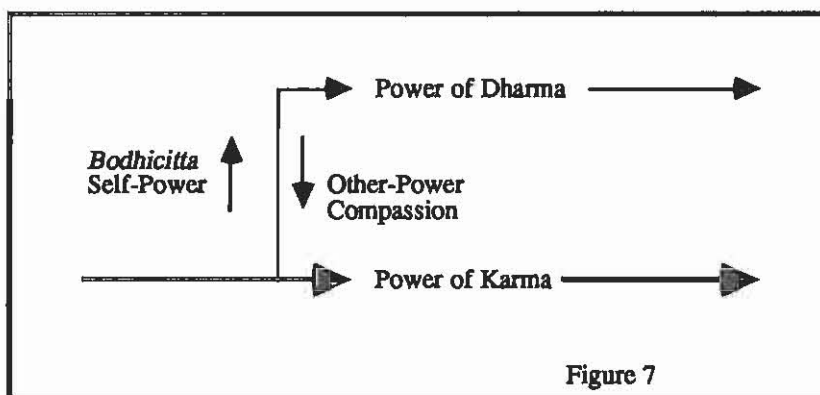


Figure 7

Simply put, in Mahayana, that arrow becomes reversible as shown in Figure 7. The bodhisattva has to arouse the aspiration for enlightenment (*bodhicitta*) as well as to transfer all merits to others out of the commitment to compassion (*karuṇā*). There is still the upward flight to nirvana but there is now also the downward return to *samsāra*. The *bodhicitta* represents that “Leap of Being” upward: It is in fact said that once aroused, enlightenment is a *de facto* surety. (This is known as the “awakening of faith” and the “already” of *hongaku* even if enlightenment should be still the “not yet” of incipient *shigaku*.) Likewise, the vow of compassion once made, it is destined to fulfill itself. Although traditionally, all Mahayana followers as potential bodhisattvas must replicate these two aspects of wisdom and compassion which make up the “Core Event” of all bodhisattvas that went before, it happens that the Pure Land tradition in Japan put total trust in Other Power of Amitābha to the exclusion of self-power. Hōnen had ruled out the availability of *bodhicitta* and then Shinran considered all merit cultivated for birth in Pure Land to come, not from the aspirant, but from Amitābha himself. The consequence is that Jōdo Shin approximates the Protestant understanding of faith and grace.

At the same time, the impotent nirvana of Theravāda has also been subverted by the preferred absolute of *bodhi* in Mahayana. And

whereas the Mahayana *Prajñā* (wisdom) tradition cannot avoid the absence of attributes for Emptiness, the “*avadāna-vāda*” mythic lores, devoted not to explicating Dharma but glorifying the Buddha, have lavished the latter with personalist details. These *avadānas* do not concern themselves with *ātman*, *anātman*, *pudgala*, *abhidharma* or the various types of *śūnyatā*. It talks of the sublime in the language of the mundane; it encourages simple folk testimonials like the *Ōjōden* and the *Myōkōninden*. It also depicts the pure and blissful land of Buddhas. Anyone looking at these in medieval paintings would have to admit that such residence of saints and commoners is communal by nature. It is possible that from such mythopoeic language was developed the philosophical idea of there being infinite, good *guṇas* in the matrix of the One so enlightened (*buddhagotra*, *tathāgatagarbha*: buddha-nature). The end result is that in the Pure Land tradition, the pious can draw on that store of infinite Dharma, the power of which, through Amitābha’s grace, can cancel out the power of karma and transport man to that pure community (*ōsō*) and return him to the world (*gensō*) as its agents (prophets of change), preaching; and enjoining congregational worship and comradeship (*dōbō*).

But granted there is personalism, communalism and grace in the Pure Land faith, how — asks the Christian — can a belief in a Buddha that is not

historical procure a historical faith? That, in short, is John Cobb's question. Cobb could align God and the Christ *Logos* with Process/*Pratītya-samutpāda* and Amitābha, respectively. However, Christ *Logos* has its concrete manifestation in a historical Jesus, whereas Amitābha has only a shadow in a fictive Dharmākara.

ANSWER TO COBB

To answer Cobb and to make the case for Buddhism, I have to challenge the parameters of his discourse a little. Christian theism is predicated upon the idea of personhood. Personhood is the highest expression of man and God. Buddhism does not deny the sacredness of the person. You might hate the evil action but you are not to hate the evil actor. But this does mean that the Buddhist, ever since the Buddha denied the Hindu *ātman*, does tend to analyze personality in terms of the sum of its actions, whether it be the simple forces of karma (in Theravāda) or the complex process of *pratītya-samutpāda* (in Mahayana).

Although devotion to Amitābha is person-to-person, the same attention to what makes a person a person would lead the pietist to say that he is saved not by Amitābha the person but by the power of his Vow (*ganriku*). It is the Vow that saves and the Vow that creates Amitābha. This is not to be confused with mystical impersonalism, any more than saying "God is Love" is meant to turn God into an abstract noun. It is just that in Buddhism a primacy is granted the power behind the personality ("Compassion manifested as Amitābha") while in Christianity, it is the reverse ("God who Loves"). Neither tradition denies the person nor the dynamics and one should no more accuse the other of impersonalism than the other accused the one with fixation with pure *ātman*. Still, I do not doubt that for most Christians, the idea that Amitābha as the personification of Eternal Enlightenment and Dharmākara as the hypostasis (Latin, *persona*) or simply the sum of the Store of (good) Dharma would still appear alien.

But if we have to look for a grounding of Amitābha as the *Logos* in history, as Cobb would us do, then the choice is not Dharmākara who is the pre-existence of Amitābha, but rather Śākyamuni who is considered the *nirmāṇakāya* of Amitābha as *sambhogakāya*. The manifestation of Eternal Light and Eternal Life in the finite life and in this impure earth is Śākyamuni. As priority belongs to Christ over Jesus, so too without Amitābha, there would be no Śākyamuni. This is the ontological (*Trikāya*) answer to Cobb. There is still the teleological answer possible.

To one who might still ask, "How is Amitābha himself grounded in history? Does Dharmākara not belong to a different time-line prior to Śākyamuni? Does not Amitābha's domain, though present to us, lie in a different world-sphere?" the answer would be that Amitābha is the fulfillment of the enlightenment that is Śākyamuni. Previously we have shown how the past Buddhas are retrojections of Bodhgaya and how as virtual clones of Śākyamuni, there is no sense of progressive disclosure or revelation. Only Maitreya the future Buddha may be said to be a step beyond Śākyamuni since he will be born son of a *cakravartin* who will bring the world under one rule much as the Second Coming of Christ would conjoin both terrestrial and celestial triumph. Maitreya also represents *Maitrī*, *Mettā* or Friendliness, an anticipation of Mahayana compassion or *karuṇā*.

Now in Mahayana, Buddhas are no longer just clones of one another. That aspect is now moved up to an eternal Dharmakāya. Meanwhile, Buddhas in their "common vow" are the same but in their "specific vows" are differentiated. This makes for divided functions as well as a chance for progression. Thus, in the series (one out of many) shown in Figure 8, the first Buddha is Dīpaṅkara, the "Initiator of Enlightenment," valued for starting Śākyamuni on his way. The Mahayana Śākyamuni shows also gradual maturation toward full bodhisattvic compassion. He reaches transcendental heights of power in the Lotus Sutra.

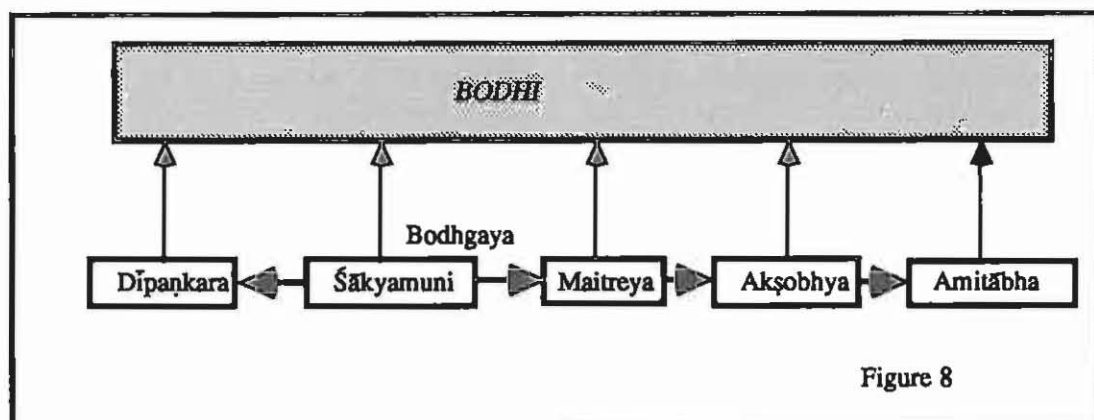


Figure 8

Maitreya has still more greater compassion in Mahayana, but he would be superseded by others in terms of power of immediate deliverance. Though of a different realm, Akṣobhya the "Immovable" is a Buddha in the present, an exemplar of yogic rigor and one of the first Buddhas to create a pure environment (Pure Land) for others, yogins primarily, to practice in relatively greater peace and quiet Finally, Amitābha of the Eternal Light lets shine its light on sages and commoners alike. In his still more comfortable Happy Land, he is the final demonstration of that cosmic love natural to the enlightened ones. That love was present already in Śākyamuni, if not as fully.

If the Christian can claim the New Testament supersedes the Old or if the Muslim can claim the *Koran* supersedes the *Bible*, then faith in Amitābha supersedes faith in Śākyamuni. The Pure Land sutras have the same last word as the equally fantastic *Book of Revelation* telling of still better things to come.

CONCLUDING SUMMARY

It is a theological dogma that only faith in Jesus would make man more historically responsive. But it has never been proved — certainly not by the record of history — that that must be so. We

have tried to show in this essay how all historic religions are historically responsive, once Transcendence interrupts profane time and "magnetized" past, present and future by giving it order and direction. It is that "Core Event" and the reliving of it by the tradition that re-creates that sense of purposive history, even as the paradigmatic event is being extended forward and backward to come up with a total history.

We then argue that although Buddhism knows a different time-scale, Bodhgaya was that "Core Event" that defines all events in this tradition. When that inner journey upward to nirvana is sufficiently modified by an ideology of communal grace, there is no rule to say that it cannot produce the same eschatological tension as what one finds in primitive Christianity. So long as the Pure Land pietist connects up with the "Core Event" at Bodhgaya via his response to the "Core Event" of the Vow of Amitābha, he does not lose himself in some prehistory of Amitābha as Dharmākara but rather grounds his faith solidly in history via the historical Śākyamuni, the *nirmāṇakāya* of Amitābha. (Jōdo Shin followers do that via their two saints of Shinran and Rennyo.)

In the end, what constitutes History? Surely not the simple Creation-to-Redemption linearity that has been shaken in this century. Maybe the

Sovereignty of God that inspires that view is still a clue to an answer. But linearity by itself is not any necessarily better than circles or clones or what not. A linear history with a beginning and an end but without any moral purpose is not preferable to a Sovereignty of the Dharma, Buddhist style. Maybe ultimately the test of historicity of a religion is not some cosmic timetable but in the everyday world (*Lebenswelt*). Maybe the test lies in seeing what kind of person the religion nurtures, what quality of faith it inspires, and how well its actions serve the world and the times.

FOOTNOTES

1. For a clear and persistent critique of Buddhism (and other religions) based on the historical criterion, see Hans Küng, *Christianity and World Religions* (New York: Doubleday, 1986).

2. Mircea Eliade, *Cosmos and History: The Myth of the Eternal Return* (New York: Garland Publisher, 1985).

3. John B. Cobb, *Beyond Dialogue: Toward a Mutual Transformation of Buddhism and Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982).

4. Nishitani Keiji, *Religion and Nothingness* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982). A comparison of Nishitani's approach to Time with Heidegger's is included within my "Tanabe and the Dialectics of Meditation: A Critique" in Taitetsu Unno and James Heisig, ed., *The Religious Philosophy of Tanabe Hajime* (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1990), pp. 256-76.

5. In *Pacific World*, New Series, No. 3 (Fall 1989), pp. 5-12.

6. Georg W. Hegel, *Philosophy of Mind* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971); a summary and a critique of Hegel can be found in Hans Küng, *Does God Exist? An Answer for Today* (New York: Random House, 1981).

7. Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York: Scribner, 1977).

8. Robert N. Bellah, "Religious Revolution," now included in his *Beyond Belief* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976).

9. Though the Buddha's critique of Hinduism is covered by even introductory books on world religions, the most provocative thesis (dealing, however, only with Theravada materials) comes from Stanley J. Tambiah, *World Conqueror and World Renouncer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

10. "The idea that the future of man or the destiny of a dynasty depended upon virtue rather than the pleasure of some mysterious, spiritual power marked a radical development from the Shang to the Chou. (Significantly, the word *te* [virtue] is not found on the oracle bones on which Shang ideas and event are recorded, but it is a key word in early Chou documents." So notes Wing-tsit Chan, *A Sourcebook of Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 3.

More recent scholarship (from David Nivison at Stanford and David Kneightley at Berkeley) has amended the statement cited above, but the tenor of the change from premoral gods to moral Heaven expressed herein still holds.

11. Materials on the covenant at the time of Noah — the dove and the rainbow — are indebted to a conversation I had with Rabbi Pinchas Giller.

12. This idea that samsara did not necessitate nirvana, but rather, the encounter with nirvana disclosed the nature of nirvana, is something I learned from Nishitani's *op. cit.*

The Power of Truth Words: Kūkai's Philosophy of Language and Hermeneutical Theory

by Paul O. Ingram, *Department of Religion, Pacific Lutheran University, Tacoma, WA*

The Dharma is beyond speech, but without speech, it cannot be revealed. Suchness transcends forms, but without depending on forms it cannot be realized. Though one may at times err by taking the finger pointing at the moon to be the moon itself, the Buddha's teachings which guide people are limitless.

Shōrai mokuroku (Memorial Presenting a List of Newly Imported Sutras and Other Items)¹

In his *Sangō shiki* (Indications of the Goals of the Three Teachings), written when he was twenty four, Kūkai (774-835)² wrote that shortly after his eighteenth birthday he initiated his monastic career by undertaking a special practice called the Morning Star Meditation in the mountains of Yoshino outside Nara. Part of this discipline involved chanting a *darani* (*dhāraṇī*) to Kokūzō (*Ākāśagarbha*) one million times while visualizing the full moon hovering above the bodhisattva's heart. Kūkai, who had dropped out of Confucian studies at the government college in Nara to pursue this practice, believed it would give him the ability to remember and understand every Buddhist and non-Buddhist text he read. In other words, his religious search as a Buddhist began as an intellectual quest.³

Yet Kūkai also knew that the Dharma he sought was a reality beyond the charted coordinates of all words, even the words of Buddhist texts. Of course, what words and concepts are and how they relate to one another are analytical questions addressed by the intellect to formulate theories and doctrines that can be "skillfully" (*upāya*) used to bring unenlightened persons to the

practice of meditation—a common Buddhist understanding. Yet one great difficulty with theoretical formulations haunted him like a hungry ghost all his life. Whenever a theory is completed and rounded, the corners smooth and the content cohesive and coherent, it is likely to become a thing in itself, a work of art. It is then like a finished sonnet or a painting completed. One hates to disturb it. Even if subsequent information and experience shoot holes in it, one hates to tear it down because it was once beautiful, whole, and seemingly permanent.

But beyond this is the issue of why words—why language—at all? This question cannot be answered analytically. What is required is intuitive, nondiscursive, participative forms of wisdom that can only be found through the practice of meditation guided, paradoxically, by "words." Such wisdom Kūkai called "esoteric" (*mikkyō*),⁴ and he regarded it as the fulfillment of not only the Buddhist Way, but of all religious ways. My thesis is that the heart of Kūkai's esoteric Buddhist Way is his public exoteric philosophy of language and hermeneutical theory. For him, linguistic theory and hermeneutics were so co-dependent that eso-

teric practice must be guided by exoteric teachings in order to awaken to enlightenment.

Since language theory and hermeneutical theory are mutually interdependent in Kūkai's view, either can be used to explain the structure and implications of the other. However, his views are grounded in—and go beyond—more general Mahayana Buddhist theories of language and interpretation. Consequently, it will be advantageous to briefly describe the generic features of Mahayana Buddhist hermeneutical theory as necessary background for discussing how Kūkai's specific theory of words and interpretation both assumed and expanded Mahayana tradition.

Luis Gomez characterizes both Theravada and Mahayana theories of interpretation as "hermeneutical pluralism" because of three issues that arose within the Samgha almost immediately after the Buddha's death.⁵ First, if enlightenment is open to all sentient beings, what is the role of sacred words and texts? This question addresses the fundamental issues of Buddhist soteriology—the conflict between the ascetic-monastic ideals of the earliest community and the institutional realities facing the Samgha as it grew and expanded, between orthopraxy and orthodoxy.

Second, since Buddhists have always assumed that the Buddha skillfully taught (*upāya*) in different ways, adapting his language and teachings to the spiritual capacities and maturity of his audience, did he teach a single truth or a plurality of truths? If a plurality of truths, what are they and which must one choose? This problem has been the central issue of Buddhist textual exegesis. Buddhists textual authorities have always been aware of the late date and the "diversity of canonical sources" in Buddhist literary history. As Lewis Lancaster writes:

Simply put, the Buddhist sacred texts clearly resemble a library and bear very little similarity to scriptures of the Western Asian religions. And yet it is not size alone which characterizes

this compilation of sacred books; there is the equally outstanding feature that in Buddhism not one, but a multitude of separate canons have been assembled.⁶

It is this fact that generates what Gomez calls "hermeneutical pluralism," and makes it so difficult to comprehend the unity and diversity of the Buddhist Way.

Finally, since all Buddhist texts utterly reject all philosophical concepts of substance, permanence, selfhood, possession, and property, so important in most conceptions of the world, are there any linguistic expressions that accurately reflect reality, "the way things really are," from the perspective of the experience of enlightenment? This question summarizes the problem of Buddhist philosophical hermeneutics. What is the relation between the conventional language that undergirds everyday experience and the "silence of the Buddhas" about reality as experienced from the perspective of enlightenment.

Kūkai's solutions to these questions can be best understood by setting them in the context of representative traditional responses.

First, traditional Theravada and Mahayana understandings of the role of sacred texts assume that the Dharma is not dependent on historical events, even the event of Śākyamuni Buddha's enlightenment. Whether or not a Buddha arises in the rough and tumble of historical existence, the foundational teachings of the Buddhist Way—impermanence, non-self, suffering, and liberation from suffering—remain ontological facts of life. Therefore, even though the tradition initiated by the historical Śākyamuni is a necessary aid to the achievement of enlightenment for all sentient beings, it remains only a skillful device (*upāya*). His teachings were, in the metaphor of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, like a mirror reflecting all images and colors.⁷ The mirror is always there, reflecting images as they are, whether or not anyone sees the mirror or its reflected images. But

the mirror is not its images. Similarly, Buddhist texts and doctrines point to the Dharma, but should not be confused with the Dharma.

Nevertheless, Theravada Buddhists usually insist on the historical significance of Śākyamuni's discovery of the Dharma and his life and teachings this discovery engendered. There can be no path to enlightenment apart from an historical individual Buddha who first discovers it. Thus Theravadin teachings insist on the close connection between the exact literal meanings of canonical statements and effective practice than is usual among Mahayana Buddhists.

Second, the diversity of Buddhist teachings and practices is not due to confusion or weakness in their historical transmission. Buddhist "hermeneutical pluralism" is, on the contrary, viewed as proof of Śākyamuni's enlightened compassion, of his ability to "skillfully adapt" (*upāya*) his teachings to the exact needs and capacities of all sentient beings. For example, according to the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-upadeśa-sūtra*, he taught four types of teachings and practices, each adapted to the capacities of various types of beings: (1) "worldly" (*laukika*) or surface teachings for those of inferior capacities at the beginning stages of their journey on the Buddhist Path; (2) "therapeutic" (*prātipakṣika*) teachings intended as an antidote for mental afflictions and passion; (3) personal (*prātipauruṣika*) teachings intended for particular individuals; and (4) absolute (*pāramārthika*) teachings that fully express the truth from the standpoint of enlightenment.⁸

However, the fact of Buddhist hermeneutical pluralism is further complicated by the Mahayana conception of multiple Buddhas and the doctrine that all Buddhas participate in a timeless *dharmakāya* (Dharma Body) that eternally preaches in the heavens, and is heard in the meditative experiences of Bodhisattvas and sages. Nonetheless, Theravada Buddhists emphasize canonical integrity as rigorously as Jews, Christians, and Muslims emphasize the canonical integrity of their respective scriptures. Consequently, Theravadins

reject the doctrines of multiple meanings and multiple Buddhas.

Third, Buddhist attitudes toward sacred texts and teachings are inseparable from Buddhist conceptions of levels of linguistic meaning necessary to communicate the Dharma. Speculation about the nature of the experience of Nirvana and the relation of Nirvana to samsaric experience, along with extensive discussion of the nature of the Path to Nirvana and whether there are degrees of enlightenment, led to a theory of linguistic levels of meaning. Progress toward enlightenment occurs in stages of awakened insight, and this was taken to imply varying degrees of ability to penetrate behind the literal meaning of the words of texts.

Mahayana teaching especially insists that the highest levels of enlightenment are embodied in the silence of the *āryas*. That is, the highest stages of the Path to Enlightenment, and therefore the highest order of meaning, can only be linguistically expressed in such apophatic statements as "appeasing all discursive thinking" and "cutting out all doctrines and practices"—verbal insistence that finally and ultimately, the highest level of enlightenment cannot be expressed verbally at all. It can only be known in the "silence" of Buddha-awareness.

Still, all traditions of the Buddhist Way have developed a language of the sacred. For after all, it still remains necessary to explain the "silence of the Buddhas" in order to bring unenlightened beings to it. Accordingly, the culmination of Buddhist linguistic and hermeneutical theory is that language, with all its limitations, is a primary vehicle for the achievement of enlightenment. Like much in Buddhist teaching, language too is an *upāya*, which if used properly can point seekers to the Dharma that, ultimately, is beyond all verbal pointers, including Buddhist pointers.

It was Kūkai's early wrestling with an obscure Buddhist text that motivated him to the study of esoteric Buddhism in China for two-and-a-half years, after which he returned to Japan as the eighth patriarch of a Buddhist lineage known as

Shingon. Historically, *shingon* is a Sino-Japanese translation of *mantra* or "sacred incantation." When written in Chinese ideographs, the two characters composing *shingon* literally mean "truth word." Consequently, as Kasulis writes, "Kūkai's personal quest ... can be understood in terms of his search for the truth of words."⁹

According to the Shingon teaching Kūkai inherited from his master, Hui-kuo (746-805), each and every thing in the universe at every moment of space-time, is an "expressive symbol" (*monji*) of the Dharmakāya, Dainichi Nyorai (Sanskrit, Mahāvairocana Buddha).¹⁰ In fact, the universe as such is the "symbolic embodiment" (*sammayashin*) of Dainichi. Thus, contrary to exoteric schools of the Buddhist Way,¹¹ which interpret the Dharmakāya as the ultimate reality embodied by all Buddhas, including Dainichi, Kūkai (1) personified the eternal Dharmakāya by identifying it with Dainichi; (2) taught that all Buddhas are interrelated expressions or forms of Dainichi; and, therefore, (3) everything in the universe at every moment of space and time is a concrete manifestation of the Dainichi. To understand what Kūkai's conception of the Dharmakāya means, it will be useful to discuss Shingon conceptions of Dainichi as operating on three interdependent levels: cosmic, microcosmic, and macrocosmic.¹²

On the cosmic "supersensible" level, the universe is Dainichi's "action" or "function" (*yū*). That is, as enlightened, personal—rather than abstract—ultimate reality, Dainichi is in a continuous meditative state, mentally envisioning the universe (*maṇḍala*), verbally chanting sacred sounds or "truth words" (*mantra*), and physically enacting sacred gestures (*mudrā*). From this perspective, everything in the universe is constituted by, and is part of, the "three mysteries" (*sanmitsu*) of Dainichi's enlightened mental, verbal, and bodily activity. Since Dainichi is fully enlightened, each entity in the universe is a direct manifestation of Dainichi's "self-expression and enjoyment" (*jijuyū-sammai*).¹³

From the microcosmic level, Dainichi's enlightened activity is manifested as supersensible "resonances" or "vibrations" (*kyō*). It is these resonances that coalesce into structural configurations that underlie the perceptible realities of human experience, such as the five elements (earth, water, fire, wind, and space),¹⁴ the five mental wisdoms (and the Five Buddhas associated with each),¹⁵ and the five configurations of sound as the basis of all languages.¹⁶ Regarding the five configurations of sound, at the supersensible level every word is a "truth word" (*shingon*, *mantra*) in that it is a surface (macrocosmic) manifestation of a microcosmic expression within Dainichi's enlightened activity.

This brings us to the macrocosmic level, reality perceived in ordinary human experience of the world. Although in a cosmic sense, the whole universe is the supersensible expression of Dainichi, and although in a microcosmic sense, the universe is constituted by supersensible resonances manifesting Dainichi's enlightened activity in the world, human beings are ordinarily oblivious to these dimensions of reality. At the macrocosmic level, we are generally aware of only everyday mundane things and events. Through Shingon meditative practice, however, we can train ourselves to not only become aware of the macrocosmic reality of things and events, but also the deeper microcosmic world in which each thing and event ceaselessly expresses Dainichi's enlightened activity. One aspect of Shingon meditative practice is especially relevant for understanding Kūkai's theory of language.

According to Kūkai, reality, "the way things really are," is ontologically constituted by Dainichi through the Three Mysteries: physical gesture (*mudrā*), meditative thought or visualization (*maṇḍala*), and speech (*mantra*). For each mystery, Shingon meditative discipline specifies specific ritual contexts for re-enacting, and thereby becoming aware of, the enlightened physical-mental-verbal action of Dainichi. In the area of language, for example, Shingon ritual recognizes five "seed

mantras: A, Va, Ra, Ha, and Kha.¹⁷ By intoning these *mantras*, with proper meditative technique and physical posture, the practitioner is said to become attuned to the basic resonances or "sound forms" constituting all language. Stated differently, through mantric practice the seeker knows the "truth words" (*shingon*) inaudible to ordinary hearing.

Kūkai believed this insight establishes the enlightenment of the seeker in two ways. First, it leads to the recognition that the "sound forms" or "truth words" constituting all languages are the elemental ontological constituents of the entire universe. As such, the ordinary macrocosmic world is suddenly experienced as the surface feature of a deeper, linguistic reality. Secondly, this deeper microcosmic level of reality is not experienced as the linguistic building blocks of an atomic universe, but rather as the symbolic "self-expression" or "sound forms" of Dainichi's own enlightened experience.

Kūkai's metaphysics generally, and his metaphysics of language in particular, is extraordinarily complex. But knowing the type of language use that most interested him makes it easy to summarize his philosophy of language. For him, the paradigm of language was the *mantra*, a speech-act with which most Westerners have little experience or interest. But the following narrative should demonstrate how Kūkai's views relate to linguistic experiences we have all had,¹⁸ and in turn should clarify his world view.

Last April I flew from Seattle to Palm Springs to visit my father in Joshua Tree. As I went through the security check, an attendant looked through my brief case and I said, "Just a few books and papers." "I see," she replied. She waved me through the security gate and I headed for the boarding area. Something was wrong with the central heating system in the terminal, and when I arrived at my gate an extraordinary rush of dry heat struck me in the face. "Uggh!," I exclaimed softly to myself. I took off my coat, sat down, and watched the people gathering in the waiting area.

Across from me a man read nursery rhymes to his small daughter. He read with a precise rhythm that enunciated the last word of every line: "Mary Mary, quite contrary! How does your garden grow?" Twenty minutes later I boarded the plane and took my assigned seat next to a nervous man who intoned over and over, in a low voice while gazing at a rosary, "Jesus, Jesus, Jesus."

There are several utterances in this scene, each different from the rest.

(1) "Just a few books and papers."

This sentence is a proposition and its only purpose is to relay information to the security attendant. Since my statement corresponded to an actual state of affairs, it was "true."

(2) "I see"

This is not a statement about the attendant's visual abilities. The attendant informed me that she understood my comment after making a cursory inspection of my briefcase and was inclined to believe me. She was also giving me permission to proceed to the boarding area unmolested. To this degree, the attendant's utterance had a performative force as well as a propositional meaning.

(3) "Uggh!"

This is a nonreferential exclamatory utterance, a psychological response to unexpected heat, as if my body was somehow speaking, or that the experience of heat was speaking through my body. Speech acts of this sort are common in English, but are not generally found very interesting in Western philosophical analysis. But for Kūkai, who viewed *mantra* as the paradigm of language, utterances of this sort were of central importance.

The first thing to note about the exclamation "Uggh!" is that it is not learned. Consider the following example. If I suddenly fall and break my arm I might cry "Aaaa!," and it is equally likely that a Japanese in the same circumstances would do the same. However, if I run a splinter into my hand when cutting wood, I might yell "Ouch!" whereas my Japanese friend might yell "ittai!" "Uggh!" is a purely physiological expulsion of air, "Ouch!" and "ittai!" are culture-bound expres-

sions; they have no referent, so their usage can only be learned through mimicking the verbal exclamations of other people in a particular society. Moreover, lacking reference, exclamatory words have no precise meaning at all, yet they do have a correct and incorrect use. For example, someone touching an ice cube and exclaiming "Uggh!" is not using standard English.

Second, in an utterance like "Uggh!" there occurs a fusing of mental, physical, and verbal experiences. It is almost a conditioned response, where somatic and mental experiences—the phonetic and the semantic—are unified. From a physiological standpoint, "Uggh!" somehow more effectively confronts heat than "Brrrr!" Also "Ouch!" and "ittai!" have a similar abruptness and sharpness in their sounds. Thus, it seems that the sounds forming the utterance of these words is not completely arbitrary; here sound *is* meaning.

Third, expressions like "Uggh!" may serve as a clue to understanding the "origin" of language, since they are situated halfway between physiologically determined sounds and words with culturally defined meanings. Specifically, if such expressions are taken as paradigmatic of the most primitive form of language, then a theory about the origin of language should fuse mental, physical, and verbal experience. This is exactly what Kūkai's theory of language tries to do.

(4) "Mary, Mary, quite *contrary*! How does your garden grow?"

Speaking also involves the enjoyment of, and participation in, the sounds and rhythms of words. Children, for example, learn nursery rhymes before they understand their meaning. Part of the meaning, perhaps the major part, of a poem is conveyed in the rhythm and sounds of its words. More importantly, the resonance of words, especially if expressed with style and sensitivity, has an uplifting effect on the audience, as any good actor knows. In Western culture, this fact is mostly discussed in terms of rhetoric or in studies of the ritual traditions of preliterate cultures or in acting classes. Seldom, however, does this character of

spoken language become the special object of philosophical or linguistic inquiry.

In Kūkai's philosophy of language, however, the sounds of words are of central importance. The grunt of a weight lifter, the focusing *kiai* of a martial artist, the cry of delight when a person witnesses a creative act of great beauty attest to the importance of the sounds of words. In Kūkai's opinion, to think of words independently of their sounds is to rationalize away the somatic physicality of language. In his view, language *is* speech, and speech involves bodily movement and the vibration of air.¹⁹

(5) "Jesus, Jesus, Jesus."

Under the right conditions, a word can evoke psychological states to which the word refers. As the history of religions has taught us, the idea that words can bring realities into being is a major premise of premodern societies. This notion is opposed to modern Western linguistic theory and philosophy of language, which assumes with Plato that reality has a structure independent of human consciousness and the words persons use to name reality. That is to say, language has only referential use: the referent of a word pre-exists the naming of it; reality possesses a structure independent of human consciousness of its referent; and the origin of language is pragmatic.²⁰

Kūkai would have disagreed with Plato and modern Western linguistic theory. For him, the primary function of language is *symbolic*, not referential, for a word and its external referent are two sides of the same ontological coin. Thus, the meaning of a word depends on its external referent; the being of an external referent is constituted by the sound of its defining word. Accordingly, reality, "the way things really are," expresses itself in language (as in "Uggh!"), while language simultaneously evokes reality (as in "Jesus, Jesus, Jesus").²¹

In summary, the metaphysics underlying Kūkai's theory of language posits no sharp ontological distinction between mental, physical, and verbal experience—the Three Mysteries. They are

"mysteries" insofar as they can be directly and immediately experienced, but not completely expressed in normal discursive language. They are also "mysteries" because they are expressed as *language*. Since for him, body, speech, and mind interpenetrate, they must have a common structural element. Kūkai called this common element *kyō*, "resonance" or "vibration," i.e., "sound."

Furthermore, like all Buddhists, Kūkai maintained that there are no permanent, unchanging substantial entities in the universe. What we superficially interpret to be independently existing permanent entities are actually processes existing interdependently with other processes. Since every thing and event we experience is a process, every thing and event we experience is constantly undergoing change, as are we who experience things and events. Kūkai called the element energizing all change and becoming *kyō*, "resonance." Resonance makes sounds, and sounds make words. To what do words refer? Reality—the Dharmakāya personified as Dainichi ceaselessly expressing itself to itself for itself.

Finally, we are in a position to understand how Kūkai understood the symbolic use of language. In my narrative, the "Uggh!" experience posits no sharp distinction between physiological, psychological, and verbal (body, mind, and speech) realities. For the father reciting "Mary, Mary, quite contrary. How does your garden grow," and for the child hearing it, what the rhyme "means" is ultimately the rhyme itself. For the nervous passenger reciting his Jesus "*mantra*," where is Jesus? Is Jesus only a state of the passenger's mind? Is Jesus physically present in the ambiance of the plane's interior? Is the reality of Jesus *only* verbal?

The point of these examples is to show that "truth words" (*mantra*, *shingon*) "are designed to make us plumb the macrocosmic level of expression until we reach the depths of the microcosmic."²² For, if a verbal expression leads us to direct encounter with the reality at the foundation of ordinary experience, and if it causes us to change our behavior and undertake Shingon practice,

those expressions are true macrocosmically as well as microcosmically. It is possible, therefore, to make this understanding of language into a hermeneutical criterion for interpreting various religious teachings, practices, and texts. That is, the more an exoteric or esoteric teaching, practice, or text leads us to recognize the microcosmic and macrocosmic dimensions of reality, the more true that teaching, practice, or text is.

This is exactly what Kūkai had in mind when he spelled out his hermeneutical strategy in 830 in his *Ten Stages of Mind* (*Jūjūshinron*) and in an abridgment written the same year entitled *Precious Key to the Secret Treasury* (*Hizōhōyaku*).²³ These two works were written as a response to an imperial order for doctrinal summations from each of the recognized Buddhist schools of Kūkai's time. Kūkai went beyond mere summation of Shingon teachings and practices by evaluating all Buddhist teachings known to him from a Shingon perspective. In fact, he set up a hierarchy of all the religious teachings and practices known to him. For each, he wrote a poem summarizing the teaching, followed by a prose description of the teaching combined with extensive quotations from scriptural and nonscriptural literary sources, and an evaluation of the teaching's strengths and weaknesses. A brief summary of each of the "ten stages of mind" should reveal the structure of Kūkai's hermeneutics.

One: The Deluded, Goat-like Mind. This is a non-religious, sub-human mental state in which some persons possess no moral or religious sensibilities, and therefore can neither regulate nor morally discipline their natural desires.

Two: The Ignorant, Childlike, but Tempered State of Mind. In this state human ideals are followed in a mechanical, rule-structured way. This state of mental development is beyond the first level because it evinces awareness of others and a sense of moral and social responsibility. Kūkai regarded it

- as the lowest state of moral consciousness, and identified it with Confucianism.
- Three: The Infant-like, Fearless State of Mind. Persons evolved to this stage perceive the limitations of the secular world and renounce it in hopes of attaining something transcendent that can serve as a source for serenity and immortality. Like newborn sucklings, such persons are oblivious to the rough and tumble of historical existence and find peace in something beyond. Kūkai identified this state of mind with Taoism.
- Four: The State of Mind that Recognizes the Existence of Psycho-physical Constituents Only (the Five *Skandhas*), not the *ātman* (Self). Persons at this stage understand Śākyamuni's teaching about impermanence, recognize the reality of the Five *Skandhas*, and therefore the emptiness of Self. Consequently, the personal gain sought at level three is overcome by the elimination of ignorance and desire for permanence. Kūkai identified this stage with the most primitive understanding of Buddhist teaching, the Śrāvaka or Theravada disciple of the Buddha.
- Five: The Mind Freed from the Seeds of the Law of Karma. Without hearing the teachings of any teacher, persons at this stage discover within themselves that the karmic roots of suffering are delusions. Breaking free from ignorance, such persons also break free from the karmic recycling of birth and death, and achieve enlightenment on their own. Such persons Kūkai identified with the Pratyek Buddha.
- Six: The Mahayana Mind with Compassion for Others. Recognizing that all *dharma*s, the microcosmic constituents of reality, are actually manifestations of mind, persons at this stage know by experience the emptiness (*śūnyatā*) of all things and events, as well as the emptiness of Self. Thus, they teach the universal enlightened compassion of the bodhisattvas. Kūkai identified this mental state with the Hōso (Yogācāra) lineage of the Buddhist Way.
- Seven: The Mind that Realizes that the Mind is Unborn. Through Nāgārjuna's eightfold negations, insight into the two levels of truth, and acceptance of the dialectical logic of the Middle Way, persons having this state of mind realize that the mind itself is unborn. Therefore, they realize that the distinction between mind and non-mind (subject and object, mind and body) is relative truth, not absolute truth. Kūkai identified this state with the Sanron (Mādhyamika) School of Buddhism.
- Eight: The Mind Truly in Harmony with the One Way. In this state, one rejects the exclusiveness of the dialectical logic of the Mādhyamika because one apprehends the unity of all approaches to enlightenment. Beyond sheer emptiness, the truth of enlightenment is also a "skill-in-means" (*upāya*) which depends on the audience hearing it. One mind contains all things. Kūkai identified this mental state with the Tendai teachings of his older contemporary, Saichō (767-822).
- Nine: The Highest Developed Exoteric Mind Aware of its Nonimmutable Nature. At this state, one recognizes the total interpenetration and interdependency of all things and events in space-time. Kūkai identified this state with the Kegon (Hua-yen) Buddhist lineage.
- Ten: The Glorious, Most Esoteric and Sacred Mind. This state of mental development subordinates all exoteric teachings and practices to the immediacy and comprehensiveness of esoteric Shingon teachings and practices. At this state, one does not merely know the interpenetration of all things and events, one participates in this interpenetration through esoteric ritual. The Dharmakāya, Dainichi, is directly experienced and is no longer a speculative, philosophical abstraction.

tion. Kūkai identified this state with his system of Shingon teaching and practice.

Several features are obvious in this scheme, but nevertheless should be summarized. First, this classification scheme is unique with Kūkai.²⁴ At least there are no similar examples in Chinese Buddhist tradition, even in the tradition of Shingon Kūkai introduced from China. However, there were various *p'an-chiao*²⁵ classification systems in China, especially in the T'ien-t'ai (Tendai) and Hua-yen (Kegon) schools. Also, texts such as the *Lotus Sutra* had developed the idea that the Buddha intended certain teachings for specific audiences as a "skill-in-means." But Kūkai's hermeneutical system classifies states of mental development, not teachings in sacred texts. That is, he understood specific teachings and practices as parts of different world views, or ways in which people lived in and interacted with reality. Furthermore, this idea is found in his earliest work, *Indications of the Goals of the Three Teachings* (*Sangō shiki*),²⁶ written long before his journey to China and before the Chinese sectarian *p'an-chiao* systems were known in Japan.

Accordingly, Kūkai stressed what religious teachings do to and do for people, rather than on what they say—their logic, consistency, and coherency. For example, at the lowest level, there are philosophies that portray people as driven primarily by instinctual desires and unconscious forces. In Kūkai's view, such teachings are false—not because of empirical evidence to the contrary, but because such teachings lead human beings to live their lives in an inhuman, animalistic world. Because the teachings and practices pointed to in levels two through ten all produce humane human beings, they are, in ascending degrees, more true than level one.

Second, Kūkai's hermeneutical theory assumed that a person's view of the world is confirmed by that person's own experience. One who is driven by instinctual desires and unconscious forces believes all human beings are so driven.

