The Anjin Ketsujō Shō and its Influence on Jōdo Shinshū Thought

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Introduction

The intent of this paper is to examine the Pure Land beliefs articulated in the text known as the *Anjin ketsujō shō*, and consider its influence on Jōdo Shinshū doctrine and history. It is devided into three sections. In the first section we will consider the the *Anjin ketsujō shō* itself, noting some of its doctrinal influence on Shinshū teaching. The second section is an overview of these the way these concepts were incorporated into Jōdo Shinshū, and the third considers the distinction between Shinran's concept of *shinjin* and the concept of *anjin*, adapted as a synonym for *shinjin* by Rennyo in his teaching, and the spiritual and historical significance of this reinterpretation of Shinshū doctrine.

I. The Pure Land Teaching of the Anjin ketsujō shō

The author of the *Anjin ketsujō shō* is unknown. Its mode of expression suggests that it originated with the Seizan branch of the Jōdo school, with which it shares concepts and terminology.¹ It was in the Jōdo Shinshū tradition, however, that it was most studied and in which it made its greatest impact. Both Kakunyo (1270-1351), the great-grandson of Shinran Shonin

^{1. &}quot;Anjinketsujōshō 1," 106n.

(1173-1262) and creator of the Hongwanji temple, and Zonkaku (1290-1373), Kakunyo's son, were familiar with it. Its impact cumulated with Rennyo Shonin (1415-1499), who considered it a "gold mine" from which he was able to derive a concise and easily comprehensible interpretation of Shinran's concept of *shinjin*.²

The work is comprised of two fascicles. Its contents are highly repetitive, although the language does not seem overly technical and its style is lively and engaging. It begins by emphasising the centrality of the Eighteenth Vow, interpreted in the form of Shan-tao's paraphrase, in which the expression "ten thoughts" (*jūnen* + \Rightarrow) is understood as ten recitations.³ It explains the significance of the Vow's qualification, that Dharmākara/Amida would only accept Buddhahood if "the sentient beings of the universe" attain birth (in the Pure Land).⁴ This qualifying statement is a paradox in that Amida is understood to have already attained enlightenment in the distant past, while defiled sentient beings are continuously being born into samsaric existence. The explanation given is an important concept for Anjin ketsujo sho and forms a fundamental component in its understanding of the relationship between sentient beings and Amida and the meaning of salvation and birth. Amida Buddha, the text explains, "has already arranged the birth of beings by wholly fulfilling, in our place, the essential aspiration and practice."⁵ In other words, Amida took upon himself the practice and realization of every being who would ever live in the universe, completing the necessary aspiration and practice and pre-fulfilling, as it were, the birth of each one of these beings. This realization is, further, embodied in Namu-amida-butsu, "in which

^{2. &}quot;Anjinketsujōshō 1," 106-107n.

^{3. &}quot;Anjinketsujōshō 1," 107n.

^{4. &}quot;Anjinketsujōshō 1," 107.

^{5. &}quot;Anjinketsujōshō 1," 108.

the practicer and Dharma are one."⁶ Thus, Amida's Buddhahood and the enlightenment of all sentient beings is simultaneous, whether or not one realizes it, and this enlightenment is contained in Namu-amida-butsu, the utterence of which gives rise to the realization of this truth and in which there is no separation between the one who utters it and Amida. This oneness (*ki-hō it-tai*) is the basis for birth and is embodied by Namu-amida-butsu.

The problem is that sentient beings have a difficult time grasping this concept. Thus, the *Anjin ketsujō shō* tells us, "there are those who have already been born, those who are now being born, and those who will be born in the future." Regardless of this, there is nothing sentient beings contribute to this process, since Amida has already realized the attainment of birth for all beings, in their place.⁷ As such, one need not have any anxiety about one's birth; all one needs to do is understand that the Buddha has, indeed, achieved perfect enlightenment.

Our existential dilemma, then, is that, even though Dharmākara labored for infinite kalpas in order to achieve this for us, and, even though Buddhas have appeared in the world eight thousand times to tell us of this, we have not listened. Thus, although we are incapable of any kind of good with which to achieve our own salvation, we pay no attention to the fact that Amida has achieved it for us. For this, the *Anjin ketsujō shō* tells us, we should feel shame and remorse and repent our ignorance, the content of which is our lack of trust in the Vow.⁸ The thought-moment (*ichinen*, $\neg \textcircled{a}$) when we realize the fact of our already established birth, is the same thought-moment in which Amida achieved the attainment of birth in [our] place."⁹ The *Anjin ketsujō shō* ac-

8. "Anjinketsujōshō 1," 109-110.

