

**The Challenge of Revitalizing Buddhism:
Learning from the Engaged Buddhist Movements of
Thich Nhat Hanh and Takagi Kenmyo**

by Rev. Naoyuki Ogi

A thesis presented to The Faculty of the Graduate Theological Union,
Berkeley, California. September 2007

Introduction

The term “Engaged Buddhism” was coined by the Vietnamese monk Thich Nhat Hanh, who protested against the Vietnamese War in the 1960s, and was exiled to France as a result of his advocacy of a pacifism based on Buddhist principles. In recent years, other prominent Buddhist activists in both Asian and Western countries have sought to develop the concept of Engaged Buddhism to address wider social and political issues beyond their own communities and experiences. Since the 1960s, numerous Buddhist organizations, both monastic and lay, have begun to utilize the concept of Engaged Buddhism to promote their commitment to Buddhist social action.

One hallmark of these Engaged Buddhist movements is that they tend to develop beyond traditional Buddhist hierarchical systems that make clear distinctions between clerics as community leaders, and lay followers as the supporters of the clerical order. Instead, advocates of Engaged Buddhist movements have urged Buddhist clerics and the laity to work together as an approach for the benefit of the broader society beyond their own communities.

While this attitude or approach is often said to be derived from modernist ideas about social action—so that these Buddhist movements are typically said to be a form of Buddhist modernism—these principles can also be found among reform-minded Buddhists throughout the past, although they have not used the term Engaged Buddhism. For example, in medieval Japan, the priest Shinran 親鸞 (1173–1262), founder of the Jōdo Shinshū 浄土真宗 tradition, developed a new vision of a socially engaged Buddhist community outside the traditional Japanese Buddhist monastic orders. His life’s work, epitomized in his self appellations such as “foolish/stubble-haired” (*gutoku* 愚禿)

and “neither a monk nor one in worldly life” (*hisō hizoku* 非僧非俗), challenged the religious and governmental authorities of his time. Shinran was not an activist priest who repaired bridges or provided care for the sick as had been a common form of “compassionate action” performed by both cleric and lay alike. However, he helped to create sustainable communities in rural Japan based on his deep self-reflection on the Mahāyāna Buddhist ideal of non-discrimination and recovering the dignity of all human beings.

Unfortunately Shinran’s promotion of the Mahāyāna Buddhist ideal of developing egalitarian communities was grossly misunderstood in the process of the institutional development of the Jōdo Shinshū tradition in pre-modern Japanese society. For example, the Jōdo Shinshū lineages of Honganji established by Kakunyo (1270–1351), a great-grandson of Shinran, developed hierarchical institutions with hereditary systems of lineage transmission by appealing to the charisma attached to the founder Shinran’s family. In facing the forces of social and cultural modernization brought about by the Meiji government “State Shinto” (*kokka shintō* 国家神道) system and the period of *haibutsu kishaku* 廃仏毀釈 (the Meiji government’s attempt to eradicate the influence of Buddhist institutions), the Jōdo Shinshū traditions eagerly adopted modern organizational systems to sustain the existing institutional hierarchy. In the process, however, they frequently refused to face the existence of social issues, such as the discrimination against the residents of segregated *buraku* 部落 communities. They even developed the so-called “During War Doctrine” (*senji kyōgaku* 戦時教学) during World War I and II, through which they acquiesced to the authority of the Japanese emperor and justified the killing of people, in spite of the fact that they knew this position was clearly against the teaching of their founder Shinran.

However, even with the rapid modernization of Japanese society, some Shin Buddhists did not accept the direction of Japanese modernism. These individuals rediscovered the original significance of Shinran's critical engagement for the development of egalitarian communities based on the Mahāyāna Buddhist ideal of non-discrimination. Takagi Kenmyō 高木顕明 (1868–1912), a priest of the Ōtani branch of Honganji, was one of them. In Shinran's writings, Takagi discovered the intention of Shinran's commitment to develop an egalitarian society, and he, too, sought to live his life reflecting on the Buddhist understanding of non-dualism in the Buddha's teaching. By seeking to make Shinran's thought come alive in his own life, Takagi actively participated in the *buraku* liberation movement and anti-prostitution movement. During the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05), Takagi, as a Buddhist pacifist, stood up against the war and became a vocal critic of Jōdo Shinshū's indifference toward social and political issues. Takagi was arrested by police in 1910 because of his ties to the socialist movement and in the wake of the High Treason Incident (*taigyaku jiken* 大逆事件). While in jail, he was defrocked by Ōtani and committed suicide in the prison. It took eighty-five years and two World Wars before the Ōtani administration admitted its responsibility for wrongly expelling him and reinstated his clerical registration in April 11, 1996.

In this thesis, I re-examine the concept of Engaged Buddhism originally developed out of Thich Nhat Hanh's pacifist Buddhist movement. I argue that Engaged Buddhism is not a product of the modern period but can be found in various times and places in Buddhist history. I will examine the life of Shinran, who, as an "Engaged Buddhist," committed himself to the development of egalitarian Buddhist communities based on his critical understanding of the Mahāyāna ideal of non-discrimination. I will

also examine Takagi Kenmyō's development of Buddhist pacifism based on Shinran's thought. Though neglected by his contemporaries, Takagi's critical spirit in his Buddhist pacifist movement provides concrete guidance for all Engaged Buddhists and Buddhist communities seeking to "revitalize Buddhism" in contemporary society. In sum, I redefine "Engaged Buddhism" as movements that appear periodically in history to "revitalize Buddhism" by infusing new blood into the traditional understanding of the Buddha's teaching respecting the dignity of all sentient beings.

Chapter One:

Re-examination of the Concept of “Engaged Buddhism”

The term “Engaged Buddhism” originates from a Vietnamese monk, Thich Nhat Hanh, who stood up against the Vietnamese war as a pacifist and was exiled to France during the 1960s. The term “Engaged Buddhism” is a phrase that has been applied to various Buddhist activities and movements. The essence of the term is the engagement of both the Buddhist clerics and the lay followers with various social and political issues and their work together to address those issues. Today engaged Buddhists can be found in many countries, including the United Kingdom, Africa, Sri Lanka, India, Tibet, Thailand, Taiwan, South Korea, Australia, Japan, and the United States.¹

¹ In Britain, there are three large Engaged Buddhist organizations: the Friends of the western Buddhist Order (FWBO), the New Kadampa Movement (NKT), and Soka Gakkai International—United Kingdom (SGI-UK). See Sandra Bell, “A survey of Engaged Buddhism in Britain,” in *Engaged Buddhism in the West*, ed. Christopher S. Queen (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2000), pp. 395–422. About Engaged movements in Europe, see Franz-Johannes Litsch, “Engaged Buddhism in German-Speaking Europe,” in *Engaged Buddhism in the West*, pp. 423–445. The Engaged movement in South Africa, the Nipponzan Myōhōji Buddhism, one of Nichiren Buddhist schools, Indian Buddhism, and Chinese Buddhism seem to actively engage in social problems. See Darrel Wratten, “Engaged Buddhism in South Africa,” in *Engaged Buddhism in the West*, pp. 446–467. In Sri Lanka, the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement, established by Dr. A. T. Ariyaratne in 1958, is contributing to the people in Sri Lanka. About this, see George D. Bond, “A. T. Ariyaratne and the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka,” in *Engaged Buddhism: Buddhist Liberation Movements in Asia*, eds. Christopher S. Queen and Sallie B. King (Albany: State University of New York, 1996), pp. 121–146. For Engaged movements in India, the Trailokya Buddha Mahasangha, Sahayaka Gana (TBMSG), founded on Dr. Ambedkar’s teachings in 1978. See Alan Sponberg, “TBMSG: A Dhamma Revolution in Contemporary India,” in *Engaged Buddhism: Buddhist Liberation Movements in Asia*, pp. 73–120. In Tibet, the XIVth Dalai Lama, as a representative of Tibetan people, emphasizes world peace through religious dialogue. See Dalai Lama, “Dialogue on Religion and Peace,” in *Buddhist Peacework: Creating Cultures of Peace*, ed. David W. Chappell (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1999), pp. 189–197. In Thailand, the international Network of Engaged Buddhism, established by Sulak Sivaraksa, is well known. See Sulak Sivaraksa, *Seeds of Peace: A Buddhist Vision for Renewing Society* (Berkeley: Parallax Press, 1992). For the movements in Taiwan, Buddhist Compassion Relief Tzu Chi Foundation, was founded by Cheng-yen in the 1960s, and a lay Buddhist movement under monastic direction, is engaged in society. See C. Julia Huang, “The Buddhist Tzu-chi Foundation of Taiwan,” in *Action Dharma: New Studies in Engaged Buddhism*,

There are many interpretations of what Engaged Buddhism means, each dependent on the action and movement existing within a particular Buddhist school. With each distinct school comes a way of accommodating and interpreting various sufferings and accordingly each practice, movement, and meaning differs. At the same time, “there are enormous differences in the various approaches to Engaged Buddhism worldwide.”² For example, the interpretative difference of the ideals of Engaged Buddhism between Mahayāna and Theravada Buddhists are remarkably varied in relation to their basic involvement in society because their ways to approach Buddhist practice are different. Moreover, there is also an undeniable difference between Asian Buddhist and Western Buddhist’s view of what constitutes Engaged Buddhism.³

However “there are also a number of distinctive and defining characters, in terms of shared rules and common ways of working,” as explained by Thich Nhat Hanh,

eds. Christopher S. Queen, Charles Prebish, and Damien Keown (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), pp. 136–153. There are many active engaged Buddhist association in South Korea; The Buddhist Coalition for Economic Justice, the JungTo Society, the Buddhist Solidarity for Reform, and the Indranet Life Community. See Frank M. Tedesco, “Social Engagement in South Korean Buddhism.” in *Action Dharma: New Studies in Engaged Buddhism*, pp. 154–182. For engaged movements in Australia, the case of the Benevolent Organization for Development, Health, and Insight (BODHI) is well documented. See Roderick S. Bucknell, “Engaged Buddhism in Australia,” in *Engaged Buddhism in the West*, pp. 468–481. In Japan, there are also many engaged Buddhist organizations; The Buddhist NGO Network of Japan, Tendai Shū’s Light Up Your Corner Movement, The Risshō Kōseikai Donate a Meal Campaign, The Renge International Volunteer Association, Shanti Volunteer Association, Buddhist Aid Center, The Arigatou Foundation, Ayus Buddhist International Cooperation Network, Terra Net and so on. See Jonathan S. Watts, “A Brief Overview of Buddhist NGOs in Japan,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 31/2 (2004): pp. 417–428. In America, the Buddhist Peace Fellowship is one of the most prominent engaged Buddhist organizations. See Judith Simmer-Brown, “Speaking Truth to Power: The Buddhist Peace Fellowship,” in *Engaged Buddhism in the West*, pp. 67–94.

² Ken Jones, *The New Social Face of Buddhism: A Call to Action* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2003), p. 181.

³ The difference of Engaged Buddhism’s interpretation between Asian Buddhism and Western Buddhism is a serious concern of living life. Asian Engaged Buddhism is more related to concrete ways of living life, individualism, liberalism, human rights, social justice, and ultimately life itself. See more, Sallie B. King, *Being Benevolence: The Social Ethics of Engaged Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2005), p. xii. Moreover, about same thing, Gary Snyder states the mercy of the West has been social revolution, but the mercy of the East has been individual insight into the basic self/void. See more, Gary Snyder, “Buddhism and the Possibilities of a Planetary Culture,” in *Engaged Buddhist Reader*, ed. Arnold Kotler (Berkeley: Parallax Press, 1996.), pp. 123–126.

in engaged movements.⁴ This commonality is the response to the conditions and the sufferings of life, and aims to create a transformation of behavior using the Buddhist principle of self-reflection.

In general, the fundamental teaching of Buddhism is composed of the doctrine of dependent origination (*pratītya-samutpāda*), a teaching on causation and the ontological status of phenomena, and the Four Noble Truths; the four foundational propositions of Buddhist doctrine enunciated by the Buddha in his first sermon; the truth of suffering (*dukkha*), the truth of cause of suffering (*samudaya*), the truth of cessation of suffering (*nirodha*), and the truth of the path to cessation of suffering (*mārga*). Through contemplating these, one knows emptiness (*śūnyatā*) and brings its realization into one's own life by practicing the Eightfold Noble Paths; right views, right thoughts, right speech, right conduct, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right meditation. To implement this, one leaves the worldly life and constructs a wall between society and the Buddhist community to concentrate on one's own meditation. Therefore Buddhism is understood as individual experience, focused on one's own quiet life style while avoiding being involved in extra problems as much as possible.

Recent expressions of Engaged Buddhism depart from this foundation. Recent studies outline two types of interpretation about the principles of engaged Buddhism; the traditional interpretation, and the modern interpretation. The traditional interpretation only emphasizes the Buddhist social teaching with reference to the past and does not consider the content or implications of its actions. On the other hand, the modern interpretation emphasizes the Buddhist social teaching as "new," which does not aim to engage only with suffering, but also to engage in society. However, the primary foci of

⁴ Jones, *the New Social Face of Buddhism*, p. 181.

both interpretations seem to be on social change. That is, they lack the “concept” of meditative practice for contemplating the cause of suffering.

In my view, without the practice of meditation and contemplation both traditional and modern interpretations merely seem to represent a form of socialism which could create “new suffering” rather than new creation in society. A return to the fundamental meaning of “Engaged Buddhism” as expressed by Thich Nhat Hanh and, ultimately, a new definition of Engaged Buddhism that transcends the boundaries between Mahāyāna and Theravada and between countries is required.

This chapter will return to the fundamental meaning of Engaged Buddhism, describe its historical development, and consider how its definition might be expressed in a way that moves beyond the interpretations of both traditionists and modernists. In conclusion, this chapter will present a redefinition of Engaged Buddhism.

1.1. Thich Nhat Hanh and Engaged Buddhism

Thich Nhat Hanh is a Vietnamese Zen Buddhist monk, poet, and peacemaker. Before being exiled from Vietnam in 1966, he was a cofounder of Van Hanh Buddhist University, An Quang Buddhist Pagoda, the School of Youth for Social Service, and the Order of Interbeing. Since that time, in Europe and North America, he has worked tirelessly for peace, chairing the Vietnamese Buddhist Peace Delegation to the Paris Peace Talks, founding Plum Village, a Buddhist training monastery near Bordeaux, and lecturing and leading retreats worldwide on the art of mindful living.

The relation between Thich Nhat Hanh and “Engaged Buddhism” is centered in

the background of the Vietnamese War.⁵ One of the many results of the war was that Vietnamese Buddhism had suffered under the Ngo Dinh Diem's political forces and the South Vietnamese Catholic bureaucrats.

For example, one evening, a Buddhist radio program was planned but failed to be broadcast. Then, a crowd gathered at the radio station and protested. At the same time, government officials arrived there and suppressed the crowd. And, the army threw grenades into the crowd, but denied killing eight people. After this event, Buddhists demanded "legal equality with the Catholic Church, an end to arrests, greater freedom to practice their faith, and indemnification of the families of victims of [eight] shootings."⁶ Diem ignored responsibility for this act.

From these events, we can infer the Vietnamese were suffering under Diem through the oppression of religion. Buddhists had been oppressed by Diem's political power. Through the Buddhists' demands, his responsibility was highlighted, but he escaped again. In addition to his two escapes, he arrested many Buddhists and students who accused him.⁷

Because of these realities, most Buddhist monks had to obey Diem's political policies, which "destroyed many things, including [the Vietnamese] ability to stand on own feet economically," and persuade the followers to live under harsh conditions.⁸

⁵ For a more detailed relationship between Thich Nhat Hanh and Vietnamese war, see Thich Nhat Hanh, *Vietnam: Lotus in a Sea of Fire* (New York: Hill and Wang, Inc., 1967).

⁶ See Sallie B. King, "Thich Nhat Hanh and the Unified Church of Vietnam: Nondualism in Action," in Queen and King, *Engaged Buddhism: Buddhist Liberation Movements in Asia*, pp. 326–327., and Thich Nhat Hanh, *Fragrant Palm Leaves: Journals 1962–1966* (Berkeley: Parallax Press, 1966), pp. 139, and 145.

⁷ The most influential act conveyed by the Vietnamese war's suffering would be the burning of oneself to death. A Buddhist monk, Thich Quang Duc, burned himself to death on a Saigon street in 1963 June 11. It was the expression of suffering which came from hard oppression. It was a shocking matter all over the world. This event brought thirty six other monks and a laywoman to die. Their intention was the wish for peace in Vietnam. These suicides brought much attention to Vietnam.