That is, a person's mind dwells in a world fitting that person's world view. This is the basic meaning of the "ten minds" (*jūshin*). His point was that it is possible to see the limitations of our known worlds only when we look beyond the worlds in which we dwell to other states of mind open to further dimensions of human development. Only then can we see the limits and falsehood of our previous conceptualities. Once more, in Kūkai's view, being aware of possibilities beyond our present state of awareness occurs only because of Dainichi's grace (*kaji*), understood as the spiritual resonance between Dainichi and us that makes us conscious of all worlds as expressions of Dainichi's own reality.

Third, the highest level, Shingon teachings produce individuals who directly and immediately know ultimate reality, Dainichi, at the microcosmic level. They also know, through symbolic imitation—through *mudra*, *mantra*, and visualization techniques of meditation—the cosmic Dharmakaya. However, all other teachings and practices—states two through nine—are exoteric religious Ways strictly limited to the macrocosmic level of reality. Kūkai ranks these exoteric teachings according to how readily they help their followers apprehend the existence of the microcosmic depths of experience and reality.

For example, Confucianists, unlike the lowest level of people, recognize the need for moral ideals. Yet they are only interested in maximizing social harmony while failing to see other dimensions of experience and reality. Kūkai placed the Taoists above them because, in their childlike dreaming of immortals and heavens, they recognize the possibility of dimensions of reality beyond the merely ethical and social. Theravadin Buddhists—states four and five—are superior to Taoists because they recognize the reality of impermanence and reject the idea of an immortal self. Still, Kūkai thought they fell short because they try to achieve enlightenment for themselves as if they were separate from the rest of the world.

States six through nine represent various Mahayana exoteric teachings and practices that all

accept the principle of universal enlightenment. This perspective is a step forward for Kūkai because it recognizes the "non-duality" of the Dharmakāya at the microcosmic and macrocosmic levels. That is, all four Mahayana states of mind emphasize their own particular conceptions of non-duality, their degree of adequacy increasing as one moves up the hierarchy to stage ten. Hōso, for example, stresses the non-duality of compassion and wisdom, Sanron the non-duality of *nirvāṇa* and *saṃsāra*, Tendai the non-duality of the various paths to enlightenment, and Kegon the non-dual interpenetration of all things and events at every moment of space-time.

But what distinguishes Level Ten, Esoteric Buddhism, from Levels Seven, Eight, and Nine? In what, in other words, lies the superiority of Shingon teachings and practices from the Sanron, Tendai, and Kegon lineages of the Dharma? Kūkai believed that Kegon, and to a lesser extent Sanron and Tendai, developed the highest levels of understanding possible through exoteric teachings and practices. That is, strictly through analysis of phenomenal existence—the macrocosmic level—followers of Sanron, Tendai, and Kegon have *partially* apprehended the transcendental microcosmic reality "in, with, and under" phenomenal existence as a logical *a priori* reality. But, Kūkai claimed, Sanron, Tendai, and Kegon lack experiential verification of this apprehension, which he believed was only available through the Shingon esoteric teachings and practices.

Kūkai's point was that non-esoteric followers of the Buddhist Way can only speculate about the microcosmic level of reality without truly knowing it by experience; only esoteric practices can engender direct experiential participation in the microcosmic dimension of ultimate reality from which all macrocosmic things and events at every moment of space-time flow and to which they all return. Through the practice of Shingon ritual, the seeker is able to effect epistemic, experiential *a posteriori* saving knowledge of the microcosmic.

This understanding is the center of Kūkai's hermeneutical circle. Once one has experienced the Dharma through the Shingon world view, one apprehends the microcosmic and macrocosmic dimensions of existence—in more common Western expression the transcendent and the immanent—as "symbolic expressions" (*monji*) of Dainichi. For Kūkai, there is no other way to achieve full enlightenment.

Accordingly, Kūkai's hermeneutical circle closes on a paradox: from the esoteric standpoint of Shingon teachings and practice, there are in fact no non-esoteric states of mind. This is what Thomas Kasulis had in mind in referring to Kūkai's hermeneutic as a "mandalic hermeneutic:"²⁷ all teachings and practices, whether exoteric or esoteric, emanate from Dainichi as the Dharmakāya itself. This can be seen in the full title of the *Ten Stages of Mind*, *Himitsu mandara Jūjushinron* or *The Secret Maṇḍala's Ten Stages of Mind*. Like the "Womb" or "Matrix Maṇḍala" Kūkai brought back from China, with Dainichi portrayed in the center of all the diverse realms of existence in the universe, Esoteric Shingon is at the center of Dainichi's "preaching." But as this preaching radiates out from this center, it is viewed differently according to different stages of mental development. It takes form not only as different forms of the Buddhist world view, but also as different worlds.

Interpreting the ten stages of mind as a mandalic hermeneutic brings two aspects of Kūkai's understanding of Buddhism into clearer focus. First, the *Ten Stages* and the *Precious Key* were written to show how there can be so much diversity in a single Buddhist Dharma.

Second, Kūkai's mandalic hermeneutic allowed him to appeal to esoteric texts of the Buddhist Canon as a scriptural foundation for his evaluation of esoteric lineages of the Buddhist Way. Not only did this give his mandalic hermeneutic "orthodox" legitimacy, its effect was to remind his readers that all schools of Buddhism can be viewed from an esoteric perspective—and

should be. Within themselves all schools of Buddhism have their own coherency and consistency; yet only the Shingon standpoint reveals that the unity behind the different versions of the Buddhist Way originate from a single source, the Dharma-makāya Dainichi Nyorai.

It is here that Kūkai's mandalic hermeneutic and his theory of language meet. Kūkai often explained complex points of his teachings by writing a poem. The truth of a religious teaching does not depend on the ontological status of its referent, but on how it affects us. For enlightened beings, the truth may be expressed through any medium, but for most of us who are unenlightened, a medium more suggestive and less explicit might be more effective. Kūkai often favored art over words as the best "skill-in-means" for communicating his teachings.

Still, we cannot do without words, so Kūkai also wrote long, involved, complex explanations of Shingon teachings and practices. He remained a religious teacher whose quest for liberating truth began with questions about the meaning of a sacred text. Or as he wrote to Emperor Heizei (reigned 806-809) upon his return from China in 806, cited in the quotation with which I began this essay, "The Dharma is beyond speech, but without speech it cannot be revealed."

FOOTNOTES

1. Yoshito S. Hakeda, tr., *Kūkai: Major Work* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), 145. All citations from Kūkai's works in this essay are from Hakeda's translation, although I have checked them against the original Chinese texts in Yoshitake Inaba (ed.), *Kōbō Daishi Zenshū* (*The Complete Works of Kōbō Daishi*), 3rd edition revised (Tokyo: Mikkyō Bunka Kenkyūsho, 1965). Although Hakeda's work is not a translation of Kūkai's complete works, it is the best English translation of the most influential of Kūkai's writings in print. Since I cannot improve on Hakeda's translation, I have used it with gratitude.

2. Kūkai, "Empty Sea," is commonly known as Kōbō Daishi, an honorific title posthumously awarded to him by the Heian Imperial Court. "Kōbō" means "to widely spread the Buddha's teachings, and "daishi" means "great teacher." He is still revered today as both a Buddhist master who widely spread the Buddha's teachings and as a culture hero.

3. This point has been eloquently made by Thomas P. Kasulis, "Truth Words: The Basis of Kūkai's Theory of Interpretation," *Buddhist Hermeneutics*, edited by Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988), pp. 257-58.

4. The term "esoteric" refers to "secret" oral instruction in the practice of Shingon rituals and forms of meditation transmitted from teacher to disciple only after the disciple has undergone the proper ritual initiation. For Kūkai's discussion of the differences between "esoteric" and "exoteric" forms of Buddhism, see his *Benkenmitsu nikyōron* (*The Difference between Esoteric and Exoteric Buddhism*), Hakeda, *Kūkai: Major Works*, 151-57. Also see Taiko Yamasaki, *Shingon: Japanese Esoteric Buddhism* (Boston: Shambala, 1988), 3-4.

5. Luis Gomez, "Buddhist Literature and Hermeneutics," *Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Mircea Eliade (New York: Macmillan Free Press, 1987), 529-40.

6. Lewis Lancaster, "Buddhist Literature: Its Canons, Scribes, and Editors," *The Critical Study of Sacred Texts*, ed. Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty (Berkeley: Berkeley Religious Studies Series, 1979), 215.

7. D. T. Suzuki, tr., *The Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1932), 82.

8. Edward Conze, tr., *The Larger Sūtra on the Perfection of Wisdom* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 404-14.

9. Kasulis, "Truth Words," *Buddhist Hermeneutics*, 262.

10. *Shōjijissōgi* (*The Meaning of Sound, Word, and Reality*) in Hakeda, 234-35.

11. Kūkai's conception of Dainichi, and subsequent Shingon doctrinal formulation, is based on standard Mahayana "three-body" Buddhology (Sanskrit, *trikāya*; Japanese, *sanshin*). Prior to Kūkai's teacher, Hui-kuo, Dainichi was regarded as one of a number of *sambhogakāya* (body of bliss) form of the eternal reality called *dharmakāya* ("Dharma" or "Teaching Body") that all buddhas comprehend when they become "enlightened ones." But in exoteric Buddhist teachings and esoteric Buddhist tantra prior to Hui-kuo and Kūkai, the *dharmakāya* is ultimate reality, beyond names and forms, utterly beyond verbal capture by doctrines and teachings, while yet the foundation of all Buddhist thought and practice. *Sambhogakāya* forms of Buddhas are not "historical buddhas" (*nirmāṇakāya*), of whom the historical Śākyamuni is an example; they exist in non-historical realms of existence, forever enjoying their enlightened existence, as objects of human veneration and devotion. Normally, all bodhisattvas and non-historical buddhas, including Dainichi, were represented as *sambhogakāya* forms of the eternal *dharmakāya*.

12. *Sokushin jōbutsu gi* (Attaining Enlightenment in This Very Existence), Hakeda, 225-39. Also see Yamasaki, 57-64.

13. *Sokushin jōbutsu gi*, 226.

14. *Shōjijissōgi*, 240-46.

15. That is: (1) "Wisdom Perceiving the Essential Nature of the World of Dharma" (*hokkai taishō chi*), represented by Dainichi seated in the center of the Womb Mandala; (2) "Mirror Like Wisdom" (*daienyō chi*), associated with Akṣobhya (Asuku) seated in the East; (3) "Wisdom of Equality" (*byōdōsho chi*), symbolized by Ratnasambhava (*Hōsho*) seated in the South; (4) "Wisdom of Observation" (*myōkan zatchi*), represented by Amitābha (Amida) seated in the West; and (5) "Wisdom of Action" (*jōsosa chi*), represented by Amoghasiddhi (Fukūjōju) seated in the North.

16. That is: (1) *A*, associated with the element Earth and the Buddha Mahāvairocana; (2) *Va*, associated with the element Water and the

Buddha Amoghasiddhi; (3) *Ra*, associated with Fire and the Buddha Ratnasambhava; (4) *Ha*, associated with the Wind or Air and the Buddha Amitābha; and (5) *Kha*, associated with Space and the Buddha Akṣobhya.

17. *Hizō hōyaku*, Hakeda, 219-24.

18. After writing this section, I discovered an essay written by Thomas P. Kasulis that offers a more complete example and fuller analysis of these linguistic experiences than I have. After reading his essay, I revised what I had written to follow his format. The narrative and examples are my own and reflect my experience. See "Reference and Symbol in Plato's *Cratylus* and Kūkai's *Shōjijissōgi*," *Philosophy East and West* 32 (October 1982): 393-405.

19. *Shōjijissōgi*, Hakeda, 240-45.

20. See Kasulis, "Reference and Symbol in Plato's *Republic* and Kūkai's *Shōjijissōgi*, 400.

21. *Shōjijissōgi*, Hakeda, 245-46.

22. Kasulis, "Truth Words," *Buddhist Hermeneutics*, 264. Also see Ian Astley-Kristensen, "Shingon Buddhism: This Body and the West," *Japanese Religions* 16 (January 1990): 28-30.

23. For a complete English translation of *Hizō hōyaku*, see Hakeda, 157-224.

24. See Adrian Snodgrass, "The Shingon Buddhist Doctrine of Interpenetration," *Religious Traditions* 10 (1987): 1-6 and Kasulis, "Truth Words," *Buddhist Hermeneutics*, 265.

25. The system devised by the schools of Buddhism in China to arrange Buddhist texts in an ascending hierarchy to the particular text or group of texts they regarded as the "final" teaching of the Buddha. Different schools of Chinese Buddhism had different versions of this hierarchy of texts.

26. Hakeda, 101-39.

27. Kasulis, "Truth Words," *Buddhist Hermeneutics*, 269.

The New Buddhism of Kamakura and the Doctrine of Innate Enlightenment

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Recent scholarship in Japanese religions has called attention to the need for a new look at Kamakura Buddhism, to see beyond the inherent limitations of many detailed studies centering on one or other of the religious luminaries that lived during this period but which fail to relate their subject with the other significant movements and figures of the same era, as well as to set in perspective the apologetic strain of sectarian-based treatments of the founders of the major sects that saw their beginnings during this period. This "new look" would aim at a more comprehensive grasp of the period and its significance for the whole of Japanese religious and social history.¹

Shimaji Daitō (1875-1927) had noted as far back as 1926 that the new forms of Buddhism which began during the Kamakura period of Japanese history can be seen against the backdrop of a common matrix deriving from Japan's Middle-Ancient (Chūko) Tendai. Shimaji pointed out the necessity and importance of further research into this particular period in the history of Japanese Buddhism.² More recently, Tamura Yoshirō (1921-1989) and others have succeeded in elucidating a significant element that characterizes this period, a religio-philosophical teaching called *Tendai hongaku shisō*, which we can roughly translate as "the doctrine of innate enlightenment." (See Tada, *et al.*, 1973.)³ In a monumental work that merited the Imperial Prize of the Japan Academy, Tamura pointed out its influence upon the New Buddhism of the Kamakura era (Tamura, 1965).

Since then the term "*hongaku shisō*" has come to common usage, characterizing what is said to be a distinctively Japanese contribution in

the development of Buddhist thought. This is a teaching which denies the dualistic opposition between such polar notions as *samsāra/nirvāṇa*, ordinary being/Buddha, this world/Pure Land, delusive passions/wisdom (or enlightenment), *etc.* (For concise accounts in English, see Tamura, 1984, 1987). It is a doctrinal standpoint that became influential from the late Heian period on and made its impact on subsequent Japanese thought and culture, in literature, arts, *etc.* (Tamura, 1969) Recently it has evoked a controversy among scholars in Japan as to its orthodoxy within the Buddhist tradition.⁴

This article will look at the work of Tamura Yoshirō on the influence of *Tendai hongaku shisō* on the major figures of the New Kamakura Buddhism, as laid out in his work *Kamakura Shin-Bukkyō no Kenkyū*, and offer critical observations and tasks for further investigation.⁵

It must be noted that the founders of the Buddhist movements that saw their beginnings during the Kamakura Period (known as the New Kamakura Buddhism or Shin-Bukkyō, to distinguish these from the "old" or established Buddhism which, of course, continued to predominate and wield its influence on society on this and later periods of Japanese history⁶) had a common background: Hōnen (1132-1212), Shinran (1173-1262), Dōgen (1200-1253) and Nichiren (1222-1282) all received training for a considerable number of years during the early part of their careers at Mt. Hiei, the center of Buddhist learning and activity at the time. This is the basis for the supposition that they were exposed to and at least acquainted with *Tendai hongaku shisō*, elements of which, as

Tamura undertakes to show, are reflected in their own fundamental teaching and writings. Their particular responses to the doctrine mark out the distinctive characteristics of their own Buddhist teaching.

HÖNEN'S RADICAL DUALISM

Hōnen entered Mt. Hiei at the age of fifteen. He studied the Buddhist scriptures assiduously, and received the appellation "Number One in Wisdom" for his erudition that included a mastery of the schools of Nara Buddhism, in addition to the program of studies in the Tendai school offered at Mt. Hiei. Continuing his religious search, at the age of forty-three he came upon a work of Chinese Pure Land Master Shan Tao (*Kuan-Ching-shao*, T. 1753) and was led to a profound religious experience triggered by the expression "The Name of Amida with One Heart, One Mind" found in this text. He then left Mt. Hiei and began to propagate Pure Land Doctrine centered on the recitation of the name of Amida. Finding a base at Yoshimizu in Kyoto, he attained a following among the samurai as well as the lower classes of society at the time. At the age of sixty-six he came out with his major work (*Senjaku-Hongan-Nembutsu-Shū*), setting the foundations for the Pure Land Sect in Japan.

Hōnen's fundamental religious standpoint is characterized by the radical opposition of this world of impermanence and of uncertainty and suffering on the one hand, and the absolute world of the Pure Land on the other, and the single-minded affirmation of the latter based on the rejection and denial of the former. Hōnen situates this absolute world in the next life, and believes that one who recites the name of Amida will be met by Amida himself at one's death and welcomed to the Pure Land (*raigō-shisō*).

This radically dualistic standpoint is seen in the context of the tumultuous age in which Hōnen

lived, with the Hōgen and Heiji uprisings (1156-1159) and the fall of the Heike (1185) together with the consequent socio-economic and political upheavals of the time, in the foreground of consciousness of the people. It was at this time that the Doctrine of the Latter Days of the Dharma (*mappō-shisō*) came into vogue, and became influential in the thinking of the Buddhist followers of the period. Hōnen himself presupposes this doctrine in his own teaching of Pure Land, and proclaims the inefficacy of salvation by any other means than reliance on the salvific power of Amida's vow, assured by the frequent recitation of Amida's name.

Hōnen's teaching of radical dualism and the invocation of the name of Amida as the sole means of salvation can be seen in contrast with other Pure Land thinkers before him. Ryōgen (912-985), Senkan (918-983), Zenyu (909-990), Genshin (942-1017), Kakuin (953-1007), Eikan (1033-1111), and Chinkai (1091-1152), coming from the Tendai tradition, as well as Kakuban (1095-1143) who is counted in the Esoteric tradition, include Pure Land elements in their teachings. In many of the writings of the above, Tamura traces the influence of the doctrine of innate enlightenment, noting passages affirming the connection between this impermanent world and the Pure Land. (See Tamura, 1965, pp. 475-524.)

With this radical dualism that sets in clear opposition the phenomenal world on the one hand and the Pure Land on the other, Hōnen makes a definitive break from the monistic teachings being transmitted at Mt. Hiei which were influenced by *Tendai hongaku shisō*. Hōnen thus sets himself apart from the established Buddhist circles of his day, and in so doing comes under attack and persecution from religious and secular authorities. The doctrine of innate enlightenment thus had a reactionary effect on Hōnen, accentuating his dualistic standpoint as he separated himself from Tendai's monistic tendencies.

SHINRAN AND THE AFFIRMATION OF THIS-WORLDLY REALITY

As one of Hōnen's loyal disciples, Shinran shared the fate of his master's persecution and exile. Deepening his own religious experience in the process, Shinran arrived at a stance that goes beyond Hōnen and distinguished himself from his mentor in the Pure Land teaching. Shinran's position, of course, merits treatment in greater detail, but the following will simply examine the elements marked out by Tamura as traceable to the influence of the doctrine of innate enlightenment and raise some questions in this regard.

A central difference between Shinran and his mentor Hōnen given in many standard treatments is in the former's emphasis on *shinjin*⁷, that is, absolute reliance and trust in the "other power" (of Amida's compassion). Another point of difference is Shinran's teaching of the efficacy of even a single invocation of the name uttered with thoroughgoing *shinjin* for the realization of the Pure Land. This is contrasted with Hōnen's encouragement of continued acts of invocation of Amida's name millions of times (*hyaku-man-ben*) in order to be assured of entry into the Pure Land.

But another key difference that ought not to escape attention is the affirmation of this-worldly reality in Shinran, as opposed to Hōnen's rejection of this world for a Pure Land in the next. In other words, Shinran does not share Hōnen's dualistic view that places a definitive break between this world and Pure Land, but assumes a stance that affirms this-worldly reality as the locus of the realization of the Pure Land. This affirmative stance is clearly visible throughout his writings, especially in the mature writings of his eighties.

First, Shinran teaches the possibility of the realization of Pure Land in one *shinjin*-filled invocation of the name of Amida. The attitude of waiting for the Pure Land in the future or after-life (*raigō-shisō*) comes to be problematic from Shinran's point of view. Such a view appears to undercut the dualism between this world and the

next, and leads to a stance described as "the affirmation of worldly reality" (*genjitsu-kōtei*), and further, to the affirmation of the salvation of the most wicked of this world (Tamura, 1970, p. 49). This stance of Shinran, according to Tamura, derives from the influence of the doctrine of innate enlightenment.

Second, in Shinran's writings we see the elevation of the person of *shinjin* as equal in stature to the buddhas and tathāgatas, and this reaffirms the unity between ordinary living beings and the Buddha (*nyorai-tōdō-setsu*). For example, in the *Letters of Shinran*, we find the following passage, repeated in other places also: "The Buddhas in ten quarters rejoice in the settling of this heart and praise it as being equal to the hearts and minds of all Buddhas. Thus, the person of true *shinjin* is said to be equal to Buddhas. That person is also regarded as being the same as Maitreya, who is destined to become the next Buddha." (*Mattōshō*,⁷ Shin Buddhism Translation Series, 1978)

This is related to Shinran's view placing *shinjin* on the same level as the absolute body of the Buddha (*dharmakāya*), equivalent to suchness, to buddha-nature, which is presented in the *Yuishinshō-mon-i* and the *Ichinen-tanen-mon-i*. "Since it is with this heart and mind of all sentient beings that they entrust themselves to the Vow of the *dharmakāya*-as-compassion, this *shinjin* is none other than Buddha-nature. This buddha-nature is dharma-nature. Dharma-nature is the *dharmakāya*." (*Yuishinshō-mon-i*, SZS 3, p. 171)

In other passages, it is indicated that Amida is this essential body, which is also called suchness, buddha-nature, etc. Thus, the view of the fundamental unity of Amida and ordinary living beings is an element of Shinran's view of the buddha-body (*butsuda-kan*). Such a view of unity that cuts away dualistic oppositions characteristic of Hōnen's teachings, distinguishes Shinran from Hōnen. According to Tamura, this standpoint is another element based on the influence of the doctrine of innate enlightenment.

The doctrine of the salvation of the wicked or *Akūnin-Shōki*, which characterizes Shinran's teaching, is also mentioned by Tamura as an element due to the influence of the doctrine of innate enlightenment (Tamura, 1965, p. 539). Although this point is only mentioned and not given full development in Tamura's treatment of Shinran, the implication is that it derives from Shinran's view of the thoroughgoing absoluteness of other-power, which is a standpoint that overcomes the dualism of self/other. And this ultimately derives from Shinran's view of the fundamental unity of the Buddha and ordinary beings (*nyorai-tōdō-setsu*), which grounds the salvation of the wicked, in Tamura's schema (p. 527). Thus, the connection with the doctrine of innate enlightenment is made.

The arguments by Tamura for the influence of the doctrine of innate enlightenment on Shinran are taken up and criticized by Nakanishi Chikai (Nakanishi, 1967).⁸ Nakanishi illustrates Tamura's failure to appreciate Shinran's existential situation centered on a profound awareness of karma (*shukugō*), an awareness which in Nakanishi's viewpoint is the foundation for Shinran's understanding of *shinjin*. To summarize Nakanishi's thesis, Shinran's teaching on *shinjin* and on the unity of ordinary beings with the Buddha is based not so much on a "reversion to non-dualism" that is due to the influence of the doctrine of innate enlightenment, as Tamura argues, but is based on an existential faith-stance that places absolute efficacy on the primal vow of Amida.

On the whole, Tamura's study on Shinran tries to connect the latter's religious standpoint that presented elements of an affirmation of this-worldly reality, such as the shift of emphasis from the afterlife in Hōnen to the here-and-now event of *shinjin*, the identification of ordinary beings with the Buddha (based on *shinjin*), and the salvation of the most wicked of this world, with a "reversion" (from Hōnen's radical dualism) to a non-dualistic standpoint that derives from the doctrine of innate enlightenment. Nakanishi has pointed out

the tenuous nature of this connection and looks into another dimension to ground Shinran's non-dual standpoint, that is to the latter's existential religious experience that leads to a thorough conversion of one's ego-centered existence by placing oneself totally in the all-embracing compassion of Amida.

Such a religious experience which involves the thorough turn-about ("con-version," Skt. *āśraya-parāvṛtti*) of one's ego-centered existence into a mode of being placed in absolute trust in the efficacious working of Amida's compassion, is the key for understanding Shinran's central message. To overlook the crucial role of such a fundamental experience easily leads to misunderstandings or misrepresentations of Shinran's teaching. For example, as is well known, the doctrine of the salvation of the wicked has easily been misunderstood, even during Shinran's time, as an affirmation of wickedness as such, or as an encouragement to do wicked acts in order to come closer to salvation. Such misunderstandings were the cause of sorrow for Shinran and for his immediate followers, leading these to reiterate Shinran's basic position in the *Tannishō* or *Notes on Lamentations on Heresies*.

An affirmation of wickedness as such, or the encouragement of wicked acts (i.e., as being no different from good acts "from the point of view of enlightenment"), was also the result of exaggerated views based on the doctrine of innate enlightenment, and the appearance of such views led to the critiques against *Tendai hongaku shisō* by Hōchibō-shōshin and Dōgen. (See Tamura, 1984)

DŌGEN'S NON-DUALISTIC STANDPOINT

Tamura (1965, pp. 548-574) examines how Dōgen's *Shōbōgenzō* abounds in expressions that bear close resemblance to themes treated and developed in *Tendai hongaku* writings.

The unity of practice and enlightenment is a basic emphasis of Dōgen in his Zen teaching. "Practice and enlightenment are not one, accord-

ing to the view of non-Buddhists. But in the teaching of Buddhism, practice is itself enlightenment, and because it is practice issuing from enlightenment, even the initial resolve to seek the Way is the embodiment of complete and perfect enlightenment." (Iwanami, I, 65)

This is also a standpoint presented in *Tendai hongaku* writings. For example, "One who knows this (i.e., the tathāgata which is innate enlightenment = *hongaku-nyorai*) is called saint, and one who gets lost in this truth is ordinary being. When one realizes the nondual truth-wisdom and attains the wondrous threefold truth of the essence of no-coming and no-going, there is no birth-death to cast off, one is enlightened as one practices." (Tada, et al., p. 35)

Then on the question of birth-death, Dōgen proclaims that "it is to be realized that birth-death is nirvana itself, and apart from birth-death there is no nirvana" (Iwanami, I, p. 63); "realize only that birth-death is nirvana, and that there is nothing such as birth-death to be cast away, and there is nothing such as nirvana to be yearned for." (Iwanami, III, p. 239). Such an emphasis on the unity of birth-death and nirvana is of course a repeated theme of *Tendai hongaku* writings.

On the notion of time, Dōgen teaches that "when one climbs a mountain or crosses a river, I am, and time is in my self. I already am, and time does not leave. If time is not in the appearance of going and coming, the time of climbing a mountain is the This Time of being time. If time preserves the appearance of going and coming, there is the This Time of being time in my self: this is being time." (Iwanami, I, p. 152) Also, "That which is called Now is the This Time of people. As I think of past, future and present, however it may take in thousands and tens of thousands (of years), all of this is Now, This Time." (Iwanami, I, p. 383)

In the *Makura no Sōshi*, a *Tendai hongaku* document, we find the following passages: "The time of the ancient past, the time of the present, and the time of the future, these are time that is one and

the same (*ittai*). " (NBZ, v. 32, p. 112-3) "There is no distinction between beginning, middle, and end. Why then discuss the ancient past and today?" (NBZ, v. 32, p. 113). "As to the waves of the great ocean, yesterday's waves as well as today's waves are entirely as one and the same. The thoughts of the three worlds (of past, present and future) are but this one thought." (NBZ, v. 32, p. 116)

Throughout Dōgen's works we find a radical re-reading of certain passages from Chinese Buddhist texts that indicate the originality of his religious thought and expression. For example, there is the classic passage affirming the inherent buddha-nature in all living beings ("All living beings in their entirety possess the buddha-nature"), which Dōgen renders as "all living beings and existents in entirety are buddha-nature" (Iwanami, I, p. 315). This reveals Dōgen's inner eye of enlightenment that enables one to see everything, mountains and rivers, sticks and stones, trees and grass, as the pure embodiment of buddha-nature itself. It is this inner eye of enlightenment that penetrates throughout his writings and lies behind such expressions that tend to absolutize everything in existence as a manifestation of the highest truth itself.

Tendai hongaku documents likewise abound in such absolutizations. For example, "All things (dharma) are buddha-dharma." (NBZ, v. 32, p. 108). "In the world of things (dharma) everything is truth manifest, and there is nothing that is not buddha. In facing the sky, the sky is buddha. In facing the great earth, one faces buddha." (NBZ, v. 32, p. 126)

The juxtaposition of passages gives the impression of a close affinity between Dōgen's basic standpoint and *Tendai hongaku* doctrine. However, Dōgen's explicit criticism of the latter marks the dividing line: he is speaking from the standpoint of the inner eye of enlightenment, and as one who continues to live in rigorous discipline and practice never ceasing to polish this inner eye, and for such a one, the absolutistic pronounce-

ments in the writings expounding the doctrine of innate enlightenment present the danger of a mistaken reading that makes one abandon discipline and practice, that leads an individual into the naive presumption that one is already accomplished in buddhahood whether one practices or not. This for Dōgen is a reversion to the egoistic standpoint, the diametric opposite of the world of enlightenment.

In the *Genjōkōan*, he warns: "To practice and realize the myriad things in the universe putting one's self forth is delusion; to practice and realize oneself putting forth the myriad things of the universe is enlightenment. To deeply realize delusion is of the buddhas; to be greatly deluded in enlightenment is of ordinary beings." (Iwanami, I, p. 83)

One can say from the examination of passages indicating affinity that there is a very thin line between Dōgen's standpoint and that of the object of his criticism, in this case the doctrine of innate enlightenment, but a thin line that makes all the difference between delusion and true realization: for Dōgen this is manifested in the attitude toward practice, whereby its neglect would be a clear indication of the reversion to an egoistic standpoint based on delusion.

In Dōgen then, affirmations of non-dualism are to be seen as checked by this vigilance in practice, whereby the proper meaning of the following is to be understood: "Buddha-nature is the adornment after one realizes buddhahood." (Iwanami, II, p. 110); "Although this truth is said to be abundantly present in everyone, it does not become manifest if one does not practice, and one does not attain it if there is no realization." (Iwanami, I, p. 55)

Tamura characterizes this critique by Dōgen as a reversion to a dualistic standpoint, but qualifies this by saying that it is due to Dōgen's characteristic emphasis on the concrete (*jisshō-shugi*) which is to be seen in contrast with the *Tendai hongaku* position of idealistic monism. (1965, p. 567)⁹

NICHIREN'S COMPREHENSIVE VISION BASED ON THE LOTUS SUTRA

The case of Nichiren and his relationship to the doctrine of innate enlightenment presents a problem, as many writings attributed to him are clear expositions of the doctrine itself. The authenticity of these particular writings attributed to Nichiren which explicitly expound *Tendai hongaku* doctrine however, has been called into question (Asai, 1945; Tamura, 1965, pp. 575-651) and these writings are surmised to be compositions of enterprising disciples who wrote after Nichiren's death. To take these works then and to conclude from them that Nichiren taught the doctrine of innate enlightenment would then be to beg the question, and so one must exercise particular care and attention in Nichiren's case, considering issues in textual and historical criticism which could determine the direction of one's findings. One can only say at this stage that there is still much to investigate and consider in this regard, and so the most viable path would be first to confine one's study to those writings that are authenticated as coming from Nichiren's own hand, and proceed from there.

In looking over the authenticated writings of Nichiren, one notices the development and shift of his views from his earliest writing, the *Kaitai-Sokushinjōbutsu-gi*, which is very heavily under the influence of Esoteric teachings and tends to a monistic standpoint, to his later works, wherein he explicitly attacks Esoteric doctrine as erroneous and presents a confrontational stance *vis-a-vis* historical reality from his position as practitioner of the message of the *Lotus Sutra*. One must distinguish then the early Nichiren still under Esoteric and the later and mature Nichiren who comes to full awareness of his mission as prophet of the *Lotus Sutra*, and the dividing line can be set with the Sado exile, wherein he is deepened in his religious experience and confirmed in his mission in the context of persecutions and worldly tribulations. (Tamura, 1965, p. 589)

Thus, we find the early Nichiren employing vocabulary common with writings of the doctrine of innate enlightenment. For example, "when we attain the enlightenment of the Lotus, we realize our body of physical-mental existence of birth-death to be no-birth and no-death. It is the same with the land. This land, with its cows, horses and six realms of beings are all buddhas. Grass and trees, the sun and moon are all the holy sangha. As it says in the sutra, these things dwell in the dharma rank, and the forms of the world are eternally pervading." (NIB, I, 14) "The enlightenment of the *Lotus Sutra* is this: to realize that this land and our body and the body-memorial (*śāriṃ*) of the Tathāgata-Śākyamuni are one." (NIB, I, 15)

It is significant to note that Nichiren's home temple, Kiyozumi, where he first entered monastic orders, began his Buddhist learning, and inaugurated his public mission, is a temple in the *Taimitsu* line, i.e., transmitting Esoteric doctrine in the Tendai tradition, and that early in his training at the age of seventeen he had hand-copied the *Entaragishū*, an early work propounding the doctrine of innate enlightenment. (This hand-copy of Nichiren is extant.) At this stage he remains quite optimistic and fired with his vision of a comprehensive Buddhist teaching that would unite state and society under the Dharma. His vitriolic attacks against the teaching of Hōnen at this stage is said to stem from the irreconcilability of the latter's dualistic position separating this historical world from the idealized Pure Land, for him a mistaken position militating against his own program of a comprehensive Buddhism backed by a monistic standpoint.

But as Nichiren encounters persecution and opposition from established authorities on account of his teaching on the primacy of the *Lotus Sutra* and of his urging the proscription of other Buddhist sects "for the peace of the nation," a more confrontational stance takes prominence, and Nichiren dissociates himself from a monistic position that unqualifiedly affirms all things as manifestation of the Buddha or of true Dharma. As he comes to

deepen his understanding of his mission as a religious reformer based on the implementation of the true Dharma in the social and political spheres of life, and to realize that historical realities stand in stark contrast to such an ideal, the untenability of an unqualified monism becomes manifest, and thus he likewise heaps criticism against the monistic Esoteric doctrine in which he had been nurtured in his early years.

In sum, Tamura points to textual evidence for *Tendai hongaku* influence on early Nichiren, and proposes a set of critical norms for examining the authenticity of many writings still under dispute based on his later break with monism. Tamura's thesis can be summarized as follows: "we must distinguish the early Nichiren, still susceptible to the influence of the doctrine of innate enlightenment, and the later Nichiren, tempered by his experiences of persecution and failure and led to a confrontational stance with worldly realities and yet still fired with his mission of social reformation based on the *Lotus Sutra*. In the latter, marked off by the Sado exile, Nichiren moves away from a monistic standpoint, and therefore dissociates himself from the doctrine of innate enlightenment. Any writing attributed to him at this later period which employ *Tendai hongaku* terminology, etc., would then be suspect."

Tamura however tends to make rather simplistic and sweeping statements based on his proposed norms, dismissing outright certain works because they contain this or that term that smacks of the doctrine of innate enlightenment. Thus, instances of esoteric-influenced or monistic-leaning themes in the authenticated writings would present a problem in Tamura's schema. Admitting the usefulness of Tamura's schema as one possible set of norms, nevertheless it seems we would have to apply other principles towards greater precision in understanding the various influences in Nichiren's thought.

The precise influence of the doctrine of innate enlightenment as a background in his thought as it developed in various stages throughout

Nichiren's life remains a question calling for further investigation beyond Tamura's overly simplistic schema. Ienaga (1963) raised related issues.

CONCLUDING SUMMARY: UNDERSTANDING KAMAKURA BUDDHISM

With his work *Kamakura Shin-bukkyō-shisō no Kenkyū*, the late Tamura Yoshirō has made a significant contribution towards a better understanding of a set of ideas that served as a background which influenced the movements in the period which we can call the watershed of Japanese religious history. In this *opus*, after Tamura traces the stages of the development of *Tendai hongaku shisō* and describes its character as absolute monism that is taught, transmitted and propagated at Mt. Hiei, he goes on to examine the founders of the New Buddhist movements of the Kamakura period in terms of their relationship to this doctrine.

First, Hōnen is presented as having reacted against it, "regressing" into a dualism centered on the opposition between this world and the Pure Land.

Shinran is pictured as having overcome Hōnen's dualism due to *Tendai hongaku* influence, and arriving at a True Pure Land standpoint that positively affirms worldly reality, reflected in aspects of his teaching such as the rejection of *raigō-shisō* or the after-death event of meeting with Amida; the *nyorai-tōdō-setsu* or doctrine of equality between buddha and ordinary beings; the *akunin-shōki-setsu* or the affirmation of the primacy of the salvation of the wicked; and *jinen-hōni* or naturality in action. In short, these key aspects that bring out Shinran's originality are attributed by Tamura to *Tendai hongaku* influence.

Dōgen is described as presenting a view in many ways similar to that of the doctrine of innate enlightenment, in his affirmations of non-duality of birth-death and nirvana, in his teaching on being-time, etc., but he criticizes the doctrine of innate enlightenment based on his own emphasis

on the importance of practice. For Tamura this is a "regression" into dualism, as it makes distinctions between delusion and enlightenment, practice and non-practice, etc.

Nichiren is presented in two phases, an early phase still subject to *Tendai hongaku* influence where he makes pronouncements revealing a monistic standpoint, and a later phase rejecting monism and reverting to a standpoint placing historical and social realities as in tension and opposition with the absolute world, a phase precipitated by the failure of his endeavors and the persecution he received from the authorities. The distinction of these two phases is presented by Tamura as a base for a critical norm for considering the authenticity or inauthenticity of many works attributed to Nichiren, in tracing terms of alleged *Tendai hongaku* influence and examining these in the light of the purported period in which they were written.

Tamura's schema attempts to elucidate the philosophic-religious standpoints of the Kamakura founders and examines their particular Buddhist teachings in terms of an interplay of monism-dualism, with the doctrine of innate enlightenment as the reference point on one pole, and the particular founder's attitude toward historical and worldly realities on the other. Such a schema allows for comparison and contrast based on a common framework, and certainly helps in situating these major figures in relation with each other in the light of this framework.

However, such a schema tends to oversimplification, and would gloss over significant factors underlying the particular teachings of the founders which point us back, on the one hand, to their primal religious experience (see for example Nakanishi), and their grappling with and their stance *vis-a-vis* social and historical realities of their time in the light of this primal experience, on the other.

Further investigation into the above Kamakura figures on the relationship of these two aspects, i.e., their primal religious experience, on

the one hand, and their stance *vis-a-vis* social and historical realities, on the other, are called for, to throw greater light on the question of the unique contribution as well as underlying commonality (i.e., as *Buddhist* teaching) of these Kamakura masters. (As one example of an investigation into this relationship between religious experience and stance *vis-a-vis* social and historical realities, see Futaba, 1970.)

More recent studies are shedding further light on the Kamakura period in terms of a socio-religious history, i.e., on the interconnection between the socio-political, economic and cultural elements of the period and the religious ferment and development that left its mark on subsequent phases of Japanese history. Tamura's work provides one point of consideration in elucidating a mode of thinking (the doctrine of innate enlightenment) that was of crucial influence in the religious circles of the era, in mapping out its roots in Buddhist doctrinal history through India and China, and pointing out the distinct contribution of indigenous characteristics in its development and full flowering on Japanese soil.

