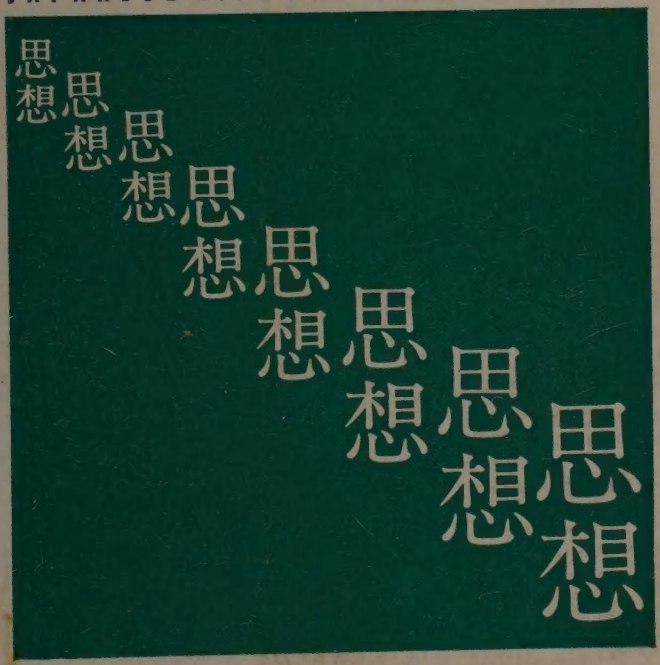
A HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF JAPANESE THOUGHT

Vol. 1

A.D. 592-1868

NAKAMURA Hajime

JAPANESE LIFE AND CULTURE SERIES



KOKUSAI BUNKA SHINKOKAI

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from A.D. 592 to 1868

by

NAKAMURA Hajime, 1912–

Volume I

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Foreword

If America is called a "melting pot" of different culture, Japan may be the one, too, of sundry currents of religions and philosophy. Even in the pre-Nara period, strong influences of Chinese and Indian thoughts are quite evident. In the middle age of the warriors' regime, Zen Buddhism comes across the sea over to Japan. Then by the visit of Jesuits in the 16th century European Catholic impact led to great religious and political discussions and it ended up by the civil war of Kirishitan. Even during the closed door policy of the Tokugawa shogunate, Chinese philosophies were imported and translated into Japanese philosophy. The tendency became more dynamic once the country was open to the Western countries in 1868. It reached to a stage that Dr. Reischauer called Japan with her westernized modern attire as a part of the Far West, instead of Far East.

It may be an interesting question to ask whether there existed or exists any Japanese thought of its own. The question was already raised by such scholars or philologists of the Tokugawa period as KEICHU, KADANO Azumamaro, MOTOORI Norinaga and HIRATA Atsutane who created a school of Kokugaku or National Study which unfortunately came to be one of the guiding principles of nationalistic movement of the late Tokugawa and early Meiji thinkers and politicians.

The author of this book is Professor of Hindu Philosophy and Dean of the Literature Department at the University of Tokyo. He opened a new horizon of comparative study of Asian thought when he wrote his *The Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples: India-Tibet-Japan* (English edition, 1964).

This book is a compilation of the various articles the author has written in different occasions on Japanese thought. There are some repetitious phrases in chapters. But time being limited it was impossible to reedit them entirely. Some revision should be undertaken in later days.

March 1967

Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai

Preface

A number of excellent Western works have already been published on the history of Japanese philosophy. One thinks, for example, of the late TSUCHIDA Kyōson's *Contemporary Thought of Japan and China* (London: Williams and Norgate Ltd.), which appeared about forty years ago, and of Father Gino K. PIOVESANA's *Recent Japanese Philosophical Thought, 1862–1962: A Survey* (Tokyo: Enderle Bookstore), published in 1963. Others might also be mentioned. Of all of them, however, it must be noted that they understand Japanese philosophy to have started with the Meiji Restoration and with the entrance of Western culture into Japan. My point of view, however, is fundamentally different, for I am of the opinion that even prior to the Meiji Restoration there was a long history of philosophy in Japan.

If compared with Greece, India, or China, Japanese philosophy got a late start, but if compared with the various countries of Europe, it was not far behind. The present book is an attempt to trace, in historical perspective, the problems considered in the history of philosophy in Japan.

My particular field of interest is the study of Indian thought, and it is only occasionally, as time permits, that I undertake a study of Japanese Buddhism. But as I am interested in comparative philosophy, and believe that it will become increasingly important in future, I have allowed myself the liberty of writing this brief account of philosophy in pre-modern Japan. Readers of this account will discover, I believe, that Japanese philosophers grappled with the same kinds of problems as did philosophers in the West, in India, and in China, and that the history of Japa-

nese philosophical thought follows much the same course of development as that found elsewhere.

This book was written at the request of the Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai. Due to space limitations and time deadlines, a more detailed description could not be given. I hope to write a fuller account at another time.

The greater part of the book I wrote originally in English. Chapter IV, however, on the "Controversy between Buddhism and Christianity," and Chapter VI, on "Modern Trends—Specific Problems of the Tokugawa Period," were translated by Mr. Abe Yoshiya and Father William Johnston in proportions indicated in the text.

To all these people I want to take this opportunity to express my profound gratitude.

Nakamura Hajime

March 1967

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Editorial Notes

1. Romanization: The Hepburn system with minor modifications has been employed in the romanizations of Japanese words.
2. Personal names: In accordance with the Japanese practice, the family names precede the given names.

CHAPTER I

THE IDEAL OF A UNIVERSAL STATE AND ITS PHILOSOPHICAL BASIS
—Prince Shōtoku and his Successors—

1. The Universal State

Japan became a centralized state under Prince Shōtoku (574–622 A.D.) who, though never elevated to the position of emperor himself, has always been regarded by the Japanese people as a symbol of the state of Japan. His portrait and depictions of famous buildings erected during his regency appear on various postage stamps and on currency issued by the Japanese Government. Even today he lives enshrined in the respect and affection of his countrymen. His spirit can be taken as the basis for the subsequent development of Japanese thought.

Prince Shōtoku was Crown Prince under, and a nephew of, the Empress Suiko (r. 592–628 A.D.), and he held the reins of government as Prince Regent for thirty years (592–622). He is generally regarded as a great statesman of eminent virtues.

The term "universal state" as used in this study refers to a society established by a ruler who believed in the existence and validity of universal laws that should be realized regardless of differences between periods, peoples, and places. States that can be so designated came into existence at certain periods in human history when heretofore mutually hostile tribes belonging to the same cultural sphere renounced their antagonisms and formed a single political and military entity. Following political and military unification, a number of changes took place:

(1) A strong ruler emerged who governed the whole area as a single unit and firmly established his own dynasty.

(2) The need for an integrating ideology, which could not be developed while the tribes were in conflict, began to be felt.
(3) The concepts and ideology, or at least the spiritual basis for such an ideology, were provided by a universal world religion.
(4) The ideology or basic concepts of this religion were expressed to the public in the form of official pronouncements or edicts.

Political and cultural phenomena corresponding to this conception of the "universal state" appeared at given periods in the histories of various countries of antiquity. The Emperor Ashoka or Asoka (3rd century B.C.) of India, Prince Shōtoku of Japan, and King Songtsan Gampo (also transliterated Srong bTSan sGam Po or Srong-tsan-gam-po; 617–651 A.D.),[1] the first Buddhist king of Tibet, are three examples of rulers who created firm foundations for their respective states and cultures. In South Asia monarchs of commensurate historical significance appeared later in history, among them King Anawrâhta (1044–1077) of Burma and King Jayavarman VII (1181–1215) of Cambodia. While not belonging to the same periods chronologically, these rulers can be understood as belonging to essentially similar stages in the development of civilization.

In the case of China it is difficult to discover a ruler whose historical significance corresponds to that of the leaders previously mentioned. Emperor Wu-ti (r. 502–549 A.D.) of the Liang dynasty or Emperor Wen (r. 581–604 A.D.) of the Sui dynasty[2] might be so considered, especially the latter, who united the whole of China after a long civil war and immediately restored Buddhism, which had been suppressed by his predecessors.

In the milieu of the Asian rulers the universal religion that undergirded the universal state was Buddhism. In the West it was Christianity, and the rulers there who may be thought of as counterparts to these Eastern rulers were Constantine the Great (r. 306–337 A.D.) and Charlemagne (r. 800–814). The Eastern and Western situations, however, were quite different. Their difference was engendered both by the divergence between Eastern and Western cultures and modes of thinking and by the varying natures of the societies in which they arose. It is in recognition of this difference that Prince Shōtoku, founder of the universal state in

Japan and promoter of Japanese culture, should be viewed and appraised.

According to generally accepted tradition, Buddhism was introduced into China in 67 A.D. during the reign of the Emperor Ming-ti of the Later Han dynasty. Of Buddhism's two principal forms, the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna, it was the latter that flourished there. In 552 A.D. it was introduced into Japan from Korea when Syŏng-Myŏng, king of Paekche, a kingdom in southwest Korea during the Three Kingdoms period, sent a mission to the emperor of Japan with presents consisting of "an image of Śakyamuni Buddha in gilt bronze, several flags and umbrellas, and a number of sūtras."[3]

The presents and their accompanying message from Paekche engaged the serious attention of the Japanese Court. The Emperor Kimmei (r. 539–571), it was said, was overjoyed, but he thought it prudent to consult his ministers, some of whom argued that Japan should follow the example of other civilized countries by adopting the new religion, while others declared that the native gods might be offended if such respect were shown to "a foreign deity." The two parties quarreled, but the former at length won out.

It was not till the reign of the Empress Suiko (r. 592–628), however, that Buddhism came to the fore in Japan. The outstanding figure during that period was Prince Shōtoku, one of the best and most benevolent of all the rulers of Japan and the real founder of Buddhism in Japan.

In those days the country was convulsed by feuding warlords or hereditary local chieftains, each of whom was a law to himself and held the people under him in fief. Shōtoku suppressed these local warlords and set the stage for their abolition, which was brought about after his death in accordance with the Taika Reforms proclaimed by imperial edict in 646. Hereditarily autochthonous and autonomous local rulers were done away with, and their holdings, including "their people and slaves," were confiscated by the state.

In 604 Prince Shōtoku issued what is usually referred to as the "Seventeen-Article Constitution."[5] This was Japan's first legislation, and it is expressive of the original and creative development of Japanese thought in those days, being based chiefly on the spirit of Buddhism and making

adaptive use of ideas from China and India. It was, so to speak, the Magna Charta of the nation.

Sometimes identified as "The Law in Seventeen Clauses," the Constitution is generally considered to have been written by Prince Shōtoku himself. Some historians dispute Shōtoku's authorship, but the fact that its main ideas represent Shōtoku's own thinking is beyond dispute.

An important characteristic of the Seventeen-Article Constitution is that its principles were expressed more in the form of moral injunctions than of strictly legal stipulations. Containing no explicit legal regulations, it was intended, rather, to state the fundamentals of ethics and religion and to function as a guide and sanction for laws enacted in later years.

Reflecting Shōtoku's political vision of a centralized bureaucratic state, the ideals embodied in the Constitution were brought to more explicit expression in the Taika Reforms of 646. At that time, some forty years after the promulgation of the Constitution and some twenty-four years after the Prince's death, a significant reshaping of Japanese society was begun. Scholars have confirmed the close connection that exists between the spirit of the Constitution and the political regime that was established in accordance with the Taika Reforms and that achieved the unification of Japan.

As between Shōtoku's Constitution, on the one hand, and Songtsan Gampo's Law and Ashoka's edicts, on the other, a significant difference exists. The latter two were intended for the common people. Songtsan Gampo's Law set forth ethical teachings for the general populace, and Ashoka's edicts, though in some cases directed to the elite, were generally meant for the masses. Shōtoku's Constitution, however, prescribed the "Ways of the Public," that is, normative mental and moral attitudes relative to participation in the concerns of the state. It was designed for officialdom. It provided guidance for the conduct of officials of the imperial government, possibly revealing thereby how much such guidance was needed. This difference between Shōtoku's Constitution and the official pronouncements made by Songtsan Gampo and Ashoka suggests that even at the outset of the centralized state, bureaucracy was already

strong in Japan. The supremacy of bureaucrats in the subsequent history of the country may be thought of as foreshadowed in this fact.

Since a centralized or universal state could be created only by subduing and welding together tribes that had been in continuous conflict, it is hardly surprising that the Seventeen-Article Constitution stressed "concord" as the first principle of community and of cooperative organization.[6] Shōtoku advocated "harmony" in human relations beginning with the very first article of his Constitution.

> Concord is to be esteemed above all else; make it your first duty to avoid discord. People are prone to partisanship, for few persons are really enlightened. Hence there are those who do not obey their lords and parents, and they come into conflict with their neighbors. But when those above and those below are harmonious and friendly, there is concord in the discussion of affairs, and things become harmonious with the truth. Then what is there that cannot be accomplished? (Article I)[7]

This theme of harmony or concord (in Japanese, 和 *wa*)[8] is characteristic not only of Article I but of the Constitution as a whole. Some scholars maintain that this conception was adopted from Confucianism inasmuch as the word *wa* appears in the *Analects* of Confucius. As used in the *Analects,* however, *wa* denotes propriety or decorum appropriate to one's status.(Concord was not the subject of discussion. Prince Shōtoku, however, advocated this virtue as the chief principle for the regulation of human behavior.[9] His attitude derived from the Buddhist conception of benevolence, which needs to be distinguished clearly from the Confucian conception of propriety.)

Moreover, Shōtoku proposed a definite way of achieving harmony: the ability to refrain from anger in the discussion of whatever business is at hand can only be realized through a profound consciousness of our relatedness in being "simply ordinary men." Men are apt to be bigotted and partial. Within a community or between communities, conflicts easily occur. Such conflicts should be overcome and concord realized so that a harmonious society may be formed. In every article of the Con-

stitution concord is set forth as the ideal to be striven for: between lord and subject, between superior and inferior, among people in general, and within each individual.

It is to be noted, however, that the goal aimed at is concord and not mere obedience. Shōtoku did not teach that people were simply to follow or obey but that discussion should be carried on in an atmosphere of concord or harmony so that right views would ensue. Earnest discussion was most heartily desired. On the other hand, demeanor or language disruptive of concord was to be eschewed.[10] Shōtoku's conception, namely, that avoidance of acrimony in debate is possible only through self-reflection[11] concerning the fact that all people are related in being quite ordinary men, clearly appears in the following:

> Let us cease from wrath and refrain from angry looks. Nor let us be resentful simply because others oppose us. Every person has a mind of his own; each heart has its own leanings. We may regard as wrong what others hold as right; others may regard as wrong what we hold as right. We are not unquestionably sages, nor are they assuredly fools. Both are simply ordinary men. Who is wise enough to judge which of us is good or bad? For we are all wise and foolish by turns, like a ring that has no end. Therefore, though others may give way to anger, let us on the contrary dread our own faults, and though we may be sure that we are in the right, let us act in harmony with others. (Article X)[12]

Discussed without anger in an atmosphere of harmony, problems were to be solved spontaneously and almost of themselves. Interpersonal and group decisions could be truly effected only where concord prevailed. Where it did not, individual would stand at odds with individual, and group with group, in fruitless confrontation.

Prince Shōtoku saw that his people needed a religion to govern their actions and inspire their leaders to humble self-reflection. Buddhism was the religion chosen, and its Three Treasures—the Buddha, the Law, and the Order—were acknowledged as providing the ultimate ideal of all living beings and the ultimate foundation of human life in all countries. "Sincerely revere the Three Treasures" became the theme of the second

article of the Constitution, and Emperor Shōmu, in later years (r. 724–749), gave to Japanese tradition the well-known expression "servant of the Three Treasures."

The ideas implicit in Article II of the Constitution are quite important. First among them is the idea that few men are thoroughly bad, that they may be taught to follow Buddhism or the Truth that grounds the universe. This is an idea characteristic of Eastern thought that stands in contrast to certain Western notions. The idea of eternal damnation was alien to Buddha.

A second distinguishing idea is that of the universal Law or Truth as "the final refuge of every kind of generated being and the supreme object of faith in all countries." "What man in what age," Shōtoku asked, "can fail to reverence this Law?" In his view the Law was "the norm" of all living beings, the Buddha was in actuality "the Law embodied," and the embodied Law, "being united with Reason," became the *samgha* or Buddhist Order. According to Shōtoku, therefore, everything converged in the one fundamental principle called the "Law."

In 594 Shōtoku's aunt, the reigning Empress Suiko, issued an edict giving imperial support to the promotion of the Three Treasures. Following that edict, ministers of the Court vied with one another in building Buddhist temples. Thus Buddhism took root, grew, and blossomed. A new epoch in the cultural history of Japan had begun.[13]

It seems likely that other Asian rulers who adopted Buddhism did so for much the same reason as did Shōtoku. The idea of Law or *dharma* that the Buddhist emperor Ashoka chose to espouse in India, however, was not confined to Buddhism alone but was thought of as valid for all religions, though transcending the horizons of the religions of his time. While Ashoka gave support and imperial patronage to the Buddhist religion in particular, Buddhism was only one among many religions—including Brahmanism, Jainism, and the heterodox sect of the Ājivikas—that received his protection. Among Asian rulers, including Prince Shōtoku, Ashoka is distinguished by his catholicity.

Nonetheless, the difference between Shōtoku and Ashoka is not so great as it may seem. Shōtoku knew only one philosophical system that

taught universal laws, namely, Buddhism. It was only natural, therefore, that he termed Buddhism "the ultimate ideal of all living beings and the ultimate foundation of human life in all countries." Ashoka, on the other hand, was obliged to recognize the existence of diverse religious claims to universality, for in India in the third century B.C. numerous religious systems were already highly developed, and not a few of them claimed to speak on behalf of universal truth. As between Ashoka and Shōtoku, however, there existed no fundamental difference of principle. Alike, they championed Buddhism, the quintessence of which consists in acknowledging the universal laws taught by all religions and philosophies. Alike, they strove to found a universal state upon what they considered to be the Truth of the universe.

2. Administration of the Universal State

Universal states like those inaugurated by Ashoka, Shōtoku, and Songtsan Gampo were formed in conjunction with the abolition of the hereditary privileges of clan heads and the displacement of political leadership based upon a clan-type social order. Powerful clan rulers were able to preserve political power only upon condition that they become officials of the newly established centralized state.[14]

In the case of Japan, Shōtoku established a form of imperial bureaucratic organization that differed radically from that of earlier periods. This restructured organization, designated the Twelve Court Ranks (*kan'i jūni kai*), went into effect in 603 A.D.[15] Formerly, the higher Court ranks had been filled only by persons of high social status and had been transmitted hereditarily. Under the new regime, Court appointment and promotion depended upon ability. Merit, not distinction of birth, was the new criterion.

Since the officials functioned, as it were, as the pillars of the centralized state, Shōtoku addressed himself directly to them in his Seventeen-Article Constitution. The first requirement of the universal state was the firm establishment of exemplary ethical behavior among its officials. Thus, for example, the spirit of honoring the good and hating the bad was inculcated. Shōtoku taught:

Punish the vicious and reward the virtuous. This is a rule of excellence and antiquity. Do not, therefore, allow the good deeds of any person to remain concealed, nor the bad deeds of any that you see to go uncorrected. Flatterers and deceivers are like a fatal missile for the overthrow of the state, or a sharp sword for the destruction of the people. Likewise, sycophants are fond of expatiating to their superiors on the errors of inferiors; to their inferiors they censure the faults of the superiors. Such men are neither loyal to their lord nor benevolent toward the people. All this is the source from which grave civil disturbances arise. (Article VI)[16]

As for ideas regarding the kinds of punishments to be meted out, Shōtoku advocated the use of reformative or remedial measures in case of light crimes, but severe punishment in case of grave crimes. He put it thus: "Light crimes should be judged in accordance with our power to reform the offender, but those who commit grave crimes should be delivered up for severe punishment."[17] Shōtoku did not shrink from the use of force, but his concern for moral improvement was paramount.

This moral concern is equally evident in the following admonition to prompt and impartial judgements.

In hearing the cases of common people judges should banish avaricious desires and forget their own interests. Deal impartially with the suits brought by the people. Of the cases to be tried, there are a thousand a day. If in one day there are so many, in the course of several years there will be immense numbers of suits to be settled. Nowadays it is alleged that some judges seek their own profit and attend to cases after having taken bribes. This has given rise to the saying: "The lawsuits of the rich are like rocks thrown into water, whereas the lawsuits of the poor are like water thrown upon a rock." Under these circumstances the poor will not know where to betake themselves. Such a state of affairs, if true, signifies a deficiency in the duty of the officials. (Article V)[18]

Shōtoku made the standards held up for officials even more stringent.

Officials, said he, should be men of integrity. A good regime does not necessarily guarantee the security and welfare of the country if the persons in charge of its administration are wicked.

> Each person is responsible for a certain aspect of the business of the Government. Let not the spheres of duty be confused. When wise and capable persons are entrusted with high offices, a unanimous voice of pleased approval will be heard; but when wicked persons hold high offices, disasters and disturbances will be multiplied. In this world there are few who are endowed with innate wisdom; the goal of sainthood is attained only after long self-discipline. All matters of state, whether great or small, will surely be well administered if the right persons are in the right positions; in all periods, whether critical or peaceful, all affairs will be amenably settled if wise men are secured. In this way the state will be lasting, and the realm will be free from danger. Therefore the wise sovereigns of ancient times sought good men for high offices, and not high offices for favored men. (Article VII)

This teaching, set forth over a thousand years ago, is perhaps not unworthy of consideration even in advanced modern societies of the present day.

It is noteworthy that Shōtoku cautioned officials against jealousy, a hindrance to the wholesome development of community and society.[19]

> All officials, high and low, should beware of jealousy. If you are jealous of others, others in turn will be jealous of you, and a vicious circle will be perpetuated. If we find that others excel us in intelligence, we are not pleased; if we find that they surpass us in ability, we become envious. Truly wise persons are seldom seen in this world—possibly one wise man in five centuries, but hardly one sage in ten. Yet unless wise men and sages are secured, how shall the country be well governed? (Article XIV)[20]

Setting forth a number of precepts as guides for the attitudes and behavior of leaders and officials, Shōtoku denounced despotism or arbitrary one-man rule, stressing instead the necessity for discussion with others.

> Decisions concerning important matters should not be made by one person alone. They should be discussed with many others. Small matters are of less importance, and it is unnecessary to consult many persons about them. But in the case of weighty matters, when there is some fear that they might go away, you should arrange things in consultation with many persons, so as to arrive at the right conclusion. (Article XVII)

This idea can be taken as the embryonic beginning of Japanese democratic thought. It has a correlate in Article I, which prescribed that discussion should be carried on in the spirit of concord. The principle thus enunciated was embodied in an imperial edict following the Taika Reforms. This edict stigmatized arbitrary rule by a sovereign—or dictatorship, as we call it today—saying: "Affairs should not be instituted by a single ruler."

Where did this idea of resistance to dictatorship derive from? The ancient way of ruling represented in Japanese mythology is not by the fiat of a monarch or "Lord of All" but by a conference on the shore of a river. If the opinions of the participants had been disregarded, the conference could hardly have been successful. It seems plausible to assume, therefore, that Shōtoku inherited and developed this idea from early Shintō. On the other hand, it is also possible that the rules of the Buddhist Order influenced the thought of the Prince Regent. These rules are set forth in detail in scriptures known to Shōtoku, and they include the rule of majority decision. The fact that consultation with others was not explicitly encouraged by Ashoka or by Songtsan-Gampo is also worthy of note. This idea or spirit of consultation with others was preserved until political power passed from the emperors to the shogunates of feudal Japan. The Japanese emperor system developed as something other than dictatorship.

Despite the stress laid on group involvement in the decision-making process, however, on Shōtoku's view primacy clearly belonged to the

emperor. His attitude, unique when contrasted with that of Ashoka and Songtsan-Gampo, is expressed in the following article:

> When you recieve the commands of the Sovereign, you should hear them with reverence. The lord is like heaven, the subjects like the earth. When the heaven above and the earth below are united in performing their duties faithfully in their respective positions, we see the world ruled in perfect order as in the harmonious rotation of the four seasons. If the earth should attempt to supplant the heaven, all would fall to ruin. Therefore, when the lord speaks, let his subjects listen and obey; when the superior acts, let the inferiors comply. Consequently, when you receive the orders of the Sovereign, be attentive in carrying them out faithfully. If you fail in this, ruin will be the natural consequence. (Article III)[21]

What was emphasized by Shōtoku in this connection was the relation between the lord or emperor, the officials, and the common people in this centralized state. Officials were to rule the common people in compliance with the orders of the emperor.

The basic foundation for the administration of the universal state was propriety or, more broadly, ethical principle. If superiors were ethically wanting, the common people could not be ruled; if the common people were likewise deficient, innumerable crimes and delinquent acts would ensue, no matter how assiduous the superiors. Propriety or ethical principle, accordingly, was to be the basis governing officials' attitudes and behavior in their administration of the state.

The relationship between the emperor, the officials, and the people was patterned after the model of ancient China as formulated by Han Confucianism. This model was, however, planted in Japanese soil, and it appears to have been closely connected with the abolition of clan power intrinsic to the Taika Reforms.

Esteem for the prestige of the emperor is an idea that appears conspicuously in the Constitution.

> Provincial governors and district administrators are not to levy taxes on their respective peoples. In a country there should not be two lords; the people should not have two masters. The Sovereign is the

> sole master of the people of the whole country. The officials appointed to administer local affairs are all his subjects. How can they levy arbitrary taxes on the people in the manner of the Government? (Article XII)

This article may be interpreted as articulating the principle of centralized administration in the territory under the Imperial Court, and as adumbrating the subsequent nation-wide abolition of clan ownership of land and people. The power of regional and local rulers was going to diminish. The saying "In a country there should not be two lords: the people should not have two masters" expresses an idea that is not uniquely but conspicuously Japanese and presages the absolutism that later characterized the Japanese imperial institution.

On a broader canvas, it appears that when the prestige of tribal chieftains is transferred to a state ruler who has adopted a universal religion, there arises a tendency for that ruler to be regarded as a manifestation of a demigod. Thus in the case of Shōtoku there arose a legend, later transmitted to China, that he was a reincarnation of Eshi (in Chinese, Hui-ssu, 515–577), a Zen master and the second patriarch of the Chinese T'ien-t'ai Sect.[22] More popular was the belief that he was an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva, commonly known in Japan as Kannon. This belief was given literary form in a poem written some centuries later by Shinran (1173–1262), founder of the Jōdo Shinshū or True Sect of the Pure Land:

> Bodhisat' Avalokita
> Disclosed himself as Prince Shōtoku.
> He was kind—a father to us—
> And with us walked as a mother too.[23]

In a similar way King Songtsan-Gampo is worshipped in Tibet as one of the incarnations of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva.[24] With regard to India and China, however, parallels can be found neither in the various legends concerning Ashoka nor in the records pertaining to the emperor Wen. As for Western rulers, the emergence of such legends was of course precluded by the teachings of Christianity.

Why is it, then, that among the countries cited, a legend of this kind

took shape in Japan and Tibet alone? It may be surmised that the birth of such a legend in these two countries has connections with the relatively high prestige there attributed to rulers and with the fact that Buddhism first developed there solely in combination with rulership prestige. In Tibet religious prestige and secular prestige went hand in hand, while in Japan the prestige, religious and secular, ascribed to Shōtoku has not faded even to the present day. A more general statement relative to Japan might be that recognition of the fact that a legend of this kind arose is basic to an accurate understanding of Japanese ways of thinking.

3. Cultural and Humanitarian Policies

Asian rulers of universal states, aspiring to realize universal laws through political measures appropriate to their particular situations, were disposed to favor international contacts. In Shōtoku's time relations between Japan and Korea were relatively brisk. Shōtoku sent envoys to Korea and welcomed Koreans to Japan, many settling down and becoming naturalized citizens. Two Korean scholars, Eji and Esō, are presumed to have been Shōtoku's tutors in Buddhism. Relations between Japan and China were also maintained, envoys being exchanged from time to time.[25]

In order to propagate the universal religion they had adopted, these rulers took several steps: (1) they built many temples and monasteries, (2) they allowed applicants to take orders and gave political and economic protection to monks and nuns, (3) they donated lands to temples and monasteries, and (4) they procured scriptures and statues from other lands. Shōtoku engaged in all these activities. Besides establishing numerous monasteries, in 607 he founded Hōryū-ji Temple, now the oldest wooden architecture in use in the world. From about that time, Buddhism, under the aegis of imperial patronage, began to flourish in Japan.

Shōtoku's literary activity was considerable, and he was apparently well acquainted with the Chinese classics. At the request of the Empress, he lectured on three Chinese-language Mahāyāna sūtras and later wrote commentaries on them.[26] Among Japanese classical writings, these commentaries are the oldest works in existence. It is easy to overlook the

significance of the fact that the oldest existing classical writings of Japanese literature happen to be commentaries on Buddhist sūtras developed by the man who was then the actual, though not titular, ruler of Japan. When contrasted with the spread of Christianity in the West, or of Buddhism in South Asia, this development appears to stand without a parallel. That Shōtoku was personally committed to the propagation of Buddhism and that he was highly erudite is doubtless true, and in that respect numerous parallels can be found, but the scene of a ruler giving lectures on the scriptures has no counterpart in, for example, the history of Christianity in the Roman Empire. Though it is clear that Shōtoku considered himself competent to give religious lectures, a self-estimate of this kind would not of itself have led to a similar scene in the West, where sermons or religious lectures were ordinarily delivered only by ordained persons. Even less would such a development have been likely in South Asia, where it was customary for kings to worship monks with every indication of profound respect but for the monks to sit stolidly without the slightest response. An immense number of Buddhist writings were composed in ancient India, but within this corpus no authoritative work by a king has been preserved. In fact relatively few Buddhist books were written by laymen. In Japan, however, not only did the lay ruler Shōtoku wrote books of a technically religious nature, but these books have been preserved and continue to exercise an important influence even today. It is more than likely that the Chinese practice of an emperor's lecturing on Buddhist scriptures was carried over into the Japanese context, but whereas such lectures had little effect in China, the commentaries of Shōtoku, developed from his lectures, have been of decisive significance for Japanese Buddhism. Some scholars contend, as in the case of the Constitution, that Shōtoku's three commentaries are spurious. Yet even if that hypothesis should prove correct, the fact that they were later ascribed to Shōtoku is undeniable. This ascription reflects more than a mere misreading of historical evidence. It suggests and symbolizes the circumstance that those religions which have flourished in Japan have done so only by allying themselves with the prestige of the imperial house.

The desire to realize the teachings of a universal religion in the political sphere led the rulers of universal states to treat people with affection and compassion. Thus Shōtoku expressed his concern for the people in words manifestly informed by Buddhist concepts:

> "As the disease of infatuation among the common people is endless, equally endless are the compassionate measures taken by the bodhisattvas. . . . Common people are less fortunate than others; we teach them to do meritorious deeds [i.e., deeds that accord with Buddhist principles]. . . . Ethical properties are what can save people from poverty and affliction, so Buddhas save existent beings in their various conditions by means of the Four All-Embracing Virtues, the Four Virtues of Infinite Greatness, and the Six Perfections."[27]

His Constitution, as has been observed, laid stress on the welfare of the people: sympathy for commoners in their law suits, antipathy for those who are "neither loyal to their lord nor benevolent toward the people," and in connection with strengthening the authority of the central government, a prohibition upon local administrators' levying taxes on their people. It may be suggested, therefore, that here the common people came to play a significant role in the consciousness of the ruling class. That role should not be exaggerated, but neither should it be ignored. Inasmuch as it continued to exercise influence in subsequent history, it can be thought of as the starting point of a trend with an affinity for the gradual development of democracy.

It is also noteworthy that these Asian rulers who professed a universal religion engaged in humanitarian activities based on a philanthropic spirit. Shōtoku, for example, founded Shitennō-ji Temple in 587 in what is now the city of Ōsaka, and this temple was renowned as a creative enterprise for the relief of suffering. The temple was laid out in four main divisions: *Kyōden-in,* the great central hall or religious sanctuary proper, used for training in Buddhist discipline and in aesthetic and scholarly pursuits; *Hiden-in,* a hall where the poor could obtain relief; *Ryōbyō-in,* a hospital or clinic where the sick could receive treatment without charge;[28] and *Seyaku-in,* a dispensary where medicinal herbs were collected, refined, and distributed free of charge. It is not clear whether he

established an animal hospital there, but judging by the name, the Kyōden-in—which means "Institution based on Respect for Existent Beings"—was aimed at promoting the happiness and welfare of all living beings, human and animal alike. Moreover, according to the *Nihongi*, Shōtoku and other members of the imperial family as well as officials of the Court used to set aside fixed days for the purpose of gathering medicinal herbs,[29] and his Court is known to have shown special consideration to the lonely, the destitute, and the aged. The Prince himself, one legend has it, gave some of his own food and clothing to a starving man he came upon at Kataoka Hill.[30] It seems clear, therefore, that Shōtoku's adoption of Buddhism as the universal foundation for a centralized Japanese state had important consequences not only for the spread of Buddhism in Japan but also for the social and political welfare of the Japanese people.

4. Philosophical Thought

The most extensive exposition of Shōtoku's philosophical thought is to be found in his commentaries on the three sūtras mentioned earlier. We propose, therefore, to consider a cluster of philosophically significant concepts as they come into view in an analysis of these commentaries.

Dialectic

One observation that results from a consideration of Shōtoku's procedure is that in his discussions he makes use of a dialectical mode of reasoning. We find him saying, for example:

> The ultimate law of all things is voidness. Hence they are said to be non-ens. Ens is not really ens. But why then should non-ens be non-ens? Accordingly, non-ens is said to be not non-ens. . . . [The meaning of] ens and non-ens is not definite. Nevertheless both are born of causal relationships.[31]

In this case his reasoning is dialectical in the sense that one view is made to neutralize another in the interest of a more fundamental affirmation.

A somewhat different type of dialectic occurs in this comment upon a statement by Yuima:

> When is one qualified for enlightenment: in a previous life, in a future life, or in the present life? If a previous life be recommended, then it must be remembered that that life has already passed away. Hence no causal basis that would qualify one for enlightenment now exists. If a future life be urged upon us, we must note that that life has not yet arrived. Thus in this case too there exists no causal basis of qualification for enlightenment. And even in the case of the present life, we must bear in mind that this life is momentary and transient. It is not abiding. Therefore even here there is no causal basis that would qualify one [permanently for enlightenment].[32]

The purport of this line of argument is to make clear the point that existent beings already qualify for enlightenment and that there is no necessity for qualifying action on the part of Buddhas or Bodhisattvas. This kind of dialectic, which disposes of inadequate views through a process of *reductio ad absurdum* without explicit enunciation or demonstration of a positive counter-thesis, was also used by Nāgārjuna (Jps. Ryūju; lived c. 150–250 A.D.),[33] one of the most important philosophers of Mahāyāna Buddhism, and has analogies with the dialectic of Zeno.