⁸ Thich Naht Hanh, *Fragrant Palm Leaves*, 1966, p. 145.

However, Thich Nhat Hanh criticized their attitude. He showed his disappointment in Vietnamese Buddhism in those days. He states:

Intellectuals and students became increasingly disillusioned with the Buddhist hierarchy. Vietnamese Buddhism, two thousand years old, was not offering a way out of the noose that was strangling the Vietnamese South.⁹

Moreover, his disappointment can be felt in the following:

For eight years, we tried to speak about the need for a humanistic Buddhism and a unified Buddhist Church in Vietnam that could respond to the needs of the people.¹⁰

Thich Nhat Hanh lamented that Vietnamese Buddhism depended on the hierarchy and was losing sight of the focus on liberation from suffering, which is the central purpose in Buddhism. Thich Nhat Hanh's idea of "Engaged Buddhism" would arise from these problems. With these thoughts, he started various actions. For example, he founded a public facility, Ung Quang Temple (An Quang Buddhist Institute), the foremost center of Buddhist studies in South Vietnam and a center of activism in the Buddhist struggle for peace and equality. Besides, a new monastic community, Phong Boi, School of Youth for Social Service, and Van Hanh University were established to fulfill his dream for Buddhist higher education in Vietnam. However, because of these social Buddhist actions, he was exiled to France in 1966.

1. 2. Thich Nhat Hanh and the Concept of Engaged Buddhism

⁹ Ibid., p. 139.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 50.

Thich Nhat Hanh's "Engaged Buddhism" comes from the French word "engagement," meaning politics joined with deliberate action. Thich Nhat Hanh explains:

I started reflecting and writing of the possibility and practice of Engaged Buddhism in the 1950s, and in 1964 I wrote the book *Engaged Buddhism*. In an essay titled "The Basic Ideal of Buddhist Youth for Social Service," I suggested how to apply Buddhist ideals to improve the conditions of life in a time of war and social injustice.¹¹

In the above concern about "how to apply Buddhist ideals to improve the conditions of life," we find the conceptual ideal of Engaged Buddhism. In addition, the phrase "in a time of war and social injustice" implies suffering, and follows the phrase "the conditions of life." We can interpret this to mean that Engaged Buddhism is a means "to apply Buddhist ideals to improve" the sufferings. Thich Nhat Hanh also states the following:

We needed the teachings of the Buddha about self-protection and self-healing in our personal practice and then took them out into the world. This was Engaged Buddhism in its purest form.¹²

The purest form of Engaged Buddhism is based on "self-protection" and "self-healing." In other words, it has the "self-reflection" component which tries to

¹¹ Thich Nhat Hanh, *Creating True Peace: Ending Violence in Yourself, Your Family, Your Community* (New York: Free Press, 2003), p. 94. According to Sallie B. King, the essay titled "The Basic Ideal of Buddhist Youth for Social Service" was included in "the magazine *Vietnamese Buddhism* (Phat Giao Viet Nam), the official voice of the Association of All Buddhists in Vietnam (Tong Hoi Phat Giao Viet Nam)." See Sallie B. King, "Thich Nhat Hanh and the Unified Church of Vietnam: Nondualism in Action," in *Engaged Buddhism: Buddhist Liberation Movements in Asia*, eds. Queen and King, p. 322.

¹² Thich Nhat Hanh, *Creating True Peace: Ending Violence in Yourself, Your Family, Your Community*, p. 95.

change selfish minds into selfless minds at its very foundation. Thich Nhat Hanh also explains:

From a very young age, I had a strong desire to put the Buddha's teaching into practice in order to improve the lives of the people around me, especially those of the poor peasants. Many monks, including myself, had a deep desire to bring Buddhism into every walk of life. For us, taking action according to the principles of what I called Engaged Buddhism—Right action based in compassion—was the answer.¹³

Thich Nhat Hanh's writings reflect his commitment and desire to help others. In turn, this living thought creates various individual and social actions, and is considered the core of his Engaged Buddhism. Sallie B. King explains "Consequently, an emphasis upon the necessity of meditative practice for the social activist is probably the most fundamental of Hanh's teaching."¹⁴ Thich Nhat Hanh himself states:

Engaged Buddhism does not only mean to use Buddhism to solve social and political problems, protesting against bombs, and protesting against social injustice. First of all we have to bring Buddhism into our daily lives.¹⁵

For Thich Nhat Hanh, meditative practice is the Buddhist foundation of Engaged Buddhism. In other words, "engaging in ourselves" is the purest form of Engaged Buddhism. In this ideal, we can see the concept of "living thought" as its premise. That is, Engaged Buddhism as the concept at the center, responds to the sufferings in our life, and accordingly creates action (movement) using the Buddhist principle of self-reflection (practice). In the words of Kenneth Kraft:

¹³ *ibid.*, p. 94.

¹⁴ King, "Thich Nhat Hanh and the Unified Church of Vietnam: Nondualism in Action," p. 342.

¹⁵ Thich Nhat Hanh, *Being Peace* (Berkeley: Parallax Press, 1987), p. 53.

Engaged Buddhism entails both inner and outer work. We must change the world, we must change ourselves, and we must change ourselves in order to change the world. Awareness and compassionate action reinforce each other.¹⁶

1. 3. Recent Development of the Concept of Engaged Buddhism

In recent studies, two types of interpretation of Engaged Buddhism have evolved, part of which stem from Thich Nhat Hanh's concept of Engaged Buddhism. Thomas Freeman Yarnall indicates, "apart from the usage of these [Thich Nhat Hanh's conception] relatively new labels, scholars are divided as to when, where, and how politically or socially engaged Buddhism actually first began."¹⁷

Moreover, he divides them into two groups; traditionists and modernists.¹⁸ The former demands the social element's continuity with Buddhism's traditional past. On the other hand, the latter asserts a discontinuity with past, that is, an emphasis on "new." Which stance should we take to define Engaged Buddhism? Is it necessary to chose either stance?

1. 3. 1. Traditionists

As an example of the perspective of traditionists, we look at the thoughts of Patricia Hunt-Perry and Lyn Fine in their article entitled *All Buddhism in Engaged: Thich*

¹⁶ Kenneth Kraft, *The Wheel of Engaged Buddhism: A New Map of the Path* (New York: Weatherhill, Inc., 1999), p. 10.

¹⁷ Thomas Freeman Yarnall, "Engaged Buddhism: New and Improved? Made in the USA of Asian Materials," in Queen, Prebish, and Keown, eds., *Action Dharma: New Studies in Engaged Buddhism*, p. 286.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 286–287. In this article, Yarnall divides Engaged Buddhist scholars into two types, traditionists and modernists by reviewing their thoughts. According to Yarnall, representative of traditionists are Thich Nhat Hanh, Sulak Sivaraksa, Walpola Rahula, H. H. the Dalai Lama, Patricia Hunt-Perry, Lyn Fine, Robert Thurman and so on. On the other hand, the modernists are represented by Robert Aitken, Nelson Foster, Ken Jones, Kenneth Kraft, Christopher Queen, Gary Snyder, Judith Simmer-Brown, and so on.

Nhat Hanh and the Order of Interbeing, written about Vietnamese Buddhist history.¹⁹

They describe the Buddhist social elements in the past in Vietnam:

In the last hundred years, roots of socially engaged Buddhist practice in Vietnam can be found in the so-called “Monk’s War” against the French colonial government, 1895–1898, and in the 1930s, when reforms made in China by a Chinese abbot, Tai Hsu, inspired a Vietnamese Buddhist revival movement.²⁰

Moreover, they state, “Links between Buddhist teachers and political/social action and policy developed in Vietnam, especially in the eleventh through the thirteenth centuries.”²¹ From this, we know that there was a social element in the past. However, intentionally or non-intentionally, the authors do not explain how Buddhist teachers linked politics and social actions. One could suppose that it also included eliminating discrimination, making contributions toward war and so on, from the Buddha’s teaching of each country.²² Concerning this, Christopher S. Queen states the following:

[Engaged] Buddhism is endowed with many, if not all, of the themes and techniques from the past: interdependence, mindfulness, compassion, skillful means, chanting and walking meditation, community practice, right livelihood,

¹⁹ Patricia Hunt-Perry and Lyn Fine, “All Buddhism in Engaged: Thich Nhat Hanh and the Order of Interbeing,” In Queen, *Engaged Buddhism in the West*, pp. 35–66.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 36.

²¹ Ibid., p. 37.

²² About the history of Vietnamese Buddhism, See Thien Do, “The Quest for Enlightenment and Cultural Identity: Buddhism in Contemporary Vietnam,” in Ian Harris, ed., *Buddhism and Politics in Twentieth-Century Asia* (London and New York: Continuum, 1999), pp. 254–283. He explains about the relationship between Buddhism and politics in Vietnam. Moreover, concerning the relationship between politics and Buddhism in Asian countries, see *Buddhism and Politics in Twentieth-Century Asia*. This book includes eleven authors’ articles about the history of the relationship between Buddhism and politics in the Asian countries: Burma, Cambodia, India, Japan, Korea, Laos, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Tibet and Vietnam. This book illustrates that Buddhism has been engaged in and related to both positive and negative the social/political actions.

and many more. But it is also endowed with a sensitivity to social injustice, institutional evil, and political oppression as sources of human suffering, that has not been central to Buddhist analysis in the past.²³

This indicates a social element in general Buddhism. In this lies a question: If there was a social element in the past, why did Thich Nhat Hanh have to create the word Engaged Buddhism?²⁴ One reason might be that if, as Queen has stated, the social element in the past included “social injustice, institutional evil, and political oppression,” it was controlled by large forces. Therefore, to state it frankly, in order to clarify the difference between historical social Buddhism and his ideal Buddhism, Thich Nhat Hanh had to create the word Engaged Buddhism with the intention that Buddhist social action should change the direction of the nation, and allow for freedom from all human suffering.

Nevertheless, the view of traditionists only emphasizes the fact of social Buddhism’s elements in the past without considering its contents carefully. Another example of the view of traditionists expresses the same trend:

[Engaged Buddhism is presented] simply as the logical extension of the traditional teachings of morality and compassion to twenty-first-century conditions.²⁵

This view also ignores contents of “the traditional teaching” and only insists on their facts as a heritage teaching from the past. Can we say the view of traditionists is the same within Thich Nhat Hanh’s intention of Engaged Buddhism?

²³ Christopher S. Queen, “Introduction: A New Buddhism,” In Queen, *Engaged Buddhism in the West*, p. 25.

²⁴ Recognizing Thich Nhat Hanh as one of traditionists, Yarnall does not think about why Thich Nhat Hanh created the word Engaged Buddhism. Concerning this point, I believe that Thich Nhat Hanh does not belong to either group.

²⁵ Jones, p. xvii.

1. 3. 2. Modernists

What do modernists consider Engaged Buddhism to be? According to Yarnall, they insist on calling it “new.” How do they interpret Engaged Buddhism as “new”?

Yarnall states:

Modernists make either the strong assertion that historically Buddhism (and especially early Buddhism) has *not* been socially interested at all, or the somewhat moderated assertion that it has been only *indirectly* or *latently* so interested.²⁶

What we can understand here is that although modernists acknowledge the indirect or latent social element of early Buddhism, they make claim that their Engaged Buddhism is a new form of Buddhism. What are their assertions? Yarnall summarizes their main argument: 1) Traditional Buddhism has not been socially engaged; 2) The modern world faces unprecedented social-political problems; 3) Modern Western socio-political theory presents unique and unprecedented analyses and solutions—it must not be “read back” into Buddhism—“historical reconstruction” must be avoided; 4) Traditional Buddhism is therefore not an adequate model for engagement; 5) Modern Western socio-political theory can be used to activate Buddhism’s latent potential to create a new amalgam: Western/Buddhist engagement.²⁷

It seems that modernists, too, base their claims on the “social” aspect of Buddhism. However their logic in setting forth a “new” form of Buddhism is not clear because there are two types of “new”: “new” as the challenge to the traditional order (3

²⁶ Yarnall, p. 295.

²⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 302–303.

and 5) and “new” as distinct from tradition and history (1, 2, and 4).²⁸

In addition, modernists attempt to recreate Buddhist history in isolation in order to prove that the social element is “new.” Yarnall says “the modernists themselves may have constructed a disengaged history for Buddhism in order to appropriate for themselves the title of inventor of engaged Buddhism.”²⁹

“New” arises by only seeing “the principles and even some of the techniques of an engaged Buddhism have been latent in the tradition since the time of its founder.”³⁰ “New” is not the purpose of Engaged Buddhism, however. Instead, it has been recognized for the purpose of constructing a society using Buddha’s teachings.

In other words, from the perspective of the traditionists, if we admit that social action in Buddhism is “new,” it is time that social Buddhist action changed the direction of the nation, to allow freedom from all human suffering while abandoning any violence. Any way that leads humans to an awareness of their essential existence and toward human dignity that no other can compromise should be called “new.”

Ultimately, however, this is not actually “new.” This concept of “new” explained from the perspective of traditionists also coincides with the views of modernists. What, then does “new” mean in Engaged Buddhism? Bharati Puri states:

It is argued that being socially engaged is not new to Buddhism, but the way that Buddhist leaders [and followers] are engaging each other and are being

²⁸ In representative modernists introduced before, people who take the position of “new” as the challenge to the traditional order are Robert Aitken, Ken Jones, Kenneth Kraft, Christopher Queen, and Judith Smmer-Brown. On the other hand, people of “new” as distinct from tradition and history are Nelson Foster, and Gary Snyder. For their thoughts, see Appendix, p.62, p. 69, pp. 73–74, pp. 77–78, pp. 83–84, p. 85, and p. 85.

²⁹ Yarnall, p. 305.

³⁰ Kenneth Kraft, “Engaged Buddhism,” in Arnold Kotler, ed., *Engaged Buddhist Reader* (Berkeley: Parallax Press, 1996.), p. 65.

engaged is new and deserves clarification.³¹

The meaning of “new” in Engaged Buddhism is that we ourselves change by engaging in Buddhism. This would be the core of creating various new actions.

1. 3. 3. The Common Problem for Traditionists and Modernists

From the previous discussion, we know that the traditionists and the modernists have different definitions of Engaged Buddhism. However, there is a common problem in both, for they are both based on the premise of social change, and both lack the reflective practice for contemplating the causes of suffering.

Thich Nhat Hanh’s description of the central concept of Engaged Buddhism is “engaging in ourselves” and responding to the conditions of life, and, accordingly, create action (movement) using the Buddhist principle of self-reflection (practice). However, both traditionists and modernists conceive of Engaged Buddhism in a way that seems to ignore the importance of self-reflection. There is no connection between their thought and Buddhist teaching.³² In other words, they do not explain why Engaged Buddhism has to be based on the concepts of Buddhism. Without this consideration, their concept is mere socialism, and is not only a “past element” or “new,” but inevitably could produce “new suffering” instead of creating new societal dignity. When viewed in this fashion, it

³¹ Bharati Puri, *Engaged Buddhism: The Dalai Lama’s Worldview* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006), p.4.

³² To make a connection between Engaged Buddhists and Buddha teaching, and to make it firm, some scholars suggest the necessity of a sacred text or precepts. For example, Kenneth Kraft states: “Engaged Buddhism is also going to need a sacred text or two, something like a ‘Path of Compassion Sutra’ or a ‘Declaration of Interdependence.’” See Kenneth Kraft, “Wellsprings of Engaged Buddhism,” in Susan Moon, ed., *Not Turning Away: The Practice of Engaged Buddhism* (Boston: Shambhala Publications, Inc., 2004), p. 160. Moreover, Christopher S. Queen tries to define Engaged Buddhism in Buddhist precept as a fourth *yana*, signifying a means of attaining enlightenment. See more Christopher S. Queen, “Introduction: A New Buddhism,” in Christopher S. Queen, ed., *Engaged Buddhism in the West*, pp. 1-31.

becomes readily apparent that that the concept of Engaged Buddhism presupposes an awareness that Buddhism itself can be a criticized object and a cause of social sufferings.

Both traditional and modern interpretations however, do give us an important way to think about Engaged Buddhism in the future. By looking at Buddhist history, we can know how Buddhism has related with society in the past. In this way we can discover the tradition we could relate to the present and reflect on what we should not do. With these understandings, what is required is that we create a definition of Engaged Buddhism that transcends the distinction between traditionalists and modernists and reflects Thich Nhat Hanh's thoughts.