Tendai hongaku shisō or the doctrine of innate enlightenment, hailed by Tamura as the "climax" or apex in the development of Buddhist thought, is thus referred to by him as a unique Japanese contribution to Buddhism. However, whether it is uniquely Japanese, (or for example, whether it reveals a common tendency with other esoteric traditions in different cultural and geographic contexts), and whether it is indeed Buddhism or an aberration of it, are questions now raised by younger scholars, and are ongoing issues in Japanese academic circles. (Cf. Hakamaya, 1989,¹⁰ 1990, and Matsumoto, 1990)

FOOTNOTE

1. Among recent studies which deserve mention are Ōzumi Kazuo, "Kamakura Bukkyō to sono kakushin undō," *Iwanami Kōza Nihon Reki-shi* 5: *Chūsei*. Iwanami Shoten, 1975; Kuroda

Toshio, *Nihon Chūsei no Kokka to Shūkyō*, Iwanami Shoten, 1975, and *Nihon Chūsei no Shakai to Shūkyō*, Iwanami Shoten, 1990; Takagi Yutaka, *Kamakura Bukkyō-shi Kenkyū*, Iwanami Shoten, 1982; Ōno Tatsunosuke, *Kamakura Shinbukkō Seiritsu-ron*, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1982; Satō Hiroo, *Nihon Chūsei no Kokka to Bukkyō*, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1987; Matsuo Kenji, *Kamakura Shinbukkō no Seiritsū — Nyūmon Girei to Soshi Shinwa*, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1988; Sasaki Kaoru, *Chūsei Kokka no Shūkyō Kōzō — Taisei Bukkyō to Taiseigai Bukkyō no Sōkoku*, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1988; Takagi Yutaka, ed., *Ronshū Nihon Bukkyō-shi 4: Kamakura Jidai*, Yūzankaku, 1988.

2. Shimaji Daitō, "Nihon Ko-Tendai Kenkyū no Hitsuyō wo Ronzu," *Shisō*, vol. 60 (1926). Cited in Tamura, 1965, p. 370.

3. An English article of Tamura (1984) translates the term with the awkward "Original Awakening Thought;" "Inherent enlightenment" and "innate awakening" have also been used for *hongaku*.

4. Hakamaya Noriaki, *Hongaku-shisō Hihan*, Daizō Shuppan, 1989, *Hihan Bukkyō*, Daizō Shuppan, 1990, and Matsumoto Shirō, *Engi to Kū: Hongaku-shisō Hihan*, Daizō Shuppan, 1990, are collections of articles by two young scholars critical of various themes of *hongaku shisō* which have provoked discussion and debate in Japanese academic circles. Recently a popular-oriented Buddhist monthly devoted a special issue on this debate, with articles by academics and journalistic writers as well. (See *Āgama*, vol. 118, February 1991.)

5. I am personally deeply indebted to the late Professor Tamura, and grateful for the privilege of having been able to attend his seminars on *Tendai hongaku shisō* for several years during the early to mid-seventies at Tokyo University and to have received his personal guidance.

6. I find that the distinction between "new" and "old" is still a viable framework in talking of Kamakura Buddhism, (James H. Foard, "In search

of a Lost Reformation: A Reconsideration of Kamakura Buddhism," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, Dec. 1980:7/4,261-291 notwithstanding) to distinguish the religious movements which originated during this period which came to be significant sociological entities ("sects" in the proper sense) in later periods of Japanese history. Kuroda, 1975 (cf. note 1, above) makes significant points in reevaluating the continuity and prevailing influence of the "old" Buddhism, correcting stereotyped pictures of the "New Buddhism" presented with sectarian biases.

7. Standard English translations use the word "faith," but I follow Hirota (1991) in simply rendering *shinjin* to mean that attitude of entrusting oneself totally to Amida's vow.

8. I am grateful to Dr. Alfred Bloom of the Institute of Buddhist Studies, Berkeley, California, for calling my attention to Nakanishi's paper.

9. Since Tamura's work, a significant study examining the influence of *Tendai hongaku shisō* on Dōgen has been published by Yamauchi Shun'yū, entitled *Dōgen Zen to Tendai Hongaku Hōmon*, Daizō Shuppan, 1985. The inquiry is also taken up by Ikeda Rosan, *Dōgen-gaku no Yōran*, Daizō Shuppan, 1989.

10. Cf. a review by Paul Swanson, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol.17/1, 1990, for an introduction to the discussion generated in Japanese academic circles.

ABBREVIATIONS OF TEXTURAL SOURCES

Iwanami *Shōbōgenzō*, 3 vols. Ed. by Etō Sokuō, Iwanami Bunko, 1942.

NBZ *Dai Nippon Bukkyō Zensho*

NIB *Shōwa Teihon Nichiren Shōnin Ibun* (1952-56)

SZS *Teihon Shinran Shōnin Zenshū* (1969)

(Unless otherwise indicated, I take responsibility for English translations of excerpts from the above sources quoted in this article.)

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- _____. "Critique of Original Awakening Thought in Shōshin and Dōgen," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 11/2-3 (1984).
- _____. "Japanese Culture and the Tendai Concept of Original Enlightenment," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 14/2-3 (1987).

Rennyo's Legacy: *The Letters* as Scripture¹

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Having reflected on the inferior ability of beings of the last age, examined the sutras and commentaries and the explanations of the masters and their disciples, and grasped the essential point for readily-attainable birth [in the Pure Land] for ignorant, ordinary people, [Rennyo] wrote numerous important letters, beginning about the first year of the Kanshō era [1460]. They are a clear light for the last age [*matsudai no meitō*] and the sole guide for this defiled world.

Rengo (1468-1543)²

Rennyo's spoken and written words are his greatest legacy—the writers of his memoirs affirm this again and again. They recall what he said at length and in rich detail, but their highest praise is for his letters and their deepest gratitude for the teaching conveyed through them. For Rengo, Rennyo's seventh son, these letters are a beacon, the only source of help in the last dharma-age. In Jitsugo's record, we find a similar evaluation: "Day after day we hear the golden words of the letters; he has given us jewels."³ And again, from the same source: "It should be understood that the letters are the direct teaching of the Tathāgata. When we look at them, [we find] Hōnen; when we hear the words, [we realize that] they are the direct teaching of Amida."⁴

The Letters,⁵ written in colloquial Japanese, has been compared to Martin Luther's translation of the Bible into the German.⁶ Both Rennyo and Luther (1483-1584), virtually contemporaries, participated in religious reformation in opposing the established religious institutions of their day, in suffering persecution, and in becoming involved in some way with popular uprisings of farmers.⁷ A point to underscore here is that, through translation into the vernacular, each made readily available a scriptural tradition for the general populace in their respective times and places; a second point, a commonplace, is that every translation is an interpre-

tation which adds to, as well as subtracts from, the words originally spoken or written. To the extent the latter holds true for Luther, so much more does it apply for Rennyo, who in authoring his letters reformulated and simplified Shinran's teaching in his effort to communicate effectively at a popular level.

We have seen that Rennyo's initiation into the Honganji branch of the Shinshu under the prolonged tutelage of his father and grandfather was, in large measure, an introduction to a Pure Land textual tradition. Through a process of hearing, watching others copy, memorizing and reciting, reading, and doing his own copying, Rennyo internalized the meaning of a diverse body of texts: the three Pure Land sutras; the commentaries of the seven Pure Land masters; the writings of Shinran, Kakunyo, and Zonkaku; Pure Land texts reflecting popular folk religiousness; and, in particular, *Anjin ketsujōshō*. It was primarily through the medium of the written word that Rennyo responded to the major challenges of his life, beginning with the crisis years at Yoshizaki, where he wrote many of his most innovative and compelling letters. Again, Rennyo's restoration of the Honganji, symbolized by the building of the Founder's Hall at Yamashina, was accompanied by a series of letters prepared especially for reading at the annual thanksgiving services. Finally, his retirement years elic-

ited a renewed flow of literary reflection on Shinran's teaching in language informed largely by Rennyo's devotion to the text, *Anjin ke-tsujōshō*.

In this essay, we review the stages through which Rennyo's successors selected certain of his letters to serve as a canonical text,⁸ drew on *The Letters* as the primary source for a confessional statement defining orthodox Shinshu piety, and cited it as the final authority in arbitrating a disruptive doctrinal controversy internal to the Nishi Honganji. First, however, it is necessary to set Rennyo's writings in context within a Pure Land Buddhist movement inaugurated by a founder's unique reading, understanding, and translation of received texts.

THE TEACHING

A pamphlet in English, "Brief Introduction to Jodo Shinshu," prepared by a former presiding officer and Bishop of the Buddhist Churches of America, introduces Shinshu tradition as follows:

The accepted date of the founding of this denomination is 1224, when the first draft of Shinran's most important book "Teaching, Practice, Faith, and Attainment" (*Kyō Gyo Shin Shō*) was completed.⁹

Despite conflicting theories for the date of the final revision of *Kyōgyōshinshō*, the point stands that it is the writing of a text that may be seen to mark the birth of a radically new Pure Land movement, the Jodo Shinshu, in Japanese history; Shinran speaks of this movement as "the culmination of the Mahayana."¹⁰

Written in classical Chinese, *Kyōgyōshinshō* is the most systematic presentation of Shinran's thought. The introduction to a recent translation of the first two chapters renders a judgement with which many would agree: "[It] stands seven hundred years after its composition as a monumental classic of Japanese religious thought, and one of the most

seminal and original contributions in the long history of Japanese Buddhism."¹¹ Without question, *Kyōgyōshinshō* is a major religious symbol for participants in Shinshu tradition; nevertheless, it is largely unread, except by sectarian scholars and students of religion. Only a small section of this important text, the 120-line *Shōshinge*, is included among the selections representing Shinran in a multi-volume series of Japanese literary classics.¹² The *Kyōgyōshinshō* as a whole appears to have been judged too demanding for readers of the series. Together with *Shōshinge*, the texts chosen as representative of Shinran are selections of his original compositions in Japanese: hymns and letters, as well as Yuien's *Tannishō*. It is an indisputable fact, however, that there is no way to come to terms intellectually and aesthetically with the depth, subtlety, and architectonic beauty of Shinran's thought without struggling with *Kyōgyōshinshō*'s chapter on faith, known as the *shinkan*.

Shinran's preface to *Kyōgyōshinshō* clarifies the fundamental importance of the written word—the three Pure Land sutras and discourses of the two Pure Land Indian masters as well as the commentaries of the five masters in China and Japan—for the transmission of the Buddha-dharma and the realization of faith:

I, Gutoku Shinran, disciple of Śākyamuni—how joyful I am! It is difficult to meet with the scriptures [*seiten*] from India and the commentaries [*shishaku*] of the masters of China and Japan, but now I have been able to meet them. It is difficult to hear them, but already I have been able to hear. Entrusting myself with reverence to the teaching, practice, and realization that are the true essence of the Pure Land way, I am in particular aware of the profundity of the Tathāgata's benevolence. Here I rejoice over what I have heard and praise what I have received.¹³

In this passage, Shinran uses the term *seiten*, which

in contemporary usage has taken on the meaning "scripture" or, perhaps, a meaning analogous to "Bible" for English-speaking participants in Shinshu tradition.¹⁴ However, *seiten*, also read *shōten*, appears in only two other places in Shinran's writings: one, in chapter six of *Kyōgyōshinshō* in a lengthy quote from *Mappō tōmyōki*, attributed to Saichō (767-822); the other, in Shinran's *Jōdo monrui jushō*, in a verse referring to Hōnen:

Genkū [Hōnen], clearly understanding the sacred scriptures,
Turned compassionately to foolish people,
both good and evil;
Establishing in this remote land the teaching
and realization that are the true essence of the
Pure Land way,
He transmits "the selected Primal Vow" to us
of the defiled world...¹⁵

Here again, Shinran's use of the term *seiten* is limited to the three major Pure Land sutras and the discourses by the Indian masters, Nāgārjuna and Vasubandhu. As noted earlier, he has a vivid sense of standing on the ground of Amida's Vow-mind, secured by an unbroken line of transmission of spoken and written texts.¹⁶ His entire life, as he says in the preface to *Kyōgyōshinshō*, is a joyful response to the Tathāgata's benevolence in allowing him to encounter the scriptures and the commentaries of the Pure Land masters. For Shinran, the *Larger Sutra* is the preeminent text. Passages culled from a wide range of other Mahayana writings, with minimal commentary of his own, are used to support what he has experienced and discovered through this sutra. On the basis of his punctuation and notations of the Chinese texts for reading in Japanese,¹⁷ he is content to have the texts speak for themselves. For example, at the end of the first chapter of *Kyōgyōshinshō*, "A Collection of Passages Revealing the True Teaching of the Pure Land Way," he writes: "These passages give clear testimony that the *Larger Sutra* reveals the true teaching."¹⁸ Again, in his *Jōdo monrui*

jushō: "Assuredly this [*Larger*] sutra is the true teaching for which the Tathāgata appeared in the world. It is the preeminent scripture [*ten*], rare and most excellent."¹⁹

Shinran's unique reading and utilization of these passages has invited criticism; a Buddhist scholar charges that Shinran, rather than quoting the passages, changes their meaning:

It is difficult to recognize them as quotations; they are basically nothing more than original passages. In order to set forth his own views, he borrowed passages from the sutras, treatises, and commentaries that suited his own purposes.²⁰

Scholars engaged in the translation of the entire corpus of Shinran's writings into English conclude their response to this criticism as follows:

... It may be said that Shinran's readings are the most faithful to the original—the source—meaning of the texts. He did not alter the texts ignoring the original meaning as some have charged; quite to the contrary, he read the source meaning of the scriptures more deeply and clearly than the original authors, and in order to bring it out, he changed the traditional readings where he felt that they were inadequate.²¹

Underlying Shinran's translation and interpretation of the passages is his confidence that Amida's call has been conveyed to him through the Chinese texts.

In order to develop Shinran's notion of written text beyond his limited but significant use of the term *seiten* (or *shōten*), we turn to a second term, *shōgyō*, frequently translated within the sectarian tradition as "sacred writings" or "sacred scriptures." *Shōgyō* occurs in three quotations from Chinese texts included in *Kyōgyōshinshō* and several times in Shinran's Japanese writings, as well as in Yuien's *Tannishō*.

The *Kyōgyōshinshō* includes a quotation from Tao-ch'o's *An li chi* (*Anrakushū*), a commentary on the *Meditation Sutra*:

It is said that the nembutsu of those of long practice may often be done in accordance with the above [instructions]. In the nembutsu practice of beginners, it is permissible to keep count of the number of utterances. This conforms with the sacred scriptures [*shōgyō*].²²

The *Kyōgyōshinshō* also contains a quotation from the *Sutra Taught to Nigranthas* (*Sassha nikenjikyō*), a passage describing the second of the five grave offenses applying to bodhisattvas, pratyekabuddhas, and shravakas as:

slandering the three-vehicle dharma, saying that it is not scripture [*shōgyō*], impeding [its spread], damaging [the texts], halting or making [their transmission] difficult, or concealing and obscuring them.²³

In the postscript to *Tannishō*, the author, Yuien, laments the confusion that may arise after his death in regard to Shinran's teaching. He advises:

When you are confused by people who discuss among themselves such views as those noted above, carefully read the sacred writings [*onshōgyō*] that accord with the late master's thought and that he himself used to read. In the sacred writings, the true and real and the accommodated and provisional are mixed. That we abandon the accommodated and take up the real, set aside the provisional and adopt the true is Shinran's fundamental meaning. You must under no circumstances misread the sacred writings. I have selected a number of important scriptural passages [*shōmon*] and appended them to this volume as a standard.²⁴

Shinran also uses the term *kyōten* in the traditional

sense of "sutra" (the recorded words of the Buddha) in quotations from Shan-tao and from the *Nirvana Sutra* (*Nehangyō*) appearing in *Kyōgyōshinshō*. Of particular interest is the scroll inscription in *Songō shinzō meimon*, quoting a passage from Vasubandhu's *Treatise on the Pure Land* (*Jōdoron*):

Relying on the sutras [shu-ta-ra] in which the manifestation of the true and real virtues is taught. With I, Vasubandhu, the author of the treatise [*ronchu*], declares himself. *Relying on the sutras:* Sutra is an Indian term for the recorded words [*kyōten*] of the Buddha, including both the Mahayana and Hinayana teachings. Here, however, "sutra" indicates the Mahayana sutras, not those of the Hinayana. The "three scriptures [*kyōten*]" which we use are Mahayana sutras, and Vasubandhu's phrase means "depending on these three Mahayana sutras." *True and real virtues:* the sacred Name that embodies the Vow. *Manifestation:* form.²⁵

As evidenced by his own writings and Yuien's record, Shinran resists any implication that the teaching is something of his own creation. He sees himself as the transmitter of what he has received through his master, Hōnen. Convinced that he is incapable of accomplishing any good himself, he writes simply out of his personal experience of the salvific truth of the Tathāgata's benevolence, received through a textual tradition. Within that tradition, the *Larger Sutra* bears indisputable witness that Amida's Vow—the transcendent—has been manifested in India in the teachings of Śākyamuni—the mundane.

TEXTS AND CONTEXTS

On the occasion of the thirty-third anniversary of Shinran's death, Kakunyo prepared his *Hōonkō shiki*, a celebration of Shinran's virtues. Kakunyo's perception of the core of the textual tradition increasingly focused on the words of

Shinran, whom he identifies as a manifestation of Amida Tathāgata:

That is to say, his widespread teaching [*kyō*] and practice [of the nembutsu; *gyō*] should most certainly be regarded as Amida's direct teaching—which, by clearly setting forth the pure light of wisdom, dispels the darkness of delusion in this defiled world, and by sprinkling the dharma-rain in its sweetness everywhere, slowly but steadily permeates our dryness, our ignorance and confusion. Realizing that this is its purpose, we should entrust ourselves to it and revere it.²⁶

While the content of the Shinshu's textual tradition expands to include the writings of Kakunyo, Zonkaku, and Rennyo, there is increasing emphasis on scripture as a major religious symbol for the tradition.

Kakunyo's *Kudenshō* reports an incident which sets in broader context Shinran's cryptic statement in *Tannishō* that he had no disciples; in addition, it offers further insight as to how scripture was perceived. According to this account, Shinran was in disagreement with Shingyō, who had earlier been his disciple and to whom he had given an image of the Buddha and scriptures. When Shingyō was on the point of returning to his own province, having rejected Shinran's teaching, other disciples ran to Shinran, saying that he should demand the return of the image and the texts. Kakunyo reports that Shinran replied:

It would be highly inappropriate to take back the main image and scriptures [*shōgyō*]. The reason for this is that [I], Shinran, do not have even a single disciple. What do I teach that I could speak of having disciples? As we are all disciples of the Tathāgata, we are all fellow practitioners...

The image and the scriptures are compassionate means for the benefit of all sentient beings.... Therefore, even if scriptures

in which my name was written were discarded in the mountains or in a field,...many sentient beings in that place might be saved by those scriptures and each and every one receive benefit from them.²⁷

Shinran's single-minded devotion to Amida and gratitude for the teaching manifested in the Pure Land sutras, the commentaries of the Pure Land masters, and the person of Hōnen is redirected by Kakunyo to the person of Shinran as founder and to his writings as the authoritative texts. In due course, the writings of both Kakunyo and Zonkaku, despite disownment of the latter by his father, were to be included also in the Shinshu scriptural corpus.

Rennyo, as we have seen, was initiated into Shinshu tradition largely through a process of internalizing the teaching through his tireless copying of Pure Land texts. In a tradition which rejected any notion of gaining merit through self-effort, copying texts was only to be understood in terms of spiritual discipline as an act of thanksgiving. Rennyo takes the Shinshu textual tradition very seriously indeed: in his letters, he deplores those priests who are barely acquainted with the scriptures (*shōgyō*);²⁸ he takes to task others who, in neglecting them, disregard the settling of their own faith and fail to instruct their followers.²⁹ He warns those responsible for presenting the teaching:

When you read the scriptures, for example, or when you speak [even] briefly about the teaching, you must [first] ascertain [whether the listeners have, or lack, good from the past].³⁰

Among the participants in our tradition in various provinces, there are many who defile the meaning of the dharma by discussing eccentric teachings not prescribed in the scriptures designated by our founder. This is a situation beyond comprehension.³¹

The import of our tradition is ... that for those who do not realize the significance of the one thought-moment of faith—even though they may diligently read the various scriptures and be widely informed—all is in vain.³²

We should recognize ... that all the scriptures have the sole intent of bringing us to entrust ourselves to the six characters "na-mu-a-mi-da-butsu."³³

Each of the summer letters, written during Rennyo's final year in preparation for the annual seven-day thanksgiving services, underscores the significance of scripture in relation to the realization of Other-Power faith. From the first, written during the latter part of the fifth month of Meiō 7 (1498):

Everyone has gathered here, saying that they have come to listen to today's scriptures, [but what must be understood is that] this will be of no use at all unless they hear and are convinced, thoroughly understanding the significance of faith and holding no unsettled thoughts from today on.³⁴

From the second, written during the same month:

The purpose of reading the scriptures is to cause [the listeners] to realize Other-Power faith; it is done so that they will hear and understand its significance and correct the shallowness of their own faith. This is the fundamental intent in Buddha-dharma. Therefore, although there is scripture [reading] every day, unless you make an attempt to understand, your coming will amount to nothing at all.³⁵

From the third, written during the middle of the sixth month of the same year:

The sole purpose in reading the scriptures is to cause [those who listen] to realize Other-Power faith.³⁶

From the fourth, written during the middle of the seventh month:

Although I have always selected and read important passages of scripture every day, not one person has spoken of what was impressive or what was unclear in the day's scriptures; not a single person has come forth.... There are now only thirty days left for the reading of these scriptures. [To listen] unconcernedly, as if [the reading would continue] forever, and without improvement in one's understanding most certainly [reveals] a lack of aspiration. Indeed, it is just as if one went to a mountain of treasure and returned empty-handed.³⁷

Through his liturgical use of scripture, Rennyo introduces members of the Shinshu community to an ancient Mahayana textual tradition, presenting it as a vehicle for the establishment and nurture of Other-Power faith. During his last summer, those who assemble at Yamashina Honganji hear readings from the three Pure Land sutras, in particular the *Larger Sutra*; recite in unison *Shōshinge*, drawn from the heart of the founder's *Kyōgyōshinshō*; and listen to Rennyo read his own letters, which were phrased in terms familiar to them. Rennyo, drawing on the Pure Land textual tradition in all its richness, attempts to make Shinran's teaching available in colloquial terms replete with religious symbols through which ordinary men and women might discover the truth and reality of Amida's Vow.

A CANONICAL BOOK

Participants in Shinshu tradition have accepted without question the reverential view of Rennyo's letters presented in the memoirs. Here we find attributed to Rennyo the use of the

honorific form, *o-fumi*, in reference to his own letters. In the letters themselves, however, he uses the plain form, *fumi*, as evidenced in a postscript to a letter dated Bunmei 5 (1473).9.23, written to accompany a collection of his Yoshizaki letters:

The preceding letters [*fumi*] are ones which I wrote one after another as they came to mind, without particular thought, from the third year of Bunmei [1471] to the fall of the fifth year [1473]. There will surely be peculiarities in the style, and there may also be discontinuities between words and so forth. As this is inappropriate, whatever the case adjustment should be made; but because [Rensō] has already prepared the paper for this fascicle and had it copied, there is nothing to be done but to release it as it is. It should certainly not be seen outside [the community]. It is to be kept simply for personal use in leisure moments.³⁸

Rennyo's diffidence may reflect in part a hesitance to speak openly at a time when Yoshizaki was subject to severe scrutiny and possible attack. Several months later, however, he refers without pretension to this letter (*fumi*),³⁹ suggesting that he did not use the term in any formal sense.

The underlying tone of *The Letters* rings with a note of authority, yet there is inconclusive evidence to suggest that, even after his retirement, he ever consciously sought to establish his words as having special status in a scriptural sense. The transition of *fumi* to *o-fumi* was, quite appropriately, the work of members of his immediate family and other memoir writers after his death. This transition, promoting Rennyo's letters as a scriptural basis for orthodox Shinshu teaching, is a minor yet not insignificant step in the Honganji's consolidation as a tightly structured religious order. His letters were to provide a new locus of authority assuming the force of his personal charisma.

Ennyo (1491-1521), commissioned by his father, Jitsunyo (1458-1525), the ninth head priest of the Honganji, gathered together Rennyo's most

important letters: eighty edited in five fascicles, four written in the summer before he died, and a letter giving Shinran's genealogy. The fifty-eight letters in the first four of the five-fascicle compilation were arranged in chronological order; the twenty-two in the fifth fascicle are undated.⁴⁰ Many of the letters most significant from an historical viewpoint are omitted, and even when such letters are included, the fact that there is no accompanying commentary suggests a disregard for their historical context. An underlying theme in this study is that the ahistorical attitude of traditional piety was to lead eventually to a severe bifurcation of the transcendent and the mundane, with alarming consequences for Shinran's teaching.

The five-fascicle collection of letters is a compilation of exceptional significance for two reasons:

First, *The Letters* has provided a definitive text for interpreting Shinran's teaching from the time of Jitsunyo. An edition of the Shinshu scriptures, published by Nishi Honganji in 1969, notes that Ennyo's compilation was made in order to edify unlettered men and women on essential points of Shinshu doctrine; that the letters contained in it were revered from the first as exemplifying faith (*anjin*); that under the leadership of the head priests of the Honganji following Rennyo, *The Letters* became the standard for instruction in the Shinshu community; and that it was customary even during Rennyo's lifetime for Shinshu congregations to gather before an image of Amida Buddha and listen to readings from it. Copies of the five-fascicle collection were printed and widely distributed beginning in 1537, during the tenure of Shōnyo (1516-1554), the tenth head priest, and, granted the repetitiveness of many of the letters, the text is honored in its entirety within both the Nishi Honganji and the Higashi.⁴¹

For this study, there is a second reason for noting the special significance of this compilation: the intimate relationship that exists between the content of many of the chronologically-dated

letters in the first four fascicles and the social and political events of the years in which they were written. No less than forty of the fifty-eight dated letters were written during the fifty-month period that Rennyo was in the Hokuriku, and thirty-six of these forty were written during the most critical period of his stay at Yoshizaki while he was confronted with the dilemma of the Honganji's political power. Specifically, if his community was to survive and prosper, there was increasing pressure on him to take a stand on the issue of Honganji-related adherents becoming directly involved in the Ikko sect uprisings. It appears that Rennyo's vigorous literary response in those critical years at Yoshizaki produced a series of letters which, as the core materials of the canonized text, came to define orthodox Shinshu piety.

As we have seen, the forty letters written during Rennyo's Yoshizaki years, along with others not included in *The Letters*, reveal remarkable innovation in Rennyo's translation of Shinran's teaching. The central place he gives to a formulation of the nenbutsu using the concepts *anjin* and *ki-hō ittai* from *Anjin ketsujōshō* is new for the Shinshu;⁴² Rennyo reemphasizes and refines his use of this important religious symbol for Shinshu thought in a period of intense literary activity in his last years, 1496-1498. Out of thirty-nine extant letters attributed to this period, six are included in the five-fascicle collection and four make up the summer letters.⁴³ In addition, a number of the undated letters may be assigned to this period.

A CONFESSORIAL STATEMENT

The Letters and the memoirs, perhaps even more than Shinran's writings, came to serve as the most popular devotional texts in the lives of members of the Honganji. Not only were Rennyo, and his followers, seen as exemplary of orthodox Shinshu piety, his written words became authoritative for the interpretation of Shinran's teaching. In part, for this reason, he has been generally

credited as author of a brief "Confessional Statement," known as *Ryōgemon* within the Nishi Honganji and as *Gaikemon* within the Higashi.⁴⁴ It is clear that *The Letters* provided the doctrinal framework for the statement, but there is no conclusive evidence that, in its present form, it was written by Rennyo himself.⁴⁵ The first of the four passages reads:

Casting off the self-power mind of the sundry practices and disciplines, we single-mindedly entrust ourselves to Amida Tathāgata to save us [in regard to] the birth that is to come [in the Pure Land], the most important matter (*kondo no ichidaiji no goshō on-tasuke sōrae*).⁴⁶

This explication of the salvific process—the casting off of the mind of self-power, single-minded trust in Amida, and the phrasing, "the birth that is to come, the most important matter"—is fully consistent with Rennyo's interpretation of Shinran's teaching; the passage could well have been written by Rennyo. The statement continues:

We know that at the time of the one thought-moment of entrusting (*tanomu ichinen*), birth [in the Pure Land] is assured; it is settled that we are saved. Once [we have realized] this, we say the Name joyfully, in gratitude (*hōsha*) for [Amida's] graciousness.⁴⁷

The use of the term "entrusting" (*tanomu*) to mean "faith" (*shinjin*), along with saying the Name in gratitude (*shōmyō hōon*), is a hallmark of Rennyo's thought. The third passage reads:

We gratefully acknowledge that our hearing and understanding these truths is [due to] the benevolence of the founding master in having appeared in this world and to that of the good teachers (*zenchishiki*), his successors in the transmission [of the teaching], whose exhortations were not shallow.⁴⁸

This passage, implying that Shinran's successors in the office of head priest are to be formally designated "good teachers," appears uncharacteristic of Rennyo thought in *The Letters*.

We recall that Shinran expressed his deep sense of gratitude not only to Amida, but also to Śākyamuni and the seven Pure Land masters.⁴⁹ Meeting Hōnen, the good teacher (*yoki hito*), was the turning point in his life. Rennyo, however, uses the term *zenchishiki* in a more general and less intimate way. For Rennyo, "the function of the good teacher is just to encourage people to take refuge in Amida single-heartedly and steadfastly."⁵⁰ He singles out none of his predecessors in the Honganji, including his father, Zonnyo, in the sense that Shinran referred to Hōnen; his extant letters do not explicitly mention Zonnyo or even Kakunyo, although the names of Zonnyo and Zonkaku are to be found in *Rennyo Shōnin go-ichidai kikigaki*.⁵¹

It appears, then, that the third passage of the confessional statement reflects a post-Rennyo development. Shinran's successors, the head priests of the Honganji, are to be acknowledged as the good teachers in a sense never indicated by Rennyo; the incumbent head priest becomes the focus for devotion in a way he had resisted. In a letter dated Bunmei 6 (1474).1.20, he remonstrates with some who, on pilgrimage to Yoshizaki, would have centered their worship on him; he tells them that it is better for them to worship before a stupa (*sotoba*).⁵²

The confessional statement concludes:

Beyond this, we will observe the established norms of conduct (*onokite*) throughout our lives.⁵³

As noted earlier, the term "norms of conduct" in its honorific form was first used by Rennyo in a letter dated Bunmei 7 (1475).11.21, in the context of the annual thanksgiving services at Deguchi, Kawachi province.⁵⁴ Rennyo sought to give greater authority to the regulations that he had promulgated in

response to the crisis at Yoshizaki, seeking to legitimize them by linking them directly to Shinran's teaching. In this final passage, however, the norms are to be identified with the laws of the state (*ōbō*); Shinshu practitioners of faith are duty-bound to obey them, and to be grateful.⁵⁵

The adoption of a confessional statement into the liturgical life of the Honganji would appear to represent yet a further stage in the institutionalization and politicization of Shinran's piety. We are reminded again that Shinran had claimed no disciples of his own and vigorously denied that he could mediate salvific truth to nenbutsu devotees on his own authority. Two centuries after Shinran, Rennyo's enumeration of norms of conduct at the annual thanksgiving services came in response to issues threatening the very life of his community. After Rennyo's death, however, obedience to such norms became the test of orthodox participation in the Honganji order. Authority was focused in the office of the head priest and family council, the descendants of both "founders," Shinran and Rennyo. Elements of Rennyo's thought, abstracted from *The Letters* without regard to the historical context in which they originated, were fashioned into a confessional statement. It was important that Rennyo, the definitive interpreter of Shinran's teaching, be recognized as the author. The statement has continued to serve as a major religious symbol within the Shinshu.⁵⁶ At times, it has nurtured what is most sublime, as in *myōkonin* piety; at others, it may have been used to bind participants in the tradition to the policies of a religious order which had resolved the dilemma of its political power in favor of total accommodation to temporal authority.⁵⁷

A LETTER OF ADJUDICATION

We have reviewed a process of scripturalization during which a compilation of eighty of Rennyo's letters steadily acquired authority for the lives of participants in the Honganji branch of the Shinshu. A selection of letters became *The Letters*, a canonical text defining the teaching and extend-

ing it to norms of conduct deemed necessary for authentic participation in the tradition. A further stage in this process was signaled with the distribution of a document known as "A Letter of Adjudication" (*Gosaidan no gosho*), signed by Honnyo (1778-1826), nineteenth head priest in the Nishi Honganji lineage. This letter is dated Bunka 3 (1806).11.6; it was accompanied by an announcement (*Gosaidan shinmeishō*) dated one day earlier.⁵⁸

These two documents render a final judgement on a bitter, ten-year doctrinal controversy known as the Sangō Upheaval (*sangō wakuran*), which erupted within the Nishi Honganji in Kansei 9 (1797), during the tenure of Honnyo's predecessor, Monnyo.⁵⁹ The source of the controversy, the "three acts" teaching, made its first clearly-stated appearance as early as Shōtoku 3 (1713), in a document unassumingly entitled, "Dust Specks on a Jar by a Southern Window" (*Nansōjinko*), by Chikū (1634-1718), second head of the Gakurin.⁶⁰ In this document, Chikū expounded in question-and-answer form the teaching that "with the awakening of the one thought-moment [of entrusting], the cause [of birth] is completed in ordinary life" (*ichinen hokki heizei gojō*), interpreting it to mean that the moment of taking refuge (entrusting) would involve the "three [kinds of] acts," bodily, verbal, and mental; therefore, aspiration for birth would necessarily be accompanied by a physical manifestation of reverence and by saying the *nenbutsu*.⁶¹

Declared orthodox by the Gakurin, the teaching appeared again with Gikyō (1694-1768), the fifth-generation head of the Gakuryō, who stressed that it was fully consistent with Rennyo's teaching;⁶² by the time of the sixth head, Kōzon (1720-1796), it had become a strong force within the Nishi Honganji. In Hōreki 12 (1762).2, Kōzon wrote a two-fascicle exposition, "On Taking Refuge Through the Aspiration for Birth" (*Ganshō kimyō ben*), representative of and further strengthening the "three acts" position.⁶³ It was undoubtedly his emphasis on the "three acts" that gave the

Sangō Upheaval its name.⁶⁴

The doctrinal issue at stake was no less than the meaning of faith; in Tenmei 4 (1784).3, Dairin, a member of the Zaiya, an unofficial scholastic group opposing the Gakurin, authored "A Compilation of Correct and False Views on Faith in the Shinshu" (*Shinshū anjin seigihen*), criticizing Kōzon's position. The Gakurin responded with two documents, prompting a round of debate; the treatise that finally undermined their position was "The Diamond Essence of the Jodo Shinshu" (*Jōdo Shinshū kongōhai*), completed in the tenth month of Kansei 9 (1797) by Daiei (1760-1804).⁶⁵ Daiei argued that the three minds of the Primal Vow were unified as the one mind of entrusting (*shingyō*), not as the one mind of the aspiration for birth (*yokushō*); thus the right cause of birth is entrusting (or faith), not the aspiration for birth. On publication, the document is said to have sold out in three days with two hundred copies; eventually, close to seven hundred copies were distributed throughout the country.⁶⁶

In Kansei 9 (1797), when Chidō, a strong supporter of the "three acts" position, became head of the Gakurin, the argument intensified; the level of discord in Mino province prompted intervention by the shogunate;⁶⁷ and in Kyōwa 3 (1803), from the fourth to the tenth month, both sides were examined in Kyoto.⁶⁸ The investigation then moved to Edo, with Chidō among the representatives for the Gakurin, and Daiei among those for the Zaiya; on Bunka 2 (1805).4.26, the *sangō kimyō* position was declared unorthodox.⁶⁹ On Bunka 3 (1806).7.11, with a judgement by the Commission on Shrines and Temples (*jisha bugyō*), the Sangō Upheaval was officially concluded.⁷⁰ Honnyo's two letters were issued that same year in support of the orthodox position.⁷¹

Of particular significance for our discussion is Honnyo's interpretation of Shinran's teaching in Rennyo's terms, emphasizing Other-Power faith as the true essence of the Pure Land way transmitted by Shinran. The text of the "Letter of Adjudication" is as follows:⁷²

The founding master [Shinran] taught as fundamental that the essential point transmitted in our school is simply Other-Power faith. [In discussing] that faith, the [Larger] Sutra explains it as "hearing the Name and realizing faith and joy, even for a single thought-moment";⁷³ the *Treatise [On the Pure Land]* interprets it as "single-mindedly taking refuge."⁷⁴ Hence the master, explaining the *Treatise's* [use of the] term "single-mindedly," said: "'Single-mindedly' means being without double-mindedness and without doubt in regard to the words of the master of the teaching, the World-honored One. This, in other words, is true and real faith."⁷⁵ Therefore, from the founder on down, generation after generation [of his successors] have received and transmitted this [teaching]; in particular, Shinshōin [Rennyo] carefully teaches this single path in the five-fascicle [collection of his] letters.

The meaning of "faith" is that, without any calculation, we discard the self-power mind of the sundry practices and disciplines and entrust ourselves steadfastly and single-heartedly to Amida Tathāgata to save us in [regard to] the most important matter, the birth that is to come [in the Pure Land]; and when one thought-moment of entrusting is sincere, Amida unfailingly sends forth his all-pervading light and receives us. This, in other words, is the teaching established in our tradition that "with the awakening of the one thought-moment of entrusting, the cause [of birth] is completed in ordinary life."⁷⁶ It must be understood that, once faith is decisively settled, the Name we say day and night, morning and evening, is the nenbutsu of gratitude for [Amida] Buddha's benevolence. Those who understand in this way are indeed exemplary of what it is to have realized faith fully according to our tradition.

Recently, however, [some people] raise the principle of the three acts [of the Buddha

and of sentient beings; *sangō*], which is not discussed in our tradition, and, prefixing "the necessary [manifestation of]"; *jinen*] to "the three acts," debate whether [others] do or do not know the year, month, day, and hour [at which faith was settled]. Some bring [the misinterpretations of] the deluded mind [*mōjin*] to "the one thought-moment of taking refuge," or, overly-sensitive to others' interpretation of "the three acts," reject the word "entrust." I hear that there are people who are confused about other points as well; this is indeed a lamentable situation. We are, furthermore, admonished in the master's teaching, "Thinking that one can be born in the Pure Land by correcting one's confusion over acts, words, and thoughts, and practicing good [acts] is 'self-power.'"⁷⁷

In sum, regardless of what your understanding was previously, you must overturn your evil delusions from now on and ground yourself in Other-Power faith, the truth and reality of the Primal Vow; those who do so will truly accord with the master's intention. Beyond that, carefully observe the laws of the land [*ōbō*] and the laws of the provinces [*kokuhō*], honor the [principles of] humanity and justice, and continue properly in the dharma. You must never let go of the fundamental intent of the items that have been established as stated above.

Bunka 3 [1806].11.6

Honnyo, disciple of Śākyamuni
(written seal)⁷⁸

The "Letter of Adjudication" opens with a discussion of Shinran's emphasis on Other-Power faith, underscoring the master's foundation in Pure Land texts as it explains the realization of that faith. In stressing the continuous transmission of the teaching, it makes a particular point of Rennyo's contribution, a continuing legacy conveyed by *The Letters*.

The second paragraph draws powerfully on the familiar style and content of Rennyo's letters to describe the process by which faith is settled and to define the nenbutsu in terms of gratitude. Against this prologue, the ensuing paragraph makes a clear contrast between the "three-act" misinterpretations and the orthodox position, underscoring the depth of the issue with a warning against "self-power" thought and practice.

The conclusion, an admonition which again draws on Rennyo, gives a hint of the disruptive effects of the Sangō Upheaval in reminding its readers of the two dimensions of their lives—the inner, in which they should be grounded in Other-Power faith in accord with Shinran's teaching, and the outer, in which they must carry out their responsibilities as citizens and as members of society. It is significant that, following the Sangō Upheaval, the Nishi Honganji entrusted authority for the determination of heresy to a body of scholar-priests (*Kangakuryō*) in an attempt to avoid further disputes, this one having led to such bitterness and divisiveness within the community.⁷⁹

To sum up the significance of *The Letters* as scripture in Shinshu tradition: for Shinran, the truth and reality of Amida's Vow, which transcends history, is manifested in history textually as the *Larger Sutra*,

the right exposition for which the Tathāgata appeared in the world, the wondrous scripture [*myōten*] rare and most excellent, the conclusive and ultimate exposition of the One Vehicle, the precious words disclosing perfect, instantaneous fulfillment, the sincere words praised by all the Buddhas throughout the ten quarters, the true teaching [*shinkyō*] in consummate readiness for the beings of this day.⁸⁰

The commentarial tradition of the seven Pure Land masters is continuous with the *Larger Sutra* in transmitting the truth and reality of Amida's Vow.