Theory of Cause and Effect

Shōtoku set forth a unique theory of cause and effect. According to his conception, the relations between cause and effect are of four kinds:

> There are four kinds of cause and effect relationships. The first is *homogeneous*. In this case a cause produces an effect of the same nature as itself. For example, he who first cultivates the practice of uprightness and sincerity does not later do wicked things [but sincere and upright things]. Second, a cause may bring about a result of *heterogeneous* nature. For example, a good action leads to happiness and a bad action to suffering. [Good and bad are moral concepts, whereas happiness and suffering are feelings.] Third, a cause may stand in a *contingent* relation to an effect. Thus, for example, giving food, clothing, etc. to those in need may be a contingent cause in relation to which the practice of religious discipline is an effect. [The former is neither homogeneous nor heterogeneous in relation to the effect but is helpful in

causing the effect.] Fourth, cause and effect may be thought of as *similar*. In this case one of a number of heterogeneous causes is singled out [as the main cause]. For example, non-killing may result in a long life.[34]

This conception of cause and effect relationships is quite different from those traditionally set forth in the long history of Buddhist philosophy in Asian countries.[35] How much more it differs from that propounded by Aristotle!

The Absolute

As is generally expounded in Mahāyāna Buddhism, Prince Shōtoku envisages the absolute to be Voidness (*sūnyatā*); and following the thought of the Yuima Sūtra, he called it 'non-duality,' owing to the fact that Voidness is neither being nor non-being.

"The insight of the Bodhisattva penetrates into being, but he never loses sight of Voidness; abiding in Voidness, he accomplishes all works. (For him) Voidness means being, and being means Voidness. He does not stay one-sidedly in either being or non-being, but synthesizes both in non-duality (*advayatā*)."[36]

It is the source from which the penetrating knowledge appears.

"The object of penetrating knowledge (*jneya*) means, rendered into Chinese, the Mother of Wisdom, which has as its object the ultimate truth (*paramārtha-satya*). Voidness is the source from which wisdom originates; therefore, it is called Mother. Since Voidness is unmade, wisdom originating therefrom is unfettered. . . . (The same wisdom) embraces all objects; in illuminating all the varieties of existences it embraces all the objects."[37]

Prince Shōtoku inherited the idea of the eternal Buddha from the Lotus Sūtra. The Lotus Sūtra of Mahāyāna gives a popular belief that Buddha was born in Kapilavastu, attained enlightenment, taught the law and died in Kusinagara. However, this physical narration with Buddha's birth, life, teaching and death are simply a quasi-fiction which was invented for proselytizing his teaching. The essence or real body of his teaching is the eternal being. The Mahāyāna substitutes for the historical

Buddha the eternal Buddha. According to the doctrine, Buddha's existence in the earthly form is not his true and proper mode of being. In the Lotus Sūtra[38] Buddha gives a series of passages on this subject:

"In an inconceivable and immeasurable distance in Aeons, I reached superior enlightenment and never ceased to teach the law."

"I show the place of extinction. I reveal to all beings a means of enlightenment, albeit I do not become extinct by that time. In this place I continue preaching the law."

"There I rule myself as well as all beings. But men of perverted minds, in their delusion, do not see me standing thereby."

"Believing in the complete extinction of my body, they pray in different manners to the relics, but me they see not."

"Then I was not completely extinct. It was but a device of mine; repeatedly am I born in the world of the living."

"Such is the glorious power of my wisdom that knows no limit, and the duration of my life is as long as an endless period."

Here we find an Eastern version of Docetism. These verses were regarded by the Nichiren sect of Japan as representing the supreme and essential teaching of Buddhism. But unlike Christian Docetism and Gnostics, the eternal Buddha in Mahāyāna becomes incarnate repeatedly to save suffering people.

In China and Japan the problem of whether God is the maker of heaven and earth was not discussed very seriously. This line of thinking was also accepted by Prince Shōtoku who, however, tried to change the traditional idea of the Essential Body (*dharmakāya*) of Buddha.

In the philosophy of the Mahāyāna Buddhism the noumenal body was regarded as ineffable, being located beyond the phenomenal sphere. But Prince Shōtoku considered it to be in the phenomenal sphere.

"When the essence of Buddha is concealed, it is called the Perfect-One-Store (*tathāgata-garbha*). When it is manifested, it is called the noumenal body (*dharmakāya*). Being concealed and being manifested are different in fact, but in their true unity, they are not different in essence."[39]

The absolute should not be sought for in the transcendental sphere.

"The eternal body of noumenon is called the Treasure of Buddha. As this body manifests norms for living beings, it is to be the Treasure of Norms (*dharma*). Also, this noumenal body being in harmonious relation to principles of actions, it is to be the Treasure of Brotherhood."[40] In Indian and Chinese Buddhism, it is often said that the essential body of Buddha transcends the distinction of the good and bad. But here the good alone is ascribed to the essential body.

"The noumenal body of Buddha has all sorts of the good as its potentials for realizing it."[41]

"The realm of Buddha is equipped with all kinds of virtues."[42]

"The noumenal body is the essence of all virtues."[43] Buddhas are always on the side of the good.

"If Buddhas protect us always in the past, in the future and in the present, doing good is not interrupted."[44]

The basis of human existence is called "perfect-one-store" (*tathāgata-garbha*). Following the traditional philosophy of the voidness of Mahāyāna, the Shōman Sūtra defines it as "without origination and destruction." For Prince Shōtoku "without origination" and "without destruction" signified "continuous existence of human soul in this world.[45] From this total negation of origination or creation and destruction or perishing emerges the idea of perfect-one-storeness. It is a store of all changing phenomena which are in reality contained in the store of the Perfect One or Buddha. The transmigrating soul continues to exist without perishing, embraced in the store of this Perfect One, which is the basis of human existence not only after man has been delivered from defilements, but also even while man is still in defilements.[46]

Prince Shōtoku distinguishes *hon* (source, origin) from *shaku* (appearance, manifestation). Only that which has its source *principium* (beginning) can manifest itself in appearance; and that which does not manifest itself in appearance cannot give evidence of its source.[47]

Nirvāna lies not in calm and secluded domain, but in actual life of practice. "The accomplished Nirvāna implies an immeasurable selflessness and activity.[48] In traditional Buddhist philosophy the accomplished Nirvāna (nirupadhi-śeṣa-nirvāṇa) is considered to be complete extinction

of the self, but Prince Shōtoku tries to find it in the process of religious practice. In other words, the ideal status of human being is in the realization of the unity with ultimate truth in daily life. Shōtoku emphasizes the unity of today,[49] i.e. the unity in temporal existence. Truth is exemplified in living persons who conceives the ideal of Yuima or Shōman.

"Yuima was a great sage who had reached the height of perfect Enlightenment. Fundamentally speaking, his person is identified with Ultimate Truth (*tathatā*). But in appearance, his being is identified with all different existences. He exceeded in virtues among the sages. He went beyond the boundaries of human attachment. . . . His mind was not trammeled by affairs of state and family; yet being moved by unintermittent compassion, he worked for the benefit of others. He showed himself living the life of a householder in the town of Vaisālī."[50] [51]

This-Worldliness

The phenomenalistic way of thinking that asserts reality itself is emergent and in flux has been traditionally conspicuous among the Japanese. This emergent and fluid way of thinking is compatible with the inclination of thinking that emphasizes particular human nexuses, which is another way of thinking traditionally conspicuous among the Japanese. These two factors are combined to bring about emphasis upon activities within a concrete human nexus.

It is a well-known fact that primitive Shintoism was closely tied up with agricultural rituals in agrarian villages, and that Shintoist gods have been symbolized, even up to these days, as gods of production.

Coming into contact with foreign cultures and getting acquainted with Chinese religions, the Japanese adopted and absorbed Confucianism in particular, which teaches the way of conduct within a concrete human nexus. The thoughts of LOA-TZU and CHUAN-TZU are inclined to a life of seclusion in which one escapes from particular human nexuses and seeks tranquility in solitude for oneself. Such was not to the taste of the Japanese at large. In contrast, Confucianism is essentially a doctrine whose this-worldliness makes it sometimes hard to call a religion. In principally determines rules of conduct according to a system of human relation-

ships. In this respect, Confucianism did not conflict with the existing Japanese thought patterns at the time of its introduction.

In the case of Buddhism, however, there arose some problems. Buddhism declared itself to be a teaching of the other-worldliness. According to the Buddhist philosophy, the positive state of "the other-worldliness" is arrived at after one has trascended "this world." The central figures in Buddhist orders have all been monks and nuns who have freed themselves not only from their families but from any specific human nexus. They were not allowed to be involved in any economic activities. It is likely that in those days there existed some social reasons that necessiated a great many people becoming monks.

The topographical characteristics of Japan, vastly different from India, required men to serve their fellows within a specific human nexus. The doctrine of early Buddhism together with traditional conservative Buddhism which inherited the former teachings were despised and rejected under the name of Hīnayāna, and Mahāyāna Buddhism was particularly favored and adopted. Mahāyāna Buddhism was a popular religion that came to the fore in the Christian Era, and some schools of Mahāyāna Buddhism, if not all, advocated the comprehending of absolute truth *within secular life*. In accepting Buddhism, the Japanese selected in particular the branch of that nature. And even in accepting doctrines originally devoid of such a nature, they deliberately bestowed it upon them. The stereotyped phrase, "Japan is the country where Mahāyāna Buddhism is in practice,"[52] can be understood solely in reference to those basic facts.

The attitude of accepting Buddhism is clearly shown in the case of Prince Shōtoku. His "Commentaries upon Three Sūtras" are those upon "the Shōman Sūtra," "the Yuima Sūtra" and "the Hokke Sūtra." The selection of these three Sūtra out of a multitude was entirely based upon the Japanese way of thinking. "The Shōman Sūtra" (=*Srīmālādevīsimhānada-sūtra*) was preached, in compliance to Buddha's command, by Madame Shōman (Srīmālā "Glorious Garland"), who was queen and a lay believer. The "Yuima Sūtra" (*Vimalakīrtinrdeśa-sūtra*) has a dramatic composition, in which Yuima (=Vimalakīriti, "Spotless Fame"), a lay

believer, gives a sermon to *priests and ascetics,* reversing the usual order. This commends the grasping of truth in secular life. And according to the "Hokke Sūtra" (=*Saddharmapuṇḍarika-sūtra,* "Lotus Sūtra"), all laymen who faithfully follow any of the teachings of Buddha are expected to be redeemed. The Crown Prince himself all through his life remained a lay believer. It is said that he called himself "Shōman, the Child of a Buddha."[53] The intention of Prince Shōtoku was to emphasize the necessity for realizing Buddhist ideals within concrete human situations.[54]

All through the "Commentaries" Shōtoku seeks absolute significance within each practical act of every-day life. He asserts: "Reality is no more than today's occurance of cause and effect."[55] Such interpetation has something in common with the doctrine of the T'ien-ta'i and Fa-hien sects, but the particular expression "today's" makes it distinctly Japanese. Since it attaches great importance to action, for those who have gone through Buddhist reflection, this world of impurities and sufferings in itself turns out to be a place of blessings. "Since I wish to enlighten mankind, I regard life and death as a garden."[56] In his view nirvāna has already been attained. "If one understands that defilements are essentially void and that there is nothing to be discarded, then one attains nirvāna by himself. If you think that after having discarded defilements one can get into nirvāna, then there is caused a judgment with attachment. How can you call the situation nirvāna?"[57]

Many Buddhist teachers taught that the human body is foul and disgusting. Such an attitude was wrong according to Shōtoku. "One should teach that the body decays easily, but not that one should be disgusted with it!" Buddhist teachers of Asian countries taught that a person should despise his own body and spend his life as a homeless recluse. Prince Shōtoku taught to the contrary.[58] Prince Shōtoku criticized the otherworldly practice of Concervative Buddhists. "Hīnayāna ascetics, hating the distractive world, escape into mountains and forests to practice careful disciplining of mind and body. . . . If one still thinks that various objects exist, and cannot give up the assumption, how can he rid his mind of such distractions, even if he stays in mountains and forests?"[59]

Moral Values

Prince Shōtoku esteemed actions and deeds in practice, about the name Queen Glorious Garland (Shōman, Śrīmālā) he said: "In the world one adorns one's own physical body with seven jewels, but she adorns her Essential Body with various deeds."[60] In traditional Mahāyāna philosophy the Essential Body (*dharmakāya*) was considered to be formless and ineffable. Shōtoku, however, contrary to the tradition on the continent of Asia, located it in practical actions in the phenomenal world. Attracted strongly by this ideal, the Prince identified himself with the virtuous queen, sometimes calling himself "Glorious Garland, Buddha's Child."[61] The title Shōtoku, which means "Holy-Virtuous," is also mentioned in his Commentary on the Shōman. This title applied to the Prince is often thought to be posthumous; but more probably, his contemporaries called him by it.

It is the accumulation of good deeds practiced in the worlds of life and death that eventually admit a person into Buddhahood. "Uncountable ten thousands of good deeds equally lead up to becoming a Buddha."[62] It is significant that the ultimate state of religion is not bestowed upon men by divine entities that transcend them, but is realized through practical behavior within the human nexus. "Becoming a Buddha originates in ten thousand good deeds."[63]

According to Prince Shōtoku, all moral values depend upon the mind of man. "Mind is the origin of all virtues. As mind is pure now, how can it be that all virtues originated in it are impure?"[64] Virtue, it seems, was equated by Shōtoku with the good; and "the appearance of good and bad depends on one's self, not on others."[65] Said the Prince, esteeming righteousness, also: "Right mind is the beginning of all deeds."[66]

Shōtoku valued the significance of individuals highly, and in his commentaries made trust in persons preliminary to the teaching of precepts.[67] Not only should ordinary people be respected,[68] he said, but any virtuous person should be regarded as "one's own child."[69]

In the Shōman Sūtra upon which Shōtoku wrote a commentary, Queen Shōman vows to devote her life to the cause of perfecting all living beings, her allegience being represented in the Ten Commitments[70]

and the Three Great Vows[71] which are moral and altruistic in character. It is likely that the Prince regarded compassion or love in the genuine sense of the word as the basic human value.[72] But compassion must transcend earthly relations. "Compassion should be without attachment. If there should be attachment, teaching would be defiled; some would become disgusted with the mundane world, and some would encounter hindrances to guiding living beings."[73]

Charity to the poor was commended. "The Buddhas are those who should be most respected. Beggars are those who should be most loved."[74]

Esteem of Activity

Mahāyāna Buddhism stressed altruistic deeds. Prince Shōtoku put special emphasis upon them and considered that Buddhas and Bodhisattvas *should* serve all living beings. That is the Reason he occasionally distorted phrases in the Buddhist scriptures.[75] The advice "to sit always in religious meditation" given in the Lotus Sūtra, for example, was revised by Shōtoku. "Do not approach a person who always sits in religious meditation,"[76] he wrote, meaning that unbroken sitting in meditation prevents a man from doing good deeds.

Buddhist morals were also metamorphosed. The Indians considered alms-giving, a virtue of principal importance for Buddhists, as something to be strictly observed. Men who in order to devote themselves generously to serving other beings, either human or animal,[77] abandoned their country, their caste, their right and children, even their own bodies, were extolled in most Buddhist scriptures. Such a life of renouncing everything and possessing nothing was the ideal of Indian ascetics. It was not, however, suitable for the more pragmatic Japanese; and Prince Shōtoku, accordingly, restricted the meaning of "alms-giving" to "the abandonment of properties other than one's own body."[78]

Shōtoku permitted the acquisition of wealth—"Pure life means to obtain riches in accordance with the law."[79] And in his writings traces even of utilitarianism can be noticed. Benefit[80] was considered to be a cause of nirvāna.[81] The Prince went so far as to alter the meanings of several sentences in Buddhist scripture to make them reflect his own

utilitarian *penchants*. In the *Spotless Fame Sūtra,* for example, is the sentence: "In the threefold way the Wheel of the Teaching was set forth." For all the Buddhist world, "the threefold way" traditionally meant that each of the Four Noble Truths should be (1) revealed, (2) practiced, and (3) evidenced personally.[82] Shōtoku, however, explained it as meaning "first, to indicate; second, to teach; third, to *benefit.*" For him, the final good of the teaching of the Four Noble Truths was utilitarian. But although his interpretation bordered on being pragmatic, the "benefit" he remarked was not necessarily to be realized materially.[83] It could be garnered in social activity, a concept that has helped mould the character of Japanese thought since Shōtoku's time and contributed significantly to Japan's emergence as a modern nation so much sooner in history than any of her Asian neighbors.

In respect with this, we should keep in mind that the Japanese put emphasis upon social activities. It is one of the features of the Japanese ways of thinking and it can be traced back even to the thought of Prince Shōtoku.

"We shall discuss the problem of the country. Due to the effects of their moral qualities (*karman*), there are different marks of purity or stain in every country in accordance with the respective characters, good or bad, of the living beings constituting their citizenry. Thus, an ordinary being is affiliated with his own realm or country according to his *karma.* But a perfect sage is in full communion with Ultimate Truth (*tathatā*) in his enlightenment, and is permanently beyond the differentiation of names or marks, having nothing to do with this or that, give or take. His personality is identified with the Great Void (transcendence), and his mind pervades the whole universe; then how should he limit his marks? How should he assign to himself a specific realm? Yet perpetually moved by all-embracing compassion, he edifies every living being each according to its capacities, and works in every realm where there are living beings. Therefore the text says: The Buddha-realm (or -country) sustained by a Buddha-to-be is constituted by the kinds of living beings (to be edified).[84]

Applied to actual politics, this means that the ideal ruler who is the

embodiment of the virtues of the Bodhisattva (Buddha-to-be) should be beyond all the differences of dispositions and interests of the people and yet care for them all, not for the sake of their individual interests but for their ultimate welfare in brotherly fellowship and spiritual communion. The ruler leads the people by his ideal aims and the people follow him in full realization that his high aims are derived from the Ultimate Truth. Spiritual values can be realized in the state only through the apprehension of the highest cause.

Tolerance

Tolerance was a feature of the thought of Prince Shōtoku. He did not forbid and oppress Shintoism, the native faith of our race. This primitive religion was placed in its proper sphere of action and alive under the leadership of Buddhism. And this fact is due to the fundamental characteristic of Buddhism. Taking into consideration such an attitude we shall be able to understand why such an edict was proclaimed in the reign of Prince Shōtoku (607 A.D.) as follows: "In my reign, why shall we be negligent of practising the worship of Shintoist gods. All my officials should worship them sincerely."

The rational basis for such a spirit of tolerance and conciliation is to be sought in the tendency, conspicuous among the Japanese, to recognize absolute significance in everything phenomenal. It leads to the acceptance of the *raison d'etre* of any view held by men, and ends up with the adjustment to any view with a spirit of tolerance and conciliation.

Thus it may safely be said that the spirit of Prince Shōtoku was very tolerant and broad-minded.[85]

In general, there has been a conspicuous tendency of such a spirit of tolerance and conciliation in Japan. It will also be due to the way of thinking to recognize the absolute significance in everything phenomenal.

Such a way of thinking appeared from the earliest days of introduction of Buddhism into Japan. According to Prince Shōtoku, the Lotus Sūtra, supposed to express the ultimate purport of Buddhism, preaches the doctrine of the One Great Vehicle and advocates the theory that "any one of thousands of the good leads to the attainment of Enlighten-

ment."[86] According to the Prince, there is no innate difference between the saint and the most stupid.[87] Everyone of them is primarily and equally a child of the Buddha. Prince Shōtoku regarded the secular moral teaching as the elementary gates to enter Buddhism.

He said, "Even heretics are your teachers."[88] Pagans and Heretics were tolerated.[89] In the eyes of Prince Shōtoku there was no heretic.

He uses expressions of "heretical doctrines" and "pagan religions," but those expressions are borrowed rather from the traditional Indian terminology. He does not mean by them the doctrines of Lao-tzu and Chuang-tzu or Confucianism. His interpretation of Buddhism is characterized by its all-inclusive nature. Only through taking into consideration such a philosophical background, one is able to understand the moral idea of the Prince when he says, "Harmony is to be honored."[90] It was surely this spirit that made possible the emergence of Japan as a unified cultural state.

Prince Shōtoku's philosophical standpoint is represented by expressions like "The One Great Vehicle" or "The Pure One Great Vehicle," which are supposed to have originated from the Lotus Sūtra.

When we compare this fact with that in the West, we find a fundamental difference. Christianity gradually came to the fore in spite of various persecutions. Finally freedom of faith was assured by Emperor Constantin in the edict of Milan in the year 313, and Christianity obtained the position of the state religion on the occasion of the unification of the state by Emperor Theodosius in the year 394. Emperor Justinian of the Eastern Roman Empire forbad, in the year 529, to worship heathen gods except the Christian God. Heathen gods were not tolerated.

And we find that there has been in those facts the progress of coming into existence of the difference between the way of thinking of Eastern peoples to view any different idea or religion with a spirit of tolerance and the Western way of thinking to forbid or oppress any other religion one by one.

Pacifism

There has been made a criticism against Prince Shōtoku by a scholar

that his compassionate attitude was not a thoroughgoing one, for he wages a war on big clans after his conversion and he showed no repentance for his youthful faults in his advanced age. This comment may get to the point to some extent. This might be regarded as a criticism against Japanese Buddhism in general.

But a monarch who was "All-Compassion" is nothing but an outcome of phantasy which has no instance in actual life. A king, in so far as he is a king, wields power, resorts to force. Even the most compassionate Ashoka or Wen-ti was not an exception. Historians explain that the conversion of Constantine took place in order to take the command of his soldiers converted to Christianity. To have power involves necessarily bad.

But there was one distinction that many monarchs in the world had no consciousness of sin, showed no self-reflection, whereas the monarchs who professed the universal religions anew had some consciousness of sin, and showed self-reflection, or awe of the bad. This is something valuable. With this a new page in the history of mankind was opened.

The thought of pasifism or non-resistence is found in the attitude of YAMASHIRO-NO Oine, the son of Prince Shōtoku. He was attacked by the army of SOGA-NO Iruka. He fled with his people, and tarried on a mountain. His chief subordinate advised him to flee towards the Eastern provinces, and, having raised troops, to come back and fight. The prince answered:—"If we did as you say, we should certainly succeed. In my heart, however, I desire for ten years not to impose a burden on the people. For the sake of one person only, why should I distress the ten thousand subjects? Moreover, I do not wish it to be said by after generations that for my sake anyone has mourned the loss of a father or mother. Is it only when one has conquered in battle that he is called a hero? Is he not also a hero who has made firm his country at the expense of his own life?" The prince sent his chief subordinate to the commanders of the enemy with his message, saying:—"If I had raised an army, and attacked Iruka, I should certainly have conquered. But for the sake of one person, I was unwilling to destroy the people. Therefore I deliver up myself to Iruka." Finally he and the younger members of his family, with his con-

sorts, strangled themselves at the same time, and died together.[91]

In one of the pictures on the four sides of the basis of the Small Shrine "Tamamushi-no-zushi" preserved up to the present at the Hōryūji Temple, there is represented the scene of a saint who is giving his body to feed a hungry tigress. It is likely that the ideal of this story was exemplified in the legend of Prince YAMASHIRO-NO Oine.

Notes

1 The date suggested for King Songtsan Gampo is based on evidence presented in my work *Shoki no Vedanta Tetsugaku* ["Early Vedanta Philosophy"] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1950), pp. 105 ff. Dr. ROERICH places him at c. 650 A.D. Cf. George N. ROERICH, *The Blue Annals*, Part I (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1949), pp. iii, 49.

2 "The Sui founder presented himself to the populace as a universal monarch, a pious believer and a munificent patron of the church (mahādānapati). Early in his reign he proclaimed the religious ideology for the military campaigns on which he was about to embark:

"With the armed might of a Cakravartin king, we spread the ideals of the ultimately enlightened one. With a hundred victories in a hundred battles, we promote the practice of the ten Buddhist virtues. Therefore we regard the weapons of war as having become like the offerings of incense and flowers presented to Buddha, and the fields of this world as becoming forever identical with the Buddha-land." Arthur F. WRIGHT, *Buddhism in Chinese History* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1959).

3 *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to* A.D. *697*, transl. by W. G. ASTON (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1896), Part Two, p. 65 (adapted).

4 Charles ELIOT, *Japanese Buddhism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1935), p. 204.

5 Songtsan Gampo proclaimed his "Sixteen-Article Law" at nearly the same time Shōtoku issued his Seventeen-Article Constitution, and even earlier, the emperor Ashoka published many Rock Edicts and Pillar Edicts proclaiming an indeterminate number of precepts. The characteristic common to all three sets of injunctions is that they are presented in the form of moral precepts and that they differ in substance from positive laws.

The Tibetans were especially conscious of this point. According to them, the Sixteen-Article Law was a human law (*mi-chos*) and as such different from the law of the gods (*Iha-chos*). Cf. MIBU Taishun, "Buddhist Thought in Tibetan Law," *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*, Vol. V, No. 2, pp. 414–418. The former was an ethical law, whereas the latter was a religious. An itemized list of the contents of the Sixteen-Article Law is given in the *Matriculation Course of Classical Tibetan* by bLama Mingyur rDo-rJe and E. Denison ROSS (Calcutta, 1911), p. 7. The ethical and the religious laws, taken together, constituted the System of Laws (*chos-lugs*). Ashoka comprehended both under the single term "Just Law" (*dharma*).

On the basis of such fundamental laws, positive laws were formulated. The Tibetans called them "Laws of Ruling" (*rgyal-khrims*). Songtsan Gampo is said "to have instituted

laws to punish murder, theft and adultery" (ROERICH, *The Blue Annals*, I, 20 b5). Such laws correspond to the positive laws and ordinances instituted in Japan beginning with the Taika Reforms.

The laws in effect in India during the early Maurya period just before the time of Ashoka appear to have been incorporated into the *Artha Śāstra* ["Treatise on Material Gain"] of Kautilya. Due to later interpolations in the work, however, it is very difficult to identify which laws were actually formulated in the early Maurya period.

6 The first article of the Sixteen-Article Law, as it was set forth in the *Chronicle of Tibet*, indirectly advocated concord by saying: "Whosoever quarrels is punished severely." Ashoka likewise stressed the spirit of concord (*samavāya*).

7 A slightly different version reads:

> Harmony is to be valued, and an avoidance of wanton opposition to be honoured. All men are influenced by class-feelings, and there are few who are intelligent. Hence there are some who disobey their lords and fathers, or who maintain feuds with neighbouring villages. But when those above and those below are harmonious and friendly, things spontaneously and of themselves harmonize into truth. Then what is there which cannot be accomplished!

Adapted from the *Nihongi*, Part Two, p. 129.

8 *Analects*, I, 12: "In practising the rules of propriety, a natural ease is to be prized." Here "a natural ease" is the translation of the Chinese word *wa*. *Confucian Analects: Dr. Legge's Version*, edited with notes by OGAERI Yoshio (Tokyo: Bunki Shoten, 1950), p. 4.

9 In the Chinese versions of Buddhist scriptures such words as *wakei* ("harmony and respect") or *wagō* ("harmony and concord") are frequently used.

10 Cf. Pillar Edict III as cited in D. R. BHANDARKAR, *Aśoka*, 3rd ed. (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1955), p. 302. (See following note.)

11 Ashoka likewise asserted the necessity of self-reflection: "(A person) seeth the good deed only, (saying unto himself:) 'This good deed has been done by me.' In no wise doth he see (his) sin, (saying unto himself:) 'This sin have I committed,' or 'This, indeed, is a depravity.' But this certainly is difficult to scrutinise. Nevertheless, it should certainly be looked into thus: these (passions), indeed, lead to depravity, such as violence, cruelty, anger, conceit, envy, and by reason thereof may I not cause my fall." Pillar Edict III, as translated by D. R. BHANDARKAR, *Aśoka*, p. 302.

12 Cf. the version given in the *Nihongi*, Part Two, p. 131.

13 In the thirtieth year of the Empress Suiko, in the middle of the night of February 22, (April 11, if converted from the lunar to the solar calendar), 622 A.D., Prince Shōtoku died at the age of forty-nine. During the same month he was interred in the Imperial Mausoleum of Mt. Shinaga. (This event coincided roughly with the time of the *hijra* or Hegira, Muhammad's flight from Mecca to Medina.) Eifuku-ji Temple on Mt. Shinaga was erected in conjunction with his interment. It is said that the Empress Suiko herself ordered this temple to be built so that Buddhist masses might be said at the mausoleum perpetually.

14 This development can be observed both in the case of Emperor Wen of the Sui dynasty and in the case of Shōtoku. In India a parallel innovation seems to have been initiated by Chandragupta (c. 317–293 B.C.), the first Maurya emperor and the grandfather of Ashoka.

15 Similar measures appear to have been instituted under Chandragupta due to the advice of his minister Kautilya. The political theory of Kautilya is set forth in the above-mentioned *Kauṭilīya Artha Śāstra*.

16 A comparable spirit can be discerned in Ashoka. He lamented the fact that the good is difficult but the bad easy:

"The good is difficult to perform. He who initiates the good does something difficult to perform. So I have sought to do. If my sons, grandsons, and my descendants after them, until the aeon of destruction, follow in my steps, they will do what is meritorious, but in this matter he who abandons even a portion of the good will do ill. Verily, sin is easy to commit."

Adapted from the translation of Pillar Edict V contained in Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, p. 270.

17 Shōtoku's *Shōmangyō-gisho*, ed. by HANAYAMA Shinshō (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1948), p. 34.

18 Ashoka likewise instructed his officials that they should seek the happiness and welfare of the people, and that for that purpose they should observe the utterances of *dharma*, the ordinances and instructions of *dharma*. He too advocated forbearance and lightness of punishment. Cf. Rock Edict XIII.

19 Other rulers of universal states in Asia did the same. Cf. Ashoka's Pillar Edict III and the thirteenth article of Songtsan-Gampo's Law.

20 A phenomenon conspicuous in Japan, and unique, perhaps, in its intensity, is that people are often jealous of each other and try to hold down those who might otherwise be successful. A scholar of jurisprudence who was raised in Europe and naturalized in America and who has a good command of Japanese once told me: "Americans are rather weak when it comes to jealousy, whereas Europeans envy others. If anyone is successful in Europe, he is spoken ill of or found fault with. But that is nothing compared to Japan. It is terrible among the Japanese!" A Japanese acquaintance who had worked for many years in New York once remarked: "In Japan people are censorious! I don't like it. People backbite. In New York I can relax. Nobody there runs to others with criticisms about me." Such personal experiences by people who know what it is like to live in Japan and in other cultures as well have a common focus. If jealousy is part of the Japanese make-up, it can be traced as far back as the age of Shōtoku.

21 The determination to have his edicts observed by the common people was very strong in the case of Ashoka also. His purpose in having edicts inscribed on stone pillars that he erected, or on the polished surfaces of rocks, was that they should be read by the common people. Thus Ashoka wrote: "Since I was consecrated twelve years ago, I have caused *dharma* edicts to be inscribed for the welfare and happiness of the people, so that without violation thereof, they might in various ways attain to growth in *dharma*" (Pillar Edict VI). Needless to say, those who could read and understand the edicts must have been limited to the contemporary ruling and intellectual classes. However, those influenced by the edicts must have amounted to a considerable number. Moreover, Ashoka urged people to propagate the *dharma*. "People should propagate (the teaching) in appropriate ways to their own relatives" (Yerragudi Edict). He saw to it that the edicts were recited on fixed days and thus aimed to preserve their freshness as guides for conduct. "This document should be heard on the Tishya day every quarter; and indeed, on every festive occasion between Tishya days it may be heard by as few as one (official). By acting thus, endeavour to fulfil (my instructions)" (Separate Kalinga Edict I, slightly adapted from Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, p. 329). In the case of Ashoka, however, the idea of emphasizing the prestige of the ruler in his capacity as sovereign is not noticeable. His words were to be esteemed, rather, for the reason that they expressed universal laws. Again, in the Sixteen-Article Law of Songtsan-Gampo, loyalty to the monarch is not inculcated even by implication.

22 Itō Keidō, "A legend that Prince Shōtoku was a re-incarnation of Nangaku Eshi and Tōsan-Daishi" in his *Studies on Dōgen*, Vol. I, pp. 319–332.

23 Adapted from the "Hymns in Praise of Prince Shōtoku" as translated in *The Shinshū Seiten: The Holy Scripture of Shinshū* (Honolulu: The Honpa Hongwanji Mission of Hawaii, 1955), p. 247.

24 Thus, e.g., Lobsang Phuntsok Lhalungpa in Kenneth W. Morgan (ed.), *The Path of the Buddha: Buddhism Interpreted by Buddhists* (N.Y.: The Ronald Press Company, 1956), p. 239.

25 See, e.g., the *Nihongi*, Part Two, pp. 136–141, 145–146.

26 The three scriptures were: (1) the *Saddharṇḍma-puarīka-sūtra*, known in Japanese as the *Myōhō-renge-kyō* or *Hoke-kyō*, in English as the *Lotus Sūtra*; (2) the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra*, referred to in Japanese as the *Yuima-gyō* and in English as the *Discourse on Ultimate Truth* by Vimalakīrti; and (3) the *Śrimālā-devī-siṃhanāda-sūtra*, ordinarily called the *Shōman-gyō* in Japanese, while in English it has been referred to as the *Book of the Ernest Resolve* by Śrīmālā. The three commentaries Shōtoku wrote on these sūtras comprise seven volumes collectively entitled the *Jōgū-gyosei-sho*. Cf. Eliot, *Japanese Buddhism*, p. 205.

27 The "Four All-Embracing Virtues" (Skt. *catvāri saṃgraha-vastūni*, Jps. *shishōbō*) is a portfolio term having reference to the four ways by which bodhisattvas lead existent beings to enlightenment. These ways are: (1) to do good to others through teaching the true way and through donating material necessities, (2) to use words motivated by love, (3) to seek others' benefit through thought, word, and deed, and (4) to assume the form of the being to be helped and to work diligently alongside that one.

The "Four Virtues of Infinite Greatness" (Skt. *catvāri apramāṇāni*, Jps. *shi-muryō-shin*) are: (1) infinite goodwill to others, (2) infinite compassion for the sufferings of others, (3) infinite joy in others' happiness, and (4) infinite impartiality, even to the extent of abandoning attachment to the above virtues and being impartial even to enemies.

The "Six Perfections" (Skt. *ṣaṭ pāramitāḥ*, Jps. *ropparamitsu*) are: (1) almsgiving, (2) keeping the ethical precepts, (3) persevering despite persecution and suffering, (4) assiduousness in keeping the other five perfections, (5) meditation, and (6) the wisdom of realizing the ultimate reality that lies behind existence.