1. 4. Redefinition of Engaged Buddhism

As a premise, Engaged Buddhism is a mere phrase which denotes Buddhist activities and movement, and the contents comprising Engaged Buddhism are different from one another. Accordingly, Engaged Buddhism is defined by many expressions from various perspectives, economics, politics, biology, and so on, and, at the same time, it is defined differently in various countries. The diversity of theories pertaining to the concrete relationship between Engaged Buddhism and sufferings indicates its expansion in the direction of ethical theory, human rights, nonviolence, justice and so on. As a result, is it possible to create a redefinition of Engaged Buddhism in this complicated condition? Concerning this question, King states several very important concepts to form a redefinition of Engaged Buddhism.

Engaged Buddhism is not defined by geographic location. There are Engaged Buddhists throughout the Buddhist world—in South Asia, Southeast Asia, East Asia, and the West—wherever there is sufficient freedom for Buddhists to

engage the problems of society as conscience and Buddhist principles dictate. Nor is Engaged Buddhism defined by sect—there are Theravada, Mahayana, Vajrayana, and nonsectarian forms of Engaged Buddhism. Engaged Buddhism is defined and unified by the intention to apply the values and teachings of Buddhism to the problems of society in a nonviolent way, motivated by concern for the welfare of others, and as an expression of one’s own practice of the Buddhist Way.³³

According to King, creation of a redefinition of Engaged Buddhism is possible because, at least, Engaged Buddhism has the “concern for the welfare of others,” and is “an expression of one’s own practice of the Buddhist way.” This thought seems to mirror Thich Nhat Hanh’s emphasis on one’s response to the condition of life and the Buddhist principle of self-reflection. King defines Engaged Buddhism by focusing on Engaged Buddhists:

Engaged Buddhists’ core values include benevolence (compassion, loving kindness, and giving); the necessity of putting Buddhist values into practice with active service on behalf of all beings; self-development on the path to enlightenment; and progressive altruism.³⁴

What we must realize is that the starting point of Engaged Buddhism should be the questions: “What can we do for others as the living humans with Buddha’s teaching?” and “How do we engage in ourselves?” Then such seeds will sprout from the core as actions or movements called Engaged Buddhism.

Engaged Buddhism is a series of concepts that creates adequate actions, movements and teaching for each country, place, environment, culture, etc., to solve society’s suffering. It is what I choose to call, “revitalizing Buddhism.” Buried and

³³ King, *Being Benevolence: The Social Ethics of Engaged Buddhism*, pp. 4–5.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 249.

latent teachings, which can lead to actions and movements of equality for a peaceful society, are renewed by engaging suffering, and in so doing they get back their radiance for life.³⁵ In other words, we have to criticize our understanding of Buddhism by “engaging in ourselves.” Social actions which are created by Engaged Buddhism, must lead to the actualization of the question “What can we do for the others as Buddhists?”

The phrase “Engaged Buddhism” was created to indicate this sense of “revitalizing Buddhism” by Thich Nhat Hanh. By questioning and responding to human suffering in the present time, we, Buddhist clerics and lay people, can find it infused in the life of content. Living up to “revitalizing Buddhism” is the redefinition of Engaged Buddhism.

In this chapter, Thich Nhat Hanh’s view of Engaged Buddhism was examined by looking back at his social circumstances during Vietnam war and his original views. It has the concept at the center, responds to the conditions of life, and accordingly creates the action (movement) using the Buddhist principle of self-reflection (practice).

However scholars who may not be actually involved with Engaged Buddhism in reality, may just focus on the endorsement of Engaged Buddhist thought in their study of Engaged Buddhism. As a result, the two categories were produced; traditionists and modernists as individual directions.

I believe that we should not take either stance, because Engaged Buddhism has been created by our efforts to be Buddhists in our present day. Therefore, I suggest taking the position called “revitalizing Buddhism,” which transcends the elements of

³⁵ I use “revitalizing Buddhism” instead of the expressions “revitalized Buddhism” and “revitalization of Buddhism” to emphasize one’s constant and immediate attitude of making buried and latent teaching expose in one’s living life.

both sides and includes Thich Nhat Hanh's view.

The words "Engaged Buddhism" could still be used in place of "revitalizing Buddhism." Engaged Buddhism is a device that creates a Buddhism appropriate for each country, place, environment, culture, and so on to solve the suffering that takes place there in. Moreover, it is "revitalizing Buddhism"; buried and latent Buddhist teachings are being revitalized by engaging the suffering without changing their meanings. This has brought back the radiance of those teachings, even as their forms become changed in our life.

"Revitalizing Buddhism" will be the direction of Engaged Buddhism in the future, because it is a new paradigm that transcends the views of both traditionists and modernists, across any sect, border, or country. Rather than a simple goal to be attained, however, it represents the ongoing process of engaging with the suffering of people, society and the world. Hence, "revitalizing Buddhism" cannot be reduced to mere social actions, but must instead be understood as a movement by Buddhists to infuse new blood into the word Buddhism by repeatedly and critically "engaging in ourselves." Then how would it be expressed in an individual Buddhist life? The rest of this thesis consists of an attempt to explore the ramifications that such a "revitalizing Buddhist" approach has on the lives of individual Buddhist practitioners by considering the examples of Shinran and Takagi Kenmyō.

Chapter Two:

“Neither a Monk nor One in Worldly Life” (*hisō hizoku* 非僧非俗) and
“Foolish/Stubble Haired” (*gutoku* 愚禿): Shinran’s Social Consciousness

Shinran, the founder of Jōdo Shinshū, lived during the Kamakura period in medieval Japan. He introduced ideas and a way of life that exemplified a “revitalizing Buddhism.” At this stage in history, people lived in despair, and society was marked by natural disaster, starvation and war. The conditions of their daily life were almost like “the pictures of hell within the six realms of samsāra.”³⁶ Under such circumstances, officially ordained Buddhist priests performed religious services for the Imperial Court and their authorities, a mission of protection and devotion for improving the nation’s conditions, in order to create their version of an ideal society based on Buddhism.

However, their ideal was unrealistic and did not help the everyday people who lived in painful reality. Their activities seemed to be not for the people, but for the Imperial Court. It was under these circumstances that a “New Buddhism” arose, whose nature was different from general Buddhism up until that time. The New Buddhist movements existed not for the benefit of the Imperial Court, but to address the suffering of the masses. In other words, these movements directly confronted people’s suffering and created a new ideal society based on Buddhism.

The sole-practice of calling on the Name of Amida Buddha (*senju nembutsu*) developed by Hōnen 法然 (1133–1212) and his followers, including Shinran, was one of the New Buddhist movements. Some of their teachings, such as the instruction not to worship *kami*, and the disregard for the precepts related to sexual behavior, were seen as

³⁶ Ihara Kesao, *Chūseiijin to minshū* (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 2004), p. 243.

heretical by the old Buddhist schools. These teachings were not the kind of Buddhism that the Imperial Court could endorse. In particular, the admonition not to worship *kami* signified “the prime criticism of the essence in the [Japanese] medieval nation ritual which preceded the *kami* rite.”³⁷

As a result, Gedatsubō Jōkei 解脱坊貞慶 (1155-1213), a prominent monk of the Hossō 法相 school, submitted the *Kōfukuji* Petition (*Kōfukuji sōjō* 興福寺奏状) in 1205 to the Imperial Court accusing followers of *senju nembustu* of various heresies. The Imperial Court, however, did not recognize the accusations until 1206, when two of Hōnen’s disciples caused a scandal with several court ladies of retired emperor Gotoba-in 後鳥羽院.

After this scandal, in 1207, the followers of the sole-practice of calling on the Name of Amida Buddha were persecuted and punished. Four of Hōnen’s disciples, including two of his disciples who took part in the scandal, were executed. Eight of his disciples were dispossessed of their monkhood, given secular names, and exiled to distant places. Shinran himself was one of the exiled monks, and at this point, he assumed the position of being “neither a monk nor one in worldly life” (*hisō hizoku*) and took the name “foolish/stubble-Haired” (*gutoku*) in this complicated situation.³⁸

This chapter begins by presenting a general overview of the Kamakura Buddhism and nembutsu persecution, and then examines the meaning of the phrases, “neither a monk nor one in worldly life” and “foolish/stubble-Haired.” Finally, the chapter provides a detailed examination of Shinran’s social consciousness, as expressed in these phrases. Particular attention will be paid to the essence of the notion of

³⁷ Ibid, p. 237.

³⁸ *The Collected Works of Shinran* (hereafter, CWS) (Kyōto: Jōdo Shinshū Honganji-Ha, 1997), p. 289.

“revitalizing Buddhism” in Shinran’s thought.

2. 1. Socio-political Background of Shinran’s Social Consciousness

In the Kamakura period, the phrase “neither a monk nor one in worldly life” was ordinarily interpreted as referring to monks or priests who had “violated the precepts and had no sense of shame” (*hakaimuzan no biku* 破戒無慚の比丘, or *hakaimuzan no sō* 破戒無慚の僧). Historian, James C. Dobbins explains this phrase as follows:

Shinran often described himself as [neither a monk nor one in worldly life], and to reflect his repudiation of the lay-clergy division he adopted the pen name “Shinran, the Bald-headed Fool” (Gutoku Shinran 愚禿親鸞). In concrete terms this meant that Shinran retained some vestiges of the priesthood—shaving his head, propagating the Buddhist teaching, and, if early portraits of him are accurate, donning clerical robes. But he also assumed the attributes of [one in worldly life]—taking a wife and begetting a family.³⁹

Dobbins makes a rather literal interpretation of the phrase. However, it need not be interpreted literally. Rather, it may be understood in the context of Kamakura Buddhism. Michele Marra interprets it in a different way from Dobbins:

While lamenting being neither a monk nor a layman, [Shinran] experienced all the difficulties of life, feeling more and more the necessity of finding a religious answer which could satisfy people living in this world [through traveling around North Japanese area].⁴⁰

Marra interprets “neither a monk nor one in worldly life” to be an expression of

³⁹ James C. Dobbins, *Jōdo Shinshū: Shin Buddhism in Medieval Japan* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989), p. 52.

⁴⁰ Michele Marra, “The Development of *Mappō* Thought in Japan (II),” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 15/4 (1988): 292.

Shinran's life lament and compromise. But, would that have been Shinran's intent?

Shigaraki Takamaro 信楽峻麿 states, "Shinran used these words to describe how he was dispossessed of his priestly status during the movement to suppress the *nembutsu*."⁴¹

In this context, Shinran says the following:

Reflecting within myself, I see that in the various teachings of the path of Sages practice and enlightenment died out long ago, and that the true essence of the Pure Land way is the path to realization now vital and flourishing.

Monks of Śākyamuni's tradition in the various temples however, lack clear insight into the teaching and are ignorant of the distinction between true and provisional; and scholars of the Chinese classics in the capital are confused about practices and wholly unable to differentiate right and wrong paths. Thus, scholar-monks of Kōfuku-ji presented a petition to the retired emperor in the first part of the second month, 1207.⁴²

From Shinran's perspective, "the Path of Sages, practice and enlightenment died out," and the true teaching of Hōnen, *senju nembutsu* was starting to be spread by his followers.⁴³ Shinran criticizes the monks in the various temples for not understanding was the true Buddhist teaching and for not discerning between the true teaching and the false teaching. In order to make the background of the notion of "neither a monk nor one in worldly life" clear, we need to look the condition of Buddhism in the Kamakura period.

2. 1. 1. Development of Japanese Buddhism in the Kamakura Period

⁴¹ Takamaro Shigaraki, *A Life of Awakening: The Heart of the Shin Buddhist Path* (Kyōto: Hōzōkan Publications, 2005), p. 190.

⁴² CWS, p. 289. Although Shinran says "scholar-monks of Kōfuku-ji presented a petition to the retired emperor in the first part of the second month, 1207," actually the petition was submitted in 1205.

⁴³ Robert E. Morrell, *Early Kamakura Buddhism: A Minority Report* (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1987). pp. 71–72.

In the Kamakura period, Buddhist monks and nuns were governed by the *Sōni-ryō* 僧尼令, a system of rules issued by the Imperial Court. That is, the Imperial Court “controlled the structure of the Buddhist community as their own Buddhism.”⁴⁴ The Kōfukuji Petition notes the importance of the government as the controlling body of Buddhism: “Even if he were a man of ability and virtue, it is only proper that he address the court and wait for the imperial permission to preach. It is quite improper to establish a sect privately.”⁴⁵ That is, the Imperial Court had the authority to control the priesthood, and accordingly “Buddhist monks had to perform services for the court and aristocrats, ‘the service of the Imperial Court’s authorities’” (*shugokitō* 守護祈禱).⁴⁶ This structure of religion and state was the ideal for the “old” Buddhist schools, referred to as *ōbō buppō* 王法仏法, “the king’s law [is] the Buddha’s law.” Concerning this, Taira Masayuki 平雅行 states that:

The emperor was regarded as the wheel-turning noble king (Sk. *cakravartin*), and the ex-emperor was regarded as a transformation body of the *Tathāgata*. Like the theory of the “imperial law” (*ōbō* 王法) and the “Buddhist law” (*buppō* 仏法) mutual dependence (*ōbō buppō sōi ron* 王法仏法相依論), the fate of the nation was believed to be directly connected with the decline of Dharma. Regarding the paying of taxes as a religious (good) practice, the secular society was colored by Buddhism, and praying for prosperity (rice, wheat, millet, beans and barnyard grass in exoteric and esoteric Buddhist practices) resonated deeply with the life of the people. The society and the nation were saturated with

⁴⁴ Futaba Kenkō, Matsuo Hirohito, and Fukushima Kanryū, *Rekishi no naka no Shinran* (Kyōto: Nagata Bunshōdō, 1998), p. 124. *Sōni-ryō* means the monks’ and nuns’ ordinance, of thirty-seven articles.

⁴⁵ Morrell, p. 76.

⁴⁶ Futaba, p. 125. Moreover, Kuroda Toshio says that “the Buddhist clergy lived within the establishment, in institutions—temples—founded and authorized by state authority. In this context, Buddhism’s highest duty was spiritual protection of the state (*chingo kokka* 鎮護国家).” Kuroda Toshio, “Buddhism and Society in the Medieval Estate System,” Suzanne Gay, trans., *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 23/3-4 (1996): 313.

Buddhism.⁴⁷

That is, there was a strong relationship between general Buddhism and the authority of the nation. However, this was not a peculiar condition in those days. Jacqueline I. Stone says that it “characterized the older Buddhist institutions—Tendai, Shingon, and the Nara schools” as the exoteric-esoteric system (*kenmitsu taisei* 顕密体制), and that exoteric-esoteric Buddhism “was not only an all-encompassing religious system but had important political dimensions as well.”⁴⁸ Moreover Kuroda states that the exoteric-esoteric system maintained “its vitality throughout the medieval period and [formed] the traditional and authoritative ideology.”⁴⁹

For example, the theory that Buddhas manifest themselves in the form of kami (*honji suijaku* 本地垂迹) was endorsed by the exoteric-esoteric system and was tied to

⁴⁷ Taira Masayuki, *Shinran to sono jidai* (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 2001), p. 52. Concerning the theory of *ōbō-buppō* mutual dependence, Kuroda says that “*ōbō-buppō* mutual dependence meant not only that Buddhism served political power but also implied a peculiar adhesion of government and religion in which Buddhism, while constituting a distinctive form of social and political force, entered into the structural principle of the state order as a whole. Such was the basis in actual events of the theory of *ōbō-buppō* mutual dependence. Kuroda Toshio, “The Imperial Law and the Buddhist Law,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 23/3-4(1996): 276.