^{6. &}quot;Anjinketsujōshō 1," 108.

^{7. &}quot;Anjinketsujōshō 1," 108.

^{9. &}quot;Anjinketsujōshō 1," 108.

tually sees this moment as a return

...to the to the one thought-moment of perfect enlightenment, and the mind, [settled on] saying the Name that arises in the living beings of the universe also returns to the one thought-moment of perfect enlightenment.¹⁰

The "Name that arises" then, embodies Amida's perfect enlightenment, which is itself the "embodiment of the birth of sentient beings."¹¹ Thus to realize that Amida's enlightenment actually fulfills our own birth is to experience oneness with that reality, and the Name we utter embodies that oneness. For the *Anjin ketsujō shō*, the Name (Namu-amida-butsu) contains the aspiration and practice that fulfill our own enlightenment - but it is not different or separate from Amida's enlightenment; it is exactly one with it. Hence, "not a single utterance or thought remains with the practicer" - there is absolutely no achievement on our side. All we have done is to acknowledgement a reality; and this acknowledgement itself is embodied by the perfect enlightenment of Amida - which embodies our birth.

This is the essential non-dualistic vision of the *Anjin ketsujō shō*; Amida's enlightenment equals the birth of all sentient beings and the birth of sentient beings is the substance of Amida's enlightenment.¹² It follows that, whether we realize it or not, we have all been saved by Amida. However, having knowledge and understanding of this dispels the apprehension which dominates our lives, since we are clearly incapable of saving ourselves. The *Anjin ketsujō shō* explains the meaning of the Name, Namu-amida-butstu, according to Shan-tao's understanding in

^{10. &}quot;Anjinketsujōshō 1," 111.

^{11. &}quot;Anjinketsujōshō 1," 111.

^{12. &}quot;Anjinketsujōshō 1," 112.

which "Namu" is the sentient being's act of taking refuge or trusting, and "Amida-butsu" is the practice and aspiration which fulfills the conditions for birth.¹³ This is a formula that Rennyo was to adopt in his teaching and to which he gave considerable emphasis. Rennyo, however, seems to have given more emphasis to the "Namu" side; in his formulation, Amida saves beings who have actually entrusted themselves. The *Anjin ketsujō shō* takes a more subtle approach, as we have seen, insisting that the birth of every sentient being is an accomplished fact. In this sense it clarifies its own Other Power position by implying that the entrusting of a sentient being is a manifestation of the aspiration and practice embodied in the Name and which is also simultaneous with the one-thought moment of Amida's enlightenment. While essentially maintaining the view of the *Anjin ketsujō shō*, Rennyo adapted his emphasis, perhaps due to his desire to propagate the Shinshū teaching as quickly as possible:

The two characters "na-mu" signify sentient beings' entrusting themselves to Amida Buddha single-heartedly and steadfastly, with no other thought than that he will save them; this is called "taking refuge." Next, the four characters "a-mida-bu-tsu" signify that, without exception, Amida Buddha saves sentient beings who entrust themselves ("na-mu").¹⁴

Here we see that, while Rennyo says that Amida saves sentient beings "without exception," this statement is qualified with the addition of "who entrust themselves." In this sense, the perspective of the *Anjin ketsujō shō* is more radical than that of Rennyo in its expression of absolute Other Power. It emphasizes, over and over, that the Name never "remains with the prac-

^{13. &}quot;Anjinketsujōshō 1," 111.

^{14.} Rogers & Rogers, Rennyo, 202.

ticer;" the purpose of saying or hearing it is always to engender the reflection that birth has already been accomplished. Hence, the *Anjin ketsujō shō* emphasizes a mindset of confidence and certainty. It does not threaten practicers harshly against not entrusting, its agenda seems to be to alleviate the anxiety caused by the ignorance of not grasping the fact of already attained birth. This birth is constantly expressed in terms of oneness and simultaneity:

Whenever we hear the Name "Amida Buddha," we should recognize it as itself our attainment of birth, and grasp that our birth is none other than the Buddha's perfect enlightenment.¹⁵

It is emphasized that there is no need for doubt about this because if "even a single sentient being were not to attain birth, the Buddha would never have attained perfect enlightenment."¹⁶ Again, this emphasis downplays worry and anxiety and is concerned mainly for the practicer's state of mind since birth itself is a certainty.