28 Cf. Ashoka's Fourteen Rock Edicts, II, as cited in Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, p. 261.

29 With regard to the "hunting of medicinal herbs" and the establishing of dispensaries, cf. again Ashoka's Fourteen Rock Edicts, II, in Bhandarkar's *Aśoka*, p. 261.

30 *Nihongi*, Part Two, pp. 144–145.

31 According to the Hōryūji Edition of the *Yuima-gyō-gisho*, edited by Saeki Jōin, 1937, Vol. I, p. 16a, the text of the passage is:

實法擧體即空. 故言不有. 有既非有. 無何所無.
故言亦不無....有無無定. 故但籍因緣而生.

Ens and Voidness are further discussed in Vol. III, p. 55a.

32 *Yuima-gyō-gisho*, Vol. I, p. 39b.

33 Cf., e.g., the *Mādhyamika Kārikās of Nāgārjuna*, ed. by L. de la V. Poussin in the *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, Vol. IV (1913), esp. Chapter II. This kind of dialectic was also applied in the *Vimalakirtinirdeśa-sūtra* itself. Cf., further, the *Yuima-gyō-gisho*, Vol. II, p. 39a (菩薩品第四) and Vol. III, p. 19b. (前際不來, 後際不法, 今則不住. 見阿閦佛國品第十二).

34 The original text of this passage as cited in the *Yuima-gyō-gisho*, Vol. I, p. 26a, is as follows:

因有四種.
一 同性相生. 謂之習因. 如初修直心. 還能不諂之類是.
二 異類相生. 謂之報因. 如善惡生苦樂之類是.
三 相資因. 如行施爲因即生持戒之類是.
四 相似因. 就報因中押出一因. 如不殺生復得長壽之類是.

M. ANESAKI, in his *Prince Shōtoku: The Sage Statesman and his Mahāsattva Ideal* (Tōkyō: Shōtoku Taishi Hōsankai, 1948), p. 123 n., translated these four kinds of causes literally as: (1) 習因 *shū-in* or cumulative, (2) 報因 *hō-in* or compensatory, (3) 相資因 *sōshitsu-in* or reciprocal, and (4) 相似因 *sōji-in* or corresponding.

35 See, e.g., Th. STCHERBATSKY, *Buddhist Logic,* Vol. I ('s-Gravenhage: Mouton and Co., reprint of 1958), pp. 9, 119–145; Edward J. THOMAS, *History of Buddhist Thought,* Second ed. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1951), pp. 58–70, 219–220; T. R. V. MURTI, *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism: A Study of the Mādhyamika System* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1955), pp. 130–143, 165–178.

36 *Yuimakyō Gisho,* vol. 2, A, p. 55a.

37 *Shōmangyō Gisho,* p. 8a.

38 *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* XV, vv. 1–18. Cf. SBE. vol. XXI, pp. 307–309.

39 *Shōmangyō Gisho,* chapter VIII, p. 58b.

40 常任法身為佛寶. 此法身爲物軌則. 自爲法寶. 又
此法身則能與理和合. 亦爲僧寶.
Shōmangyō Gisho, p. 50b.
We cite the *Shōmangyō Gisho* from the Hōryūji edition (昭和會本. 勝鬘経義疏). Edited by Jōin SAEKI. 3rd ed. May 1943.

41 法者法身. 萬善爲種 *Shōmangyō Gisho*

42 佛地萬德圓備.

43 法身是萬德之正體. *Shōmangyō Gisho,* p. 6b.

44 若三世常護者. 即作善. 無息. ibid., p. 9a.

45 今日無作一滅.

46 無作一滅即如來藏. 生死神明依如來藏. 相續不滅. 非但 出惑方爲物依.
從在惑中已爲依也. Ibid., p. 64b.

47 何即非本無以垂迹. 非迹無以顯本. Ibid., p. 7a.

48 無餘涅槃即兼無量滅道. Ibid., p. 61a.

49 今日一体. Ibid., pp. 49–50.

50 Vaiśālē was a business center in ancient India.

51 *Yuimakyō Gisho,* p.1. a

52 According to a legend, when Shinran visited the mausoleum of Prince Shōtoku at the age of nineteen, the Prince appeared to him in a dream and conferred upon him a verse in which the phrase "Japan is the country where Mahāyāna Buddhism is in practice" occurred. (Goten Ryōkū: *Takada Shinran Seitōden,* vol. I. in *Shinshū Zensho Shindembu,* p. 337. Cf. Hōkū: *Jōgō Taishi Shūiri,* in *Dainihon Bukkyō Zensho,* vol. 112, p. 142.

53 Shōson MIYAMOTO: *Chūdō-shisō oyobi sono Hattatsu,* Kyoto, Hōzōkan, 1944. pp. 888, 889.

54 Prince Shōtoku often paraphrase the term *bodhisattva* with the word 義士 (man of principle). (Shinshō HANAYAMA: *Shōmangyō Gisho no Kenkyū,* Tokyo Iwanami-shoten, 1944, pp. 432, 433.) His adopting man of principle (義士) instead of *bodhisattva* (大士, 開士) the usual translation, seems to give testimony to the fact that he wanted to emphasize the necessity for the practice of *bodhisattvas* to be realized in concrete human nexuses.

55 Shinshō HANAYAMA: *"Hokke Gisho no Kenkyū,"* p. 469. Tokyo, the Oriental Library, 1933.

56 *Yuimakyō Gisho*, in *Dainihon Bukkyō Zensho*, p. 141.
57 Ibid., vol. 2, p. 3b.
58 Ibid., vol. 3, p. 4b.
59 Ibid., vol. 2, p. 2b.
60 勝鬘者．世以七寶嚴其肉身．而今以萬行嚴其法身．故云勝鬘．
Shōmagyō Gisho, p. 1a.
61 Busshi Shōman. 佛子勝鬘.
62 *Hokke Gisho*, in Dainihon Bukkyō Zensho, p. 4b.
63 Ibid., p. 28a. Similar expressions are found here and there. Cf. ibid., pp. 5a, 34a, 28a, HANAYAMA: *Hokke Gisho no Kenkyū*, pp. 469, 489.
64 心爲萬德元本．今心既淨．則生一切功德那得不淨．
Yuimakyō Gisho, vol. 1, p. 29b.
65 Ibid., vol. 3, p. 22a.
66 直心乃是萬行之始． Ibid., vol. 1, p. 29b.
67 一……證．人是可信．二……證法是可信．人能弘法故先證．
法由人弘故後證． *Shōmangyō Gisho*, p. 2b.
68 *Yuimakyō Gisho*, vol. 3A, p. 16a.
69 我子之稱．不別自他．唯在於善．今勝鬘既爲己子．且有明德．應聞勝道．
故亦自稱我子也． *Shōmangyō Gisho*, p. 3b–4a.
70 十大受
71 三大願
72 Compassion or love is discussed in detail, *Yuimakyō Gisho*, vol. 3A, p. 35f.
73 不以愛見悲．若有愛見．即化道爲漏．亦於生死有厭足
且化物有礙． *Shōmangyō Gisho*, p. 12a.
74 *Yuimakyō Gisho*, vol. 2, p. 59a.
75 The phrase 得一切衆生殊勝供養 was interpreted "to make (Buddhas and Bodhisattvas) worship all living beings of distinction." It would be needless to say that it is a twisted interpretation. He introduced here an altruistic idea. (Cf. HANAYAMA: *Shomangyō Gisho no Kenkyū*, pp. 434–437.)
76 HANAYAMA: *Hokke Gisho no Kenkyū*, pp. 386, 387.
77 The famous story of abandonment of Prince Vessantara (*Jataka* No. 547), for example, is a good illustration.
78 HANAYAMA Shinshō: *Shomangyō Gisho no Kenkyū*, p. 432.
79 如法得財爲淨命 *Yuimakyō Gisho*, vol. 2, p. 57a.
80 利
81 *Yuimakyō Gisho*, vol. 2, p. 31b.
82 示勸證
83「三轉法輪於大于」者．即謂四諦教．三輪者．
一是．二教．三利也． *Yuimakyō Gisho*, vol. 1, p. 17a.
84 *Yuimakyō Gisho*, vol. 1, p. 21b.
85 Due to this characteristic of Buddhism, neither Prince Shōtoku nor King Songtsan-Gampo, not to mention Ashoka, suppressed indigenous faiths native to his respective people, although they both esteemed and reverenced Buddhism. That is why Shintoism in Japan, and the Bon religion in Tibet have been preserved, as their respective religion, up to the present. In Burma the faith of Nats is prevalent even now among common people.
86 Shinshō HANAYAMA: *Hokke Gisho no Kenkyū*, p. 664f.
87 Ibid., p. 117f.

88 *Yuimakyō Gisho,* vol. 2, p. 17a.
89 Ibid., vol. 2, p. 14b.
90 Shinshō HANAYAMA: *op. cit.*, p. 460.
91 MOCHIZUKI: Kazunori (Takeo) *A Treatise on Prince Shōtoku.* Tokyo, Shin-Kyōiku-Kenkyū-Kai, 1958, pp. 10–11.

CHAPTER II

PHILOSOPHICAL IDEAS OF THE NARA AND THE HEIAN PERIODS

1. Introductory Remarks

Philosophical ideas were maintained and discussed by the Six Sects of Nara and Tendai and Shingon sects which appeared at the beginning of the Heian period.

The Six Sects of the Nara Period

In the Nara period (701–794 A.D.) six sects were introduced from China into Japan.

(1) The Risshū or Ritsu sect. Its main principles are the observation of strict monastic discipline and, above all, the correct transmission of the holy orders. The monks of this sect strictly adhere to the descipline of Conservative Buddhism flourishing in South Asiatic Countries.

(2) The Kusha sect is a school of Conservative Buddhism. It is based upon the *Kusha-ron* (*Abhidharmakosa*) composed by Vasubandhu (about 320–400 A.D.).

(3) The Jōjitsu sect is based upon the *Jōjitsu-ron* (*Satyasiddhisāstra*) written by Harivarman (A.D. 250–350). This is a school of Conservative Buddhism, which has been adapted to the doctrine of the "Void" to some extent.

(4) The Sanron sect is derived from the Mādhyamika school in India. It stresses the doctrine of the "Void." The word *Sanron* literally means "The Three Treatises," i.e., The *Madhyamakasāstra*, the *Dvādasamukha-sāstra* of Nāgārjuna, and the *Śata-śāstra* of Āryadeva. This school is based upon these Three Treatises.

(5) The Hossō sect is a kind of Buddhist idealism. It is derived from the Yogācāra school in India. It regards everything at the manifestation of the fundamental Mind-principle underlying all phenomena.

(6) The Kegon sect is based on the *Kegon* or *Avatamasaka sūtra*. The principal object of worship in this sect is Vairrocana Buddha.

These six sects might be called scholastic because their sphere of influence was limited to the monks and did not extend to the common people.

At the beginning of the Heian period (794–1192 A.D.) the Tendai and Shingon sects came to Japan.

The Two Major Sects of the Heian Period

(1) *The Tendai Sect*

The Tendai sect was introduced into Japan by Saichō (767–822 A.D.), Master Dengyō (Dengyō Daishi) being his honorary name, entered a monastery at an early age, and was ordained at eighteen (785 A.D.). As the ecclesiastical life of Nara was uncongenial to him, he left the city and lived at first in solitude on Mount Hiei, near his birthplace, and gradually collected a group of companions and built a small monastery.

In 804 he was sent by the Emperor to China to discover the best form of Buddhism. He studied the school of T'ien-t'ai (Tendai) at its headquarters, and also the Shingon and the Zen schools. He returned next year laden with books and knowledge. The humble monastery founded by him grew up later into a priestly city of some three thousand temples.

The Tendai sect is based on the Hokke-kyo or Lotus sūtra. Conforming to this, this sect teaches that all men can become Buddhas and urges them to attempt to do so.

The most remarkable characteristic of Tendai is its comprehensive and encyclopaedic character. It finds a place for all scriptures, regarding them as a progressive revelation, gradually disclosed by the Buddha during his life, as he found that the intelligence of his listeners ripened.

According to our common sense, it seems that parts depend on one another and all depend on the whole. But the so-called complete or perfect teaching (En-gyō) of this sect goes beyond this. It seems that the whole

and the parts are identical. The Whole Cosmos and all the Buddhas are present in a grain of sand or on the point of a hair. A celebrated maxim says: One thought is the three thousand spheres (that is, the whole universe) and the three thousand spheres are but one thought. That is to say, the relations involved in the simplest thought are so numerous that they imply the existense of the whole universe, our perceptions and thoughts being identical with absolute reality. This leads to the doctrine of ontology. There are three forms of existence: the void, the temporary, and the middle. That is, all things which exist depend on their relations. If we try to isolate them and to conceive of them as entering into no relations, they become unthinkable and in fact non-existent.

But as temporary formative parts of the whole they do exist and the whole could not realize its true nature if it did not manifest itself in particulars. So in that sense all things exist as phenomenal beings. Things exist or do not exist according to our view of their relations to it, but the middle exists absolutely. Phenomena and the one absolute truth are, if rightly regarded, synonymous. When the significance of each of the three is properly cognized, this is the enlightenment as obtained by the Buddha himself.

(2) *The Shingon Sect*

The Shingon Sect is the third largest religious organization in Japan, ranking after Shin-shū and Sōtō sects and possesses about twelve thousand temples.

Kūkai (774–835 A.D.) or Master Kōbō (Kōbō Daishi), was the first man to make Shingon well known in Japan. He went to China for study, where he spent two years (804–6) in studying Shingon under Hui-Kuo, the celebrated abbot of the Ch'ing-Lung temple at Ch'angan. He is also said to have applied himself to Sanskrit under the guidance of an Indian monk called Prājna, and is believed to have introduced into Japan the slightly altered form of the Sanskrit letters called Shittan (siddham), which is written in vertical columns and much used in Shingon books. Prājna is believed to have cooperated with Nestorian priests in making

translations. Kūkai, in this way, may have come into contact with Christians.

Kūkai returned to Japan in 806 and was well received by the Emperor. He founded the great monastery of Kōyasan in the province of Kii. He died at Kōyasan in 835 A.D. There has been prevalent a mystical view about him. He died at the Kongōbu-ji Temple of Mt. Kōya on March 21st of the 2nd year of Showa. But the believers in Shingon sect say he just entered meditation awaiting the time of descent of Maitreya the Buddha, and Kūkai did not die. He is as yet alive. So, at a fixed time, a properly qualified high priest comes and changes Kūkai's gown in the inner sanctuary, where Kūkai is supposed to be still staying in meditation. What is the condition of Kūkai the great teacher of Buddhism now? It is a great secret that must not be discussed among the laity.

In all the annals and legends of Japanese Buddhism there is no more celebrated name than his, and whether as saint, miracle-worker, writer, painter or sculptor, he is familiar to the most learned, and the most ignorant, of his countrymen. The equivalent of the phrase "Homer sometimes nods" in Japanese is "Kōbō mo fude no ayamari"; or "Even Kōbō sometimes makes a slip of the pen."

Shingon means "true word," that is, a sacred spell (or mantra) and this sect is mingled with magical elements.

About 700 A.D. Indian Buddhism had become a very mixed creed and may have incorporated many Iranian and Central Asiatic elements. This form of Buddhism is called Esoteric Buddhism. (Vajrayāna)

The common people of Japan of those days wanted a religion which was impregnated with magic. That is why the Shingon sect was highly welcomed in Japan.

In Shingon there are definite secret doctrines which can be communicated orally. He who has not yet been initiated cannot claim to understand the explanations.

The initiated is sprinkled with holy water, and there is, in this respect, some similarity with Christian baptism. The ceremony of initiation is called Kwanchō (or Kwanjō), a translation of the Sanskrit *abhiseka,* or

sprinkling, sometimes rendered in English by the most misleading expression, "baptism."

It is true that part of the ceremony generally consists in the religious aspersion by water, but it is not at all a rite performed on children or others, when they first become members of the sect, but a form of initiation into the higher mysteries, and granted only as an exceptional privilege.

Voidness

The philosophy of Voidness (śūnyatā) in Japan was represented by the Sanron sect which concentrated in studying the works of Nārgārjuna and Āryadeva. It is believed that Eji, a preceptor of Prince Shōtoku, who came from Korea, was a master in the Sanron philosophy. It was Ekan who came also from Korea to the Imperial court in 625 A.D. that introduced the sect. The philosophy of this sect was studied in major monasteries of Nara, although scholarship was not flourishing.

The Mahāyāna mystics taught the theory of the 'Void.' Mahāyāna Buddhism found in the theory of relational origination the basis for the void, emptiness, śūnyata.[1] "Sunya" means swollen. Anything swollen is void inside. The little circle which we nowadays know as zero, was called "void" (śūnya) in Sanskrit. This was originally an Indian invention which was introduced into the West through the Arabs about 1150 A.D. The Mahāyāna philosophers, especially those of the Mādhyamika school, advocated as follows: there is no real existence; all things are but appearance and are in truth empty, "devoid" of their own essence. Even non-existence is not reality; everything occurs conditioned by everything else. Voidness or emptiness is not nothingness nor annihilation, but that which stands right in the middle between affirmation and negation, existence and non-existence, eternity and annihilation. So 'Voidness' means 'relationality' of all things.

A scriptural passage of a Mahāyāna śūtra runs as follows: "Just as, in the vast ethereal sphere, stars and darkness, light and mirage, dew, foam, lightning and clouds emerge, become visible, and vanish again, like the

features of a dream—so everything endowed with an individual shape is to be regarded."[2]

The doctrine of the Void (śūnyata) is not nihilism. On the contrary, Mahāyāna Buddhists asserted that it is the true basis for the foundation of ethical values. There is nothing in the Void, but everything comes out of it. Cf. mirror. The Void is all-inclusive; having no opposite, there is nothing which it excludes or opposes. It is living void, because all forms come out of it, and whoever realizes the void is filled with life and power and the Bodhisattva's love (karuna) for all beings. Love is the moral equivalent of all-inclusiveness, which is nothing but the "Void." The fundamental basis upon which everything occurs is the "Void." So, knowing the "Void" means omniscience. The Void resembles a crystal ball, which is visible to our eyes only because of what it reflects. Hold it up before a flower, and there within it is a flower. Hold it up before the empty sky, and there seems to be nothing in it, but only because it is reflecting the emptiness of the sky. Its true nature remains unknown. As the crystal ball reflects images, the manifold phenomena appears spontaneously within the Void. When we realize the 'Void' good-acts come out spontaneously.[3]

The Mādhyamika philosophers denied change in the phenomenal world, and set forth the theory of ineffability of the truth. Nāgārjuna, the great Mahāyāna philosopher, asserted at the beginning of his work as follows:

"The Buddha has proclaimed the principle of Dependent Origination (Relationality), the principle that nothing (in the universe) can disappear, nor can (anything new) arise, nothing has an end, nor is there anything eternal, nothing is identical with itself, nor is there anything differentiated (in itself), there is no motion, neither towards us, nor from us."[4] Here the word "relationality" means the same as the "void." One has come to know that fundamentally nothing whatsoever is happening to the true essence of one's nature,[5] nothing to give cause for either distress or joy. He denied change itself.

On this standpoint negation itself should be negated. Denial of denial is required.[6] Nāgārjuna says, "If something non-relational (not 'void')

did really exist, we would then likewise admit the existence of the relational, but there is absolutely nothing non-relational, how then can we admit the existence of the relational (or the truth of 'void')."[7]

The philosophy of 'Voidness' has no fixed dogma.

"If I have theses (of my own to prove),
I may commit mistakes just for the sake (of proving)
But I have none. I cannot be accused
(Of being inconsistent)."[8]

Āryadeva said:

"If I neither admit a thing's reality,
Nor unreality, nor both (at once),
Then, to confute me
A long time will be needed."[9]

The Mādhyamika philosophers had the conviction that their standpoint will not be refuted.

It has not yet been made clear to what extent Japanese scholar-monks developed the philosophy beyond the San-lun sect of China. Anyhow, the Japanese Sanron scholars left us voluminous works such as the *Chūron-shoki* by Anchō (763–814), which is a voluminous subcommentary in 8 vols., 16 parts on the *Madhyamaka-śāstra* of Nāgārjuna. Even in the history of Chinese thought we don't come across such a huge work on the *Madhyamaka-śāstra*. This work is not a systematical treatise, but in between lines of comment we find sophisticated argumentations also.

In Japan the doctrinal study of the Sanron sect developed beyond the scope of the three fundamental texts of this sect; it included more than fifty Chinese Buddhist texts which presented both "theoretical" and "practical" sides of the Mādhyamika standpoint of the philosophy of Voidness. But it was overcome by other systems and it disappeared finally.

(2) Interrelational Existence

The right knowledge of the truth of interdependent causation, as was set forth in early Buddhism, lead to a recognition of the interdependent relations of various aspects of actual human existence. This thought was

especially emphasized by the Kegon sect of China and Japan.

According to the concept of Interdependent Origination of Mahāyāna, all existences and phenomena are interrelated. Even a flower is closely connected with all the universe; a flower itself has no separate existence in the metaphysical sense. One cannot sever himself from the past. This can be said of everything in the universe. The tiny violet droops its fairy head just so much, and no more, it is balanced by the universe. It is a violet, not an oak, because it is the outcome of the interrelational existence of an endless series of the past existence.

The interconnection between one individual and the whole universe was especially stressed by the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra,* and the Hua-yen sect in China and the Kegon sect in Japan. The *Buddhāvatamsaka-sūtra* says: "Within one pore of the body all living beings are accommodated"[10] or "All things appear in one pore."[11] "The visible body of a Buddha teaches the ocean of merits of all Buddhas."[12] This theory was expressed throughout all Mahāyāna-sutras, especially in the *Buddhāvatamsaka-sūtra,* in India.

The Hua-yen philosophy of China sets forth the theory of interrelalation from the spatial viewpoint in the fourfold manner as follows:

(1) One is in one;
(2) One is in all:
(3) All is in one;
(4) All are in all.

From the viewpoint of time the following formula is set forth:

(1) When one is taken in by all, one enters into all;
(2) When all is taken-in by one, all enters into one;
(3) When one is taken in by one, one enters into one;
(4) When all is taken-in by all, all enters into all.

All things in the universe are brought into existence according to the above-mentioned formula at the same time.[13]

The Hua-yen philosophy interpretes the universe thus viewed to be motivated by one Great Compassionate Soul. And the relationship among individual persons is governed by the theory of independence under the surveillance of this one Great Compassionate Soul. According

to the legend Ryōnin (1072–1132), the founder of the *Yuzū Nembutsu* ("Circulation" of *Nembutsu*) teaching of Japan, once witnessed Amida Buddha. He dedicated a poem to Amida:

> "One person is all persons; all persons are one person; one meritorious deed is all meritorious deeds; all meritorious deeds are one meritorious deed. This is a deliverance to the Pure Land by the grace of Amida."

Namely, the merit gained by an invocation of Amida is circulated and transferred to all sentient beings, so that the *Nembutsu* of one believer procures salvation for all others.

Later Dōgen (1200–1253) also advocated one's unification with others:

> "The self and others should be benefitted at the same time."[14]

This theory of the unity of the self and others is quite different from the emanation theory of some western mystic thinkers such as that of Plotinus and Neoplatonists. To describe their theory, they resorted imaginary figures of celestial bodies and angles. The Eastern mystics employ metaphor of a mirror. The parable often used in the Kegon philosophy is as follows:

> "Set up points of the compass including the zenith and the nadir in front of you. When you place a lamp at the center, you notice each one of the ten mirrors reflecting the light; when you pick up one of ten, you will see that it also reflects all the rest of the ten reflecting the light including that of the one you picked up. Each one of the nine is inherent in the one and the one in each one of the nine."[15]

A term mirror-knowledge (*adarsajnana*) was given in Buddhist Idealism (*yogacara*) to express this theory of unity.

According to this theory, the way to deliver oneself from suffering is nothing other than the perfect realization of the truth of interdependent relationship. This truth is generally expressed by the formula:

> "When *this* exists, *that* occurs; when *this* does not exist, *that* does not exist; when *this* is destroyed, *that* is destroyed."

This truth is also observed in the two-fold conception of stepping up and down the twelve links in the chain of causation.

Thus the true realization of the truth, as was set forth in Buddhism, must lead to a recognition of the interdependent relations of various

aspects of actual human existence because, as expounded by Mahāyānists, the truth of interdependent relationship lies in the principle of negation of the very existence of things that are transient and void—since they, being interdependent, do not exist independently and separately. As far as the truth of interdependent relationship is thus interpreted, suffering is the inevitable consequence of one's attachment to the existence of things and of one's claiming their unvarying continuity in defiance of the truth. If, on the contrary, one realizes the truth as it is and knows the vanity of the existence of things, one should not undergo suffering caused by the experience of decay, disease and death.

It is in this sense that Sakyamuni freed himself from suffering by thoroughly realizing this truth of interdependent relationship.

4. The Absolute

Words, Categories

In Mahāyāna Buddhism we find also a theory of, so to speak, trinity. According to this theory, Buddha is envisaged under the following three aspects which are essentially one.

(1) The essential body (dharmakāya, *hosshin* in Japanese), which is the pure and differentiated one. It is tautology of the "Void."

(2) The enjoying body (sambhogakāya, *hōjin* in Japanese), which is the perfect figure of Buddha who enjoys the results of his religious practices in the past. It is a Buddha as an ideal and accomplished personality which is provided with every kind of virtue.

(3) The body of transformation (nirmāna-kaya, *ōjin* in Japanese), by which the Buddha works for the good of all creatures.

Among these the second in particular became the object of worship among the followers of Mahāyāna Buddhism. And the concept of "the Essential Self" became the pivot of Buddhist philosophy and it culminated in the Shingon (Vajrayāna). The main idea of Shingon is cosmotheism, which is somewhat different from pantheism. The whole universe is regarded as body of the supreme Buddha Vairocana, being composed of six elements: earth, water, fire, air, ether, and consciousness.

Forms of the Buddha

In parallel with this, a trinity was conceived. It consists of Amitayus, Avalokitesvara and Mahasthamaprapta (i.e. "the one who has attained great strength"). Assimilated by Buddhism, Avalokitesvara was called a great Bodhisattva, so great that he is nearly as perfect as Buddha. Mahāyāna Buddhists regarded the absolute Buddha as the "void" which transcends being and non-being. This idea of the Three Bodies of Buddha was especially inherited and discussed by the Tendai sect in Japan.[16]

On the other hand, Kūkai propounded the theory of the Four Bodies of Buddha:[17]

1) Essential Body (*jishōshin, svābhāvika-kāya*) or the body of Buddha which is an ultimate existance.

2) Enjoyment Body (*hōjin, sambhoga-kāva*) or a body of reward as a result of his long practice and vows as a *bodhisattva*.

3) Body of Transformation (*keshin, nirmāna-kāya*) or a body of his activity for the benefit of all creatures, i.e. historical person of Buddha.

4) Homogeneous Body (*torushin*). This is the body of Buddha who takes the appearance of human or celestial beings or of animals.[18]

On the other hand, the Japanese Tendai philosophy inherited the theory of Ten Categories from Master T'ien-t'ai of China. They are: form, essence (nature), substance, cause, force, activity, circumstance, effect, reward (result), ultimate aim.[19]

5. Affirmation of the World

The basic doctrines of Buddhism was reinterpreted by Japanese Buddhist thinkers who put more accent on the life in this world. According to the views of Indian Buddhist believers, all living beings repeat their life-cycles in an infinite process of transmigration of the soul; and a life in this world is but an infinitesimal period within this eternal circulation of life. Buddhism, however, as first interpreted by Chinese philosophers who emphasized more this-worldliness of life, which was succeeded and developed by Japanese Buddhists. Several sects of Japanese Buddhism emphasize the belief that even ordinary men are able to become Buddhas, should they attain enlightenment in this world (*sokushin jōbutsu*).

According to Saichō's comments on various doctrines of Buddhism, Hinayāna Buddhism is a circuitous teaching, since it advocates the practice of religion through countless lives in an immensely long span of time. Some Mahāyāna sects hold that religious practice should be carried out all through this long periods of life and such teaching was not much accepted by the Japanese populace of Saichō's time. Mahāyāna in general directs the way in which even ordinary man can become a Buddha in a limited time (*a direct way*). And it is the doctrine of the Lotus Sūtra that gives the fullest expression to this idea (The Great Straight Way).[20] Saichō used the phrase *Sokushin Jōbutsu* (becoming Buddha alive in human body).[21] But in the theory of *Sokushin Jōbutsu* taught by Saichō (767–822), the doctrine of this-worldliness was not thoroughly developed. It was Japanese Tendai scholars who later pushed the idea of this-world Buddhahood, for the Tendai doctrine in China did not allow a man to become a Buddha in his life time. Even if he did achieve Buddhahood, it was supposed to be the consequence of ascetic practices achieved through many lives, so that one could become a Buddha only on reaching the threshold of true religion. Around hundred years later after Saichō a Tendai scholar An'nen (ca. 884) began to preach not only that one could become Buddha in this world, but also that one could do so through ascetic practice during one's life, and would be permitted to be a Buddha realized alive in human body.[22]

In the system of Japanese Shingon philosophy whose doctrine of this-worldliness was plainly expressed by Kūkai (774–835), substance consists of six elements which are earth, water, fire, wind, space and consciousness; in short, matters (comprising the first five elements) and mind (i.e. consciousness). The five elements cannot exist without the consciousness, and the consciousness likewise cannot be without the five elements.[23] The six elements can be examined from two different aspects, viz. the noumenal (undifferentiated) or unconditional aspect and the conditional or phenomenal aspect. The former refers to the eternal, unchanging substance; the latter, the everchanging reality, which corresponds to the *natura naturans;* and latter, *natura naturata,* of the Medieval Western philosophy.

The essence lives in absolute truth (the world of the Law, *dharmadhātu, hokkai*), and they are so perfectly interrelated as never to obstruct (or contradict) one another. It follows that mankind and Buddhas are identical in their essence. Kūkai preached that should one follow this reasoning, formation of figures with one's hands, recitation of incantations, or concentration of one's mind (the three actions of man's body, mouth and mind), would be identified with those of Buddha.

Three Mysteries

For the religious practice the Shingon philosophy ascribes mystical meanings to specific syllables. For example, the mystical syllable *Hūm* is not only the symbol, but is itself the living breath which is itself the living substance penetrating the cosmos. This eternal living substance is called the *original principle of Three Mysteries* or *Three Mysteries of the Original Existence* or again *Three Bodies of the Original Existence*,[24] because the three mysteries are the esoteric actions of doing, speaking and thinking.[25]

One striking difference between Japanese and Chinese Tendai thoughts lies in the fact that the Tendai doctrine of Japan puts emphasis upon *things*, while in China the doctrine of the same sect regards *reason* as most important. *Things* here mean observable specificities or particularities limited in time and space. Shimei (Ssu-min 1060–1128), a Chinese Tendai scholar, preached that the first half (*shakumon*) of the Lotus Sūtra explains the perfect *truth* in conformity with the Law of Reason (perfect reason), while the second half (*honmon*) of the Sūtra exposes the perfect truth in accordance with phenomena (perfect things). For this Chinese priests even this latter expresses eternal Buddha. In contrast, Eshin (942–1017), a Japanese Tendai scholar, while accepting this two-fold interpretation, took the perfect reason for the comprehension of the multiplicity of phenomenal world by virtue of indiscriminatory truth (*sessō kishō*) and the perfect thing for the revelation of the truth through the multiplicity of phenomena.[26]

Based upon this theory, Saichō asserted that both priests and laymen should achieve the same ideal. According to Kūkai, absolute reason

should be realized in actuality. Reality is revealed in accordance with things.

The emphasis upon this-worldliness rans parallel to the stress upon all the creative activities of men. In a country like India where the intensity of heat, seasonal rainfall, and the fertility of the soil are combined to bring forth a rich harvest without much agrarian labor to be exerted, the ethics of class distinction rather than that of production is emphasized. That is a reason why alms-giving comes to be considered as most important. In a country like Japan, in contrast, production is of vital importance, hence stress is placed upon the ethics of labor in various professions.

The Lotus Sūtra,[27] the most important of Japanese Buddhist scriptures, was more acceptable to Japanese as giving a theoretical basis for such a social and economic demand.

In this Sūtra it reads: If one preaches with the comprehension of the true purport of the Lotus Sūtra, nothing will contradict the True Aspect of Reality and even in elucidating secular treatises, the words of this-worldly government or the deeds or production, he will do it all in accordance with the True Doctrine.[28]

Everything is true as far as it is taught by those who realized the truth of the Lotus Sūtra. However, the same sentence was interpreted in Japan to mean that all activities even in the fields of politics and economics were to be subjected to the Absolute One. Chōsui Shisen (964–1038) says: "The One Mind, the Eternal Truth, and the aspect of appearance and disappearance are no separate things. That they are one is revealed in that they are three; that they are three is discussed in that they are one. Government and production, therefore, could be in no contradiction to the True Aspect of Reality."[29] This idea of Chōsui came to be understood as an integral part of the doctrines of Lotus Sūtra.[30]

6. Synthesis of Philosophies

A special trend of philosophy which aimed at the synthesis of divergent philosophical currents developed in Japan in early period. Buddhism brought about a huge amount of scriptures in which sundry teaching

were given. In some cases they were even contradictory. In ancient China attempts were made to expound and coordinate such different teachings. It culminated in the system of Master T'ien-t'ai who propounded the theory of Five Periods[31] and Eight Kinds of Teaching.[32] According to him, Buddha's different teachings were gradually revealed in the five periods of his life-time and the teaching in the Lotus Sūtra is among others the ultimate and the best. He classified the teachings of Buddha in terms of adjectives: "sudden, gradual, secret, undetermined, collected, developed, distinguished and accomplished."[33] The teaching in the accomplished form should be the most perfect one, which was again made more explicit by the Tendai school.

This doctrine was brought into Japan by Master Dengyō and a more flexible interpretation was given to it by the scholarly monks of Japanese Tendai sect.

The synthesis of sundry philosophies expounded by Master Kōbō was more comprehensive. Dengyō limited himself in the teaching of Buddhist doctrines, whereas Kōbō was more conciliatory and tolerant towards native faiths of Japanese populace. His system involved in it not only Buddhist doctrines but also a considerable amount of pagan thought. According to him, even heathen thoughts can be manifestations of the basic principles of Mahāvairocana Buddha.

Kōbō expounded the doctrine of Ten Stages of human life:[34]

(1) The first stage[35] is that of "common people who are like sheep." Their desire is simply the satisfaction of appetite. They are not capable of differentiating the good and the evil.

(2) The second[36] is called that of "foolish children who practise fasting." They cautiously observe moral precepts in order to prevent society from falling into disorder. Among other religious systems Confucianism will be the one which also emphasizes the importance of morality by observing the five relationships.[37] But it gives no indication of liberating men out of mundane existence.

(3) The third[38] is that of those who practise to become "infant who knows no fears." This idea is illustrated in Taoism. Also the Shingon sect accepted Taoist claims for longevity and magic arts, although those were

regarded as of lower value. The irony of history is that the popular acceptance of Shingon belief was mainly by virtue of these pagan claims which appealed both commoners and nobles in the ancient Imperial court.

