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## ***Shinjin* and Social Praxis in Shinran's Thought<sup>1</sup>**

**Takamaro Shigaraki**

Ryukoku University Emeritus

**Trans. David Matsumoto**

Institute of Buddhist Studies

A PERSON WHO SEEKS an authentic understanding of Shinran's teaching of Shin Buddhism must try to live with *shinjin* in the midst of the turbulent conditions of today's world. Inevitably, that person will come face-to-face with a host of inescapable problems, for seeking to live with *shinjin* means that one must try to determine how to act in today's world, as well as what the nature of one's social praxis ought to be.

Tsuda Sōkichi suggests, regarding this point, that the *shinjin* propounded in Shinran's teaching is in fact isolated from actual life. He states,

If that is the case, Amida Buddha's salvific activity does not occur in this life. At the same time present-day life becomes separate and disconnected from salvation. This stands to reason, as long as salvation refers to birth in the Pure Land after death. What are not answered, however, are questions such as, "What is the meaning of our present life?" or "By what rules is it to be governed?" . . . Shinran's thought sets forth the logic of Pure Land as the ultimate ground. However, when it comes to a consideration of our own actions or behavior, his thought is quite incomplete.<sup>2</sup>

Tsuda's view is that there is an incompleteness in Shinran's thought, in that it does not fully clarify how, after birth in the Pure Land has been settled, *shinjin* actually relates to everyday life. According to him, the two—*shinjin* and birth—seem to exist in parallel, with no relationship with one another.

In a similar vein, Katō Shūichi states that the religion of Shinran closely resembles the religious reformation developed by Luther and others; yet, at the same time, there are points at which it clearly differs from Protestantism. He discusses this in the following way:

Protestantism gave rise to new ethical values through faith. In contrast, Jōdo Shinshū has done no such thing. The two are similar in the purely religious aspect, that is, in the structure of faith which relativizes worldly value systems and directs one toward the absolute. However, they are totally dissimilar in the cultural aspect, that is, in the return from the absolute to historical society and in the creation of a new value system. If salvation has no relationship to a given person's good or evil actions, then how should that person behave in this present world? One's attitude regarding Amida Buddha is a religious issue; one's attitude regarding other people is an ethical issue. How do these two issues relate to each other?

Using the terminology of the *Kyōgyōshinshō*, in Protestantism there is first the aspect of going and then later the aspect of returning. In Jōdo Shinshū, the aspect of going exists, but there is no special scheme for the aspect of returning afterward.<sup>3</sup>

In other words, Kato suggests that the logic of Protestantism and Shinran's understanding of Pure Land Buddhism are quite similar as to the aspect of going from the secular world to the transcendental (*ōsō*, 往相). However, while the aspect of returning to the secular world—its *gensō* 還相 character—is set forth in great detail in Protestantism, that aspect is lacking in Shinran's thought. As a result, he later goes on to state, Christianity and Shin Buddhism have played very different roles in history. Christianity contributed greatly to the formation of capitalistic society; however, the teachings of Shin Buddhism have not created the ideological background for any social change.

Hisamatsu Shinichi states,

In Shinshū, even though we may have attained *shinjin* in this life, we are incapable of performing any actions in the aspect of returning in our present existence. In addition, attaining *shinjin* is said to mean that one enters the ranks of the truly settled. Thus, in the phrase, "they immediately attain birth," "immediately attain" does not mean "to be born" at all. It only refers to a condition in which "birth is settled." In other words, a *myōkōnin* is said to dwell in the rank of the truly settled, but not in the rank of returning from the Pure Land. A sort of medievalism exists here in Shinshū doctrine. Jōdo Shinshū, therefore, must emerge into a new form, in which both aspects of going and returning can be established in this present life.<sup>4</sup>

Hisamatsu points out that, in Shin Buddhism, even though one has attained *shinjin*, one is not said to have attained birth. It merely means that one's birth has become settled. This is called the stage of non-retrogression, or the rank of the truly settled, but this is not referred

to as a return from the Pure Land to the present world. This, he says, reveals the medieval character of Shin Buddhist doctrine, as well as its incompleteness.

Each of these critiques points to the fact that Shinran's teaching sets forth in a clear manner the supramundane character of *shinjin*, but it does not fully explain its relationship to historical society in terms of the aspect of returning to this secular world. However, can it really be said that this point is lacking in Shinran's teaching of true and real *shinjin*? How might Shinran himself have responded to these concerns? How should those of us who are studying the teaching of Shinran consider this matter? In this paper, I would like to take up the issues raised by these three critiques and offer a brief examination of *shinjin* and social praxis in Shinran's thought.

#### THE SUPRAMUNDANE AND MUNDANE NATURE OF SHINJIN IN SHINRAN'S THOUGHT

It is my view that *shinjin* in the teachings of Shinran comprises (a) the experience of "true knowing" (*shinchi taiken*, 信知体験) and (b) the experiencing of "truth and reality" (*shinjitsu taiken*, 真実体験).<sup>5</sup>

##### *The Experience of "True Knowing"*

The experience of "true knowing" refers to that ultimate religious experience in which one awakens to or entrusts in and realizes the truth of (*shinchi*, 信知) the primal vow of Amida Buddha. In his *Hymns of the Dharma-Ages*, Shinran states that *shinjin* is "the wisdom of *shinjin*." In notations written next to the Chinese characters for this phrase, he gives the following explanation: "Know that since Amida's vow is wisdom, the emergence of the mind of entrusting oneself to it is the arising of wisdom."<sup>6</sup> Shinran explains this phrase in the *Hymns of the Pure Land* in this way: "Every being is nurtured by this light," and he offers the following notation: "Because we are shown upon by this light, wisdom emerges in us."<sup>7</sup> He also states this in *The Virtues of the Name of Amida Tathagata*, "To entrust oneself to the nembutsu is to already have become a person who realizes wisdom and will attain Buddhahood; know that this is to become free of foolishness."<sup>8</sup>

The attainment of *shinjin*, therefore, involves the arising of wisdom. This means that the person of *shinjin* "realizes wisdom." Stated in a more concrete way, it means that one deeply and truly comes to know the existential state of the self, as well as the import of the Tathāgata's

primal vow. This is the experience of a “twofold deep realization” (*nishu jinshin*, 二種深信), in which a profound understanding of oneself (the certainty of one’s falling into hell) and of the vow (the certainty of one’s birth in the Pure Land) come to be actualized in identity.

#### *The Experiencing of Truth and Reality*

The experiencing of “truth and reality” refers to that ultimate religious experience in which one encounters or comes into contact with truth and reality.