⁴⁸ Jacqueline I. Stone, *Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Medieval Japanese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1999), pp. 60–61. The Nara schools are; *Hossōshū* 法相宗, *Kegonshū* 華嚴宗, *Kushashū* 俱舍宗, *Sanronshū* 三論宗, *Jōjitsushū* 成実宗, and *Risshū* 律宗. These schools, plus Tendai and Shingon, were legalized as national Buddhism by the Imperial Court and called *Nantorikushū* 南都六宗. Kuroda defines exoteric-esoteric system. “Medieval Japan was dominated by a religious system, the so-called [exoteric-esoteric system], which provided a cohesive ideological structure for its social and political order. It arose against the backdrop of the medieval estate system and the emerging peasant class. The core of the [exoteric-esoteric system] was esoteric beliefs and practices, around which the different exoteric doctrines of Tendai and other schools coalesced. Esoteric practices were thought to embody the truths of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism, but also to provide thaumaturgic means to control the ominous spirit world recognized by society. The teachings and practices of Pure Land Buddhism were born out of this system, and the Tendai doctrine of original enlightenment (*hongaku*) was an archetypal expression of it. The *kenmitsu* worldview provided the ideological basis for the medieval Japanese state, and was integrated into its system of rule.” Kuroda Toshio, “The Development of the *Kenmitsu* System As Japan’s Medieval Orthodoxy,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 23/3-4 (1996): 233.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 266.

estate (*shōen* 莊園) rule by aristocratic and religious overlords.⁵⁰ Branch temple priests of exoteric-esoteric Buddhism created the “historical and doctrinal justification for peasant service to the lord” so that peasants had to work hard under the harsh reality.⁵¹

However, in these circumstances, those who denied the superstitious and quasi-Buddhist rituals and teachings appeared and established their own Buddhist schools apart from exoteric-esoteric Buddhism. They focused not on the Imperial Court and not on the ideal society of exoteric-esoteric Buddhism, but on the people’s dignity. Accordingly, the New Kamakura Buddhism was born.⁵²

2. 1. 2. The Cause of Nembutsu Persecution

The major criticism against Hōnen’s teachings by other Buddhist schools started in 1204 because some followers abused his teaching and caused many unmoral matters. Hōnen addressed such attacks by writing two documents, “Pledge Sent to Enryakuji” (*Sō sanmon kishōmon* 送山門起請文) and “Regulations in seven articles” (*Shichikajō seikai* 七箇条起請文).⁵³

⁵⁰ The estate (*shōen* 莊園) means various forms of governmental and private control over the nominally public provincial lands. See Kuroda, “Buddhism and Society in the Medieval Estate System,” p. 287.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 304. In Kamakura period, local societies were controlled by their residential powers, the lord of the manors including ryōshu, jitō, and meishu, who were in Kamakura shogunate construction. The farmers of lower class were suffered of stern harvest and hard labor by them. See more Moriyama Yoshio, *Shinran no “Shōsoku” ni mana bu* (Kyōto: Nagata Bunshōdō, 2000), p. 45.

⁵² Actually *senju nembutsu* by Hōnen and Shinran was not the only Buddhist movement for the human dignity. Dōgen’s ‘sitting only’ Zen meditation (*shikan taza* 只管打坐), and Nichiren’s recitation of the *Lotus Sutra* title were each distinct practices are also categorized in Kamakura New Buddhism and “all shared the singlemindedness and exclusivity characteristic of Kamakura New Buddhism.” See, Ibid., p.305.

⁵³ These two documents were directed to the followers. Fabio Rambelli interprets two documents, “[in two documents], Hōnen made clear, using strong language and an unusually strict tone, that his followers should stop all free interpretations of his teachings and cease any actions and speeches against dominant religious institutions and their followers.” See Fabio Rambelli. “Just behave as You Like; Prohibitions and Impurities Are Not a Problem: Radical Amida Cults and Popular Religiosity in Premodern Japan.” in *Approaching the Land of Bliss: Religious Praxis in the Cult of Amitābha*, eds.

The Kōfukuj-ji Petition, submitted in October 1205, demanded a ban on Hōnen's teachings. It was drafted by Jōkei, a prominent monk of the Hossō school.⁵⁴ The petition contained nine objections to Hōnen's teachings.⁵⁵ According to Shinran, upon receiving the Petition from the monks of Kōfuku-ji in 1207, the emperor and his ministers "acted against the dharma and violated human rectitude."⁵⁶ However, why did Jōkei submit the Petition and why did Gotoba-in receive it years later?

From the perspective of Jōkei, Hōnen's teaching was seen as heretical by the old Buddhism (eight schools), because his teaching did not support the Imperial Court through kami worship, a central role of old Buddhism's ideal society.⁵⁷ In other words, Hōnen's teaching "erased two thousand years of tradition and practice" and "apostasy" because Honen and his followers, who believed in *senju nembutsu*, seemed to distort social and political tradition.⁵⁸ Hence, while neither received the death penalty, nor were

Richard K. Payne and Kenneth K. Tanaka (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), pp. 173–174.

⁵⁴ Concerning Jōkei's thought, see James L. Ford, "Jōkei and the Rhetoric of 'Other-Power' and 'Easy Practice' in Medieval Japanese Buddhism," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 29/1-2 (2002).

⁵⁵ The nine objections were: 1. The Error of Establish a New sect. 2. The Error of Designing New Images for Worship. 3. The Error of Slighting Śākyamuni. 4. The Error of Neglecting the Varieties of Good Deeds. 5. The Error of Turning One's Back on the Holy Gods of Shintō. 6. The Error of Ignorance Concerning the Pure Lands. 7. The Error of Misunderstanding the Nembutsu. 8. The Error of Vilifying the Followers of Śākyamuni. 9. The Error of Bringing Disorder to the Nation. Morrell, p. 75.

⁵⁶ CWS, p. 289.

⁵⁷ Old Buddhism means eight schools (*Hasshū* 八宗) composed of Nantorikushū, *Tendaishū* 天台宗, and *Shingonshū* 真言宗.

⁵⁸ James L. Ford. "Jōkei and Hōnen: Debating Buddhist Liberation in Medieval Japan—Then and Now." In *Pacific World: Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies*, Third Series, No. 3 (Fall 2001) p. 212. Hōnen's new insight against old Buddhism can be seen in his work "*Senchaku hongan nembutsushū*": "If the original vow had required us to make images of the Buddha and to build stūpas, the poor and the destitute would surely have no hope of birth, but the fact is that the rich and highborn are few, while the poor and lowborn are exceedingly many. If the original vow required us to have wisdom and intelligence, the dull and foolish would surely have no hope of birth, but the fact is that the wise are few and the foolish are very numerous. Again, if the original vow required us to hear and understand many teachings, those who have heard and understood little would surely have no hope of birth, but the fact is that those who have heard much are few and those who have heard little are very many. Further, if the original vow required us to observe the precepts and abide by the monastic rules, those who have broken the precepts and those who have never undertaken them would surely have no

“dispossessed of their monkhood, and given [secular] names,” they were exiled to a distant place. Shinran was one of those sent into exile.

On the other hand, from the perspective of Gotoba-in, there were two reasons for punishment to be considered. One of them was the sexual misconduct involving two of Hōnen’s disciples, Jūren 住蓮 and Anraku 安楽.⁵⁹ They are said to have slept with Gotoba-in’s women. Therefore, Gotoba-in’s “heart of fury” might have supported the persecution of *senju nemubutsu*.

The other reason is that Gotoba-in could not sanction Hōnen’s teaching as official Buddhism in the Imperial Court, because his teaching was not for the benefit of the Imperial Court. His teaching did not provide for service to the Imperial Court

hope of birth, but the fact is that those who observe the precepts are few, while those who have broken them are exceedingly many. As for the other various practices, they should be understood in the same way. We should know that if the original vow required us to perform the manifold practices mentioned above, then those who are able to attain birth would be few, while those unable to do so would be very many. For this reason, the Tathāgata Amida, in the distant past when he was the *bhikṣu* Dharmākara, moved by impartial compassion and wishing to save all beings universally, did not select the manifold practices, such as making images of the Buddha and building stūpas, as corresponding to his original vow concerning birth. Instead he selected the single practice of reciting the nembutsu.’ See *Senchakushū* English Translation Project trans., and ed., *Hōnen’s Senchakushū: Passages on the Selection of the Nembutsu in the Original Vow* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1998), pp. 77–78.

Concerning Jōkei’s perspective against Hōnen’s teaching, Ford states in more detail with the interpretation of the nine objections. “Jōkei’s petition might be condensed to four essential points. First, he asserts that Hōnen abandoned all traditional Buddhist practices (i.e., the Path of Sages) other than the verbal recitation of the *nembutsu*. Second, Hōnen rejected the importance of karmic causality and moral behavior in the pursuit of Buddhist liberation. From Jōkei’s perspective, these two consequences of Hōnen’s teaching represent, in effect, a complete refutation of almost two-thousand years of the Buddhist tradition. Third, Hōnen falsely appropriated and misinterpreted Shan-tao with respect to *nembutsu* practice. And finally, Jōkei contends that there are negative social and political implications to Hōnen’s teachings. By undermining the traditional Buddhist doctrines and moral construct, Hōnen’s movement will engender social and political disorder.” *Ibid.*, p. 204.

⁵⁹ Concerning the reason why emperor received the Petition, Morrell states the following: “Jōkei’s Kōfukuji Petition, submitted in the tenth month of 1205, would probably have caused little official reaction were it not for a scandal that shook the court the following year. While the Retired Emperor Go-Toba was on a pilgrimage to Kumano in the twelfth month of 1206, Jūren and Anraku [Hōnen’s radical followers], after celebrating a Pure Land service at the Palace, were said to have spent the night with some ladies-in-waiting. After Go-toba’s return Jūren and Anraku were beheaded in the second month of 1207, while Hōnen was defrocked and he and several of his disciples were sent into exile.” Morrell, pp. 73–74.

authorities, but for the people.

Concerning the perspective of Gotoba-in, Rambelli suggests:

It is possible that the “secret love affair incident” (*mitsū jiken*), as it is commonly known, was perhaps the final act of rebellion and transgression on the part of the Pure Land radicals. Go-Toba could no longer defend the radicals and his office punished them severely.⁶⁰

That is, we can consider the scandalous affairs by Hōnen’s disciples as the trigger that started the Nembutsu persecution movement with the mutual criticized point between the context of Hōnen’s thought and of Jōkei’s thought, non-permission of the Imperial Court.

2. 2. The Meaning of “Foolish/Stubble-Haired”

With the background of Kamakura Buddhism and the nembutsu persecution, let us consider Shinran’s response to the punishments. He wrote:

The emperor and his ministers, acting against the dharma and violating human rectitude, became enraged and embittered. As a result, Master Genkū—the eminent founder who had enabled the true essence of the Pure Land way to spread vigorously [in Japan]—and a number of his followers, without receiving any deliberation of their [alleged] crimes, were summarily sentenced to death or were dispossessed of their monkhood, given [secular] names, and consigned to distant banishment. I was among the latter. Hence, I am now neither a monk nor one in worldly life.⁶¹

Here, Shinran calls himself “neither a monk nor one in worldly life” as a

⁶⁰ Rambelli, p. 172.

⁶¹ CWS, p. 289.

result of the punishments that he received. The phrase must be understood literally. That is, he is “not a monk,” because he is not allowed to be a monk by the Imperial Court. Yet, he is “not one in worldly life,” because he refused to accept the secular name he had been given. When Shinran was punished by the Imperial Court because of the persecution of *senju nembutsu*, he was given the secular name Fujii Yoshizane 藤井善信 and exiled to Echigo 越後, in the north part of Japan.⁶² However, he refused to accept it, stating “I have taken the term *toku* 禿 [“stubble-haired”] as my name.”⁶³ Why did Shinran name himself so?

Shinran’s use of the expression was paradoxical. In Buddhism, *toku* is used when monks refer to themselves humbly or disparage others. The Imperial court and its ministers no doubt considered Shinran as “*toku*” in the disparaging way. However, by using this name, Shinran himself claimed independence from their authority. Shinran utilized this paradox to express his freedom from their authority—that he would not be a monk if the definition of a monk or lay person is to be determined by secular authority. At the time he was being oppressed, society was ruled by the emperor and his cohorts (including monks). Concerning the society based on the exoteric-esoteric system, Fabio Rambelli states:

Society was hierarchically organized on the basis of a systematic correlation between power and spiritual capacities: at the top were the emperor and the priesthood, whose status was determined by virtuous actions accomplished in previous lifetimes; at the bottom were lepers, mendicants, and people with physical disabilities, whose sad fate was the consequence of wicked deeds against religion.⁶⁴

⁶² Hōnen was given the secular name Fujii Motohiko 藤井元彦 and exiled to Tosa 土佐. Actually, however, he was allowed to stay in the Sanuki 讃岐 region on the Shikoku Island.

⁶³ CWS, p. 289.

⁶⁴ Fabio Rambelli, p. 175.

Therefore, social morality and order were governed by “the emperor and the priesthood.” With this fact in mind, it is possible to conclude that Shinran was expressing his intent paradoxically. That is, the word *toku* meant that Shinran, who believed he was a genuine Buddhist monk, refused to yield to any authority that deprived one of religious truth.

When Shinran’s exile ended, he did not cease using the name *toku*, but instead added the word *gu* 愚 to this name. Concerning this fact, a historical record attached to the end of the *A Record in Lament of Divergence* (*Tannishō*, 歎異鈔) states:

Shinran was deprived of his status as priest and given a secular name. Hence, he was neither [a] monk nor layman. Because of this, he took as his own surname the word *Toku* (stubble-headed). For this, he applied to the court and obtained permission. This petition is still preserved in the Office of Records. After his exile, he signed his name Gutoku Shinran.⁶⁵

Gu means foolish and ignorant. He came to call himself Gutoku Shinran 愚禿親鸞 from the period after his exile.⁶⁶ Therefore this name can be considered paradoxically to be his strong determination to live with individual religious freedom. Shinran used *gutoku* to describe his mind. He states:

Through Hearing the shinjin of the wise [Hōnen], the heart of myself, Gutoku [foolish/stubble-haired], becomes manifest:

⁶⁵ “A Note on the Persecution of the Nembutsu Appended to Manuscript Copies of *Tannishō*,” in CWS, p. 681.

⁶⁶ This name is often seen in his writings: in the *Ken Jōso Shinjitsu Kyōgyōshō Monrui* 顕浄土真実教行証文類 (The True teaching, Practice, and Realization of the Pure Land Way); *Shinran Shōnin Go-shōsoku Shū* 親鸞聖人御消息集 (A collection of Letters); *Jōdo Wasan* 浄土和讃 (Hymns of the Pure Land); *Kōsō Wasan* 高僧和讃 (Hymns of the Pure Land Masters); *Shōzōmatsu Wasan* 正像末和讃 (Hymns of the Dharma-Ages); and *Gutoku Shō* 愚禿鈔 (Gutoku Notes). For more information, see CWS.

The shinjin of the wise is such that they are inwardly wise, outwardly foolish. The heart of Gutoku is such that I am inwardly foolish, outwardly wise.⁶⁷

In this statement, Shinran describes that his mind itself as foolish/stubble haired. That is, he expresses that he saw himself as foolish/stubble haired from a paradoxical perspective, and, moreover, thought that his mind included various attachments. This is the condition of foolish/stubble haired. I believe that this same paradoxical thinking can be seen in Shinran's use of the phrase "neither a monk nor one in worldly life" as well.

2. 3. The Intent of "Neither a Monk nor One in Worldly Life"

The intent of "neither a monk nor one in worldly life" cannot be considered only by interpreting it literally and by viewing its historical background. By also considering the paradoxical understanding of the intent of his name foolish/stubble haired, Shinran's intent in using the phrase becomes clear. Shigaraki states, "I believe that the words 'neither a monk nor one in worldly life' express Shinran's fundamental attitude toward his own humanity, which permeated his entire life."⁶⁸ So what was Shinran's humanity? It was to seek human dignity. Calling himself "neither a monk nor one in worldly life" and Gutoku, he declared that he was a human who could live in the nembutsu teaching regardless of any restrictions from the Imperial Court. Specifically, he recovered his dignity as a human which had been deprived by the authorities for a long time. He uttered these words to express his life in relation to the true teaching.

Minor L. Rogers and Ann T. Rogers discuss Shinran's life in relation to the

⁶⁷ CWS, p. 587.

⁶⁸ Shigaraki, p. 190.

true teaching through the perspective of the two truths (*shinzoku nitai* 真俗二諦) and an understanding of “neither a monk nor one in worldly life.” The two truths are composed of the transcendent (Amida’s working) and the mundane (Imperial order). Their understanding of “neither a monk nor one in worldly life” transcends the dualistic concept of the two truths and, at the same time, expresses Shinran’s life in nembutsu.

Shinran’s declaration that he is “neither a monk nor one in worldly life” symbolizes his experience of self-negation that brings about, naturally, a realization of the underlying unity of the transcendent and the mundane, unbifurcated—a unity that is dynamic in its simultaneity of sameness and opposition.⁶⁹

The authors interpret Shinran’s declaration as the unity of the transcendent and the mundane. In other words, Shinran’s declaration is a statement of the non-duality that underlies the nembutsu teaching. That is, with this interpretation, it is clear that the words “neither a monk nor one in worldly life” mean that Buddhism and Buddhists should not be governed by the Imperial Court, and signify that *senju nembutsu* was a “New” Buddhist movement, a “revitalized Buddhism,” which focused not on the nation or on the ideal society of old Buddhism, but on the people’s human dignity directly.