(4) and (5) are the stages which are represented by Hīnayāna philosophy. The fourth stage[39] is that of those who realize that there is no *ego* and that which is called the *ego* or self is merely a conglomeration of aggregates (*skandhas*). The fifth stage [40]is that of those who endeavor to uproot evil *karma* until all passion and trouble ceases.

(6) With the sixth stage[41] we rise to the realm of Mahāyāna as is shown in Buddhist Idealism (the Hossō sect). Those who have reached this stage take all phenomena for nothing other than the revelation of the stored consciousness or memory and feel an infinite compassion for the salvation of all beings.

(7) The seventh stage[42] is that of the philosophers of voidness. According to them, there is neither becoming nor perishing, neither singularity nor pluralities. This idea of undifferentiation of nothingness is a clear characteristic manifested in the Sanron sect both in China and Japan.

(8) The eighth stage[43] is that of the Tendai school which teaches "one way without action." It means that the ultimate reality is identical with our experience of the phenomenal world, in the assumption that there is no realm of reality apart from mundane world.

(9) The ninth stage[44] is that of the Kegon school. It teaches the truth that there is no separate entity and the truth is realized in the ceaseless function of the universe.

(10) The tenth and highest stage[45] is that of Shingon itself. Now the doors to esoteric truth whose realm is beautifully adorned are open to the practitioners. Through the performance of the mystic rites of Shingon the adepts realize that man and the universe are Mahā-vairocana himself.

This all-comprehensive interpretation of Kūkai is depicted in his philosophical novel which is called *Indications to the Three Teachings*. It is the earliest example of a novel in Japanese literature that has come down to us today. Kūkai (774–835), alias Master Kōbō, discusses in this work the

three teachings of Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism in a form of dialogues. Although he evaluates Buddhism as the highest of the three, he also accepts different modes of beings:

> "Living beings are not of the same nature—there are birds which fly high in the sky and fish which sink low in the water. To guide different types of people, we have three teachings of Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism.[46] Although they vary in depth, they are all teachings of sages. Even if one chooses the first (i.e. Buddhism), he needs not necessarily repudiate loyalty and filial piety (of Taoism and Confucianism) by doing so."[47]

Notes

1 The term 'sunyata' was translated as 'relativity' or 'contingency' by STCHRBATSKY. (STCHRBATSKY: *Buddhist Nirvāna, passim*). Aristotle also took the notion of relativity in a generalized sense. In his *Metaphysica* he treated *Ad aliquid,* not as one among the distinct categories, but as implicated with all the categories. (Cf. G. GROTE: *Aristotle ed. Bain,* p. 88) He does not maintain that the relative is unreal, but he declares it to be Being (End) in the lowest degree (ibid., p. 85). The question whether Being (End) is itself relative he leaves unsolved. (STCHRBATSKY: op. cit. pp. 42–43) But still the term 'relativity' is misleading. I followed to suggestion by Prof. Philip P. WIENER that it be translated 'relationality.'

2 Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra, 32.

3 "A perfectly good will would therefore be equally subject to objective laws (viz. laws of good), but could not be conceived as *obliged* thereby to act lawfully, because of itself from its subjective constitution it can only be determined by the conception of good. Therefore no imperatives hold for the Divine will or in general for a holy will; ought is here out of place, because volition is already of itself necessarily in unison, with the law." KANT's *Metaphysics of Morals,* p. 31 (Abbot's edition).

4 The opening verse of the *Madhyamaka-kārikās.*

5 *Madhyamaka-kārikās,* I, 1. (STCHERBATSKY: BN. p. 93)

6 The question whether Relativity is itself relative is mentioned and declined with the remark that it is absurd by RUSSELL. (*ABC of Relativity,* p. 14)

7 *Madhyamaka-kārikās,* XIII, 7.

8 A verse of the Vigrahavyavartani, cited in Prasannapada, p. 16.

9 *Catuḥśataka,* XVI, 25, cited in Prasannapada, p. 16. STCHERBATSKY: op. cit., p. 95.

10 The *Hua-yen sūtra,* vol. 46, p. 245b.

11 *Ibid.,* p. 403c.

12 Sarvaromavivara-asesabuddha-gunasamudra-megha-nigarjana-varna. (*Gandavyuha-sūtra,* ed. by D. T. SUZUKI and H. IDZUMI, p. 347, 1.24). I translated the word in collation with the Tang version. (Vol. 73, Taisho, p. 38b).

13 *Kegon Gokyo-sho* etc.

14 *Shōbō-Genzō, Bodaisatta Shishōbō* (*Dōgen Zenji Zenshū,* p. 259).

15 SUZUKI Daisetzu Teitaro, *The Essence of Buddhism.* Kyoto, Hōzōkan, 1948, p. 56.

16 Cf. TAKAKUSU Junjirō: *Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy,* University of Hawaii Press, 1947, p. 141.

17 Sokushin Jōbutsu-gi.

18 Shōji Jissō-gi.

19 This theory of Ten Categories should be studied in comparison with those of Aristotle and aticandra.

20 SHIOIRI Ryōchū, Dengyō Daishi to Hokkekyō (Master Dengyō and the Lotus Sūtra) in *Nihon Bukkyō no Rekishi to Rinen* (History and Ideas of Japanese Buddhism) compiled by ONO Seiichiro and HANAYAMA Shinshō, pp. 117ff

21 See *Hokke Shūku* (法華秀句 Excellent Words of the Lotus Sūtra) by Saichō, II; *Dengyō Daishi Zenshū* (Complete Works of Master Dengyō), II, 265–266; 280.

22 *Shokushin Jōbutsugi Shiki* (即身成佛義私記 Remarks on the Doctrine of Becoming Buddha Alive) in *Tendaishū Sōsho* (Collected writings of the Tendai Sect); *Annen Senshū* (Works of Annen) 7, II, 210. Some passages are translated in my *Ways of Thinking of Eastern People*, p. 364.

23 *Hizō Hōyaku*.

24 These words in the *Bodai Shin-ron* (Treatise on the Bodhi Mind) are said to have been written by Nāgārjuna. Kūkai wrote "Commentaries on Becoming a Buddha Alive in the Human Body."

25 *Unjigi* (吽字義)

26 SHIMAJI Daitō, *Tendai Kyōgaku-shi* (天台教學史 History of Tendai Theology), p. 492.

27 The *Lotus Sūtra* (Hokekyō 法華経, Saddharmapaṇḍarīka-sūtra).

28 This sentence (in the Hokke Kudokuhon 法華功徳品) is very famous and highly esteemed among Japanese. But the original Sanskrit text runs as follows: "And the sermon he preaches will not fade from his memory. The popular maxims of common life, whether sayings or counsels, he will know how to reconcile with the rules of the law." (The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* or the Lotus of the True Law, translated by H. KERN. Oxford, 1909. SBE. vol. 21, p. 351. Cf. the edition by H. KERN and B. NANJIO, St. Petersbourg, Imprimerie de l'Academie Imperiale des Sciences, 1912, Bibliotheca Buddhica 10, p. 372; the edition by WOGIHARA Unrai and TSUCHIDA C., Tokyo, Seigo-Kenkyū-kai, 1934, p. 315). Here we find no word "politics" or "economics".

29 Chōsui's Commentary on the *Sūrangama Sūtra*, Vol. 1a.

30 The spirit is already seen in Prince Shōtoku. But his commentaries on the Hokke Kudokuhon of the Lotus Sūtra does not mention it.

31 五時

32 八教

33 頓, 漸, 秘密, 不定, 藏, 通, 別, 圓

34 十住心

35 This theory was expounded in his *Jūjūshinron* (十住心論 A Treatise on the Ten Stages) and more detailed accounts are given in his *Hizō Hōyaku* (秘藏寶鑰 A Jewel Key to the Secret Treasure-house).

36 異生羝羊心, 愚童持齋心

37 Cf. Wilhelm SCHIFFER, Gokai and Gojō, *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 3, No. 1, 1940, pp. 281–290.

38 嬰童無畏心

39 唯蘊無我心

40 抜業因種心

41 他緣大乘心

42 覺心不生心

43 一道無為心
44 極無自性心
45 秘密荘厳心
46 *Sangō Shīki* (三教指歸).
47 In the preface to his *Indications to the Three Teachings.* Cf. Y. S. HAKEDA, The Religious Novel of Kūkai, *Monumenta Nipponica,* vol. 20, Nos. 3–4, 1965. pp. 283–297.

CHAPTER III

MEDIEVAL THOUGHT

1. Medieval Society of Japan

The period after the introduction of Buddhism until the beginning of Tokugawa period is usually divided into pre-Nara, Nara, Heian and Kamakura-Muromachi periods, based on the location of the central government of each epoch. The Kamakura-Muromachi period (12th to 16th century) is called Medieval Ages, the period being in between that of ancient society of court nobles and that of the Tokugawa society of Shōgun. It is generally characterized that the pre-Medieval period was an epoch when the Buddhism as a universal or cosmopolitan religion was introduced in close relationship with the different thinking patterns of the Continental schools and sects of Asia and was succeeded by four centuries (9th to 12th century) of transition and digestion which were called Heian period; whereas the Medieval period was that of the naturalization of the imported religious thoughts. It was an epoch when the Japanese race developed her own culture under the patronage of the feudal governments of warriors.[1]

In the latter half of the Heian period there was a gradual uprising of warrior class who had been hitherto subjugated by the nobility of central Imperial court. The old regime of Emperors came to a collapse and at the end of the twelfth century the Kamakura shogunate of warriors was established. A deploration was heard when the rule of the nobles was seized by emergent warriors, as an Empress who became a nun in this transitory epoch lamented:

"I was a daughter of Minister Taira (a clan of warriors) and the mother

of the former Emperor. The entire land was once in my control. But now, alas, I have nobody to rely upon. . . . The nun of Nii, the former infant Emperor in her arms, threw herself into the sea. The sight I can never forget. The clamor and shouting of the naval soldiers are still audible. Even the cries and groans in the infernal flame of the Avīci will never surpass this cruel horrible scene!"[2]

The vicissitude of the powers gave a considerable influence among Japanese public of the day. The continual struggle among warriors for power and the feeling of disappointment thereof among the people led them to hanker for religious teachings upon which they could depend. The climate was favorable for the propagation of religious teachings. Thus the many religious doctrines which had been so far Japanized permeated into the nation and gradually their orthodoxy was established.

As in the society of the West, the social structure of Medieval Japan was hierarchical. Strict regulations were provided for creating a stabilized order of subjugation of retainers to their lords, family members and the neighborhood to their patriarchs, children to their father and so forth. For example, a Chinese doctrine[3] which was highly esteemed by Japanese as typical of the feudal ethics of women reads as follows:

"A woman should obey her father in her youth, her husband after marriage and her son in her old age."[4]

Also in the field of education teachers were respectfully waited upon by their students, as is shown in a following saying:

"When accompanying his master, a disciple should walk three steps behind him, so as not to step on his shade."

The most conspicuous character of the feudal ethics may be the loyalty of the retainers to their lords. An admonition was given to warriors:

"The relationship between lord and retainers is of an utmost importance. Regarding this, one should never waver, even when one may be admonished to follow some other way by Shakyamuni, Confucius or the Effulgent God (i.e. foremost ancestor of Emperors). If one goes astray in this, he will be misled by banal doctrines of Shintoism or Buddhism. Let us be doomed to fall in hell, or let us be punished by

gods. We have nothing else to do in mind but to serve our lord wholeheartedly!"[6]

A psalmic passage in the Bible gives a Hebrew devotion to the god of Israel:

"My heart and my flesh may fall.
But God is the strength of my heart
and my portion for ever."[7]

The tone is similar. Simple difference lies in that the place of God in the Psalm was replaced by feudal lord in Japan. This signifies that this feudal ethics of warrior was regarded as something far superior to religious teachings. Loyalty was thus encouraged in defiance of religious authority. However, the admonition goes on:

"We are sure that Buddha and gods
will approve our attitude."

It looks like that these warrior's precepts needed religious sanction. But it virtually implied a contradiction, because this vulgarized interpretation of Shinto and Buddhist doctrines were not entirely in accordance with their original teachings. This attitude of currying favor of religious doctrines for warrior's ethics was, however, an obvious feature of feudal thought in Japan. The ultimate expression of taking responsibility in case of failures was to commit suicide which was called *seppuku* or *harakiri*.

2. The Supremacy of Religion

Major Sects of Buddhism

Zen Buddhism was introduced from China at the beginning of the Kamakura period (1192–1333) and the sects of Pure Land (*Jōdo*) and of Nichiren (1222–1282) were founded at the same time. Since then, however, new sects were not created until Meiji Restoration in 1868. The major sects of Japanese Buddhism which are still extant are classified as follows:

a. *Tendai*
b. *Shingon*

c. *Zen*
d. *Jōdo*
e. *Nichiren*

The *Tendai* and *Shingon* sects were originated in the Heian period, and the *Zen, Jōdo* and *Nichiren* sects came into being in the epoch called Kamakura.

(1) *Jōdo or Pure Land Buddhism*

According to the tradition, the Pure Land Buddhism was originally founded in the first or second century after Christ in India. Its teaching is based on the Larger and Smaller *Sukhāvatî-uyūha-Sūtras* and *Amitāyur-dhyāna Sūtra* which were composed in about the second century. They advocate the existence of Western Paradise of Pure Land or *Sukhāvatî* which is called *Jōdo* in Japanese. The believers of Amida's faith were supposed to be born again after death as a reward for their faith and merits they achieved in their life time.

The Saviour is called Amida or *Amitābha* in Sanskrit who is presiding over the Pure Land. Once in the past he made the series of the famous Forty-Eight Vows, the eighteenth of which reads: "If, after my obtaining Buddhahood, all beings in the ten quarters should desire in sincerity and faith to be born into my country, and if they should not be born by only thinking of me ten times, I will not attain the highest enlightenment."

Now he has become a Buddha; he has fulfilled the Vows. Anyone who worships him in sincerity and faith will not fail to be saved.

(2) *The Nichiren Sect*

Nichiren (1222–1282) was born the son of a fisherman. He studied all schools widely until he decided for himself what was the true way to deliverance. He first entered the Shingon School, and then studied in the Tendai School on Mount Hiei. There, he came to the conclusion that only one scripture was needed, that is "the Lotus Sūtra" (Saddharma-pundarīka-sūtra, the Lotus of the Good Law) and that the deliverance of the country from its sufferings in those days could best be achieved by

a vigorous campaign of a return to the Lotus Sūtra and the Sakyamuni Buddha.

He was a born religious demagog, and wandered all over the country, literally banging the drum of his beliefs at all quarters. Because of his rudeness to all other sects and the government, he soon in trouble with the authorities and his life was a long chain of persecutions, with an almost miraculous escape. Extreme religious fervor is most conspicuous among the followers of this sect and some of the common people in later days.

(3) *Zen Buddhism*

As a specific form of Buddhism, Zen is first found in China, being a peculiar Chinese version of the kind of Buddhism which was brought from India by the sage Bodhidharma, in, or about, the year 527. Bodhidharma's Buddhism was a variety of the Mahāyāna School, the Buddhism of Northern India.

Bodhidharma's variety of the Mahāyāna was known as Dhyāna Buddhism, pronounced Ch'an in Chinese and Zen in Japanese, and though the nearest English equivalent of Dhyāna is "contemplation," this term has acquired a static and even dreamy connotation quite foreign to Dhyāna.

Dhyāna, Ch'an, or Zen means immediate insight into the nature of Reality or life. In China, Dhyāna Buddhism was strongly influenced by Taoism and Confusianism, and, under the guidance of the practical mentality of the Chinese, emerged in the seventh century as the Zen we know today.

In 1191 Eisai (1141–1215) brought it to Japan, where it may be found to this day in its most vital form and where, too, it has had an extremely far-reaching effect upon the national culture.

The Zen Buddhism which was introduced into Japan by Eisai is called the Rinzai sect (the Lin-chi in Chinese), whereas that which was introduced by Dōgen (1200–1253), his disciple, is called the Sōtō sect (the Ts'ao-T'ung in Chinese).

Japanese Buddhism, as divided into the above-mentioned sects, has been the spiritual basis for Japanese culture for centuries to come.

Other-Worldliness

In the days which were the turning-points to the Middle Ages, other-worldly character was conspicuous among people, as in other countries.

Gradually the Japanese came to subscribe to Buddhism which was at first a religion alien to them, and finally they went so far as to believe that conformity to the Buddhist way of celibacy and ritual acts of bodily mortification rendered a higher service to their parents than preservation of the body and perpetuation of the family.

Buddhist masters emphasized terrible aspects of human life. Shan-tao of China explaining the human predicament in his parable of the White Path, shows man beset on all sides by evil beasts, poisonous vermin and vicious ruffians, symbolizing the sense organs, the consciousnesses, and the various psychic and physical constituents of the ordinary human self. The white path is "comparable to the pure aspiration for rebirth in the Pure Land which arises in the midst of the passions of greed and anger."[9] Lin-chi, the Zen master, emphasized emptiness of this life: "Followers of the Way, do not acknowledge this dream-like illusory world, for sooner or later death will come. . . . Seeking only the barest minimum of food, do with it; spend your time in the shabbiest of garments and go to visit a good teacher." This attitude was inherited by medieval monks.[10]

Monks were enjoined to spend a calm and quiet life, having secluded themselves from the secular activities. Master T'ien-t'ai of China said: "There are four things in which people ply. Monks in monasteries should not engage in these things. These four are: first, worldly life; second, worldly customs; third, various techniques, e.g. medicines, fortune-telling, sculpture, painting, chess, calligraphy and sorcery; fourth, sciences, e.g. study on scriptures, discussion and debate."[11] This ideal was inherited by the T'ien-t'ai sect of China and the Tendai sect of Japan. Even such a man of letters as Monk Kenkō[12] in medieval Japan admired such a life.

As an escape from worldly life a peculiar kind of practice appeared in

medieval Japan. The worship of local mountain deities in medieval Japan became very much influenced by the popular Buddhism that was founded on the forms of worship of a variety of Shingon Buddhism known as *'shugendo'* or 'the Way of the mountain anchorites' or *'yamabushi,'* a special sect syncretic of Buddhism and Shintoism. Well-known examples were Mt. Katsuragi and Kimbusen in Yamato, Hakusan in Kaga, Futaara-san at Nikkō in Shimotsuke, and Gassan, Yudono-san and Haguro-san, the Three Mountains of Dewa. In these places the influence of the *yamabushi* made itself felt in very early days.

When one wanted to become a recluse or a monk, there must have been conflict with his family or in other human relations. This problem was discussed in Japan as in other countries of both East and West. Somebody asked Master Dōgen: "My mother is very old, and I am the only son. If I should become a recluse, she cannot live for even one day. What shall I do?" The master replied: "If you are surely aspiring for the Way of Buddha, you should take orders, having prepared for the livelihood of your mother. However, if it is difficult, you should take orders immediately. Even if your old mother should starve to death, her merit of letting her only son enter into the Way of Buddha is very great, isn't it? Her merit will cause her to attain enlightenment in an after-life in the future."[13] Other-worldliness was so conspicous in the medieval Japan.

Other-worldliness, when it gets to the extreme, leads one to deny one's own existence. It encourages suicide. Throughout the history of Buddhist China, it was common practice for a monk to burn his thumb, his fingers, or even his whole body, as a form of merit in emulation of the supreme sacrifice of the Bodhisattva Bhaishajyaraja, the King of Medicine, one of the deities of Mahayana Buddhism. Each of the two great Buddhist Biographical Series devoted one section to biographies of Chinese monks who had burned themselves to death, or otherwise committed suicide, as supreme sacrifices. This section is under the heading "Those who gave up their lives." It contains detailed stories of hundreds of such suicides. A monk would announce his date of self-destruction and, on that day, would tie his whole body in oiled cloth, light the fagot pyre and his own body with a torch in his own hand, and go on mumbl-

ing the sacred titles of the Buddhas until he was completely overpowered by the flames. Very often such human sacrifices were witnessed by thousands of pious Buddhists whose plaintive wailings would accompany the slow burning of the pious monk. It is little wonder that many people committed suicide in order to be born in the Pure Land among the followers of Shan-tao who taught the doctrine 'loathe this defiled world and desire to be reborn in the Pure Land.' Such a custom was imitated by some Japanese Buddhists in the medieval age. Some burnt themselves, and others set sail on the ocean never to return, for the purpose of reaching the Pure Land (Fudaraku, Potalaka in Sanskrit) of Kwannon Bodhisattva, which was supposed to be located in the southern sea.

Criticism on such an other-worldly tendency of Buddhism was severely made in the Tokugawa period by Confucianists and scholars of National Lore. Finally in the modern age the assertions of this-worldliness became conspicuous.

Establishment of Religious Authority

Religions spread through persons. Common people needed spiritual leaders. An attitude of complete devotion to a specific person in medieval Japan was illustrated in the worship of the founders and chief abbots of respective sects.

The admiration of believers towards their spiritual leaders gave rise to sectarian orders.

Religious orders increased their prestige. They were given lands; they were extended special support by feudal lords. The lands owned by religious orders were tax-exempt. Anybody who had fled into the precincts of the orders could not be caught. There was the right of asylum although there is no Japanese equivalent for the word.

In Eastern countries monasticism had existed among Buddhists and Jains several hundred years before the Christian Era. However, the Buddhist monasticism which was similar to that in the West occurred in nearly the same period in Zen Buddhism.

The period of preaching by Bodhidharma, the founder of Chinese Zen Buddhism, was 470–532. He inherited the Buddhism of the Gupta period.

Until this period, Indian monasteries claimed to accommodate monks "from the four directions." There was no closeness among monasteries in general, as can be seen in monasteries of Southern Asia. This way of life was inherited by early Zen Buddhists of China. With Tao-shin (580–651), the fourth patriarch, a remarkable change in the way of life occurred in the Zen order. He resided on the Double Peak Mountain for thirty years, and did not go to any other place, but around him more than five hundred people lived constantly. The living together by a great number of monks became customary since then.

This way of life may be Buddhist transformation of traditional way of life. From the end of the Civil War period to the Han dynasty Chinese recluses lived together in groups in mountains, and had their own ideal of life. This seems to have been inherited by Zen Buddhists.

The establishment of group life in monasteries by Tao-shin can be compared to the founding of the first Christian monastery by Pachomius, an Egyptian, in about 315 or 320. In the monasteries derived from Pachomius, the monks did much work, chiefly agricultural, instead of spending the whole of their time in resisting the temptations of the flesh.[14] This is exactly true with the Zen revolution in the life of Buddhist monasteries.

Zen Buddhists in mountains had to work to sustain their livelihood. They came to engage in economical production. It was not for making wares to sell on the market, but only for self-sufficiency, but it was none the less production. Formerly Buddhist monks kept away from production, now their attitude turned to the contrary. Zen priests began to cultivate fields attached to their own temples in order to secure foods permanently, since then. Although Buddhist monasticism existed before him, Buddhist monks did not engage in manual labor. They did not want to be involved in any kind of productive work. They just practiced meditation without working physically. This attitude has been preserved throughout Asiatic countries except China and Japan. It was only from Tao-shin's time on that monks came to do all their own work and practiced meditation in calm places, secluded from the secular world. For example, it was forbidden by the Book of Disciplines (Vinaya) in

traditional Buddhism for monks to dig in the ground or to cut grasses and trees. (Pacittiya 10 and 11). This provision was common to Jainism. However, early Zen order disregarded this provision. Master Po-chang (720–814) said that to dig in the ground and to cut grasses and trees did not necessarily cause sins. His motto: "If one did not work a day, one should not eat on that day," has become their favorite one. Master Po-chang laid the rule of Zen monasteries in detail, which became the standard of later Zen monasteries. (This might be compared with the rule of St. Benedict.)

In Zen monasteries monks kept gardens, rice-paddies, field, and kitchens. Monks engaged in cultivation and farming. Not only meditation, religious services, and reading, but also such manual labor as sweeping and cooking and receiving guests were required for monks. In Japan Zen temples have been well known especially for cleanness due to manual labor by monks.

In Japan monks of many sects went so far as to engage in such kinds of economic activity as constructing roads, resthouses, hospitals, ponds, harbors, exploitations of fields, and so on. Such kinds of work were encouraged in Japan as rendering service to others, which was claimed to be the essence of Mahāyāna. For laymen all sorts of productive work except slaying animals and selling wines, weapons, and so on, were encouraged.

Throughout the medieval ages the attitude of hostility to pagan literature was held. Some Buddhist masters also, generally speaking, held a similar attitude. Master Dōgen ordered his disciples: "You should give up useless things such as *belle lettres* and poems. You should solely concentrate on practicing the Way of Buddha."[15] "You should not read books of the other sects, secular books and so on. If you feel like reading, collected works of Zen masters are allowed."[16] In medieval Japan the feudal lords who engaged often in warfare and killed people donated lands and funds to Buddhist temples for expiation of their sins. At the end of the Heian period and at the beginning of the Kamakura period in Japan the established religious orders protected (supported) by the court and knights became so corrupted that many monks fled from the

orders. Some lived as recluses in forests; other preached their own faiths as individuals among people. In spite of so many striking parallels and similarities which existed in the Middle Ages between Japan and the West, we find remarkable differences. Probably the most important one is papacy. In Japan heretics were not tried by court or law. Inquisition or burning at the stake did not occur even once due to religious reasons. The differences are still of contemporary significance.

Approach to Common People

With the rise of the standard of living and the gradual expansion of the scope of freedom among common people in later Middle Ages, culture began to spread among them, and transformed itself to be acceptable to them. This change appeared in various aspects of culture. In the field of thought some religious leaders came to give up the classical Chinese and to adopt the languages of common people.

This tendency appeared in Japan also at nearly the same period as in the West, with Buddhist leaders of new movements in the Kamakura period. The last word of vow by St. Hōnen was written in 1212 in Japanese; Master Dōgen, who introduced Sōto Zen into Japan, wrote his many works in Japanese. We find a transition from the court poems of the Heian nobility to the poems and songs by people in general in the medieval ages of Japan. Novels by the Heian court ladies dealt with the life of the nobles alone, whereas those in the late medieval ages came to relate the life of common people. The pictures of scrolls in the Heian period extolled the life of nobles and glorified huge temples, but early in the medieval ages some scrolls appeared such as "Playing Scenes of Birds and Animals" (*Chōjū Giga*) ascribed to Bishop Toba, in which the demeanor of priests was sarcastically painted in the figures of birds and animals.

As a step of approach to people, some religious authorities became lenient towards women.

In the Heian period there had been established some holy places or large temples where women were not allowed to come in. Master Dōgen protested to it, saying:[17] "In the country of Japan there is a laughing

stock. What is claimed to be a limited holy place or an asylum (place for practice) of Mahāyāna does not allow nuns and women to come in. This bad custom has been existing for many years, and yet people do not know it is a bad thing. . . . Was there any convention in the lifetime of Lord Buddha which nuns and women did not attend? . . . Those would-be holy places, on the other hand, welcome kings, premiers, ministers and officials! What a corruption!"[18]

3. Compassion and Schools of Pure Faith

Having considered religious practices, we shall now turn to some main ideas or doctrines and their developments. We shall now consider how development may be seen in relation to social developments and pressures by noting in two traditions (1) a growing regard for the Common Man, with a corresponding emphasis of Compassion and Love, (2) Cults related to this motif (Bodhisattvas), and (3) developments of the idea of Vicarious Sacrifice.

The Compassion-Love Doctrine

In India when the conservative Buddhist Order became a large organization with huge endowments, the monks did not render much service to the common people. The monks of conservative Buddhism (so-called Hīnayāna) were apt to be very self-complacent and self-righteous. Being fond of solitude they despised the common people; they did not want to partake of the worries and sufferings of the common lot.

As the protest against such an attitude in India, some religious leaders advocated a new form of Buddhism, which is called Mahāyāna (the Great Vehicle). They were in close contact with the common people and felt their needs. They vehemently attacked the self-complacent and self-righteous attitude of Conservative Buddhists.

In the Greater Vehicle (Mahāyāna) the virtue of compassion[19] was more stressed than in Hīnayāna. We admit that Compassion motif was not entirely absent in the Conservative Buddhism called Hīnayāna. But Mahāyānists claimed that Compassion was a chief characteristic of Mahāyāna. "To those whose intelligence is low and whose mind is quiet

the Way of Sravaka (Hīnayāna) is taught to have them get out of suffering. To those whose intelligence is slightly keener and clearer and who hanker for the teaching of the Interdependent Origination the Way of Pratyksbuddha (an ascetic who practices by himself) is preached. To those whose intelligence is excellent and who aspire to benefit living beings out of Great Compassion the Way of Bodhisattva (Mahāyāna) is taught."[20] They said, 'The Buddha-Mind is nothing but Great Compassion.'[21]

The compassion of the Buddha was stressed. The Buddha in the Lotus Sūtra says: "I am the father. All living beings are my children."[22] "In the whole universe there is not a single spot so small as a mustard seed where the Buddha has not surrendered his body for the sake of creatures."[23] The compassion of the Buddha comes to everybody equally. It is compared with raining:[24] "That great raincloud, big with water, is wreathed with flashes of lightning and rouses with its thundering calls all creatures." "All those grasses, shrubs, and trees are vivified by the cloud that both refreshes the thirsty earth and waters the herbs." "In the same way . . . I preach with ever the same voice, constantly taking enlightenment as my text. For this is equal for all; no partiality is in it, neither hatred nor affection." "I recreate the whole world like a cloud shedding its water without distinction; I have the same feeling for respectable people as for the low."

The Buddha became more and more magnified and deified. The Buddha was no longer regarded as a man but, so to speak, the living God,[25] in the eyes of Catholic missionaries who came to Japan about 400 years ago.

In order to show us what Buddha's compassion, a Buddhist counterpart to the parable of the "Prodigal Son" was set forth in the Lotus Sūtra. In the Buddhist parable[26] of the Prodigal Son, Buddha is represented as the good, wealthy father, who means well towards his sons, the human beings,—

A rich man has an only son, who roams about in foreign lands for fifty years. While the father grows richer and richer, and has become a great man, the son lives in foreign parts, poor and in reduced circum-

stances. As a beggar he at last returns to his home, where his father has been yearning for him all the time. The beggar comes to the house of his father, whom, however, he does not recognize in the great man, who, like a king surrounded by a retinue, sits before his mansion. When he sees the pomp and splendor, he flees for fear that he, the ragged beggar, might be ill-treated. His father, however, recognized him at once and sends out servants to bring the beggar in. Trembling and shaking with fear, he is dragged in, and he falls unconscious. Then his father commands that he shall be released. Gladly the beggar gets up, and goes to the poor quarter of the town. Now the rich man thinks out a plan whereby he may win the confidence of his son. He sends workmen to hire him for the humblest work in his house; he sometimes chats with him and gradually becomes intimate with him. In this way twenty years pass, without the father's making himself known. Not until the hour of his death does he cause all his relatives to assemble, and announce that the beggar, who has now become a trusted servant, is his own son; and he makes him the heir to all his wealth. The rich man is Buddha; the son who was lost and is found again, represents the human beings, whom Buddha, as the wise father, gradually draws to himself, and finally appoints as his fortunate heirs.

In this parable Prince Shōtoku, St. Nichiren and others found the illuminative compassion of Buddha.

It is often reported that Buddhism has softened the rough warrior races of Tibet and Mongolia, and nearly effaced all traces of their original brutality. In Japan also, according to the statistical reports, cases of murder or assault are relatively rare in districts where the Buddhist influence is strong.

This attitude of compassion motivates one to esteem highly the natural disposition of man. Japanese Buddhism tends to be most conspicuous in that respect. Even Buddhist ideas were preached with a close reference to matters of love, and sexual love is considered not to be incompatible with religious matter. Zen Buddhism in China does not seem to have much emphasized the idea of compassion. There is not a single reference made to the word "compassion" in the wellknown scriptures of Chinese

Zen Buddhism. After Zen Buddhism was brought into Japan, however, it came to emphasize deeds of benevolence.

The spirit of tolerance and compassion of the Buddhist made it impossible to cultivate a deep hatred even towards sinners. There existed hardly any punishment that was cruel in those days when Buddhism flourished. It was also reported as so by Chinese pilgrims in regards to ancient India under Buddhist influence. It holds true with some of the Buddhist countries in Southern Asia. In Japan also, during the Heian period, capital punishment was never practiced for a period of nearly three hundred and fifty years.

The Role of Bodhisattvas

Along with development of Compassion Motif, in Mahāyāna Buddhism, the worship of Bodhisattvas came into existence. The Bodhisattva was originally the Buddha before Enlightenment. But later anybody who aspires for Enlightenment and renders help willingly to suffering creatures was called a 'bodhisattva.' Bodhisattvas, being so compassionate, were supposed to extend hands of help willingly. The practice of the bodhisattva requires vigor and endeavor. In Tibetan, the word Bodhisattva is translated as Heroic Being (*Byanchub sems-dpah*). The figure of the Bodhisattva was made the ideal for intellectual leaders at the time of Prince Shōtoku, but it is likely that the Bodhisattva ideal came to spread among common people in the Heian and medieval periods.

The images of Buddhas and Bodhisattva were made and their worship was greatly encouraged. In Mahāyāna Buddhism the worship of images, in addition to the existing worship of stupas, was exceedingly encouraged. "All who caused jewel images to be made and dedicated, adorned with the thirty-two characteristic signs, reached enlightenment. Others who had images of Sugatas (Buddhas) made of the seven precious substances, of copper or brass, have all of them reached enlightenment. Those who ordered beautiful statues of Sugatas to be made of lead, iron, clay or plaster have etc. Those who made images (of the Sugatas) on painted walls, with complete limbs and the hundred holy signs, whether they drew them themselves or had them drawn by others, have &c.

Those even, whether men or boys, who during the lesson or in play, by way of amusement, made upon the walls (such) images with the nail or a piece of wood, have all of them reached enlightenment."

Various kinds of legends and stories extolling Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and devout believers came into existence in Mahāyāna, and they were introduced into Japan.

Magical elements crept into universal religions. In Mahāyāna, Bodhisattvas were worshipped for their magical power, which brings forth fortune, wealth, the healing of diseases, the dispelling of disasters, etc., and these were the motivating powers to convert common people to Buddhist faith.

Buddhist bodhisattvas are not historical individuals, although they repeatedly are born in this world to help suffering beings.