For the *Anjin ketsujō shō*, the idea of absolute Other Power is expressed in terms of the transcendence of the "reasoning of causality."¹⁷ Sentient beings assume that there is some part of their own to be played in the process of attaining birth, but this is not what is happening. Since our birth has already been fulfilled, neither saying nor hearing the Name has anything to do with birth, i. e. it is not causal. The Name is entirely Other Power and embodies the fulfillment of the Eighteenth Vow. Thus to hear the name is to know that the Vow has been fulfilled. The only problem for sentient beings, then, is to hear it correctly, that is, to

^{15. &}quot;Anjinketsujōshō 1," 112.

^{16. &}quot;Anjinketsujōshō 1," 112.

^{17. &}quot;Anjinketsujōshō 1," 114.

...hear it as the Name in which the Buddha has fulfilled their own birth, or to reflect that it is the manifestation [revealing] that Dharmākara's Vow not to attain Buddhahood if does not bear us across [to nirvana] has not been in vain..¹⁸

Thus, hearing the name *correctly* is a major concern of *Anjin ketsujō shō*; otherwise, sentient beings will falsely assume that there is a causal element in the saying or hearing of the name and, since the aspiration and virtue of sentient beings is woefully inadequate to attain birth, this will obviously cause anxiety. Therefore, it is necessary to hear the name with understanding so that, instead of anxiety, the practicer may truly rejoice in the knowledge of already attained birth.¹⁹ Thus, for the *Anjin ketsujō shō*, entrusting oneself to the Primal Vow means to understand the Name (Amida/Namu-amida-butsu) as the fulfillment of one's own birth - not in theory, but literally and personally:

With the mind of trust [that resides in] nembutsu-samādhi settled in you, you should understand that your body is Namu-amida-butsu, your mind is Namu-amida-butsu...the physical body that actualizes the oneness of practicer and Dharma [$ki-h\bar{o}$ ittai] is itself Namu-amida-butsu.²⁰

The concept of ki- $h\bar{o}$ ittai, the oneness of practicer and Dharma, is expressed here as the non-dualistic oneness of the practicer (as a physical body) with Dharma/Nembutsu. The text describes this oneness much as it does the mechanism of birth, with all elements containing or embodying each other. Here, sentient beings fill Amida's mind while Amida's virtue fills sentient

^{18. &}quot;Anjinketsujōshō 1," 114.

^{19. &}quot;Anjinketsujōshō 1," 115.

^{20. &}quot;Anjinketsujōshō 1," 115.

beings' minds. When this oneness is realized, body and mind "turn into Namu-amida-butsu" and Namu-amida-butsu is uttered/heard in its true meaning.²¹ This the text calls nembutsu-samadhi; it seems that this concept is echoed by Rennyo, in slightly simplified form, in his emphasis on gratitude, in which Namu-amida-butsu is recited in gratitude for Amida's salvation.

The closest that the *Anjin ketsujō shō* comes to an urgent warning is to articulate that, so long as practicers attempt to "accord with the Buddha's mind" or "seek to receive the favor of birth by flattering him," birth will be "extremely uncertain" for them because their minds will be disjointed from the Buddha's great compassion.²² This is really a warning against any sort of self-power pretensions; that a being will not achieve birth as a result of this does not seem to be the import of this warning. In fact, such a perspective would be completely inconsistent with the fundamental themes of the *Anjin ketsujō shō*, which stress that sentient beings have all been saved. The import of such a warning is that, in light of this, to live any other way but in acknowl-edgment and oneness with this truth would be an absurd way to live and would result in needless suffering.

The *Anjin ketsujō shō* presents an interesting summation of the meaning of Nembutsu and practice. Although the the virtues of Amida were fulfilled in us long kalpas ago, they only gradually manifest themselves in us temporally. Thus, attainment varies from being to being, throughout time, yet it is absolutely fulfilled, nonetheless, through the universal Vow. Nembutsu, then, "means to be mindful of this truth; practice means to pay homage to and revere this happiness."²³

^{21. &}quot;Anjinketsujōshō 1," 116-117.

^{22. &}quot;Anjinketsujōshō 1," 118.

^{23. &}quot;Anjinketsujōshō 1," 120-121.