This is the teaching received by Shinran from Hōnen and manifested in his own writings.

Some two centuries later, Shinran is reported to have reappeared as Rennyo to restore the teaching to its former purity; following Rennyo's death, the five-fascicle compilation of eighty of his letters came to be seen as the authoritative statement of the teaching. With the Honganji's further institutionalization as a religious order, *The Letters* provided, in the Tokugawa period, the doctrinal basis for a confessional statement defining orthodox belief and practice. Again, when the Nishi Honganji was torn by an internal dispute over the proper interpretation of faith, *The Letters* was a major source of authority for adjudicating the issue.

A final note on the process of scripturalization within the Nishi Honganji: contemporary Shinshu scholars writing in English have appropriated the term "scripture(s)" (also "canon") to designate and delimit their ancient textual tradition: Pure Land sutras of Indian and central Asian origin; commentaries by the seven Pure Land masters; and, in particular, the works of their founder, Shinran, and his successors—Kakunyo, Zonkaku, and Rennyo. Following Japan's modern encounter with the West and the return of Christian missionaries in the latter part of the nineteenth century, participants in Shinshu tradition, both in Japan and in the West, expressed the need for their own book of scriptures. Similarities as well as differences in the concept of sacred text—whether spoken or written—underlying the Shinshu Scriptures (*Shinshū seiten*), the Hebrew Bible, and the Christian Bible are suggestive for further comparative study of scripture as a generic form.⁸¹

FOOTNOTES

1. This essay is the first chapter in the third and final part (chapters 4-7) of a study on Rennyo (1415-1499), forthcoming as a volume in the Nanzan Studies in Asian Religions series from

Asian Humanities Press. The three parts of the study, *Rennyo: The Second Founder of Shin Buddhism*, are: Rennyo's life and thought; *The Letters*, an annotated translation of his eighty letters in five fascicles, known as *Gobunshō* in the Nishi branch of the Honganji and as *Ofumi* in the Higashi branch; and Rennyo's legacy.

2. *Rennyo Shōnin itokuki*, in *Shinshū shōgyō zensho* (hereafter cited as SSZ), 3:870.

3. *Jitsugo kyūki*, in *Rennyo Shōnin gyojitsu* (hereafter cited as RSG), 130; *Rennyo Shōnin goichidaiki kikigaki*, SSZ 3:605.

4. *Jitsugo kyūki*, RSG, 85; *Rennyo Shōnin goichidaiki kikigaki*, SSZ 3:563.

5. Several essays edited by Miriam Levering, *Rethinking Scripture* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), inform the discussion of *The Letters* as scripture in this essay. In particular, see Wilfred Cantwell Smith's "The Study of Religion and the Study of the Bible" and "Scripture as Form and Concept: Their Emergence for the Western World," and William A. Graham's "Scripture as Spoken Word."

6. The more obvious comparison is with the "Epistles of St. Paul" in the Christian tradition's *New Testament*.

7. Kimura Takeo, ed., *Rennyo Shōnin ron: Mō hitotsu no Ōsaka sengokuki* (Tokyo: PHP Kenkyūjō, 1983), 149.

8. Shizutoshi Sugihira, Shinshu scholar and author of an essay on the occasion of the 450th anniversary of Rennyo's death, uses the term "canonical book": "Eighty pieces of the Ofumi were selected out and compiled into five fasciculi, and this five fasciculi compilation of the Ofumi has attained the position of a canonical book of the sect" ("Rennyo Shōnin, the Great Teacher of Shin Buddhism," *The Eastern Buddhist* 8/1 [1949]:34).

9. Kenryu Takashi Tsuji, "Brief Introduction to Jodo Shinshu," (San Francisco: Buddhist Churches of America, n.d.), 1. The instance cited here is from a pamphlet in English introducing Shinshu tradition in a Protestant Christian North American context. In such a setting, the need for

a religious community to have a written text is no doubt strongly felt. It is probable that any chronology listing a dozen or so dates in Shinran's life will include a significant proportion relating to the preparation of a text: 1205, Shinran's copying of Hōnen's *Senjakushū*; 1224, the earliest date for *Kyōgyōshinshō*; 1247, the granting of permission to others to copy *Kyōgyōshinshō*; 1248, the writing of Shinran's first hymns in Japanese; 1251, Shinran's letters to followers in the Kanto; and 1258, Shinran's letter on *jinen*, frequently translated as naturalness or spontaneity; see "A Chronology of Shinran's Life," in Yoshifumi Ueda and Dennis Hirota, *Shinran: An Introduction to His Thought*, 1989, 18.

10. *Mattōshō*, SSZ 2: 658.

11. Shinran, *The True Teaching, Practice and Realization of the Pure Land Way*, head trans. Dennis Hirota (Kyoto: Hongwanji International Center, 1983), I: 21.

12. Tabata Ōjun et al., eds., *Shinranshū/Nichirenshū*, Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikē, vol. 82 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1969). Both an annotated Japanese translation of *Kyōgyōshinshō* and Shinran's text in classical Chinese are available in a volume in the Outline of Japanese Thought Series: Hoshino Genpō et al., eds., *Shinran*, vol. 11, *Nihon Shisō Taikē* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1971).

13. *True Teaching*, 1: 58-59 (slightly emended); SSZ 2:1. A concordance makes it possible to trace Shinran's use of virtually any term with reference to the text of *Kyōgyōshinshō*, SSZ 2:1-203. See Ryūkoku Daigaku Shinshū Gakkai, ed., *Shinran Shōnin chosaku yōgo sakuin: Kyōgyōshinshō no bu* (Kyoto: Ryūkoku Daigaku Shinshū Gakkai, 1977). A second volume, Ryūkoku Daigaku Shinshū Gakkai, ed., *Shinran Shōnin chosaku yōgo sakuin: Wakan senjutsu no bu* (Kyoto: Ryūkoku Daigaku Shinshū Gakkai, 1978) is available for his other writings in Chinese and Japanese.

14. For many years, Japanese-American participants in the Shinshu—Shin Buddhists—

living in Hawaii felt the need for "an English Shinshu Seiten." (The terms "Shin Buddhist" and "Shin Buddhism" were coined by Suzuki Daisetsu as collateral terms to "Zen Buddhist" and "Zen Buddhism." In this study, they are used primarily in the context of participation in Shinshu tradition outside of Japan, where, as in North America, Buddhists constitute a very small minority of the population.) In 1950, a representative of the Honpa Honganji Mission of Hawaii visited Japan to negotiate for the translation and compilation of "a holy scripture in English." Kōshō Yamamoto, a Shinshu priest and professor at Ryūkoku University in Kyoto, agreed to undertake the project. Some five years later, the English Shinshu Seiten Compilation Committee of the mission published an English version of the Shinshu scriptures, *The Shinshu Seiten: The Holy Scripture of Shinshu* (1955; repr. Honolulu: The Honpa Hongwanji Mission of Hawaii, 1961), vii-viii. The preface to the 1961 edition, printed on the occasion of the seven-hundredth anniversary of Shinran's death begins: "It is now seven hundred years since Shinran Shonin, the founder of Jodoshinshu, passed away in Kyoto. And in Kyoto the Church of Honganji observed this spring, on a nationwide scale, the seven hundredth anniversary in memory of the Shonin in whose teaching we all live" (v). It is noteworthy that major anniversaries of the deaths of Shinran and Rennyo have been the occasion for the publication of texts.

In 1978, a new compilation, *Shinshū Seiten: Jōdo Shin Buddhist Teaching*, was published by the Buddhist Churches of America, endorsed by the Honpa Honganji Mission of Hawaii and the Buddhist Churches of Canada. It included many new translations of the texts based on the work of Japanese and Japanese-American scholars. In the same year, the first volume in the Shin Buddhism Translation Series was published; the foreword to *Letters of Shinran* notes that the series "will include all of Shinran's works as well as other basic scriptures." In 1979, the preface to the second volume, *Notes on 'Essentials of Faith*

Alone, announced a twelve-year program "for the translation and publication in English of the basic Canons of Jodo Shinshu."

15. Shinran, *Passages on the Pure Land Way*, head trans. Dennis Hirota (Kyoto: Hongwanji International Center, 1982), 47.

16. *Tannishō*, trans. by Dennis Hirota, 23.

17. See "Notes on Shinran's Readings," Shinran, *True Teaching*, 1:174-75.

18. Shinran, *True Teaching*, I: 67.

19. Shinran, *Passages*, 30.

20. This is the position of the Buddhist scholar, Mochizuki Shinkō; see Shinran, *True Teaching*, 1:38-39.

21. Shinran, *True Teaching*, I: 141.

22. *Ibid.*, I: 141.

23. SSZ 2:102.

24. *Tannishō*, trans. Hirota, 43; SSZ 2:791-92.

25. Shinran, *Notes on the Inscriptions on Sacred Scrolls*, head trans. Dennis Hirota (Kyoto: Hongwanji International Center, 1981), p. 46.

26. *Godenshō*, SSZ 3: 647.

27. *Kudenshō*, SSZ 3:9-10. For a discussion of this and other incidents recorded in *Kudenshō* and a brief evaluation of the text, see Phillip K. Eidmann, "Nyoshin and the Kudensho," *The Pacific World: Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies*, n.s., 1/1 (1982):16-17.

28. *Rennyo Shōnin ibun* (hereafter cited as RSI), 166 (#50/2:3); SSZ 2:428.

29. RSI, 195 (#61/2:12); SSZ 3:443.

30. RSI, 333 (#112/4:5); SSZ 3:481.

31. RSI, 346 (#115/4:6); SSZ 3:484.

32. RSI, 471 (#173/5:2); SSZ 3:500.

33. RSI, 444 (#155/5:9); SSZ 3:506-7.

34. RSI, 427 (#147); SSZ 3:552.

35. RSI, 429 (#148); SSZ 3:523-24.

36. RSI, 432 (#149); SSZ 3:525.

37. RSI, 433 (#150); SSZ 3:527.

38. RSI, 127-28 (#35). A collection of letters was made by Aki Rensō (also known as Shimotsuma Rensō).

39. RSI, 142 (#41/2:2).

40. The fifteen letters in the first fascicle were written between Bunmei 3 (1471).7.15 and the ninth month of Bunmei 5 (1473), during the period of Rennyo's struggle for institutional autonomy at Yoshizaki. The fifteen in the second fascicle were written between Bunmei 5 (1473).12.8 and Bunmei 6 (1474).7.9, while Rennyo was still at Yoshizaki. The thirteen in the third fascicle were written between Bunmei 6 (1474).7.14 and Bunmei 8 (1476).6.18. Ten of these were also written in Yoshizaki before Rennyo's abrupt departure in the eighth month of Bunmei 7 (1475) for Deguchi, as a temporary solution to his religious and political dilemma. The fifteen in the fourth fascicle were written between Bunmei 9 (1477).1.8 and Meiō 7 (1498).11.21.

41. Ōe Junjō and Ōhara Shōjitsu, eds., *Shinshū seiten* (1956; repr. Kyoto: Nagata Bunshōdō, 1969), 893-94.

42. It is probable that a copy of *Anjin ketsujō* was available to Kakunyo and to Zonkaku, who quotes from the text directly. Rennyo was introduced to the text by his father, Zonnyo, who made a copy when Rennyo was ten. It is with Rennyo that the concept *ki-hō ittai* becomes a central tenet in Shinshu thought. For a discussion of the historical background of this text in relation to the Shinshu, see James C. Dobbins, *Jōdo Shinshū: Shin Buddhism in Medieval Japan* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989), 106-7.

43. Kitanishi Hiromu, "Dangibon kenkyū jōsetsu," *Bukkyō shigaku* 11/3 (1964): 164.

44. The *Ryōgemon* appears in the Nishi Honganji edition of the Shinshu scriptures between Rennyo's *Gozokushō* and the memoir, *Rennyo Shōnin goichidaiki kiki-gaki* (*Shinshū seiten*, ed., Ōe and Ōhara, 814); also see SSZ 3:529-30. The statement was published in Tenmei 4 (1784).3, during the tenure of Hōnyō (1707-1789), seventeenth head priest in the Nishi Honganji lineage (*Honganji nenpyō*, 195), with an appended commentary by Monnyō (1744-1799), who, in 1789, became the eighteenth. In the

Higashi Honganji edition, Rennyo is listed as author in the table of contents (Kashiwabara Yūsen, ed., *Shinshū seiten* [1935; repr. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1969], 4).

45. Four versions of the confessional statement are listed among fourteen items of questionable authenticity that have been attributed to Rennyo; see RSI, 515-18. For a detailed study of the composition of the statement, see Umehara Ryūsho, "Jōdo Shinshū ni okeru shinkō kokuhakumon no seiritsu," *Shinshūshi no kenkyū*, 83-116.

46. *Ryōgemon*, SSZ 3: 529. English translations have also been made by: Anesaki Masaharu, *History of Japanese Religion, With Special Reference to the Social and Moral Life of the Nation* (1930; repr. Rutland, Vt., and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1963), 231, who designates *Ryōgemon* as one of Rennyo's letters; Charles Eliot, *Japanese Buddhism* (1935; repr. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1969), 377, who refers to the *Ryōgemon* as "a sort of creed"; and *The Shinshū Seiten: The Holy Scripture of Shinshū*, 299, which lists "The Ryōgemon: The Creed," attributing it to "Rennyo Shonin."

47. *Ryōgemon*, SSZ 3: 529.

48. *Ryōgemon*, SSZ 3: 529.

49. See *Shōshinge*, a joyful paean to Amida, Śākyamuni, and the seven Pure Land masters; SSZ 2:43-46. For Hōnen, see in addition, chapter two of *Tannishō*, SSZ 2:773-75.

50. RSI, 193-94 (#60/2:11).

51. For Zonnyo, see *Rennyo Shōnin goichidaiki kiki-gaki*, SSZ 3:567; for Zonkaku, see SSZ 3:570 and 610.

52. RSI, 170-171 (#51); SSZ 3:469-70.

53. *Ryōgemon*, SSZ 3:529.

54. RSI, 251 (#84/3:11).

55. Ōe and Ōhara, eds., *Shinshū seiten*, 814.

56. There is a minor difference in the phrasing of the statement in the Higashi and Nishi versions.

57. Sir Charles Eliot, in his *Japanese Buddhism*, comments that the *Ryōgemon* is "perhaps

the simplest and most authoritative statement respecting Shintai and Zokutai" (377). Further, he observes that the phrase *shinzoku nitai* is frequently used to sum up Shinshu teaching:

[It] describes the two great divisions of religion, faith and morality. Shintai refers mainly to the next world, the salvation offered by Amida and how to obtain it. Zokutai is a man's duty as a member of society, but duty in the sense of conduct arising from faith (377).

58. *Honganji nenpyō*, 208. For texts of both documents and brief commentaries, see *Jōdo Shinshū seiten: Chūshakuban*, 1411-15; 1417-22.

59. In Kansei 9 (1797).5, Chidō (1736-1805) became the seventh head of the Gakurin (first known as the Gakuryō), a scholastic movement founded within the Honganji in Kanei 15 (1638) by Ryōnyo (1612-1662), the thirteenth head priest. Chidō's six-article statement on faith and his lectures in 1797 and 1798, all of which stressed "taking refuge through the three acts" (*sangō kimyō*), provoked a storm of response (Asaeda Zenshō, "Igi: Sangō wakuran," in *Shinshū denshō no ayumi* [1], *Jōdo Shinshū Gendai Hōwa Taikei*, vol. 7 [Kyoto: Dōbōsha, 1987], 351-52).

60. *Honganjishi* 2: 359.

61. Asaeda, "Igi: Sangō wakuran," 345; *Shinshū shinjiten*, s.v. "Sangō wakuran," 184, "Chikū," 356.

62. *Honganjishi*, 2: 359.

63. This work records four lectures given by Kōzon in 1762, on the last day of the second month and the first day of the third, at the branch temple in Fukui, Echizen province; it was published in Meiwa 1 (1764).1 (*Honganjishi*, 2: 355-56; Asaeda, "Igi: Sangō wakuran," 346; *Honganji nenpyō*, 183).

64. Asaeda, "Igi: Sangō wakuran," 347.

65. This was the earliest of four versions of the treatise; with the addition of two prefaces, it was published as "The Diamond Essence of the Direct Path of Crosswise Transcendence" (*Ōchō jikidō kongōhai*), in the fifth month of Kyōwa 1 (1801). For accounts of the exchanges leading up

to this event, see *Honganjishi*, 2:360-64, 374-75; Asaeda, "Igi: Sangō wakuran," 348-51 (giving the publication date as Kansei 12).

66. Asaeda, "Igi: Sangō wakuran," 348-51. The Gakurin, unable to ignore such a response, declared the document in error and, for a time, successfully opposed its reprinting. They argued that the document refuted the sentence, "Casting off the self-power mind of the sundry practices and disciplines, we single-mindedly entrust ourselves to Amida Tathāgata to save us [in regard to] the birth that is to come [in the Pure Land], the most important matter" (*Moromoro no zōgyō zōshu jiriki no kokoro o furisutete, isshin ni Amida Nyorai warera ga kondo no ichidaiji no goshō ontasuke sōrae to tanomitatematsuru*) as an expression of self-power; in addition, they claimed that it also refuted the "Confessional Statement," since the sentence at issue was virtually the same as that statement's opening sentence. This was met with a denial that the document refuted either *The Letters* [in which variations of the phrase "goshō tasuke tamae to tanomu" appears] or the "Confessional Statement" and a demand to be shown just where this appeared; the Gakurin replied that the entire document interpreted "goshō tasuke tamae to tanomu" in such a simplistic way that it thoroughly confused the clearly-transmitted teaching on faith (*Honganjishi*, 2:376). Rennyo's writings were obviously central to the arguments of both sides, a fact which—ironically—underscores his role as the arbiter of orthodoxy.

67. *Honganjishi*, 2:377-79.

68. *Honganjishi*, 2:385-86.

69. *Honganjishi*, 2:386-90.

70. *Honganjishi*, 2:391.

71. *Honganjishi*, 2:393. For a discussion of the concept of heresy and the significance of the Sangō Upheaval, see James C. Dobbins, "The Concept of Heresy in the Jōdo Shinshū," *Transactions of the International Conference of Orientalists in Japan* 25 (1980): 41-44.

72. *Jōdo Shinshū seiten: Chūshakuban*, 1413-15.

73. *Larger Sutra*, T 12.272b; *Kyōgyōshinshō*, T 83.601a, T 83.605a; SSZ 2:49, 62.

74. T 26.230c; SSZ 1:269.

75. *Songō shinzō meimon*, SSZ 2:563-64.

76. *ichinen hokki heizei gōjō*.

77. *Mattōshō*, SSZ 2: 658.

78. Kaō. A personalized signature written under an author's name, in place of a seal. To prevent its being copied, this signature was often written in abbreviated style as a design.

79. Dobbins, "The Concept of Heresy in the Jōdo Shinshū," 43.

80. Shinran, *True Teaching*, I: 67-68.

81. See essays in Miriam Levering, ed., *Rethinking Scripture*. One form that the Shinshū's textual tradition has taken in the modern period: the covers of some compilations of Shinshū texts, printed on gilt-edged pages, have folds to protect their contents. Christian missionaries in Japan at the turn of the century used Bibles and prayer books of similar design; it appears that not only the concept but also the form for packaging scripture left its mark on modern Japanese religious consciousness. There has been considerable experimentation as to how to present the Shinshū textual tradition during the past century. See, for example:

(1) *Shinshū shōgyō daizen*, 3 vols. (1903; repr. Tokyo: Shinkō Honten, 1906), in traditional folio bindings, is comprehensive in contents;

(2) *Shinshū seiten zensho* (1907; repr. Tokyo: Fusanbō, 1932), in two volumes (one with Chinese texts and the other with Japanese), has leather covers with folds to protect the contents on gilt-edged pages;

(3) *Seiten: Jōdo Shinshū* (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1919), a single volume containing major texts beginning with Shinran's writings, has a leather cover with the inscription, *Seiten*, and folds to protect the contents on gilt-edged pages similar to a small Bible or prayer book;

(4) *Shinshū shōgyō zensho* (1941; repr. Kyoto: Ōtani Kobundō, 1969-1970), in five volumes with hard covers, is the most comprehensive in contents;

(5) *Shinshū seiten* (1956; repr. Kyoto: Nagata Bunshōdō, 1969), a single comprehensive volume with a red plastic cover contains texts, liturgies, and hymns; and

(6) *Jōdo Shinshū seiten: Chūshakuban* (Tokyo: Dōbōsha, 1988), largely similar in contents to the *Shinshū seiten* (item 5 above), includes also brief commentaries on the texts and a glossary of terms.

The *Hasshū-Kōyō* by the Scholar-Monk Gyōnen (1240-1321) Part One: Preface and Kusha Tradition

translated by Leo Pruden, *College of Oriental Studies, Los Angeles, CA*

EDITOR'S NOTE:

We are pleased to be able to begin the publication of Leo Pruden's translation of one of the most important historical studies of Japanese Buddhism. In this volume of *Pacific World* (1991) appears the first two sections of the work, the author's Preface and Chapter One: The Kusha Tradition. It is our intent to publish the entirety of the translation in following volumes.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE:

This work was not initially undertaken as a full translation of the *Hasshū-kōyō*; rather, I first translated the section on the *Ritsu* Tradition for the benefit of my students at Brown University, and later for the use of my students at the College of Oriental Studies (Los Angeles). I later translated the section on the *Kusha* Tradition for courses that I taught at the Nyingma Institute (Berkeley). It was only later, when I began to teach a course in the History of Japanese Buddhism (at the College of Oriental Studies) that I then completed the translation of the whole of this work.

The *Hasshū-kōyō* (八宗綱要 *The Essentials of the Eight Traditions*) was composed in 1268 (Bun'ei 5) by the scholar-monk Gyōnen (凝然 1240-1321), one of the most eminent scholars of his time.

The first mention of this work is in volume two of the book catalogue, the *Shōshū shōsho roku*.

The text of the *Hasshū-kōyō* was (first?) printed in 1827 (Bunsei 10) and in 1886 (Meiji 19).

A variant title of this same work is the *Hasshū-kōyō-shō* (八宗綱要抄 *An Essay on the*

Essentials of the Eight Traditions). A printed edition of this work, with this title, appeared in 1653 (Shōō 2), in 1862 (Bunkyo 2), and in 1885 (Meiji 18). [This is also the title of an undated MSS preserved in the Library of Ryūkoku University, Kyoto.]

Although written in the second half of the 13th century, this work appeared to have but few pre-Meiji (=pre-1868) commentaries composed on it.

The first commentaries to the *Hasshū-kōyō* which have been preserved are:

1. The *Hasshū-kōyō*, also called the *Kōtei* (校訂) *Hasshū-kōyō*, in two volumes, was composed by the monk Enkai (円解 1767-1840). This work was published in 1827 (Bunsei 10).

2. Enkai also wrote a one volume *Hasshū-kōyō ryakuroku* (略録) the undated MSS of which is preserved in the Library of Ōtani University, Kyoto.

3. The *Hasshū-kōyō monki* (聞記), in two volumes, was composed by the scholar monk Gijō (義談 1796-1858). This was published in 1840 (Tempō 11), and a copy of this work is preserved in the Library of Ōtani University.

4. Gijō also published the *Hasshū-kōyō kōgi* (講記), at an unknown date, in three volumes. This work is also preserved in the Library of Ōtani University.

The Meiji period (1868-1912) saw the publication of almost two dozen editions and commentaries of the *Hasshū-kōyō*.

5. The *Hasshū-kōyōkōge* (講解) was composed by Fukuda Gidō (福田義導). This work was published in 1878 (Meiji 11.11.12) in some six *kan*, in two volumes.

6. The *Hasshū-kōyō-shō* (啓蒙錄) *Keimō-roku* (啓蒙錄) was composed by Kusunoki Senryū (楠潜龍) [and was compiled by Atsumi Kei'en (渥美契縁)]. This five volume work was published in 1878 (Meiji 11) by the Department of Education (*Kyō-iku-bu*) of the Higashi Honganji, Kyoto. Printed by the Kōbundō of Kyoto, this work was reprinted in 1880 (Meiji 13) and in 1896 (Meiji 29).

7. The *Hasshū-kōyō kōjutsu* (講述 var. *Hasshū-kōyō kōshō* 考証) was composed by Shimmyō'in Mongō (1771-1831) and was edited by Fujii Genjū. This work was (first?) published in 1881 (Meiji 14.5) in two volumes by the Department of Buddhist Studies (*Kyōgaku-bu*) of the Kōshōji-ha branch of the Jōdo Shin-shū denomination. [The MSS of this work is preserved in the Library of the Ryūkoku University.]

8. The *Hasshū-kōyō kahon* (科本) was compiled by Sakai Saishō (酒井最正) and was published in two volumes in 1882 (Meiji 15).

9. The *Hyōchū Hasshū-kōyō* was compiled by Kuroda Shindō and was published in 1885 (Meiji 18). This work was reprinted three years later, in two volumes.

10. A two volume *Hasshū-kōyō-shō* (抄) var. *Kōtei Hasshū-kōyō* of unknown authorship was published in 1886 (Meiji 19) in two volumes.

11. This period also saw the appearance of a *Hasshū-kōyō monki* (聞記), in three volumes. A MSS dated 1886 is preserved in the Library of Ōtani University.

12. A *Hasshū-kōyō-shō chōki* (聴記), in three volumes and dated 1886, is also preserved in the Library of Ōtani University.

13. The *Kandō* (冠導) *Hasshū-kōyō-shō* was composed by Senabe Edō (瀬辺恵灯) and

Sugihara Shundō (杉原春洞). In one volume, and still occasionally available in present-day Japan, this work was published in 1887 (Meiji 20.10.5) by the Shishōdō, Kyoto. This work was reprinted in 1888, in two volumes.

14. The *Hasshū-kōyō kōgi* was written by Yanagizawa Geizon (柳沢迎存) in two volumes, and was printed in 1888.

15. The *Keimō* (啓蒙) *Hasshū-kōyō*, with commentary by Zuishin'in Kyokuga (=Sayeki Kyokuga) and Machimoto Donkū, was published in two volumes by the Butsugaku-shōin, Kyoto, in 1888 (Meiji 21.12.27). This work was reprinted in 1890.

16. The *Hasshū-kōyō shiki tsuketari bunka* (私記附分科) was composed in four volumes (the *bunka* in a separate volume) by Gonsaku Gijō (義城, the Srāmana Gijō, 1848-1921), and was published in 1889 (Meiji 22).

17. The *Hasshū-kōyō*, in one volume, was written by Horie Keiryō (堀江慶了) and was published in 1889.

18. The *Hyōka-bōchū* (標科傍註) *Hasshū-kōyō* in two volumes, was written by Machimoto Donkū (see above no. 15) and was published in 1890 (Meiji 23).

19. The *Hasshū-kōyō-ki* (記) was published in two volumes by Mineya Ryōjun (峰屋良潤) in 1890. The MSS (?) of this work is preserved in the Library of Ōtani University.

20. The *Hasshū-kōyō kōjutsu* (講述), in three volumes, was composed by Yoshitani Kakujū (吉谷覚寿) and was published in 1894 (Meiji 27).

21. The *Hasshū-kōyō kōgi* (講義), in one volume, was composed by the well-known scholar Oda Tokunō (織田得能, 1860-1911), and was published in 1901 (Meiji 34) in the series *Bukkyō-tsūzoku-kōgi* (Popular Lectures on Buddhism). This work was reprinted in 1919 (Taishō 8).

22. The *Hasshū-kōyōkōgi* (講義), by Sakaino Kōyō was published in one volume in 1909 (Meiji 42) by the Tōyō University Press (Tōyō Daigaku Shuppan-bu), Tokyo. This work was reprinted in 1924 (Taishō 13).

The Taisho period (1912-1926) saw some five editions and commentaries on the work.

23. The *Hasshū-kōyō kōgi* (講義) was published in one volume in the series *Bukkyō-kōgi-roku* (A Record of Lectures on Buddhism) in 1913 (Taishō 2), published by the Bukkyō-gakkai.

24. The *Hasshū-kōyō kōgi* (講義), in one volume, was written by Wada Ryūzō (和田龍造) and published in 1916 (Taishō 5).

25. The *Hasshū-kōyō mondai kōjutsu* (問題講述), by Hino Anjū (日野安住) was published in 1917.

26. The *Hasshū-kōyō-kōgi* was written by Fujii Ryūshin and published in the series *Butten-tsūzoku-kōgi* (Popular Lectures on Buddhist Texts) in 1924 (Taishō 13).

27. The *Hasshū-kōyō kōwa* (講話) was written by Sakaino Kōyō (see above no. 22) and was published in 1924 (Taishō 13) by the Hino-uma (Heigo?) Shuppan-sha, Tokyo.

The modern period, that is, the Shōwa period (1926 to 1988) has seen a comparatively small number of new editions and commentaries on the *Hasshū-kōyō*. During the Shōwa period, however the Bukkyō-gakkai's edition and commentary (below no. 29) has been reprinted a number of times and has become the most popular edition of the work.

28. The *Hasshū-kōyō*, a Japanese translation or rendering (*wa-yaku*, or *kaki-kudashū*) of this work was published in volume ten of the *Shōwa-shinsan Kokuyaku Daizōkyō: Shūten-bu* (=the section on sectarian works).

29. The *Hasshū-kōyō kōgi* (講義), edited by the Bukkyō-gakkai of the Higashi Honganji, was first published by the Hōzōkan, Kyoto, in one volume, in 1927 (Shōwa 2). To date this work has seen some six editions (6th edition, 1974: Shōwa 49.5.1). The commentary to this work is the work of seven different scholars: Inaba Enjō (Preface and Sanron), Naiki Ryūshū (Kusha, Jōjitsu, and Ritsu), Kojima Eken (Hossō), Honda Shūme (Tendai), Hanayama Daian (Kegon), Kumabe Jimyō (Shingon), and Furuzawa Bunryū (Zen and Jōdo). This edition of and commentary on the *Hasshū-kōyō* is by far the most popular of all of the commentaries on this work.

30. The *Hasshū-kōyō kaisetsu* (解説) was composed by Kashiwara Yūgi (柏原祐義), in one volume, and was published in 1927 (Shōwa 2) by the Hōzōkan, Kyoto.

The University libraries of Japan preserve for us a number of unpublished, undated, and uncirculated MSS commentaries on the *Hasshū-kōyō*.

31. The *Hasshū-kōyōkōroku* (講録), in one volume, is preserved in the Library of Ryūkoku University.

32. The *Hasshū-kōyō fuketsu* (補闕), in three volumes, is also preserved in a MSS edition at Ryūkoku University.

33. The *Hasshū-kōyō Bemmo-shō* (便蒙抄), in five volumes, is preserved in a MSS at Ryūkoku University.

34. The *Hasshū-kōyōkōroku* (講録), originally in two volumes (the first volume is now lost) by one Hifumi Jin'en (一二三尽演), is preserved in a MSS at Ryūkoku University.

35. The *Hasshū-kōyō shōchū-suyō* (掌中樞要) is preserved in a MSS at Ryūkoku University.

36. The *Hasshū-kōan* (講案), in one volume, by Aima Kanryō (相馬観梁), is preserved in the Library of Ōtani University.

37. The *Hasshū-kōyō kikigaki* (聞書), in two volumes, is preserved in the Library of Kyoto University.

38. The *Hyōchū* (標註) *Hasshū-kōyō*, in one volume, is preserved in the Library of Risshō University, Tokyo.

The *Hasshū-kōyō*

PREFACE

Question: How many teachings are there within Buddhism?

Answer: There are in all a countless number of teachings within the Teaching of the Bhagavat; but there are some eighty-four thousand major teachings, (and this number) embraces all of the dharmas preached by the World Honored One during his one lifetime of some fifty-odd years of preaching, and excludes none.

Question: Why is this necessarily the number of teachings?

Answer: It is because he desired to put down all of the eighty-four thousand various afflictions of all creatures that the teachings are also necessarily eighty-four thousand in number.

Question: Do these teachings pertain only to the Mahayana, or are they also held in common by the Hīnayāna?

Answer: Both the Mahayana and the Hīnayāna posit some eighty-four thousand teachings.

As the *Abhidharmakośa* says, "The dharma-skandha preached by the Muni are eighty-thousand in number..."

In addition to this, many of the various Hīnayāna scriptures say that there are eighty-four thousand dharmas, so this is also a position held by the Hīnayāna.

In the case of the Mahayana teachings, this principle is often spoken of, and the textual sources for it are quite numerous and we need not mention them here.

Thus both the Mahayana and the Hīnayāna establish that there are some eighty-four thousand (teachings).

Question: How are these teachings classified?

Answer: Even though the teachings are numerous, they do not exceed Two Piṭakas and Three Piṭakas, which totally and completely embrace all of the various teachings. The Five Piṭakas, the Ten Piṭakas, and the Twelve-fold Division of the Teachings are also not separate from the Three Piṭakas.

Question: What are the Two Piṭakas?

Answer: First is the Piṭaka of the Śrāvakas, and this is the Hīnayāna. Second is the Piṭaka of the Bodhisattvas, and this is the Mahayana. This is the significance of the statement that both the Mahayana and the Hīnayāna each establish that there are some eighty-four thousand (teachings). The teaching of these Two Piṭakas comes from out of the *Daichido-ron* (*Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā Upadeśa*) and from out of the *Shōgon-ron* (*Sūtra-ālamkāra*). Many masters quote this teaching from these works in their judgement of what is Mahayana and what is Hīnayāna.

Question: What then are the Three Piṭakas?

Answer: First there is the Sutra Piṭaka (*sotaran-zō*), which in the Old School of Translators was termed *Shūtarā*; translated (into Sino-Japanese) this is termed *kai-kyō*, which in the Old School was simply termed *kyō*. Second there is the Vinaya Piṭaka (*binaya-zō*), which in the Old School was termed *Bi-ni*; translated this is termed *Jō-buku*, which in the Old School was termed *Ritsu*. Third there is the Abhidharma Piṭaka (*abidatsuma-zō*), which in the Old School was termed *Abidon*; translated this is termed *tai-hō*, which in the Old School was termed *Mubi-hō*. This refers to the commentarial literature.

These then are called the Three Piṭakas. They express, in this order, the Learnings of the Precepts, of Meditation, and of Wisdom. The Three Piṭakas are the teachings as they are expressed; the Three Learnings are the principles which are expressed. These then embrace all of the teachings of the Dharma, with nothing being omitted.

Question: What does it mean to speak of 'being embraced'?

Answer: During the lifetime of the Tathāgata, He would give out the Dharma in accord with the capacity (of His listeners). If a person had the capacity, He would then give him the Dharma, and in this way the Dharma was preached in an unsystematic manner, in many different places. However the scope of the teachings preached (by the Buddha) did not exceed that of the Three Piṭakas.

When these Scriptures were compiled, all of the various saints gathered them together and formed the Three Piṭakas from them. When they had all been compiled (into these Three Piṭakas), they were then disseminated to the world.

Question: Do both the Mahayana and the Hīnayāna have Three Piṭakas?

Answer: They do. The *Shōgon-ron* explains this in great detail. Thus with respect to the Two Piṭakas of the Śrāvakas and of the Bodhi-

sattvas, each one has Three Piṭakas, and these are the Suttas, the Vinayas, and the Abhidharma.

Question: What are the circumstances of the transmission — from ancient times up to the present — of the writings that embody these teachings?

Answer: When the Tathāgata was in the world, He did not employ written records. Accordingly as they heard the teachings, persons cultivated their practice, and they would thus attain the benefit which is Enlightenment. After the Extinction of the Tathāgata, there then came to be the first written records; these came to be disseminated and in this way the eyes of many sentient beings came to be opened. Based on this then, Kāśyapa, and others, compiled the Three Piṭakas of the Hīnayāna in the Pippala Cave; Ajita, and others, compiled the teachings of the Mahayana on Mount Cakravala.

Thereupon Mahākāśyapa grasped the Holy Law and continued its profound teachings. The Venerable Ānanda upheld the Dharma and so benefiting many beings. Madhyāntika and Śāṇāvasa each held high the banner (literally: the net) of these teachings. In a singular manner Upagupta manifested a glorious name.

In this way then, for a period of one hundred years after the Extinction of the Tathāgata, the Dharma was transmitted, as one would pour water from out of one vessel to another, with nothing being lost. These five masters of the Dharma were in this manner meritorious in their transmitting, and in their upholding, of the Dharma.

After some one hundred years, many saints also appeared, and each in his turn transmitted the Sacred Canon, each taking (and passing on) the Great Dharma. Nevertheless with the disappearance of these various saints, there came to be some extinction of the Dharma, and of its significance.

In this way then Ānanda entered into Samādhi, and Śāṇāvasa was unable to understand this. Śāṇāvasa entered into Extinction, and with him many scriptures also disappeared. Even though this was the case, what remained was still

quite a lot, and the remaining teachings were truly many.

The true Dharma lasted for one thousand years. Eventually the Period of the End of the Dharma arrived, and during this period the Dharma was grasped, and upheld, and was spread to very many different places, to all of the lands in India, and even unto Japan; all of the other countries are too numerous to be mentioned. Each propagated the Sacred Scriptures, and caused the affairs of Buddhism to flourish.

Let us now narrate the circumstances of the diffusion of the Dharma in the Three Countries of India, China, and Japan.

It is the tradition that in a period some four hundred years after the Extinction of the Tathāgata, the Hīnayāna flourished greatly, and that different opinions flourished in competition one with another. The Mahayana declined into extinction and was preserved within the Palace of the Nāgas.

During this period then — for one hundred years — a single pure vessel transmitted its contents to another; but after one hundred-odd years, variant opinions came to contend with one another. At this time Mahādeva willfully spew forth his deluded words on the five points, and Vatsiputra also had not yet cast away his strong attachment to a substantial self.

The Sarmītiyas and the Sautrāntikas clamorously contended over major principles, and the Avaraśailas and the Uttaraśailas gave rise to differing views, and fought like wild animals. Finally, during this four hundred year period, some twenty groups came to compete with one another within India, and eventually some five hundred groups were locked in mutual combat.

In a period five hundred years (after the Extinction of the Buddha) the non-Buddhists flourished; the Hīnayāna came to be somewhat obscured, and even more so the Mahayana.

At this time the Śāstra Master Aśvaghōṣa first began to propagate the Mahayana in the period approaching some six hundred years (after the death

of the Buddha). His *Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana*, and other works, were composed at this time. The non-Buddhists with their false views, folded in their tongues and were all defeated, and the differing sects of the Hīnayāna all shut their mouths and were put down. The profound Mahayana teachings once again flourished in Jambudvīpa, and the capacities and the responses of all beings were now directed to the correct path.

Next there was the Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna, who, in a period six hundred years (after the death of the Buddha) and at the beginning of some seven hundred years (after His death), succeeding upon Aśvaghōṣa, walked alone in India. There were no non-Buddhists who were not crushed in defeat, and the whole of the Buddha-dharma came to be transmitted and upheld. He carried within his breast the whole of the three editions of the Avatamsaka. The streams of his writings, four-fold in their eloquence, marvelously controlled rivers and bays. He widely composed commentarial works, and he was even a deeper blue than indigo (=he surpassed his teacher, Aśvaghōṣa). Deeply he fathomed the Buddha-dharma, and he was colder than ice (=ibid.).

Both of these two Śāstra masters were bodhisattvas of high (spiritual) rank. Aśvaghōṣa was, in the past, the Buddha Great Light, and now he manifested his traces in the Eighth Bhūmi. Nāgārjuna was, in the past, the Buddha Marvellous Cloud Marks, and now he abided, in his rank, in the First Bhūmi, that of Joy (Skt: pramudita-bhūmi).

Both of them were originally Buddhas, and both of them manifested their traces for us. In their knowledge and in their eloquence they surpassed ordinary men, which was as it should be. Thereupon when the converting conditions of the manifestations of these Great Sages was completed, they ceased their converting work and so returned to their origins.

But the Karmic conditions of sentient beings also arose in confusion, and their wrong views became even deeper. Because of this then, in the period some nine hundred years (after the death

of the Buddha), the Bodhisattva Asaṅga arose in the world, benefitting living creatures.