We may also note that the cult of the goddess of mercy in Mahāyāna lands has certain analogies with the cult of the Virgin in the West. It is especially represented in the worship of the Bodhisattva Avolokitesvara or Kwan-yin in Chinese or Kannon in Japanese, who looks like a mother. Avalokitasvara has been probably the most worshipped divine being in Asian countries. The Virgin Mary was the friend of the souls, and all alike, lord and lady, serf and maid, took refuge under the broad folds of the protecting Mary. The similarities shared with Mary are so very convincing that in the days when Catholics were persecuted due to political reasons in the feudal Japan, Japanese Catholics worshipped the images of Maria secretly under the pretention that they were the images of Buddhist Kannon. They secretly called them "Maria-Kannon." In spite of obvious similarities, there are remarkable differences. Avalokitesvara was by origin a male person, although his outlook became female. Moreover, whereas Maria was a historical individual, Avalokitasvara was not supposed to be a historical individual, for his real personality was regarded to be eternal. Kannon shares some features with Catholic saints also. "If one happens to fall into the dreadful ocean, the abode of Nagas, marine monsters, and demons, he has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and he shall never sink down in the vast waters." Kannon is probably the most popular Bodhisattva for common people in Japan.

A tradition about the coming Buddha, Maitreya, also came to the fore. Maitreya (etymologically derived from 'mitra,' meaning friend), personifies friendliness in terms of etymology. It is said that his legend was to some extent stimulated by Persian eschatology. But it met the spiritual needs of the new age. Maitreya was devotionally worshipped especially in the medieval ages in Japan.

We find a Buddhist Healer and Savior in the figure of the Healing Teacher (*Bhaisajyaguruvaidūryaprabhāsa*).

Even transcendental Wisdom came to be deified and worshipped as an object of worship in the form of 'the Holy Goddess Wisdom' (*Bhagavatī Prajnā-pāramitā*) in India and other South-Asian countries, but such an ideal figure was not favored by common people who do not like abstract ideation.

Owing to the uprising saint-worship in Japan, Buddhists made pilgrimages to the places especially related with the life of the founder of each sect.

They crossed, there lies a small market-town or rural port, which by some is called Greensburgh, but which is more generally and properly known by the name of "Tarry Town" (W. Irving: *The Sketch Book*). In America we find often taxi-drivers driving with an icon of St. Christopher. In Japan taxi-drivers drive with an amulet of Fudō (Acalanātha Vidyārāja) of the Naritasan Temple within their cars, even as American drivers do.

Vicarious Atonement

A Buddhist conception of vicarious atonement was expressed for example by Nagarjuna. In his work Ratnavali he said: "May my merits go to others; may the sufferings of others ripen upon me!"

"To take over the sufferings of others by oneself" was extolled as an ideal of Mahāyāna ascetics. However, we should not overlook a great difference between Christianity and Mahāyāna. In Christianity vicarious atonement is affected by Christ alone, whereas in Buddhism by any bodhisattva.

Northern Buddhists found the ideal image of vicarious atonement especially in Ksitigarbha or Jizō of Japan. The name of Ksitigarbha

means "Earth-womb" or "Earth-store-house." The original meaning of the title is not very clear, but it was interpreted to mean that he is lord of the nether world. Some scholars think that the belief in Ksitigarbha first appeared in Central Asia. Legend has it that he has vowed to deliver all creatures from hell. He visits them in their places of suffering to deliver them. In Japan he is the special protector of dead children. When someone died to save others, people in Japan erect an image of Jizō in honor of him, calling it "Lord Jizō in Vicarious Atonement" (Migawari Jizōson). It is said that Jizō will never enter nirvāna, so long as there remains even one person suffering from afflictions, and that he stays in the mundane world with sinners.

As the ideal to take on sufferings of all men; we are reminded of the images of Amitabha in Shinshu Buddhism of Japan, which are always of standing posture to show his readiness to help suffering people.

The idea of vicarious atonement is naturally closely related to a sense of human need, and ideas of sin remedied by compassionate Grace, which will be discussed in the following section.

Deliverance in Pure Land

The consciousness of sin was most conspicuous in Pure Land Buddhism among Japanese Buddhists. This tendency was already harbingered in scriptures of early Pure Land[27] Buddhism. These scriptures were compiled in the age of spiritual unrest probably at the end of Kusana dynasty in the second century. There the consciousness of spiritual crisis was conspicuous. A scripture says that the teaching was meant for the people in the degenerated age. "The Buddha taught the Law which all the world is reluctant to accept, during this corruption of the present kalpa, during this corruption of belief, during this corruption of life, during this corruption of passions."[28]

The believers of Pure Land Buddhism were supposed to be born there after death as the reward for their faith and good works. The Savior of this School is Amida (Sanskrit: *Amitabha,* lit. "Immense Light," and *Amitayus,* lit. "Eternal Life"). Pure Realm Buddhists speak of the Western Paradise of the Pure Realm (*Sukhāvati,* in Japanese *Jōdo*). The Pure

Realm of Amitabha is depicted in a gorgeous way. '—The Pure Land is prosperous, rich, good to live in, and is fertile, and lovely. It is fragrant with several sweet-smelling scents, rich in manifold flowers and fruits, adorned with gem trees, and frequented by tribes of manifold sweet-voiced birds.—'

The scriptures of Pure Land Buddhism explain that Amitabha Buddha is now in the Pure Land in the West, beyond numberless Buddha Lands, where he casts his light in all ten directions and is preaching to save countless sentient beings. Therefore, Sakyamuni taught that we should always concentrate on Amitabha. The Smaller-Sukhavati Sutra speaks of the birth by grace:—'Beings are not born in that Buddha country as a reward and result of good works performed in the present life. No, all men and women who hear and bear in mind for one, two, three, four, five, six or seven nights the name of Amitabha when they come to die, Amitabha stands before them in the hour of death, they will depart from this life with quiet minds, and after death they will be born in paradise.'[29]

The Larger *Sukhavati Sūtra* tells how Dharmakara (later Amitabha Buddha), when he was still a Bodhisattvas striving to become a Buddha, had made forty-eight vows to help ordinary people be reborn to his selfless Pure Land where they could attain Enlightenment by hearing, believing and rejoicing in the Merit of Amitabha which is above the natural world, and unthinkable. Now that he has become a Buddha his vows are fulfilled and the Pure Land of tranquil sustenance (which is Endless Life and Boundless Light) is established and salvation by the great mercy and the power of Amitabha Vows is undoubtable to men.

The followers of the Pure Realm sects of Buddhism seek Buddhahood—that is, Enlightenment—through rebirth in Amida Buddha's Pure Land of the Supreme Happiness. Rebirth in the Pure Realm is attained by faith in the power of Amitabha Vows to save all beings. Amitabha's Vows are recorded in the Great Sūtra of the Endless Life, the *Sukhavativyuha Sutra,* which claims to be the discourse between Sakyamuni Buddha and Ananda, his disciple. The Sūtra tells us that the monk Dharmakara, the future Amitabha, made forty-eight vows which were to be fulfilled when he became a Buddha. When he became the Buddha Amitabha,

these vows became a power which can save human beings regardless of the law of *karma*.

The doctrine of self-cultivation and the worship of the Buddha, which are both preached in Buddhism, may seem contradictory to each other. However, both have arisen from the same source. According to Buddhist philosophy, we should endeavor to realize our true self in moral and religious sense; this ideal is quite compatible with the worship of the one who has already realized one's true self in a perfect way. In Mahāyāna Buddhism many Buddhas and Bodhisattvas were worshipped. The worship of Amitabha Buddha has particularly played a very important role especially for Chinese and Japanese Buddhism.

The scriptures of this school emphasized the act of concentrating on the name of Amitabha, and Shan-tao of China interpreted it as voicing repeatedly the name of Amitabha in mouth. This practice has been continued since then in China and Japan.

Incidentally, Mahāyāna Buddhists supposed that in the Pure Land there is no human woman, although they admitted the existence of heavenly nymphs (*apsaras*). Amitabha Buddha, before his attaining Buddhahood, made a vow: "If, after I have obtained Enlightenment, women in immeasurable, innumerable, inconceivable, incomparable, immense Buddha-countries on all sides, after having heard my name, should allow carelessness to arise, should not turn their thoughts towards Enlightenment, should, when they are free from birth, not despise their female nature; and if they, being born again, should assume a second female nature, then may I not obtain the highest perfect Enlightenment." (The 34th vow of Dharmākara; i.e. the former Amitābha.) The thought that a woman is born a man in after-life is often set forth in Buddhist literature.

Sense of Sin and Need of Divine Grace

There were thinkers who admitted the deep-rootedness of sin in human existence. This character was most conspicuous in Shinran of Japan. Shinran (1173–1263) was the person who carried the idea of Buddha's grace to an extreme conclusion. He became the founder of the Shinshu

sect which is the sect most professed by people in the present day. He has often been compared to Luther not only in this respect but also in that he married a nun and spent his life as a married priest. But as he lived in nearly the same period as Thomas Aquinas, which corresponds with the beginning of the Medieval Ages of Japan, it would not be inappropriate to discuss his thought in the framework of Medieval thought.[30]

Shinran reflected: We should realize what calamity is involved in the mere fact of our being alive. All living beings are sinful. We cannot live without committing sins. We are all karmabound. Hōnen, Shinran's master, saw "man with blind eyes, capable of doing nothing."[31] The sins which are always committed by men were glared at by Shinran without covering up.

> *"Though I seek my refuge in the true faith of the Pure Land,*
> *Yet hath not mine heart been truly sincere.*
> *Deceit and untruth are in my flesh,*
> *And in my soul is no clear shining."*[32]

It is no wonder that those who did not believe the teachings of the Buddha committed various wicked thing. However, even those who had already heard the teachings of Buddhism and were practicing them also were committing sins. This fact was the starting-point of reflection for Shinran. "I am already neither a priest nor a layman. Therefore, my surname should be 'Bald-headed fool' (Gutoku, i.e. outwardly shaven, inwardly secular, polluted.)"[33]

To trace the origin, in Indian Buddhism the concept of sin distinguished from the concept of 'bad' or 'evil' was not clear. The words *akusala* or *papa,* could mean either. Such terms as *agha, kilbisa, enas,* etc. were used from antiquity, and inherited by Buddhists, but it is not likely that they had any important significance in Buddhist theology as being different from evil, one reason being that Buddhism did not presuppose the concept of God. But when Shinran used the term *"zaiaku"* or *"zaisho,"* it reflected keener self-reflection of the innate sin of man.

Shinran did not systematize his concept of sin. In his main work (called *"Kyōgyo-shin-shō"*)[34] he conveyed the traditional concept of the Ten Sins or Evil Deeds (*Jūaku*) and the Five Heinous Sins (*Gogyakuzai*).

The Ten Sins are: 1) to kill, 2) to steal, 3) to seek unlawful lust, 4) to tell lies, 5) to flatter, 6) to slander, 7) to use a double tongue, 8) to be greedy, 9) to become angry, 10) to hold wrong views.

The Five Deadly Sins are: 1) patricide, 2) matricide, 3) killing of *arhans,* 4) causing disorder to Buddhist Brotherhood, 5) Causing blood to come out of the Buddha's body. But his sin-consciousness was deep.

According to Shinran sin is essential to man; we cannot avoid committing sins. It is deeply rooted in human existence. He deplored:

"In their outward seeming, are all men diligent and truth-speaking,
But in their souls are greed, and eager and unjust deceitfulness,
And in their flesh do lying and cunning triumph.
Too strong for me is the evil of my heart. I cannot overcome it.
Therefore is my soul like unto the poison of serpents,
Even my righteous deeds, being mingled with this poison, must be named the deeds of deceitfulness."[35]

Shinran felt he was destined to hell.[36]

One feature which distinguishes Shinran, who expressed a thought so very similar to Christianity, from Augustine is that he did not entertain the idea of original sin.

Shinran stresses solely salvation of common men by grace of Amitabha Buddha. "Take refuge in the Ultimate Strength, for His pure radiance is above all things. He who perceiveth the Light is set free from the fetters of *Karma.*"[37] "Take refuge in the Mighty Consoler. Wherever His mercy shineth throughout all the worlds, men rejoice in its gladdening light."[38] "Without His Compassionate Vow how can we wretched beings be liberated from the fetters of birth-and-death?"[39]

One might say:—We cannot perceive grace of Buddha. Is it not invisible? Shinran replies:—It is our grave sins that prevent us from noticing it. Although we are not aware, we are already embraced by grace of Amitabha.

"Though we are covered with illusion,
And cannot see the light of salvation,
Untired is He who always shines upon me!"[40]

As we live especially in a Corrupted Age, we cannot be saved from the mundane world without relying upon the original vow of Amitabha. "No hope is there that the men now living in this last, closing age shall escape the fetters of life and death if they refuse the merciful promise of the Blessed One."[41]

Ordinary people are all wicked persons, those where "there is no mercy."[42] Therefore they cannot save themselves by their own power. Mercy is what comes from Buddha.

In Shinran's opinion, it is solely due to the original vow of Amitabha Buddha that so very sinful men are saved. "Shameless though I be and having no truth in my soul, yet by virtue of the Holy Name, the merits of Him are widely spread throughout all directions."[43]

Only through meditating on the reflection that we are sinful, we come to feel compassionate to others. The attitude of compassion can be founded only by grace. "We are wicked and sinful, but through the virtue of faith we try to do good for the welfare and peace of the world—yet not through our own power, but through that of Another (i.e. Amitabha)." All men, whether they are honest or criminal, are, without any distinction, admitted to Amida's Pure Realm. Faith in Amida's grace is the one and only condition of admission. We are equally sinful, and Amida is a being of compassionate love in the genuine form comparable to the highest God, but unlike the Christian God, he is not a judge. There is no conception of punishment by Amida. The Shin sect holds the view that the evil also are rightfully eligible for salvation by Amitabha Buddha.

Shinran brought this idea of Buddha's grace to its extreme conclusion. A saying of Hōnen's goes like this: "Even a bad man will be received in Buddha's Land, but how much more a good man!" Shinran turned this to the reverse—"Even a good man will be received in Buddha's Land, but how much more a bad man!"[44] To elaborate on this, a good man may be able to save himself by his own merit. But it is not to be expected that a bad man can save himself by his own merit; he needs the grace of the Buddha. He has no other means. Now even a good man who does not necessarily need grace can be saved; how much more a bad man who

cannot be saved otherwise than by grace. The sinner has only to believe in the Grace of Amitabha, and the Pure Realm would be his. Here faith became the sole requisite to salvation; all of the other Buddhist moral-philosophy was swept away. For Shinran no ceremony was necessary for salvation except genuine faith.

In connection with grace and faith a controversy occurred in religions of grace in different traditions. In Pure Land Buddhism of China and Japan the relation between faith (*shin*) and work (*gyō*) was an issue of heated debate. Many leaders thought that both should cooperate. But Shinran firmly said that pure faith alone is enough, and that one should not rely upon work.

In Japan, generally speaking, Buddhist faith was professed in terms of human nexus. Many people were converted for the beatitude of their parents, relatives or masters or feudal lords, etc. But Shinran's professed faith was genuinely individualistic. "I, Shinran, for the sake of filial piety towards my parents, have never, even once, uttered the Nembutsu (invocation to Amida). The reason is that all sentient beings in some birth or life have been my parents or my brothers. We can save all of them when we become Buddhas in the next life."[45] Individualism in the religious sense of the word was very conspicuous in the case of Shinran. Yuien, Shinran's disciple, conveyed the belief of his master as follows: "The Master (Shinran) used to say, 'When I carefully consider the Vow which Amida brought forth after five kalpas' contemplation, I find that it was solely for me, Shinran alone! So, how gracious is the Original Vow of Amida who resolved to save me, possessed of many karmic sins!' "[46]

It has been a conspicuous tendency among the Japanese people to esteem master-disciple relationship to form a closely knit group around a master. Shinran denied it defiantly. "It is utterly unreasonable for those who are devoted solely to the Nembutsu (invocation to Amida) to quarrel, saying, 'These are my disciples,' or 'Those are others' disciple.' I, Shinran, do not have even one disciple of my own. The reason is, if I should lead others to utter the Nembutsu by my own efforts, I might call them my disciples. But it is truly ridiculous to call them my disciples,

when they utter the Nembutsu through the working of Amida Buddha."[47]

But the relationship between the absolute and the individual differed with traditions. Western medieval thinkers always looked upon God with awe. Hindu saints called the individual "the slave of God." However, Japanese Pure Land leaders never used the term 'slave.' (Chinese one, either, do no seem to have used such an appellation.) They called Amida Buddha 'parent' (singular). It implies all the believers are his children. As parents want to bring up their children to the same state as themselves, Amida makes all sinners Buddhas like Amida. There is no discrimination. If there should be any discrimination, Amida's compassion would not be complete.

The Japanese devotion to Amida has been practiced in the repetition of the phrase: Nambu Amidabutsu (Adoration to Amida Buddha). This phrase is called the Title of Six Syllables.

Then how many times have we repeated the title or name of the Highest One? Some devout believers of Japanese Pure Land Buddhism thought that the oftener they repeated the phrase, the more merit one could obtain. There occurred a legend that Saint Hōnen repeated the phrase a million times. On this point, Hōnen's opinion does not seem to be clear. He simply said: "It is very good to believe in the grace of Buddha with the heart, and repeat the name of Buddha with the mouth."[48] Shinran thought that both faith and repetition of the name were required. "Though you have faith, and do not repeat the name of Amida Buddha, it profits you nothing. Though you repeat the name of Amida Buddha, and do not have faith, you will not be able to be born into the Pure Land. Therefore, you should believe in the grace and repeat the name of Amida, and you will undoubtedly be born into the Buddha's Land."[49] But he did not want to separate these two. "Faith and adoration are not two different things but one, for there is no adoration without faith, and no faith without adoration."[50]

The problem of 'eligibility of wicked persons' is formed. Only for the reason that we are wicked persons we are qualified to be saved, some people said. In this connection we should compare this Western an-

tinomianism. Among the later followers of Shinran there appeared some people who boastfully said that they were not afraid of committing sins. This allegiance was called 'Pride in the Original Vows (of Amitābha).'[51]

The teaching of eligibility of wicked persons does not mean to encourage bad actions. Such a thought was forbidden as heresy by the Shinshu sect. Out of pure faith good deeds come out spontaneously.

"Unto us hath our Father given those two spiritual gifts. Of these the first is the Virtue whereby we attain unto His Kingdom, and the second is the Virtue whereby having so attained we return into this world for the salvation of men. By the merit of these two gifts are we initiates of the true faith and of its deeds."

"When we shall have attained unto the faith and the deeds of the Merciful Promise through our Father that is in all things able to give them unto us, birth and death are henceforward as Nirvana. And this is called the Gift of Departure."[52]

The thought that the Compassion of Buddha should be realized in actual deeds was stressed by later Shinshu priests. Kakunyo sang: "Outside our wish to give things to others out of compassion, where can we find the form of Buddha!" Rennyo (1415–1499) said: "When it rains or when it is terribly hot, let workmen stop work early. This is an outcome of the great compassion of Buddha."[53] Compassion should be realized in daily life, and Buddhism does not exist outside it.

With regard to the feature that the conciousness of human sinfulness was exceedingly strong, Shinran was quite unique in the history of Buddhism. But his concept of sin was still derived from the traditional one.

> "Though sin hath no substance in itself, and is but the shadow of our illusion, and soul (lit. the essence of mind) is pure in itself, yet in all this world there is no sincere man."[54]

According to Shinran, Sin is *devoid* of its own reality in itself, and therefore man can be liberated.

Although Shinran expressed confession similar to that of Christian thinkers, he did not entertain the thought of the original sin of the an-

cestors of mankind. Shinran, on the other hand, did not ascribe the origin of sin to the ancestors of mankind. Here we find a reason why the faith in the Pure Land has been compatible in Japan with ancestoral worship. If one's faith is pure and genuine, one should not rely upon anything else than Him, the absolute, in whom he takes refuge. But common men in the world were beset by various superstitions. This fact was discussed by Buddhist thinkers in the Medieval Ages. Shinran deplored:

"Sad and corrupt is it that the priests and people, following after the superstitions of auspicious times and days, seek sooth-saying and festivals,

And worship the gods of heaven and earth."[55]

It is interesting to notice a similar echo in medieval philosophical Shintoism also. The anonymous writers of the *Shinto Gobusho* (Five Major Works of Shintoism) says: "What pleases the Deity is virtue and sincerity, and not any number of material offerings."[56]

The degeneration of the clergy was a topic of heated debate in those days.

"Being of one accord with the many minds of the heathen,

They bow in worship before devils.

While yet wearing the robe of a Buddhist monk."[57]

Sacerdotalism was still stressed by Shinran, who asserted that a monk, even if he should be degenerated and only outwardly a monk, should not be despised, but respected. "May they yet bring offerings with homage unto the priests, even as you do unto Sariputta and Moggallana (the two great disciples of the Buddha); though they are priests but in name and without discipline, for this is the time of degeneration and of the last days."[58]

This opinion was shared by Master Dōgen[59] also, whose standpoint was quite opposite to that of Shinran. Needless to say of Master Dōgen and other strict masters, even Shinran who made a remarkable step towards secularization of priests, still remained within the range of venerating clergy. This seems to represent a feature of medieval thought. The existence of clergy was first denied by the Islam, and then by the Sikhs in India, and by Quakers in the West. Recently in Japan,[60] such new

movements as Non-church movement among Christians or Laymen Buddhism occurred. In this respect Shinran seems to be located on the historical turning point.

4. The Way of Meditation

The Object of Contemplation

On the other hand we find a different type of thought in the Medieval Ages. That is the type of mysticism and meditation. This represents a view of inherent goodness in human nature, opposed to more extreme views of sin.

Meditation was essential to the contemplative life of the Medieval Ages. Zen Buddhists practised Zen meditation, as the practitioners of the Hindu sects practised yoga, and Western mystics meditated on God. The places where meditation was practised were monasteries. In the Far East Tao-shin (580–651) established Zen monasteries for the first time.[71]

The requirements for meditation were more or less the same in various advanced religions. Practitioners need composure of mind, abstinence from sensual enjoyments, and persistence in concentration of mind. They should practice in quietude.

The unique contribution of Zen to higher religion is its method of reaching and presenting the truth. Many different method of instruction have been used by Zen masters.

In the Rinzai sect practitioners have to concentrate on enigmatic or paradoxical, non-logical questions called *'kōans.'*[72] *Kōans* were substantially based upon *mondōs*. A considerable part of Zen literature consists of *mondō,* of brief dialogues between masters and disciples, which illustrate its peculiar method of instruction, pointing to the truth, the real vow, without interposing ideas and notions about it.

A monk asked Tung-shan, "How do we escape the heat when summer comes and the cold when winter is here?" The master said, "Why don't you go where there is no summer, no winter?" "Where is such a place?"

"When the cold season comes, one is thoroughly chilled; when the hot summer is here, one swelter."

There are some *kōans* which logically do not make any sense. Answers do not reply to questions.

"Once a monk asked Tung-shan: 'What is the Buddha?' Tung-shan replied: 'Three pounds of flax.' "

Zen has sometimes to attack and smash human concepts quite violently. Thus its technique has often the appearance of spiritual shock-tactics. Paradoxes are used because it is difficult to express pure experience in the form of ordinary, formal logic.

How paradoxical these dialogues are, can be illustrated in the following:

The Zen master Chao-chu was asked, "What is the Tao?"

He replied, "Everyday life is the Tao."

"How," pursued the enquirer, "does one get into harmony with it?"

"If you try to get into harmony with it, you will get away from it."

A rather systematized saying runs as follows:

Like unto space it knows no boundaries;
Yet it is right here with us, ever retaining its serenity and fullness;
It is only when you seek it that you lose it.
You cannot take hold of it, nor can you get rid of it;
While you can do neither, it goes on its own way;
You remain silent and it speaks; you speak and it is silent;
The great gate of charity is wide open with no obstructions whatever before it.[73]

For Zen masters, the best way to express our deepest experiences is by the use of paradoxes which transcend the opposites. For example, these are typical paradoxes[74] to be used for meditation: "Where there is nothing, there is all." "To die the great death is to gain the great life." "Drop into a deep chasm and live again after your death." "We have been separated for a long time and have never been apart. We meet each other throughout the day, and do not meet a moment." "If you abandon superior training, you find original Enlightenment in your hand; if you leave original Enlightenment, superior training fills your body." Para-

doxes like these bring objective logic to a deadlock and from there it is possible to uncover the vital way of turning around.

Sometimes the *koans* seem to contradict each other. When asked, "What is Buddha?" Ba-so answered, "This mind is Buddha," but on another occasion he said, "This mind is not Buddha." But both assertions are no less than ferry-boats which lead us to the enlightenment.

Some *kōans* can be translated into logical expressions.[75] A famous *kōan* is this: "Before father and mother were born, what was your true nature?" It can be worded: "Beyond time and space, what is Reality?"

The way of practice in the Sōtō Zen is fairly different. Master Dōgen also made meditation, the essential practice of meditation. "Why do you encourage others to practice meditation?" The answer: "This is the right gate to the teaching of Buddha."[76] "Meditation is the gate to Comfort and Happiness."[77] However, the Sōtō Zen went still farther than the Rinzai Zen. It rejected even *kōans*. Practitioners should not endeavor to concentrate on anything. Master Dōgen said: "In meditation, if mind is distracted, don't try to suppress it. Let it be as it is!"[78] He disliked the term "Zen sect."[79] He claimed to convey the right path of religion. If one limit the Way with the word "Zen sect," one loses the way. Sōtō Zen emphasizes silent sitting and meditating on the illumination or insight received while waiting in silence.

Concerning the object of contemplation we can conclude that in Western and Eastern meditations the way of contemplating the object by practitioners are more or less similar, whereas the Zen way of approach has been diametrically opposed to them.

Intuitive Knowledge of Mystics

Zen Buddhism taught intuitive knowledge of the absolute. A well-known motto of Zen: "Direct pointing to the mind of man"[80] emphasizes that we originally have the Buddha-mind and need the actual experience of it. That is, the master points to the Buddha-nature, or Reality itself. Enlightenment takes place in a "timeless moment," i.e. outside time, in eternity, and that it is an act of the Absolute itself, not our own doing. One cannot do anything at all to become enlightened.

To expect austerities or meditation to bring forth salvation is like "rubbing a brick to make it into a mirror." "Seeing into one's own nature,"[81] another motto of Zen, means that the seeing of this Buddha-mind is the same as becoming the Buddha—that you are the Buddha.

This intuition cannot be attained arbitrarily. The true law of the Buddha should be transmitted from mind to mind and from personality to personality.

The Zen motto: "A special transmission outside the classified teachings"[82] means that systems of teachings based upon the Sūtra are not relied upon, and that the true law is transmitted by other means. Therefore, to attain the goal of Zen we must begin by receiving guidance from a true master of Zen who has synthesized understanding and action. Under the guidance of the master—the transmission from mind to mind —Zen practitioners believe deeply in our original Buddhahood and express this through the Zen meditative disciplines which bring out the Buddha and the patriarchs in ourselves. As we learn to bring out the Buddha and patriarchs in ourselves, we must emphasize living experience rather than the words and letters of the Sūtras.

Zen claims a special lineage of transmission of the teaching from Mahākāśyapa, the great disciple of Sakyamuni. Zen people say: When the Buddha conveyed the teaching, all stoop nonplussed save Mahākāśyapa, whose understanding smile brought this recognition from his master: "I have the most precious treasure, spiritual and transcendental, which this moment I hand over to you, O venerable Mahākāśyapa!" Tradition asserts that this knowledge was handed down from Mahākāśyapa through a line of patriarchs to Bodhidharma, who brought it to China, where it continued to be passed from teacher to teacher. Because this knowledge can never be written down, Zen does not rely on scriptures, even though it may use them as expediencies for edifying people.

It seems to have been an ironical destiny of human beings that intuitive knowledge which should be universal was due to be conveyed only in specific lineage in different traditions.

Dōgen identified the practice of meditation (*zazen*) with enlighten-

ment, the innate Buddha-nature, is the *a priori* basis of the practice which itself embodies enlightenment in the process of one's endeavor.

Dōgen says: "In Buddhism, practice and enlightenment are one and the same. Since practice has its basis in enlightenment, the practice even of the beginner contains the whole of original enlightenment. Thus while giving directions as to the exercise, the Zen master warns him not to await enlightenment apart from the exercise, because this exercise points directly to the original enlightenment, it has no beginning."[83]

The Zen disciple does not seek for some Supreme Being above him, but rather he finds in himself the Buddha-nature spontaneously as the foundation of his own existence. "Let the light be reflected so it falls back and irradiates the self," says Dōgen. "Then mind and body will of themselves disappear and the original countenance will become manifest."[84]

In this sense meditation should be esteemed as such. "Even though one should know Meditation as the Buddha Law, yet if he does not comprehend Meditation as Meditation, how then can he know the Buddha Law as Buddha Law?"[85]

Practical Significance of Meditation

In Zen monasteries meditation was exhorted towards the goal as follows: Master Po-chang taught to "cling to nothing, crave for nothing."[86] This is what he impressed upon his disciples as being fundamental. The *koan* of 'nothing' was highly esteemed in later days. "When you forget the good and the non-good, the worldly life and the religious life and all other things, and permit no thoughts relating to them to arise, and you abandon body and mind—then there is complete freedom. When the mind is like wood or stone, there is nothing to be discriminated."[87]

Enlightenment was often compared to light. Master Wu-men compared enlightenment to 'lightening a religious candle.'[88]

To attain enlightenment means in Zen Buddhism to break down the bondages of our petty, selfish ego. Zen masters called it metaphorically

"to break down a lacquer-painted pail" or "the collapse of mind and body."

This ultimate situation is not realized by petty deliberation of man, but by the absolute itself.

This paint seems to be quite dissimilar to the thought of Zen Buddhism, especially of the Lin-chi or Rinzai sect. But we have an echo of this thought in another branch of Zen Buddhism, i.e. the Sōtō sect founded by Master Dōgen.

Dōgen also said: "When you let your body and mind go free (without attachment and worry) and forget them, and entrust yourself to the 'home' of Buddha, then everything will be conducted by Buddha. When you follow the process, you will become free from the sufferings of life and death, and become Buddha."[89]

Justification of moral virtues is possible by the fundamental supposition that we human beings are in our essence good and pure. In Zen Buddhism they say that "living beings are by origin (essentially) Buddhas."[90]

The Absolute in Phenomena

Zen dispelled all kinds of ratiocination on the absolute. The Buddha dwells hidden in all inconspicuous things of daily life. To take them just as they come, that is all that enlightenment amounts to. Zen is spiritual freedom, the liberation of our true nature from the burden of those fixed ideas and feelings about Reality which we accumulate through fear—the fear that life will run away from us. These *mondo* may seem puzzling at the first glance, but in fact there is nothing obscure or hidden about them. The truth which they indicate is, however, of radical simplicity and self-evidence.

"It is so clear that it takes long to see.
You must know that the fire which you are seeking
is the fire in your own lantern,
And that your rice has been cooked from the very beginning."[91]

A Zen poet says:

"How wondrous, how miraculous, this—

I draw water and I carry fuel!"
"In spring, the flowers, and in autumn the moon,
In summer a refreshing breeze, and in winter the snow.
What else do I have need of?"[92]

Zen masters expressed their teachings with reference to individual cases, casting away the restrictions of general propositions.

In the respect that they resorted to enigmatic questions, Zen and the Tantric religion of India were similar. But, whereas the Tantric religion explained the manifestation of the world as due to the efficacy of the primordial female power (*sakti*), Zen Buddhism did not extoll the creative or sexual power of female deities, being indifferent to metaphysical questions.

The process of the phenomenal world is activity, mighty self-positing, a procreation not under the compulsion of laws or blind impulse but in the creative power and freedom of sublime wonder. Dōgen says, "Being is time, and time is being. Everything in the world is time at each moment. To practice religious disciplines and to attain Enlightenment and to enter into Nirvana are nothing but to ascertain that these events are Being, time, and that all time is all Being."[93] Dōgen's assertion seems to be very radical. He said: "Birth and death is the life of Buddha."[94] Some Chinese Zen masters also defined Buddhahood as 'pure intelligence.' But Dōgen defiantly repudiated such an opinion as heresy, not Buddhist.[95]

The Sōtō sect is traditionally supposed to maintain "the Five Ranks"[96] dialectic propounded by Tung-shan (Tōzan) (807–869), the Chinese founder of the Sōtō Zen. But in actuality this theory has not been so influential as the teachings by Master Dōgen himself.

5. The Concept of Time and Change

One of the main features of Japanese ways of thinking has been the attitude of the acceptance of actuality in the phenomenal world as the absolute.

The Japanese have had the attitude to lay a greater emphasis upon the intuitive sensible concrete rather than universals and the attitude to lay

an emphasis upon the fluid, incipient character of the events. This way of thinking may come to regard the phenomenal world itself as the Absolute and to reject the recognition of the Absolute existing over and above the phenomenal world. What is widely known among post-Meiji philosophers as the "Theory that the phenomenal is actually the real" has a deep root in Japanese tradition.

It was characteristic of the religious views of the ancient Japanese that they believed spirits to reside in all kinds of things. They personified all kinds of spirits other than those of human beings, concerning them all as ancestral gods, tending to view every spirit as noumenon of gods. It is such a turn of thought that gave birth to the Shinto shrines, for in order to perform religious ceremonies the gods and spirits were fixed in certain specified places.

This way of thinking is what runs through the subsequent history of Shintoism down to this day. "Nowhere in a shadow in which a god does not reside. Peaks, ridges, pines, cryptomerias, mountains, rivers, seas, villages, plains, and fields, everywhere there is a god. We can receive the constant and intimate help of these spirits in our tasks, many courtiers are passing."[97] This thought was inherited by later Shintoists.[98]

Buddhist philosophy likewise was received and assimilated on the basis of this way of thinking. Japanese Buddhism emphasized the transience of the phenomenal world. But the Japanese attitude towards this transience is very different from the Indian. The Japanese disposition is to lay a greater emphasis upon sensible, concrete events, intuitively apprehended, than upon universals. It is in direct contrast to the characteristic Indian reaction to the world of change, which is to reject it in favor of an ultimate reality, a transcendent Absolute in which the mind can find refuge from the ceaseless flux of observed phenomena. The Japanese reaction is rather to accept, even to welcome, the fluidity and impermanence of the phenomenal world.

To begin with, the Tendai sect in Japan is not the same as in China. The Tendai scholars in medieval Japan, using the same nomenclature as that used in the continental Buddhism, arrived at a system of thought that is distinctly original. This is what is called Honkaku-Hōmon, which

asserts that the aspects of the phenomenal world are the Buddha. The word Honkaku or Enlightenment appears in the Chinese translation of the *Mahāyāna-sraddhotpāda-sāstra* (*Daijyō-kishinron*)[99] which was originally composed in India. In the continent, this word meant the ultimate comprehension of what is beyond the phenomenal world, whereas in Japan the same word was brought down to refer to what is within the phenomenal world. In this way, the characteristic feature of the Tendai Buddhism in Japan consists in their laying an emphasis upon things rather than principles. The Japanese Tendai scholars were not very faithful to the original texts of the Chinese Tendai. They sometimes interpreted the original texts in rather unnatural way, their interpretation being based upon the standpoint of the Phenomenal Absolute.[100]

It is natural that the Nichiren sect, which is an outgrowth of the Japanese Tendai, also lays an emphasis upon such a turn of thought. Nichiren asserts that the crux of Buddha's thought is revealed in the Jyuryōbon[101] chapter (Duration of life of the Tathāgata) of the Lotus Sūtra, saying, "In the earlier half of the whole sūtra, the ten directions are called the pure land and this place the soiled land, while, (in this Jyuryōbon part), on the contrary, this place is called the main land and the pure land in the ten directions the soiled land where Buddha has made an incarnation."[102] The Nichiren sect states that, while the Tendai sect from China onward takes the standpoint of "Action according to principles," Nichiren emphasized "Action according to things."