2. 4. Shinran’s Social Consciousness: Bringing together “Neither a Monk nor One in Worldly Life” and “Foolish/Stubble-haired”

Shinran’s use of “neither a monk nor one in worldly life” and “foolish/stubble-haired” expressed the social consciousness penetrating his thoughts,

⁶⁹ Minor L. Rogers and Ann T. Rogers, *Rennyō: The Second Founder of Shin Buddhism* (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1991), p. 333.

that is, the relation between his Buddhist understanding and society. Concerning this, Dake Mitsuya describes:

The position of being “neither a monk nor one in worldly life” in the midst of the secular world is not based in the side of human beings, nor in human reason. Rather, it arises from the reality of living thoroughly within the ultimate world, while being in the very midst of secular world. Thus, being “neither a monk nor one in worldly life” is to live a life in which the ultimate and the secular arises in tension, within the midst of the actual world.⁷⁰

Shinran’s relation to society was defined by living as a true Buddhist. This meant that he lived in the true teaching (i.e., nembutsu), which could not be violated by anyone else. His relation to governmental authorities was expressed in this attitude. That is, to “live in the true teaching,” his attitude had to be firm; he could not yield to societal authority when it violated his life as a true Buddhist living in nembutsu. As he explained, “the nembutsu is the single path free of hindrances.”⁷¹

After his break with official Buddhism, Shinran always denied that such authorities had any authority over true belief and practice. This was demonstrated in his relations with his followers. Some people, however, collaborated with the authorities while trying to live “the true teaching.” While they understood Shinran’s attitude to mean that they should not violate living in nembutsu, their understanding of Shinran was not exact. Shinran addressed these misperceptions:

⁷⁰ Dake Mitsuya. “Shin Buddhist Studies and Secularization” in *The Pacific World*, New Series, No. 8 (1982), p. 38.

⁷¹ CWS, p. 665. The intention of “the nembutsu is the single path free of hindrances” is expressed in a different way. “I know nothing at all of good or evil. For if I could know thoroughly, as Amida Tathagata knows, that an act was good, then I would know good. If I could know thoroughly, as the Tathagata knows, that an act was evil, then I would know evil. But with a foolish being full of blind passions, in this fleeting world—this burning house—all matters without exception are empty and false, totally without truth and sincerity. The nembutsu alone is true and real.” See *Ibid.*, p. 679.

You must not in any way design to spread the nembutsu by utilizing outside people for support. The spread of the nembutsu in that area must come about through the working of the revered Buddha. If you accept what Jishin-bō [慈信坊] is saying—that I have instructed people to spread the nembutsu by relying on outside people as powerful supporters, which I have never said—it will be an unmitigated error.⁷²

Shinran rejected the notion that one should rely on or abide by an authority which oppresses the true teaching of Nembutsu and he opposed its transmission. He preached not to live for Nembutsu, but “to live in Nembutsu” and “to live to become able to live in Nembutsu.”

Shinran’s understanding was that the nembutsu itself was the only authority for how to live, for morality, and for proper understanding. This idea is seen in Shinran’s writings about what nembutsu means:

Those passages reveal that saying the Name breaks through all the ignorance of sentient beings and fulfills all their aspirations. Saying the Name is the right act, supreme, true, and excellent. The right act is the nembutsu. The nembutsu is *Namu-amida-butsu*. *Namu-amida-butsu* is right-mindedness.⁷³

Shinran explains that saying the Name breaks “all the ignorance of sentient beings and fulfills all their aspirations.” However, the true reason for describing the importance of saying the Name connects to Shinran’s strong devotion to living in Buddha’s teaching which was at the root of his Buddhist understanding. That is, eliminating ignorance is the practice of benefiting others through “turning” one’s

⁷² Ibid, p. 568. This statement is a part of letter Shinran wrote to Shinjō-bō 真浄房, one of Shinran’s followers in the northern area in Japan. After Shinran left this area, the dispute about the interpretation of his thought brought out by some misinterpreters. This letter was written to solve the problem in these contexts.

⁷³ Ibid, pp. 17–18.

self-mind. Therefore “the right act is the nembutsu. The nembutsu is Namu-amida-butsu. Namu-amida-butsu is right-mindedness.” “To live in Nembutsu” is receiving Amida’s Primal Vow, and living by relying on Dharma (truth).

This way of thinking about the nembustu and religious practice and life extended even to Shinran’s ideas about the contemporary society. For example, he stated:

Even though manor lords, bailiffs, and landowners are involved in wrongdoing, people should not be confused. No one can destroy the Buddhist teaching. As a metaphor for those affiliated with the Buddhist teaching who act to destroy it, it is said [in a sutra] that they are like the worms within the body of the lion that injure the lion. Thus, there are people affiliated with the Buddhist teaching who attack and obstruct people of nembutsu.⁷⁴

In this passage, Shinran states that although “manor lords, bailiffs, and landowners” have large forces for the oppression for nembutsu, they cannot confuse the people who believe in nembutsu. That is, to live in nembutsu is to live and be in a way that is not disturbed by power. Here, too, is the root of Shinran’s description that “the nembutsu is the single path free of hindrances.” That Shinran is not describing any secular power, but rather the people who live in nembutsu themselves, is emphasized by his use of the metaphor of the lion. He states that these may be wrong-minded people—and these people with power may even call themselves Buddhists—who act to hinder the true teaching of the nembutsu, but the true teaching itself will never be destroyed, and the nembutsu followers who must face such hindrances are nevertheless free to live the true teaching for themselves.

However, without a strong trust and deep understanding, the people cannot live

⁷⁴ Ibid, p. 566.

in the nembutsu by themselves.⁷⁵ This explains Shinran's strict attitude toward living in society and honoring the practices of Buddhism. In addition, Shinran provides a caveat:

In the final analysis, it would be splendid if all people who say the nembustu, not just yourself, do so not with thoughts of themselves, but for the sake of the imperial court and for the sake of the people of the country.⁷⁶

That is, Shinran intended that the people who live in nembutsu should live in nembutsu for the well being of all—powerful and weak. This thought clarifies Shinran's wish for equality. Powerful people could never truly disturb the people who truly live in nembutsu. Rather, powerful people were disturbed living in nembutsu, due to their own self-attachment.

Shinran's strong rejection of political authorities and his great emphasis on the equality of all people became the impetus for a new way of thinking about religion and society in medieval Japan. Even in Shinran's own time, he used the word *dōbō* 同朋, equally illuminated by Amida's light and working, to refer to his fellow practitioners.⁷⁷ Although Shinran himself may not have used such modern concepts as human freedom and human dignity, we can see that these kinds of human rights are certainly at the core of Shinran's way of thinking about people, power, and society. And for Shinran, the

⁷⁵ Shinran describes what a strong trust and deep understanding look like. "Concerning the nature of [entrustment], I have learned from the Master of Kuang-ming temple that after true [entrustment] has become settled in us, even if Buddhas like Amida or like Śakyamuni should fill the skies and proclaim that Śakyamuni's teaching and Amida's Primal Vow are false, we will not have even one moment of doubt." See *Ibid.*, p. 575.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 560.

⁷⁷ Moriyama Yoshio explains that there are two kinds of meaning of *dōbō*: 同胞 and 同朋. The former means the blood relation and was used to raise the nationalized consciousness of Japanese before. The latter means friend relation transcending the blood relation and the opened human relationship. Shinran's meaning of *dōbō* would be the latter. See more Moriyama Yoshio, *Shinran no "Shōsoku" ni Mana bu*, (Kyōto: Nagata Bunshōdō, 2000), pp. 53–54.

nexus of both individual freedom and social harmony was the nembutsu. Indeed, eventually such a society was realized in Japan, with the founding of a “society based on equal human relations” (*dōbō shakai* 同朋社会) in the form of the early nembutsu followers who established their own separate community within the walled village of Honganji.

Through his declaration that he was “neither a monk nor one in worldly life” and his taking of the name “foolish/stubble-haired,” Shinran lived in accord with the nembutsu teachings, envisioning an ideal society without obstacles. Shinran’s attitude toward the relation between those living in nembutsu and society reflected his belief that there is a need for a strong trust in Buddha and a deep understanding of nembutsu in the face of the criticism of the majority based on temporary social moralities.

However, the awareness that all people can be the cause of society’s problems creates a new awareness that all people are illuminated by Amida’s working. Shinran’s strong trust in Buddha and the deep understanding of the nembutsu were to bring Buddha’s teachings into his life and enable him to engage in repeated self-reflection without losing concern for all people, not only for aristocratic people. Accordingly, he created a Buddhist way, centered on an awareness of human dignity, even as he was considered to be a social disobedient. Shinran’s declaration of being “neither a monk nor one in worldly life” and “foolish/stubble-haired” are expressions of his social consciousness toward “revitalizing Buddhism.”

Chapter Three:

Takagi Kenmyō: A Buddhist Priest of “Neither a Monk nor One in Worldly Life”

In the previous chapter, we looked at Shinran’s social attitude toward revitalizing Buddhism, including his philosophy of “neither a monk nor one in worldly life.” In this chapter, I will explain the significance of Takagi Kenmyō, a Shinshū Ōtani-ha Buddhist priest who devoutly believed in the potential of Shinran’s teachings and truly lived as a Buddhist amidst harsh personal as well as social conditions and the uncertainties of World War I. Takagi provides a twentieth century example of a commitment to justice and equality contributing to “revitalizing Buddhism.”

After the Meiji period (1868–1912), Jōdo Shinshū developed remarkably within the context of the nationalism that was a part of the government’s rigorous *haibutsu kishaku* movement within Japanese society. In 1868 the Meiji government created a new religious political system in which State Shinto was placed at its head. Accordingly, ancient Buddhist rituals and official state Buddhist functions that had been the main function of Japanese Buddhism throughout its long history were prohibited, and many Buddhist temples were destroyed.

Under these discriminatory circumstances based on the violence of the *haibutsu kishaku* movement, Japanese Buddhism and its main sects of Jōdoshū, Jōdo Shinshū, Nichirenshū, Sōtōshū, Rinzaishū, Tendaishū, and Shingonshū devised various methods of dealing with these changes and “came to accept the charges of ecclesiastical decadence and intellectual backwardness without evidence” to survive.⁷⁸ In particular, Jōdo Shinshū

⁷⁸ Jason Ānanda Josephson, “When Buddhism Became a ‘Religion’: Religion and Superstition in the

developed an intimate relationship with the Meiji government and supported the establishment of Japanese imperialism and created wartime teachings.⁷⁹

Under these conditions, Takagi turned to Shinran's teaching for guidance and brought it into his Buddhist life. Takagi's belief had three notable aspects: the liberation of the *buraku*, the anti-prostitution movement, and pacifism. These three aspects took shape as Takagi brought Buddha's teaching into his own life, and criticized himself as Shinran did. In particular, his belief in "pacifism" was clearly founded upon Shinran's thought which ultimately brought about a new awareness that all people are illuminated by Amida's working, and this in turn included human equality.

Due to the climate of public opinion, Takagi was unfortunately not understood during his own life time. However he stood up against the storm of society's upheaval and lived according to the foundation of "neither a monk nor one in worldly life" that Shinran established. How did it come about that Takagi would attempt to revitalize Buddhism in this way?

3. 1. Summary of Takagi Kenmyō's Life

Takagi was a Shinshū Ōtani-ha Buddhist priest.⁸⁰ He was born a merchant's son

Writings of Inoue Enryō," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 33/1 (2006): 149.

⁷⁹ Shimaji Mokurai (1838–1911), a Jōdo Shinshū Buddhist priest, was one of the important priests who found the Honganji's way to survival by rethinking and redefining the concept of the transcendent and the mundane as two truths (*shinzoku nitai*). He interpreted that the transcendent (religion) affects inner mind and after death, and the mundane (the imperial law) should be the central purpose in daily life for Jōdo Shinshū followers. See Galen Amstutz, *Interpreting Amida: History and Orientalism in the study of Pure Land Buddhism* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1997), 25–43. For a description of Jōdo Shinshū in the Meiji period and the wartime teachings, see Minor L. Rogers and Ann T. Rogers, *Rennyō: The Second Founder of Shin Buddhism* (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1991), 317–339.

⁸⁰ Jōdo Shinshū 浄土真宗 has ten branches; Hongwanji-ha 本願寺派, Ōtani-ha 大谷派, Bukkōji-ha 仏光寺派, Takada-ha 高田派, Kibe-ha 木辺派, Kōshō-ha 興正派, Izumoro-ha 出雲路派, Sangen-ha 山元派, Jōshōji-ha 誠照寺派, and Sanmonto-ha 三門徒派.

in 1864 in Aichi 愛知 prefecture in central Japan. His parents were devout followers of Shinshū Ōtani-ha. Under their influence, he graduated from Owarinokuni shōkyōkō 尾張国小教校, he became a Ōtani-ha priest and started his first assignment in 1897 at Jōsenji temple 浄泉寺 in Shingū 新宮 city in Wakayama 和歌山 prefecture.

The members of Jōsenji temple were *burakumin*, or literally “village people.”⁸¹ Takagi took their suffering as his own, and was in the vanguard of “the *buraku* discrimination’s liberation” and “the anti-prostitution movement.” In addition to these, he proposed “pacifism” in opposition to the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905). However, because of his activity in these movements and his interchange with socialists, he was thought to be involved in the “High Treason Incident” (*taigyaku jiken* 大逆事件) and was prosecuted for suspicion of high treason on June 7, 1910 under Criminal Law Number Seventy Three.⁸²

⁸¹ Such *burakumin* (people of the hamlet), formerly known as *eta* 穢多 (their defilements are many), *hinin* 非人 (non-persons), and by numerous other appellations, are a severely oppressed class within Japan because their jobs are closely related to impurity of blood and death: a butcher, a hunter, a fisherman, a leather and so on. The word “burakumin” was created as the category in the Edo era, but discrimination against these people has existed since ancient time in Japan. It ended when such legal distinctions were officially abandoned in 1871, however, in reality, such identification and discriminatory practices against these people have persisted. Concerning the history of *burakumin*, see Mikiso Hane, *Peasants, Rebels and Outcasts: The Underside of Modern Japan* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982).

⁸² “The High Treason Incident” happened in 1911. In May 1910, some lumbermen in Nagoya were arrested because of the illegal possession of explosives. After the investigation, it was found that there was a plan for the Meiji Emperor’s assassination, and they were charged with the crime of high treason. According to Ishikawa Takuboku 石川啄木, who was a poet and awakened to socialist thought by this development, the “High Treason Incident” was composed of three different incidents. The first of them was Akisina-jiken 明科事件, the bomb production by Miyashita Takichi 宮下太吉, Sugano Sugako 菅野須賀子, Niimura Tadao 新村忠雄, and Furukawa Rikisaku 古河力作. The second was the November conspiracy (*jūichi gatsu bōgi* 十一月謀議), which included the plan for the Meiji Emperor’s assassination of which Kōtoku Shūsui 幸徳秋水 was a principal. The third was the Crown Prince’s assassination Incident (*kōtaishi ansatsu jiken* 皇太子暗殺事件). This incident did not have a concrete plan, but was just uttered by Uchiyama Gudō 内山愚童. These three unrelated incidents were utilized by Yamagata Aritomo 山県有朋, the main power in those days, in order to exclude any socialist and anarchist in Japanese society. In essence, Yamagata framed Kōtoku and the representatives of the socialist and anarchist groups of planning the Emperor’s assassination. This series of incidents is known as the “High Treason Incident.” See Yamaizumi Susumu, “Taigyaku jiken

In the same year, on December 10, the Supreme Court (*daishinin* 大審院) began a secret trial.⁸³ The next year, January 18, 1911, the Court pronounced judgment on 26 people, including Takagi. Two of those on trial were given a sentence for a definite term, and the rest of them were sentenced to death. The next day, January 19, through the Meiji Emperor’s apparent “gracious order” (*onmei* 恩命), twelve people, including Takagi, were given a commutation of the death sentence to life imprisonment because they could not be directly related to the “High Treason Incident.” Takagi entered Akita prison in June 21, and hung himself in June 24, 1914.⁸⁴ Although he was innocent, Takagi was implicated and framed because of the persecution of socialists led by Yamagata Aritomo 山県有朋, who was a major political power of the time as the prime minister.