This corresponds again to Rennyo's interpretation of nembutsu as an expression of gratitude. The *Anjin ketsujō shō*, however, does not emphasize this aspect, perhaps due to its absolute Other Power stance, which would tend to minimize anything which could me misinterpreted as a separate act on the part of sentient beings. Rather, it emphasizes the transcendence of Other Power, in which the acts of sentient beings are entirely subsumed in oneness (*ki-hō ittai*) with the Buddha's perfect enlightenment: "...the virtues of Amida's long sustained practice manifest themselves in our acts."²⁴

As stated above, the style of the *Anjin ketsujō shō* is quite repetitive and its major ideas are restated throughout. The second fascicle reiterates much that was said in the first and serves as a sort of commentary on these ideas, illustrating them with examples and providing further insight. It emphasizes even more strongly the importance of entrusting so as not to remain "meaninglessly remain fettered by the attachments of self-power." This entrusting, according to the *Anjin ketsujō shō*, "is itself Other Power."²⁵ According to Dennis Hirota, this entrusting to Other Power is equivalent to Shinran's concept of *shinjin* directed toward sentient beings by Amida. However, this text seems to place it in the context of *ki-hō ittai* in the sense that the one who takes refuge is already one, or non-dual, with the enlightenment of Amida.²⁶

In another sense, despite the emphasis on non-duality, the *Anjin ketsujō shō* articulates a very personal and anthropomorphic view of Amida. Śākyamuni and Amida are portrayed as being "sad" and "sorrowful" when sentient beings do no respond to their great efforts of salvation.

^{24. &}quot;On Attaining the Settled Mind: Anjinketsujōshō, Part 2" [hereafter "Anjinketsujōshō 2"], translated by Dennis Hirota, The Eastern Buddhist, Volume 24 (New Series), Number 1 (Spring 1991), 84.

^{25. &}quot;Anjinketsujōshō 2," 84-85.

^{26. &}quot;Anjinketsujōshō 2," 82n.

Nevertheless, the "skill in means" quality of such statements is followed almost immediately by the reaffirmation of the utterly non-dualistic notion of the universal Vow's transcendence of causality.²⁷ The message is continually driven home; the perfect enlightenment of Amida is the only cause that leads to birth. The transcendent quality of this is central to the *Anjin ketsujō shō*'s view of reality. This is expressed, in fact, in a way that goes beyond the issue of causality to a direct expression of totality; the both the Name and Amida's Buddhahood are said to be "uncreated and undefiled."²⁸ The true settlement (*anjin*) of sentient beings is one with this ultimate reality of Amida's enlightenment and the Name, and beings return to this reality in every manifestation of these things.

Thus, the *Anjin ketsujō shō* utilizes the basic component of Pure Land belief, the Eighteenth Vow of Amida, and crafted a lofty vision of totality from its paradoxical soteriology. One hears, in reading it, echoes of both Shinran and Rennyo, but its formula of entrusting and settlement of the mind in the oneness of Nembutsu, expressed as gratitude, shows its clear influence on Rennyo's reinterpretation of Shinran's subtler and even more complex Pure Land vision.

II. The impact of the Anjin ketsujo sho on Jodo Shinshū Thought

Although the teaching of the Jōdo Shinshū sect is ostensibly based upon the writings of its founder, Shinran Shonin, the interpretation of these writings by his descendants, especially

^{27. &}quot;Anjinketsujōshō 2," 87.

^{28. &}quot;Anjinketsujōshō 2," 88.

Kakunyo, Zonkaku, and Rennyo Shonin, often referred to as the "Second Founder" of Jōdo Shinshū, have had a tremendous impact upon what came to be considered "orthodox" Shinshū. In the process of constructing (and inventing) a viable and stable Jōdo Shinshū institution, with central authority based on the leadership of the head priest of the Hongwanji Temple, a process of interpreting and re-structuring Shinran's thought naturally occurred. Likewise, influences from other sects, especially other Pure Land groups which had originated from the teachings of Hōnen (1133-1212), collectively known as Jōdoshū, came naturally to affect Shinshū thinking and were integrated into the doctrine of the sect. Shinran himself studied and recommended in his letters texts written by other students of Hōnen such as "Essentials of Faith Alone" (*Yuishinshō*), by Seikaku (1166-1235) and "The Clarification of Once-Calling and Many-Calling" (*Ichinen tanen fubetsu no koto*), by Ryūkan (1148-1227)²⁹ and apparently studied them closely, for he made copious annotations in his own copies.³⁰

In this light, it should come as no surprise that the anonymously authored text associated with the Seizan branch of the Jōdoshū, the *Anjin ketsujō shō* (安心决定鈔 "Attaining the Settled Mind"), could have had an influence on the thought of both Kakunyo and Zonkaku as well as, most significantly, on that of Rennyo. More than a mere influence, this text (which Shinran probably did not know of³¹) is, in fact, "an important document in the development of Shin doctrine,"³² According to Minor Rogers, Rennyo's understanding of Shinran's central concept of

^{29.} *Collected Works of Shinran* (vol. 1) [hereafter CWS 1/CWS 2], translated, with introductions, glossaries, and reading aids, by Dennis Hirota, Hisao Inagaki, Michio Tokunaga, and Ryushin Uryuzu, Kyoto: Jōdo Shinshū Hongwanji-ha, 1997, 559, 561-62, 567, 569, 576

^{30.} CWS 1, 451-90. See also CWS 2, 103.