The method of thinking that seeks for the Absolute in the Phenomenal World plays an effective role in the assimilation of the Zen sect as well. The Zen Buddhism in Master Dōgen seems to have been influenced by the Japanese Tendai Buddhism. This fact has often been alluded to by the specialists but has not been fully explored. Here I shall point out a few examples which reveal the above-mentioned way of thinking. The Chinese translated "dharmatā"[103] in Sanskrit as "the real aspect of all things." This concept refers to the real aspect of all kinds of phenomena in our experience, and, therefore, is composed of two distinct, contradictory elements, "All things" and "the real aspect." But, the Tendai Buddhism, gave this phrase an interpretation of "All things are the real

aspect" and took the viewpoint that the phenomena are the reality. Dōgen gave a different twist to this interpretation and emphasized that "the real aspect are all things." He means to say that the truth which people search for is, in reality, nothing but the real world of our daily experience. Thus he says, "The real aspect are all things. All things are this aspect, this character, this body, this mind, this world, this wind and this rain, this sequence of daily going, living, sitting, and lying down, this series of melancholy, joy, action, and inaction, this stick and wand, this Buddha's smile, this transmission and reception of the doctrine, this study and practice, this evergreen pine and ever unbreakable bamboo."[104]

When one asserts "all things are the real aspect," the predicate being of a larger denotation, the real aspect seems to contain something other than all things. But in the expression "the real aspect are all things," the meaning is that there is nothing that is not exposed to us.[105] For Dōgen, therefore, the fluid aspects of impermanence is in itself the absolute state. The changeable character of the phenomenal world is of absolute significance for Dōgen.

Master Dōgen, the thirteenth-century thinker who is said to have founded the Sōtō-Zen sect, asserts the transience of things as strongly as any Indian Buddhist. "Time flies more swiftly than an arrow and life is more transient than dew. We cannot call back a single day that has passed." But his emphasis is positive, not negative: "A man may live as the slave of the senses for one hundred years but if he lives one day upholding the Good Law, it will favorably influence his coming life for many years." And Dōgen stresses the primacy of the phenomenal world: "We ought to love and respect this life and this body, since it is through this life and this body that we have the opportunity to practice the Law and make known the power of the Buddha. Accordingly, righteous practice for one day is the Seed of Buddhahood, of the righteous action of All the Buddhas."[106]

What we see and experience is thus recognized as itself the ultimate reality. There is no greater reality, changeless and invisible; there is nothing to be apprehended that is not already exposed to us.[107] For Master Dōgen, impermanence is itself the absolute state, and this im-

permanence is not to be rejected but to be valued. "Impermanence is the Buddhahood. . . .[108] The impermanence of grass, trees, and forests is verily the Buddhahood. The impermanence of the person's body and mind is verily the Buddhahood. The impermanence of the country and scenery is verily the Buddhahood."[109]

In other places Dōgen says: "Death and life are the very life of the Buddha," and "There mountains, rivers and earth are all the Seed of Buddhahood." In the Lotus Sūtra, Dōgen finds the same vein of thought: "Concerning the Lotus Sūtra . . . the cry of a monkey is drowned in the sound of a rapid river. [Even] these are preaching this sūtra, this above all "He who attains the purport of this sūtra, says the Master, will discern the preaching of the doctrine even in the voices at an auction sale, for even in the mundane world "our Buddha's voice and form [are] in all the sounds of the rapid river and colors of the ridge."[110]

One is reminded of the words of the Chinese poet Su Tung-p'o: "The voice of the rapids is verily the wide long tongue [of the Buddha]. The color of the mountains is no other than [his] pure chaste body." This way of thinking is Japanese Zen Buddhism. In the words of Master Mujū, "Mountains, rivers, earth, there is not a thing that is not real."[111]

Starting from such a viewpoint, Dōgen gives to some phrases of Indian Buddhist scriptures interpretations that are essentially different from the original meaning. There is a phrase in the *Mahāpari-nirvāna-sūtra*[112] that goes as follows: "He who desires to know the meaning of Buddhahood should survey the time and wait for the occasion to come. If the time comes, the Buddhahood will be revealed of itself." To this concept of Buddhahood as something possible and accessible, Dōgen gives a characteristic twist. He reads the phrase "survey of time"[113] as "make a survey in terms of time," and the phrase "if the time comes" as "the time has already come." His interpretation of the original passage becomes, in this way, something like the following:

Buddhahood is time. He who wants to know Buddhahood may know it by knowing time as it is revealed to us. And as time is something in which we are already immersed, Buddhahood also is not something that

is to be sought in the future but is something that is realized where we are.[114]

We see here Dōgen's effort to free himself from the idealistic viewpoint held by some of the Indian Mahāyāna Buddhists. In Dōgen's unique philosophy of time, "all being is time,"[115] the ever-changing, incessant temporal flux is identified with ultimate Being itself.

In the words of a Chinese Zen Buddhist, Yaoshan, (751–834) there appears the phrase "at a certain time." Dōgen interprets this phrase unjustifiably as "Being time" and comments as follows: "So-called Being Time means that time already is being and all being is time."[116] Taking this opportunity, Dōgen goes on to his unique philosophy of time. According to his philosophy, the every changing, incessant, flow of time is the ultimate Being.

Again and again Dōgen emphasizes that the true reality is not static but dynamic. "It is heretical doctrine," says he, "to think the mind mobile and the essence of things static. It is a heretical doctrine to think that the essence is crystal clear and the appearance changeable."[117] Again, "It is a heretical doctrine to think that in essence water does not run, and the tree does not pass through vicissitude. The Buddha's way consists in the form that exists and the conditions that exist. The bloom of flowers and the fall of leaves are the conditions that exist. And yet unwise people think that in the world of essence there should be no bloom of flowers and no fall of leaves."[118]

Dōgen criticizes the Chinese Zen Buddhist Ta-hui (1089–1163), who taught that mind and essence are not caught up in the world of birth and death. Accordingly to Dōgen, Ta-hui was wrong in teaching that "the mind is solely perception and conceptualization, and the essence is pure and tranquil."[119] Here again a static way of thinking is rejected, and this rejection makes Dōgen's emphasis very different from anything which Indian or Chinese Buddhism has prepared us for.

In this sense time is accorded neither substantiality nor continuity. Moments of time stand side by side for human existence. Every moment is self-contained. In every moment only the present exists in the real sense of the word. Dōgen says, "You should fix your heart on the exer-

cise only today in this moment, without losing the light of time."[120] The *now* is absolute. The whole of enlightenment is contained in every moment. Therefore, every moment of exercise is of infinite worth. Here we can find a strange coincidence with the philosophy of *today* (now) by Prince Shōtoku.

The way of thinking that recognizes absolute significance in the temporary, phenomenal world seems to be culturally related to the traditional Japanese love of nature. The Japanese love mountains, rivers, flowers, birds, grass and trees, and represent them in the patterns of their kimonos; they are fond of the delicacies of the season, keeping edibles in their natural form as much as possible in cooking. Within the house, flowers are arranged in a vase and dwarf trees are placed in the alcove, flowers and birds are engraved in the transom and painted on the sliding screen, and in the garden miniature mountains, streams and lakes are created. Japanese literature is deeply involved with nature and treats it with warm affection. Typical are the essays in the *Makura no Sōshi* (Pillow Book), which describes the beauties of the seasons. The loving concern with the particularities of nature is familiar to us through Japanese art; it is just as marked in Japanese poetry. If the poems on nature were to be removed from the collections of Japanese poems, how many would be left? Haiku, the characteristic Japanese seventeen-syllable short poems, are unthinkable apart from natural objects and the changing seasons, but the differences in attitude are as instructive as the similarities. Here is a poem by Master Dōgen:

Flowers are in spring, cuchoos in summer,
In autumn is the moon, and in winter
The pallid glimmer of snow.

The meaning of the above poem is very close to that of the Chinese verse by Wu-men Hui-k'ai:

A hundred flowers are in spring, in autumn is the moon,
In summer is the cool wind, the snow is in winter;
If nothing is on the mind to afflict a man,
That is his best season.

Similar as the poems are, the Japanese substitution of "cuckoos" for

the Chinese "cool wind" has produced an entirely different effect. Both cuckoos and cool wind are sensible phenomena, but while the wind gives the sense of indefinite, remote boundlessness, the cuckoos give an impression that is limited, almost cosy.

An even better example is the poem composed on his deathbed by Ryōkan:

For a memento of my existence
What shall I leave (I need not leave anything)?
Flowers in the spring, cuckoos in the summer
And maple leaves in the autumn.

"Maple leaves" are felt to be far closer to ourselves than "the moon," which Wu-men chose to associate with autumn. Enjoyment of nature is common to both China and Japan, but whereas the Chinese prefer the boundless and distant, the Japanese prefer the simple and compact. Dōgen took a Spartan attitude towards human desires, but he had a tender heart for seasonal beauties:

The peach blossoms begin
To bloom in the breeze of the spring;
Not a shadow of doubt
On the branches and leaves is left.
Though I know that I shall meet
The autumn moon again,
How sleepless I remain
On this moonlit night.

What is the origin of this tendency of the Japanese to grasp the absolute in terms of the world as it exists in time? Probably in the mildness of the weather, the benign character of the landscape, and the rapid and conspicuous change of seasons. Since Nature appears to be relatively benevolent to man he can love it rather than abhor it. Nature, as it changes in time, is thought of as at one with man, not hostile to him. Man feels congenial to his world, he has no grudge against it. This is at least a partial explanation for what is a basic tendency in Japanese thought.

6. The Philosophy of History

As Japan is situated near the continent of China, the Chinese conception of history has been very influential in the past of Japan, and Buddhist conception of history also was introduced into Japan as it had been existing in China. However, the Japanese has kept their traditional ways of thinking which modified the notion of history introduced from abroad.[121]

Whatever its source, this willingness to accept the human beings' situation in time has many manifestations in Japanese philosophy. The Japanese came to produce peculiarly Japanese-style books of history. The Japanese produced a lot of classical works of history. Among them the *Gukan-shō* by Bishop Jichin seems to be foremost in this respect that the notion of reality by Japanese Buddhists is most clearly reflected in the notion of history. He deplored that the age in which he lived was a degenerated one. This critical consciousness was most keenly felt in the Kamakura period. The consciousness that they lived in immoral times was conspicuous among emperors of those days also.[122]

Most of the Buddhist sects in Japan teach that doctrines should always be made "apropos of the time." Later Mahāyāna Buddhism employs the concept of the Three Times, the three periods which follow the demise of Lord Buddha. The first thousand years is called the Period of the Perfect Law, when the religion of the Buddha was genuinely and perfectly practiced. The second thousand years is the Period of the Copied Law, when the religion of the Buddha was practiced only in imitating the practices of the sages and monks of the past. The last period, the Period of the Latter Law, is seen as a time of open degeneration.

These ideas took deep root in Japan. The idea, in particular, of the third, degenerate age penetrated deep into the core of the doctrines of various sects. These admitted that they were in the age of degeneration, but instead of exhorting a return to the Perfect, or even the Copied Law, they claimed that the exigencies of the time should be considered and religious doctrines made suitable to them. The sects even vied in claiming the superiority of their respective sūtras (or doctrines) because they were most suited to the corruption of the age. Nichiren, the Buddhist prophet, claimed that one could be saved only by the spiritual power of

the Lotus Sūtra, whose gospel he alone was entitled to spread. The corruption of the age is no handicap: "The Adoration of the Lotus of the Perfect Truth shall prevail beyond the coming ages of ten thousand years, nay eternally in the future." It is indeed an advantage.

Is it not true that one hundred years' training in a heavenly paradise does not compare with one day's work in the earthly world, and that all service to the Truth during the two thousand years of the ages of the Perfect Law and the Copied Law is inferior to that done in the one span of time in the age of the Latter Law? All these differences are due, not to Nichiren's own wisdom, but to the virtues inherent in the times. Flowers bloom in the spring, and fruits are ripe in the autumn; it is hot in summer and cold in winter. Is it not time that makes these differences?[123] Nichiren here welcomes the processes of time, even if they bring corruption; he sees them as an opportunity for service to the truth. Time provides the opportunity for a turning point from degeneration to regeneration.

Nichiren laid special emphasis upon the particularity and specificity of the truth of humanity. The Japanese unfriendliness for universals is plain in this passage:

> "The learning of just one word or one phrase of the Right Law, if only it accords with the time and the propensity of the learner, would lead him to the attainment of the Way. The mastery of a thousand scriptures and ten thousand theories, if they should not accord with the time and the propensity of the one who masters them, would lead him nowhere."[124]

Nichiren evaluates doctrines by five standards, all specific in character. These are: the teaching of the sūtra, the spiritual endowments of the learner (what he calls the "propensity"), the country in which the doctrine is practiced, and the temporal order of circumstances affecting the practice of the doctrine. Saichō, an ancient Buddhist teacher, also regarded the time and the country as important factors, but it was Nichiren who established them as basic principles, presented in a clear and distinct form. Such a method of evaluation of religious truth in terms of social and individual particularities, would hardly be found in the Bud-

dhist thought of India or China. It is clear that even where India and Japan have shared a set of religious assumptions, the characteristic national habits of thought have led to entirely different conceptions both of Time and of Ultimate Reality.

Man is an existence in history. History is brought into shape when a state or society is established. The state or society of Japan has been featured by the Imperial Household of long continuation. A feature of Japanese historiography is as follows: Japan has been a unified country located in narrow islands under the rule of the Imperial Household whose origin cannot be traced. Many Japanese historiographies of the past centered on extolling the prestige of the Imperial Household.

When one looks at the many legends related in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihonshoki,* the most ancient annals of Japan, one finds that stories of the gods are not told for the purpose of demonstrating the greatness of the divinities believed in by the ancients; on the contrary, it is only for the purpose of showing the divine character of the Emperor that accounts are given of the gods which are its basis and of the historical blood relation of these gods.

According to the tales of the gods in the *Kojiki,* after the heavens and the earth were separated, the two divinities Izanami and Izanagi descended to the island of Onokoro, and then gave birth to the various islands of Ōyashima (i.e. the territory of Japan). After that they gave birth to various other divinities; the gods of the wind, of trees and mountains were born, and at the end the goddess (Izanami) died from burns, because she gave birth to the god of fire. Thereupon, the god (Izanagi) wanted to meet his spouse, and went to the land of night and saw her. Then, after returning to this world, when he washed the filth (of the land of death from himself), from his eyes and nose were born the three divinities Amaterasu-ōmikami, Tsukiyomi-no-mikoto, and Susanō-no-mikoto. It is said that this Amaterasu-ōmikami was the ancestor of the Imperial House.[125] In this way the legend of the ancestors of the royal house is connected with the legend of the creation of the universe. This is probably something without parallel among other nations. At least among other civilized peoples of the East, these two types of legends

are separated. Thus, the divine authority of the Imperial House is enhanced by the fact that its lineage is connected with the legend of the creation of heaven and earth.

The early Buddhists of India held a sort of the theory of social contract, according to which the monarch was originally elected from among people for the welfare of people. But the Japanese who accepted Buddhism on a large scale refused nevertheless to adopt its concept of the state which to them appear to run counter to the native ides of "state structure" (*kokutai*). We thus have a writer of history of Japan like KITABATAKE Chikafusa who was ready on the one hand to accept Buddhism in general but was eager on the other to emphasize the importance of the Japanese Imperial Family in the following way: The Buddhist theory (of state) is merely an Indian theory; Indian monarchs may have been the descendants of a monarch selected for the people's welfare, but "Our Imperial Family is the only continuous and unending line of family descending from its Heavenly Ancestors."[126] HIRATA Atsutane on the other hand discredits the whole Indian theory of the origin of the state as mere explanation of the origin of "Indian chieftains."[127]

Kokan Shiren (1278–1346), writer of a history of Japanese Buddhism, said in the introduction to the work: "Japan is a pure, pure entity. The basis of the state is rooted in nature. No Chinese dynasty has ever been like this. This is why we praise our country. This 'nature' is the three sacred treasures. The three treasures are the sacred mirror, the sacred sword, and the sacred jewel. These three are all natural, heaven-made products. The fact that our country has one imperial line which reaches far back in time and is unbroken over the ages is surely due to these treasures, which are natural and heaven-made. Therefore, even after countless generations, there is no danger that the throne will be menaced. Surely, these heaven-produced sacred treasures will not become the playthings of another clan or of foreign arms."[128]

The tendency to view the history of Japan only in the light of the prestige of the Imperial Household has completely vanished. This is probably to keep pace with the new development of the world situation. However, to view history as such in the light of actuality as the absolute

is of some significance even in the future. This way of thinking is noticed even in the philosophy of the late NISHIDA, the founder of a modern trend of Japanese philosophy, and it is even compatible with Hegelianism or Marxism, which is very prevalent among contemporary Japanese philosophers and historians.

7. Conclusions

The discussions so far are not enough to cover details of medieval thought. We have roughly pointed to some problems and features which can be noticed in medieval Japan. But they will suffice to evidence that there was a stage of thought which can be roughly called 'medieval.'

In the discussions made so far, it has been made clear that in Buddhism there were at least two types, i.e.:

1) Self-Reliance or Self-Power (or *Jiriki* in Japanese)

2) Dependence on Grace or the Other Power (or *Tariki* in Japanese).

The former way is self-saving, whereas the latter way represents 'saving by another.' Or even in one branch of a religion we find two types mixed up, although one type is more predominant. We would say that it is misleading to identify any one religion with one type only.

So far we have pointed out some similar ideas and problems of the Medieval Ages of Japan. It is almost impossible to summarize them in short sentences, however, we can understand they are important in the history of Japanese thought and are still of contemporary significance.

Notes

1 It was Emperor Daigo who opened an independent road of Japanese culture from that of China. In the reign of Emperor Uda Japanese embassy was closed. From this time on Japan's own literature began to be composed. Such tendency is also evident in historiography. The early four Japanese official chronicles were compiled after the pattern of Chinese history, *Shi-king* of Han period written by Se Ma Tsien, but later chronicles such as *Montoku Jitsuroku* (Chronicle of Emperor Montoku) and *Sandai Jitsuroku* (Chronicle of Three Reigns) differ from the preceding four. There is an evident sign of decrease in taking models of historiography in Chinese chronicles and the descriptions became more Japanese in style. The course was succeeded by the writers of *Eiga Monogatari* (The Tales of Glorious Days) and *Ōkagami* (The Great Mirror).

2 *Heike Monogatari* (Tales of the Heike), Chapter of Ohara Gokō.

3 Both in China and Japan this moral is called the "Three Obeyances." Rf. *The Book of Rites,* Chapter of the Rites for Observing Mourning.

4 Rf. *Gempei Seisuiki* (The Rise and Fall of the Genji and Heike Clans) Vol. 47; the *Samantabhadrapranidhānacarya* of the *Buddhāvatamsuka Sūtra.*

6 *Hagakure.* Although this work was compiled in the Tokugawa period, it incorporates the practices of medieval warriors.

7 Psalms, 73:26.

8 "Harakiri" is a Japanese word coined by Westerner and not used in Japan.

9 *Taisho,* XXXVII, p. 273a.

10 *Taisho,* XLVII, p. 498a.

11 *Mo-ho-chi-kuan,* vol. 4a. (*Taisho,* vol. 46, p. 36a; pp. 42, c-43a). Cf. *Taisho,* vol. 46, p. 265b.

12 *Tsurezuregusa,* paragraph, 75.

13 *Shōbō Genzō Zuimon-ki,* vol. III. *Dōgenzenji Zenshū,* ed. by Ōkubo Dōshū, Tokyo, Shunjusha, 1930, p. 34.

14 *Collected Sayings of Master Po-chang.*

15 *Shōbō Genzō Zuimonki,* vol. I, in *Dōgen Zenji Zenshū,* p. 7.

16 Ibid., vol. II, in *Dōgen Zenji Zenshū,* p. 18.

17 The chapter of *Raihai Tokuzui* in the *Shōbō Genzō* (Dōgen Zenji Zenshū, pp. 44–51).

18 He said such a custom did not exist neither in India nor in China. Ibid., p. 48.

19 The Sanskrit word for "compassion" is *maitrī* or *karuṇā* or *dayā.* Maitri can be translated as 'friendliness' also, because the word derives from the word 'mitra' meaning 'friend.' The word 'karuna' was translated into Chinese with the word meaning 'sorrow.'

In Sanskrit literature also, the sorrow of a lady who has no prospect of seeing her lover again is expressed with the word *karuna.* (*Sāhityadarpaṇa,* III, 213)

20 The Chin version of the *Buddhāvataṁsaka-sūtra,* vol. 27; The Book on the Hau-yen Five Teachings (Kegon Gokyo-sho) ed. by Kwanno, vol. 1, p. 50b. In the Lotus Sūtra, we find a similar thought. (yo viryavantah sada maitracitta bhaventi maitrīm iha dīrgharātram Chapter 2, ed. by WOGIHARA and TSUCHIDA, p. 93; cf. p. 248).

21 *Amitāyurdhyānasūtra.*

22 The Chinese version by Kumarajiva of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra,* Chapter II.

23 The *Saddharmapundarika-sūtra,* Chapter XI, SBE. vol. 21, p. 251.

24 The *Saddharmapundarika-sūtra,* V, vv. 6; 11; 21; 24.

25 The God of the Kirishitans (The Japanese Catholics in feudal days) was popularly called Deus-Nyorai. Nyorai is the Japanese equivalent of the Sanskrit *tathagata* (Buddha).

26 Chapter IV of the Lotus Sūtra, SBE, 21, p. 98f.; Winternitz: pp. 298ff.

27 The Pure Land is sometimes called the Buddha Land, or Buddha Field, or Pure Western Land. Professor Kenneth MORGAN thinks that Pure Realm is preferable since it avoids the erroneous connotations of a geographic location or a material world. (*The Path of the Buddha,* edited by Kenneth W. MORGAN, New York, the Ronald Press, 1956, passim.) This is especially true with Hōnen and Shinran. Here I followed the ordinary, conventional translation.

28 The Smaller *Sukhāvati-sūtra,* 18. *SBE.* vol. 49, p. 102. In the Chinese version of the Larger *Sukhāvati-sūtra* by Sanghavarman the consciousness of crisis and sin is set forth with great emphasis.

29 The Original text runs as follows: "Not on account of a mere root of goodness are beings born in the Buddha country of the Tathagata Amitayus. Whatever son or daughter of good family shall hear the name of the Lord Amitayus, and having heard it shall reflect upon it, and for one, two, three, four, five, six, or seven nights shall reflect upon it with undisturbed minds, when they come to die the Tathagata Amitayus attended by the assembly of disciples and followed by a host of bodhisattvas will stand before them, and they will die with unconfused minds. After death they will be born even in the Buddha country of the Tathāgata Amitāyus, in the world Sukhāvatī." (Smaller *Sukhāvatīvyūha,* 10)

30 At nearly the same time in India Ramanuja and other Hindu religious leaders of the Bhakti religion advocated salvation by grace of God Visnu or Siva.

31 Hōnen: *Ōjō-taiyō-shū* (The Outline of the Way to Salvation. Masutani, p. 67).

32 *Hitan-jutsukai-wasan.*

33 *Kyō-gyō-shin-shō,* Epilog.

34 教行信證

35 YAMABE and BECK: *Buddhist Psalms,* p. 86.

36 *Tannishō,* 2.

37 YAMABE and BECK: p. 20. *San-Amidabutsu-ge,* v. 5.

38 YAMABE and BECK: *ibid.,* p. 20, 1b. v. 8.

39 *Tannishō,* 14.

40 *Shôshinge* 正信偈.

41 The Three Periods. YAMABE and BECK: p. 68.

42 *Hitanjutsukai Wasan,* v. 5.

43 *Hitanjutsukai Wasan,* (Wherein with Lamentation I make my Confession) v. 4.

44 *Tannishō,* 3. Cf. "While to propose to be a better man is a piece of un-scientific cant,

to have become a deeper man is the priviledge of those who have suffered. And such I think I have become." (Oscar WILDE: *De Profundis.*)

45 *Tannishō,* 5. Tr. by FUJIWARA, p. 26.

46 *Tannishō,* Epilog III, tr. by FUJIWARA, p. 79.

47 *Tannishō,* VI, tr. by FUJIWARA, p. 28.

48 *The Life of Hōnen,* vol. 28.

49 *Mattōshō,* 12th Letter.

50 *Ibid.,* 11th Letter.

51 In India, the Tengalais, adopted the dangerous doctrine of dosabhogya, i.e. that God enjoys sin, since it gives a larger scope.

52 *Thanksgiving for Donran:* YAMABE, etc., p. 49.

53 *Goichidaiki Kikigaki.*

54 *Hitan Jutsukai Wasan* (Wherein with Lamentation I Make any Confession).

55 Wherein with Lamentation I make my Confession, YAMABE and BECK: Buddhist Psalms, p. 87.

56 *Shintō Gobusho* (神道五部書). *Kokushi Taikei,* vol. VII, p. 457. KATŌ Genchi, A Study of Shinto. Tokyo, Meiji-Seitoku-Kinen-Gakkai, 1926, p. 161.

57 Wherein with Lamentation I make my Confession.

58 Wherein with Lamentation I make my Confession.

59 *Shōbō Genzō Zuimonki,* III, 9. Even nowadays the need to rely on the Buddha since man on his own is weak is stressed by Zen priests also. (H. DUMOULIN has collected its instances in *Studies in Japanese Culture.* Tradition and Experiment, edited by Joseph ROGGENDORF, Tokyo: Sophia University, 2nd ed., 1965, p. 31 ff.)

60 Already in the Tokugawa period SUZUKI Shōsan advocated 'non-clergy Buddhism,' but he found no follower.

71 According to the comments by Mrs. Ruth SASAKI who has stayed in Japan, the Zen monasteries in present-day Japan are not monasteries in the Catholic or Western sense of the word. They are primarily what might be called "Theological seminaries, to which students come to engage in Zen study and practice under the direction of a Zen master." After two or three years, the majority of these monks will be ordained as priests and go to their own temples. Only a few of the more serious stay for many years necessary to complete their Zen practice.

In China, in olden times at least, it would seem that a Zen student was free to go to a Zen master for a time, remain perhaps several years, then go on to another master, and later to still another. In the end, the student seems to have been considered the disciple or heir, as the case may be, of the teacher under whom he completed his attainment. Such freedom as this does not exist in Japanese Zen today. Once a student is accepted as a disciple by a Zen master, he remains that master's disciple until the relationship is terminated by the death of one or the other, or by some unusual circumstance.

72 'Kung-an' in Chinese. It literally means 'official document.'

73 Hsuan-chiao, *Cheng-tao Ke* 34. In SUZUKI: *Manual of Zen,* p. 115.

74 MASUNAGA Reiho in *The Path of the Buddha,* ed. by MORGAN, pp. 341–342.

75 Prof. Charles MORRIS explains as follows: As an example of the language of paradox and contradiction Dr. SUZUKI gives the following Zen utterance, an esteemed gatha from the sixth century by Shan-hui: Empty-handed I go, and behold the spade is in my hands: I walk on foot, and yet on the back of an ox I am riding; When I pass over the bridge, Lo, the water floweth not, but the bridge doth flow. (*Introduction to Zen Buddhism*) "To be

sure, no one of them taken singly need have this quality: to imagine oneself on the moon looking down upon oneself on the earth may be interesting, but it is hardly mystical. Suppose, however, that the interpretants of these various symbolic processes are aroused simultaneously or nearly simultaneously. If the interpretants of signs are (or involve) neutral processes, then there is no reason why the interpretants of contradictory signs cannot be aroused simultaneously, though the corresponding reactions could not simultaneously be performed. In this way, one can be symbolically both here and not here, in the past and in the future, can be both the fish that swims and the gull that dives. It is suggested that this simultaneous, or nearly simultaneous, arousal of the complex and often contradictory role-taking processes made possible by language constitutes an essential part of the mystical experience." "Having undergone the process of symbolic identification with everything available to him, a person is a changed person; symbolically he is no longer merely one object among objects. As one object existing among other object he is small and fragile, empty-handed, on foot, walking on a bridge. But having roamed afield symbolically, he rides the cosmic ox, and digs with the cosmic spade; and as the water, he sees the flowing bridge. The commonest things are henceforth perceived at both the old and the new levels; a spade is still a spade, water is water, and a bridge a is bridge; and yet they are more than they were, for they now are seen through symbolic eyes enlarged by cosmic wandering. The experience is liberating." (Charles MORRIS, Comments on Mysticism and its Language. *A Review of General Semantics,* Autumn 1951, Vol. IX, No. 1). In this connection we are reminded of a comment by Emerson, who said: "These roses under my window make no reference to former roses or to better ones; they are for what they are; they exist with God today. There is no time to them. There is simply the rose; it is perfect in every moment of its existence.—But man postpones or remembers; he does not live in the present, but with reverted eye laments the past, or, heedless of the riches that surround him, stands on tiptoe to foresee the future. He cannot be happy and strong until he too lives with nature in the present, above time." (Essays, First Series "Self-Reliance")

76 *Shōbōgenzō,* chapter: *Bendōwa,* in *Tamamuro: Dōgen Zenji Zenshū,* p. 17.

77 *Ibid.,* p. 20.

78 'You should not try to become a Buddha.' This attitude was emphasized by Keizan also in his *Zazen Yōjin-ki* (坐禅用心記).

79 *Shōbōgenzō,* chapter: *Bendōwa,* in *Tamamuro:* op. cit.

80 直指人心

81 見性成佛

82 教外別傳

83 *Shōbōgenzō,* section *"Bendōwa."*

84 *Fukan Zazengi.*

85 *Shōbōgenzō,* section *"Zammai Ō-zammai."*

86 Zen speaks of "an effortless, purposeless, useless man."

87 *Keitoku Dentōroku,* Bk. VI: Words of Po-chang. Cf. DUMOULIN: DCZ., p. 63.

88 *Mumonkan.*

89 *Shōbōgenzō,* section: Shōji.

90 衆生本来佛なり (Hymn by HAKUIN).

91 *Mumonkan,* 7.

92 *Mumonkan.*

93 *Shōbōgenzō, Uji* (*Dōgen Zenji Zenshū,* pp. 62–65).

94 *Shōbōgenzō, Shōji* (*Dōgen Zenji Zenshū*, p. 440).

95 *Shōbōgenzō, Bendōwa* (*Dōgen Zenji Zenshū*, pp. 21 f.).

96 This dialectic was minutely discussed by Alfonso VERDÚ, *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 21, Nos. 1–2, 1966, 125–170.

97 Yōkyoku 謡曲 Taisha 大社.

98 In the modern period SENGE Takasumi (千家尊澄), the priest of the Shintoism of the Great Shrine of Izumo with such a pantheistic point of view, praised as follows: "There is not a direction in which a god does not reside, even in the wild waves' eight hundred folds or in the wild mountain's bosom. *Fūkyō Hyakushu Kōsetsu* 風教百首講説 (KATŌ Genchi: 加藤玄智: *Shintō no Shūkyō Hattatsushiteki Kenkyū* 神道の宗教発達史的研究 p. 935).

99 大乗起信論.

100 Cf. 摩訶止観 Vol. 1. pt. 1. (Taisho. Vol. 46, p. 1c). MAEDA Eun 前田慧雲: *Tetsugakukan Kōgiroku* 哲学館講義録 (Shigaku Zasshi 史学雑誌, 1923, pp. 373–374).

101 壽量品.

102 Kaimokushō 開目抄 pt. 2.

103 See 羅什訳 [中論] ch. 18, 7th gāthā: *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra* (ed. by OGIWARA Unrai), p. 251, l. 25.; *Astasāhasrikā* (ed. by OGIWARA Unrai), p. 51, l. 15.; p. 572, ll. 2–3; p. 666, l. 7; etc.

104 *Shōbōgenzō* 正法眼藏 *Shohōjissō* 諸法実相.

105 See 法華玄義 Vol. VIII, pt. 2. (Taishō Vol. 33, p. 783b).

106 *Gleanings from Sōtō-Zen*, ed. Ernest Shinkaku HUNT (Honolulu Sōtō Mission, 1950), p. 25.

107 *Profound Doctrine of the Lotus Sūtra*, VIII, pt. 2 (Taishō Tripitaka, vol. XXXIII, 783b).

108 *Shōbōgenzō*, Shōji 生死 (section on Life and Death, Taishō Tripitaka, vol. LXXXII, p. 305).

109 Ibid. Busshō 仏性 (section on Buddha-nature, Taishō Tripitaka, vol. LXXXII, p. 93a).

110 *Sanshō Dōei* (Religious Poems of Umbrella-Like Pine Tree).

111. *Shasekishū*, X, pt. 1.

112 This Sentence was composed in China based upon such sentences as "In the milk, there is cream; in sentient beings there is Buddha-nature." (乳中有酪, 衆生仏生又復如是, 欲見仏性, 応当観察時節形色.) and "If you have desire to seek, you will find." (以諸功徳因縁和合得見仏生, 然役得仏) in 大般涅槃経 (Mahāparinirvāna-sūtra) vol. XXVII (Taishō vol. 12, p. 532a & p. 533b).

113 Literally, "survey of seasons and conditions."

114 *Shōbōgenzō*, Busshō 仏性.

115 *Shōbōgenzō*, Uji 有時.

116 Ibid.

117 Ibid., Setsushin Setsushō.

118 Ibid. Hossō.

119 Ibid. Setsushin Setsushō.

120 *Shōbōgenzō Zuimonki*, vol. 2, No. 14.

121 According to my personal observation made during my trips abroad, it seems that the Japanese are the people who are particularly fond of history or historiography, compared with other peoples. Books of history are published very often. Common people at large like to read histories.

122 Hanazono Tennō: *Taishi wo Imashimuru no Sho* (誡太子書 Admonition to Crown

Princes), translated into German by Hermann BOHNER, *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 1938, pp. 25–57.

123 ANESAKI Masaharu: *Nichiren the Buddhist Prophet* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1916), p. 119.

124 In the *Sado Gosho* (佐渡御書), in *Shōwa Shinshū Nichiren Shōnin Imon Zenshū* (昭和新修日蓮聖人遺文全集 Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1934), vol. I, p. 842.

125 *Kojiki*, chapter 1.

126 *Jinnō-Shōtō-ki* 神皇正統記.