3. 2. Takagi Kenmyō’s Socialism and Shinran’s Thought

Although Takagi was a Jōdo Shinshū priest, it is problematic to interpret his movements as having their origin in Shinran’s thought. Was there a relationship between Shinran’s thought and Takagi’s thought? In his writing “My Socialism” (*yoga shakaishugi* 余が社会主義), Takagi remarked:

In particular, when I remember that Shinran spoke of “fellow practitioners walking together in the same direction (*ondōbō ondōgyō* 御同朋御同行)” and stated that “venerable titles of monks and priests (*sōzu hosshi* 僧都法師) are

to wa nani ka,” in *Takagi Kenmyō: Taigyaku Jiken ni Renza shita Nenbutsusha*, eds. Tamamitsu Junshō, Tsujiuchi Yoshihiro and Kurube Kō, Shinshu Booklet, No. 8 (Kyōto: Shinshu Ōtaniha Shumusho Shuppanbu, 2000), 19–29.

⁸³ Concerning the judgment records of High Treason Incident in the Supreme Court, the Supreme Court under the Meiji constitution, see Futagawa Kazuo, *Kumanoshi*, vol. 46 (Mie: Hamaguchi Insatsu, 2002), pp. 10–13.

⁸⁴ See more by Izumi Shigeki, “Takagi Kenmyō to buraku sabetsu mondai: Fukumeisho wo moto ni shi te,” in *Shinji no Shakaisei*, ed. (Kyōto: Tankyūsha, 1998), p. 77.

used for serfs and servants,” I realize that he was really not only deeply sympathetic towards the common people, but that he was also, without doubt, a socialist who realized a life of nondiscrimination in the spiritual realm. [However, even this is different from the theory of present-day socialists.]⁸⁵

Takagi believed that Shinran was a socialist “who realized a life of nondiscrimination in the spiritual realm,” based on Shinran’s words “fellow practitioners walking together in the same direction.” However it is remarkable that Takagi added “even this is different from the theory of present-day socialists.” Then, what was his socialism and its relation with Shinran? Concerning this, he wrote:

No, we do not wish to become recipients of the Grand Order of the Chrysanthemum, generals or noblemen like them. We are not laboring in order to become such people. The only thing I wish to accomplish through my great energy and human labor is progress (*kōjō shinpo* 向上進歩) and community life (*kyōdō seikatsu* 共同生活). We labor in order to produce and we cultivate our minds so that we can attain the Way. But look at what’s happening! We cannot help lament when we hear that religious functionaries are praying to gods and Buddhas for victory. Indeed, a feeling of pity arises in my heart and I am sorry for them.⁸⁶

In this quotation, it seems that Takagi’s socialism was similar to Shinran’s thought. Takagi’s “lament” and “feeling of pity” were similar to Shinran’s attitude when he and his followers faced hardship when oppressed by the Imperial Court. At that time Shinran exclaimed that:

In the final analysis, it would be splendid if all people who say the nembutsu, not just yourself, so not with thoughts of themselves, but for the sake of the

⁸⁵ Takagi Kenmyō, “My Socialism,” in *Living in Amida’s Universal Vow: Essays in Shin Buddhism*, ed. Alfred Bloom (Bloomington: World Wisdom, Inc., 2004), pp. 190–191.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

imperial court and for the people of the country.⁸⁷

The real intent of these words was that the people who live in nembutsu should live in nembutsu for the well being of all—powerful and weak. Powerful people need to look beyond their own self-attachment and recognize the equality of all. Shinran’s awareness was that all people are illuminated by Amida’s working.

Takagi’s words meant that he felt anger against the people who pray to gods and Buddhas for Japan’s victory of war, but he had pity for them because of the paradox voiced by Shinran that such people should be saved. Therefore, he understood Shinran’s awareness. He further developed Shinran’s thoughts when he explained:

We must take our stand within this world covered over by darkness, and propagate the saving light, peace and happiness (of Namu Amida Butsu). Only then can we fulfill our great responsibility. My friends! Pray recite this “Namu Amida Butsu” with us. Cease taking pleasure in victory and shouting “banzai.” This is because “Namu Amida Butsu” is the voice that leads everyone equally to salvation. My friends! Pray recite this “Namu Amida Butsu” with us, cast off your aristocratic pretensions and cease looking down upon the common people. This is because Namu Amida Butsu is the voice expressing sympathy with the common people. My friends! Pray recite this “Namu Amida Butsu” with us, remove all thoughts of the struggle for existence from minds, and exert yourselves for the sake of community life. This is because people who recite Namu Amida Butsu are included among the inhabitants of the Land of Bliss. Inasmuch as this is what the nembutsu signifies, we must proceed from the spiritual realm and completely change the social system from the ground up. I am firmly convinced that this is what socialism means.⁸⁸

Takagi expressed three ways of “how to live in Nembutsu which reflects Shinran’s awareness” by expressing “Namu Amida Butsu.” The first was to cease “taking

⁸⁷ CWS, p. 560.

⁸⁸ Takagi, “My Socialism,” pp. 192–193.

pleasure in victory and shouting ‘banzai.’” This was clearly in opposition to the Russo-Japanese War. The second was to, “cast off your aristocratic pretensions and cease looking down upon the common people,” thus preaching equality, which is at the heart of Buddhism. The third way strongly expressed in “exert your-selves for the sake of community life,” meant the necessity to live in Shinran’s awareness. These three aspects, he concluded were “what socialism means.” Therefore, for Takagi, socialism was to oppose the War, to have human equality, the beginning of Shinran’s thought, and to create “fellow practitioners walking together in the same direction” in society. This was ultimately to live the way of one living in nembutsu, as understood by Takagi in his social condition and his time through an understanding of Shinran’s awareness.

He further described socialism in the following manner:

I do not feel that socialism is a theory, but rather a kind of practice. One person says that it is a prophetic call for social reform, but I think socialism is the first step (towards such a reform). Thus we hope to put it into practice as extensively as possible. I think we need to reform the social system rapidly, and change the social structure completely from the ground up. Yet another person is propagating socialism as a political theory. However, I consider socialism to be related much more deeply to religion than to politics. In proceeding to reform society, we have to, first of all, begin from our own spirituality. Hence I should like to set forth the gist of my faith and practice just as I understand it, without borrowing from past systems of those socialists who are my so-called elders.⁸⁹

For Takagi socialism was not theory, but “a kind of practice,” that was “related much more deeply to religion [Shinran’s thought] than to politics.” These clearly meant that to live in nembutsu was itself socialism.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 189.

There is some question as to why Takagi used the word “religion” instead of Shinran’s thought. It should be considered that Takagi lived at the time when Japan started to march toward becoming a modern state, beginning with the Russo-Japanese War. That is, Japanese society and politics focused on Imperial Nationalism (*tennō sei kokka shugi* 天皇制国家主義).⁹⁰ Takagi criticized this Nationalism and preached the necessity for those who living in nembutsu to change the social system and the constitution, which upheld Imperial Nationalism. In Takagi’s words, “we need to reform the social system rapidly, and change the social structure completely from the ground up.” That is, Takagi subsequently would come up with the necessity of “self-reflection” which is deeply related to religion in order to eliminate social evil. Therefore, he defined “socialism to be related much more deeply to religion [includes Shinran’s thoughts]” to emphasize “self- reflection.”

3. 3. Social Actions of Takagi Kenmyō’s

Takagi’s social action was mainly concentrated in three areas: the liberation of the *buraku*, the anti-prostitution movement, and pacifism. How did Takagi’s socialism, composed of an interpretation of Shinran’s thought, develop in his action?

⁹⁰ Concerning the nation obsessed with Imperial Nationalism, Takagi stated: “We live in a country where the common people in general are sacrificed for the fame, peerage and medals of one small group of people. It is a society in which the common people in general must suffer for the sake of a small number of speculators. Are not the poor treated like animals at the hands of the wealthy? There are people who cry out in hunger; there are women who sell their honor out of poverty; there are children who are soaked by the rain. Rich people and government officials find pleasure in treating them like toys, oppressing them and engaging them in hard labor, don’t they? The external stimuli being like this, our subjective faculties are replete with ambition. This is truly the world of defilement, a world of suffering, a dark night. Human nature is being slaughtered by the devil.” (Takagi, “My Socialism,” pp. 191–192).

3. 3. 1. The Buraku Liberation Movement and the Anti-Prostitution Movement

The writer Okino Iwazaburō 沖野岩三郎 described Takagi's *buraku* liberation movement in his novel *Ka no Sō* 彼の僧, the protagonist of which was Takagi as a Buddhist priest.⁹¹ According to the novel, Takagi was prejudiced against *buraku* people. One day he went to the home of a temple member to perform a Buddhist service without knowing it was a *buraku* person's home. He realized it, however, through the manner in which the family received him. He got angry and expressed his hatred. But, as the story proceeds, he encountered the reality of their life and condemned his own prejudice and expressed sympathy for them. Izumi interprets Takagi's attitude in the following way:

[In “Ka no Sō”], strong negative, ugly, and feelings of discrimination against burakumin are described. However, at the same time, the author represented Kenmyō's character, as conflicted over his awareness of discrimination trying to prevail over it by reciting the Buddha's words.⁹²

That is, Takagi tried to transform his consciousness of discrimination against others through Buddha's teachings. His actions were the practice of Buddhism for his own and for the transformation of other. One example of this practice was the purchasing of stationary supplies for the *buraku* children and teaching them at his temple.⁹³

⁹¹ See Okino Iwazaburō, “Ka no Sō,” in *Renga no Ame* (Tokyo: Fukunaga Shoten, 1918), pp. 279–298. Okino, who was a priest at Catholic Church in Shingū city, worked closely with Takagi. Although Okino was not involved with the “High Treason Incident,” he wrote novels about Takagi and the truth of the incident by using different name. “Ka no Sō” was one of them. Okino had a close relationship with Takagi because he was also a participant in the *buraku* liberation movement, called Kyoshinkai 虚心会 literally means “hollow mind gathering.” (about this, I will explain later). Although “Ka no Sō” is a work of fiction, the narrative content is co-incident with the fact of Takagi's life. Therefore, we can read the broad picture of his true character in the novel.

⁹² Izumi Shigeki, “Shingū no taigyakusō Takagi Kenmyō,” in *Kumanoshi*, vol. 46, 2002, p. 119.

⁹³ According to the Takagi's temple record, “among the 180 member of Jōsenji temple 120 of them were people with special status (*tokushu*) and they were very poor [*buraku* people].” See Taigyaku Jiken no Shinjitsu wo Akiraka ni suru Kai, *Taigyaku Jiken Soshō Kiroku, Shōkobutsu Utsushi*, vol. 5, (Tōkyō: Kindai Nihon Shiryōkai, 1960), p. 96.

We can learn about Takagi's other main social action, the anti-prostitution movement by reading his teaching in another of Okino's novel entitled *Sei wo Toshite* 生を賭して (*Risking One's Own Life*). In this novel, Takagi was described as an earnest opponent of prostitution:

“Shortly after I (the count) soon came to [Shingū], [Takagi] visited my office wearing a fancy Buddhist robe. He was a forty one or forty two year old Buddhist priest who had dark color, a round face, long eyebrows over thin eyes and looked up slightly when he spoke. In that first meeting, he said something like the following, ‘I need your cooperation in a matter. It is nothing other than the fact that a house of prostitution has been established for the first time and is contributing to the decline of morals of our community. It seems there is nothing that we can do because the count who is also the governor has given his permission to this enterprise. Since it is the customers who make it possible for the house of prostitution to exist, the quickest way to address this situation is to get rid of the customers. Therefore I am thinking that every early morning I will go to the entrance of the house and write down the names of those who are obvious returning home from the house. In addition, I will admonish them and submit the articles to the news paper about this matter. I am ready to take one or two hits over this matter myself, but I would like to ask for your help as well.’ I (the count) talked to him about the Salvation Army's efforts along these lines and left him. He was an earnest anti-prostitution supporter, and although his plans were not performed, he set the fuse of criticism against the flaws in the modern system.⁹⁴

From his activities arose an organization, known as the *kyoshinkai*, where he deepened his understanding of “self-reflection.” He examined the *buraku* problem, the prostitute problem, and other social issues through exchanges with his temple members, teachers, socialists, and with priests and monks of the various schools, and inviting them to his

⁹⁴ Okino Iwazaburō, *Sei wo Toshite* (Tōkyō: Keiseisha, 1919), 156–157.

temple.⁹⁵

3. 3. 2. Takagi Kenmyō and Pacifism

Takagi's self-reflection as he brought Buddha's teaching into his own life also allowed him to develop more fully his understanding of Shinran. Takagi clearly constructs his pacifist thinking consonant with his understanding of Shinran's thought. However, at that time, *Higashi Honganji* 東本願寺, the mother temple of the Shinshū Ōtani school, upheld Imperial Nationalism and supported the war effort by promoting "During War Doctrine."⁹⁶ One teaching came from a false interpretation of Shinran's

⁹⁵ Izumi writes "*kyoshinkai*, was established in the latter part of Meiji 30 [around the time of the Russo-Japanese War], after the *buraku* discrimination incident occurred in Shingū. It was a kind of association is composed of the people who lived in *buraku* village, [Takagi] and Christians of the church in Shingū." See Izumi Shigeki, "Takagi Kenmyō to buraku sabetsu mondai: Fukumeisho wo moto ni shi te," in *Shinjin no shakai sei* (Kyōto: Tankyūsha, 1998), p. 24. In this organization, there were some people who were involved with "High Treason Incident. For example, Ōishi Seinosuke 大石誠之助, who trained as a physician in the United States, joined the peace movement and anti-prostitution movement with Takagi. He developed a friendship with Kōtoku Shūsui 幸徳秋水 and other socialists. Involved with the "High Treason Incident," he was sentenced to death in 1911. Mineo Setsudō 峯尾節堂, a Buddhist monk of Rinzaishū Myōshinjiha 臨濟宗妙心寺派 in Shingū, also involved in the "High Treason Incident" died in prison. He had joined Takagi's Buddhist actions and, while in prison, wrote the paper, entitled "Waga Zange no Issetsu 我懺悔の一節," describing Takagi's Buddhist life. For others who were related to Takagi, see Kurube Kō, "Shingū ni Kenmyō no Jiseki wo Tazunete," in *Takagi Kenmyō: Taigyaku jiken ni renza shita nenbutsusha*, eds. Tamamitsu Junshō, Tsujiuchi Yoshihiro, and Kurube Kō, Shinshu Booklet, No. 8 (Kyōto: Shinshu Ōtaniha Shumusho Shuppanbu, 2000), 67–77.

⁹⁶ This was not only in the case of Shinshū Ōtani school. Other Honganji schools also supported the war effort financially. This included the Russo–Japanese war and Saino–Japanese war. By means of the "During War Doctrine," they sought to create the "Loyal people" for the War until defeat in World War II. During the Japanese war, the headquarter of the Nishi Honganji reinterpreted Jōdo Shinshū scriptures for the people at that time. For example, Shinran's *The True Teaching, Practice, and Realization of the Pure Land Way* (hereafter *Kyōgyōshinshō*), *Hymns of the Pure Land Masters* (hereafter *Kōsō wasan*), *Hymns of the Dharma-Age* (hereafter *Shōzōmatsu wasan*) and other writings: Kakunyo's *Godenshō* and *The Letters*. Parts of the original works were recognized as disrespectful of the emperor and the imperial state. The most well-known reinterpretation was the deletion of the sentence, "the emperor and his ministers, acting against the dharma and violating human rectitude, become enraged and embittered," from *Keshindo Monrui* in *Kyōgyōshishō*. See Minor L. Rogers and Ann T. Rogers, *Rennyō: The Second Founder of Shin Buddhism* (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1991), pp. 328–329. In 1944, the propagational headquarters for "During War Doctrine" (*senji kyōgaku shidō honbu*) was established, and published books on this doctrine. Had "the intention of two truths" (*shinzoku nitai no kyōshi*) as its central concept and emphasized support for the war by

writing urging Shin followers to war. This passage from Shinran was easily misinterpreted and used to urge followers to support Imperial Nationalism:

In the final analysis, it would be splendid if all people who say the nembutsu, not just yourself, do so not with thoughts of themselves, but for the sake of imperial court and for the people of the country. Those who feel uncertain of birth should say the nembutsu aspiring first for their own birth. Those who feel that their own birth is completely settled should, mindful of the Buddha's benevolence, hold the nembutsu in their hearts and say it to respond in gratitude to that benevolence, with the wish, "May there be peace in the world, and may the Buddha's teachings spread!"⁹⁷

This passage meant that all people, including those who live in the nembutsu and those who are oppressed, should be illuminated by Amida's working and his wish for human equality. This did not mean that Shinran supported the pro-Imperial Court and pro-war arguments. In his writing, "My Socialism," Takagi also quotes these sentences as

interpreting Shinran's thought nationalistically as the "thoughts of protecting the state" (*gokoku no shisō*) and the "nembutsu (practice) for protect the state" (*gokoku no nenbutsu*). Concerning the "two truths," Nishi Honganji had not only been supporting the state Shinto nation financially, but also had been producing many "the loyal people" (*chūryō naru shinmin*) to be soldiers until the end of war in 1945. With this background, the Nishi Honganji has received major criticism for its participation in the "eradication of the influence of Buddhist institutions" (*haibutsu kishaku*). In order to survive it could not but help to support the new state policy, the imperial state. The "two truths" were reinterpreted in this way and issued to Nishi Honganji as a "religious establishment" (*shūsei*):

According to the teaching of our sect, "the transcendent truth (*shintai*)" is to hear and entrust ourselves to the Buddha's Name and to say the Name in gratitude for the working of great compassion; "the mundane truth (*zokutai*)" is to live humanely and to obey the imperial law. Therefore, if we are people who dwell in a state of Other-Power faith (*anjin*) and strive to return the benevolence [shown us by society], then we manifest the excellent principle of the mutual support of the two truths. (Honganji Shiryō Kenkyūjo, ed.