In the “Chapter on Shinjin” of his principal text, the *True Teaching, Practice and Realization of the Pure Land Way*, Shinran analyzes the Chinese characters for the word “entrusting” (*shin*, 信) in this way: “In ‘entrusting’ (*shingyō* 信樂), 信 *shin* means truth, reality, sincerity, fullness. . . .”<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, he often equates *shinjin* with the “true mind,” as well as the “true and real mind” (*makoto no kokoro*, まことのこころ).<sup>10</sup>

This does not simply mean, however, that the person of *shinjin* apprehends this true mind in its entirety and thereby becomes true and real. Rather, *shinjin* is the experience in which a person, who is incapable of being anything other than false and deluded, encounters or is brought into contact with truth and reality in the midst of such emptiness and falsity. Taken further, this means that the experiencing of truth and reality becomes identical with the experiencing of falsity and delusion. That is, falsity and delusion and truth and reality are realized as contradictory opposites, which are at the same time mutually identical.

Expressing it in a more concrete way, *shinjin*, as the experiencing of truth and reality, means that one lives in contact with the truth and reality of the Tathāgata, while at the same time relentlessly criticizing and rejecting the falsity and delusion of this secular world. Or, stated conversely, in one’s battle with falsity and delusion in this secular world, one comes to encounter the truth and reality of the Tathāgata all the more.

Taking it another step further, it might be said that *shinjin* is established where one is able to perceive that the structured norms and value systems of this secular world are limited, false, and deluded, and where one is able to reject and “de-absolutize” them. It is upon this basis that *shinjin* is able to deepen and continue to expand all the more.<sup>11</sup> This is the fundamental nature of *shinjin* in Shin Buddhism.



*Traditional Interpretations of Shinjin*

In traditional Shin Buddhist doctrinal studies, however, *shinjin* has been often compromised, and weakened, by secular values. This trend began shortly after Shinran's death.

Kakunyo (1270–1351) stated that, in the everyday life of the Shin Buddhist *nenbutsu* practitioner, one should inwardly maintain *shinjin*, while outwardly upholding the “the five virtues—humanity, justice, civility, wisdom and faith.”<sup>12</sup> These five virtues were the medieval norms of Confucian ethics. Nevertheless, Kakunyo embraced them and taught that such Confucian values, although foreign to Buddhism, were the principles of behavior for the Shin Buddhist follower.

Further, Zonkaku (1290–1373) argued that, since “our empire is the nation of the gods,”<sup>13</sup> the *nenbutsu* practitioner must not forget the benevolence of those gods. He also stated that Amida Buddha is “the guardian Buddha for our country,”<sup>14</sup> in other words, that Amida protects Japan—the nation of the gods. In this way, he fused ideas of *kami* worship with the Shin Buddhist teachings. In addition, Zonkaku advanced the notion that “The Buddha's law and imperial law are a pair of laws,”<sup>15</sup> thereby bringing *shinjin* into a relationship of compromise with the secular authorities and imperial law. Thus, it can be clearly seen how, after the death of Shinran, *shinjin* in Shin Buddhism came to overlap with secular values and non-Buddhist ideologies.

The three tenets of Rennyo (1415–1496) are well known: “*shinjin* is fundamental,” “make worldly law primary,” and “make humanity and justice foremost.” To Rennyo, the latter two were “the regulations established by the founding master.”<sup>16</sup> Or, as he states, “People who comply with the above exemplify the conduct of *nenbutsu* practitioners in whom faith has been awakened and who aspire to (birth in the Pure Land in) the afterlife.”<sup>17</sup>

Rennyo's understanding was that the Shin Buddhist follower should obey worldly laws, as well as Confucian values such as humanity and justice. In other words, for Rennyo the doctrines “make imperial law primary” and “make humanity and justice foremost” represented something more than a merely dualistic union between *shinjin* and worldly laws or Confucian values. Rather, for him, they captured the inner reality of *shinjin* itself, as revealed by Shinran. The person of *shinjin*, inevitably, came to be viewed as one who upholds worldly laws and Confucian values as the first principles in life.<sup>18</sup>

Modern Shin Buddhist doctrinal studies inherited these interpretations of *shinjin* from Kakunyo, Zonkaku, and Rennyo. Its scholars were further influenced by the religious policies that took place under the Tokugawa feudal system. This resulted in even greater rapprochement or compromise between *shinjin* and secular values. Shōkai (1765–1838), for example, wrote that, “All the sutras expound the worldly laws” and “In this latter age, our nation’s ruler spreads the law, in place of the Buddha.”<sup>19</sup> According to this interpretation, Shin Buddhism was seen as totally centered on the secular laws of the imperial system.

These ideas underwent further development by scholars in the modern era, eventually resulting in the so-called “theory of the two truths: ultimate and worldly” (真俗二諦論, *shinzoku nitairon*). The logic of this view was intended to bring Shin Buddhism into accord with the national order based on the newly-re-established emperor system. It also brought about even greater adherence to secular values. This can be seen, in particular, in the so-called “war time doctrine,” which occurred during the Second World War. In that doctrinal development the “theory of ultimate and worldly truths” evolved to a point where it was asserted that one’s entrusting in Amida Buddha was identical to placing one’s allegiance to the emperor.<sup>20</sup>

These instances clearly tell us that *shinjin* in Shin Buddhism became buried in the midst of the secular world. In particular, this notion of the “two truths: ultimate and worldly” continues to survive, still not completely overcome, even today in the post-war period. On that point, I believe that the extent to which this theory of the two truths continues to have influence will be an important key to determining the direction that future Shin Buddhist doctrinal studies will take.

#### A SHIN BUDDHIST RESPONSE TO MODERN-DAY CRITICISM

*Shinjin*, as clarified by Shinran, is established for the first time in the complete, critical rejection of the logic and value system of the secular order. As long as the Shin Buddhist follower lives in the midst of this world, he must live in accordance with the logic and norms of that order. That much should be fully affirmed. However, at the same time, *shinjin* comes to be weakened when one simply follows the logic of that system, without setting one’s sights securely upon the goal of the Shin Buddhist path. As long as one’s own *shinjin* experience is not subjectively established in opposition to the values of the secular order, one

will be held captive by that system. In such a situation, how could one expect true and real *shinjin* to arise or continue?

It is this complete rejection and de-absolutization of the logic and value system of the secular order, which serves as the bases of our everyday human lives, that is in itself important. In other words, one must come to encounter the truth that “the world is false and deluded,”<sup>21</sup> or “all matters without exception are empty and false, totally without truth or sincerity.”<sup>22</sup> Only here can the basis for the genuine realization of true and real *shinjin* be found. Thus, given the fundamental rejection of the secular world's systems of logic and value in Shinran's thought, it is quite natural that conventional systems of ethical norms or principles are not present therein.

It is in that sense that we can accept the suggestions of the three scholars that were introduced at the outset of this chapter. Yet, this should not in any way be deemed as somehow unfortunate, since it does not represent any shortcoming in Shinran's understanding of *shinjin*. On the contrary, because *shinjin* is the experience of true knowing as well as the experiencing of truth and reality, the very absence of ethical norms speaks quite persuasively of the religious purity of Shinran's *shinjin* and of the extent to which it relentlessly continues to confront secular values.