127 *Shutsujō-shōgo* 出定笑語.

128 *Introduction to Genkōshakusho* 元享釈書.

CHAPTER IV

CONTROVERSY BETWEEN BUDDHISM AND CHRISTIANITY
The Period of Contact with the West

1. The Encounter of Jōdo Buddhism and Christianity—A Case Study of Banzui'i Shōnin Byakudō (1542–1615)

The Problem

The similarity of religious experience in the Jōdo Sect and in Christianity[1] is often referred to from the viewpoint of the psychology of religion. The difference between them, however, ought to be equally considered, as there must be a basic difference between their respective philosophies, since the Jōdo Sect is in the last analysis Buddhist and has a different standpoint than Christianity. Therefore, the issue of the confrontation between Christianity and the Jōdo Sect at the time of Christianity's first introduction to Japan is undoubtedly a most stimulating research topic for a student of the history of ideas. I hope to be able to suggest a clue as to the clarification of basic differences between Christianity and Buddhism.

There have appeared several distinguished works on the confrontation of the Jōdo Sect and Christianity,(and I wish to consider particularly the Jōdo Sect's anti-Christian activities prior to Japan's Seclusion (1635). Though a considerable number of priests of Jōdo Sect may have positively acted against Christianity, their activities and philosophies are little known.[2] (Better known critics of Christian thought are mostly Zen monks.) The present article will concentrate on the anti-Christian activities of Banzui'i Shōnin Byakudō (1542–1615). We will consider the manner in which Banzui'i preached Buddhism, the grounds he selected

in order to convert Christians to Buddhism, and the points at which his arguments collided with Christian contentions.

Banzui'i was an eminent priest of the Jōdo Sect. He called himself Byakudo, and used the pen-name of Enrensha Chiyo Kyo'a.[3] He was born on October 15, 1542 (1560 according to a different opinion) at Fujisawa in the province of Sagami (at Nagusagun in the province of Ki'i according to a different opinion). He left home and joined a Buddhist order at the age of eleven, studied strenuously, and became known for his learning and virtues. He was appointed the thirty-third abbot of Chion-ji Temple in Kyoto in 1601 when he was sixty years old. On occasion he was invited by Emperor Goyozei (1571–1617) to lecture at the Imperial Court.[4]

In 1603 (possibly 1604), Banzui'i accepted an invitation from TOKUGAWA Ieyasu to come to Edo. He built "Shin Chion-ji Banzui'in" Temple at Kanda-dai, Edo, and made it a national prayer house for the protection of the Shogunate. Later, he went to Shimabara and Nagasaki in Kyūshū in order to instruct Christians for conversion to Buddhism at the request of Ieyasu. After three years of missionary activities in Kyūshū, he moved to Wakayama and lived at Mansho-ji Temple, which he built there for a retreat center. He died on January 5, 1615 (or 1624) at the age of seventy-four. He had built many temples in various provinces during his life.

No book of Banzui'i's own authorship remains, but several biographies in wood block printing are available for us.

(1) Gendō (alias Myodō). *Banzui'i Shōnin Gyōjyō*. Vol. 1.[5]
(Life and Activities of the Venerable Banzui'i)

The author counts himself a spiritual descendant of Banzui'i, seven generations removed. He lived at Shunan-zan Temple at Ueno, Edo. This book was published with a commendation by Chumoku of Zojyo-ji Temple, i.e. headquarters of the Jōdo Sect, with the author's introduction (dated 1743), and with an epilogue by the author and another by Ninkai of Zojyo-ji Temple (dated 1746). The volume was written in Chinese (kambun) with Japanese reading signs (ka'eriten, okurigana).

(2) Kanyo. *Banzui'i Shonin Shokoku Gyōge Den*, 5 Vols.[6]

(Stories of the Venerable Banzui'i's Missionary Activities in Various Provinces)

The author was resident-minister of Gogo-in Temple in northern Kyoto. This book was published with an introduction (dated 1753) by Muso Monno, a famous scholar-priest of the Jōdo Sect. It is written in Japanese, with a comparatively large proportion of Chinese words.

(3) Saiyo. *Banzui'i Shonin Den,* 2 Vols.[7]

(Biography of the Venerable Banzui'i)

The author was resident-minister of Kanda-san Banzui'in Temple. This book was published with an introduction (dated 1862) by Kyo'in, chief abbot of Zojyo-ji Temple. Kyo'in's introduction comments on the two books cited above: "They are difficult for children and the poorly educated to read because they are written with so many Chinese words." It states also that the present volume was published in commemoration of the two-hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the venerable Banzui'i, and that it was written for people in general, selecting major points from the preceding two books and adding illustrations.

The discussion that follows will examine problematic issues from the point of view of the history of ideas, using the three biographical stories cited above as our sources. We do not know how true these stories are to historical fact. They may well include exaggerations. And yet the fact that these stories, even if they did stretch the truth, were believed to be the truth is fully as important as the historical facts themselves for a student inquiring into the history of ideas.

Banzui'i's Anti-Christian Activities

In 1613 it was reported to the Shogunate government that Christians were causing troubles in Kyūshū. When the cabinet discussed the problem, an elder minister declared:

The rebels believe in a pagan religion of barbarian origin, ignoring our traditional belief in Buddhism and Shinto. Therefore, we must order our eminent priest to preach the truthful teaching, and correct the misguided beliefs of the ignorant men and women. On their learn-

ing true causes and effects, they will be led to abandon Christianity's vicious teachings that make them fear suffering here and in Hell. Breaking of their united group is the problem of the primary importance. Punishment of the leaders may be done at any moment after that.[8]

The contemporary rulers, thus, were already aware that the problems caused by faith must be met with countermeasures in the dimension of faith. Thereupon, the ministers unanimously agreed that Banzui'i was the most adept for that mission. At this time Banzui'i was seventy-two years old.

The Shogunate invited Banzui'i and "ordered" him to the task. Thereupon Banzui'i willingly "accepted" the order.

I do not mind going to all that trouble, if it is for the sake of propagating Buddhist teaching. I will depart immediately, and instruct them aright.

Stories reports him to have said:

The devoted practice of Buddhist teaching depends solely on the orderliness of the state. If the state should be hurt even a little, the hurt turns back upon us manyfold. The present question is not a light question. Even without an order, I would gladly have requested permission to go myself.

According to the description of *Biography,* he answered:

Propagation of Buddhist teaching in a state owes much to the rule of the king. An injury to the state, therefore, is identical with a disaster to Buddhist religion.

The thesis that the peace maintained by the state was a prerequisite for the prosperity of Buddhist practice was never known in India, but it was most strongly emphasized by all the Buddhist sects in Japan. Banzui'i's thought ran in exactly the latter line.

Thereupon, Ieyasu was "most pleased," and handed Banzui'i in person a war-vest made of Chinese brocade and a truncheon fan made of gold, saying:

In spite of the difference between the Buddhist and secular rules, the confrontation of your eminence against the vicious pagans in the

same as the generals facing an enemy with their embattled forces. Hereby I present to you this war-vest and truncheon fan in token of my good wishes to you. With this truncheon fan, do you raise up Buddhist moral, discourage vicious circles, and bring them back to the right path. With this war-vest, do you make a robe of your order, show your great dignity, and admonish all vicious enemies of Buddhism.

(It is said that these war-vest and trunchon fan were kept by Banzui'i and his successors for a long time.)

Ieyasu, then, ordered the Daimyo ARIMA Tadasumi to guard Banzui'i, according to the same record.

Tradition has it that Banzui'i thought, as he departed:

The nation is filled with vicious pagans. Without the help of our native gods, I would be in difficulty. I will visit the Grand Shrine of Ise to begin with, and pray for the help of the native gods in controlling vicious pagans.

Thereupon he set off two months before the departure of the feudal leader ordered to protect him, ARIMA Tadasumi. Even with his heavy responsibilities, Banzui'i was alone with but one attendant, and carried his clothes and food himself when he departed. At the Grand Shrine of Ise, a record reports, Banzui'i prayed for seven days for "the victory of Buddhism," and on the final day of his prayer, he was given a statue of Amitabha by the great goddess who appeared from the inner sanctuary of the shrine. (The author of *Gyoge Den* wrote a detailed argumentation to the effect that Amaterasu, the godess of the Grand Shrine of Ise, was an incarnation of Amitabha.) Banzui'i and Tadasumi met at Osaka, and got on board a ship bound for the province of Hizen.

On arrival in Hizen, Banzui'i settled at Sampuku-ji Temple. He installed the statue of "Amitabha incarnated in the great goddess Amaterasu" which he was given at the Grand Shrine of Ise, and started a special ascetic exercise lasting forty-eight nights, at the same time giving sermons on rebirth through repeated recitation of the name of Amitabha.[9] In the beginning, however, there were "none who came and joined in the hearing of his sermons" because, according to the reporter, "vicious pagan-

ism covered the whole province." But Banzui'i kept preaching every day with perseverance. Ten days later, one single old man came to listen to him, and another joined the next day. Thereafter "the audience increased day after day." According to one report, when he delivered sermons, he held the trunchon fan in his hand and wore a robe made of the war-vest given him by Ieyasu.

As one method of instruction, Banzui'i took advantage of the fear and bad conscience of the wicked men and women among the Christians. For example, the following story is recorded. There was a widow who was a Christian. Her husband also was a Christian. This woman was of "a dissolute and vicious character, and was ignorant of the way of human beings." She had a daughter, for whom she adopted a husband. This man, who was made the successor of the family, happened to be a handsome and tender man. The mother began to love her son-in-law, and in order to marry the man herself she killed her daughter. The woman suffered from pangs of conscience, and attempted to "save herself by performing ceremonies to *Deus*." But this was not effective, and the pains increased. She wept and cried for help. She finally realized that "her prayers to *Deus* brought her more pain," and she visited Banzui'i and besought him for "the profound grace of Buddha." Hereupon, the body of the daughter was dug out and duly cremated with a Buddhist ceremony, but the wooden tablet on which Banzui'i wrote the name of Amitabha remained unburnt.

Following is the comment of the author of *Stories*.

> Verily the exquisite reality of the good is embodied in six characters to mean the venerable Amitabha, and as many merits as the number of the sands of the Ganges are provided for the practice of oral recitation of the name. Truly the reality and the name are inseparable. Such is the product of the merit of Buddha's infinite meditation, great vow, and strenuous exercise. This is called the path of salvation depending solely on the power of the Other. Look up to it, and have faith in it. (Vol. 5., p. 6.)

After all, the philosophical basis of instruction at that period did not develop further than such a level.

Banzui'i had occasion to conduct an open debate against a man called Hammu, a leader of the Christians. This man was perhaps a missionary from abroad. It happened that this man challenged Banzui'i out of disappointment that increasing numbers were following Banzui'i, which made him jealous of him. On the day of the debate, "clergy and laymen, nobles and masses, crowded the temple like a cloud," according to the reporter. On this occasion, Hammu said:

> What is the being called Amitabha in your sect? It is nothing but a king of beasts and animals. Therefore, those who believe in this teaching fall into animal life, and never creep up therefrom, no matter how many years should pass. You, Banzui'i, already have a beastly body. If you doubt it, I am ready to prove it with our exquisite technique.

Upon making the above statement, Hammu brought out a mirror and placed it in the sight of the audience. The moment Banzui'i's "figure was reflected, it immediately changed and became the figure of an ox." The audience was struck with wonder. Hammu arrogantly pressed the point and said:

> Look at this! Surely this is a miracle due to the power of the religion that we venerate.

Meanwhile, Banzui'i laughed contemptuously and said:

> You have shown an ugly figure in the mirror with your vicious trick. This in itself is a radical contradiction of the proper line of reasoning. What you have done is viciously magical. A mirror, by nature, is honest, and in its action, it does not reflect falsehood. Honesty is the way of our divine nation. Thus, a mirror is placed at the sanctuary of shrines as the symbol of gods. Man's mind becomes pure and clear to face it by virtue of its purity and cleanliness. A mirror represents the virtue of uprightness, and drives out falsity and wickedness. The ways of native gods and Buddha are identical in that vicious deception is strictly excluded, and that the divine beings and the human are to follow the same path. Thanks to its honest and clear nature, the mirror reflects long and short, square and round, good and evil, righteous and vicious as they really are. Buddhas and gods are not biased by self-interest. Right man and right law follow the same line.

> That which does not reflect as things are is wrong. Now your mirror is one that shows an untrue and disfigured image in reflecting a man. This proves that it is false and contrary to the right law. Such is definitely against the nature of the mirror. The ignorant may be struck with such, and misapprehend the truth. Thus they suffer the misfortunes invited by their belief in such falsehood. It is as if one were to suffer from afflictions brought on by the deceptive tricks of foxes and badgers. It is not I who shall ever be cheated. I know that this way is absolutely wrong. It is not a truthful mirror to reflect a square as a circle, or a circle as square! Falsehood is the very basis of vicious teachings. Here is a vicious mirror of a vicious trick. This vicious mirror is a means of cheating and misleading the innocent men of world. Repent, and return to the rightful way, otherwise misfortunes are close and your corruption not far. Beware, and walk carefully.

We should pay attention to the fact that the word and concept "honesty (正直)" was used by Banzui'i according to a Shinto interpretation of the word, though it originally came from Buddhist terminology. On hearing the discussion of Banzui'i, Hammu and his followers were unable to return a word. They were totally defeated in reasoning. Then, the story says, the statue of "Amitabha given to Banzui'i by the great goddess of Ise" sent a great ray of light from the white curl of hair on her forehead, and the mirror of vicious magic, hit by the ray, was burnt like coals and crushed like tiles.

For a Christian to call Amitabha "king of the beasts and animals" indicates an intrinsic difference between the Christian and Buddhist conceptions of salvation, though this may sound unfamiliar to the reader. Amitabha, the savior of the Pure Land Buddhism, saves not merely human beings, but also all living beings, whereas the Christian God saves only human beings. This difference is essential. Christians did not understand the Buddhist concept of saving all "living beings," and felt it even curious.

This is easy to understand in view of the fact that the Chinese could not accept the Buddhist concept of "all living beings" during the early periods of Chinese Buddhism. According to Sukhavati-vyuha, the third of

Dharmakara's Forty-Eight Vows translated from the original Sanskrit text is as follows:

> O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine the *beings* (sattvāh) who are born there should not all be of one colour, namely a golden color, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.[10]

But a Chinese translation of this same text during the Later Han period by Lokaraksa of Tokharestan reads:

> If all the *people* (人民) who are born in this land should unanimously obtain the color of gold, then I will become Buddha. Otherwise I will not become Buddha.

This translation amends "beings" to "people" as those who are to be saved. "Living beings" (Sattvah) in the original is translated in a Wei translation as "Man and demon" (人天), in a T'ang translation as "Spiritual beings" (有情), and in a Sung translation quite deliberately as "All the living beings, and the beings travelling the devilish world, and devas, beasts and animals, whoever receive our benefit, and whoever are instructed by my teaching." (所有一切衆生, 及焰摩羅界 三悪道中地獄餓鬼畜生, 皆生我利, 受我法化) Originally the intention of the vow included all living beings, not merely human beings, in the goal of salvation, but Lokaraksa of the Later Han period amended it to the effect that only human beings were intended in the original vow. (Sharmakara's other vows were given the same change in the translation.) He must have amended the concept to make it harmonize with the humanistic Confucian philosophy, because the saving of non-human living beings was an alien concept to the Chinese of that time. Otherwise, the Buddhist concept of salvation, he must have thought, could not be understood by the Chinese who were unfamiliar with Buddhist concepts. Only after Buddhist thought came to prevail in later times did it become possible for the translators to bring in the original content of "all living beings."

In view of such situations, it may be understandable that Christian missionaries from the West found the Jōdo Buddhist view of salvation strikingly unusual.

Subsequently Hammu converted to Buddhism, and "millions followed him to learn the teaching of Jōdo Buddhism, and some thirty of

them were so radically pleased to know the true teaching that they voluntarily cast their lives away." (p. 9.) This description proves that at least in this case, Jōdo Buddhism still possessed a futuristic and escapist character.

Banzui'i gave the following sermon:

> What a pity it is that some have joined in the heresy. Even capital punishment does not pay for their fault sufficiently. They are awaited by thousands of punishments even after death. What a fearful thing it is! On the contrary, any one who observes our teaching well assumes benefits in the next life, and there is no doubt about that. Although rewards in worldly matters are not what we are really concerned with, they will automatically come to you. None of these benefits may be enjoyed by those who are punished in this life and in the next life. Ponder carefully the advantages and disadvantages and do not be too slow in amending your faith.[11]

The people of that area welcomed Banzui'i's instruction and said:

> We, the people of this province, should have received capital punishment and fallen into Hell, if we had continued to believe in that vicious paganism, thereby violating the law of the state. If we had not received the instruction of the venerable Banzui'i, we should be dead by now. Without life, we would break the line of posterity. This venerable teacher is the god of our rebirth.

They cried out of reverence for Banzui'i. It is reported that at the time when *Stories* was written during the Horeki period (1751–1764), Banzui'i was enshrined in the local shrine together with the god of fecundity.

Banzui'i's missionary activity was so successful that:

> the old and the young alike filled the hall as if it had been a market place, and thereby the left path, that is, the corrupt religion of Christianity, disappeared from the province.[12]

The Daimyo Arima Tadasumi, then, built Kansan-ji Temple, in accordance with an order he received from the Shogunate on his departure from Edo. Tadasumi appointed Banzui'i as the founder of the temple, donated to it property consisting of fields and one-hundred farm families, installed there the statue of Amitabha which Banzui'i received from the

Grand Shrine of Ise as the main symbol for worship, and named the temple as Manji-san Kansan-ji. This description reveals the fact that the construction of the temple was a fulfilment of the sovereign ruler's "order," and not a product of the religious faith of the people.

Thereupon Banzui'i moved to Nagasaki to convert the Christians of that area to Buddhism. Because the power of Christianity was strong at Nagasaki, he had to face many difficulties. He was hated as a vengeful enemy, and plots to assassinate him were even made. His conviction, however, was resolute:

> Native gods have afforded their virtues to me, so vicious heretics shall not be able to hurt me. I will go and fight even if there should be millions of enemies.[13]

In about this time, one of his disciples, Daitsu, came from Edo and helped Banzui'i. According to one report, it was Banzui'i who persuaded the governor of Nagasaki to adopt a certain practice through which non-Christians could identify themselves. It was he who invented *Fumie,* or the test of identifying Christians by having people step on a tablet that bore a representation of the crucifixion.

The following story is reported as an episode concerning the instructions he gave during his Nagasaki years. In Nagasaki, there was a Christian by the name of SAKUMA Sanryu, who was a physician.[14] His wife disliked Christianity, and their difference of religious beliefs resulted in his becoming hostile to his wife. He kept a mistress, and murdered his wife in the end. Thereupon he was haunted by the spirit of his legal and wronged wife. One day, Banzui'i, carrying a begging bowl, stopped at Sanryu's house during his mendicant itineration, but Sanryu shouted imprecations at him. Thereupon, Banzui'i spread ashes from an oven on the ground and told Sanryu to walk on them. Sanryu being bewildered, Banzui'i said:

> You may think that nobody knows about the murder of your wife. But I know it well. Now, you walk on the ashes here!

Sanryu was surprised, and walked on the ashes as he was told. Banzui'i pointed at the ashes on the ground and said:

> Look here. There is no foot print of yours on the ashes. . . . Learn

that you have lost your feet already, because your spirit has fallen in Hell long ago.

Sanryu thereupon realized his fault and cut his hair off in token of repentence. Banzui'i gave him the Three Commandments (a symbol of initiation) and made him his disciple. Thereafter Sanryu recited "Praise to Amitabha Buddha" devotedly and died a happy death, according to the same story. Banzui'i delivered the following speech to the people of that area:

> You were born in a far corner of the land and missed the opportunity of learning the true teaching of Buddha, thus becoming adversaries of Buddhism by believing in a vicious paganism. This was a retribution that fell to you because of your behavior in previous life. In the present life you shall be punished by the government, and in the next life you shall not fail to fall into Hell. Repent immediately and learn the true law. You shall believe and practice the Buddhist religion that teaches dependence on the power of the Other.

Sermons of this kind led the people to convert from Christianity to Buddhism of Amitabha. It is reported that Banzui'i exercised an enormous influence during his stay in the area for three years.

Banzui'i built Buddhist temples at the sites from which Christian churches had been removed in Nagasaki. Their sectarian affiliation included the Jōdo Sect, the Ikko Sect, the Sōtō Zen Sect, and the Hokke Sect.[15] The Jōdo Sect had an advantage in projecting its influence partly because it was the religion of the Tokugawas' since that family's first beginnings, and partly because it was coordinated with the policy of prohibition of Christianity. According to the statistics of Buddhist temples and followers during the Tokugawa period, the Jōdo Sect was always the leader.[16]

Later on, Banzui'i founded Shin-Chion-ji Temple at Kanda in Edo. This temple was moved to Shitaya, and today it is famous as Banzui'in Temple.[17]

He spent his later years at Wakayama and died there in 1615.

Upon his death, he said in verse:

> Byakudō pursued his course for scores of years,

Extinguishing fire with fire, a difficult task indeed.[18]

We feel in these lines Banzui'i's emotional commitment to the instruction of Christians.

Characteristics of the Encounter

The preceding discussion has been formulated on the basis of literature written by Buddhists of later times with the intention of praising and propagating the merits of Banzui'i. That is to say, our sources are records written from the point of view of the Buddhist. Nonetheless, we see little hint of religious motivation in his activities. It was the secular power that was the primary issue.

To begin with, we should pay special attention to the fact that the position and the power of the political leaders of the state were far more powerful than those of the religious bodies. Banzui'i was one of the most authoritative men in the Buddhist world of the day, as may be seen from the fact that he became the abbot of Chion-ji Temple, one of the four headquarters of the Jōdo Sect. And yet he was completely subject to the Tokugawa Shogunate. An illustration in his *Biography* shows Banzui'i receiving the truncheon fan and war-vest from Ieyasu. In this picture Banzui'i is seated on a lower level, and prostrates himself before Ieyasu. (Scenes of this sort can never be expected in South Asia today or in Medieval Europe.)

In addition Banzui'i was receiving the protection and assistance of ARIMA Tadasumi, the lord of the province, during the period that the forementioned activities were being carried on. In a word, Banzui'i was under the patronage of the feudal authority. In view of these circumstances, we may conclude that this activities had the backing of the feudal ruling forces.

Further, to hold a truncheon fan in his hand and to wear a robe made of a war-vest while preaching is quite contrary to Buddhist customs elsewhere. Buddhists of ancient India tried to eliminate every association with war, so they even forbade conversations on war. Perhaps we must say that this mode of Japanese Buddhism is a deformed deviation from

Buddhist tradition in general, stemming from its close link with the authority of the state.

His thought, which was supported by the feudal forces, was necessarily related to the ethnic religion. Not only do Shinto ideas frequently appear in his discussions, he basically recognized the authority of Shinto.

Moreover, Banzui'i's activities were carried on quite apart from any Buddhist sectarian body. His activities had no relation at all to the sectarian organizations of Buddhism. No sectarian body positively organized missionary bodies to be sent to give instruction to Christians. Nor did the sectarian bodies display any intention of giving him assistance or guidance. He set off alone, accompanied by but one attendant, and even in later times, he was joined by only one of his disciples, Daitsu. The sectarian organizations of Buddhism remained by-standers. None dared to assist the activities of seventy-year old Banzui'i, who single-handedly went into enemy territory. In the biographies cited above we can find no evidence of assistance from local temples to Banzui'i. It is frequently stated that schism and rivalry among the Buddhist sects in Japan eased the propagation of Christianity, but the fact was, I would argue, that Buddhists in general lacked the zeal to confront Christianity positively on the strength of their own ideas.[19]

Buddhists themselves recognized this as a fact.

> It is entirely due to the meritorious works of the Venerable Banzui'i that the people of Kyūshū were made immune to the poisons of vicious paganism, that they are obedient to the authorities, and that the true law of Buddhism has been recovered for the past two hundred years. (*Biography*)

The writer of the above ascribed all anti-Christian activities to Banzui'i, which, of course, was an exaggeration. Suzuki Shōsan, for example, went to Northern Kyūshū area soon after the Shimabara Rebellion (1637–1638) and endeavored to convert Christians to Buddhism. There were also a few other Buddhist priests living in that area who tried to convert Christians to Buddhism.[20] And yet the number of Buddhists who volunteered for missionary work always remained extremely small. (The Tendai Sect

also received assistance from the Tokugawa Shogunate, but it made no effort to offer doctrinal education to the people in general.)

It must be said, however, that the efforts of so few Buddhist volunteers can not have brought about a total reorientation of many Christians. It was the *power* of the ruler, or the *reign of terror,* that resulted in the annihilation of Christianity. The character of Banzui'i's sermons and instructions was also defined by this background. Banzui'i pointedly emphasized the fearful persecution and rigorous punishment of Christians in the present life and the infernal suffering in the next life. We do not know if all the sermons he delivered were really of the kind that are recorded in the biographies, but it is quite certain that the leaders of the Jōdo Sect in later years appreciated the kind of activities described above as Banzui'i's most important contribution.

What is more important is that the facts described above received official recognition from the authorities of the Jōdo Sect. Banzui'i's biographies were published with introductory statements by the priests occupying high offices at the headquarters of the Jōdo Sect and by the sect's authentic academicians. This meant official recognition of the content of these books by the authorities of the sect. The leaders of the sect desired to spread this information among the general public. In other words, the authorities of the sect officially admitted as matters of established fact that the sectarian bodies were subject to the feudal powers, that they were negligent in confronting Christianity positively, and that they neglected the propagation of Buddhism.

This may be an indication of the fact that the confrontation between the Jōdo Sect and Christianity remained consistently a confrontation of the political powers rather than a confrontation between different ways of thinking. It is also indicated from this that the prohibition of Christianity was a political issue rather than a religious question. Regarding this question, therefore, the following two points were of crucial importance.

First, in contemporary Japan, the traditional bondage of the master-and-servant relationship was stronger than the unifying power of a common religion. This characteristic is clearly recognizable in viewing religious rebellions. As Christianity had a tendency to undermine tradition,

it could hardly succeed in regions where the traditional prestige of the military rulers was solidly maintained. Accordingly, the Christians sought connections with power holders. The contradiction between Christianity and ancestral worship was also felt to be a problem.

Second, the penetration of Christianity had a political character in many instances. The Westerners had usurped other's lands and slaughtered the peoples of underdeveloped regions *in the name of God*. So it was suspected with good reason that Christians might in the end plunder the nation of Japan. In consequence the attacks against Christianity, including those by Buddhists, concentrated on revealing the political conspiracies of Christians, without serious consideration of the doctrinal aspects of the confrontation.

Such having been the case, Jōdo Buddhism, in its opposition to Christianity, practically neglected doctrinal matters. Banzui'i, for example, never wrote a book. He did not experience the deepening of his thought through contact with the system of another religion. His slighting of the doctrinal aspect of Buddhism is remarkable.[21]

To point out incidental shortcomings of my original plan of finding a clue for understanding the basic differences between Christian and Buddhist thought through examining the thought of the Venerable Banzui'i Byakudō in his confrontation against Christianity has thus turned out a complete failure. And yet we may conclude that the historical and ideological characteristics we have described above apply to Japanese Buddhism through the later Tokugawa period and into the present age.

2. Suzuki Shōsan's Criticism of Christianity

The Problem

Theoretical considerations of Christianity were rarely attempted by Buddhists during the time that Christianity grew and expanded during the Sengoku and early Tokugawa periods (1549–c.1640).[22] Most Buddhist thinkers, without deep reflection, defined Christianity as "magical" and "misleading" teaching. However, Suzuki Shōsan (1579–

1655) was one who recognized the philosophical importance of Christianity and who wrote two articles entitled *Questions and Answers about the Christian God*[23] and *Refutation of Christianity*.[24] Shōsan explained the Christian doctrine as follows:

> Christianity venerates a big Buddha by the name of *Deus,* who is the Lord of Heaven and Earth, is absolutely free, and is the Creator of everything in Heaven and on Earth. This Buddha made his appearance in the land of the Southern Barbarians one thousand and six hundred years ago, and gave relief to the people there. The name of this Buddha in personal form is Jesus Christ. Christians claim that those who do not know this teaching and who worship worthless Buddhas such as Amitabha or Gautama are most foolish.[25]

Here, Christian teaching is described in terms of Buddhist terminology, rather neatly communicating its essence. Special attention is called to Shosan's understanding of the Christian God as a free being, particularly when one remembers that in the history of ideas, the concept of freedom in Western ethical thought is derived from the prototype of a free God concept. The difference between the concept of freedom in Christianity and in Shosan's thought will be clarified by reference to chapter three of the present volume.

After defining the essence of Christianity, Shōsan attacked the Christian doctrine. His attacks may be broken down roughly into two types. One type resembles the kind of criticism made by modern Western philosophers and thinkers. The other is the kind stemming from the autochthonous philosophical basis of Buddhist belief. It is not that Shōsan intentionally separated these two types, but we may safely apply this classification as a convenient measure in the present discussion.

Criticism Corresponding to Western Criticism

Shōsan criticized the Christian explanation of the "Omniscient" and "Omnipotent" God.

> If *Deus* were the Lord of Heaven and Earth and the Creator of everything on Earth, why did he leave many nations unsaved? Why did not he make his appearance in all the nations? Through thousands of

> years since the beginning of the universe, Buddhas of generation after generation made their appearance and gave spiritual help to men of each generation. How can one prove the appearance of *Deus* in the land of the Southern Barbarians when that *Deus* never appeared in our land? Even if it were to be admitted that *Deus* is the Lord of Heaven and Earth, it should follow that other Buddhas deprived him of the lands of his own creation and that *Deus* allowed other Buddhas to propagate different teachings. On his part what a grave mistake this is! Such a *Deus* is a most absurd Buddha. Besides, they say that Jesus Christ was born to be crucified by common men on earth. Can a man like this be the Lord of Heaven and Earth? This is a story too illogical to be true. Christians who come to this land to propagate magical and misleading teaching and venerate a doubtful Buddha, in ignorance of the enlightened and truthful Buddha, cannot escape the retribution of the Buddhas and the native gods, which they deserve.[26]

That the Omniscient and Omnipotent God had created an imperfect universe is another point often criticized in the West. Another Japanese had already pointed this out earlier. In *Refutation* of *Deus,* FABIAN (1563–1622?)[27], an apostate Catholic priest, who originally had been a Zen monk, wrote:

> During the five thousand years when there was no expiation for sins, all the people in the world who fell into hell must have been unmeasured and numberless . . . to watch this without any feeling of pity nor to set his mind to any expedient for the salvation of all living beings for five thousand years—can such be called a merciful lord?[28]

If this work came to his attention, Shōsan may have received suggestions from this argument.

Long before these arguments had been advanced by Shōsan and FABIAN, Western thinkers were aware of this weak point of Christianity. That Jesus Christ alone provided salvation or that none but this man could help the human race was an idea difficult for rationally minded Westerners to accept. Therefore, since the early years of Christian missions in the Greco-Roman world, there were some who tended to deny this unique character of Jesus. It is also said that since New Testament

days, there has existed a tendency in Christendom legalistically to evaluate moral rules more highly than divine grace. Whether or not Western criticism was known in Japan at this time has not been accurately determined, but these Japanese critics of Christianity payed special attention to this point, and it is easy to understand that they would do so.

> According to Christian teaching, beasts have no eternal soul. Therefore when their bodies die, their spirits likewise cease to be. To human beings, on the other hand, *Deus* gave a real soul, and their souls survive their physical death, being rewarded with either suffering or pleasure in proportion to their good or evil conduct in the present life. They say that the spirits of men of good conduct are sent to Paradise in Heaven while the spirits of men of evil conduct are sent to the tormenting Inferno beneath. In refutation I say that if *Deus* made the spirits of beasts and of human beings differently, why did he add evil to the human spirit, and why does he send some humans to the Inferno? That the human soul is sent to Hell is left to the will of *Deus* himself.

This sort of attack having been familiar in the West since the Roman-Christian era, the problem of theodicy has of course been a major theme in the history of philosophy and theology. The Japanese of those times are reported to have annoyed foreign missionaries by arguing this point sharply. Shōsan seems to have discussed the issue on a similar basis.

It should be noted that, as our previous citations might suggest, the "human being" in Buddhism is only one of the forms of existence blown hither and yon by innumerable unsatisfied desires, though possibly better than other creatures surrounding him. Therefore the Buddhists of that time may have found it difficult to understand the Christian doctrine that human beings were endowed with a real spirit, while other beasts were less fortunate.

Following the argument cited above, SUZUKI Shōsan claimed that the Samkhya philosophy of India had had a similar difficulty in establishing itself logically and therefore that it was finally consumed by Buddha's teaching because of this logical weakness.

At the time Gautama Buddha was alive, other schools of teaching

flourished in India. Their learning was extensive, and they built various theories and taught philosophies similar to that of the Buddha. Yet in spite of their volubility, they were lacking at one crucial point. The Samkhya school analyzed the laws of the universe by building a system of twenty-five phases of truth. The first phase was called the principle of inchoateness. Until Heaven and Earth were divided, there was no differentiation between good and evil fortune, nor any possibility of learning or understanding. Though it could not be designated with accuracy, this phase was, for reasons of expediency, named the principle of inchoateness. This was the permanent, imperishable and immutable principle which has no relationship to birth and death. The twenty-fifth phase of the truth was named the "divine mind." This was also named the mind of man or the spirit. This too was an immutable presence. The twenty-three phases in between were changeable in the universe for good or for worse. These were called the elements of causation. When the spirit took different appearances, the principle of inchoateness responded to its changes and assumed corresponding forms. Thus the changes of causal affairs in the universe depended on the motivational appearances of the spirit. If the spirit ceased to move completely and identified itself with the principle of inchoateness, motions and changes of causal phases would forever disappear and the joy of permanent inchoateness would automatically arrive. Matters and bodies would die, but the spirit would not. For example, if a house should burn, the master would leave the house.

They thus expounded their philosophy with great eloquence, but they finally admitted theirs to be inferior to Buddha's and they all became Buddha's followers. Christians today are much inferior to Samkhya reasoning and yet they pride themselves to the claim of their supremacy. They are like frogs in a small well.[29]

Shōsan rejected miracles as preached in Christianity.

I hear that the Christian religion approves of miracles, and that it cheats people by using tricks, ascribing them to the glory of Deus. In refutation I say that if one places a high value on things miraculous, then one must revere demons. Foxes and badgers are the beings that

make tricks in this land. A story says that when Indra and Asura fought and the latter was defeated, Asura and his eighty-four-thousand dependents hid themselves in a hole of a lotus stalk. Can one give any credence at all to such a story?