^{31.} Minor L. Rogers, "The Shin Faith of Rennyo," The Eastern Buddhist, ns 15, 1 (Spring 1982): 66.

^{32. &}quot;On Attaining the Settled Mind: Anjinketsujōshō, Part 1" [hereafter "Anjinketsujōshō 1"], Translated by Dennis Hirota, The Eastern Buddhist, Volume 23 (New Series), Number 2 (Autumn 1990),

faith or entrusting (*shinjin*, 信心) as "settled mind" (*anjin*, 安心) was "...shaped decisively by *Anjinketsujōshō*."³³ Another central concept in the *Anjin ketsujō shō*, which also became important for Rennyo, is that of *ki-hō ittai* (機法一体), a phrase that expresses the oneness of sentient beings (*ki*) with the Dharma ($h\bar{o}$).³⁴ The pervasion of Rennyo's teaching with these two concepts reflects the value he attached to this text; he described it as containing the "...gist of shinjin in our tradition."³⁵

It would seem from this statement that Rennyo appreciated the *Anjin ketsujō shō* as articulating the essence of Shinshū teaching; this being the case, he must have considered the text's contents to be an exemplary representation of Shinran's own views. Curiously, however, the Pure Land teaching of the *Anjin ketsujō shō* differs in three important ways from that of Shinran's own understanding. First, *Anjin ketsujō shō* maintains a manifestly mystical orientation, centered on the concept of *ki-hō ittai*, a term Shinran never used. The mystical oneness of sentient beings and Dharma, expressed by this concept, is fundamentally focused on birth, after death, in the Pure Land. It is thus a non-dual concept with dualistic implications (although the *Anjin ketsujō shō* itself maintains an almost totally non-dualistic perspective). While Shinran articulated the oneness of the mind of sentient beings and the mind of Amida, he emphasized that, from the perspective of sentient beings, these two minds were separate, although in "dynamic in-

^{106-107.}

^{33.} Rogers, "The Shin Faith of Rennyo," 66.

^{34. &}quot;Dharma" should, perhaps, be correctly understood as *Dharmakāya* (jpn. *hosshin*, 法身), the Dharma "body" of a Buddha, which is a manifestation of both suchness and compassionate means; the "oneness" expressed by *ki-hō ittai* is not with the Dharma apart from the Buddha, but with the totality or "suchness" the Buddha symbolizes.

^{35.} Rogers, "The Shin Faith of Rennyo," 66.

teraction."³⁶ Thus, for Shinran, our separateness from Amida is a function of our deluded nature; ultimate reality is entirely one and whole. Shinran himself could have employed such a term as ki-ho ittai to express ultimate oneness of Mind but he choose to focus on the existential condition of separation, because that is the state in which sentient beings must actually live, at least to some degree, regardless of how accurately they perceive their oneness with ultimate reality. From the perspective of the Anjin ketsujo sho, it seems as though sentient beings, though they are "one" with Amida, are in an ambiguous condition in their samsaric state, i. e. at one with totality yet focused on the next world. Second, Shinran's concept of *shinjin* implies the totality of awakening; it includes the realization of non-duality in the present moment. Anjin, on the other hand, describes the practicer's state of inner peace rooted in the knowledge of ultimate release from suffering through birth in the Pure Land. Although both terms may accurately describe the state of a person engaged in living the Nembutsu life, as Shinran understood it, the term *shinjin*, as Shinran used it, encompasses a non-discriminating engagement with the whole of life - including samsara - on the part of a practicer who realizes his own deluded perspective but has sensed, as a consequence of Amida's compassionate working, the transcendent oneness of both his predicament and its resolution. Thus, if *shinjin* is transcendently rooted in experience, both in samsara and after death, *anjin* is focused on the existence of a transcendental reality, which either supersedes, or exists apart from, this samsaric world. Thirdly, by placing the entire emphasis of salvation upon birth in the Pure Land and the serenity resulting from certainty of this, the Anjin ketsujo sho differs from Shinran's manifestly mahāyāna perspective in that it wholly ignores the other

^{36.} Rogers, "The Shin Faith of Rennyo," 63.