However, we must ask ourselves: To what extent has the nature of *shinjin* been recognized by the traditional doctrinal studies of Jōdo Shinshū or by its sectarian organizations? As we have already seen above, has it not been the case that *shinjin*'s criticism and rejection of secular values have been insufficient during various periods? And at times has there not been an adherence to the worldly ethical systems and political authorities, as well as even a willingness to supplement and support them? Certainly there have been exceptions, but, from a broad perspective, can such statements not be made?

Actually, it is here where we can find the foremost reason that Shin Buddhism traditionally has not been able to construct a logic for affirmative and positive social praxis in the actual world of the present. Living with *shinjin* must involve the complete confrontation with, opposition to, and de-absolutization of the norms and value system of the secular order. As long as this point remains unclear, *shinjin* will be continually weakened and bound up by the secular logic and value system, without anyone even being aware of it. Traditional doctrinal studies and the history of our sectarian organization have repeatedly

given proof of this. Secular values and logic possess that much power; and indeed because of that, continuing to live with true and real *shinjin* is that rigorous. This point must be fundamentally confirmed and deeply borne in mind by anyone who seeks to understand *shinjin* in Shinran's teachings.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SHINRAN'S *SHINJIN*  
IN SOCIO-INTELLECTUAL HISTORY

*Societal Standpoint of Shinjin*

*Shinjin* is established when one firmly and completely rejects and de-absolutizes the logic and value system of the secular order. Inevitably, then, *shinjin* in the thought of Shinran does have significance in regard to socio-intellectual history.

*Masses at the Base of Society*

Let us consider this passage from Shinran's *Notes on "Essentials of Faith Alone"*:

When such shackled foolish beings—the lowly who are hunters and peddlers—thus wholly entrust themselves to the Name embodying great wisdom, the inconceivable Vow of the Buddha of unhindered light, then while burdened as they are with blind passion, they attain the supreme nirvana. “Shackled” describes us, who are bound by all our various blind passions. Blind passions refers to pains which torment the body and afflictions which distress the heart and mind. The hunter is one who slaughters the many kinds of living things; this is the huntsman. The peddler is one who buys and sells things; this is the trader. They are called “low.” Such peddlers, hunters, and others are none other than we, who are like stones and tiles and pebbles.<sup>23</sup>

We can surmise that this passage is a commentary on the phrases “foolish beings in bondage” and “the lowly such as butchers and wine dealers,” which appear in the *Amidakyō gisho* (Commentary on the Amida Sutra) of Yuanzhao of the Sung dynasty (1048–1116) and in the *Amidakyō gisho monjiki* (Note to Yuanzhao Commentary on the Amida Sutra) by his disciple Chieh-tu (1771–?).<sup>24</sup> Shinran also quotes the same two passages in the “Chapter on Shinjin” of *True Teaching, Practice and Realization*, wherein he appends the following notations to the passage from the latter text. The phrase “foolish beings in bondage” is said to mean “for they are utterly possessed of the two kinds of delusional thinking,” while “the lowly such as butchers and wine dealers”

are explained in this way: "Butchers are those who earn their livings by killing. Wine dealers are those who make and sell liquor. Such evil people. . . ." <sup>25</sup>

Shinran's exposition in *Notes on "Essentials of Faith Alone"* generally accords with these commentary passages. However, two points merit attention here. The first is that, in his *Notes*, Shinran says, "Shackled [foolish beings]' describes us, who are bound by all our various blind passions." In other words, the phrase "shackled foolish beings" is expressed from an interior, spiritual point of view. This can also be seen in his explanation of the phrase in the "Chapter on Shinjin." The "two kinds of delusional thinking" set out in his notation there refer to deluded passions (*bonnō*), as well as deluded views and thoughts. In *Notes*, these undergo a further development in Shinran's analysis so that blind passions come to be those passions that torment the body (*bon*) and those that afflict the heart-mind (*nō*).

In contrast, Shinran's phrase "the lowly who are hunters and peddlers" is explained, as we have seen, as referring to those who kill living things for a living and those who engage in trade. In other words, the phrase "hunters and peddlers" is set forth from the perspective of occupational or social status. Further, in his text, Shinran says that "the lowly who are hunters and peddlers" are "none other than we, who are like stones and tiles and pebbles." Clearly, this corresponds to the phrase "such evil people," which Shinran uses to describe persons in these occupations in his notation to Chieh-tu's text. Thus, to the extent that the phrase "such evil people" refers to "the lowly who are hunters and peddlers," I believe that the phrase "evil people" here does not have any religious or ethical connotation. Rather, "evil people" here is a reference to none other than "us"—those people, such as hunters or peddlers, who lived in the lower classes at the base of society and were "like stones and tiles and pebbles."

This tells us that, as he learned of the primal vow of Amida Buddha, Shinran took as his personal standpoint that of the ruled masses found at the base of society. Clearly, we can understand that Shinran did not adopt the viewpoint of the upper class persons of authority or the rulers of worldly society. Rather, he continually placed himself in the position of the masses who stood in opposition to those upper classes and who lived at the base of society—those who were called "evil people," "who are like stones and tiles and pebbles."

*Non-Persons and True Persons*

Further, Shinran's *Notes on Once-Calling and Many-Calling* contains this passage: "These people: 'these' is used in contrast with 'non-.' People of true and real shinjin are called 'these people.' Those who are empty and transitory, full of doubt and vacillation, are 'non-persons.' 'Non-persons' are rejected as not being persons; they are people of falsity. 'These people' are true persons."<sup>26</sup> This is an explanation of the phrase "these people" (*zenin*, 是人), which appears in the passages of the *Kannen bōmon* (Methods of Meditation on Amida Buddha) by Shantao (613–681).<sup>27</sup> "These people" means "true persons"; they are called "persons of true and real shinjin." On the other hand, persons without *shinjin*, that is, those "full of doubt and vacillation," are said to be "non-persons"; they are to be "rejected as not being persons; they are people of falsity."

The phrase "non-person" (*hinin*, 非人) originally appeared in this passage from chapter 1 of the *Myōhōrengekyō* (Sutra of the Lotus of the Wonderful Law): "Devas, dragons, yakṣas, gandharvas, asuras, garuḍas, kimnaras, mahoragas, persons, non-persons."<sup>28</sup> In the *Yakushi nyorai hongankyō* (Sutra of the Primal Vow of Yakushi Tathāgata) there appears this phrase: "It inflicts injury upon the spirits and physical deities for the sake of non-persons."<sup>29</sup> In other words, "non-person" was a label used to describe unseen, non-human deities, such as the eight gods who were said to protect Buddhism, including *devas*, dragons, *yakṣas*, devils and so on. This trend can be further seen in this passage from the *Nihon reii iki*: "Seven non-persons, each with the head of an ox and a human body, were there. They tied ropes to my hair and captured me."<sup>30</sup>

By the medieval era, the phrase "non-person" was used as an appellation for some human beings. With the arrival of the modern age, it became a reference to those people whose social position was very low, beneath those of warriors, farmers, artisans, and tradesmen. However, during medieval times the meaning of the phrase had not yet become so broad or fixed.