There are six kinds of wisdom. They are the wisdom of divine sight, of divine hearing, of understanding others' minds, of the knowledge of destiny, of flight, and of the ultimate (Asravaksaya jñana). Divine sight is the wisdom of beholding all events in the whole Universe at a glance. Divine hearing is the wisdom of hearing all events in the whole Universe while sitting. Understanding others' minds is the wisdom of insight into what others have in mind. The wisdom of destiny is the knowledge of past, present, and future. The wisdom of flight means that one can fly freely in heaven and beyond. These five kinds of wisdom can be found in devas, demons and even in other non-Buddhists. The ultimate wisdom, however, is beyond the reach of devas, demons and non-Buddhists. This is Buddha's wisdom of annihilating all the worldly passions. Thus Buddha does not include miracles in the six kinds of wisdom. Therefore they say there is *no miracle in the rightful law*. He who does not know this may be cheated by devas, demons, and others. The six kinds of wisdom of the Buddha are as follows: no matter what sight he sees, he never gets disturbed; no matter what voice he hears, he never gets disturbed; no matter what odor he smells, he never gets disturbed; no matter what happened to his body, he never gets disturbed; the law being embodied within himself, he never violates the law no matter what he wills. To sum up, he is never trapped by anything for he realizes that all traps are like a shadows on a mirror, never attached to its surface. Thus the mind and the inchoateness are identical in him, and such a man we call the free man with six kinds of wisdom. He may also be called a man with no change and no mind. A sutra says that it is better to follow the way of the man of detachment than to venerate many Buddhas of the past, present, and future. He who tries to learn the way of Buddha must learn this practice. He shall never use miracles.

The "miracles" spoken of here may refer to the uneasiness that the

Japanese people of that time felt because of the scientific machines and drugs that Christian missionaries brought with them. Even so, it may be said as a matter of principle that to use these devices as means by which to achieve their missionary purpose was not at all different from the practice of medieval Christian priests who attracted followers and made believers by the use of miraculous tales.

Citing an old Zen axiom, "Truthful law expects no miracle at all,"[30] Shōsan denounced miracles and wonders. Criticism of the belief in miracles was only recently started in the West. In the nineteenth century David Friedrich STRAUSS (1808–1874) and others started to discuss the topic. STRAUSS, particularly, criticized the belief in miracles in terms of the knowledge of natural science. Shōsan, however, expressed a rational attitude at a time when there was yet little scientific knowledge in Japan. We are obliged to acknowledge the excellence of his insight. It stands up well when measured against the governmentally-supported work of HAYASHI Razan (1578–1657), namely, the latter's *Rejection of Jesus*.[31]

We have so far attempted to show that Shōsan's criticism of Christianity coincided, in part, with that of modern Western thinkers, and we have outlined the philosopher's criticism of Christianity as it existed without influence from the West. We may conclude that Shōsan, as a thinker, had the quality of a modern thinker.

Criticism From A Buddhist Point of View

The following argument reveals an intrinsic incompatibility between the Buddhist and Christian grounds of thinking.

> Buddhas from generation to generation have come into the world with the objective of guiding all constituted beings into the straight path so that they may become Buddhas. Thus an axiom says, "Look straight into your mind, and you will see yourself a Buddha."[32]
>
> Gautama was born, persevered through twelve long years of strenuous effort, and while observing the moon and the stars on a certain eighth of December, awakened to a knowledge of the "thusness" of reality. Thereafter he left behind his life on a lofty mountain and preached his doctrine to many. When Buddha indicated his imminent

demise, those present were all silent. The Elder Kāśyapa alone, however, smiled. Gautama said, "Truly have I inspired the wisdom of dharma. The spirit of my teaching is beyond letters. It should be transmitted from one master to another."

The lineal line of the right teaching from Kāśyapa has come down to Japan through a legitimate succession of masters, the transmission of the teaching from one master to another being strictly regulated down to the present.

Christian teaching insists upon the idea of existence, encourages thinking and feeling, and forges an idea of a creator of heaven and earth. It thus repeats the endless cycle of suffering and defusion. Yet it claims that it saves men. It is amazing that Christians come to this land and compete with the rightful teaching of Buddha with so inefficient a philosophy. It is as if a sparrow were fighting against an eagle, or a firefly against the moon.

Shōsan's reasoning here is as follows. According to Christian teaching, God, as a real presence, created the substantial universe, and yet he gave men sufferings which were also real. Therefore, in terms of Buddhist language, men's "cycle" (*karma*) was fixed as "real." Their "cycle," therefore, even if founded on suffering, could not involve a basis for turning toward the ultimate conceived as the void. As long as the creator of the Universe, deemed to be real, was God, also deemed real, it would be logically inconceivable for men thus created to turn to the negative. The eternal reality could never negate its own being. Buddhism on the other hand, took the view that the "unreal" (Śunya), i.e. knowledge of the thusness of reality, was the ultimate principle. Human beings can enter and leave the cycle of life with its vice and sufferings only because the possibility of their doing so is grounded in negation. In this context Zen teachers preached that so long as men did not get rid of the false notion of the real nature of the human, they could not attain enlightenment.

This attack on Christianity is of exactly the same kind as that used by Indian Buddhists in their attack on theism.[33] It is impossible, however, that Shōsan was influenced by such arguments written in Buddhist

scriptures. Shōsan appears to have hit upon this kind of reasoning as a result of his own thinking on the subject.

Shōsan discussed the problem in this way. The absolute of Buddhism can save living beings for eternity, precisely because the absolute in Buddhism is the absolute in the negative. Various sects of Buddhism gave different names to this absolute negative, but essentially they all spoke of the same thing. Originally living beings were identical with this absolute. To be saved is to return to the original being.

After Bhagavat had preached his profound teaching for forty-nine years, he finally stated that the ultimate was beyond description. By saying this, he taught the way of the immediate realization of the Buddhahood. Finite thinking or reasoning is incapable of reaching the depth of the ultimate. In a scripture Gautama compares such reasoning to a finger pointing at the moon. A man of old characterized the true Law in these words:

> Works of perception (Citta) will not get at it,
> Cessation of perception will not grasp it,
> Eloquence of language can never arrive at its depth,
> Nor can silence reveal it ever.

No one can explain this. Neither can one explain the appearance of the seven Buddhas; Vipaśyin, Śikhin, Viśvabhuj, Krakucchanda, Kanakumuni, Kāśyapa, Śākyamuni, as we call them. In fact each one of these Buddhas rules many millions of years, and when the seven Buddhas are together, their reign is infinite, its length exceeds our knowledge. In addition to these seven was Amitabha who has been in the world since ten billions years ago, and before that time he was a boddhisattva by the name of Dharmākara. Amitabha is a Sanskrit name, and it is written "eternal life" in Chinese. *The Meditation on Buddha Amitayus Sūtra* describes this Buddha:

> The body of Buddha Amitayus is a hundred thousand million times as bright as the color of the Gāmbūnada gold of the heavenly abode of Yama: . . .
>
> The white twist of hair between the eye-brows all turning to the right is just like the five Sumeru mountains.

> The eyes of Buddha are like the water of the four great oceans; the blue and the white are quite distinct.
>
> All the roots of hair of his body issue forth brilliant rays which are also like the Sumeru mountains.
>
> The halo of that Buddha is like a hundred millions of the great chiliocosmos; . . .[34]

This description makes his image quite clear. It says "his height is six hundred thousand niyutas of kotis of yoganas innumerable as are the sands of the river Ganga, that the white twist of hair the five Sumeru mountains, and that his eyes the four great oceans."[35] Can there be anything else larger than this Buddha? The whole world is hardly equivalent to a grain of rice in comparison with the body of Amitabha. The purity of the upper part of his body forms the heavens, the turbidity of the lower the earth. Thus is the distinction between *yin* and *yang*. Heaven governs *yang* and earth *yin*. Since the beginning of the world, *yin* and *yang* together, by making heaven father and earth mother, have given birth to all living beings and phenomena. In other words such is the virtuous function of the Buddha. In Zen terms this Buddha is called the big man, i.e. the man of big might and capacity. Describing the man of big might and capacity, Mumon (1183–1260, a Zen master of Sung China) stated:

> Wake up or lie down, the free and perfuming oceans roar for eternity by him
>
> Look around and see that even the four heavenly worlds float underneath

Various sūtras and writings speak of him in diverse ways, but Buddha's teaching pervades the universe, and governs all the living beings. Hereby he preaches that all living beings without exception possess the Buddha nature. In a figure of speech it is as if the one moon in heaven were transferred to thousands of water surfaces on earth. The moon stays on a drop of water and on the ocean equally. The *formlessness of the essence* turns out in the limitless adaptations of the highest quality. The eyes see forms, the ears hear sounds, the nose smells odors, the mouth utters words, the hands handles things, and the legs make us

walk. When one's spirit realizes Buddha, he is Buddha. When one's spirit loses sight of Buddha, he is an ordinary man. Therefore Buddha is designated in different ways depending upon the image through which men are to be informed of their own Buddha nature. The original character, the originally shared field, the grand perfect enlightenment, the great wisdom, the great sun, the great king of medicine, the merciful, the instructor, et al. are the names of some of these images, but there is no other Buddha than the Buddha and no other Law than the Law. When one awakens to the "suchness" of reality, the blowing wind and flowing water become the music of heaven. When man realizes that millions of phenomena are essentially identical, weeds and trees on land immediately manifest their Buddha nature. These Christian priests, totally ignorant of this immediate realization as such, venerate the teaching of Jesus Christ, which is comparable to taking the eye of a fish for a precious gem.

Followers of Christianity, Shōsan reasoned, are ignorant of the ultimate ground of being. Therefore they rely upon the character of the person of Jesus Christ. But according to Buddhist teaching, living beings are all saved by acquainting themselves with the ultimate as such. In order to do so, it says, living beings must simply slough off their misunderstandings.

Buddha is the great king of medicine. He has vowed to cure the diseases of misunderstanding and confusion. Whenever living beings believe in and rely on his teaching, it never fails to cure them from their mental and physical diseases. Men should refrain from using medicine until he knows the cause of their disease. The cause of their disease, of their suffering, comes without fail from the innate error of taking this false and dreamy life for reality. Greediness, resentment, and complaints are three vicious kinds of thinking by which we torture ourselves. These are derived solely from attachment to the self. These three poisons are the seeds of eighty-four-thousand kinds of evil passions, yet ordinary men are bound by sufferings of this kind for life and tend to be trapped in their illness till they learn its cause. Even when they die, the passions which constantly clung to them in this life

pursue and torture them by becoming demons. Then the Mountain of the Dead (which the dead must climb) and the Sanzu River (which the dead must cross) come into existence. Thus those who fail to realize their true Buddha nature suffer while alive and after death alike. These sufferings are all consequences of the perversion of the heart. The content of this perversion is as follows: First, it means that the heart loves suffering and does not really know true joy. Second, it means that the heart is ignorant of the truth of transiency (Anitya), and adheres to the this-worldly and believes in everlastingness. Third, it means that the heart regards itself as free in spite of the fact that its body is bound by ten vices and eight sufferings and is held in bondage to limitless passions. Fourth, it means that the heart believes itself pure, being unaware of the impurity of its own being. Misconceptions based on this perversion have been maintained down to the present. However, sweat, feces, urine, earwax, nasal mucus, and other liquids that are secreted from every opening of the body are by no means pure and clean. We should revalue this body to which we are so devoted. What Buddha taught about impurity has this end in view. He instructs those who would attain this view of impurity to dwell near the tombs where there are many corpses. This is a clear lesson that one should not adhere to corruptible flesh.

Both living beings who remain in perplexity and those who attain realization depend on their hearts. But the "beclouded heart" is precisely what must be eliminated.

> Leave the heart as such.
> The heart in action knows suffering and pleasure.
> The heart in extinction is bound by nothing.
> Through the heart the heart is to be known.

That is to say, there is a "heart that transcends the heart." This "transcending heart," or "one heart" is identical with the absolute. Therefore the Buddha and all other forms of existence are ultimately identical. They cannot be based upon different principles.

Thus the difference between Buddha and living beings is like the difference between water and ice. Accumulation of passions is com-

parable to frozen ice, and extinction of desires to ice melting into water. Therefore a sūtra tells us:

In the three worlds there exists but one single heart.
There is no other Law but the heart.
As between the heart, Buddha, and living beings,
There exists no difference.[36]

Christians are totally ignorant of what this "one single heart" is.

The ultimate "being" of Buddhist teaching is a mysterious, beautiful and universal function that will not cease to exert itself till each and every living being has been saved. Being absolute, every divine being that acts on behalf of living beings is an incarnation of the absolute, even if it does not belong to the Buddhist tradition. It follows, therefore, that the gods native to Japan may be counted as representations of the original Buddha. According to Christian teaching, on the other hand, salvation is granted solely through Jesus Christ, the only son of God. Therefore Christians see no reason for the existence of other gods. The gods native to Japan are logically excluded from their object of worship. The argument below illustrates the difference of these viewpoints.

I hear that they say that veneration of native gods of Japan is nonsense, and that that is a result of ignorance of *Deus*. In refutation I say that Japan is a divine nation. To be born in the divine nation and yet to fail to worship the divine beings would show a terrible lack of respect. That the Buddhas and gods(i.e. avatars of the Buddhas) accomodate their brilliance to conditions in this world is the beginning of their relationship with use, and the eight major events in Buddha's life are the culmination of this saving process. That is to say, the native gods represent Buddha in incarnate form, and that is an accommodation through which to provide easier access to the true path for the less serious minded. The gods and the Buddha are like waves and water. The true and original Buddha appears in different guises, and saves people in ways appropriate to their respective station in life. Thus the hearts of all should be oriented to the veneration of this one Buddha. Allegorically speaking, it is like when a man, through paying his respect to cabinet ministers, supervisers, officers, representatives and

assistants, expresses his reverence to the king. Paying respect to officers is a form of showing one's reverence for the sovereign. Christian teaching seems like claiming that it is proper for the men who revere the sovereign to disregard his officers. How can one accept such an improper claim?

Approval or rejection of worship of the sun and the moon was another point of difference as between the Buddhist and Christian viewpoints.

I hear they claim that veneration of the sun and the moon, which is practiced in Japan, is nonsense, that the sun and the moon are lamps of the world, and that the Japanese do not know the truth due to their ignorance of *Deus*. In refutation I say that the figure of man is founded on *yin* and *yang*, and the body is formed of the four major elements. The sun is a *yang* representation, and the moon is a *yin* representation. Apart from *yin* and *yang*, no one can keep one's body alive. It is impossible to show too much reverence to the principles that constitute the foundations of our being. Any one who says *yin* and *yang* are useless should abstain from the use of water and fire. The sun and the moon in heaven give light to the world below. The highest veneration is due them. The two eyes of man that give him sight are nothing but the reflection of the virtues of the sun and the moon. Christians declare that reverence of the sun and the moon is useless, so perhaps they do not need their eyes either. That is an example of their ignorance of the truth. How absurd the Christians are!

Christians interpreted the sun and the moon as "lamps of the world" on the ground that they accepted the modern Western scientific interpretation of the sun and the moon as parts of the astronomical system and, in addition, on the ground that worship of the sun and the moon had never been taught in Christianity. Shōsan, on the other hand, still retained a belief in the traditional Chinese *yin* and *yang* cosmology and identified the sun and the moon as the origin of *yin* and *yang*. This indicates that Suzuki Shosan was not acquainted with modern Western natural science. Today, we might classify his argument as "pre-natural-scientific." However, even though some parts of his argument contradict the rational common-sense of today, it is quite clear that he always attempted to

argue in accordance with the principle of rationality so far as the limitations of that age permitted.

Concluding his arguments, Shōsan wrote:

> In recent years Christian priests have come and deceived people with all kinds of lies. With the plot of usurping this land for the Southern Barbarians, they have treacherously forged the idea of a creator of heaven and earth and corrupted our shrines and temples, being unafraid of heavenly retribution. There are scoundrels among the native priests who join in their deception. They call themselves *iruman bateren,* i.e. native Christian Brothers, and represent various classes of people. They say that the Buddhas of this land are not true Buddhas, that the sun and the moon are not to be venerated, and that there do not exist native gods nor divine beings. The crime involved in making such statements is so grave that each of them is being executed, thus verifying the punishment of heaven, Buddhas, gods, and men. Millions of them lose their lives, and their followers are severely pressed by all kinds of criticism. It is their vicious teaching that invites this retribution, not the government's laws. They are now destroying themselves as a natural result of their atrocities, usurpation of the way of heaven, and of their forgery of false teaching by which innumerable men were cast into hell. If Christian priests were true disciples of Buddha, the execution of one Christian priest would immediately invite punishment from heaven. No sign of such infliction has ever appeared, though innumerable Christian priests and Japanese converts have been executed already. No matter how often they come, their self-destruction is assured so long as the way of heaven is preserved. Hear this, and understand it.

Attention is here invited to the fact that Shōsan's way of reasoning in denouncing Christianity for its prohibition of worshipping native gods led him to reject the Jōdo Shin Shu (The True Sect of Pure Land) Buddhists as well.

> Master (Shōsan) said to the audience: Nowadays there are people who denounce the Ikko Shu (Jōdo Shin Shu). Explain, any one of you, the shortcomings of this sect.

A priest said: The priests of this sect lead married lives and eat meat, thus breaking the commandments.

Master said: This sect was originally started with the claim that it made enlightenment available for people in secular life. If you should still demand observance of priestly commandments from such people, you would miss the point of the question. If observance of the commandments were a condition of realization, it would follow automatically that lay people would never attain enlightenment. Establishment of Buddha's religion, however, should be the kind of establishment that helps to preserve the peace and security of nation. But since Ikko Shu does not care if Shinto shrines become dilapidated, veneration at the shrines of the gods native to Japan cannot escape deterioration. If all Japanese were to be converted to Ikko Shu, the shrines of the native gods would definitely be swept out. Japan, however, is a divine nation. How could the nation be maintained if the native gods were discarded?[37]

We shall not discuss here the relationship between the Jōdo Shin Shu and Shinto in detail, as it is itself a big problem. We shall merely conclude by saying that Shōsan decisively rejected monotheistic religious belief.

The Characteristics of Shōsan's Criticism

The reasoning Shōsan employed in his criticism of Christianity, as we have seen, reveals that Shōsan's position was always radically rational. He criticized Christianity from a rational point of view, regarding it as a philosophical system. It is evident that his knowledge of natural science was quite limited, yet is it also true that he was always oriented toward logical reasoning. His rationalism corresponds in part to Western rationalistic criticism of Christianity, and is partly a derivative product of Buddhist rationalism.

It is to be noted that Shōsan thought that truth must be established in terms of a universal standard that transcended national or parochial boundaries.

There are many ignorant Japanese who die for the ignominious faith of Christianity without reflecting on its theoretical deficiencies. The

existence of such people is a shame to our nation. I would feel ashamed if this were known abroad.

Such a broad perspective was quite extraordinary for the Japanese of that time, isolated as they were from information about conditions abroad. By way of contrast, we shall briefly review some popular arguments against Christianity by some other Japanese of that period.

Most Japanese thought that Christianity took advantage of the ignorant in the use it made of "sorcery." The primary reason for the proscription of Christianity was that its teachings were considered contrary to feudal principles and contained elements that could lead to the subverting of the social order. The Catholicism of that time, because its hierarchical organization was developed in the medieval period, undoubtedly involved many feudalistic elements. In Japan, however, belief in the teachings of Catholicism collided with the norm of devoted loyalty to the feudal lords, because Catholicism called, in effect, for people to divide their loyalties—and this at a time when most Japanese feudal lords were not Catholics. In the West belief in Catholicism and loyalty to the crown were not held to be contradictory because European feudal princes in medieval times were themselves followers of Catholicism. Most Japanese critics of Christianity dealt mainly with this point. FABIAN, an apostate Catholic, challenged the legitimacy of the Ten Commandments in his *Refutation of Deus* on the following grounds. Nine out of the ten items were deemed ethical principles that all men should follow, and practically reducible to the Five Commandments of Buddhism. But the first commandment, "Thou shalt venerate *Deus* alone" (Thou shalt have no other gods before me) was by no means allowable. This teaching advocated rebellion against lords and fathers by its demand for exclusive veneration of *Deus*. This teaching was in the beginning nothing but a means by which Christians usurped other nations.[38] Thus FABIAN, writing on the basis of the Confucian doctrine of rulership and defending the idea of converting Japanese Christians to Buddhism, contended: "It is the way of man to live in accord with the rules of the Shogun who is the ruler of Japan, so long as one lives in Japan."[39]

Confucian scholars' rebuttal of Christianity was grounded on the

same reasoning as that of FABIAN's. For example, KAN Sazan (1748–1827) said:

> I hear that Christians do not refrain from sacrificing their lives and bodies provided it be for *Deus*. This is a most threatening thing to hear indeed. A lord rules a nation, and for him only, citizens may have to take up arms in case of need. There may be sects or schools of teaching in different nations at different times. *Any teaching,* however, that *venerates something which is not the lord of the nation,* is a *subversive deception that opposes the nation's rulers,* and is certain to cause injury both to the government and to the church.[40]

Even ARAI Hakuseki (1657–1725), one of the most progressive Confucian scholars during the Tokugawa era, discusses the matter of ceremony as a question of *ethics* or *social status.*

> Ceremonial service to heaven is a profession of the Emperor. From lords to farmers and townsmen, each according to the title and rank, their allotment of the service is particularly decided. The claim that all the people should practice equal ceremonial service is contrary to the human ethics.

It is remarkable that, among Japanese people in general, one can detect the existence of a pattern of thinking such that they regard the limited human means of which they are members as the standard of their value judgements and that in the last analysis they make such judgements in reliance upon a certain person who represents the social organization in which they live. In the kind reasoning that led to the expulsion of Christianity, the dominance of this pattern is clearly visible. Shōsan, however, did not use this sort of reasoning. Some of the old elements are of course retained in Shōsan's arguments. Yet Shōsan, who lived prior to KAN Sazan and ARAI Hakuseki, was unintentionally possessed of a modern and rational position, and this at a time when even a progressive thinker like ARAI Hakuseki remained imbedded in feudal perspectives in his rebuttal of Christianity.[41]

Conclusion

Shōsan's thought was outstanding for the characteristics delineated

above, and it attracted widespread attention. And yet, generally speaking, his thinking was not accepted by the people of his time. The fact was that "many lay people and priests of higher and lower ranks came from long distances, but none of them understood the true intent of Shōsan's discussions, and they left him."[42] Shōsan had to acquiesce in this situation. "Men come in order to test their biased views against Shōsan. But they all leave, because their arguments do not stand up to Shōsan's rebuttals."

> No one listens to the fruit of my strenuous efforts of four score of years. *The time is not ripe yet.* I can only pity myself. In the excess of my grief I write this, hoping that some one in the future may pay attention to this, even if no one understands it at the present time.[43]

Between Shōsan and the Buddhists in general, there was an open cleavage. Shōsan's philosophy developed in isolation. His thought did not influence Japanese philosophical currents to any considerable extent. Neither did it instigate any lasting religious movement whatsoever.

In the West, however, since the days Shōsan was alive, or even earlier, rational philosophy, similar to what Shōsan had conceived, developed into a socio-religious movement and issued in the Reformation. But in Japan, Shōsan had to remain in isolation and, in time, was utterly forgotten. To what should we attribute this difference?

We would suggest two possible explanations as direct causes of Shōsan's situation. One is the fact that the centralized feudal system of Tokugawa Japan was extraordinary solid and its binding power extremely strong; the other, that civil society was yet immature. Further analysis of what caused this situation to take the form it did is a separate and major question, which we will have to discuss on another occasion.

Though Shōsan took a radically critical attitude toward the traditional religious powers, he never became a mass leader who would marshal social forces for the subversion of the existing order. The religious bodies kept on, receiving without noticeable change the veneration and devotion of the people and, with the backing of popular support, enjoyed official recognition by the Shogunate government. Due to the policy of prohibition of Christianity, the temples of existing Buddhist sects were

turned into something like public agencies in their relationship with the people in general. Living in this society, Shōsan, too, had to acknowledge and acquiesce in the large-scale organization of society. Even Shōsan, who advocated a vocational ethic and the practice of Buddhism in secular life, was obliged—in the condition of feudal society—to find a place in a religious organization, Sōtō Zen in his case, and to identify himself as a priest. Such contradictory phenomena constituted a problem that could not be solved by the efforts of a mere individual. Shōsan's strong opposition to feudal morality was rarely followed by anybody. Neither did his emphasis upon "freedom" break down the inequality of society. In contrast to the successful realization of a religious government under the aegis of theocracy in Geneva at the hands of John CALVIN, in Japan actualization of a Buddhist government, excluding the feudal forces of the warring classes, and having its seat of authority in the temples, remained the dream of Shōsan alone.

Shōsan's influence in subsequent years was greater in his capacity as a writer of literature. His fictional creations, like the *Story of Cause and Effect,*[44] and the *Two Nuns,*[45] were popularly accepted. What the people sought for in Shōsan were stories to be used in writing. Writers who got their ideas from Shōsan subsequently published stories entitled the *Seven Nuns* and the *Four Nuns.*[46] Shōsan's other title led IHARA Saikaku (1642–1693) to write the *New Story of Cause and Effect,*[47] and Rosui (1657–1733) the *Modern Story of Cause and Effect.*[48] The appearance of these imitative works no doubt attests Shōsan's popularity and influence upon the general public. Yet the popular image of Shōsan was hardly more than that of a writer of morality inculcating stories of the grotesque. For example, in the *Three Edo Men's Linked Verse,*[49] two poets, ITO Nobunori and MATSUO Bashō, offered the following analogy:

ITO Nobunori:

A devil did it prove itself, yet the figure remained as if alive.

MATSUO Bashō:

Yes, as if in a story by Shōsan.[50]

Thus Shōsan's new and progressive side was lost in oblivion, while, thanks to his talent in creative writing, only the old and medievalistic

illustrations he used as a convention for popularizing his teaching were accepted and appreciated by people in general. Shōsan's truly revolutionary ideas in religious thinking were totally overlooked through the years. Shōsan, a man with new conceptions of religions, appeared and disappeared like a comet, and was shortly completely forgotten.

Japanese religion, and Japanese society in general, retained an essentially medieval structure, and no really fundamental changes ever did occur throughout the Tokugawa era, or down to the present day.

Notes

1 The Japanese rendering of Christianity and Christians, especially of late 16th and early 17th centuries, is *Kirishitan*. As the Japanese term *Kirishitan* has concrete connotation related closely to the cultural and historical background of that period, the words translated presently as "Christians" and "Christianity" ought to be read with that historico-cultural specification in mind.—Translator.

2 I have not seen previous studies dealing with Banzui'i.

3 白道, 演蓮社智誉向阿.

4 This is based on MOCHIZUKI Shinkō's *Bukkyō Daijiten* "Banzui'i." Biography on Banzui'i has not yet appeared.

5 妙導 (妙導) 著, 幡随意上人行状, 一巻.

6 喚誉著, 幡随意上人諸国行化伝, 五巻.

7 彩誉著, 幡随意上人伝, 二巻.

8 *Stories*. Vol. 4, p. 7. Following citations will be from *Stories* unless specifically indicated otherwise.

9 四十八昼夜を克して浄業を脩し, 神翁付予の像を鎮し神君恩賜の軍扇を執り, その陣衣を以て載して漚多羅 (Uttarāsanga 上衣) と為してこれを披け堂に昇って説法す *Gyojyo*.

10 Max MUELLER. *The Sacred Books of the East*. Vol. 49.

11 *Life and Activities*, p. 13.

12 Ibid., pp. 13–14.

13 *Life and Activities*, p. 14.

14 The number of physicians among the Christians was considerably large. ANESAKI Masaharu. *Rise and Fall of Christian Missions* (Kirishitan Dendō no Kō-hai), p. 432.

15 *Short History of Nagasaki* (Nagasaki Engi Ryaku), *Historiography of Nagasaki* (Nagasaki Shi), cited in TSUJI Zennosuke. *History of Japanese Buddhism* (Nihon Bukkyo Shi, Kinsei Hen) III, p. 97.

16 TSUJI. Op. cit. pp. 97–107 contains statistics.

17 *Biography of the Venerable Bansui'i*. Also *Genealogy of Fujiwara Arima* (Fujiwara Arima Sefu) cited in TSUJI, op. cit. p. 97.

18 白道運歩数十年　以火消火難思術

19 This does not mean that all the Buddhists were inactive as regards Christianity. Protest letters to the authorities are still extant. A group of priests from Mt. Hiei demanded the

expulsion of Christian missionaries on the ground that loss of faith and corruption of the social order might be expected if Christian teachings according to which the native gods and Buddha are despised should come to prevail. A large number of other minor collisions between Christianity and Buddhism can be enumerated from many provinces, but what is important is that the collisions were the result of conflicts in the struggle for power, and not the result of truly religious Buddhist missionary spirit.

20 SHIMMURA Izuru, "Buddhist Refutation of Christianity in the Early Tokugawa Period," (徳川初期に於ける仏教徒の耶教排撃), *Rekishi to Chiri*, vol. 1, No. 3. (1917)

21 We can not say that all the Buddhists of that time were of the same type. An exception, for example, is SUZUKI Shosan's *Refutation of Christianity*, which gives evidence of reflection on theoretical problems. (For a more detailed analysis, see the present writer's *Studies on the Critical Spirits in Modern Japan* (近世日本に於ける批判的精神の考察 p. 212 ff.) *On Instructing Christians* (対治邪執論) by Sesso, a priest of Nanzen-ji Temple, written at about 1648, discussed Christianity theoretically, with a logical construction along the same lines as that of Shosan's. (SUGIMOTO Isao, "Development of Anti-Christian Disputes in the Early Tokugawa Period (江戸初期に於ける排耶蘇論の展開)," *Rekishi Kyōiku*, vol. 7, No. 10. (1959). It is also said, however, that most of the books by Buddhists in refutation of Christianity are filled with discussions of politics. (IENAGA Saburō, *Study of Buddhist Thought in the Middle Ages* (中世仏教思想史研究), p. 120.

22 We should not forget the fact that some apologetic works written in Japanese by Catholic missionaries exist such as *Myōtei Mondō* (Cf. Bibliography), and their criticisms of Buddhist teachings are very interesting. But as they were written by foreigners, we shall omit them.

23「でうす問答」

24「破吉利支丹」

25 Quotation from the first phrases of *Refutation of Christianity*. The author could not obtain a copy of *Questions and Answers about the Christian God*. Unspecified quotations hereafter will be from *Refutation*.

26「破提宇子」

27 ハビアン，不干巴毗庵

28 *Nippon Tetsugaku Shisō Zensho* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1956). Vol. X, p. 151. Esther Lowell BIBBARD, Translator. *Refutation of Deus by Fabian* (Tokyo: ISR Press, 1963), p. 31.

29 Shosan's source of this statement is from Musō Kokushi (1275–1351):

"Question. What is the teaching of the 'divine mind'?"

"Answer. The Samkhya school analyzed the laws of the universe by building a system of twenty-five phases of truth. The first is named the truth of inchoateness. This has nothing to do with good and evil fortunes nor is it possible to observe or understand it. Though it is beyond naming, for convenience' sake is it named the truth of inchoateness. This is permanent and beyond birth or death. The twenty-fifth is named the truth of the divine mind. This is the so-called mind of men or "the spirit." They say this is permanent, too. The other twenty-three truths are various phases of good and evil fortune in the universe. They are defined as the elements of the law of causation. If the divine mind assumes a mode of action, the principle of inchoateness adopts a corresponding form. If the divine mind thinks this or that, the inchoateness turns into the form of this or that. Thus, the turns and changes of causation in the universe depend solely on the modes of action of the divine mind. If the divine mind ceases to act completely and becomes identified with the inchoateness, the turns and changes of causal

elements all settle automatically in the inchoateness. The material body dies, but the divine mind is permanent and never dies. It is as if a house were burning and its master came out and left. This is view of the divine mind that Echū Kokushi (?–775) denounced. (Musō Kokushi: *Muchū Mondō Shū*.) Nanyō Echū Kokushi briefly refers to the theory of the inchoateness. ("Keitoku Dentōroku" vol. 28, (1006), *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō*, vol. 51., p. 437 ff.)

30 *Roankyō* (驢鞍橋), vol. 2., pp. 19, 68.

31 林羅山,「排耶蘇」

The *rational* used by the ruling class of Tokugawa Japan is found in MIURA Baien's *Musings During the Early Summer Rain* (五月雨抄), translated into English by Leon HURWITZ, *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 8, Nos. 1–2, (1952), 2893–26, vol. 9, Nos. 1–2. (1953), 330–356.

32 直指人心　見性成仏

33 Indian Buddhists presented a number of comments on the monotheistic doctrine that the Universe was the creation of one god. One of them argued thus: if the god that is the cause of the Universe is eternal being, it will not give birth to anything. It is as if the emptiness were ever-lasting and could not give birth to anything. Only limited, mortal beings can give birth to other *beings*. (*"Dai Bibasha Ron*, vol. 199," *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō*, vol. 27, p. 993. Tattvasamgraha vv. 140, 147.) Another thesis was that the cause of the cycle could not at the same time be the cause of extinction (Tarkajvala, VIII, 21).

34 *Amitayur-Dhyana-sūtra*, tr. by TAKAKUSU Junjirō, in *The Sacred Books of the East* (Max MUELLER, editor), vol. 49, p. 180.

35 Ibid.

36 These lines are taken from well known verses of the Garland sūtra. This verse is a composite from *Hachijū Kegon* vol. 37. "Jujibon," and *Rokujū Kegon* vol. 10. "Yamatengu-bosatsusetsugebon."

「八十華厳」第三十七巻．十地品:「三界所有唯是一心」「六十華厳」第十巻．夜摩天宮菩薩説偈品:「心如工画師画．種種五陰．一切世界中無法而不造．如心仏亦然．如仏衆生然．心仏及衆生．是三無差別．」

37 *Roankyō*, vol. 2, p. 65.

38 ANESAKI Masaharu. *Biographical Review of Persecution of Christianity* (切支丹迫害史中の人物史蹟) p. 479: *Vicissitude of Christian Missions* (切支丹伝道の興隆) pp. 789 ff.

39 ANESAKI, *Vicissitude*, p. 778.

40 "Shadow of Winter" (冬の日影) I, in *Japanese Confucian Library* (日本儒林叢書), *Commentaries* (解説部) ii, pp. 9–10.

41 We do not intend to argue that Shosan's discussions were rationalistic *in toto*. We would merely point out that there appeared in him a rationalist tendency that distinguishes him from other thinkers of that time.

42 *Roankyō*, vol. 3, p. 23.

43 Ibid., vol. 2, p. 89.

44 因果物語

45 二人比丘尼

46 七人比丘尼．四人比丘尼

47 新因果物語

48 近代因果物語

49 江戸三吟

50 Ishida, op. cit., p. 18. Hakuin (Zen master, 1685–1768) cited from Shosan's *Cause and Effect* in his *Sashimogusa*. (*Zen-mon Hōgo-shū*, vol. 2, p. 175.)