side of salvation, the bodhisattva ideal, in which the purpose of enlightenment is to oneself become a Buddha and save other beings. Although Shinran emphasized the individual attainment of *shinjin*, he understood it as simultaneously embracing both the attainment of Buddhahood and the aspect of returning to this world to save others (*Genso no ekō*, 還相の廻向), as he expressed in the conclusion of the chapter on "Realization" in his major work, *Kyō Gyō Shin Shō* (教行信 證):

...realization of supreme nirvana is brought about by the directing of virtue through the Vow's power. Benefiting in the aspect of return expresses the true intent of benefiting others...Vasubandhu proclaims the vast and unhindered mind that is single, thereby universally awakening the multitudes of this passion-defiled world...Master T'an-luan clarifies Amida's compassionate directing of virtue for our going to the Pure Land and our return to this world; and he widely teaches...the profound significance of benefited by the Other and of benefiting others.³⁷

Of course, from the perspective of the *Anjin ketsujo* sho, there is no need for the returning aspect (*Genso no eko*) because Amida has saved everyone already.

III. Shinjin and Anjin

Among the doctrinal issues that underwent development and adaptation throughout the evolution of the institutional form of Jōdo Shinshū, there is little doubt that one of the most im-

^{37.} CWS 1, 174.

portant was *shinjin* or the "mind/heart of faith." While traditional Buddhist understanding placed faith or *shin* (信) as a prerequisite to the undertaking of practices which lead to attainment, Shinran understood faith as simultaneously prerequisite and attainment, an attitude which explains his positioning the chapter on "Faith" between those of "Practice" and "Realization" in his major work, *Kyō Gyō Shin Shō*. For Shinran, the concept of *shinjin* is involved and subtle, and its practical application to the lives of Jōdo Shinshū followers is necessarily subjective. Shinran's concept, as articulated in his own writings, seems to describe, within the context of an individual's own spiritual search, the subtle and non-dualistic oneness of the mind of the believer and the mind of Amida, realized only (and paradoxically) when the believer truly comprehends his own separation from Amida, his deluded mind, and deeply defiled nature. Such an experience awakens the person to a state equivalent to total Buddhahood, yet does not alter his samsaric/karmic state.

Shinjin, then, describes an implicit transformation, only cognizable subjectively to the one who experiences it, allowing the person an intimation of totality within the limited context of samsaric existence. This understanding differs from that of *anjin*, as used in the *Anjin ketsujō shō* in that, while, for that text, the defiled nature of sentient beings prevents them from perceiving, and thereby appreciating, their already attained salvation, and is therefore a cause for shame, Shinran emphasized the sentient being's continuing state of defilement and made it the focus of inner awakening. Thus, in a familiar passage from *Tannishō*, Shinran describes a type of faith which is not conditioned by certainties about salvation or release; it is entirely based on entrusting, as a defiled person, to Other power manifested within samsara through karmic conditions, in

the words and person of his teacher:

I have no idea whether the nembutsu is truly the seed for my being born in the Pure Land or whether it is the karmic act for which I must fall into hell. Should I have been deceived by Master Hōnen and, saying the nembutsu, were to fall into hell, even then I would have no regrets. The reason is, if I could attain Buddhahood by endeavoring in other practices, but said the nembutsu and so fell into hell, then I would feel regret at having been deceived. But I am incapable of any other practice, so hell is decidedly my abode whatever I do.³⁸

The emphasis in this passage is clearly distinct from that of *Anjin ketsujō shō*. In that text we are presented with the certainty of salvation, which motivates the practicer to take refuge. One is joyful and grateful because of the knowledge that salvation is certain; one continues to invoke nembutsu in joyful and grateful expectation of birth in the Pure Land. In Shinran's understanding, the uncertainties of life and death are by no means removed. What has changed is his acceptance in the ultimate truth underlying all reality and it is in this that anxiety is quelled and release attained.

This concept of *shinjin* is not dependent on certainty of one's future birth. It is free from any "double-mindedness" since, in a fundamental sense, *shinjin* is not rooted in expectation of birth but, in fact, is birth itself. It seems to me that Shinran went well beyond the understanding of *Anjin ketsujō shō* and general Pure Land understanding in that he saw birth as ultimately identical with single-mindedness. "The mind that is single" he wrote, "is the true cause of [birth in] the pure fulfilled land."³⁹ The practicer who entrusts because he is grateful for being saved

^{38.} CWS 1, 662.