At night he would ascend to Tuṣita Heaven, and there he personally received instruction from the Compassionate Lord, Maitreya. In the daytime he would descend to Jambudvīpa, to there widely teach sentient beings. However, the clinging of sentient beings was deep, and they would not follow after his teachings. He thereupon requested Lord Maitreya to Himself descend (to Jambudvīpa) and to preach the Dharma. The Lord Maitreya acceded to his request and came down to the Lecture Hall at Ayodhya, in Central India, and there He spoke the Five Major Śāstras, as for example, the *Yuga-ron* in some one hundred folio volumes. He profoundly discussed the deep principles of the eighty thousand teachings. Of all the Buddha's lifetime teachings, there are none that he did not judge (in this work), so this work is termed 'the Commentary that broadly explains all of the Sutras' (*kōshaku-shūkyō-ron*).

At this time the false views of all beings were all put down; they all together proceeded on the correct path, and their progress and their attainment were marvellous and magnificent. After Lord Maitreya ascended to Heaven, Asaṅga continued his teaching in Jambudvīpa.

It was during this period that Vasubandhu taught. Originally he propagated the Hīnayāna, and he composed some five hundred commentarial works on it. Later he studied the Mahayana and again he composed some five hundred commentarial works (on the Mahayana). For this reason everyone called him 'the Śāstra Master of One Thousand Works' (*sempu ronjū*).

In addition, it was at this time too that Harivarman composed the *Jōjitsu-ron*, and Saṃghabhadra composed the *Junshōri-ron*.

In a period some one thousand years after the Extinction of the Tathāgata, the major tenets of the Mahayana had not yet been divided into differing opinions. After some one thousand and one hundred years (after the death of the Buddha) the Mahayana first began to generate differing opin-

ions. At this period one thousand and one hundred years (after the death of the Buddha), Dharmapāla and Bhavaviveka debated Emptiness and Existence with reference to the Dependent Level of Truth.

Some one thousand and two hundred years (after the death of the Buddha) Śīlabhadra and Jñānaprabha discussed external characteristics and internal nature in sharp debate. These masters in debate were like diamonds against diamonds, like boulders against boulders.

All of the various other śāstra masters, such as Nāgabodhi, Nilanetra, Rāhula, Dignāga, Bandhuśrī, Citrabhāna, Jñānacandra, *et al.*, were, all of them, bodhisattvas 'Four Supports of Living Beings,' the refuge of all creatures. From ancient days to the present they prominently appeared, and like orchids and chrysanthemums they competed with one another for excellence.

All of the various Traditions (within Buddhism) would take them to be their patriarchal masters and teachers, and all beings would depend upon them to be their leaders. In this way then various commentarial masters appeared and succeeded one another from ancient days down to the present, illuminating all of India, and saving all beings. Such are the circumstances of the propagation of the Buddha-dharma in India.

In the case of China, in the period towards the end of one thousand years (after the death of the Buddha), Kāśyapa-matāṅga first came to China.

Chu Fa-lan came next, and first disseminated the Three Precious Ones, and he gradually propagated the Five Vehicles.

From this time onward, during the various dynasties of the Han, Wei, Chin, (Liu)-Sung, Ch'i, Liang, Ch'en, Sui, T'ang and Sung, many Tripiṭaka masters each transmitted Buddhism, and each one propagated the Sacred Dharma.

In the case of translating the scriptures of the Three Piṭakas, some monks came to China from the West, whereas others went from China to the West, and came back to China. The Three Piṭakas of both the Mahayana and the Hīnayāna were all translated

and disseminated, and both the Revealed and the Secret Teachings were widely spread about.

In this way Kumārajīva and Hsuan-tsang exhausted the most excellent scriptural translations, and their efforts ultimately called forth the heavenly praise of the Deva Veda.

Buddhabhadra and Dharmakṣema are praised for the beauty of their translations, and they too attained the divine protection of the Nāgas.

There were other eminent monks who revered the Buddha-dharma: the moon of the Golden Mountain (=Chi-tsang) and of pure reflection (=Hui-yuan) was clearly reflected in the waters of the Eight Negations which Reveal the Truth; the flowers of the Southern Peaks (=Hui-su) and of Mt. T'ien-t'ai (=Chih-i) were ever fresh in the garden of the Three Insights in the One Mind; the breezes from the Tz'u-en ssu Monastery (=K'uei-chi) and from out of the Province of Tzu (=Hui-chao) were cool among the branches of the Three Herbs and the Two Trees; the jade of the Musk Elephant (=Fa-tsang) and of Lake Anavatapta (=Ch'eng-kuan) was bright and clear in the pavilion of the Ten Profundities and the Six Marks.

In addition to these, the two masters P'u-kuang and Fa-pao most clearly plumbed the profundities of the Abhidharma; the two scholar-monks, Fa-li and Tao-hsuan, brightly polished up the Precepts and the Vinaya; how much more too was the monk Hui-ying alone resplendent with respect to the major principles of the *Jōjitsu-ron*, and the monks I-hsing and Hui-kyo were, both of them illustrious with respect to the Secret Teachings of the Mantrayāna.

Other than these, all of the various masters are too numerous to mention; they all propagated the Great Path, and each one of them penetrated the Teachings of the Buddha. They were lofty and eminent in their awe-inspiring qualities, and they frequently called forth heavenly gifts; their marvellous understanding was broad and vast, and

often they perceived the Buddha within their own minds. Such eminent monks, from ancient days up to the present, have been very many, and very great! How can words do justice to them! Such have been the circumstances of the dissemination of the Buddha-dharma in China.

In the case of Japan, in the eleventh month of the sixth year of the reign of the thirtieth Japanese sovereign, the Emperor Kimmei, which year corresponded to the eighth year of Ta-t'ung of the Liang Dynasty (=AD 545), a *kinoto-ushi* year, the King of Paekche, Song-myong wang, presented (to the Japanese Court) one gold and bronze mixed alloy image of the Buddha Śākyamuni, along with its pennants and banners, and some volumes of the Buddhist Canon. The Emperor was overjoyed with this, and seeing them, he worshiped them.

Although at that time the Ministers and subjects did not revere these objects, a temple was constructed for them, and the Buddhist scriptures were placed therein. From this time onward, the Three Precious Ones gradually came to flourish and to be established.

On the first day of the first month, in the first year of the reign of the thirty-first Japanese sovereign, the Emperor Bidatsu, (=AD 572), a *mizunoe-tatsu* year, Prince Shōtoku was born in the Province of Yamato. He further propagated the Buddha-dharma, filling the Empire in many places with saṅghāramas (=large monasteries), and the persons he saved were countless.

The rebellious minister Moriya was stricken by the bows and arrows of samādhi and prajñā, and the two monks from Koguryo gained fame for their propagation of the Buddha-dharma.

In his putting down of false views, in his building up of the Three Precious Ones, in his salvation of living beings, and in his carrying out of the affairs of the Buddha-dharma, wherein could he (=Prince Shōtoku) be surpassed in the countless goings and comings from ancient days to the present? For this (flourishing of the Buddha-

dharma) was all exclusively due to the power of the skillful means of this Prince of the Inner Palace (=Prince Shōtoku).

From this time onward, eminent monks appeared in great numbers and broadly propagated the Buddha-dharma; These monks were none other than the traces of the Great Sage (=Śākyamuni) who came down in order to widely disseminate the Three Precious Ones.

Hye-kuan *sōjō* transmitted the profound principles of the Sanron; Gembō *sōjō* propagated the Hossō Mahayana; the Perfect Tradition of the Kegon was introduced by the Vinaya Master Tao-shūan; and both the Precepts and the Vinayas, and the Tendai, were propagated by the Upadhyāya Chien-chen (Ganjin *wajō*).

It was Dengyō-daishi (=Saichō) who again caused the Tendai to flourish, and Kōbō-daishi (=Kūkai) established, with great success, the Mantrayāna.

The *Kusha-ron* and the *Jōjitsu-ron* have both had their transmission.

Some of these great masters have come to Japan from T'ang Dynasty China, whereas others have gone to China, and have come back (to Japan with their teachings).

There were many other masters who disseminated the Buddha-dharma and they all studied these above teachings, from beginning to end. Some would drink from the jade-like streams (of the Gyokusenji Monastery; =the Tendai), some would transmit the light of the sun of Wisdom (=the Enichi-dōjō of Kichijō [Chi-tsang]; =the Sanron), some would receive the full moon from out of Lake Anavatapta (=the Kegon), and some became disciples of the jade flowers (=the Gyok-kakyū Translation Bureau; =the Hossō); some walked beneath the chaste pines of Mt. Nan-shan (=the Ritsu Tradition), and some sported in the Miraculous Fungi Garden of West Lake (=the masters In-tan [Yūn-k'an] and Ganjō [Yuan-chao]; =the Ritsu Tradition); in some cases, the Green Dragon (=Shingon) deeply plummeted the depths of the

seas, and the Great Clouds (=Kusha) covered all four sides of the globe.

Both the Mahayana and the Hīnayāna, the traditions of internal nature (=Sanron) and of external characteristics (=Hossō), the teachings of both Teachings and of Meditational Insight, and the two teachings of the Revealed Teachings and the Secret Teachings, had each of them, those who propagated them and who are, in all, too numerous to mention.

All of the seven major monasteries were, shoulder to shoulder, looked up to and esteemed, and both the Southern Capital (=Nara) and the Northern Capital (=Kyoto) competed in the excellence of their academic studies. These masters were all of them the followers and disciples of Nāga- and Elephant-(like saints), and all were the great teachers of both gods and men. All rural districts too, accordingly, saw the dissemination of the Buddha-dharma, and from ancient times up to the present there has been no interruption of this.

Even though in this, the period of *Mappō* (=the Period of the End of the Dharma), the taste of the Buddha-dharma has become weak, the ocean-like teachings are still as deep as ever. Even though a person would want to snare its depths, he would not be able to do so. Great it is, for one cannot grasp it nor adequately speak of it. These are the circumstances of the dissemination of the Buddha-dharma in Japan.

Question: We now know in general terms the circumstances of the dissemination of the Buddha-dharma into these Three Countries. Now, however, how many types of the Buddha-dharma in all have been transmitted into Japan? Please explain this again!

Answer: In Japan, from ancient times, there has only been some Eight Traditions which have been pursued, and up to the present day this has not changed. In this interval however there have been some other Traditions. Nevertheless there has been, by common consent, only these Eight Tradi-

tions which have, from ancient times up to the present, been studied.

Question: What are these Eight Traditions?

Answer: The Eight Traditions are: 1. the Kusha-shū, 2. the Jōjitsu-shū, 3. the Ritsu-shū, 4. the Hossō-shū, 5. the Sanron-shū, 6. the Tendai-shū, 7. the Kegon-shū, and 8. the Shingon-shū.

Question: Of these Eight Traditions, how many are Hīnayāna, and how many are Mahayana?

Answer: The three Traditions of the Kusha, the Jōjitsu, and the Ritsu, are all Hīnayāna. The five Traditions of the Hossō, the Sanron, the Tendai, the Kegon, and the Shingon are all Mahayana.

Question: Could we hear of the principles and the teachings of these Eight Traditions?

Answer: The principles of these various Traditions are deep and profound, and are difficult to understand. I have not yet fully tasted of even one of these Traditions, so how much less for some eight Traditions! For this reason then I shall present only an itemized list of their doctrines, and in this way I shall roughly present but one of their teachings.

CHAPTER ONE: KUSHA TRADITION

1. **Question:** Why is this tradition termed the Kusha Tradition?

Answer: The word 'Kusha' (Skt: Kośa) is the name of the principle Commentary of this tradition (i.e., the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣyam*).

To speak in greater detail, the full name of this Commentary is 'Abidatsuma-kusha-ron' (=the *Abhidharmakośa śāstra*). The word -ron is a Chinese word, and the other six syllables are Sanskrit. *Abhi-* signifies 'facing'; *-dharma-* signifies 'item, thing'; and *-kośa* signifies 'sheath, enclosure' so this work may be called 'the Commentary that embraces all things relevant to the *dharma*s'; that is, 'undefiled wisdom', and it is that which this

Commentary approaches. There are two meanings to the word 'facing': first, facing or going towards Nirvana; and second, facing the Four Noble Truths in meditation. There are two meanings to the word 'dharma': first, the dharma of Absolute Truth, or Nirvana; second, the external characteristics of the dharmas, which permeate all of the Four Noble Truths. That is, undefiled wisdom is turned towards Nirvana, and meditates on the Four Noble Truths. There are two meanings to 'enclosure': first, 'embracing'; and second, support. 'Embracing' means that this Commentary embraces all of the absolutely true words from out of the *Hotchi-ron* (=Jñānaprasthāna), et al., and so for this reason this work is called a *Kośa*. The phrase 'the Kośa of Abhidharma' is a Tatpuruṣa compound (in Sanskrit grammar). With respect to the meaning of *Kośa* as support, this Commentary was written based upon the *Hotchi-ron*, et al., and so it is called a *Kośa*.

This work completely adopts the name of Abhidharma from this more basic work (i.e., the *Jñānaprasthāna*), and since the *Kośa* is an enclosure of all things concerning the dharmas, it is called an enclosure (*kośa*) of all things concerning (*abhi-*) the *dharma* (=the *Abhidharma-kośa*). This is a Karmadhāraya compound.

This then is the significance of the full title of this Commentary. Now since this *Abhidharmakośa* is what is revered in this Tradition, this Tradition is termed the *Abhidharmakośa* Tradition (Japanese: *Kusha-shū*).

2. **Question:** This work was written by whom, after how many years had elapsed after the Parinirvāṇa of the Tathāgata?

Answer: This work was composed by the Bodhisattva Vasubandhu, in a period some 900 years after the Parinirvāṇa of the Tathāgata.

Of the twenty different Buddhist groups in existence at that time, Vasubandhu belonged to the Sarvāstivādins. Originally this group had come out of the Vaibhāṣikas, and in their influence they embraced all other teachings.

The *Mahā-vibhāṣā* is based on the *Jñāna-prasthāna*, and the six 'Pāda Śāstras.'

Some four hundred years after the Parinirvāṇa of the Tathāgata, there was a king of the land of Gandhara, by the name of Kanishka, who revered, and deeply believed in the Buddhist scriptures. One day he invited some monks to come into his palace, there to receive his offerings. The king took this opportunity to inquire concerning the Way. The monks differed in their teachings one from the other, and the king thought that this was very strange. He addressed the Elder Parśva saying, "The Teachings of the Buddha were identical in their origins, and there was then no difference in its principles. How can there then be such differences in what these elders say?"

The Elder answered him, saying, "All of these teachings are correct, for if one but cultivate (any one of them), he shall attain to the fruits (of the religious life). The Buddha in fact gave a prophesy, saying (that His Teachings) would come to resemble a golden staff, broken into many pieces!"

When the king heard these words, he again asked, "Which is the best of all of these various philosophical positions?, for I wish to cultivate it. Oh Venerable One, please tell me what it is!" The Elder answered him, saying, "Of all of these various groups, there is none that surpasses the School of Existence (=the Sarvāstivādins). If Your Majesty wishes to cultivate a practice, you would do well to revere this one." Thereupon the king was overjoyed, and he commanded that the Tripiṭaka teachings of this one sect be brought together.

Eminent and venerable monks assembled together from the four directions, like the clouds. Ordinary persons and saints were exceedingly many, but because of their numbers, there was much confusion and disorder. Finally the king removed the ordinary monks, and only the saintly monks were allowed to remain. The number of these saintly monks was also very great, and so the king removed those that were śaikṣas (=learners), and only those who were aśaikṣas (=those with

nothing more to learn, arhats) were allowed to remain. The number of aśaikṣas was still large, and they could not assemble together. So from among the aśaikṣas, he chose those who had attained the Six Supernormal Powers in their samādhis, who had perfected the Four Eloquences in their Knowledge, who had learned the Tripiṭaka, and who were proficient in the Five Vidyās — such were permitted to assemble together.

Now of those saintly worthies allowed to remain, they were in number some 499 persons. Eventually however the Elder Vasumitra was chosen too, and the number was then an even five hundred persons. The Elder Vasumitra was chosen to be the presiding elder.

Thereupon the five hundred saints first collected together some 100,000 ślokas, which served as a commentary on the *Sūtra Piṭaka*. Next they composed some 100,000 ślokas which served as their commentary on the *Vinaya Piṭaka*. And lastly they composed some 100,000 ślokas which served as their commentary on the *Abhidharma Piṭaka*: this is the *Mahā-Vibhāṣā*.

After these five hundred arhats had finished this compilation, they had (these ślokas) engraved on stones, and set up the resolution that (these teachings) were to be allowed only within this land (=Gandhara), and were not to be allowed to foreign lands. Indeed Yakṣas were commanded to guard the city gates, so that persons could not leave at will.

Now the Venerable Elder, Vasubandhu, had initially studied the Sarvāstivādin doctrines, and later he had studied the doctrines of the Sautrāntikas, and he realized that these latter teachings corresponded to the Truth; thus with respect to the doctrines of the Sarvāstivādin School, he embraced thoughts of 'taking and rejecting', and he desired to determine which was right and which was wrong (in its teachings). He thereupon hid his (real) name, and again went (to Gandhara), where he now spent some four years. He frequently proclaimed that (the Sarvāstivādins) were his own school, and he would vigorously crush all other groups.

The Elder Skandila was once defeated (by Vasubandhu) in debate and was unable to respond (to his assertions). Thereupon Skandila entered into samādhi, and so came to know that this person was Vasubandhu. Skandila then privately told Vasubandhu, "Among the followers of the Sarvāstivādin teachings, there are some persons who have not yet been liberated from desires; if they come to know of your defeating (their philosophical positions), they will surely kill you. You must quickly return home to your native land!"

When Vasubandhu reached his native land he began to lecture on the *Mahā-Vibhāṣā*. After a day's lecture he would then compose one *śloka* which would embrace within this one *śloka* all of the teaching that he had lectured on during that one day. He had these *ślokas* engraved on leaves of copper, and in this manner he wrote down all of the *ślokas*. In this way then there gradually came to be some 600 *ślokas* which embraced all of the teachings of the *Mahā-Vibhāṣā*, perfectly and completely. These *ślokas* he attached to a musk elephant (Skt: Gandha-hastin), and beating a drum, Vasubandhu announced, "If there is anyone who is able to refute (these propositions), I shall gladly confess my faults." But there was no one who could refute the propositions contained in the *ślokas*.

Thereupon Vasubandhu sent someone with these *ślokas* to go to the land of Gandhara. Then the king of that land, and the assembled clergy, saw these *ślokas* and they all rejoiced, saying that Vasubandhu was promulgating the teachings of their own school (i.e., that of the Sarvāstivādins). Only Skandila knew that this was false, and saying so, he alarmed many persons.

Vasubandhu was eventually requested by the king to compose a commentary (on these *ślokas*), and the śāstra master Vasubandhu acceded to the king's request, and for him he commented on the original text (=the *ślokas*), and this commentary was some 8,000 *ślokas* in length. Later, when he saw this Commentary (=the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣyam*), he in fact knew that the words of the Arhat Skandila (were correct).

At this time a disciple of the Elder Skandila, the Śāstra Master Saṅghabhadra, composed a treatise which refuted the *Abhidharmakośa*. This treatise was entitled the *Kusha Baku-ron* (A Treatise, Hailstones on the Kośa). He showed this work to Vasubandhu, and when Vasubandhu saw it, he praised it, and changed its name to the *Jun-shōri-ron* (Skt: *Nyāya-anusāra*, 'In Accord with the Truth'). This Śāstra Master Saṅghabhadra also composed the *Kenshū-ron* (Skt: *Abhidharma-samaya-pradipika*), which forms some forty fascicles in its Chinese translation. Translated into Chinese, the *Nyāya-anusāra* forms some eighty fascicles. Thus do we know that the *Abhidharmakośa* comes originally from the *Mahā-Vibhāṣā*.

3. **Question:** When this Commentary arose and flourished was indeed in a period some nine hundred years (after the Parinirvāṇa of the Tathāgata). But when was this Commentary transmitted to China?

Answer: There have been two occasions when this Commentary was translated into Chinese. The first occasion was during the Ch'en Dynasty, when it was translated by the Tripiṭaka Master Paramārtha, forming some twenty Chinese fascicles. Paramārtha thereupon wrote his own commentary on the text, in fifty fascicles. At present this work has been lost, and has not been transmitted to us.

Later, in the T'ang Dynasty, the Tripiṭaka Master Hsuan-tsang translated this Commentary into Chinese, making some thirty fascicles; this was done during the Yung-hui period (AD 650-655) and the work was carried out in the Tz'u-en ssu monastery. This then is the present text of the work.

Now since this Commentary (=the *Abhidharmakośa*) and its commentary (=the *Bhāṣyam*) were composed by the Śāstra Master Vasubandhu, the Bodhisattva Vasubandhu is regarded as the First Patriarchal Master (of this Tradition). The Tripiṭaka Master of Universal Learning (=Hsuan-tsang) marvelously translated this work during the Great T'ang Dynasty, and the Dharma Masters P'u-

kuang and Fa-pao wrote commentaries on the *Kośa*, and indeed many other masters have all studied this work.

This work has been transmitted to Japan, and it is studied in all of the monasteries, in an unbroken succession down to the present time.

4. **Question:** Does this Tradition only teach the doctrines of the Sarvāstivādins, or does it also include the teachings of other schools?

Answer: This Commentary primarily teaches the doctrines of the Sarvāstivādins. Thus the doctrines established in this text are based on those of the Sarvāstivādins, and it was on the basis of these that this work was composed. However, on occasion, the teachings of the Sautrāntikas are approved of; thus it says in the work, "The doctrines of the Gandharans are proven (to be correct): I have relied on them in commenting on the *Abhidharma*." But it also says, "The doctrines of the Sautrāntikas are not in opposition to the Truth." Vasubandhu picks and chooses from among these two Schools, and it appears that the author has both a revealed and a secret aspect (*i.e.*, Vasubandhu publicly approves of the Sarvāstivādins and rejects the positions of the Sautrāntikas but he secretly approves of the Sautrāntikas and rejects certain positions of the Sarvāstivādins). But the principles behind these references may be known on the basis of the work itself.

5. **Question:** What are the principle tenets of this Commentary?

Answer: Since this Commentary narrates the doctrines of the Sarvāstivādins, it does teach that all of the dharmas have real existence, and this then is regarded as its main tenet. Speaking in greater detail however, we cannot say that its teachings are not those of the Sautrāntikas.

With reference to the revealed intention of this work, then we must say that it is solely Sarvāstivādin; that is, it teaches that all the dharmas really exist in all the three periods of time (=past, present, and future), and that the natures of these

dharmas is eternally existent. All such teachings are the doctrines taught in the School of the Sarvāstivādins.

There are a variety of different opinions with respect to the teaching of the real existence of the dharmas in the three time periods. There are some four opinions.

The first is that of the Venerable Dharmatrāta who holds that (the dharmas) differ with respect to their natures (*bhava*), and thus differ in the three time periods.

The second is the opinion of the Venerable Ghoṣaka who maintains that the dharmas differ with respect to their external characteristics (*lakṣaṇa*), and thus differ in the three time periods.

The third is the Venerable Vasumitra who holds that the dharmas differ with respect to their condition (*avasthā*), and thus differ in the three time periods.

The fourth is the Venerable Buddhadeva who holds that the dharmas differ with respect to their mutual relationship, and thus differ in the three time periods.

Now the Śāstra Master Vasubandhu judges all of these four opinions, and he holds that the opinion of the Venerable Vasumitra is the best. However the Sautrāntikas hold that the dharmas of the past and of the future have no real structure, and that only the dharmas of the present are real.

The *Abhidharmakośa* is an Abhidharmic work, so it is in the *Abhidharma Piṭaka*.

6. **Question:** In sum, how many principles does this Commentary elucidate?

Answer: In all there are some nine chapters in the thirty fascicles that make up this Commentary. These nine chapters are: first, the Chapter on the Dhātus; second, the Chapter on the Indriyas; third, the Chapter on the Physical World; fourth, the Chapter on Karma; fifth, the Chapter on the Defilements; sixth, the Chapter on the Stages of Holiness; seventh, the Chapter on Knowledge; eighth, the Chapter on the Absorptions; and ninth, the Chapter on the Refutation of the Ātman.

A short stanza says, "Kai ni, Gon go, Seken go; Go roku, Zui san, Genjō shi; Chi ni, Jō ni, Haga ichi; se myo Kusha sanjikkān ("Dhātu two, Indriya five, World five; Karma six, Defilements three, Saints four, Knowledge two, Absorptions two, Refuting the Ātman one: this is termed the thirty fascicles of the *Kusha-ron*").

The Ninth Chapter, Refutation of the Ātman, does not have any separate *śloka*s, but rather assembles a number of Gathas from out of the Sūtras.

Of these nine Chapters, the first two elucidate, in general, defiled and undefiled dharmas; the last six Chapters specifically elucidate the defiled dharmas. The last three Chapters specifically elucidate the undefiled dharmas.

In the elucidation of the defiled dharmas, the Third Chapter, "On the Physical World," elucidates resultant states, the Fourth Chapter, "On Karma," elucidates its causes, and the Chapter on the Defilements elucidates conditions.

In the elucidation of undefiled dharmas, the Sixth Chapter, "On the Saints," elucidates the resultant states, the Seventh Chapter, "On Knowledge," elucidates their causes, and the Eighth Chapter, "On the Absorptions," elucidates their conditions.

The Ninth Chapter, "The Refutation of the Ātman," elucidates the principles of Non-ego.

This then is the classification of the principles elucidated from the beginning to the end of the nine Chapters and thirty fascicles, of this literary corpus.

7. **Question:** How many different ways does this Tradition embrace all of the dharmas?

Answer: Some seventh-five (types of) dharmas embrace all of the dharmas.

The seventy-five dharmas are:

First, the dharma of physical matter (*rūpa dharma*), which contains some eleven things: five *indriyas*, five *viśayas*, and *avijñapti-rūpa*.

Second, the mind dharma (*citta dharma*), which has only one item, namely the mind which is the six types of consciousness, but which make up in their totality only one (dharma).

Third, the dharma of mental states (*caitasika dharma*), which contains some forty-six dharmas, which are divided into six classes: the *mahābhūmika dharmas* are ten; the *kuśala mahābhūmika dharmas* are ten; the *kleśa mahābhūmika dharmas* are six; the *akuśala mahābhūmika dharmas* are two; the *parittakleśabhūmika dharmas* are ten; the *aniyata dharmas* are eight; and altogether these make up some forty-six dharmas. These are called the six-fold division of the dharmas of mental states.

The ten *mahābhūmika dharmas* are as given in a *śloka* from the *Abhidharmakośa*, "Sensation, perception, volition, contact, desire, intellect, memory and attention, determination, *saṁdhi* — these permeate all mental states."

The ten *kuśala mahābhūmika dharmas* are, as given in that same *śloka*, "Faith, earnestness, freedom from dullness, indifference, modesty, shame, the two roots (of good: freedom from covetousness and freedom from hatred), non-violence, and diligence permeate only good mental states."

The six *kleśa mahābhūmika dharmas* are, as given in a *śloka*, "Ignorance, carelessness, indolence, absence of faith, languor and eccentricity — these are always, and solely defiled."

The two *akuśala mahābhūmika dharmas* are, as given in a *śloka*, "These only permeate bad minds, that is, immodesty and shamelessness."

The ten *parittakleśabhūmika dharmas* are, as given in a *śloka*, "Anger, hypocrisy, miserliness, jealousy, affliction, violence, enmity, guile, trickery, arrogance — such are termed the *parittakleśabhūmika dharmas*."

The eight *aniyata dharmas* are, as given in a brief *śloka*, "Reflection, investigation, and repentance, torpor, attachment, anger and conceit, doubt"

Fourth are the *citta viprayukta saṃskāra dharma*s, which are fourteen in number. A *śloka* from the *Kośa* says, "The *citta viprayukta saṃskāras* are: attainment, non-attainment, class-generality, unconsciousness, the two absorptions (absorption of unconsciousness, and the absorption of extinction), life force, the characteristics (of origination, continuance, decay, and impermanence), word, etc. (=sentence, letter)."

Fifth are the three *asaṃskṛta dharma*s: (1) extinction through cogitation, (2) extinction without cogitation, and (3) space.

These then are what are called the seventy-five dharma. Among these seventy-five dharma, the first seventy-two are all conditioned dharma, and the last three are unconditioned. All of the dharma are included within these two (=conditioned and unconditioned dharma). Within the conditioned dharma, there are dharma which are defiled, and there are those which are undefiled. Unconditioned dharma are undefiled. Thus does this Tradition posit some seventy-five dharma, and so includes all dharma, with none being omitted.

8. **Question:** In what way are the causes and the resultant states of the Three Vehicles (=Śrāvaka, Pratyekabuddha, and Bodhisattva) posited within this Tradition?

Answer: Within the Three Vehicles, the Śrāvaka traverses a minimum of three lifetimes and a maximum of some sixty Kalpas in his cultivation of his practice and his attainment of the result (which is the state of Śrāvaka-hood). There are some seven stages to his expedient means, and there are four grades to his resultant state (=srotaṅgī, sakṛdāgāmin, anāgāmya, and arhat).

The pratyekabuddha traverses a minimum of four lifetimes and a maximum of one hundred Kalpas in his cultivation of the causes and the attainment of his resultant state. He accumulates causal cultivations and straightaway ascends to the state of aśaikṣa (=arhat): there is not for him many

grades, but only one approach and only one resultant state.

The bodhisattva traverses some three asaṃkheyya kalpas and cultivates all of the Pāramitās. For one hundred kalpas he plants the roots of actions which will result in the major and minor marks of full Buddhahood. In his last body he will sit on the Vajra Throne, and cutting off all of the bonds, he will attain to Buddhahood. When the conditions whereby he converts others is finally exhausted, he will enter into Nirvana-without-residue.

The śrāvaka meditates on the Four Noble Truths, the pratyekabuddha meditates on the Twelve Links of Dependent Origination, and the Bodhisattva cultivates the Six Pāramitās.

9. **Question:** How many types of Emptiness (=Śūnyatā) does this Tradition elucidate?

Answer: This Tradition only elucidates the Emptiness of Living Beings, and it does not discuss the Emptiness of the Dharma.

'Emptiness of Living Beings' means that it cuts off attachment to self: within the five skandhas there is no personality or self. There are only the five skandhas which join together and which thus are provisionally called 'person.' There is no real person in them. If one meditates on things in this way, he will then be awakened to the truths of the emptiness of self.

However, this Tradition does teach that the nature of the various dharma really exist in the three time periods, and so because of this fact the other Traditions (within Buddhism) have called this Kuśa-shū the Tradition that teaches 'the emptiness of ātman and the existence of dharma.'

Shinzei's *Discourse on Practicing the Samādhi of Meditating on the Buddha*

by Richard K. Payne, *Institute of Buddhist Studies, Berkeley, CA*

INTRODUCTION: VISUALIZATION PRACTICE

Although the term nembutsu (S¹: *buddhānusmṛti*) is used today almost synonymously with the recitation of the name of Amida Buddha, in the history of Buddhism it has comprised a large number of different practices. In *The Discourse on the Pure Land*² attributed to the famous fourth century Buddhist thinker Vasubandhu (J: Seshin), nembutsu practice—the practice of meditating on the Buddha, or keeping the Buddha in mind—is organized under five headings. One of the main reasons that Vasubandhu's *Jōdo-ron* became important in East Asian Pure Land thought is the attention given to it by the Chinese Pure Land master T'an-luan (J: Donran, 488-554), who produced his own commentary on the work.

According to Vasubandhu and T'an-luan, nembutsu practice is organized into five components: (1) worship, which employs one's own body, such as bowing; (2) the verbalization of praises directed toward Amida Buddha, such as the invocation of his name; (3) establishing a clear resolution to be reborn in the Pure Land of Amida Buddha; (4) visualizing Amida Buddha as present in the Pure Land; and (5) the turning over of the merit of one's practice to the benefit of sentient beings, as well as the intent that, once one has been born in the Pure Land, one will devote one's efforts to the liberation of all other sentient beings.³

Vasubandhu's "five-fold nembutsu" is usually treated as simply a list of five different kinds of nembutsu practice. However, when compared with other specifically ritual practices

from the Buddhist tradition, it is clear that the "five-fold nembutsu" forms a single ritual, a *pūjā* or *sādhana*. Seeing the "five-fold nembutsu" as a single ritual gives a new significance to the practices as forming an integrated whole, rather than simply being a listing of five kinds of nembutsu practice, each of which may be practiced in isolation from one another. Central to such a ritual would be the fourth of the five components: *nembutsu zammai* (S: *buddhānusmṛti samādhi*), or the "samādhi of meditating on the Buddha." *Samādhi* is a term having many subtly different shades of meaning in different contexts. Here, however, it is best understood as visualization. How Vasubandhu would have understood such a practice to be effective has been discussed by Edward Conze: "when in a prescribed and disciplined manner and with spiritual intent we move in a trance away from the empirical reality of a given stimulus, we do not thereby move off into a realm of mere phantasy, but come into contact with something—truer to what is really there than that which we found in the sensory world."⁴

This understanding of the efficacy of visualization practice is not limited to the Yogacara school, however. *The Meditation on the Buddha of Infinite Life Sutra* (J: *Kanmuryōju-kyō*; S: title reconstructed as *Amitāyurbuddhānusmṛtisūtra*, T 365) has sixteen different meditations on Amitāyus Buddha. The eighth and ninth of these sixteen are very close in content to the kinds of visualizations employed in Vasubandhu's "five-

fold nembutsu." Śākyamuni Buddha explains the purpose of the eighth and ninth meditations, saying that:

...each *buddha-tathāgata*, as the body of the dharma-realm, pervades the mind of all sentient beings. Therefore, when you perceive a buddha in your mind, it is your mind which possesses the thirty-two prominent features and the eighty secondary attributes; your mind becomes a buddha; your mind is a buddha; and the wisdom of the buddhas—true, universal, and ocean-like—arises from this mind. Therefore, you should single-mindedly fix your thoughts and clearly perceive the Buddha, Tathāgata, Arhat, and Samyaksambuddha.⁵

In other words, enlightened consciousness—the “*buddha-tathāgata*, as the body of the dharma-realm”—is already present in the minds of all sentient beings. Visualizing a Buddha, therefore, manifests that enlightened consciousness. One realizes enlightenment, in the literal meaning of “to make real,” through visualization.

This understanding of the soteriological efficacy of visualization practice is in marked contrast with modern, Western approaches to Buddhist practice. For example, Allan A. Andrews in his excellent work *The Teachings Essential for Rebirth* says that “The Buddha (who was not always Amitābha) was often treated as a focus of concentration rather than an object of devotion.”⁶ These two categories—devotion and concentration—are not the only two forms of Buddhist soteriology, and to limit our understanding of how Buddhists have themselves understood the efficacy of practice to these two is a false dichotomy. Visualization as the means by which one manifests one’s already enlightened consciousness offers a third possible way of understanding the efficacy of practice. Additionally, it serves to shed light on the complexity of the visualizations employed. Devotional practice *per se* does not require visualiza-

tion, and concentration may be improved through focusing attention on any object. Further, it is not clear that improving one’s abilities to concentrate is itself conducive to enlightenment. If, however, the point of the practice is to experience directly the presence of the Buddha in the Pure Land, then the more accurately the mental visual image fully manifests that experience, the better. It is this practice of visualizing the Buddha which Shinzei discusses in his *Discourse on Practicing the Samādhi of Meditating on the Buddha*.

SHINZEI, JISHŌ DAISHI

Shinzei was born in 1443 and died in 1495, placing him in the middle of the Muromachi era (1336-1573). His major residence was the temple of Saikyō-ji in Shiga, and he received the titles Enkai Kokushi and Jishō Daishi. The tradition of his teaching was maintained by the branch of Tendai known eponymously as the Shinzei-ha. Two of his works are to be found in the Taishō edition of the canon: the *Sōshin hōgo* (T 2420) and the *Nembutsu zammai hōgo* (T 2421).⁷ It is the latter of these two which is translated below under the title *Discourse on Practicing the Samādhi of Meditating on the Buddha*.

Shinzei was a Tendai monk and his work represents a dual response to the developments of Kamakura and Muromachi Buddhism. On the one hand he is part of the continuing reform efforts which went on within the older sects, while on the other, he attempts to rebuild nembutsu practice as a part of Tendai, responding to the splitting off of the single-practice nembutsu sects. Robert E. Morrell has pointed out that the typical image of the older sects during the Kamakura era as being composed “of an enervated, corrupt clergy pandering to a frivolous aristocracy and attacking the new movements merely because (they) feared a loss of power and prestige” is not an accurate one, but rather a “caricature.”⁸ Morrell discusses several other figures who were also active in reforming the older Buddhist traditions from within the tradi-

tions. Shinzei is himself in line with these internal reformers.

Shinzei's efforts to revitalize nembutsu within the context of Tendai are based on Saicho's own understanding of Tendai as a universal form of Buddhism which integrated the Lotus teaching of the Chinese master Chih-i (538-597), Buddhist Tantra, Ch'an style meditation, *vinaya*, Pure Land style devotion to Amitābha, and elements from Shinto.⁹

Shinzei's *Discourse* reflects the traditional view of the efficacy of the "*samādhi* of meditating on the Buddha," which as we have seen above dates back to the *Meditation Sutra* and Vasubandhu. The opening statement is an assertion of the identity of entering the "*samādhi* of meditating on the Buddha" and entering the Pure Land of Amida, *Sukhāvatī*. He goes on to assert that repeated practice of the visualization is what produces the desired benefits, and that to seek such benefits through any means other than this visualization practice is pointless. He closes with a vow that he will assist future practitioners of the meditation on the Buddha.

Shinzei's effort to reform Tendai and to stimulate nembutsu practice produced a movement which became a significant part of the Tendai tradition. Today, after almost five centuries, the Shinzei-ha is the third largest subsect of Tendai. The Saikyō-ji remains the headquarters of the Shinzei-ha, and there are "approximately 430 branch temples in Ōmi, Ise and Echizen regions."¹⁰

FOOTNOTES

1. The following abbreviations are employed in the essay: "S" for "Sanskrit," "J" for "Japanese," "T" for "Taishō canon number."

2. J: *Jōdo-ron*, or more fully, *Muryōjūkyō-ubadaisha-ganshōge*, S reconstruction: *Sukhāvatīvyūhopadeśa*, T 1524.

3. *Encyclopedia of Religion*. S.v. "T'ian-luan," by Roger Corless.

4. Edward Conze, *Buddhist Thought in India*, p. 254.

5. Ryukoku University Translation Center, *The Meditation on the Buddha of Infinite Life Sutra*, p. 51.

6. Allan A. Andrews, *The Teachings Essential for Rebirth*, p. 57.

7. Paul Demiéville, et al., *Répertoire du Canon Bouddhique Sino-Japonais*, p. 277.

8. Robert E. Morrell, *Kamakura Buddhism*, p. 22.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

10. Daigan Matsunaga and Alicia Matsunaga, *Foundation of Japanese Buddhism*, 2:292.

TRANSLATION

Discourse on Practicing the Samādhi of Meditating on the Buddha (Nembutsuzammaihōgo, T 2421)

by Shinzei, Jishō Daishi (1443 to 1495); translated by Richard K. Payne¹

When one enters the *samādhi* of meditating on the Buddha, the Land of Extreme Bliss (*Sukhāvatī*) is immediately revealed, (and one may) revere the many Buddhas of the three times both day and night (i.e., continually). Many gods (i.e., *kami*) will come together² where (Amida Buddha's) name is continually recited. Gracious deities of one's own good fortune³ will gather, joining the assembly. Frequently repeating these mental images over and over produces the benefits of meditating on the Buddha. Those people who look elsewhere—in the world of suffering (*samsāra*)—are like (those who) enter the Mountain of Treasures, but return empty-handed.

I will guide all sentient beings eternally, coming near the seat of future practitioners of the meditation on the Buddha. Whenever thoughts of doubt arise, entering into concentration should

produce the mind of great faith for the practitioner. If having mentally concentrated on Amida, the practitioner's mind (is still) distracted, (then) I shall become a Buddha (only after) a long time.

TRANSLATION FOOTNOTES

1. I wish to express my appreciation to Carl Bielefeldt, Alfred Bloom, and especially to Kenneth Tanaka, each of whom assisted me with this translation. Any errors are of course my own.

2. Reading "*tamæ* collect, gather" for "*tamæ* jewel."

3. *Go nikki myōjin*. The compound *nikki* is problematic. It comprises "*nitsu*: sun, day" and "*ki*: good luck." It is translated here as "good fortune," although the presence of the character for sun may indicate an astrological significance as well. Also, "*go*: one's own" may also be a substitution for the honorific prefix.