Honganjishi [A history of the Honganji]. 3 vol. Kyōto: Jōdo Shinshū Honganjiha, 1961), p. 156. Translated by Minor L. and Ann T. Rogers.

The "transcendent truth" (*shintai*) means the Shin Buddhist doctrines, on the other hand, the "mundane truth" (*zokutai*) means the worldly order and morality in the imperial state. The "two truths" is the doctrine which shows how Shin Buddhists should behave in the worldly life. However Nishi Honganji permitted the Shin Buddhist faith only in the mind and insisted strongly on the "mundane truth" of the imperial laws. Nishi Honganji escaped by emphasizing, ironically, meaningless dualistic "two truths" doctrine of the Shin Buddhist's free religious life which tided to the imperial state.

⁹⁷ CWS, p. 560.

egregious examples of a misuse of pro-war arguments.”⁹⁸ He states:

Alas, this is an example of the old adage that “fear makes us see monsters in the dark.” Although the passage above is a gospel for peace, have people mistaken it for the sound of a bugle commanding us to attack the enemy? Or did I mistake the bells and drums of battle for injunctions for peace? I shall leave it up to my friends, the readers, to decide. However, I am fortunate in that I hear both bugles and bells of battle as gospels for peace. Many thanks. Namu Amida Butsu.⁹⁹

Takagi clearly understands the paradox of Shinran’s comments and develops Shinran’s thought concerning equality into a pacifist thought of a “gospel for peace.” In other words, he brought out the incalculable potential which was buried in Shinran’s thought.

Additional reflections exemplifying Takagi’s pacifist comments were recorded after the prosecution of the “High Treason Incident.” One example is:

I wrote an article titled “My Socialism,” in October of Meiji 30 [1897], from the perspective of a Buddhist thinker. At that time, therefore, I do not believe I was a genuine socialist. During the war years of Meiji 37 and 38 (1904-05) [Russo-Japanese War], people like Kōtoku Denjirō [Shūsui] 幸徳秋水, Sakai [Kosen] Toshihiko 堺利彦, and Uchimura Kanzō 内村鑑三 openly discussed their anti-war messages and left the Yorozuchōhō Newspaper in protest. In particular, I admire Uchimura’s personality. However, among 180 member of Jōsenji temple 120 of them were people with special status (*tokushu*) and they were very poor. During the war, they could not afford unlike the members of other temples, to make contributions for activities promoting war, such as

⁹⁸ Takagi was not able to publish “My Socialism” as a book because it was confiscated as the documentary evidence. Eventually the only book Takagi was able to publish was “Nishirensū Hibukkyō 日蓮宗非佛教.” However, according to Izumi, Takagi criticizes Nichiren Buddhism from the academic perspective, but he does not mention his belief in Shin Buddhism. See Izumi Shigeki, “Shingū no Taigyakusō Takagi Kenmyō,” in *Kumanoshi*, vol. 46, 2002, p. 117.

⁹⁹ Takagi, “My Socialism,” p. 193.

prayer services for victory. This made me feel very sorry for them. Because of such circumstances, I began reading newspapers, journals, and books on socialism and started studying socialism.¹⁰⁰

In this quote, Takagi supports pacifism indirectly. The reason for his pacifism stems from the impoverished condition of temple members rather than from the opposition to the war itself. These comments, however, were uttered during an investigation and were recorded after the prosecution of the “High Treason Incident.” Because he was being watched carefully, Takagi could only claim pacifism indirectly. If his comments are considered within the parameters of this “investigation,” we may interpret his showing his extreme discomfort which arose with the terrorizing inquiry he experienced in his statement about his temple members’ condition.

Horiguchi Setsuko 堀口節子 sheds light on these comments in another way:

Takagi’s acceptance of socialism was prompted by the dual circumstances surrounding him. As a contemporary social problem, he was confronted by the stern reality of the presence of the anti-war theories against Russo-Japanese War expound by a Non-Church Christian Uchimura Kanzō and Meiji era socialists such as Kōtoku Shūsui. As a concrete problem in his immediate life, however he had to face the reality of the lives of the members of Jōsuiji temple whose extreme poverty and exhaustion were growing over greater during the war. In point of fact, his was an acceptance of absolute pacifism.¹⁰¹

Horiguchi sees the condition of Takagi’s temple member’s desperate condition

¹⁰⁰ Taigyaku no Shinjitsu o Akiraka ni Suru Kai, Taigyaku Jiken Soshō Kiroku, Shōkobutsu Utsushi, vol. 5 (Tokyo: Kindai Nihon Shiryōkai, 1960), p. 96. *Yorozunochōhō* is the daily newspaper which Kuroiwa Ruikō started in Tōkyo in 1892. It arose from socialism, however, leaned toward pro-war arguments before the Russo-Japanese War. As a result, Kōtoku, Sakai, and Uchimura separated from it.

¹⁰¹ Horiguchi Setsuko, “Shinran Shōsoku Rikai no Sai Kentō 2: Shinran kara Shōshin he soshite Takagi Kenmyō, Kinoshita Naoe he,” in Ryūoku Shidan 龍谷史壇 vol. 101, 102 (Kyōto: Ryūoku Daigaku Shi Gakkai, 1994), pp. 41–42.

in war time not as a provisional cause for turning to pacifism, but a fundamental one. I believe that his statement about their desperate condition arose from his recognition of the value of human equality and dignity expressed in Shinran's new awareness that all people are illuminated by Amida's working. Takagi's pacifism was built on this foundation. This was strongly expressed in the following:

We have never heard that beings in the land of Bliss have attacked other lands. Nor have we ever heard that they started a great war for the sake of justice. Hence I am against war (with Russia). I do not feel that a person of the Land of Bliss should take part in warfare.¹⁰²

As a result of the "Imperial Treason Incident," the Shinshū Ōtani School kept Takagi isolated, because his attitude was contrary to the "duty of Imperial people" which was also the duty of Shinshū Ōtani School members. His monkhood as the chief priest at Jōsenji temple was revoked on November 10, 1910 and his monkhood itself was also deprived by January 18, 1911 by Shinshū Ōtani School. Neither the nation nor his Buddhist school accepted him. These realities forced him into a suicide in prison on June 24, 1914.

Takagi was a nembutsu priest who developed Shinran's thought and lived by repeated self-reflection with a criticizing spirit which sought to protect human dignity during harsh social conditions. Consequently, he was seen as a criminal by the Japanese nation and finally deprived of his priesthood by the Shinshū Ōtani School. Like Shinran, he had to become *hisōhizoku* to live out the Buddha's teaching in trying circumstances by engaging them within himself. This was his "revitalizing Buddhism."

¹⁰² Takagi, "My Socialism," p. 191.

Unfortunately, Shinshū Ōtani School did not accept his understanding at that time. On April 11, 1996, however, Shinshū Ōtani School retracted this injustice and admitted its fault in supporting the war effort and the state. Takagi's attitude and his development of Shinran's thoughts based on human equality and living the teachings were recognized that they should be considered in the present-day. This discussion of Takagi's life and thought demonstrates that his is a Buddhist life model for "revitalizing Buddhism" in the present.

Conclusion

The concept of Engaged Buddhism describes the process of our participation in the practices of Buddhism and reflecting Buddha's teaching in the way we actually live. In this context, the three Buddhists in this thesis could be called Engaged Buddhists: Thich Nhat Hanh, Shinran, and Takagi Kenmyō.

In chapter one, the redefinition of Engaged Buddhism was examined while comparing Thich Nhat Hanh's thought and the thoughts of Engaged Buddhism's scholars. In chapter two, Shinran's thoughts of being "neither a monk nor one in worldly life" and "foolish/stubble-haired" were reconsidered to reveal him as an Engaged Buddhist in the past. In chapter three, Takagi Kenmyō was introduced as a demonstration of an Engaged Buddhist life based on the further development of Shinran's thoughts.

The three Buddhists share two mutual points. One is that they all were recognized social dissidents and oppressed by the social and political realities predominant in each of their times. Thich Nhat Hanh was forced to exile in France because of his pacifist movement against the Vietnam War. Shinran was deprived of his monkhood and was exiled to Echigo by the Imperial Court and its national Buddhist schools because he advocated new humanized Buddhist teachings, which were heretical against traditional politics and Buddhist doctrine. Takagi was imprisoned as a criminal by the nation during war time because of his pacifist thoughts and suspected socialist ties, and was forced by his Buddhist school to forfeit his monkhood.

Under these circumstances, each created various Buddhist actions to protect all human dignity by questioning what Buddhism was for them, and by repeating this self-reflection without yielding to social oppression. Thich Nhat Hanh roused Vietnamese monks to form the Pacifist movement against war by producing the term and the conception of Engaged Buddhism. Currently, he is planting the seed of peace by writing books and holding meditation training while traveling around the world. Shinran's monkhood was returned to him once, however he refused it and seceded from the national authority and the form of Buddhism involved in it by declaring to live as "neither a monk nor one in worldly life." He spread the nembutsu teaching based on the equalities of all sentient beings. Takagi criticized his subconscious discrimination by engaging himself in Buddha's teachings and formed the *buraku* liberation movement, the anti-prostitute movement, and the pacifist movement out of a profound wish for human dignity to be the center in his Buddhist way. What we can glean from these two mutual points in the Buddhist way of these three Engaged Buddhists is the attitude of infusing new energy into Buddhism. This is "revitalizing Buddhism."

When I look to Japanese Buddhism today, I am doubtful as to whether there is a Buddhist who lives with such constant self-reflection as these three Buddhists have done without being influenced by social pressure. In the present society, various issues have a vocal majority of people who seek security from isolation. Buddhism has also come under the umbrella of their influences, and the role and power of Buddhism is only limited to religious ritual. The majority does not always represent the "correct" way. These three Engaged Buddhists suspected such a condition and lived their Buddhist way for the human dignity of all while criticizing their own attitude, which might be influenced by the majority opinion, even if they were oppressed and looked down upon.

Today, Buddhists should be required to focus their attitude on “revitalizing Buddhism,” however, some Buddhists have already realized the importance of this attitude. For example, Yamazaki Ryūmyō describes the meaning of living in Shinran’s thoughts in his work *Bukyō no saisei: Shinran Futai eno michi*. He suggests that the teaching of Shinran is the way to be a true human who lives without receiving the influence of the social majority. Therefore being neglected is a necessity in living with Shinran’s thoughts, and constructing an unyielding religious life against it is to be a true human. He questions, “What is the meaning to bring Shinran’s thoughts into one’s life?”

Ueda Noriyuki reveals the positive possibility of Buddhism’s role in the book *Ganbare Bukkyō: Otera runesansu no jidai*. At the same time, he criticizes the tainted Japanese Buddhism, called funeral Buddhism that overemphasizes funeral rites. He emphasizes an abundant potential power included in Buddhism and the necessity of reforming narrow understandings of Buddhism’s role in the lives of both Buddhist clergyman and ordinary people so that Buddhism can break the preconception and re-create a new sense of value in Buddhism.

Some people stand up and live by questioning what Buddhism is and, in doing so, break the label of Japanese Buddhism constituted by the social climate, and infuse new blood into Buddha’s teaching. I myself would like to engage in a life of “revitalizing Buddhism” as a Buddhist priest who lives out Shinran’s thoughts. Although Japanese Buddhism is often criticized by both insiders and outsiders, I remain hopeful, for I believe that it harbors an enormous amount of potential that has yet to be adequately exploited, a fact that I will seek to reveal to as many people as possible by questioning “what can I do for others?” in my Buddhist life.

In Japanese society today, there are many pressing social issues. However, the

declaration of a Buddhist priest living in Shinran's thoughts makes me want to focus particularly on the issues that arise due to our ignorance: the issue of the discrimination against *Buraku* people, and the issue of the worship at *Yasukuni* shrine. These issues are closely interrelated with other aspects of the core foundations of Japanese life, including the areas of economics and politics. In spite of this fact, most Japanese remain indifferent, and turn their backs on these issues. In doing so, they perpetuate a historical discrimination without even realizing their own ignorance. Therefore, the few people who attempt to address and rectify these issues are looked down upon and discriminated against by the social majority. Under these circumstances, it is very difficult for the minority to speak up against the majority because the reality composed of economics, politics, and human nature in general is clearly to their disadvantage.

We should not forget, however, that the three Buddhists examined in this thesis, Thich Nhat Hanh, Shinran, and Takagi Kenmyō, all struggled for human dignity under conditions that were even worse than those of Japanese society today. As long as I live as a Buddhist priest, I would also like to work toward preserving the dignity of all people, without ceasing to engage in self-reflection and yielding to the huge powers that will invariably block my path. This is my vow as a Buddhist "revitalizing Buddhism." If more Buddhists realize the necessity of their own vows as Buddhists striving towards "revitalizing Buddhism," I believe that Buddhism has the potential to contribute to the creation of a set of new human relationships based on mutual dignity and respect.

Appendix

An Annotated Bibliography on Engaged Buddhism

This appendix consists of a bibliography of books about Engaged Buddhism, that I read and collected over a period of two years while working on my master's thesis. It covers most of the books on the topic of Engaged Buddhism published during the past two decades in which this subject started to become popular. In addition, the various entries describe interpretations and aspects of Engaged Buddhism that I was unable to mention in the main body of my thesis. I hope that it may make up for any deficiencies in my own work, and be of some small assistance to scholars and Buddhists interested in Engaged Buddhism in the future.

Aitken, Robert. "The Net of Vows." In *Buddhist Peacework: Creating Cultures of Peace*, ed. David W. Chappell, 93–101. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1999.

This article describes two ways of contributing to a culture of peace through Buddhism; the first is "offering a common rationale for working toward peace, social justice, and the protection of all beings (p. 93)." The second is "practical organizing in the Buddhist spirit (p. 93)." With respect to the first one, author, Aitken, introduces it using the example of the late Zen master Haku'un Yasutani who was oppressed because of his liberal and pacifist thinking during Japan's participation in World War I. For the second one, Aitken notes a brief list of the Engaged Buddhist organizations.

Alldritt, Leslie D. "Buddhism and the Burakumin: Oppression or liberation?" In *Action Dharma: New Studies in Engaged Buddhism*, eds. Christopher Queen, Charles

Prebish and Damien Keown, 183–206. London: Routledge Curzon, 2003.

In this article, the origin and present condition of *burakumin* who have been the victims of discrimination in Japan are stated. Mainly, the author states that Buddhism took part in this discrimination using the example of *icchantika* in Buddhist scriptures. Moreover, he emphasizes “having an awareness of the problem” in society as much as possible. I think that having awareness of the problem, discrimination endured by *burakumin* is the beginning of Engaged Buddhism’s work. However, because it is difficult for most people to realize such an awareness, we need to think of ways which can enable many people to realize it.

Ama, Toshimaro, and Robert F. Rhodes, trans. “Towards A Shin Buddhist Social Ethics.”

In *Living in Amida’s Universal Vow: Essays in Shin Buddhism*, ed. Alfred Bloom, 173–188. Bloomington, Indiana: World Wisdom, Inc., 2004.