According to the *Zoku Nihon koki*, the phrase "non-person" meant "criminal," as we can see in the following passage: "The criminal Tachibana Hayanari was stripped of his original surname. Given the name of a non-person, he was then sent off into exile to the province of Izu."<sup>31</sup> The phrase is used to refer to "homeless ascetics" in the *Ichigon hōdan*: "There should be those equal in standing to the 'non-person'

dharmamaster, for whom academic study was useless.”<sup>32</sup> Finally, the *Guwaku hosshinshū* uses “non-person” in reference to beggars: “By refusing to give anything to non-person beggars when they approach your gate, you will make them reject their evil ways.”<sup>33</sup>

In other words, on different occasions, the phrase “non-person” was used to describe criminals, homeless ascetics, or beggars. It can be seen that Shinran lived at a time in which “non-person” was an appellation for those without social standing, that is, persons who had been removed or isolated from the social order or class structure of the manorial system.<sup>34</sup> In addition, an investigation of evidentiary records concurrent with the era in which Shinran lived reveals the following records: in the second month of Kangen 2 (1244) a person named Ninjō gave rice gruel to over 1,000 non-persons at Imazato (*Kanshingakushōki*); in the third month of Bun-ei 6 (1269) 2,000 non-persons received offerings at Nehanji (*Nakatomi yūkenki*); in Kagen 2 (1204), when Kimihira of Saion-ji sought to give alms to non-persons, a total of 2,027 non-persons were assembled—170 at Rendai-ya, 150 at Agu-in and Hiden-in, 1,000 at Kiyomizu-zaka, 142 at Ōkago, 376 at scattered locales, 180 at the dwellings of non-persons, and at other places (*Kimihira kōki*).<sup>35</sup>

Thus, we can understand that, during Shinran's time, the phrase “non-person” was a disparaging label given to beggars and others who had been removed or isolated from all levels of the social class system upon which the ruling order was based. It would be only natural that Shinran would also have been conscious of this conventional usage of the term. Thus, while he states that “non-persons are rejected as not being persons; they are people of falsity,” we can see that, in that era, the term pointed concretely to beggars and others who lived at the bottom of society. In addition, at that time, the phrase “these people” meant “good persons,” that is, people of noble or high status, who stood at the opposite extreme from these kinds of “non-persons” or “evil persons.”

Yet, despite that conventional understanding of the time, Shinran states that it is the person of *shinjin* who is a “good person,” whereas those who do not entrust themselves to the primal vow, but instead harbor doubt and vacillation, are all “non-persons.” This is a complete reversal of the logic of the secular system and ruling order. In other words, no matter how high and noble one might be in the secular class system, if one does not entrust in the primal vow, that person is called a “non-person” or “evil person.” Conversely, no matter how despised

as a “non-person” or isolated from society the person of *shinjin* might be in the actual social system, he is one of “these people,” that is, a “true person.”

#### *Societal Standpoint and Historical Character of Shinjin*

What we find is that Shinran took a position that critically overturned the logic of the ruling establishment and the secular value system, from a standpoint that placed ultimate significance in the *buddhadharma* and *shinjin*. In this way, *shinjin* in Shinran’s thought is set forth from the standpoint of the masses at the lowest levels of society who stand in opposition to the ruling class—in other words, those who are labeled “the lowly who are hunters and peddlers” or “evil persons”; those unnamed human beings, “who are like stones and tiles and pebbles.”

Further, when “such evil people” as “we” truly entrust in and realize the truth of the primal vow, then, even though we may be despised as “non-persons,” we can truly become “these people”—“true persons.” Conversely, no matter how high and noble a position the person without *shinjin* might occupy, that person is nothing more than a “non-person.” Shinran speaks of the establishment within *shinjin* of a new subjectivity, in which the existing secular value systems and the ruling order are overcome, and describes a world of independence, which comes to open forth through *shinjin*.

Herein lies the fundamental meaning of Shinran’s *shinjin*, which it also can be said has maintained an exceedingly sharp reformative character within the socio-intellectual history. This can be seen in the fact that, in Shinran’s time, the ruling authorities repeatedly suppressed the *nenbutsu* movement. This could also be seen in certain aspects of the uprisings by *nenbutsu* followers (*ikko ikki*, 一向一揆), which occurred from the era of Rennyo to that of Kenryo (1543–1592), even though the reasons for the outbreaks were not entirely based on *shinjin*. Further, in the modern era, Shin Buddhism and Nichiren Buddhism in particular were given warnings during the period of religious control and regulation by the authorities of the Tokugawa shogunate. There were also regions in which a prohibition of the *nenbutsu* took place. Later, many issues were raised, under the national polity of the imperial system, in which inconsistencies with the imperial system were found in the passages of Shinran’s works. Finally, during the Second World War, an effort to delete portions of scriptural passages also took place.<sup>36</sup>



All of these incidents are persuasive witness to the fact that *shinjin* in the teachings of Shinran carries within it a reformative character that fundamentally transcends the ruling governmental establishment. This character of *shinjin* then becomes the starting point for the logic of social praxis in Shinran's thought.

#### SHINJIN AND SOCIAL PRAXIS IN SHINRAN'S THOUGHT

##### *The Mind That Aspires for Buddhahood and the Mind to Save Sentient Beings*

In the "Chapter on Shinjin," Shinran offer this perspective on the meaning of *shinjin*: "That characterized by transcending crosswise is *shinjin*\* that is directed to beings through the power of the Vow. It is the mind that aspires to attain Buddhahood. The mind that aspires to attain Buddhahood is the mind aspiring for great enlightenment of crosswise orientation."<sup>37</sup>

As the "mind that aspires to attain Buddhahood," *shinjin* is equivalent, for Shinran, to the *bodhi* mind (Skt. *bodhicitta*; Jpn. *bodaishin*, 菩提心), which is the mind through which one seeks buddhahood for oneself. Thus, to live in *shinjin* means that one directs oneself throughout one's life to the attainment of buddhahood.

At the same time, Shinran also states the following in the same "Chapter on Shinjin": "The mind that aspires for Buddhahood is the mind to save sentient beings. The mind to save sentient beings is the mind that grasps sentient beings and brings them to birth in the Pure Land of peace. This mind is the mind aspiring for great enlightenment."<sup>38</sup> As stated above, one aims at becoming buddha oneself with "the mind that aspires to attain Buddhahood." Yet here, Shinran states that this is at the same time "the mind to save sentient beings." It is the *bodhi* mind, which seeks to save all sentient beings and bring them to birth in the Pure Land. In other words, attaining buddhahood oneself also holds the meaning of bringing others to the attainment of buddhahood.