^{39.} CWS 1, 112.

may not realize his own double-mindedness; for Shinran, the realization of *shinjin* happens precisely with the knowledge of one's inability to entrust or to be single-minded and that same mind is already equal with the Buddha.⁴⁰

Unfortunately, such a concept does not lend itself well to institutional propagation or control. It is also difficult to conceive of and understand, and hard to regulate or control. In his many pastoral letters (Gobunsho or Ofumi), Rennyo made frequent use of the term anjin, which he presumably derived from Anjin ketsujo sho, by means of which he offered his followers a more comprehensible understanding of *shinjin*, one which could be applied readily to the needs of an established movement. This process probably began long before Rennyo. A major shift in the understanding of Shinran's thought began with Kakunyo and Zonkaku.⁴¹ Kakunyo claimed, as custodian of Shinran's tomb, and with hopes of establishing a lineage and temple based on Shinran, to be the only legitimate interpreter of *shinjin*. In trying to define the content of "true" *shinjin*, he began the process whereby Shinshū orthodoxy was established.⁴² In other words, Kakunyo conceived of *shinjin* as something which could, theoretically, be judged authentic or inauthentic based upon certain objective criteria. However, although Anjin ketsujo sho had been known since the time of Kakunyo, it was Rennyo's who placed emphasis on the term *anjin* as synonymous with *shinjin*; by so doing he provided a coherent concept of Jodo Shinshū faith which harmonized with institutional, as well as individual, needs. It is very likely Rennyo's formulation of an*jin* was derived largely from *Anjin ketsujo* sho.⁴³

^{40.} CWS 1, 113.

^{41.} Rogers, "The Shin Faith of Rennyo," 64.

^{42.} Rogers, "The Shin Faith of Rennyo," 63.

^{43.} Rogers, "The Shin Faith of Rennyo," 66.

It must be understood however that in utilizing the *Anjin ketsujō shō*, Rennyo reinterpreted its ideas and adapted them to his use. For example, the concept of *ki-hō ittai* was significantly reworked in Rennyo's hands. He rejects the idea of *ki-hō ittai* as the already existing oneness of sentient beings and Amida, embodied in settlement of mind (*anjin*) which, although perhaps not yet realized, is actually already completely fulfilled. Rather, for Rennyo, *ki-hō ittai* exists when sentient beings become one through the power of the Name:

The *shinjin* of sentient beings (ki) and the working of Amida Buddha ($h\bar{o}$) who saves them are both accomplished in the Name as "Namu Amida-butsu" and directed toward sentient beings.⁴⁴

Thus, for Rennyo, only when sentient beings understand this meaning of the Name is such oneness achieved. Birth is therefore not certain or established until this entrusting and settlement take place.

Nevertheless, by basing faith upon ki- $h\bar{o}$ ittai, a fundamental drawback, at least from an institutional perspective, was reduced or eliminated. In ki- $h\bar{o}$ ittai, emphasis is placed upon the oneness of the practicer with the Dharma. In this way, the existential component inherent in *shin-jin*, of the practicer's dilemma of having to come to terms with samsaric existence, is eliminated. The settled mind of *anjin* allows the practicer to live peacefully in samsara due to the knowledge that, when death comes, certain rebirth will resolve all problems. Thus, it might be said that the oneness of Rennyo's understanding of ki- $h\bar{o}$ ittai is based upon the dualistic separation of Dhar-

^{44.} Fugen, Koji, "Rennyo's Theory on Amida Buddha's Name and Its Relationship to Shinran's Thought, Part 2," translated by Eisho Nasu, *Pacific World: Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies*, Third Series, Number 4 (Fall 2002): 227-228.

ma from samsara and a correspondingly dualistic emphasis on reliance upon Amida as savior. As such, a follower focused on the next world would be easier to control, for one thing because he or she is likely to devalue the present and, for another, because he feels gratitude to the institution that represents, and propagates, his belief. The concept of orthodoxy is, among other things, a manifestation of the human tendency toward conformity. By reinterpreting Shinran's highly individualistic understanding of faith in terms of the "settled" mind, the likewise highly individualistic, unruly, and non-conformist tendencies amongst the various Jodo Shinshū communities were transformed as these communities were doctrinally unified and institutionalized under Hongwanji leadership. Anjin, then, might also be understood as the "pacified" mind⁴⁵ in that post Rennyo Jōdo Shinshū was characterized by a unified institution comprised of submissive and law-abiding followers. It is interesting to consider, in this light, that the concept of heterodoxy (which can only exist in the context of orthodoxy) was expressed as *i-anjin*, not *i-shinjin*.⁴⁶ It is not surprising that Rennyo's propagation of *anjin* faith was synonymous with his promulgation of *okite* (掟), rules and regulation governing the behavior of Shinshū followers, the disobedience of which could result in expulsion from the community.⁴⁷

This was not, of course, a negative development in itself. Certainly the unification and strengthening of Hongwanji under Rennyo, coupled with followers who were not perceived as threats to the government contributed greatly to the preservation and growth of the institution, and, consequently, Shinran's teaching - although reinterpreted - was preserved intact to the

^{45.} Keiji Nishitani, "The Problem of Anjin in Zen," Translated by Mark L. Blum, The Eastern Buddhist, Volume 24 (New Series), Number 1 (1996): 1-32.