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Genshin's *Essentials of Pure Land Rebirth* and the Transmission of Pure Land Buddhism to Japan.

Part III. The Third Phase of Transmission: An Examination of the Populist Methods and Ideas Introduced by Genshin

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In Part One of this study we examined the first and second phases of transmission of Pure Land teachings to Japan during the Nara [646-794] and early Heian [794-1185] periods [Andrews 1989]. In Part Two we demonstrated with a statistical survey of the works cited by Genshin's *Essentials of Pure Land Rebirth* [*Ōjō yōshū*]¹ that the *Essentials* had frequent recourse not only to major Pure Land scriptures, but also to the works of the Chinese Sui [581-618] and early T'ang [618-907] period populist Pure Land teachers Tao-ch'ō [Dōshaku, 562-645], Shan-tao [Zendō, 613-681], Chia-ts'ai [Kazai, d. after 648], and Huai-kan [Ekan, d. 710] [Andrews 1990].² Here in Part Three of this study our task is to determine exactly which ideas and methods of these scriptures and masters was transmitted and recommended to Japan by the *Essentials of Pure Land Rebirth*. We will explore those sections of the *Essentials* which set out Genshin's views on the cultivation of *nembutsu* and its benefits, briefly describe their contents, and determine the sources of these ideas as indicated by Genshin's citations and references.³

SOURCES OF THE *ESSENTIALS OF PURE LAND REBIRTH* FOR THE PROPER CULTIVATION OF *NEMBUTSU*

In Part Two we presented an outline of the *Essentials* which designated in bold print those chapters and sections with important teachings on

the cultivation or efficacy of *nembutsu* [Andrews 1990]. The first such chapter is Chapter Four which gives instructions for the comprehensive cultivation of orthodox *nembutsu*. Let us begin our examination there.⁴ Here is an outline of that chapter:

IV. The Right Cultivation of *Nembutsu*

1. The Dharma-gate of Worship
2. The Dharma-gate of Praise
3. The Dharma-gate of Resolve
 - (1) Relative vows — Conforming to relative truth
 - (2) Ultimate vows — Conforming to Ultimate Truth
4. The Dharma-gate of Contemplative Examination
 - (1) Buddha-mark contemplation
 - (2) General buddha contemplation
 - i. Contemplation of the phenomenal buddha
 - ii. Contemplation of the noumenal buddha
 - (3) Simplified buddha contemplation
 - i. Contemplation of the "wisdom-eye" buddha-mark or one's own rebirth in the Pure Land
 - ii. Extremely simplified buddha-reflection
 - (4) Buddha-reflection for those who can not contemplate
5. The Dharma-gate of Dedication of Merit

Genshin opens Chapter Four with this citation [Hanayama, 1.123]:⁵

As it says in the *Pure Land Shastra* of Vasubandhu Bodhisattva, "Those who fully cultivate the five Dharma-gates of buddha-reflection will eventually be reborn in the Land of Peace and Bliss and behold Amitabha Buddha. These five are: (1) the Dharma-gate of worship, (2) the Dharma-gate of praise, (3) the Dharma-gate of resolve, (4) the Dharma-gate of contemplative examination, and (5) the Dharma-gate of dedication of merit."

In Part Two we identified the *Vasubandhu Pure Land Shastra* as a primary Pure Land scripture [Andrews 1990]. This work recommends the five Dharma-gate of buddha-reflection [*gonen mon*] as both the sources and expressions of the faith in Amitabha Buddha which will bring about rebirth in the Pure Land [Kiyota 1978]. Furthermore, this text was the vehicle used by T'an-luan [Donran, 488-c. 554] for his formulation of the fundamental principles of populist Pure Land piety. Thus it is significant that Genshin draws upon this primary Pure Land scripture for the organizing categories of his presentation of "right" [*shō*], i.e., orthodox, *nembutsu* cultivation.

This text, and especially its five Dharma-gates of buddha-reflection have another important link to the populist Pure Land tradition. In his preface to a collection of devotional hymns, the *Hymns in Praise of Pure Land Rebirth*, the populist master Shan-tao summarized the minimum necessary Pure Land practices using these same five categories [T47.438c-439a]. However, both the order and the content of Shan-tao's five gates of buddha-reflection differ from those of the *Vasubandhu Pure Land Shastra*. Shan-tao juxtaposes the gate of contemplative examination [*kanzatsu mon*] and the gate of resolution [*sangan mon*]. We will see shortly that while Genshin's sequence of Dharma-gates is the same as that of the *Vasubandhu Pure Land Shastra*, his treatments of several of

these five practices were considerably influenced by Shan-tao.

Genshin's prescriptions for implementing the first two Dharma-gates, the gates of worship [*raihai mon*] and praise [*sandan mon*], do not significantly differ from those of the *Vasubandhu Pure Land Shastra*. It is notable, though, that Genshin recommends the hymns of Shan-tao's *Hymns in Praise of Pure Land Rebirth* as a suitable liturgy for the gate of worship [Hanayama 1.126]. The *Essentials* begins its presentation of the gate of praise with a citation from another primary Pure Land scripture, the "Chapter on the Easy Practice" of the *Nagarjuna Shastra on the Ten Bodhisattva Stages*. This text was very significant for the development of populist Pure Land piety because it recommends faith in Amitabha Buddha as an easy path to salvation and emphasizes the invocation of Amitabha's name as a way to express faith in this savior buddha [Ina-gaki 1983]. Introducing the gates of praise, Genshin notes [Hanayama 1.126]:

As it says in the third scroll⁶ of the *Nagarjuna Shastra on the Ten Bodhisattva Stages*, "Amitabha Buddha's original vow is as follows, 'If there are persons who reflect on me and take refuge in me by calling on my name, they will attain the status of those assured [of buddhahood] and will achieve perfect enlightenment'."

This seems to be a summary of several of the original vows of Amitabha, which are the central feature of Pure Land mythology and soteriology.⁷ In this way, the fundamental ideas of several primary Pure Land scriptures — the *Vasubandhu Pure Land Shastra*, the "Chapter on the Easy Practice," and the *Larger Pure Land Sutra* — are woven into Genshin's presentations of the gates of worship and praise.

It is in his treatments of the gates of resolve and contemplation that Genshin diverges significantly from the characterization in the *Vasubandhu Pure Land Shastra* and incorporates ideas of the

populist Pure Land masters. The *Vasubandhu Pure Land Shastra* characterizes the gates of resolve and contemplative examination as forms, respectively, of the traditional Buddhist meditation techniques "concentration" [*shamata*; Skt., *śamatha*] and "contemplation" [*bīḥaṣana*; Skt., *vipaśyanā*]. Like Shan-tao, Genshin dispenses with this formulation. In his characterization of the gate of resolve, Genshin draws on the populist Pure Land master Tao-ch'o (Shan-tao's teacher), who describes resolve as arousing the aspiration for the highest enlightenment in the form of aspiration to save self and others mutually into the Pure Land. Genshin quotes the following passage from Tao-ch'o's *Assembled Passages on the Land of Peace and Bliss* [Hanayama, 1.129]:

The *Vasubandhu Pure Land Shastra* says, "To arouse aspiration for perfect enlightenment is to resolve to become a buddha; to resolve to become a buddha is to aspire to save all beings; to aspire to save all beings is to aspire to embrace all beings and together be reborn into a buddha-land."⁸

Genshin then proceeds to prescribe as the actual method of cultivating the gate of resolve the taking of the four universal bodhisattva vows⁹ from the perspectives of both relative and ultimate truth. Citing the *Great Concentration and Contemplation* of Chih-i as his authority for the ultimate form of the vows [*enri gan*], he insists that *nembutsu* practitioners undertake the four vows with the understanding that those saved, the savior, and resolve itself are neither existent nor nonexistent, but are identical to the Middle Way [*chūdō*] [Hanayama 1.131-132]. This is an example of Genshin's skillful integration of populist Pure Land and T'ien-t'ai positions in the *Essentials*.

Genshin concludes his exposition of the gate of resolution with a series of questions and answers exploring the feasibility and effectiveness of resolution for those seeking Pure Land rebirth. One of these is a hypothetical accusation that aspiration for

Pure Land rebirth is actually a selfish avoidance of the obligation to help other suffering beings in this world. In his response Genshin cites the *T'ien-t'ai Ten Doubts on the Pure Land* [*Jōdo jūgi ron*] to the effect that those who seek Pure Land rebirth based upon right resolution do so in order to return to the world of suffering as buddhas and thereby save beings in the most expeditious manner possible. Thus we find that the *T'ien-t'ai Ten Doubts*, a populist Pure Land work attributed to Chih-i [Andrews 1989] is also employed by Genshin to defend his populist interpretation of the gate of resolve.¹⁰

The gate of contemplative examination is for Genshin the most important of the five Dharma-gates. It can be considered the central teaching of the entire *Essentials of Pure Land Rebirth*. It is here that Genshin actually describes various types of *nembutsu*, from the most rigorous to the simplest. And it is here that we find among the five gates the strongest influence of the populist Pure Land master Shan-tao. As practices of the gate of contemplative examination Genshin sets out four different methods of *nembutsu*: (1) buddha-mark contemplation [*bessō kan*], (2) general buddha contemplation [*sōsō kan*], (3) simplified buddha contemplation [*zōryaku kan*], and (4) *nembutsu* for those who are incapable of buddha-contemplation [*futan kannen*].¹¹ First we should note that this treatment of contemplation is quite different from that of the *Vasubandhu Pure Land Shastra*, where the gate of contemplative examination consists of contemplation upon twenty-nine glories of Amitabha Buddha, his bodhisattvas, and his land. Genshin's four types of *nembutsu* conform more to the *nembutsu* of the *Amitabha Contemplation Sutra* [*Kam-muryōju kyō*], of Chih-i's constantly walking *samadhi* [*jōgyō sammai*], and of Shan-tao's *Methods and Merits of Samadhi* [*Kannen bō-mon*]. Genshin presents these four types of *nembutsu* as alternatives — the first two are very arduous, the last two successively easier.

As buddha-mark contemplation, the first of the four varieties, Genshin first enjoins contemplation of the lotus blossom dais of Amitabha, then of

forty-two of his buddha-marks.¹² He concludes by noting that Shan-tao recommends, after contemplation of the series of buddha-marks, contemplation of the single buddha-mark of the Buddha's "wisdom-eye" [*byakugō*]. Genshin refers to the *Great Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* [*Dai hannya gyō*], the *Amitabha Contemplation Sutra* and the *Buddha Contemplation Samadhi Ocean Sutra* [*Kambutsu sammaikai kyō*] as his sources for buddha-mark contemplation, but other influences are discernable as well, chiefly those of Shan-tao's *Methods and Merits of Samadhi* and Chih-i's *Great Contemplation and Concentration*.

It is very likely that Genshin's buddha-mark contemplation was influenced by Shan-tao's *Methods and Merits of Samadhi of Contemplation and Reflection upon the Ocean-like Features of Amitabha Buddha* because of the structural and other similarities between Genshin's exercise and Shan-tao's instructions for buddha contemplation *samadhi*. The *Methods and Merits* instructs practitioners first to contemplate twenty-four of Amitabha's buddha-marks, then the Buddha's lotus dais, and finally the wisdom-eye buddha-mark. Genshin's buddha-mark contemplation is similar in that — as we have just seen — it begins with the dais, proceeds to the buddha-marks, and concludes with a recommendation to contemplate the wisdom-eye. Also, the descriptive details of the various contemplations of both masters are based on the same texts, the *Buddha Contemplation Samadhi Ocean Sutra* and the *Amitabha Contemplation Sutra*. Moreover, Yagi Kōe has demonstrated numerous internal similarities and parallels between Genshin's forty-two marks and Shan-tao's series of twenty-four [1940, 196-201]. On the other hand, the constantly walking *samadhi* of Chih-i's *Great Contemplation and Concentration* also prescribes contemplation of Amitabha's buddha-marks [T46.12a].¹³ It is clear that Genshin was influenced by both of these masters. Buddha-mark contemplation was authentic *nembutsu* for Genshin because it was a method taught by the founder, Chih-i, of his mother-school, the Tendai, even

though Chih-i sought by this exercise enlightenment and not Pure Land rebirth. Shan-tao, on the other hand, provided a more detailed model for this method of *nembutsu*, and moreover a more devotional style in search of Pure Land rebirth rather than immediate enlightenment.

The second type of *nembutsu* described by Genshin, general buddha contemplation, shows no influence of the populist Pure Land masters. However, its descriptions of Amitabha Buddha draw heavily on the *Amitabha Contemplation Sutra*, and its method of *nembutsu* upon the *Great Contemplation and Concentration*. Again, in typical T'ien-t'ai (i.e., Tendai) fashion, Genshin urges contemplation of not only the phenomenal Buddha, but also of the Buddha's noumenal Dharma-embodiment [*hosshin*]. This was the acme of meditative endeavor for the Tendai School, and for Genshin as well. But, undoubtedly because Genshin realized that this form of *nembutsu* was too difficult for most laymen, he proceeds to present two easier forms of *nembutsu*, forms designed to achieve Pure Land rebirth rather than immediate enlightenment.

The first of these, as we have indicated, is called simplified Buddha contemplation. It describes several successively simpler objects of contemplation — first contemplation of the "wisdom-eye" buddha-mark (again), then of a scenario of the *nembutsu* practitioner himself being illumined by the light from this buddha-mark, and then a scene or vision of the practitioner being reborn into the Pure Land at death. While these forms of contemplation have their paradigms in the *Amitabha Contemplation Sutra*,¹⁴ they are also emphasized in Shan-tao's *Methods and Merits of Samadhi* [T47.24b; Inagaki 1966, 20-21], and thus Genshin's choice of these forms may have been influenced as well by Shan-tao.

The last form of *nembutsu* presented by Genshin for the gate of contemplative examination is for those unable to contemplate the buddha-marks. In a well-known passage of the *Essentials* Genshin urges practitioners to just "call and reflect"

[*shōnen*] on Amida Buddha continuously and unceasingly, at all times and places, day and night with all their might, while thinking of taking refuge in the Buddha, of their own rebirth in the Pure Land (again), or of being illumined by the Buddha's glory [Hanayama, 1.191-192]. The paradigms for this *nembutsu*, both in scenes of Pure Land rebirth and in fervid continuous utterance of the invocation to Amitabha, are once more to be found in the *Amitabha Contemplation Sutra*, in the concluding passages of this text which urge those in the throes of death and unable to contemplate to uninterruptedly utter the Buddha's name ten times in longing for rebirth. We should not overlook probable influence again, however, from that very important text for the transmission of Pure Land devotionalism to Japan, the *Great Contemplation and Concentration*. The *Great Contemplation and Concentration's* instructions for constantly walking *samadhi* also urge the practitioner to continually call and reflect on the Buddha. And finally Shan-tao's *Methods and Merits of Samadhi* also emphatically urges those meditating on the Buddha to call uninterruptedly on his name as well in aspiration for rebirth into his land [T47.23b; Inagaki 1966, 11].¹⁵

To summarize our examination of populist influences upon the teachings of the *Essentials of Pure Land Rebirth* for proper *nembutsu*, we have found as was to be expected that primary Pure Land scriptures, those elucidated and popularized by the populist Pure Land school — the *Vasubandhu Pure Land Shastra*, the Nagarjuna "Chapter on the Easy Practice," the *Larger Pure Land Sutra* and the *Amitabha Contemplation Sutra* — were among Genshin's most important sources. However, we have also found that at several important points — characterization of the meanings and relationships of the gates of resolve and contemplative examination, the definition of proper resolve, and the description of authentic buddha-contemplation — the populist masters Tao-ch'ō and Shan-tao, whose ideas were hitherto virtually unknown in Japan, were also heavily drawn upon. Finally we found

prominent too as the source of central ideas and practices the T'ien-t'ai scripture *Great Contemplation and Concentration*. Thus Genshin skillfully blended an amalgam of the familiar and the new.¹⁶

SOURCES OF THE ESSENTIALS OF PURE LAND REBIRTH ON THE FAITH AND COMMITMENT NECESSARY FOR NEMBUTSU

Section Two of Chapter Five of the *Essentials* deals with the proper manner of *nembutsu* practice and the faith with which it should be cultivated. Here is an outline of that section:

2. The Manner of Practice

(1) The four modes of practice

- i. Life-long
- ii. Reverent
- iii. Ceaseless
- iv. Exclusive

(2) The three kinds of faith of the *Amitabha Contemplation Sutra*

- i. Sincere faith
- ii. Deep faith
- iii. Faith which dedicates all merits toward the mutual rebirth of self and others

As we can see, the major topics of this section are the so-called four modes of *nembutsu* cultivation [*Shugyō sōbō*] and the three kinds of faith which should accompany *nembutsu*. The four modes define the degree of commitment with which *nembutsu* should be pursued. It should be life-long [*chōji*], ceaseless [*onjū*], reverent [*muken*], and exclusive [*muyō*]. Genshin elucidates each of these with quotes from the *Standard Interpretations on the Western Land* and from Shan-tao's *Hymns in Praise of Pure Land Rebirth*.

The second topic of this section, the three kinds of faith [*sanjin*] which should accompany *nembutsu* practice, derives from the *Amitabha Contemplation Sutra*. Genshin quotes the passage

of the *Contemplation Sutra* which sets these out [Hanayama 1.208]:

Question: ... When we cultivate *nembutsu*, what attitude should we have?

Answer: The *Contemplation Sutra* says, "If sentient beings who aspire to rebirth in that land arouse three kinds of faith, they will be reborn. These are (1) sincere faith [*shinjō shin*], (2) deep faith [*jinshin*], and (3) faith which dedicates [all of its merit] in aspiration [for rebirth] [*ekō hotsugan shin*]."

He then quotes Shan-tao's interpretation of these three kinds of Pure Land faith from his *Hymns in Praise of Pure Land Rebirth*.¹⁷ In this way the rich meanings given by Shan-tao to these three important but cryptic notions [Andrews 1973, 71-72] are incorporated into the teachings on *nembutsu* cultivation of the *Essentials*.

We mentioned above that in the preface to his *Hymns in Praise of Pure Land Rebirth* Shan-tao summarized the minimum necessary Pure Land practices as those of the five gates of buddha-reflection. In that preface he also summarized the faith and mode of practice necessary for rebirth as the four modes and three types of faith adopted here by Genshin. Thus Genshin has now incorporated into the *Essentials* all three components of Shan-tao's summary: (1) Faith [*an-hsin; anjin*],¹⁸ the *Contemplation Sutra*'s three forms of faith; (2) practice [*ch'i-hsing; kigyō*], the five Dharma-gates of buddha-reflection; and (3) mode of practice [*tso-yeh; sagō*], the four modes of *nembutsu* cultivation. In this way Genshin introduced to Japan one of the most important continental formulations of populist Pure Land faith and practice.¹⁹

It is also significant that Genshin cites the *Standard Interpretations on the Western Land* here. Hitherto we have treated this text as merely one of the miscellaneous works frequently cited

in the *Essentials*.²⁰ Actually it is a work strongly influenced by the *T'ien-t'ai Ten Doubts on the Pure Land* and the populist Pure Land movement in general. Like the *T'ien-t'ai Ten Doubts*, it also defends Pure Land faith and argues its superiority over other vigorous movements of the T'ang Period such as the Three Stages School [*San-chieh-chiao; Sangai kyō*], the Ch'an School, and Maitreya devotionalism. Like the *Ten Doubts* it was strongly influenced by populist Pure Land works extending all the way back to Tao-ch'o's *Assembled Passages on the Land of Peace and Bliss* [Mochizuki, 279-290 and 300-302]. And also like the *Ten Doubts* it was ascribed to a famous master, the first patriarch of the Fa-hsiang [Hossō] School, T'zu-en or K'uei-chi [Jion or Kiki, 632-682] [Weinstein 1959]. Therefore, while not a product of the populist Pure Land masters, it is a work strongly influenced by their movement.

RESOURCES OF THE *ESSENTIALS* OF PURE LAND REBIRTH FOR NEMBUTSU FOR SPECIAL OCCASIONS

We have examined the resources of the *Essentials* for the comprehensive cultivation of *nembutsu* and for the attitudes and faith which should accompany this practice. Let us now examine its resources for the cultivation of two special forms of *nembutsu* [*betsuji nembutsu*] — *nembutsu* for intensive sessions [*jinjō betsugyō*] and extreme *nembutsu*, i.e., *nembutsu* for the hour of death [*rinjū gyōgi*].

The *Essentials* sets out detailed instructions for two types of intensive *nembutsu* sessions — a seven-day session and a ninety-day session. Each is acquired from a continental master and presented in extensive quotations. The seven-day session is derived from Shan-tao's *Methods and Merits of Samadhi*; the ninety-day session is the constantly walking *samadhi* of the *Great Contemplation and Concentration* which Saichō had long before prescribed for his Tendai monks [Andrews 1989].

Both of these methods entail around the clock, intensive contemplation and invocation of Amitabha Buddha.

The *Essentials* gives instructions from three different sources for extreme *nembutsu*. The first source is the *Summary of the Four Part Vinaya* [*Shibun ritsu sho*] which purports to describe the manner in which dying monks were attended within an "Evanescence Chapel" [*mujōin*] in the Jetavana Grove during the time of Gautama Buddha. The second source is a text which we have seen Genshin turn to frequently — Shan-tao's *Methods and Merits of Samadhi*. Genshin quotes from this text passages which enjoin friends and relatives to assemble and assist dying aspirants to repent of their transgressions, contemplate their own rebirth into the Pure Land, and "with mind and mouth in accord ceaselessly to call and call" on the Buddha of Limitless Life [Hanayama, 1.300-301]. We may detect a similarity between these instructions of Shan-tao for dying aspirants and Genshin's instructions above for "simplified buddha contemplation" and for those unable to contemplate the buddha-marks. As we noted then, Genshin was probably influenced in his formulation of that minimal *nembutsu* by Shan-tao's instructions for extreme *nembutsu*. If so, this means that Genshin conceived of that simplest and easiest *nembutsu* primarily as a measure for the hour of death. But then, we must keep in mind that for so sincere and committed a Buddhist as Genshin, the hour of death was always at hand.

The third resource which Genshin utilizes for extreme *nembutsu* is Tao-ch'o's *Assembled Passages on the Land of Peace and Bliss*. He quotes Tao-ch'o urging the formation of *nembutsu* fellowships to prepare for the cultivation of *nembutsu* at the hour of death [Hanayama, 1.302]:

Preceptor Tao-ch'o says, "When the keen winds of death descend on them and a hundred pains fill their bodies, if they have not practiced beforehand, how can they [the ordinary, deluded mortal] reflect on the Buddha even if

they want to? They should make an arrangement beforehand with four or five like-minded persons, and on the approach of death remonstrate with one another, call on Amitabha's name, long for rebirth in the Pure Land, and continuously calling and calling, cause one another to accomplish ten reflections on the Buddha."²¹

It seems that Genshin truly took this advice to heart. The *Nembutsu-samadhi* Society of Twenty-five founded by Genshin was exactly such a group of "like-minded persons" dedicated to mutual assistance in the fulfillment of death-bed *nembutsu* [Andrews 1989].

To summarize our examination of Genshin's resources for special occasion *nembutsu*, we have found a heavy reliance on the Chinese populist Pure Land masters Tao-ch'o and Shan-tao, especially Shan-tao. Shan-tao provided models for both intensive *nembutsu* sessions and extreme *nembutsu*. In fact, a pattern has clearly emerged with respect to Genshin's resources for *nembutsu* instruction. The most prominent resources utilized by the *Essentials of Pure Land Rebirth* for instruction in *nembutsu* cultivation, aside from Pure Land and other sutra and shastra texts, have been the works of the Chinese master Chih-i, Shan-tao and Tao-ch'o. Shan-tao and Tao-ch'o are of course among the most important populist masters and Chih-i is the founder of the T'ien-t'ai School. Genshin not only introduced new, more populist methods of *nembutsu* to Japan, he also attempted to assure the orthodoxy of these new forms by integrating them with the traditional and revered Tendai forms.²²

RESOURCES OF THE *ESSENTIALS OF PURE LAND REBIRTH* FOR THE EFFICACY OF *NEMBUTSU*

Chapter Seven of the *Essentials* enumerates and scripturally documents the various benefits of

nembutsu cultivation [*nembutsu riyaku*]. Here is an outline of that chapter:

VII. The Benefits of *Nembutsu* [*Nembutsu riyaku*]

1. The Benefit of Extinguishing Evil Karma and Generating Good [*metsuzai shōzen*]
2. The Benefit of Receiving Protection [*myōtoku goji*]
3. The Benefit of Seeing Buddha [*genshin kembutsu*]
4. The Benefit of Pure Land Rebirth [*tōrai shōri*]
5. The Benefits of Reflecting upon Amida [*Mida betsuyaku*]

Of the ninety-three citations in this chapter, only six are of works by populist Pure Land masters [Andrews 1990]. This is a good example, however, of the inadequacy of a merely quantitative evaluation of Genshin's resources. In spite of the fact that it is cited only once in Chapter Seven, this chapter was extensively influenced by a populist work whose impact on the *Essentials* we have already encountered a number of times — Shan-tao's *Methods and Merits of Samadhi*. While the first section of the *Methods and Merits of Samadhi* sets out, as we have seen, detailed instructions on the cultivation of *nembutsu*, its second section, like Chapter Seven of the *Essentials*, describes and documents five benefits of *nembutsu* cultivation — (1) extinguishing evil karma [*metsuzai*], (2) receiving the protection of the buddhas and long life [*gonen tokuchōmyō*], (3) seeing the buddha [*kembutsu*], (4) being taken in to rebirth in the Pure Land [*sesshō*], and (5) assurance of rebirth [in the Pure Land for ordinary sentient beings] [*shōshō*] [T47.24c; Inagaki 1984, 24]. The titles of benefits one through four of Chapter Seven are nearly identical to these of the *Methods and Merits*, strongly suggesting that Genshin was heavily influenced by Shan-tao's formulation. Moreover, while space considerations prevent us from further consideration here of Chapter Seven,

we can point out that Yagi Kōe demonstrated in a meticulous study conducted almost five decades ago extensive influence of the *Methods and Merits of Samadhi* upon this chapter of the *Essentials* [Yagi 1940, 308-332].

In Chapter Eight Genshin further documents the efficacy of *nembutsu* cultivation, this time the efficacy of easy invocational *nembutsu*. Our quantitative survey showed that while there are no citations of populist masters in this chapter, nonetheless, primary Pure Land scriptures account for two-thirds of its references and quotes [Andrews 1990, Table 4].

Thus the influence of the populist Pure Land movement upon Chapters Seven and Eight is quite apparent. However, these chapters do not make the most important claims of the *Essentials* on the topic of the efficacy of *nembutsu*. By Genshin's age the power of *nembutsu* and other practices to bring about rebirth for those capable of dedicated cultivation and strict morality was generally accepted. What was in doubt was the savability of the ordinary undisciplined, deluded, morally flawed person [*bombu*; Skt., *prthagjana*] by *nembutsu* at the hour of death. It was exactly this radical soteriology which the continental populist Pure Land masters affirmed. And this affirmation the *Essentials* transmitted to Japan. The issue of the savability of the most destitute is taken up by the *Essentials* principally in sections one, two and five of Chapter Ten, "Discussion of Issues." Let us examine these sections.

RESOURCES DRAWN UPON BY THE ESSENTIALS OF PURE LAND REBIRTH TO CONFIRM SALVATION OF THE DESTITUTE

The issue of whether or not the common mortal — deluded, passion ridden, and burdened with bad karma — could be reborn in Amida's Land of Utter Bliss by means of extreme *nembutsu* turned on the answers to three basic questions: (1) What sort of Pure Land is the Land of Utter Bliss?

(2) What sort of persons are described as being reborn there in the *Amitabha Contemplation Sutra*. And (3) what sort of *nembutsu* is guaranteed efficacy for rebirth in the Eighteenth Vow of the *Sutra of Limitless Life*? Section One of Chapter Ten, "The Land Utter Bliss and Its Beings," takes up the first of these concerns, the ontological status of the buddha-land, Utter Bliss.

By ontological status is meant the character of the land as identified with one of the traditional three embodiments [*sanshin*] of buddhas and their buddha-fields or land — (1) the absolute, formless, Dharma-embodiment [*hosshin*], (2) the superhuman, glorified embodiment of karmic merit, or merit-embodiment [*hōjin*],²³ and (3) the relative, historical response- or manifestation-embodiment [*ōjin* or *keshin*].²⁴ The ontological status of Amitabha's land was an important point in determining the savability of ordinary mortals, because according to the thinking of most schools of Chinese Buddhism ordinary beings could not be reborn into a genuine Pure Land, i.e., a Dharma-embodiment or merit-embodiment land, because such beings were manifestly impure. And conversely, if they could be reborn into a particular buddha-land, then that land could not by definition be genuinely pure or totally purified of delusion and inferior rebirth-paths. Such a land, the logic went, must be a mere manifested-embodiment, and therefore, even if sentient beings were reborn there, they would still reside in *samsara* and delusion.

In Section One Genshin first cites the majority opinion of two eminent doctors of the Dharma — Chih-i and Ching-ying Hui-yuan [Jōyō Eon, 523-592] — that the land Utter Bliss is a mere manifestation-embodiment.²⁵ Then he cites the minority opinion of populist Pure Land master Tao-ch'ō who refutes the views of other masters and claims that Amitabha's land is a merit-embodiment land. To resolve this dispute Genshin quotes the populist master Chia-ts'ai to the effect that all buddhas receive both merit-embodiment and manifestation-embodiment lands and that one should cease futile speculation on the status of

pure lands and just believe the buddhas' teachings, reflect on Amitabha Buddha and gain rebirth in his Pure Land Utter Bliss, with the implication that one will then apprehend a land corresponding to the quality of one's practice and understanding and ultimately gain perfect enlightenment in that land.²⁶ Finally, in an unusual, unequivocal expression of his personal opinion, Genshin heartily concurs with Chia-ts'ai's view. Thus his position on this first concern is that although the ontological status of the land Utter Bliss cannot be definitely determined, whatever the status of that land, rebirth there is a very much to be desired and will eventually lead to emancipation. Genshin has thus skillfully introduced the populist position on the superior status of Amitabha's Pure Land without rejecting the view of the founder, Chih-i, of his own Tendai School.

In Section Two, "The Rank of Those Reborn," Genshin takes up the second of the three major concerns enunciated above, the soteriological path status of the nine grades of beings of the *Contemplation Sutra*. Mahayana Buddhism postulates a detailed soteriological path-structure, a hierarchy of fifty-two stages on the path of total enlightenment, buddhahood and nirvana. At the bottom are ordinary beings with unwholesome karma [*aku bombu*; Skt., *bālaprthagjana*], not yet even with-in the path structure.²⁷ Above are bodhisattva candidates, that is, those who are striving at various levels towards bodhisattvahood. Above these two kinds of ordinary beings are holy beings [*shōja*; Skt., *āryajanas*], i.e. bodhisattvas, at ten levels, and finally above them two degrees of buddhahood. In addition, the Mahayana taught that the "Hinayana" also had such a path-structure, beginning again with ordinary beings with unwholesome karma, proceeding to ordinary beings at several levels of arhat candidacy, then to three levels of arhats, and culminating in buddhahood [Haneda, 6-14; Nakamura, 367a].

The *Amitabha Contemplation Sutra*, on the other hand, describes nine grades of persons [*kuhon*] who achieve rebirth in the Pure Land, the

upper grades highly disciplined and virtuous, the lower grades much less so. The issue of the savability of the most destitute of persons, i.e., those ordinary beings with evil karma not yet even on the path-structure [*aku bombu*], hinged partially on the interpretation of the soteric status of these nine grades. If the nine grades were all bodhisattvas or bodhisattva candidates [or arhat and arhat candidates] then this teaching of the *Amitabha Contemplation Sutra* on the rebirth of all nine grades would be irrelevant to the issue of the savability of the deluded, karmically burdened ordinary person. On the other hand, if the nine grades were, or included, ordinary, flawed beings, then the *Amitabha Contemplation Sutra* could be understood as affirming the savability of such persons through rebirth in the Pure Land.

Utilizing the encyclopedic *Interpretation of the Multitude of Pure Land Problems* of Huai-kan, Genshin first surveys the opinions of a number of eminent authorities that the upper six of the nine grades are all bodhisattvas, bodhisattva candidates, arhats or arhat candidates.²⁸ He then makes the personal judgement that whatever the status of the upper six grades, the lower three of the nine grades are all evil persons not yet even on the soteriological path. Finally, as if to clarify the import of this judgement, he poses the question, "To which of these nine grades do we (i.e., the writer and readers of the *Essentials*) belong?" He emphatically answers, "How could we belong to any other than the lower three grades?" [Hanayama, 1.403]. In other words, the nine grades of people described by the *Contemplation Sutra* as savable does indeed include ordinary, destitute persons, who are none other than ourselves. The influence of the populist Pure Land school upon Genshin's view in this regard becomes clear when in conclusion to this hypothetical exchange Genshin notes that on the basis of scriptural evidence Shan-tao, in his "Profound Meaning of the *Contemplation Sutra*,"²⁹ rejects the opinions of other teachers on the high

status of the nine grades and maintains that even the upper three grades are not necessarily of lofty rank [Hanayama, 1.404].³⁰

The deep influence of the populist school upon Genshin is further confirmed a little farther along in this section by Genshin's response to another hypothetical query. This question is posed: If ordinary, inferior persons can be reborn in the Pure Land as the *Amitabha Contemplation Sutra* depicts, why is it that out of the millions who desire rebirth so few are successful? Genshin responds with a quotation from Shan-tao's *Hymns in Praise of Pure Land Rebirth* which maintains that all aspirants who reflect continuously on the Buddha to the end of their lives attain rebirth, but of those who reject exclusive and cultivate mixed practices, very few are reborn [Hanayama, 1.405-406]. Genshin then comments that by exclusive practices Shan-tao meant the five gates of buddha-reflection, the three kinds of faith, and the four modes of practice, in other words, the minimal necessary Pure Land practices formulated by Shan-tao in the preface of his *Hymns in Praise of Pure Land Rebirth* and introduced to Japan by Genshin in Chapters Four and Five of the *Essentials*.

The third of the three keys concerns determining the savability of ordinary beings — the nature of the *nembutsu* set out in the Eighteenth Vow of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* — is addressed by Genshin in Section Five of Chapter Ten, "The Nature of Extreme *Nembutsu*." The Eighteenth Vow of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* seems to promise rebirth for all, except those who have committed such heinous crimes as patricide and matricide [*gogyaku*], by means of just sincere faith and ten buddha-reflections [*jūnen*]. The character of this *nembutsu* was an important consideration for the savability of ordinary persons, for if it meant ten contemplative visualizations or instants of difficult contemplative *nembutsu*, then the ordinary person would be virtually excluded. On the other hand, if it meant an easier form of *nembutsu*,

such as invocation of the Buddha's Name, then even the ordinary person might be saved by this practice.

In the very opening exchange of this section Genshin poses the hypothetical question, "What kind of buddha-reflections is 'ten reflections'?" He offers two responses. The first is by means of a quote from Tao-ch'o's *Assembled Passages on the Land of Peace and Bliss* in which Tao-ch'o maintains that "ten reflections" means just meditatively reflecting [*okunen*] on Amitabha, either his general appearance or his buddha-marks, continuously for ten reflections or moments [*nen*] without admixing any other thought [Hanayama, 1.420]. This is very conservative interpretation in spite of the fact that it derives from a populist source.

Genshin immediately offers another interpretation, however, that of "a certain person," that "ten reflections" simply means calling and reflecting [*shōnen*], "Homage to the Buddha Amitabha" [*Namu Amida Butsu*], ten times. This is of course a populist interpretation of "ten reflections" as invocational *nembutsu*. The "certain person" is Ryōgen [912-985], Genshin's master. The reference is to Ryōgen's *Meaning of the Nine Grades of Rebirth into the Pure Land of Utter Bliss* [*Gokuraku Jōdo kubon ōjō gi*] [Hanayama 2.186; *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho*, Vol. 28, 208b]. What was the source of Ryōgen's interpretation? Undoubtedly it was the description in the *Amitabha Contemplation Sutra* of the rebirth of the ninth or lowest grade of beings. The *Contemplation Sutra* depicts the death-bed salvation of this patently evil person through utterance of the invocation, "Homage to the Buddha Amitabha," ten times. The implied linkage between this passage and the Eighteenth Vow of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* was obvious to the populist masters from at least the time of Tao-ch'o [T47.13c]. In both his *Methods and Merits of Samadhi* and in his *Hymns of Praise of Pure Land Rebirth* Shan-tao paraphrases the Eighteenth Vow to promise rebirth by ten repetitions of the invocation to Amitabha [T47.27a and T47.447c]. It is surprising that Genshin does not

cite these interpretations, as Hōnen did centuries later [T83.4b-c], to demonstrate that "ten reflections" of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* means ten invocations of Amitabha Buddha's name. Whatever the reason for this omission, it is apparent that Genshin comes down emphatically on the side of the populist tradition in his interpretation of the meaning of "ten reflections," and therefore on the side of the savability of the ordinary, morally flawed person.³¹

We might also note that Genshin understood the term "ten reflections" to designate extreme *nembutsu*, that is, *nembutsu* at the time of death. This is apparent from the title of Section Five, and also from assumptions he frequently makes in his treatment of this topic.³²

Let us summarize Genshin's positions on these three crucial questions for the savability of the ordinary, destitute person. Drawing heavily on the populist Pure Land tradition for confirmation, he affirms the superior ontological path status of the Pure Land, the inferior soteriological status of those who can be reborn there, and that such a rebirth is attainable by just ten invocations of the name of Amitabha at the moment of death. In this way, he introduces the radical soteriology of the continental populist Pure Land masters to Japan.

CONCLUSIONS

In this study we have attempted to survey the transmission of Pure Land devotionism to Japan, focusing on the role of Genshin's *Essentials of Pure Land Rebirth*. In Part One we said that the transmission of Pure Land devotionism from the continent of Asia to Japan took place in three major phases. The first phase consisted in the transmission of major Pure Land scriptures, rituals and ideas during the Nara Period. The second phase was initiated by the introduction to Japan of a devotional style of *nembutsu* and T'ien-t'ai Pure Land works in the early Heian Period and concluded with the tentative exploration of the populist soteriology in these T'ien-t'ai works by such

thinkers as Ryōgen and Zen'yu. The third phase was dominated by what can only be called a massive introduction of the ideas and practices of the continental Pure Land masters by Genshin's *Essentials of Pure Land Rebirth*.

The third phase of transmission was not accomplished entirely by the *Essentials*. Although the *Essentials of Pure Land Rebirth* dominated Japanese Pure Land devotionalism to the close of the Heian Period, continental Pure Land ideas were introduced as well by Japanese works composed subsequent to the *Essentials*. For example, important teachings of the populist master Shan-tao not transmitted by Genshin were later introduced in works of the Sanron School monks Yōkan [or Eikan, 1033-1100] and Chinkai [1092-1152] [Inoue, 407-428]. We could even say that this third phase finally concluded only with the thorough exploration of the implications of populist Pure Land ideas by Japanese masters such as Hōnen [1133-1212], Shinran [1173-1262] and Ippen [1239-1289].

However, it might be more accurate to say that after the composition of Genshin's *Essentials*, Pure Land devotionalism in Japan embarked upon a new epoch, an age of independent development. Building upon the foundations of the three phases of transmission studied here, Pure Land evangelists and thinkers such as Ryōnin [1072-1132], Hōnen, Shinran and Ippen were enabled to erect in Japan a grand edifice of populist Pure Land ideas, practices, and social forms new to the Buddhism of East Asia.

FOOTNOTES

1. See "References" for bibliographical information on this and other works cited in this study. In "References" and "Footnotes," "T" refers to the Taishō edition of the Chinese Buddhist canon; "T" followed by numerals, a period, more numerals and characters indicates volume, page, and page section in the Taishō collection; "T" followed by numerals without a period designates a text serial number in the Taishō edition.

2. The populist Pure Land tradition is so called because of its concern for the salvation of the most populous groups of Chinese society. By radical soteriology, we mean an assertion of the availability of Pure Land salvation for even the most spiritually destitute by the easiest of means. On these points see Part One of this study, Andrews (1989).