*Shinjin* is described in this way by Shinran: "True and real *shinjin* is the diamond-like mind. The diamond-like mind is the mind that aspires for Buddhahood. The mind that aspires for Buddhahood is the mind to save sentient beings."<sup>39</sup> In his *Hymns of the Dharma-Ages*, he also states,

Concerning the aspiration for supreme enlightenment in the Pure Land path,  
We are urged to realize the mind that seeks to attain Buddhahood;  
The mind that seeks to attain Buddhahood

Is itself the mind that seeks to save all sentient beings.<sup>40</sup>

In other words, *shinjin*, which is “the mind that aspires for great enlightenment,” is both the mind “that aspires for Buddhahood” as well as “the mind that saves sentient beings.” In notes written next to the Chinese characters of that hymn, Shinran goes on to say this about “the mind that seeks to attain Buddhahood”: “The mind deeply entrusting oneself to Amida’s compassionate vow and aspiring to become buddha is called ‘aspiration for enlightenment.’” He then notes, in regard to “the mind that seeks to save all sentient beings,” “Know that this is the mind that desires to bring all beings to buddhahood.”<sup>41</sup>

Thus, for Shinran, living in *shinjin* is none other than living with a mind of aspiration—an aspiration for self-benefit (attaining buddhahood oneself), as well as for the benefiting of others (bring all other beings to the attainment of buddhahood). Because *shinjin* is the mind that aspires for great enlightenment, one seeks to attain buddhahood together with all sentient beings.

Shinran also expresses this in a letter: “Shinjin is the mind that is single; the mind that is single is the diamond-like mind; this diamond-like mind is the mind aspiring for great enlightenment.”<sup>42</sup> The *bodhi* mind is the mind that aspires for the attainment of unsurpassed, true enlightenment, in which one becomes buddha oneself and seeks to cause others to become buddha. To say that *shinjin* is the *bodhi* mind, then, means that it is the mind that seeks to realize the great wisdom and compassion of the Buddha, in which the bodhisattva practices of bringing benefit to the self and others are perfectly fulfilled. This is the significance contained within Shinran’s statement that *shinjin* is “the mind that aspires for Buddhahood” and “the mind to save sentient beings.”

That is to say, because *shinjin* is the *bodhi* mind of the Pure Land way, Shinran’s path of “attaining buddhahood through *nenbutsu*” or “attaining buddhahood through *shinjin*” thus becomes the path for the perfect fulfillment of practices of self-benefit and benefiting-of-others. Here Shinran demonstrates his own understanding of the Pure Land teachings, in effect transcending Hōnen’s Pure Land teaching, which had negated the efficacy of the *bodhi* mind. It clearly demonstrates that Shinran’s Buddhist path of *nenbutsu* and *shinjin* found its source in the fundamental principles of Mahāyāna Buddhism and represented a development of the Mahāyāna bodhisattva ideal.

*Birth in the Pure Land*

What does birth in the Pure Land mean in Shinran's thought? Why do we speak of birth in the Pure Land in Shin Buddhism? Clearly in one sense, it is for the sake of one's own emancipation and attainment of buddhahood. That being the case, however, why does one seek emancipation and the attainment of buddhahood? It is most certainly not to seek one's own, solitary peace, happiness, or benefit; nor should it be so. As we have already seen, since the Buddhist path of the *nembutsu* and *shinjin* is a development of the Mahāyāna bodhisattva path, it can be for no other purpose than the perfection of one's own attainment of buddhahood, together with the salvation of all others. Therefore, correctly, in Shin Buddhism, one should aspire for "birth in the Pure Land" in order to save all sentient beings.

This is expressed in chapter 4 of the *Record in Lament of Divergences*:

Concerning compassion, there is a difference between the Path of Sages and the Pure Land Path.

Compassion in the Path of Sages is to pity, commiserate with, and care for beings. It is extremely difficult, however, to accomplish the saving of others just as one wishes.

Compassion in the Pure Land Path should be understood as first attaining Buddhahood quickly through saying the *nembutsu* and, with the mind of great love and great compassion, freely benefiting sentient beings as one wishes.

However much love and pity we may feel in our present lives, it is hard to save others as we wish; hence such compassion remains unfulfilled. Only the saying of the *nembutsu*, then, is the mind of great compassion that is thoroughgoing.

Thus were his words.<sup>43</sup>

Here we can see Shinran's truly unique understanding of compassion. Compassion in the "Path of Sages" refers to one's own compassionate actions in this world. Yet, such actions always have limitations, and one does not have a free hand to do as one desires to save others. However, compassion in the Pure Land Path means first to attain birth in the Pure Land—which is in itself the attainment of buddhahood—and then to perform the activity of directing virtue within the aspect of returning to this world. This alone is thoroughgoing, true compassion. One is able to benefit sentient beings freely, with a heart of great love and compassion.

Shinran's notion of birth in the Pure Land was based upon his deep and honest realization of the limitations of one's performances

of practices to benefit others in this world. That is, the fundamental meaning of birth in the Pure Land lies in that fact that it is for the sake of practicing thoroughgoing compassion and benefiting sentient beings as one desires, with a heart of great love and compassion. This can be well understood by looking at the “Chapter on Realization” of the *True Teaching, Practice and Realization*. Even though the content of the chapter involves the attainment of realization through birth in the Pure Land, a greater portion sets forth the dharmic activity of taking in and saving sentient beings in the aspect of returning to this world.

For Shinran, birth in the Pure Land is solely for the sake of returning from the Pure Land to take in and save sentient beings. One who attains birth in the Pure Land immediately returns to this present world and performs the practices of benefiting others. Accordingly, it is said that not even one person who has attained birth in Amida Buddha’s Pure Land dwells there; the Pure Land is a realm in which no one exists.

#### *Bringing Benefit to Sentient Beings*

On the other hand, living in *shinjin* means that one directs oneself throughout life toward birth in the Pure Land. As a reflection of that, one inevitably comes to live with “the mind to save sentient beings,” as opposed to the “mind that aspires to attain Buddhahood.” That is, one comes to live with “the mind that grasps sentient beings and brings them to birth in the Pure Land of peace” and “the mind which seeks to have all beings become buddha.” Here lies the reason why Shinran includes “the benefit of constantly practicing great compassion” (*jōgyō daihi*, 常行大悲) as one of the “ten benefits in the present life,” which inevitably arise from *shinjin*.<sup>44</sup> In other words, the life of *shinjin* gives birth, as a virtuous benefit, to an action or activity in which one leads others toward the Pure Land.

Of course, in the life of *shinjin*, such activity has its limitations, especially when compared with the compassionate working that takes place after the attainment of buddhahood. Nevertheless, *shinjin* includes within it this kind of activity, which Shinran refers to as “bringing benefit to sentient beings.”<sup>45</sup>

An inquiry into this notion of “bringing benefit to sentient beings” in the writings of Shinran yields sixteen examples, which employ phrases such as, “sentient beings are made to benefit,” “beings are made to benefit,” “all beings are made to benefit,” “benefit sentient

beings,” and “benefits beings.” These sixteen instances can be categorized according to the subject that brings about benefit to beings:

<u>subject that benefits sentient beings</u>	<u>no. of examples</u>
Amida Buddha	three
bodhisattvas of the Pure Land	four
Prince Shōtoku	six
Master Hōnen	one
<i>nenbutsu</i> practitioner	two

Let us now look at the two instances where Shinran uses the phrase “bringing benefit to sentient beings” where the subject is the *nenbutsu* practitioner. The first example is from the *Hymns of the Dharma-Ages*:

Persons who enter Amida's directing of virtue to beings  
And realize the mind that seeks to attain Buddhahood  
Completely abandon their self-power directing of merit,  
Thus benefiting sentient beings boundlessly.<sup>46</sup>

In this passage, Shinran extols the virtue of the person of *shinjin*, who is able to bring benefit to sentient beings. He says that the person who takes refuge in and enters into the primal vow of Amida Buddha and attains *shinjin* (the mind that seeks to attain buddhahood) will inevitably come to perform the boundless and unlimited action of bringing benefit to sentient beings.