^{46.} Rogers, "The Shin Faith of Rennyo," 71.

^{47.} Rogers, "The Shin Faith of Rennyo," 65-66.

present day, whence it is beginning to be rediscovered and appreciated, both within and without Hongwanji.

From the perspective of Shinran's own concept of *shinjin*, one significant problem with Rennyo's ki-ho ittai and anjin centered Shinshū is that unity and settlement were accomplished by entirely ignoring a major component of Shinran's view, that of genso no eko, the "returning" aspect of directing of virtue."⁴⁸ In Shinran's thought, the principle of $ek\bar{o}$ (廻向), or "directing of virtue" is a manifestation of the infinite working of Amida which makes possible the birth of sentient beings. This directing $(ek\bar{o})$ involves both the conditions which allow beings to be "born" and, simultaneously, to return (genso no $ek\bar{o}$), as Buddhas or Bodhisattvas, in order to themselves save beings.⁴⁹ Genso no eko, then, is an expression of wholeness since it implies that it is precisely this defiled world which is continually inhabited by Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. The fact that this concept was virtually put aside by Rennyo in favor of the other-worldly focus of anjin, may have had some significant impact on the attitude of Shinshū followers toward the world around them and their role in it. If one believes that the purpose of faith is the ultimate salvation of others, one's attitude toward others in society would tend to be more dynamic and compassionate. If, however, the ultimate goal is simply to get out of this samsaric existence - to save oneself, then one would tend toward a more passive relation with the world.

Another aspect of Shinran's faith, which was lost in Rennyo's transformation, is its critical character. For Shinran, "all matters without exception are empty and false, totally without

^{48.} Rogers, "The Shin Faith of Rennyo," 65.

^{49.} CWS 2, 179-180.

truth and sincerity. The nembutsu alone is true and real"⁵⁰ In this sense *shinjin*, as understood by Shinran, is "critical not only of self but of every historical, social, and cultural form."⁵¹ In transforming this shinjin into anjin, Shinran's idea of ultimate oneness in Amida is replaced by an otherworldly-oriented piety, in which inner spirituality is separated from worldly life and in which this world becomes a secular realm governed by conventional morality and social norms.⁵² Further, introduced into Shinshū by Zonkaku, syncretistic honji suijaku thought (本地垂迹, "original entity and its manifestation") helped to separate into two the realms of the secular and Buddha Dharma. This theory complimented otherworldly anjin thought and found its ultimate fulfillment in the "Testament" of Konyo (1798-1871), the twentieth head priest of Nishi Hongwanji. In this document, the dualistic concept of the "two truths" (shinzoku nitai, 真俗二諦) was used to fully invert Shinran's teaching. While for Shinran, the whole of life was critically experienced from the standpoint of "nembutsu alone is true and real," the cumulative impact of anjin, honji suijaku, and shinzoku nitai had created a mode of thinking in which inner spiritual experience was allowed no input in the secular world. Hongwanji religious doctrine now demanded submission and obedience to secular authority and conformity to social norms as fundamental signs of faith.⁵³

The Buddhist conception of the *Anjin ketsujō shō* presents a view of reality that is ultimately holistic. Its center is the oneness of Buddha and sentient being, each embodying the per-

^{50.} Tannishō, CWS 1, 679.

^{51.} Rogers, "The Shin Faith of Rennyo," 63.

^{52.} Rogers, "The Shin Faith of Rennyo," 64.

^{53.} Minor L. Rogers, and Ann T. Rogers, *Rennyo: The Second Founder of Shin Buddhism*, Fremont, CA: Asian Humanities Press, 1991, 320-322.

fect enlightenment manifested through the universal Vow and the Nembutsu. It is actually a highly developed and subtle expression of the Pure Land tradition. What it lacks, however, resides in its neglecting to incorporate this world, samsara, fully into the oneness it so beautifully describes. And this is, I believe, exactly what Shinran's teaching most significantly includes by its emphasis on the aspect of return. Without this aspect, oneness is revealed as duality after all and the delusion, which is the characteristic of our existence here, may well be deepened as we focus our hopes on life after death. With such a focus, we may lose all sense of what our path is and where it is leading us; as history seems to suggest has been the case.

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