3. For a fuller treatment of the teachings of the *Essentials of Pure Land Rebirth*, see Andrews (1973).

4. In Part Two [Andrews 1990] we pointed out that the *Essentials of Pure Land Rebirth* also participated in the transmission of the important notion of the advent of the age of the latter Dharma [mappō]. Genshin asserts in the Preface of the *Essentials* that his times are an age of the latter Dharma, and illustrates the adverse conditions of that age in Chapters One and Two; see Marra, 40-46.

5. In references to Hanayama, "1." indicates the translation section of Hanayama's edition; his introduction and notes, which are separately paginated, will be designated by "2."

6. Hanayama notes [2.86] that the correct scroll is the fifth.

7. The Vow as expressed here does not conform exactly to that in any of the extant versions of the *Larger Pure Land Sutra*. Vow 18 of the *Sutra of Universal Enlightenment* [Byōdō gakyō] and of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* [Muryōju kyō] establish a condition of reflecting on Amitābha, and vows 11 and 12 of these texts promise respectively the attainment of an assured state and nirvana.

8. Although Tao-ch'ō indicates that his citation is from the *Vasubandhu Pure Land Shāstra*, it is actually from T'an-luan's *Commentary on the Vasubandhu Pure Land Shāstra* [Ōjōron chū], T40.842a.

9. (1) I vow to save all beings, innumerable though they may be; (2) I vow to extirpate all passions, boundless though they may be; (3) I vow to master all Dharma-gates, inconceivable though

they may be; (4) I vow to attain perfect enlightenment, unattainable though it may be.

10. In a similar way, Genshin cites the disguised populist work *Standard Interpretations on the Western Land* [*Saihō yōketsu*] (see References) in refutation of the hypothetical objection that the rebirth promised by the *Sutra of Limitless Life* is not immediate upon death but will take place only at a much later time [Hanayama 1.158].

11. Contemplation [*kan*] as used in the *Essentials* and in this study designates a kind of meditation which attempts to form a mental image of its object, to allow or cause that image to take on a reality transcending that of sensory or empirical phenomena, and then to behold, comprehend, or unite with, that reality; see Pas.

12. The buddha-marks are traditional, distinguishing characteristics of a buddha, such as his top-knot of flesh, deep blue, almond shaped eyes, etc. The usual number is 32 major marks and 80 minor marks, but there are other enumerations as well; for several standard lists see Hurvitz, 353-361.

13. There is evidence, as a matter of fact, that Shan-tao was influenced by Chih-i; see Fujiwara, 61-62 and my forthcoming article, "Shan-tao's *Methods and Merits of Nien-fo Samadhi*, Part Two — The Scriptural Sources and Historical Antecedents of Shan-tao's Nien-fo Exercises."

14. Contemplations Nine, and Fourteen to Sixteen.

15. The term *shōnen* was also used by Tao-ch'o [T47.4b; Hanayama 1.330], and by Shan-tao in his *Hymns in Praise of Pure Land Rebirth* [T47.439b].

16. We should be aware, however, that these texts do not by any means account for all the 169 citations from 53 odd texts in Chapter Four [Hanayama, 2.44]. Our examination has drawn attention to only the most influential resources for the most important instructions of the *Essentials*.

17. Shan-tao interpreted the three kinds of faith much more extensively in the fourth chapter

of his *Commentary on the Contemplation Sutra*, to which Genshin apparently did not have access.

18. When discussing Chinese texts and movements, we will sometimes give both the Chinese and Japanese readings of technical terms, in that order.

19. Genshin was himself aware that he had adopted this threefold formulation; see Hanayama 1.406.

20. It was cited 14 times, about 2% of all citations in the sections of the *Essentials* on the cultivation of *nembutsu* and its benefits [Hanayama 2.42; Andrews 1990, Table 4].

21. Adopted from Andrews 1973, 84. "Ten reflections" [*jūnen*] refers to the promise of rebirth by ten buddha-reflections in the Eighteenth Vow of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* and the description of death-bed rebirth by ten invocations described in the Sixteenth Contemplation of the *Amitabha Contemplation Sutra*.

22. Space limitations have prevented us from examining also an interesting typology of *nembutsu* derived by Genshin from Huai-kan; see Hanayama, 1.412-420 and Andrews 1973, 101-102.

23. The product of the immense good karma earned when a buddha was a bodhisattva.

24. A response- or manifestation-embodiment is a response to the needs of sentient beings by a Dharma- or merit-embodiment buddha.

25. The Chih-i citation is from the apocryphal *T'ien-t'ai Commentary on the Contemplation Sutra* [Hanayama 2.182]. However, the same evaluation of the Pure Land Utter Bliss is made in Chih-i's genuine works as well [Chappell, 32-36]. Ching-ying Hui-yuan was a namesake of the more famous Lu-shan Hui-yuan [Rozan Eon] who wrote influential commentaries on the *Sutra of Limitless Life* and the *Amitabha Contemplation Sutra*; see Chappell, 28-32, and Tanaka.

26. Chia-ts'ai had probably studied under Tao-ch'o. Actually, Tao-ch'o's overall position — that Amitabha's Pure Land is actually all three

embodiments and after rebirth in the Pure Land beings will perceive an embodiment of the land based on the degree of their understanding before rebirth [Chappell, 36-46] — was very close to this view of Chia-ts'ai.

27. Some Buddhists postulated a stage below this of *icchantika* [issendai], those so depraved as to have no possibility of ever achieving buddhahood.

28. With the exception of one anonymous authority [Hanayama, 1.401-402].

29. This work, the first chapter of Shan-tao's *Commentary on the Contemplation Sutra*, apparently was the only portion of the *Commentary* known to Genshin [Yagi 1940, 174-181].

30. Actually, Shan-tao declares all nine grades to be ordinary beings [T37.247-249; Haneda, 252-281].

31. We should also point out that Genshin cites that closet populist Pure Land text, the *T'ien-t'ai Ten Doubts on the Pure Land*, twice in Chapter Ten in support of rebirth for ordinary mortals by just ten invocations [Hanayama, 1.409 and 1.424].

32. For example, see Hanayama, 1.423-428.

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JAPANESE AND CHINESE CHARACTERS

aku bombu 惡凡夫	gonen tokuchōmyō 護念得長命
anjin (an-hsin) 安心	hōjin 報身
bessō kan 別相觀	hosshin 法身
betsuji nembutsu 別時念仏	issendai 一闍提
bombu 凡夫	jinjō betsugyō 尋常別行
byakugō 白豪	jinshin 深心
chōji 長時	jōgyō sammāi 常行三昧
chūdo 中道	jūnen 十念
ekō hotsugan shin 廻向発願心	kan 觀
ekō mon 廻向門	kanzatsu mon 觀察門
enri gan 緣理願	kembutsu 見仏
futan kannen 不堪觀念	keshin 化身
genshin kembutsu 現身見仏	kigyō (ch'i-hsing) 起行
gogyaku 五逆	kuhon 九品
gonen mon 五念門	metsuzai 滅罪

metsuzai shōzen 滅罪生善
Mida betsuyaku 弥陀別益
mujōin 無常院
muken 無間
muyo 無余
myōtoku goji 冥得護持
Namu Amida Butsu 南無阿彌陀仏
nembutsu riyaku 念仏利益
nen 念
ōjin 応身
okunen 億念
onjū 怨重
raihai mon 礼拝門
rinjū gyōgi 臨終行儀
sagan mon 作願門

sagō (tso-yeh) 作業
sandan mon 贊歎門
sanjin 三心
sanshin 三身
sesshō 摂生
shijō shin 至誠心
shō 正
shōja 聖者
shōnen 称念
shōshō 証生
shugyō sōbō 修行相貌
sōsō kan 総相観
tōrai shōri 当来勝利
zōryaku kan 雜略観

Honzon — Object of Worship in Shin Buddhism

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There is no evidence that the image of Śākyamuni the Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, was reproduced or represented in paintings or sculptures during his lifetime. It is stated in the *Anguttara-nikāya*: "The body of Tathāgata is miraculous. The body of Tathāgata cannot be created, nor can it be said whether it is tall or short in its reproduction," or "The Tathāgata is the most honorable in this world and there is none comparable to him even among the devas. He cannot be engraved in any form." Thus, the scripture negates reproduction or representation of the Buddha's holy image.

Therefore, both in his lifetime and for some time after his death, the image of Śākyamuni was not expressed in an anthropomorphic form; he was symbolically represented in forms of the dharmacakra (wheel of the dharma), a Bodhi-tree, a stone with the Buddha's footprint inscribed, and an empty seat.

After Śākyamuni entered Nirvana, his lifetime events or activities were inscribed on platforms, stone walls and the gates of the stupas, in which his remains or relics were enshrined, and those engraved images indicated his remains. Yet his figure was not described in anthropomorphic forms but in dharmacakra or Bodhi-tree. His followers worshipped the Buddha before the stupas and practiced the teachings the Buddha had left to them.

In 324 B.C., when Alexander the Great invaded western India, Greek art was brought into India. For the first time, around the beginning of the Christian era, hundreds of years after the death of the Buddha, his images in imitation of Greek

deities started to be made. It is believed that the Buddha's images in a Greek mode appeared in Gandhāra, in what is now northwest Pakistan in the upper reaches of the Indus River.

About the same time, it is said that images of the Buddha with indigenous Indian features and not in Greek style were made in Mathurā, northwest of Central India in the upper reaches of the Jumna River. Because of the appearance of Buddha images, the object of Buddhist worship shifted from stupas to images. Thus, Buddha images came to be endowed with a sense of dignity and elegance as objects of reverence. Buddha images were also produced as works of art and believers wished to attain enlightenment through aesthetic inspiration from the images. However, since many of these believers remained in the world of aesthetic inspiration or understood the images as magical, they were unable to attain religious truth.

Shinran Shōnin (1173-1262), in order to expound clearly the Buddha's teachings (Amida's Primal Vow), selected the Name of Amida Buddha as *honzon* or the primary object of worship.

Shinran Shōnin says in his *Yuishin-shōmon'i* (*Notes on 'Essentials of Faith Alone'*), "Amida Buddha is originally colorless and formless; therefore, he cannot be conceived in our thoughts, nor can he be expressed in words. Amida Buddha then has manifested himself in a provisional form for our convenience' sake. It is called *hōben-hosshin* ('dharmakāya-as-compassion, or dharmakāya as expedient means')."

Although the *Tannishō* (*Lamenting the Deviations*) gives expression to the form of Amida Buddha, the master in the Pure Land, it is the

provisional form as dharmakāya-as-compassion. Amida Buddha cannot be originally described in terms of whether he is tall or short, or whether he is square or round, or whether blue, yellow, red, white or black.

The Buddha's image is the provisional form as expedient means (*hōben*) and through it one is to realize the Buddha's truth. People, however, understood that the Buddha lodged in the image of Buddha itself, and that this image was endowed with something magical, thereby missing the original significance of the image of the Buddha. Shinran Shōnin then proposed the Name as the object of worship in order to elucidate the way the Buddha should have been represented and to get rid of the sense of magic attributed to the image of the Buddha. It was in the middle of the seventh century that the faith in or the devotion to Amida Buddha was introduced into Japan. Due to the missionary work of Genshin (942-1017) from the end of the tenth century to the beginning of the eleventh century, faith in Amida Buddha began to spread. Genshin in his *Ōjō-yōshū* (*Essentials of Birth in the Pure Land*) preached the welcoming-descent of Amida Buddha, that is nembutsu practitioners will be welcomed and escorted by Amida Buddha to the Pure Land of the western region at the moment of their death. Since then the theory of Amida's welcoming-descent became popular, and the production of many images of Amida coming down to welcome and save nembutsu practitioners began.

It is said that Fujiwara no Michinaga, a well-known statesman who died in 1027, on his deathbed tied his hands to those of the image of Amida Buddha with strings, directed his eyes only to Amida, heard only Buddha-Dharma in his ears, kept single-heartedly the Pure Land of Amida in mind, and breathed his last breath.

The saving power of Amida in the case of Genshin, as seen on the deathbed of Fujiwara no Michinaga, needed to coincide with one's bodily, verbal and volitional expression through one's

entrusting in the Buddha. In the case of Hōnen Shōnin (1133-1212), the teacher of Shinran Shōnin, one was saved through one's single-hearted recitation of the nembutsu. In the case of Shinran Shōnin, shinjin or one's entrusting mind of Amida Buddha made saving or salvation possible.

In the teachings of Shinran Shōnin, salvation was attained by hearing Amida's name and entrusting in the power of Amida's Vow. One was settled in rank equal to Amida Buddha, thereby not needing to wait for Amida's coming down to welcome one on one's deathbed. This is called *heizei-gōjō* ("accomplishing the act for birth in the Pure Land in ordinary times").

Shinran Shōnin was negative not only about the theory of Amida's welcome but also about one's worship of the Buddha's image in the form of welcoming-descent. Furthermore, he was negative about worshipping Amida in form or in image. One's wishing for birth in the Pure Land through seeing the Buddha's image led to the practice of self-power called "contemplation of the Buddha." Shinran Shōnin made his position clear by stating that it was of vital importance to realize the essence of religion (Amida Buddha's Primal Vow) without being attached to form or color or remaining in the world of artistic beauty. It can thus be assumed that this was due to his judgment that the Name best served as the object of worship in realizing Amida Buddha's Primal Vow.

The Name as *honzon*, depicted as the object of worship by Shinran Shōnin, consists of six characters (*na-mu-a-mi-da-butsu* 南無阿彌陀仏), or eight characters (*na-mu-fu-ka-shi-gi-kō-butsu* 南無不可思議光仏) or ten characters (*ki-myō-jin-jī-ppō-mu-ge-kō-nyō-rai* 歸命盡十方無碍光如来). The Name is written vertically in the center of a long sheet of paper, with other pieces of paper stuck to it above and below, upon which are written words of sutras, discourses and expositions explaining the meaning of the Name. These legends

written above and below the Names are called *sanmei* or *meimon* ("the inscriptions"). By adding the inscriptions to the Name, Shinran Shōnin also meant to negate the understanding of the Name as something magical.

In those days, the practices of the *hyakumanben nembutsu* (*hyakumanben* meaning a million times) and the *yūzū nembutsu* (*yūzū* meaning permeating) were popular. In the form of the *hyakumanben nembutsu*, one wishes to be born in the Pure Land by the merit of chanting the nembutsu many times. Hōnen Shōnin himself recited the nembutsu tens of thousands of times a day. The idea of the *yūzū nembutsu* is that the merits of the nembutsu permeate practitioners. If practitioners chant the nembutsu many times, they can share the total merits of the nembutsu with each other, and so with an increased amount of merits they can be born in the Pure Land. Thus, due to the popularity of the *hyakumanben nembutsu* and the *yūzū nembutsu*, people understood the nembutsu to possess magical power.

It can be said that Shinran Shōnin against that trend of the times added the inscriptions to the Name in order to have people understand the right meaning of the nembutsu and to get rid of the sense of magic in the Name. In his writings, when he expounds the six-character Name of Amida Buddha, Shinran Shōnin also refers to the nine-character and ten-character Names. The six-character Name (*na-mu-a-mi-da-butsu*) is originally a free transliteration from Sanskrit and when its meaning is expressed in Chinese characters, it can also be represented in eight or ten characters. It can thus be considered that by introducing the nine and ten-character Names of Amida Buddha, Shinran Shōnin did not want his nembutsu practitioners to recite the six-character Name simply as a magical formula.

In the institution (*kyōdan*) of Jodo-Shinshu, after the death of Shinran Shōnin, *honzon* in forms of wooden images, pictures and the Names were

used as objects of worship. Rennyo Shōnin (1415-1499), who became the eighth monshu of the Honganji around the middle of the 15th century, unified or standardised *honzon*. Inheriting the tradition of the Name as *honzon* from Shinran Shōnin, Rennyo Shōnin selected for himself as *honzon* the ten-character Name, called the *honzon* of the unhindered light. This *honzon* scroll was made up of dark-blue silk on which the ten-character Name (*ki-myō-jin-ji-ppō-mu-ge-kō-nyō-rai*) was inscribed with gold paint and was surrounded by forty-eight rays of light with a lotus pedestal underneath it. It was a colorful and ornate *honzon*. This *honzon* of Rennyo Shōnin was inherited from Shinran Shōnin's ten-character *honzon* on dark-blue ground.

When Rennyo Shōnin selected this *honzon*, he was strongly conscious of the *honzon* of light (*kōmyō-honzon*), which was highly popular among the Shin followers of the time. The *honzon* of light spread at a very rapid speed in the Shinshu institution after the death of Shinran Shōnin. This *honzon* was made up of dark-blue silk, about two meters long, and about one meter wide, in the center of which the large nine-character Name of *na-mu-fu-ka-shi-gi-kō-nyō-rai* 南無不可思議光如來 was written lengthwise with gold paint. The Name emitted rays of light and on both lower sides of the Name the six and ten-character Names and two pictures of Śākyamuni and Amida Buddha were painted and on both upper sides of the Name the Pure Land Patriarchs of India, China and Japan with Prince Shōtoku were painted. The inscriptions were added further above and below the Name. It was an extremely splendid and ornate *honzon*.

Rennyo Shōnin's *honzon* of the unhindered light was worshipped by many people but as his institution became larger and influential, his *honzon* aroused opposition from other institutions. He then stopped giving the *honzon* of the unhindered light to his followers and gave instead the Name written with ink on white paper—usually the six-

character Name. He is said to have drawn sometimes hundreds of the six-character Name a day. Rennyo Shōnin insisted that the Name of Amida Buddha was preferred to the image or picture of Amida; yet later in his life, he granted many pictorial *honzon*. This was due to his judgment or understanding that the teachings of Shin Buddhism had been spread widely in Japan, and that the followers would no longer expect Amida's welcoming-descent or magical powers even if the pictures of Amida Buddha were used as *honzon*, the object of worship.

Shinran Shōnin maintained that Amida in Shin Buddhism is "the dharmakāya-as-compassion"

and is not the "dharmakāya-as-suchness," which is formless. Pictures, wooden images and scrolls of *honzon* are not themselves Amida but undoubtedly serve as useful means to awaken one to his saving activity.

Rennyo Shōnin admonished that one would not enter Buddhahood without attaining shinjin even if one were surrounded by seven or eight folds of *honzon*.

The *honzon* is nothing but the provisional form indicating the Buddha's existence and the means through which one is to realize Amida's Vow, the Buddha's truth or suchness and the Buddha's compassion.

(Translated by Hōyū Ishida)

Early Buddhism: A Conversation with David J. Kalupahana

By Richard K. Payne, *Institute of Buddhist Studies, Berkeley, CA*

Several years ago I had the pleasure of talking with David J. Kalupahana of the Philosophy Department at the University of Hawaii. Dr. Kalupahana is a scholar specializing in early Buddhist thought. He has authored many works including *Causality: The Central Philosophy of Buddhism*; *Buddhist Philosophy, A Historical Analysis*; *Nagarjuna: The Philosophy of the Middle Way*; and *The Principles of Buddhist Psychology*. The following is a summary of the points Dr. Kalupahana made during our conversation. Comments of my own are included as footnotes.

The philosophy of Buddhism as it is often presented is actually not the original, but rather a later scholastic development. For example, there is the idea of momentariness, that everything is in a constant state of change from one moment to the next and that continuity of existence from one moment to the next is only illusory. This idea, while central to almost all of later Buddhist philosophy, is not found in the earliest strata of Buddhist literature, i.e., the sutras (Pali: suttas) retained in the Pali canon.¹ Rather, it comes into being later with the development of the Abhidharma. In other words, it is part of the effort to devise a consistent philosophic position out of the sayings of the Buddha.

This difference between what is recorded in the sutras and what is presented in the Abhidharma and later Buddhist philosophers, highlights the importance of starting one's study of Buddhism with the sutras themselves. This is particularly true for Americans. It is the teachings of early Buddhism which have the greatest relevancy for the modern world. Contemporary thinking is essentially naturalistic as a result of the influence of the scientific world-view. Early Buddhism is itself practical and empirical in ways which are distinctly comparable to contemporary thought. Early Buddhism does not have the sort of transcendental orientation which has led so many religions into

mystification, and it is mystification which many Americans are rejecting in religion today.

Unlike both other Indian religions and the majority of Western thinking, Buddhism is not oriented toward an Absolute of any kind.² There is no Absolute Truth, no Absolute God, no Absolute Ethic and no Absolutely Certain Knowledge. In its ethics early Buddhism is essentially situational. In its metaphysics early Buddhism defines causality simply as the conditioning factors and their results:

When this is present, that comes to be; from the arising of this, that arises. When this is absent, that does not come to be; on the cessation of this, that ceases.³

In the epistemology of early Buddhism the only absolutely certain knowledge is the certainty that one who has entered the stream will attain enlightenment. But here we are dealing with a personal determination to achieve a result, rather than the ability to predict the future outcome of some event.

The practical nature of early Buddhism is reflected in its understanding of the highest form of knowledge. This is "knowledge of the cessation of defilements." This knowledge is based on an understanding of the conditioned nature of being. Not momentariness, but rather a much more

humanly scaled attainment: an understanding that everything which exists is existent because of causes.

The idea of a transcendental insight into the non-dual nature of reality only takes primacy over the earlier "knowledge of the cessation of defilements" when mysticism begins to arise within Buddhism. If anything, the practicality of early Buddhism is antimystical. There are, for example, two cases recorded in the sutras where monks are led to suicidal despair because of a lack of mystical experiences. Yet the sutras make it quite clear that their enlightenment is in no way dependent upon the generation of any special experiences.

This attitude is likewise to be found in the understanding of the nature of language. The Pali term used to describe language is one which simply means "conventional." The Sanskrit word, although apparently a cognate, has a different connotation. In Sanskrit the meaning is "to cover up." Thus, the Pali indicates that language arises conventionally, out of shared use, rather than giving the impression that there is some Absolute Reality which is hidden from us by language.

The practical and straightforward, almost mundane, nature of early Buddhism was itself covered over in at least two stages. Abhidharma systematization tried to make of the Buddha's teachings a philosophic structure — logically coherent and defensible. Later, Buddhaghosa introduces Mahayana and proto-Mahayana ideas into what becomes the Sinhalese/Theravadin Buddhism of today.⁴ Indeed, his major work, *The Path of Purification (Visuddhi Magga)*, can virtually be read as a Yogacara text.

Early Buddhism, however, is very immediate, personal and human. As such, its message has

the ability to speak to people in today's world who are looking for a form of religiosity which can reach directly into their daily experience. Scholarly abilities — historical, linguistic and philosophic — can facilitate our attempts to recover the content of early Buddhism for our own use, and for the sake of others.

FOOTNOTES

1. This emphasis on the sutras indicates that Kalupahana is not discussing any mythical "Primal Buddhism," the quest for which can result more in the free reign of the investigator's imagination than in any substantial information. (See G. R. Welbon's *The Buddhist Nirvana and Its Western Interpreters*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968, pp. 240 to 247.) Rather he is talking about the actual record of Buddhist teachings and the differing positions within it which result from its historical development.

2. It is this aspect which makes Buddhism so comparable to existentialism and phenomenology.

3. Quoted from *Buddhist Philosophy*, Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1976, p. 28. See also Kalupahana's *Causality*, (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1975) pp. 90ff for a thorough discussion of this traditional formula.

4. H.V. Guenther has also mentioned this. See his *Philosophy and Psychology in the Abhidharma*, Baltimore: Penguin, 1971, p. 193 in particular, as well as elsewhere throughout that text.

On the Occasion of Buddha Day 1990: The Future Task of Buddhism

by Masao Abe, *Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, CA*

INTRODUCTION

North California is a unique area in the world where almost all living forms of Buddhism are represented. Included are not only Theravāda Buddhism from Sri Lanka, Burma, Thailand, and Cambodia, but also other important schools of Buddhism from China, Tibet (including Kagyu, Nyingma, Sakya, and Gelug orders), Korea, Japan (including Rinzai and Sōtō Zen, Nichiren and Jodo-Shinshu), and Vietnam. Most of them have their own centers or temples with leading monks or priests and a sizable number of followers. A cooperative organization was formed to represent these groups called the Buddhist Council of Northern California, and every year they have gotten together to celebrate the Vesakha Festival in May. Originating in the Theravāda tradition, the Vesakha Festival commemorates Buddha's birth, enlightenment, and *parinirvana*. Under the name of "Buddha Day" this Vesakha Festival has been held by the Buddhist Council of North California as the most important event common to all member schools.

In 1990, they celebrated the 12th Annual Vesakha Festival on May 6 at Dwinelle Hall, University of California, Berkeley. The following text is the key address which I was asked to deliver on that occasion. My main concern in this address was to clarify the most appropriate way to celebrate Buddha Day for all of us despite the great diversity of various Buddhist traditions, especially in regard to the difference in the view of Gautama Buddha held by Theravāda, Mahayana, and Vajrayana Buddhism, and also to show the future task common to all Buddhists in this turbulent world

situation. I was pleased that after my address two Theravāda monks, one from Sri Lanka, the other from Thailand, came up to me and equally expressed their agreement and appreciation.

ADDRESS

Distinguished representatives, priests and laymen from various Buddhist groups all over Northern California! Today, we gather together here to celebrate the Buddha Day, Vesakha ceremony. In this occasion, we celebrate the birth of Śākyamuni Buddha, but also commemorate the Buddha's enlightenment and *parinirvana*. This is an important Buddha Day for all Buddhists and this year we have the 12th Annual Buddha Day festival.

It is important, however, for us to think about what is the most appropriate way to celebrate Buddha's birth, enlightenment and *parinirvana*. Of course, we would like to honor the Buddha as the founder of Buddhism, our Lord and Great Teacher. Is it, however, good enough for us to honor Śākyamuni Buddha as the object of our worship and celebration? I don't think it is good enough. Should we not, in truly honoring him, awaken to the Buddha Dharma by ourselves, and begin to walk on the same Buddha path as Śākyamuni Buddha? We should not take Śākyamuni Buddha merely as an object that we honor, but, rather, we would follow and live Buddha's Way by ourselves, subjectively and existentially. To me, this is the most appropriate way to celebrate Buddha Day.

According to the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, shortly before his death Śākyamuni addressed Ananda, one of his ten great disciples, and others who were anxious at the prospect of losing their master:

O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Rely on yourselves and do not rely on external help. Live the Dharma as a lamp. Seek salvation alone in the Dharma. Look not for assistance to anyone besides yourselves.

Obviously, when he said to his disciples, "Do not rely on external help," and "Look not for assistance to anyone besides yourselves," he included himself in the term "external help" and he also included himself in "anyone besides yourselves." He said this despite the fact that he, Śākyamuni Buddha, had been a teacher of Ananda and others for many years. It may not, however, be clear at first how the following two passages in the set A and the set B in his statement are related to each other:

Set A: "Rely on yourselves," and "seek salvation alone in the Dharma."

Set B: "Be ye lamps unto yourselves," and "Live the Dharma as a lamp."

In this address, Śākyamuni did not mention his own identity with the Dharma in some exclusive sense. Instead, he explicitly identified the Dharma with the individual disciple. All this implies that the identity with the Dharma is not unique to Śākyamuni Buddha, but is common to all people. Further, he emphasized in the concrete situation of his death everyone's direct identity with the Dharma and this identity is without external help or mediator.

And, yet, in Buddhism, despite the identity of a particular individual with the Dharma and despite the identity of Śākyamuni himself with the Dharma, the Dharma is beyond everyone—

beyond even Śākyamuni Buddha, the founder of Buddhism. The Dharma exists by itself universally apart from any human existence. Śākyamuni Buddha is not a creator of the Dharma, but a discoverer of the Dharma. This is the reason the *Samyutta Nikaya* states:

Regardless of the appearance or non-appearance of the Tathāgata (Śākyamuni Buddha) in this world, the Dharma is always present.

Yet, who is rightly qualified to talk about the Dharma in its absolute universality? Is one who has not realized the Dharma qualified to talk about it? Certainly not! For, if it is the case that one does not realize the Dharma in her- or himself, then one understands the Dharma and its universality merely conceptually, and thereby that the total universality of the Dharma becomes an empty or dead universality. Hence, only one who has realized the Dharma with his or her whole existence can properly talk about it in its total universality. Although the Dharma transcends everyone, including Śākyamuni Buddha, and is present universally, there is no Dharma without someone to realize it. Apart from the realizer, there is no Dharma. In other words, the Dharma is realized as *the Dharma* in its universality only through a particular realizer. Śākyamuni Buddha is none other than the *first* realizer of the Dharma of our era. He is not, however, the *only* realizer of the Dharma. But, it is also true that without Śākyamuni no one would have known the existence of the Dharma functioning throughout the world. He is indeed the *first* realizer of the Dharma. This is why he has been regarded as the founder of Buddhism.

In the sense that Śākyamuni is a realizer of Dharma in its total universality, he may be said to be a center, not *the* center of the Buddhist religion. The significance of Śākyamuni's historical existence is equal with that of every other realizer of the Dharma, except that Śākyamuni was the first, and supremely realized the Dharma.

cal existence is equal with that of every other realizer of the Dharma, except that Śākyamuni was the first, and supremely realized the Dharma.

How can we hold to those two apparently contradictory aspects of the Dharma: that is its total universality, on one hand, and its dependency upon a particular realizer, on the other? The answer lies in the fact that the realization of the Dharma is nothing but the *self-awakening of Dharma itself*. Your awakening of the Dharma is, of course, your own awakening. It is your awakening to the Dharma in its complete universality. But this awakening is possible only by overcoming our self-centeredness, *i.e.*, only through the total negation of ego-self. Our self-centeredness is the fundamental hindrance for the manifestation of the Dharma. Originally the Dharma is present universally, but due to our self-centeredness, it does not become manifest to us. Therefore, when the self-centeredness is overcome and the selflessness is attained, *i.e.*, *anatman* is realized, the Dharma naturally awakens to itself. Accordingly, the self-awakening of the Dharma has the following double sense. First, it is *your* self-awakening on the Dharma in your egoless true Self. Secondly, it is the self-awakening of *Dharma itself* in and through your whole existence. In other words, a particular individual's self-awakening to the Dharma and the Dharma's self-awakening are not two, but one.

It was on the basis of this self-awakening of the Dharma that Śākyamuni said, without any sense of contradiction, "Rely on yourselves," and "seek salvation alone in the Dharma." His statements, "Be ye lamps unto yourselves," and, "live the Dharma as a lamp" are complementary and not contradictory. To ultimately rely on one's self is not to rely on the ego-self, but rather on the "true self" which realizes the Dharma. Just as Śākyamuni's awakening was the self-awakening of the Dharma in the double sense mentioned above, that is, on the one hand, it is *his own* self-awakening of the Dharma, and, on the other, it is *the Dharma's* self-awakening, so anyone's awak-

ening to the Dharma can and should be the self-awakening of the Dharma in the same sense.

This is the basic standpoint of Buddhism, which after his awakening was clarified by Śākyamuni himself throughout his life and particularly, as mentioned before, as he approached death. Some time after the *parinirvana* of the Buddha, Buddhism began to experience various schisms and thus it developed into Theravāda, Mahayana, Vajrayana, and so forth. However, all forms of Buddhism are fundamentally based on the above basic standpoint of Buddhism, that is the self-awakening of the Dharma in the double sense, as discussed above. Considering this basic standpoint of Buddhism clarified by Śākyamuni himself, I think the most appropriate way of celebrating Buddha Day is not to merely honor Śākyamuni Buddha as the object of our worship and celebration, but for each one of us to awaken to the Buddha-Dharma by ourselves and live and practice Buddha-Dharma subjectively and existentially.

Then, what is the Dharma which we should awaken to, live and practice? It is the law of *pratitya-samutpada*, that is the law of dependent co-origination. This law means that everything in the universe is co-arising and co-ceasing and is interdependent with each other, that nothing exists independently; nothing has its own enduring fixed ownbeing. I believe this law of dependent co-origination is a very powerful and effective principle for the world, and that this is true not only for the past, but also for the future.

In harmony with the law of *pratitya-samutpada*, Buddhism is not a monotheistic religion which is based on one absolute God. It does not reject the standpoint of others. Again, Buddhism is not some kind of pluralism, or some kind of polytheistic religion which has many deities without one integral principle. Being based on the law of dependent co-origination, Buddhism is neither monotheistic nor polytheistic, but non-dualistic. It can give life to everything, without reducing

everything into one substantive principle. And yet, at the same time, Buddhism can embrace everything in the dynamic oneness of non-duality.

The contemporary world is rapidly shrinking due to the remarkable advancement of technology. Jet airplanes fly everywhere, and electronic communication happens almost instantly. In this shrinking world, however, the difference and opposition among various value systems and ideologies becomes more and more conspicuous. How to integrate this pluralistic world situation without marring the features of the culture and religion of various nations? This is the urgent issue which human kind is facing today. The future task of Buddhism is to apply the law of dependent co-origination to this world situation and to try to

establish a dynamic and yet harmonious world. For the Buddhist law of dependent co-origination can serve a powerful and effective principle to cope with the above urgent issue for the future of humanity.

Let us take on, then, the future task of Buddhism! Let us awaken to the Buddha Dharma and become fully and compassionately human. Let us join hands in fellowship and live and practice the law of dependent co-origination and in this way let us build a better world where all beings in the ten quarters, including self and others, men and women, nations and races, humans and nature, all may live harmoniously and peacefully.

Gate, Gate, paragate, parasamgate bodhi, svaha!

Sakyadhītā: Daughters of the Buddha

edited by Karma Lekshe Tsomo. Ithaca, New York: Snow Lion Publications, 1988. 346 pp. Paper: \$14.95.

Feminine Ground: Essays on Women and Tibet

edited by Janice D. Willis. Ithaca, New York: Snow Lion Publications, 1987. 166 pages. Paper: \$10.95.

In the last five years there has been a wave of new books on women and Buddhism, written in a feminist context and motivated by questions that concern Western women practitioners. *Sakyadhītā* and *Feminine Ground* are two of these, and each fills a niche not covered by previous works.

Sakyadhītā is a sensitively edited and abridged version of the proceedings of the first International Conference of Buddhist Nuns, held in Bodhgaya, India in February, 1987. Seventy nuns and 80 lay-people from Burma, China, Taiwan, Japan, Korea, Nepal, Tibet, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Vietnam, Europe, Canada, and the United States came together to learn from each other and to promote mutual understanding. The focus of the conference and book is the role of nuns in Buddhist practice across the various traditions.

The largest chapter of the book includes up-to-date reports on problems for nuns in each of the represented Asian countries. Though most of these countries are patriarchal in social structure, overt sexism is not necessarily the biggest problem for nuns, who may be struggling for physical or cultural survival. Indirect expression of sexism, however, may be of significant influence. These problems were of greatest importance:

- 1) cultural destruction and displacement (Tibet, Vietnam);
- 2) gaps in religious lineage due to restrictions on authorized nun ordinations (Sri Lanka, Thailand);
- 3) lack of education—inadequate access to religious texts and trained teachers (most places);
- 4) lack of financial support—sometimes economic competition with monks for local support of temple control (Japan, Thailand);
- 5) inconsistent standards for monks and nuns in precepts and social rules (Thailand, Sri Lanka);
- 6) lack of social/cultural support for women to choose religious life over family responsibilities;
- 7) complete non-recognition of nun status (Thailand).

By covering these challenges in specific country-by-country detail, this chapter provides an invaluable baseline reference for future dialogue.

Technical questions about ordination requirements and “the *bhiksuni* issue” are covered in both practical and philological frameworks. Several sections offer refreshing insight into tradi-

tional text interpretations, pointing the way for dynamic evolution of the role of women's practice. Religious arguments to state or temple authorities will need to address these textual obstacles, if women are to be able to make an effective social contribution as religious professionals.

Feminine Ground is a collection of essays by six Western women scholars whose academic focus is Tibet. The diverse topics include female role models for women's practice, relationship to the land as feminine presence, the experience of enlightenment, *dākinī* as feminine principle, the sociology of women in Tibet, and nuns and nunneries. The authors chose specifically not to limit their discussion to a single disciplinary framework, so the book offers an unusual cross-section of cultural elements influencing Tibetan women's practice. Each essay is extensively referenced in rigorous academic style, drawing on original Tibetan documents as well as western reviews of Buddhist thought.

The essays by Gross and Willis illuminate feminine relationality and emptiness as two aspects of wisdom. Gross develops a hagiographic analysis of Yeshe Tsogyel—enlightened consort of Padmasambhava, emphasizing Yeshe Tsogyel's relational life. She contrasts conventional relationships characterized by power abuse and compulsive action, with dharmic relationships where wisdom power is used to enlighten all beings. Willis clarifies the *dākinī* principle, "mkha' 'gro ma" or "sky-walking woman", to reveal sky as emptiness and walking as understanding—i.e., the feminine embodiment of wisdom. She reviews the context for the traditional appearance of the *dākinī* to show her role in prophecy, protection, and inspiration. Both essays offer innovative feminist analysis and excellent scholarship to provide a deeper understanding of Buddhist practice and philosophy revealed by female figures.

But stories of miraculous female beings have little to do with everyday social reality in Tibet. Drawing on feminist methods of analysis,

Aziz looks at aspects of language, social status, and women's work to suggest a preliminary sociological picture of women in Tibet. Willis' life history accounts of five nuns contributes further detail on the context for women's practice in this culture. The overall state of Tibetan nunneries today, pre- and post-invasion is summarized in Tsomo's statistical review. Of 18,000 nuns practicing in the 1950s, tragically only 900 Tibetan women remain in formal spiritual training, all exiles.

These books and others in the new wave of publications on women and Buddhism greatly augment the classics by Diana Paul (*Women in Buddhism*, 1979), I.B. Horner (*Women under Primitive Buddhism*, 1930), and Caroline Rhys Davids (*Therigatha* translation, 1909). The new titles include: 1. books about women teachers: Lenore Friedman, *Meetings with Remarkable Women*, 1987 and Sandy Boucher, *Turning the Wheel*, 1988; 2. books by women teachers: Joko Beck, *Everyday Zen*, 1989 and Toni Packer, *Seeing without Knowing*, 1984; 3. books about realized female beings: Tsultrim Allione, *Women of Wisdom*, 1984 and Keith Dowman, *Sky Dancer*, 1984; and 4. collections of social-historical commentary/dialogue by Buddhist women practitioners: Ellen Sidor, *A Gathering of Spirit*, 1988; Hopkinson and Kiera, *Not Mixing Up Buddhism*, 1986; and *Women and Buddhism*, a special edition of *Spring Wind*, 1986.

As more and more Western women make a serious commitment to Buddhist practice, there will be an increasing need for books that address women's concerns, practice issues, role models, and paths to enlightenment. Buddhism has arrived on Western shores to meet feminism, now well beyond the first seeds of consciousness-raising. Feminist thought, analysis, and experiential approach find common ground with Buddhist philosophy, but not necessarily with Buddhist institutions. These books, including *Sakyadhītā* and *Feminine Ground*, provide avenues for discussion

and action, enabling women to develop a full and rich spiritual practice in the Western social context.

The strengths of *Sakyadhītā* lie in the excellent integration of material by editor Karma Lekshe Tsomo. She provides helpful introductory passages and a clear explication of technical problems with nun ordination. The book serves a useful function as a reference tool for nuns and nunneries all over the world. The sections on education and community living need further vision and development (perhaps the next conference). I would also like to see more discussion of the problems with political organizing of nuns as it conflicts with Buddhist teachings of egolessness.

Feminine Ground, by contrast, suffers from lack of a strong integrative theme or sense of relationship between chapters. Though the essays offer a wide diversity of perspectives, there is no clear, overall statement emerging from the collec-

tion. Each essay, however, is in itself a superbly referenced piece of scholarship, bringing to the fore in one volume, the voices of the major Western women scholars of Tibetan Buddhism. The essays together with the references are an outstanding resource for the serious student of women and Buddhism.

Despite their minor weaknesses, these two volumes make a substantial contribution to the growing collection of thoughtful material on women and Buddhism. As women in Western cultures expand their participation in Buddhist institutions and interpretation of Buddhist texts, we can expect the appearance of more serious writing and solid scholarship in this field. Such work offers new perspectives on Buddhism that will be useful not only to women, but to all students of the Dharma.

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Red Star Over Tibet

by Dawa Norbu. Second edition. New York: Envoy Press, 1987. 303 pp. \$14.95.