The second example is this passage from *Gutoku's Hymns of Lament and Reflection*:

Lacking even small love and small compassion,  
I cannot hope to benefit sentient beings.  
Were it not for the ship of Amida's Vow,  
How could I cross the ocean of painful existence?<sup>47</sup>

Here, Shinran laments the fact that he is a person without even the slightest compassion or love, and that it is extremely difficult for him to even think about bringing benefit to sentient beings. Solely by entrusting in the Tathāgata's primal vow, he states, one is able to transcend birth and death, together with others.

The two hymns appear to contradict one another. However, it must be noted that the latter hymn does not simply negate the actions of the *nenbutsu* practitioner who wishes to bring benefit to sentient beings. Instead, it is a hymn of lamentation and confession, which arose from the fact that although Shinran earnestly aspired and acted to bring benefit to sentient beings, he realized his limitations and failures and

came to reflect deeply upon himself. It could be said that through its negation of even his hope to bring benefit to sentient beings, this passage actually proves just how deeply Shinran aspired and endeavored to accomplish it.

Thus, these two hymns are manifestations of Shinran's lament that the life of the person of *shinjin* inevitably gives birth to an unlimited desire to bring benefit to sentient beings. Yet, despite that, as long as these are the operations of one who is bound by deluded passions, there are necessarily limitations to one's ability to bring benefit to sentient beings; ultimately, it amounts to nothing.

What, then, does the notion of "bringing benefit to sentient beings" mean? The short version of Shinran's *Notes on the Inscriptions on Sacred Scrolls* contains the following passage: "Guiding all living things' (*kemotsu*, 化物) means to bring benefit to sentient beings."<sup>48</sup> In the long version of the same text, we find a similar interpretation: "Living things': sentient beings. 'Guiding' is to bring benefits to all things."<sup>49</sup> These passages refer to the activity of teaching sentient beings so that they may take refuge in the primal vow. Certainly, this activity is most often attributed to Amida Buddha and the bodhisattvas of the Pure Land. In particular, this can be seen in Shinran's hymns praising Prince Shōtoku's activity of establishing the *buddhadharma*.

However, in the *Eshinni shōsoku* (Letters of Eshinni), Shinran's wife informs us that during the period of his propagational efforts in Kantō he read the three Pure Land sutras "for the sake of bringing benefit to sentient beings."<sup>50</sup> Moreover, "bringing benefit to sentient beings" here appears to mean more than simply guiding them to take refuge in the *buddhadharma*. Instead, it is said to refer to acts of conferring worldly benefits in this life. Such activities are said to have included improving the lives of the farming people in the Kantō region who were forced to endure terrible cruelty under the rule of the new samurai government, as well as under their subordinates, the feudal lords, manor lords, and village heads.<sup>51</sup>

I believe that the basic meaning of "bringing benefit to sentient beings" in Shinran's thought is clearly that of teaching and guiding sentient beings so that they may take refuge in the primal vow; it points to, in other words, the promoting and teaching of the *nenbutsu*. However, in a broader sense, it also includes, as an extension to actual life, the conferring of worldly benefits in this present existence.

*Prayers for the World*

In regard to this, we must also take note of a letter, which Shinran wrote to a disciple in Kantō, Shōshin-bō, who had been falsely accused by the Kamakura government as the result of the acts of Zenran, Shinran's eldest son.

Nevertheless, since the prohibition of the nembutsu (in the past) led to the arising of disturbances in society, on this occasion I hope that everyone will, deeply entrusting themselves to the nembutsu and firmly embracing prayers (for peace in the world) in their hearts, together say the nembutsu. . . . Those who feel uncertain of birth should say the nembutsu aspiring first for their own birth. Those who feel that their own birth is completely settled should, mindful of the Buddha's benevolence, hold the nembutsu in their hearts and say it to respond in gratitude to that benevolence, with the wish, "May there be peace in the world, and may the Buddha's teachings spread!"<sup>52</sup>

The words "prayers for the world" (*yo no inori*, 世のいのり) and "May there be peace in the world, and may the Buddha's teachings spread!" are Shinran's expressions of his ideas of "bringing worldly benefits to sentient beings." As we have seen above, here the activity of teaching the *nembutsu* is expanded and extended into actual life. With these words, I believe that Shinran is urging Shōshin-bō to choose his own, subjective act and to practice it in the midst of the actual conditions that surrounded him, based upon such "prayers for the world."

## SUMMARY: SHINJIN AND SOCIAL PRAXIS

*Shinjin* and the direction of social praxis in Shinran's thought can be summarized in the following way.

Shinran rigorously rejected the norms and value systems of the prevailing secular order. He did not consider the ethics and norms of that order to constitute natural principles, despite the fact that they were usually stipulated as such. Instead, all such matters were criticized and completely rejected. In that sense, therefore, one must acknowledge that there are scant features of any form of social praxis in Shinran's approach to *shinjin*.

Yet, in Shinran's thought, social praxis comes to life within *shinjin*, in the very act of relentlessly criticizing and rejecting those secular norms and value systems. In addition, its posture arises from the standpoint of the ruled masses of people who dwell in the lowest classes at the bottom of society.

In Shinran's teachings, *shinjin* constitutes "the mind that seeks to attain Buddhahood," which is in itself "the mind to save sentient beings." It also has the meaning of "the mind bringing benefit to sentient beings" and the mind that is "constantly practicing great compassion," in that it earnestly teaches and guides sentient beings to take refuge in the primal vow. In addition, as it states in the "Chapter on Shinjin," it is the mind that brings all sentient beings to practice the *nenbutsu*: "If these people encourage each other and bring others to say the Name, they are all called 'people who practice great compassion.'"<sup>53</sup>

Further, as the "mind to save sentient beings," *shinjin* becomes established when one lives in aspiration for birth in the Pure Land, with the sincere goal of trying to save all sentient beings. The actual expansion of this into the "mind that desires to bring all beings to buddhahood" takes place in the form of "prayers for the world," the content of which is captured by the phrase, "May there be peace in the world, and may the Buddha's teachings spread!" "Prayers for the world" represent the extension into real life of the activity of "bringing benefit to sentient beings" and "promoting and teaching the *nenbutsu*." More concretely, this refers to a social praxis that one willfully chooses, at the risk of one's own subjectivity in *shinjin*, and undertakes within the midst of the actual surrounding actual historical and societal conditions.

This is the logic of social praxis in Shinran's thought. Even while he rejects and de-absolutizes the system's norms and values, Shinran advances a truly courageous social practice; it is a praxis of determination, choice, and action. He promotes the performance of actions, which are willfully chosen at the risk of one's very self within *shinjin*. He encourages people to adopt a way of life in which "one realizes *shinjin* oneself and then teaches others to realize *shinjin*" (*jishin kyōninshin*, 自信教人信). He advocates a posture of living, which aims at attaining birth in the Pure Land, together with all other beings. He urges each person to shoulder his or her own individual responsibility in the midst of the real and actual conditions, while being grounded in "prayers for the world," which is the development of that way of living within the present reality. As we can see, this is not a dualistic social praxis; it does not simply flow out from *shinjin*, nor is it a sort of "fragrance" that *shinjin* inevitably emits.



## CONCLUSION

The critiques of the three scholars introduced at the outset called into question the absence in Shin Buddhism of anything in the nature of an inevitable return to the secular world after the attainment of *shinjin*. In fact, Shinran speaks of this aspect of returning only with regard to birth in the Pure Land. However, we have seen that the foundation for social praxis in the Shinran's thought is not found in this kind of "return." Rather, it is established where one directs one's life toward birth in the Pure Land.

Nishida Kitarō, whose Pure Land understanding was inherited from Suzuki Daisetsu (D. T. Suzuki),<sup>54</sup> stated that it is the nature of this kind of social praxis "to reflect the Pure Land in this world."<sup>55</sup> This means that one's engagement in social praxis is the actual expression of one's aspiration for birth in the Pure Land, which is itself the perfect realization of practices of self-benefit and benefiting-of-others. Thus, when engaged in such social praxis, one suffers deeply the pain of the three evil courses that appear in this *sahā* world, even as one offers a shadow of the Pure Land to be reflected, even a little, in this actual world.

As we have seen above, social praxis is the extension of the desire of the person living with *shinjin* to "bring benefit to sentient beings." As such, it is an action that is willfully chosen at the risk of one's own subjectivity, in the very midst of the surrounding historical and societal conditions. On the other hand, we have also seen that one's involvement in this social praxis also represents the activity of one's self, filled with blind passions. As such, it will naturally have limitations, giving rise to failure and bringing about deep self-reflection. Through such self-reflection, however, it will inevitably bring about the awakening of *shinjin*, as well as its further deepening and continuation.

The teachings of Shinran clearly point in the direction of a social praxis based in *shinjin*. However, after Shinran's death, the basis for such courageous action came to be suppressed within Shin Buddhist doctrinal studies, as well as by its sectarian institutions. In its place was taught a way of life that adhered to and was bound up within the logic of the existing order. This can be attributed more than anything else to the absence of the kind of complete rejection and de-absolutization of the norms and value systems of the present secular order, which can be seen in Shinran's thought. As a result, a social praxis of choice and action, made at the risk of one's very life in *shinjin* and based in

“prayers for the world,” within the midst of historical and societal conditions, has not been fully established in Shin Buddhism.

Thus, the present-day criticism of the weakness of Shinran’s social praxis does not indicate that there is a problem within his teachings themselves. Rather, I believe that the problem lies in the fact that, after his death, the true intention and logic of Shinran’s teaching were not clearly received or exhibited, but instead came to be covered up.

Those who seek to learn and live within *shinjin* should seriously reflect upon that fact. In addition, we also must sincerely ask ourselves how deeply we consider these “prayers for the world”—“May there be peace in the world, and may the Buddha’s teachings spread!”—within the midst of all of the historical and societal conditions which surround us today. We must ask ourselves how rigorously we choose and perform, at the risk of our very selves, actions that are based upon those prayers. I believe that, as we inquire about *shinjin* and social praxis in Shinran’s thought, the direction of the inquiry becomes reversed, and our own actual way of existence is all the more relentlessly called into question.

#### NOTES

1. This article represents a new translation of the section “Shinran ni okeru shin to shakaiteki jissen (親鸞における信と社会的実践),” in *Shinran ni okeru shin no kenkyū* (親鸞における信の研究) by Takamaro Shigaraki (Kyoto: Nagata bunshodo, 1990). The initial rendering, by the same translator, was entitled “Shinjin and Social Action in Shinran’s Teaching” and appeared in *Shin Buddhism: Monograph Series* (Los Angeles: Pure Land Publications, 1993), 47–79.
2. Tsuda Sōkichi, *Bungaku ni arawaretaru kokumin shisō no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1972–1973), chap. 1, 585–586.
3. Katō Shūichi, *Nihon bungakushi josetsu*, vol. 1 (Kyoto: Kamogawa Shuppan, 2006), 220–221.
4. Hisamatsu Shinichi, “Jōdo Shinshū hihan,” in *Zettai shutaido, Hisamatsu Shinichi chosakushū*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Risōsha, 1970), 376–377.
5. See above, and also Shigaraki Takamaro, *Gendai Shinshū Kyōgaku*, vol. 1 (Kyoto: Nagata bunshodo, 1979), 92.
6. *Hymns of the Dharma-Ages*, in *The Collected Works of Shinran*, 2 vols. (Kyoto: Jōdo Shinshū Hongwanji-ha, 1997), 1:407; *Shōzōmatsu wasan*, in *Shinshū shōgyō zensho*, vol. 2 (Kyoto: Kōkyō Shoin, 1940–), 145.
7. *Hymns of the Pure Land*, in *Collected Works of Shinran*, 1:326; *Jōdo wasan, Shinshū shōgyō zensho*, 2:486.