A classic of modern Tibetan history, Norbu's book deals with the consequences of the Chinese occupation/liberation of Tibet. The book begins in 1951 with a sketch of Norbu's family life in the village of Tashigang outside the major city of Sakya in southern Tibet. From there, the first person narrative covers some of the major events of Norbu's life as he witnesses the original arrival of the Chinese, experiences various Chinese "programs," flees with his family to India in late 1959 at the age of eleven, and in a recent second edition, concludes in reflection upon the Cultural Revolution and the future prospects of the Tibet situation.

Norbu's book is commonly cited as a mid-point on the continuum between Chinese propaganda and a predominantly western-authored romantic memory of the Tibet that was. On one level, his work is just that. For, while he cites Chinese rule as ultimately "colonial, inhumane and tyrannous" (p. 212), he remembers the Tibet that was as "decadent, inefficient and feudal" (p. 211). However, to consider Norbu solely in light of this continuum is to fail to recognize a perhaps more important dimension of his work.

Norbu's work deserves notice as an example of insider ethnography. He has produced a work about Tibet and Tibetans authored by a Tibetan. *Red Star* is rare amongst Tibetan authored works in English translation in that it is not primarily a religious work, but an ethnographic

work. By conscientiously trying to tell *his* story, Norbu's book is at once restricted and revealing. It is restricted in the sense that he does not provide the information that many western readers may be searching for in a work of this nature. Absent are grand-scale horror stories of widespread Chinese abuse, in their place, the daily wants, longings and fears of a local population at a specific time and place in a cultural trauma. Norbu's contextualization is strict, particularly in the first edition portions of the book, and does not lend itself to the aggrandizement of generalization.

While readers may want for the lack of the "big picture," *Red Star Over Tibet* is rich in the revelation of minute details of Tibetan village life. Household rituals, the missionary activities of Tibetan Buddhists to the nomads of the vast Tibetan plateau, and the words of learned monks to a young lay Tibetan are amongst the scenes presented by Norbu. He is particularly apt in chronicling the historic import of religious life to lay Tibetans. Indeed, while Tibetans seemed able to accept the Chinese teachings that the upper strata of Tibetan society was guilty of generations of social abuse, they did not accept the teachings that religion was "the poison of the people." (Norbu relates that "poison" was inserted into the Marxist phrase, for the Tibetan language has no equivalent to "opiate.")

Like many commentators on the Tibetan situation, Norbu points out the import of the Dalai Lama to Tibetans in general and to the resolution of the China-Tibet conflict in particular. His hope is that the leadership of the Dalai Lama may be the key to an eventual solution. The second edition of *Red Star Over Tibet* came out before the 1989 Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to the Dalai Lama, and this award seems to confirm that the Dalai Lama is not only a key to the resolution of the Tibetan situation, but a person with a social and

religious vision important to the whole of contemporary society. Norbu's book is a traditional classic as it tells well an interesting and complicated tale. It is a contemporary classic as it utilizes an insider's voice to tell the insider's tale.

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To Lhasa and Beyond: Diary of the Expedition to Tibet in the Year 1948

by Giuseppe Tucci. Translated by Mario Carelli. Foreword by H. H. the Dalai Lama. 1956; reprint Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 1985. 237 pp., plates. Paper: \$14.95.

This is a reprint of a classic work first published in translation from Italian in 1956. A personal travel account written by Giuseppe Tucci, the "Godfather" of modern Tibetology, *To Lhasa and Beyond* provides a rare and insightful view of traditional Tibet before the Chinese took over the country in 1950 and destroyed most of its religion and culture following the flight of the Dalai Lama to India in 1959. The book is especially valuable as the record of a journey to Tibet in 1948 by one of the foremost Western scholars of Tibetan religion and civilization. In addition to his profound knowledge of Tibetan history and culture, Tucci brings to bear on his subject a deep personal interest and empathy. The reader feels what the art, practices, and beliefs of the Tibetan people meant to Tucci as well as to the Tibetans themselves. Not a dry academic exercise, the book combines in lively fashion vivid travel writing with a solid grounding in rigorous scholarship.

The first part of Tucci's journey took him up from the Indian hill stations of Darjeeling and Kalimpong over the Himalayas of Sikkim through the Natu la Pass into the Chumbi Valley of Tibet. Tucci describes the vast and desolate stretches of the route continuing to Gyantse, the main trade center on the route to Lhasa, in the following passage, typical of evocative landscape descriptions sprinkled throughout the book:

On the high tableland a person can be seen from a great distance, like a meaningless black dot on the background of barren, lifeless rocks. Huge, overbearing cliffs crowd the

landscape in the boundless waste, with the crushing majesty of nature. Man does not count: he is a tiny being moving along and disappearing without trace, even as the Chinese painters saw him in their metaphysical pictures where the mountain, the clouds and the water spread all over the canvas, and man seems to appear only to give the measure of his nothingness. [p. 48]

From Gyantse, Tucci went over the Karola and Kampa la passes to skirt the fjord-like arms of Yamdrog Lake and cross the Tsangpo River on the standard route to Lhasa. He describes in some detail important monasteries and temples along the way, such as Ralung and Netang—the latter sacred to Atiṣa, the great Indian teacher who played a major role in re-introducing Buddhism into Tibet in the eleventh century.

The central chapters of the book are taken up with descriptions of Lhasa, Tucci's meeting with the Dalai Lama, social life in the city, and the huge monastic complexes of Drepung, Sera, and Ganden. This is followed by an unusual account of a 120 mile trip by yak skin boats down the Kyichu and Tsangpo rivers to Samye, the first monastery built in Tibet, and Tsetang, the place where according to Tibetan myth Avalokiteśvara, the bodhisattva of compassion and patron deity of Tibet, took the form of a monkey and mated with a rock ogress to create the primordial ancestors of the Tibetan people. After visiting nearby hermitages and monasteries and engaging in enlightening conversations with monks and hermits, Tucci proceeded

to the Yarlung Valley with the tombs of the ancient Kings of Tibet. The final chapters describe his return trip to India via Gyantse and Shigatse—the latter the seat of the Panchen Lama and site of the great monastery of Tashilhumpo. The book includes an insert of plates showing rare photographs of monasteries and temples and a way of life long since destroyed by the Chinese.

Tucci uses the account of his journey as a framework on which to hang discussions of a wide variety of topics, ranging from the role of art in Tibetan meditation to the contemporary follies of European politics. The historical palaces, forts, temples, and monasteries through which he passes afford him the building materials out of which to construct a running narrative of the principal events of Tibetan history, both secular and sacred. He visits, for example, the important pilgrimage place of Samye, the first Buddhist monastery built in Tibet, and tells the story of its founding in the eighth century A.D. Descriptions of paintings and sculpture in various monasteries and temples allow him to launch into extended discussions of styles of art and the role of images in the visualizations of Buddhist yoga. Conversations with lamas, hermits, mediums, and exorcists become opportunities to provide insightful glimpses into the esoteric practices of Tibetan Buddhism and their relation to Western philosophy and psychology. A visit to a lonely spot where corpses are exposed to birds in the Tibetan practice of sky burial prompts a long discourse on the visionary experiences of the *bardo*—the intermediate state between death and rebirth (or the higher goal of enlightenment) described in the so-called *Tibetan Book of the Dead*. In the course of these digressions Tucci presents marvelous descriptions of the spiritual forces depicted in art and evoked in ritual:

The images, now peaceful, now terrific, seem to jump up alive before your eyes, to crowd on you like ghosts and to engrave themselves mercilessly into the bottom of your subcon-

scious so as to haunt your dreams as well. You would think that the painters have by some wizardry conjured up living forces and driven them into their work, and that these could float out of the walls, force their way into your soul and take possession of it by a magic spell. [p. 57]

To Lhasa and Beyond provides in an accessible and entertaining form enlightening glimpses of ideas and material presented in a less readable and more systematic fashion in Tucci's scholarly works such as *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, *The Theory and Practice of the Mandala*, and *The Religions of Tibet*. Its vivid descriptions and lucid explanations make esoteric points of Tibetan religion and philosophy understandable to laymen as well as scholars. Amid the profusion of books that have now appeared on Tibet, *To Lhasa and Beyond* stands out as one of the few first-hand accounts of what Tibetan culture and religion were like when they were still intact in their homeland. And among those few works, it holds a singular place as the personal travel account of a master scholar of Tibetan civilization.

Occasionally, in his efforts to universalize his subject and relate it to Western ideas and concerns, Tucci goes a little too far, as in a few passages where he refers to "God" in explaining Tibetan practices—an approach alien to the Buddhist tradition, based as it is on the ultimate realization of emptiness. In an unfortunate omission the publishers of the reprint have dropped the index from the original English translation, making it more difficult to find and keep track of unfamiliar terms and place names. They have also reduced the external dimensions of the book, eliminating the beautiful Tibetan painting that graced its cover. But these are extremely minor points that do not detract from the overall value of the book.

To Lhasa and Beyond provides excellent background reading for anyone contemplating a visit to Central Tibet. It helps travelers to put what

they see in a historical and cultural context so that they can understand it better and appreciate how much of profound value has been lost in Tibet. Anthropologists, historians, and students of Tibetan civilization will find many interesting tidbits of information scattered through the text. The book will also be of use to scholars of Tibetan language

and religion, grounding their studies of textual material in the lives and physical settings of the people who created those texts and lived by their teachings.

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The Inner Teachings of Taoism

by Chang Po-tuan. Commentary by Liu I-ming. Translated by Thomas Cleary. Boston and London: Shambhala, 1986. xix + 118 pp. Paperback: \$11.95.

When examining the three major religious traditions of China (Taoism, Confucianism and Buddhism), one quickly notices that there is a great deal of cross-traditional exchange taking place. One of the more interesting is the exchange that took place between Buddhism and Taoist *wai-tan* (outer alchemy) when Buddhism entered China around the second century. The inter-play between these two traditions lead to what Isabelle Robeinet refers to as "completely Chinese and Taoist reaction to Buddhism:" *nei-tan* (inner or spiritual alchemy). The tradition of inner alchemy, which uses the alchemical methods and theories to internally perfect the inner self, is the topic of Thomas Cleary's translation of *The Inner Teachings of Taoism*.

The Inner Teachings of Taoism is divided into four sections: 1) a general introduction; 2) the *Inner Teachings*; 3) a text of Liu I-ming's entitled "On Solving Symbolic Language"; and 4) three other texts of Liu's which related to the topic of spiritual alchemy. The text to which Cleary refers in the title of the work makes up an extremely small portion of this book. *The Inner Teachings of Taoism*, as presented by Thomas Cleary, is not a work by the Taoist master Chang Po-tuan as one might be led to believe. In point of fact, *The Inner Teachings* is an extremely short text surrounded by an endless, and somewhat one-sided, nineteenth-century commentary by Liu I-ming.

In his introduction Thomas Cleary presents a useful, although somewhat limited, introduction to the subject of Chinese alchemy. He describes the difficulties of interpreting the various bodies of Taoist literature. He notes that "the problems of decoding this literature are formidable, for not

only are there numerous codes, but even a single code may also be subject to a number of different interpretations" (p. vii). However, after pointing this out he continues by suggesting that the *wai-tan* (outer alchemical) tradition is somehow less valid than the "highly purified form of Taoism" which emphasizes the *nei-tan* (inner or spiritual alchemical) tradition: the Complete Reality School (p. viii). In a manner consistent with his other presentations of Taoism, Cleary appears to be championing the role of Chinese spiritual alchemy at the expense of all other forms of Taoism.

The first section of this book contains the text from which it derives its name: *The Inner Teachings*. This section was written by the eleventh-century Taoist master Chang Po-tuan who had spent the first eighty years of his life studying Confucianism and Ch'an Buddhism. As Cleary points out, *The Inner Teachings* are a "simplified" and "condensed version" of another of Chang's works (also translated by Cleary) entitled *Understanding Reality* (p. xv). The text itself is made up of twenty rather cryptic four line verses which are in turn divided into two sections: the first three verses present a general summary of the overall process of spiritual alchemy while the remaining sixteen verses follow with a more in-depth examination of the entire process.

For his part, Liu I-ming follows each of the four line verses of *The Inner Teachings* with a useful, although still somewhat cryptic, explanatory commentary in which he begins to explain the many metaphors of Chang. In an effort to "let students understand at a glance and be further able to comprehend the true interpretation without getting involved in speculation," (p. 32) Liu adds

twenty short "Explanatory Verses," twenty-four "Essentials for Students" and twenty-four "Secrets of Alchemy" to the end of *The Inner Teachings*. Throughout these three additional commentaries Liu belabors his point that all alchemical language is meant as metaphor for inner/spiritual techniques.

The next major portion of *The Inner Teachings* is a work written by Liu I-ming entitled *On Solving Symbolic Language*. In this section Liu continues hammering home his point about the metaphorical nature of alchemical language. He writes:

The alchemical classics all use metaphors to illustrate principles; they are telling people to discern from the image the principle and act on the image. It is a pity that people do not investigate the principles, only recognizing the images. There are very many symbolic expressions used in alchemical classics; students should proceed from the symbol to discover the principle (p. 53-54).

In addition to his comments on symbolic language, Liu includes an interesting presentation on the alchemical firing process which is a text based on seven diagrams representing the process of producing humans by following natural processes, seven diagrams representing the process of creating immortals by reversing the natural processes and fourteen diagrams which are meant to provide an idea of how to go along with the creation and reversal of creation. In this presentation Liu also emphasizes the need to conduct the practice of alchemy in the proper manner with a proper teacher. This can be better understood by noting that Liu, like Chang, was extremely familiar

with Confucian teachings, and it is not difficult to imagine that this familiarity probably influenced his understanding of Taoist alchemy.

The last section of this work is dedicated to three other writings by Liu that relate to the notion of spiritual alchemy. The first, *Fifty Verses of Resolve Doubts*, is a collection of short passages which are designed to convey Liu's understanding of Taoist alchemy (emphasis on the symbolic nature of alchemical language) to students of alchemy. *The Fifty Verses* covers topics such as the cinnabar crucible, self-refinement, and the spiritual embryo. The second part, *On the True Opening of the Mysterious Female*, provides a colorful description of *The True Opening* and follows with another commentary on the misuse of metaphorical language. The third part of this section, *Essential Teachings for Cultivating Reality*, presents us with Liu's brief summary of the process of becoming "enlightened."

Although the need for translations of Taoist works is great, that need is not helped by Thomas Cleary. He presents the bulk of this book without an ounce of desperately needed context (his introduction is far from adequate). He seems to operate under the assumption that there is no need to share with his readers even a glimpse of original Chinese texts. The fact that this work is completely devoid of documentation or bibliographic data of any form detracts from this work. In short, Thomas Cleary's translation, *The Inner Teachings of Taoism*, falls far short of being anything more than an interesting addition to the growing library of "pop" theology.

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The Korean Neo-Confucianism of Yi Yulgok

by Ro Young-chan. SUNY Series in Philosophy. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989. xv + 154 pages. Foreword by Tu Wei-ming. Glossary of Chinese and Korean Words. Selected Bibliography. Cloth: \$49.50, paper: 16.95.

Those interested in the impact of Buddhism on East Asia have long paid attention to work on Neo-Confucianism. Most of this work has been concerned with the Neo-Confucian tradition in China, some with the tradition in Japan, much less with the tradition in Korea, and virtually none with its development in Vietnam. With regard to Korea, it has only been in recent years that the territory has been charted and the contributions of key figures presented in book length works in English. The publication in 1985 of *The Rise of Neo-Confucianism in Korea*, edited by Wm. Theodore deBary and JaHyun Kim Haboush (New York: Columbia University Press), marked a turning point by giving the English speaking world a general, if selective, overview. Since that time a book dedicated to each of the two best known figures in Korean Neo-Confucianism has appeared. Yi Yulgok (1536-84) is treated in the book under review here; and Yi T'oegye (1501-70) is treated in Michael C. Kalton, *To Become a Sage: The Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning by Yi T'oegye* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988).

Ro's book grew, in part, out of his Ph.D. dissertation: "The Search for a Dialogue between the Confucian 'Sincerity' and the Christian Reality: The Neo-Confucian Thought of Yi Yulgok and the Theology of Heinrich Ott" (University of California, Santa Barbara, 1982). The present work devotes little space to the dissertation topic (pp. 94-95). It is a detailed examination of Yi Yulgok's thought, although it provides thorough background information regarding each aspect of Chinese

Neo-Confucian thought which Yulgok treated. Its aim is not to discuss Confucianism and Christianity. Furthermore, it has little explicit coverage of Buddhist influence on Neo-Confucian thought in China or Korea, yet one can learn much on this by reading between the lines.

Ro's book is organized in three chapters, preceded by an introduction and followed by a conclusion. The Introduction treats Yi Yulgok's life and his place within Korean Neo-Confucianism and, also, presents the scope and approach of the book as a whole. The three chapters cover, respectively, Yulgok's cosmology and ontology, his anthropology, and the concept *ch'eng* (sincerity; Korean, *song*) as the key element in his thought, unifying cosmology, ontology, and anthropology. The Conclusion summarizes the accomplishments of the three chapters and considers Yulgok's contribution to contemporary philosophy.

Among the basic facts of Yi Yulgok's life, a few are important for our purposes. Although junior to Yi T'oegye, and not blessed with as long a life span, Yi Yulgok was a more original thinker. Like T'oegye, he lived more than a century after the period early in the Yi Dynasty (1392-1910) when Buddhism was first suppressed by the Korean state in favor of Confucianism. Thus, his generation of Neo-Confucian thinkers was not so much interested in establishing the superiority of Confucianism over Buddhism as it was interested in defining the nature of Confucian orthodoxy. This is one reason why Ro's book has so little to say on the Buddhist-Confucian issue. Moreover,

according to Ro, Yulgok is an especially good example of a thinker who puts the stamp of "Korea" on the Confucian tradition. The consistently non-dualistic stance of Yulgok, we are told, corresponds with non-dualism as a way of thinking found throughout the "Korean spiritual tradition" (p. xiii).

Indeed, the two themes in Yulgok's understanding of Neo-Confucianism that the book features are his "non-dualistic vision" and "anthropocosmic awareness" (p. 2). "Non-dualism" actually refers to a position that is neither dualistic nor monistic. And what Ro terms "anthropocosmic awareness" is itself characterized, above all, by its being a non-dualistic view: "his [Yulgok's] view of the fundamental unity between man's cultivation and the cosmic force of destiny" (p. 2). Yulgok's main contribution was, thus, to overcome a dualistic tendency in the Neo-Confucian thought of his time. As the Introduction asserts, and the rest of the book demonstrates, Yulgok's effort to establish a non-dualistic view permeates every area of his thought: cosmological, ontological, anthropological.

In his comments on the "scope and approach" of his book (pp. 10-14), Ro himself issues a caution about the use of a Western framework, including the use of such terms as cosmological, ontological, *etc.*, to try to understand a Korean thinker. He wants to avoid the "reductionism" inherent in such an approach. Ro says that his own approach will be a hermeneutical one, following Heidegger and Gadamer, with the intention of grasping the underlying hermeneutical motive which penetrates Yulgok's thought, which is a non-dualistic way of thinking.

Ro's success in escaping a Western reduction of Yulgok's work will be evaluated later in this review. But one thing is certain, he must be appreciated for his awareness of relevant hermeneutical principles, such as "interpretation is a struggle with text" (p. 12), in his efforts. It is clear throughout the book that Ro is self-consciously

struggling, as he says, "to allow Yulgok to appear and speak (in the Heideggerian sense of the word)" (p. 11).

In Chapter One, when Ro formally introduces the three areas of Neo-Confucian thought he will cover—cosmology, ontology, and anthropology—he provides a disclaimer. Neo-Confucians never actually used these categories to expound their arguments; they are useful only as hermeneutical "tools" (p. 16). The cosmological and ontological dimensions of Neo-Confucian thought, among Yulgok and his Chinese predecessors, are the topic of Chapter One. Therein Ro specifies how certain thinkers were relatively more interested in the cosmological side of key concepts, such as *t'ai-chi* ('the Great Ultimate'), while others were interested in their ontological side. Yulgok, developing the views of Chu Hsi (1130-1200), whose school of Neo-Confucian thought dominated in Korea, produced a non-dualistic, "cosmo-ontological" view of *t'ai-chi*. In accord with Chu Hsi's insistence on the interdependence of *li* (principle) and *ch'i* (material force), Yulgok did not let *t'ai-chi* reign as a purely ontological entity apart from the world.

Yulgok's relatively more thoroughgoing insistence on the interdependence of *li* and *ch'i* shows itself with greater strength and significance in Chapter Two's discussion of Yulgok's "anthropology." As Ro states: "This non-dualistic characterization of *li* and *ch'i* is defined more clearly in Yulgok's anthropology, particularly in his understanding of the mind, that [sic] it is in his cosmology and ontology" (p. 39). Most specifically, Yulgok's role in the so-called "four-seven" debate shows him to be intent on expunging any dualism of *li* and the explanation of the functioning of "mind" (*hsin*). Because of its importance, let us digress on this at some length as our primary example of Yulgok's creative thought.

Korean Neo-Confucians showed great interest in the mind-body problem as addressed in the discussion of the "four beginnings" (commiseration

tion, shame and dislike, respect and reverence, and right and wrong) and the "seven feelings" (pleasure, anger, sorrow, fear, love, hate, and desire). Yi T'oegye had related the mind's issuance of the "four beginnings" to *li*, and the issuance of the "seven feelings" to *ch'i*. Although he seemed to think he was explicating Chu Hsi's position in a noncontroversial manner, a debate ensued. Yulgok's contribution is found in his correspondence with Song Hon (1535-98), a supporter of T'oegye's position. For Yulgok, a division of mental issuances (i.e., activities of the mind aroused by contact with the world) into discrete categories was supported neither by experience nor by standard Neo-Confucian views on *li* and *ch'i* (which for him as for T'oegye came from Chu Hsi). He refused to accept any position that would make it appear that *li* could issue forth and function independently of *ch'i* or vice versa. To avoid dualism, he explained the seven feelings as being inclusive of the four beginnings. According to Yulgok: "The 'seven feelings' refer to the totality of the human mind when it has been aroused by the external world. The 'four beginnings' refer to the good side of the 'seven feelings'" (Ro's translation, p. 68).

This solution also prevented the misinterpretation that "evil" was somehow ontologically grounded in any category of *ch'i*-related (physical) mental issuances. Since the "seven feelings" are taken to represent the totality of the mind aroused by contact with the world, any feeling not directed correctly may become "evil." As a result, Ro explains: "The problem of evil is thus not an ontological one but a volitional one" (p. 68). To the extent that early Neo-Confucians (including, if not especially, Chu Hsi) had tended toward a dualism of sensual and spiritual in trying to explain the roots of "evil" behavior, Yulgok sought to save the tradition from this tendency toward dualism as well as from simplistically placing the blame on discretely sensual aspects of humans.

Turning to Chapter Three, we find our final example of Yulgok's non-dualistic approach: his explanation of *ch'eng* (sincerity) as the essence of

an "anthropocosmic awareness" whereby the sage transforms the world as well as himself. Yulgok is not unique in considering *ch'eng*, as a quality of the sage, to have cosmic as well as moral force. The seeds of this view existed in classical Confucianism, and its explication was important to earlier generations of Neo-Confucians. Yet one becomes convinced, as Ro provides example after example, that Yulgok developed it with his characteristically and self-consciously non-dualistic approach. Giving only his final yet perhaps most important example, *ch'eng* was the basis for the unity of thought and action in Yulgok's own life as a "theoretician and pragmatist" deeply involved in political affairs (pp. 107-110). To a greater extent than most other Korean Neo-Confucian thinkers, including T'oegye, Yulgok was an active statesman, holding a variety of high positions during his life (provincial Governor, Minister of Personnel, Minister of Justice, Minister of Defense, etc.).

Ro's Conclusion, in addition to summarizing, presents some comments about what Yulgok's thought has to offer us today. His comments cover two key aspects of moral and spiritual thought. First, thinking today is too often characterized by a division of anthropology and cosmology; or, put another way, theology has become anthropology as Western religious thinkers have abandoned efforts to salvage their outmoded (i.e., Christian) cosmologies. As to Yulgok's "anthropocosmic" view, Ro writes: "This view of a continuity between the social and the natural worlds, of Man fully integrated into the natural order, implies a disturbing critique of the modern Western view of an indifferent nature and alienated humanity" (p. 113). Second, Ro also sees us challenged by the way that, "in Yulgok's non-dualistic approach, paradigmatic Western categories—body and mind, spirit and matter, thought and feeling—are bypassed in favor of a cohesive, holistic understanding" (p. 114). We are challenged because, although Yulgok's view is non-theistic and non-dualistic, it is still "essentially religious" (p. 115).

How do we evaluate Ro's work? On the one hand, it claims to present us with a thinker who has great relevance for Western thinkers today. On the other hand, it claims that this thinker cannot be understood by any Western "reduction" and, therefore, must be allowed to speak to us in his own voice. Obviously, then, an evaluation of Ro's work must focus, above all, on its success in completing the daunting task of intercultural interpretation.

First of all, Ro should be congratulated for being aware of the difficulties in the task facing him. Not only at the beginning, when such issues are usually addressed in works of this type, but throughout the book, one has the feeling that Ro is doing his best to let Yulgok's own voice reach us. He carefully chooses between available translations of technical terms, between English translations and Romanizations of terms, between using and avoiding established Western categories. Thus, Ro's work is a model of the *process* one should go through in trying to allow material from another culture reach a new audience. One unfortunate exception to this is the large number of errors in the Romanization of Chinese. The glossary alone has about fifteen, including placing all "p" entries out of alphabetical order, after those under "f."

Secondly, as to the result of this process, Ro's work has strengths as well as weaknesses. As one might expect, continual use of Western philosophical terms, despite the disclaimer that the terms are only hermeneutical tools, can disguise as well as amplify a Korean thinker's voice. The key issue is not whether to use such terms at all; their careful use is a key to success. The issue is whether or not one chooses the most appropriate terms. For example, there are good reasons to employ a term like "anthropocosmic," already used to good effect by others discussing the Neo-Confucian tradition, such as Tu Wei-ming. This term communicates the unity of human and natural, social and cosmic, for a tradition that has consistently insisted on their fundamental oneness. More questionable is the use of "ontological," as opposed to "cosmological,"

especially when one concedes that it is not a native distinction for either Chinese or Koreans. Is there anything in the Neo-Confucian world view that indicates that it has an "ontological" as well as "cosmological" dimension? Probably not. There is certainly nothing beyond the cosmos, in Neo-Confucian's eyes, for they have a thoroughly immanent view of ultimate reality. Moreover, there is little indication that, for them, there are ontologically different substances within the cosmos. What seems important to Neo-Confucians, including Yulgok (see p. 31), is the distinction between what is subtle or "concealed" (*wei*) and what is gross or "manifested" (*hsien*). The "Ultimate" is not beyond nature, or different from the rest of nature, it is just ultimately more subtle. This kind of distinction is better covered within "cosmology" than by introducing a cosmology-ontology division.

We must also address the most important interpretive term that Ro uses: "non-dualism." Despite Ro's frequent reminders that "non-dualism" does not mean "monism," one wonders why he put himself in the position of having continually to remind us that his key term does not mean what we are likely to think it does. One drawback to his choice is that it continually draws our attention to the "problem" of dualism and monism, which has been a problem in the West, and perhaps in India, but not in East Asia. A related drawback is that it does not draw sufficient attention to what is a key problem in East Asian thought: balance of opposites. One might interpret Yulgok's "hermeneutical motive" as being against imbalance, against leaning to one side, rather than against "monism" and/or "dualism." This would be in line with our understanding, for example, of Korean Neo-Confucian criticisms of Buddhism and the Wang Yang-ming style of Neo-Confucianism. While it is questionable that Neo-Confucians thought in terms of "monism" and "dualism," it is clear that they thought about balance of opposites: *li* and *ch'i*, *yin* and *yang*, contemplation and action, natural and human, and so forth.

Is there a term that captures the key *problematic* of Yulgok's thought yet escapes the drawbacks of "non-dualism"? One is suggested in Julia Ching's article on Yulgok's contribution to the "Four-Seven Debate" in *The Rise of Neo-Confucianism in Korea* (*op. cit.*, pp. 303-322, esp. p. 313), where she speaks of "dialectical unity" to characterize his approach to pairs of opposites, such as *li* and *ch'i*. This is one example of a term that, in our view, is superior to "non-dualism."

It may seem unreasonable that our major criticism is a terminological one. However, it is one connected with Ro's main purpose: presenting the thought of a leading Korean Neo-Confucian in

a way that avoids the danger of its reduction to Western categories. If the terminological problem stands out, it is only because Ro's book is otherwise so successful in achieving its purpose. That is to say, it is successful precisely in providing a model for how to interpret a thinker from a culture markedly different from our own.

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IN MEMORIAM: Minor Lee Rogers (1930 - 1991)

We are very sorry to report the passing of Dr. Minor Rogers on August 25, 1991. He received his Ph. D. at Harvard University in the field of comparative religion in 1972. From that time to the present he taught in the Department of Religion at Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia.

Dr. Rogers is held in high repute for his rigorous and meticulous scholarship and his deep personal involvement with Shin Buddhism. His gracious warmth and encouragement has inspired us at the Institute. His major work *Rennyō: The Second Founder of Shin Buddhism*, which he wrote together with his wife Ann, had just been sent to the publisher prior to his untimely passing. The following bibliography of his various publications was provided by Ann T. Rogers..

PUBLICATIONS

Book:

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BUDDHA DHARMA KYOKAI (SOCIETY), INC. (BDK USA)

Perhaps the greatest patron of Buddhism in modern times is The Reverend Dr. Yehan Numata, a 95-year old industrialist turned philanthropist, who received an Honorary Doctor of Humanities degree from the University of Hawaii in December 1988. Yehan Numata though born into a temple family, became a businessman solely to obtain profits which could be diverted to the propagation of Buddhism. His belief was that the Buddha's teachings, which are based on the spirit of wisdom and compassion, would assist in bringing about lasting peace and happiness for all humanity. Embarking on his quest, he established a precision measuring instruments manufacturing company called Mitutoyo Corporation in 1934. Profits from the enterprise enabled him to found the Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai (Buddhist Promoting Foundation) (acronym BDK) in 1965. Under his guidance, this organization began to sponsor various activities to share the teachings of the Buddha with as many people as possible. Late in life, Yehan Numata became a Buddhist priest.

The Teaching of Buddha. The first and most significant project undertaken thus far has been the re-editing, re-publishing and dissemination of *The Teaching of Buddha*, a small book containing the essence of Buddha Dharma. The book was an abridged translation of the Japanese work, *Shinyaku Bukkyō Seiten* (The New Translation of the Buddhist Scriptures) compiled and published by the Bukkyō Kyōkai (The Buddhist Society) under the supervision of The Reverend Muan Kizu in 1925. It was believed that not only would *The Teaching of Buddha* be an authoritative introduction to Buddhism, but it could also become a daily source of inspiration and a guide for daily living. In order to make it understandable and available to the peoples of the world, the book has been translated into 35 different languages, printed, and nearly four million copies distributed free of charge in 47 countries.

Tripitaka Translation Project. Another major undertaking was the translation and publication of the voluminous *Taishō Chinese Tripitaka* in English, first initiated in 1982 in Tokyo. It was the desire of Yehan Numata to introduce the still largely unexplored Chinese Mahayana Tripitaka throughout the English-speaking world. A 13-member group of leading Japanese Buddhist scholars, headed by Professor Shōyū Hanayama of the Musashino Women's College, was formed as the Tripiṭaka Editorial Committee, along with the Tripitaka Publications Committee chaired by Professor Shōjun Bandō of the Ōtani University. These two committees are responsible for administering the overall project of the translation and publication of approximately 10% of the Chinese Tripitaka by the year 2000 A.D. Dr. Gadjin Nagao, Professor Emeritus of Kyoto University, is currently the overall advisor of the entire project.

Buddhist Studies Chairs. The third major project was the endowment of Buddhist Chairs at leading universities of the world. It was Yehan Numata's objective to make the teachings of Mahayana Buddhism available to the academic world on a day-to-day basis. Begun in 1984, the Numata Chairs in Buddhist Studies have been established at six institutions in the U.S., the University of California at Berkeley, Harvard University, University of Chicago, University of Hawaii, Smith College and the Institute of Buddhist Studies in Berkeley, and one in Canada, the University of Calgary. Negotiations

are currently underway with some universities in Europe for similar chairs. Sufficient contributions to the endowed chairs are made annually for up to twenty years, by which time each chair is expected to have become self-perpetuating from the cumulative funds.

Administrative Control. In order to supervise the activities to promote Buddhism in overseas areas, Yehan Numata insisted that in each country concerned, a local organization should be formed to be financially and operationally responsible for all propagational activities undertaken. Toward this end, a number of affiliates of BDK Japan were organized in countries where branches of the Mitutoyo Corporation were located, such as in the United States, Brazil, Mexico, Canada, Taiwan, Singapore, West Germany and England. In the United States, the first such organization, called the Buddhist Educational Studies, Inc., was formed in 1982 in Springfield, Virginia, to publish Buddhist materials and conduct educational activities. In 1986, it was superseded by the Buddha Dharma Kyōkai (Society), Inc. (acronym BDK USA) in Emerson, New Jersey. Its first President is The Reverend Kenryū Tsuji, Minister, Ekōji Temple, Springfield, VA, and the former Bishop of the Buddhist Churches of America, and as Trustees, Shigeru Yamamoto, former Chairman of the Board, MTI Corporation, MITUTOYO U.S. & Canada Operations, Bishop Seigen Yamaoka, the current Head of the Buddhist Churches of America, and The Reverend Seishin Yamashita, Director of the Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research. This organization serves as the headquarters and the umbrella for all of the propagational activities in the U.S. It retains control over the U.S. responsibilities for the Tripitaka Translation Project, the distribution of *The Teaching of Buddha*, and the administering of the Numata Chairs in Buddhist Studies, as well as miscellaneous projects, including publications.

Numata Center. The Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research was established in November 1984 in Berkeley, CA. Its dedication and opening ceremonies were attended by the leaders of BDK Japan and by Dr. George Rupp, then Dean of the Divinity School at Harvard and Provost Leonard Kuhi of the University of California at Berkeley, along with many distinguished Buddhist scholars and guests. The principal role played by the Numata Center is to act as the agent of BDK Japan in the Tripitaka Translation and Publication Project and assist in the finalization of the translation manuscripts. It also assists the BDK USA and BDK Japan in the accomplishment of their respective missions. Key staff members include Dr. Nobuo Haneda and the Reverends Shōjō Oi and Seishin Yamashita.

Distribution of *The Teaching of Buddha*. For this function, two organizations were formed. The Sudatta Society was established in Hawaii in 1978. Its leadership has been in the hands of Mr. Ralph Honda, a prominent Honolulu businessman, from the very beginning. Through his diligent efforts, 190,000 copies of *The Teaching of Buddha* have been distributed to hotels, hospitals, prisons, and military units in the Hawaiian Islands. The other organization is the Society for Buddhist Understanding established in 1978 in the City of Industry, California. The head of this group is Mr. Tomohito Katsunuma. Thus far, Mr. Katsunuma has succeeded in the distribution and placement of 325,000 copies of *The Teaching of Buddha* in hotels, libraries, temples, and the military forces on the U.S. mainland.

Tripitaka Translation and Publication. The Tripitaka Editorial Committee in Japan selected 80 prominent Buddhist scholars, who were able to translate the Buddhist Scriptures from classical Chinese into English. These academicians were selected from ten different countries, with the U.S. and Japan having 40% and 45% of the translators respectively. Among the American scholars chosen are Professors Stanley Weinstein of Yale University, Lewis Lancaster of University of California at Berkeley, David Chappell of University of Hawaii, Richard Gard of Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions, Taitetsu Unno of Smith College, Minoru Kiyota of University of Wisconsin, Robert Gimello of University of Arizona, Francis Cook of University of California at Riverside, John Keenan of Middlebury College, Minor Rogers of Washington and Lee University, Leo Pruden of University of Oriental Studies, Paul Groner of University of Virginia, Allen Andrews of University of Vermont, Kenneth Tanaka of Institute of Buddhist Studies in Berkeley, and Drs. Diana Paul, J. C. and Thomas Cleary. Some of the Tripitaka texts being translated by these scholars are the *Diamond Sutra* (T-235), *Śrīmālā Sūtra* (T-353), *Avatamsaka Sūtra* (T-278), *Commentary on the Lotus Sutra* (T-1519), *Śūraṅgama Sūtra* (T-642), *Commentary on Vasubandhu's Triṃśikā* (T-1585), *Profound Meaning of the "Three Treatises"* (T-1852), *Commentary on the Buddhahūmi Sūtra* (T-1530), *Compendium of the Mahayana* (T-1593), *Blue Cliff Record* (T-2003), *Gateless Barrier* (T-2005), *Bodaiśhinron* (T-1665), and *Rokusodangyō* (T-2008). For these and all other translations, the BDK USA makes payments worldwide through the Numata Translation Center in Berkeley, CA. The translation project is progressing smoothly with the first volume expected to appear in 1991. Among the first texts to be published are the *Śrīmālā Sūtra*, *The Golden Light Sutra*, *The Lotus Sutra*, *The Four-Part Vinaya*, and the *Commentary on the Lotus Sutra*.

Visiting Professorships in Buddhism in USA. During 1984, two Numata Chairs in Buddhist Studies were established, at the University of California, Berkeley, and at Harvard. Since its inception at the University of California, five Japanese professors have filled the chair: Professors Hisao Inagaki of Ryukoku University, Shōryū Katsura of Hiroshima University, Musashi Tachikawa of Nagoya University, and Professors Emeritus Akira Fujieda of Kyoto University, and Jikido Takasaki of Tokyo University. At Harvard, three professors have completed their assignments, Professor Yuichi Kajiyama of Kyoto University, Professor Michio Tokunaga of Kyoto Women's College, and Professor Jikido Takasaki. The University of Chicago was endowed with a chair in 1985. Three professors, Dr. Yoshiro Tamura of Rissho University, Dr. Masao Abe, Professor Emeritus of Nara University of Education, and Professor Thomas Kasulis of Northland College have taught in the program. The University of Hawaii received its chair in 1988, with the first Visiting Professor being Dr. Hisao Inagaki followed by Professor Shudo Ishii of Komazawa University. In 1986, a Numata Chair was established at the Institute of Buddhist Studies in Berkeley, CA. Under a special teaching arrangement, the following professors have lectured at the Institute: Dr. Roger Corless of Duke University, Dr. Allan Andrews of University of Vermont, Dr. Whalen Lai of University of California at Davis, and Dr. John Carman of Harvard.

Publication of Buddha Dharma. Since the popular *The Teaching of Buddha* was a condensed version of a much longer text, the decision was made in 1982 to make available to the English reading public an unabridged edition of Muan Kizu's *The New Translation of Buddhist Scriptures*. This

would provide the essence of Buddhist doctrines in considerable detail. The first edition of the complete translation, called *Buddha Dharma*, was translated by Buddhist scholars in America and published in 1984. The revised second edition, complete with a section on Scriptural Sources, a glossary, and index is due to be published in early 1991, again by the BDK USA. For both editions, Buddhist Churches of America Minister Emeritus Kyoshiro Tokunaga, as the editor-in-chief, devoted countless hours in bringing the project to fruition.

Pacific World. The first issue of the *Pacific World* was published in June 1925 by Yehan Numata when he was still an undergraduate at the University of California, Berkeley. As the editor-in-chief, he published it on a bi-monthly basis in 1925 and 1926, and then on a monthly basis in 1927 and 1928. Articles in the early issues concerned not only Buddhism, but also other cultural subjects such as art, poetry, and education, and then by 1928, the articles became predominantly Buddhist. Included in the mailing list for the early issues were such addressees as the Cabinet members of the U.S. Government, Chambers of Commerce, political leaders, libraries, publishing houses, labor unions and foreign institutions. The publication of the *Pacific World* ceased after Yehan Numata returned to Japan following completion of his studies in 1928 and the receipt of a M.A. degree in statistics. The lack of funds also precluded further publication. In 1982, the publication of the *Pacific World* was again resumed, this time on an annual basis by the Institute of Buddhist Studies with funds provided by the foundation, BDK USA. The 1989 autumn issue of the journal was distributed to 6,500 addressees throughout the world. The journal is now devoted to the dissemination of articles on general and Jodo Shinshu Buddhism for both academic and lay readers.

The officers of BDK USA are grateful for the encouragement and support received from the institutions with endowed chairs, the Buddhist clergy, and lay people in BDK USA efforts to disseminate the teachings of the Buddha throughout the United States and look forward to their continuing assistance.

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