8. *The Virtues of the Name of Amida Tathagata*, in *Collected Works of Shinran*, 1:656–656; *Mida nyorai myōgōtoku*, *Shinshū shōgyō zensho*, 2:735.
9. *True Teaching, Practice and Realization*, “Chapter on Shinjin,” in *Collected Works of Shinran*, 1:94; *Kyōgyōshōmonrui*, shinkan, *Shinshū shōgyō zensho*, 2:59.
10. *Lamp for the Latter Ages*, in *Collected Works of Shinran*, 1:554; *Mattōshō*, *Shinshū shōgyō zensho*, 2:692.
11. See Shigaraki Takamaro, “Shinran in okeru yuishin no shisō,” in *Shinran ni okeru shin no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Nagata bunshodo, 1990), 25.
12. *Gajashō*, *Shinshū shōgyō zensho*, 3:67.
13. *Rokuyōshō*, *Shinshū shōgyō zensho*, 2:418.
14. *Jimyōshō*, *Shinshū shōgyō zensho*, 3:102.
15. *Hajakenshōjō*, *Shinshū shōgyō zensho*, 3:173.
16. *Gobunshō*, *Shinshū shōgyō zensho*, 3:469; see also Minor Rogers and Ann Rogers, *Rennyō: The Second Founder of Shin Buddhism* (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1991).
17. Rogers and Rogers, *Rennyō*, 186; *Gobunshō*, *Shinshū shōgyō zensho*, 3:441.
18. See Shigaraki Takamaro, “Shinshu ni okeru Shinzoku Nitairon no Kenkyū,” in *Shinran ni okeru shin no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Nagata bunshodo, 1990), 595.
19. *Shōkai*, *Shinzoku nitai jūgomon*, Tōshahan (Kyoto: Ōtani daigaku kokushi kenkyūkai, 1930).
20. See Shigaraki Takamaro, “Shinshu ni okeru Seiten Sakujo Mondai,” in *Kōza Nihon Kindai to Bukkyō*, 6, *Senjika no Bukkyō* (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1977).
21. “The world is false and deluded; the Buddha alone is true and real” (*sekenkoke yuibutsuzeshin*): these are said to have been the deathbed words uttered by Shōtoku Taishi, and referenced in the Tenjukoku Shūchō Mandala, an embroidered silk curtain commissioned by his wife after his death and now stored in the Hōryūji temple in Nara.
22. *A Record in Lament of Divergences*, in *Collected Works of Shinran*, 1:679; *Tannishō*, *Shinshū shōgyō zensho*, 2:792.
23. *Notes on ‘Essentials of Faith Alone,’* in *Collected Works of Shinran*, 1:459; *Yuishinshō Mon’i*, *Shinshū shōgyō zensho*, 2:646–647.
24. Yuanzhao (Ganjō) (1048–1116), *Amidakyō gisho* (Commentary on the Amida Sutra), T. 37-363b11–16; and Chieh-tu (Kaido) (1771–?), *Amidakyō gisho monjiki* (Note to Yuanzhao Commentary on the Amida Sutra), *Manji zoku zōkyō* 1-32-1, 142, right.
25. *True Teaching, Practice and Realization*, “Chapter on Shinjin,” in *Collected Works of Shinran*, 1:109–110; *Kyōgyōshōmonrui*, shinkan, *Shinshū shōgyō zensho*,

2:70. Note, however, that in Chieh-tu's original text it states, "three kinds of delusional thinking." Shinran also quotes Yuanzhao's passage from the *Amidakyō gisho* in a work entitled *Amidakyō shūchū*, which is believed to have been written by him during the Yoshimizu period.

26. *Notes on Once Calling and Many Calling*, in *Collected Works of Shinran*, 1:479; *Ichinen Tanen Mon'i*, *Shinshū shōgyō zensho*, 2:609.

27. *Kannen Bōmon* (Methods of Meditation on Amida Buddha) of Shan-tao (Zendō) (613–681), *Shinshū shōgyō zensho*, 1:628.

28. T. 9, 2b.

29. *Yakushi nyorai hongankyō* (Sutra of the Primal Vow of Yakushi Tathāgata), T. 14, 404b.

30. *Nihon reii iki*, in *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1967), 70:187.

31. *Zoku Nihon koki*, 28th day, 7th month, 9th year of Shōwa (843), in *Shintei zōho kokushi teikei* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1929 & 1964), chap. 3, 141.

32. *Ichigon hōdan*, in *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1957), 3:195.

33. *Guwaku hosshinshū*, in *Nihon shisō taikei* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1971), 15:20.

34. See Kuroda Toshio, *Nihon chūsei no kokka to shūkyō* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1975), 380–382.

35. See Toyoda Takeshi, *Nihon no hokensei shakai* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1983), 97, for official records as to "non-persons" of the time.

36. Shigaraki Takamaro, "Shinshu ni okeru seiten sakujo mondai," in *Koza Nihon Kindai to Bukkyō*, 6, *Senjika no Bukkyō* (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1977).

37. *True Teaching, Practice and Realization*, "Chapter on Shinjin," in *Collected Works of Shinran*, 1:108; *Kyōgyōshōmonrui*, shinkan, *Shinshū shōgyō zensho*, 2:69. Note that in the original the word Shinran uses is *shingyō* 信樂. See *Collected Works of Shinran*, 2:182 for an explanation of the rendering of this term as *shinjin*.

38. *True Teaching, Practice and Realization*, "Chapter on Shinjin," in *Collected Works of Shinran*, 1:113; *Kyōgyōshōmonrui*, shinkan, *Shinshū shōgyō zensho*, 2:72.

39. *Ibid.*

40. *Hymns of the Dharma-Ages*, in *Collected Works of Shinran*, 1:403; *Shōzōmatsu wasan*, *Shinshū shōgyō zensho*, 2:518.

41. See Shinran's manuscript version (*sōkōban*) of the *Shōzōmatsu wasan* in *Shinran zenshū*, *wasanhen* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1982), 404.

42. *Lamp for the Latter Ages*, in *Collected Works of Shinran*, 1:523; *Mattōshō*, *Shinshū shōgyō zensho*, 2:656.
43. *A Record in Lament of Divergences*, in *Collected Works of Shinran*, 1:663; *Tannishō*, *Shinshū shōgyō zensho*, 2:775–776.
44. *A Record in Lament of Divergences*, in *Collected Works of Shinran*, 1:663; *Tannishō*, *Shinshū shōgyō zensho*, 2:775–776.
45. See *True Teaching, Practice and Realization*, “Chapter on Shinjin,” in *Collected Works of Shinran*, 1:112; *Kyōgyōshōmonrui*, shinkan, *Shinshū shōgyō zensho*, 2:72.
46. *Hymns of the Dharma Ages*, in *Collected Works of Shinran*, 1:404; *Shōzōmatsu wasan*, *Shinshū shōgyō zensho*, 2:518.
47. *Gutoku's Hymns of Lament and Reflection*, in *Collected Works of Shinran*, 1:421; *Gutoku hitan jukkai san*, *Shinshū shōgyō zensho*, 2:527.
48. *Notes on the Inscriptions on Sacred Scrolls*, in *Collected Works of Shinran*, 1:491; *Songōshinzō meimon*, *Shinshū shōgyō zensho*, 2:565.
49. *Ibid.*, *Collected Works of Shinran*, 1:511; *Shinshū shōgyō zensho*, 2:594.
50. *Eshinni shōsoku* (Letters of Eshinni), in *Shinran Shōnin zenshū*, shokanhen (Tokyo: Shinran Shōnin zenshū kankōkai, 1958), 195.
51. See Kasahara Kazuo, *Shinran* (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1963), 79.
52. *A Collection of Letters*, in *Collected Works of Shinran*, 1:560; *Shinran Shōnin goshōsokushū*, *Shinshū shōgyō zensho*, 2:697.
53. *True Teaching, Practice and Realization*, “Chapter on Shinjin,” in *Collected Works of Shinran*, 1:119; *Kyōgyōshōmonrui*, shinkan, *Shinshū shōgyō zensho*, 2:77.
54. See Suzuki Daisetsu, “Gokuraku to Shaba,” in *Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1968–1971), 6:74.
55. Nishida Kitarō, “Bashōteki ronri to shūkyōteki sekaikan,” in *Nishida Kitarō zenshū* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1947–1953), 11:464.