In this article, the “social ethic” of Kiyozawa Manshi and Takagi Kenmyo is stated. These positions are said to be a key interpretation in contemporary Jōdō Shinshū. The article is a very interesting introduction to them. However, there is no mention about Shinran’s “social ethic”.

Amstutz, Galen. *Interpreting Amida: History and Orientalism in the Study of Pure Land Buddhism*. New York: State University of New York Press, 1997.

Ariyaratne, A. T. “Sarvodaya Shramadana’s Approach to Peacebuilding,” In *Buddhist Peacework: Creating Cultures of Peace*, ed. David W. Chappell, 69–77.

Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1999.

This is a brief introduction to the Sarvodaya Shramadana movement, which tries to solve conflicts, crimes and war with Buddha’s teachings. Sarvodaya “is a word coined by Mahatma Gandhi which we have adopted to mean the well-being of all or the awakening of all (p. 70).” In addition, this article offers a brief history of the Sarvodaya Shramadana movement during the last 41 years. The author, A. T. Ariyaratne seems to suggest the potentialities of Religion, especially Buddhism for an egalitarian and peaceful society.

_____. *Buddhism and Sarvodaya: Sri Lankan Experience*. Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1996.

Baldoquin, Hilda Gutiérrez, ed. *Dharma, Color, and Culture: New Voices in Western Buddhism*. Berkeley: Parallax Press, 2004.

This book is a compilation of articles by twenty-six authors about their experiences of encountering Buddhism. They all grew up in different cultures in the United States and brought Buddha's teaching into their lives. This book shows us that the suffering in Western countries is related to psychological problems: gender problems, one's personal tragedies. Therefore to a certain degree Western Buddhism developed along such psychological issues.

Bartholomeusz, Tessa. "First Among Equals: Buddhism and the Sri Lankan State." In *Buddhism and Politics in Twentieth-Century Asia*, ed. Ian Harris, 173–193. London and New York: Continuum, 1999.

This article describes the relationship between Buddhism and the Sri Lankan state in the twentieth century. In its efforts to gain independence from British, Sri Lanka placed its emphasis upon Buddhism. However, the policy did not work for all Sri Lankan people. In fact, it was successful only for the elite. Consequently, movements and leaders arose to demand a neutral stance policy in Sri Lankan politics. One of them is Sarvodaya Shramadana, which was "founded in 1958 [and] focused on the liberation of the individual": in other words, "shifting the focus from nation to person (p. 181)." President Kumaranatunga also took a neutral stance in her politics, for which she was, however, criticized. Tessa Bartholomeusz states:

Kumaranatunga's perceived neutral stance in regard to Buddhism, indeed her quasi-European-style secularism, considered a strength by some of the English-speaking elite, is considered a weakness by others, especially some very vocal and powerful Buddhist monks (p. 189).

This article shows us a mire of mutual entanglement between Buddhism and Politics in Sri Lanka.

Baumann, Martin. "Work as Dharma Practice: Right Livelihood Cooperatives of the FWBO." In *Engaged Buddhism in the West*, ed. Christopher S. Queen, 372–393. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2000.

The author, Martin Baumann describes the Friends of the Western Buddhist Order (FWBO), founded in 1967 by the English Buddhist monk Sangharakshita. It aspired to build a new society through a range of public programs and enterprises, and created the FWBO's entrepreneurial projects,

including both innovative and emblematic understandings of the Buddhist path. FWBO's purpose is revolution. In other words, it wishes to change society—to turn the old society into the new. Baumann states that FWBO is one of the successful instances of Engaged Buddhism.

Bell, Sandra. "A survey of Engaged Buddhism in Britain." In *Engaged Buddhism in the West*, ed. Christopher S. Queen, 397–422. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2000. The article describes Engaged Buddhism in the European Union, especially Britain. Engaged Buddhism in the E.U. is perceived more seriously than ethnic Buddhism in the U.S. Europe has a greater critical insight toward religion such that led to Sōka Gakkai International–United Kingdom is unpopular there. Sandra Bell says that it is because "SGI is perceived as adopting a favorable attitude to the acquisition of worldly goods" (p.418). Through reading this article, I found that the definition and form of Engaged Buddhism are clearly different in each county. In a sense, I believe that Engaged Buddhism in the E.U. is most closely related to the critical stance of Engaged Buddhism.

Bond, George D. "A. T. Ariyaratne and the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka." In *Engaged Buddhism: Buddhist Liberation Movements in Asia*, eds. Christopher S. Queen and Sallie B. King, 121–146. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996.

In this piece, the author says Ariyaratne's understanding of Buddhism is related to the principle of Sarvodaya and its history. Ariyaratne's understanding of Buddhism lies in the shape of Buddhism in Sri Lanka that existed in the past. It was the form of Buddhism that penetrates throughout daily life. That is, "peace" and "equality" were included in ancient Buddhism in Sri Lanka. He thinks that we should return to this shape, and this is purpose of Sarvodaya movement. Moreover, although Ariyaratne studied Gandhi's thought, he rejects the notion that his Sarvodaya is derived from it (see his "Sarvodaya Shramadana's Approach to Peacebuilding," In *Buddhist Peacework: Creating Cultures of Peace*). Ariyaratne often emphasizes "dual liberation." That is, "individual liberation" and "social liberation." His creative action should be praised and should be a key component of Engaged Buddhism in the present.

_____. "Sarvodaya Shramadana's Quest for Peace." In *Action Dharma: New Studies in Engaged Buddhism*, eds. Christopher Queen, Charles Prebish and Damien

Keown, 128–135. London: Routledge Curzon, 2003.

This is the best article presenting Sarvodaya’s outline, because it states the fundamental structure and the purpose of Sarvodaya movement. The author says that the fundamental structure consists of three elements; Gandhian idea, Buddhist teaching and a belief in an ecumenical spirituality. He goes on to state that the purpose of Sarvodaya is to move the hearts and minds of people toward nonviolence and compassion. He further describes the future direction of Sarvodaya. As I understand it, this direction is that Sarvodaya should keep changing and transforming the social, political and economical structure toward peace. I believe that these form the basic foundation of Sarvodaya.

Boucher, Sandy. *Turning the Wheel: American Women Creating the New Buddhism*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1988.

Bucknell, Roderick S. “Engaged Buddhism in Australia.” In *Engaged Buddhism in the West*, ed. Christopher S. Queen, 468–481. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2000.

Buddhadasa, Bhikkhu. *Dhammic Socialism*. Bangkok: Thai Inter-Religious Commission for Development, 1986.

Chappell, David W., ed. *Buddhist Peacework: Creating Cultures of Peace*. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1999.

This book includes articles by eighteen authors. The main topic is how we, as those who live in this contemporary world, should think about peacework that is based on Buddhist teaching. Chappell himself thinks that: “What is new, and what Buddhists are learning, is to develop an array of new organizational approaches to meet social needs (p. 20).” Moreover he goes on to state a very important concept that “Buddhists insist that peacework cannot be effective to ease the sufferings of all beings without the constant cultivation of mindfulness and inner dialogue (p. 20).” The eighteen authors discuss this topic from various perspectives. This book is an excellent resource for considering why we need the concept of Engaged Buddhism.

_____. “Buddhist Peace Principles.” In *Buddhist Peacework: Creating Cultures of Peace*, ed. David W. Chappell, 199–231. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1999. David W. Chappell briefly describes many things that are related to Engaged

Buddhism: introducing famous Engaged Buddhists and their interpretation of it, its institutions, and so forth. Further he points out the main issues of Engaged Buddhism. He states “in creating cultures of peace, inner peace must be balanced by eco-social mindfulness and social cooperation as the heart of Buddhist peacework (p. 228)” This article offers what I feel to be the best brief introduction to Engaged Buddhism.

_____. “Racial Diversity in the Soka Gakkai.” In *Engaged Buddhism in the West*, ed. Christopher S. Queen, 184–217. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2000.

In this article, David W. Chappell talks about SGI–USA and introduces its history, concepts, members, etc. I was interested in SGI’s attitude toward race. Chappell says “the most striking achievement of SGI–USA is its success in breaking down the color barrier” (p.192). SGI has members of all races. Although Chappell affirms in this article the method of SGI’s recruitment of members, he does not, however, state the inner workings of SGI. At the least, SGI’s aggressiveness in its proselytizing efforts should be acknowledged for their success.

_____, ed. *Social Engaged Spirituality: Essays in Honor of Sulak Sivaraksa on His 70th Birthday*. Bangkok: Sathirakoses-Nagapradipa Foundation, 2003.

Chang–yoon, Jeon. “The Activities of the Korean Buddhist Chontae Order Toward World Peace.” In *Buddhist Peacework: Creating Cultures of Peace*, ed. David W. Chappell, 103–111. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1999.

This article looks at Korean Buddhism by focusing on the Chontae Order which was founded in Sui Dynasty China, by Master Chih–i (538–597), and was introduced to Korea by Master Hyon–gwang. According to the author, Chang–yoon, the Chontae Order “was established based on the Lotus Sutra, doctrinal classification system known as ‘The Five Period and the Eight Teachings,’ and the religious practice called ‘the simultaneous contemplation of the threefold truths in one thought (p. 104).” In Korea, the Order is recognized as an organization for social welfare. Chang–yoon states that “Since 1990s, our Order has initiated some of our own social welfare systems (p. 109).” Moreover he introduces *Avalokitesvara* meditation which is “mental absorption by reciting the name of the *Avalokitesvara* bodhisattva (p. 109).” This practice seems to resemble the Nemubustu practice of reciting the name of

Amida. This article provides a very engaging introduction to Korean Buddhism.

Corless, Roger. "Gay Buddhist Fellowship." In *Engaged Buddhism in the West*, ed. Christopher S. Queen, 269–279. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2000.

Roger Corless states that the Gay Buddhist Fellowship (GBF) is representative of Engaged Buddhism. For him, "GBF is very much engaged Buddhism, but its engagement is not with social injustice directly; it is more subtly 'engaged' by its involvement in the healing of homophobia, especially the internalized homophobia of its members" (p.271). Corless understands that Engaged Buddhism is not only to engage in social injustice, but to engage in ethical problems like personal sufferings. This work offers an important insight into another definition of Engaged Buddhism.

Darlington, Susan M. "Buddhism and Development: The Ecology Monks of Thailand." In *Action Dharma: New Studies in Engaged Buddhism*, eds. Christopher Queen, Charles Prebish and Damien Keown, 96–109. London: Routledge Curzon, 2003.

The author Susan M. Darlington describes the relationship between Engaged Buddhism and the environmental movement in Thailand with the example of two Thailand monks; Phrakhru Pitak Nanthakhun and Phra Samkit. They developed the concept of an environmental Buddhism in Thai society which was being plagued with deforestation and consumerism. According to Darlington, Thai Buddhism and its politics have long been combined. However, Phrahru Pitak and Phra Samkit created a new potential in Thai Buddhism to rise up against such violations of society. While Darlington says that their ideas don't reflect strong Buddhist ideals, I believe their efforts have led to a "revitalizing Buddhism." They are leading Thai society to improve itself.

Deitrick, James E. "Engaged Buddhist Ethics: Mistaking the Boat for the Shore." In *Action Dharma: New Studies in Engaged Buddhism*, eds. Christopher Queen, Charles Prebish and Damien Keown, 252–269. London: Routledge Curzon, 2003.

Deitrick defines Engaged Buddhism by mainly comparing Queen's ideas of "Engaged Buddhist movements in Asia to other so-called Third World religiously based (especially Christian) liberation movements (p.256)."

Deitrick's definition of Engaged Buddhism comes from contemporary society and current conditions. He states the historical considerations, origins and development of Engaged Buddhism and says "socially engaged Buddhism is the product of the interpenetration of Euro-American and Asian cultures and has arisen in Asia in response to the material forces of modernity, industrialization, and urbanization (p.256)."

Donald S. Lopez, Jr. *A modern Buddhist Bible: Essential Readings From East and West*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2002.

Dô, Thiên. "The Quest for Enlightenment and Cultural Identity: Buddhism in Contemporary Vietnam." In *Buddhism and Politics in Twentieth-Century Asia*, ed. Ian Harris, 254–276. London and New York: Continuum, 1999. This article concerns the relationship between Buddhism and politics in Vietnam during the early twentieth century. Thiên Dô introduces two Buddhist monks who struggled against the social injustice in the Diem regime: Thich Quang Duc and Thich Nhat Hanh. Thiên states that they are recognized as representative of "post-colonial resistance" against France and America. This article describes the history of Buddhist struggles in Vietnam.

Eppsteiner, Fred, ed. *The Path of Compassion: Contemporary Writings on Engaged Buddhism*. New York: White Pine Press, 1985.

Fitzgerald, Timothy. "Politics and Ambedkar Buddhism in Maharashtra." In *Buddhism and Politics in Twentieth-Century Asia*, ed. Ian Harris, 79–104. London and New York: Continuum, 1999.

Timothy Fitzgerald introduces Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and his thoughts by comparing them to Gandhi's thoughts. Both of these leaders tried to bring change to the violence in Indian society. However, Timothy clarifies the difference between their understanding of social change. With respect to Gandhi, he states that "Gandhi exemplified the problem with high caste reform patronage which he (Ambedkar) constantly experienced throughout his political career (p. 81)." On the other hand, Ambedkar required profound and peaceful social changes from the perspective of the bottom level, the untouchables. Timothy states:

[Ambedkar] believed that only through a program of radical political

democratization, involving a revolution in the sphere of values, and the subsequent abolition of caste, could untouchability be removed (p. 81). This article is a good introduction to Ambedkar as an early example of a socially Engaged Buddhist.

Foster, Nelson. "To Enter the Marketplace." In *The Path of Compassion: Writings on Socially Engaged Buddhism*, ed. Fred Eppsteiner, 47–64. Berkeley: Parallax Press, 1985.

Nelson Foster explores how American Zen Buddhism can contribute to socio-politics. Foster notes that "Zen practice itself has a certain natural political bent" and emphasizes its engagement with social problems (p. 48). Singling out the issue of "nuclear weapons" as an example, he considers how Zen practice can engage in and respond to such political challenges. This article is written about American Zen social practice from the standpoint of Foster's practical understanding of Buddhism.

Ghosananda, Maha. "The Human Family." In *Buddhist Peacework: Creating Cultures of Peace*, ed. David W. Chappell, 151–154. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1999. In this article, Maha Ghosananda describes the relationship between the monks and the temples. He says that "we only need to remember that our temple is with us always. We *are* our temple (p. 152)." His main point is that Buddhists need to do something for peace. The article explores social conditions in Cambodia.

Goss, Robert E. "Naropa Institute: The Engaged Academy." In *Engaged Buddhism: Buddhist Liberation Movements in Asia*, eds. Christopher S. Queen and Sallie B. King, 121–146. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996. This article is an introduction to Naropa Institute including its history by Robert E. Goss. the Institute was established by Trungpa Rinpoche who emphasized Shambala training and non-Buddhist tradition. Naropa has an Engaged Buddhist program as one of its fundamental sources. Its aim is to "unite theory and practice for personal and social transformation (p. 344)." The article provides a very good explanation of Naropa Institute and the Shambhala movement.

Green, Paula. "Walking For Peace Nipponzan Myōhōji." In *Engaged Buddhism in the*

West, ed. Christopher S. Queen, 128–156. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2000. This article introduces Nipponzan Myōhōji, founded by Nichidatsu and his development of Nichiren’s thought into this path. This organization has the “Peace Walk” and “Peace Pagoda” as its core practices. However I am left to wonder whether or not the practice of “Peace Walk” is an effective part of Engaged Buddhism.

Gunaratana, Henepola. “The Happiness of Peace.” In *Buddhist Peacework: Creating Cultures of Peace*, ed. David W. Chappell, 165–173. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1999.

Henepola Gunaratana discusses the concept of “peace society” in this article. He begins by understanding society in the following way:

Although it is societies that make war, each society is made up of individuals. If individuals learn to live together with one another in peace and harmony, the society will be in peace and harmony (p. 165).

Henepola states that many people have “generosity, compassion, appreciative joy, and equanimity (p. 173).” These are “wonderful, universal human qualities” and can make peace. For him, Buddhism is definitely one of the ways to create peace.

Harris, Ian, ed. *Buddhism and Politics in Twentieth-Century Asia*. London and New York: Continuum, 1999.

This book includes articles by eleven authors about the history of the relationship between Buddhism and politics in the Asian countries of Burma, Cambodia, India, Japan, Korea, Laos, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Tibet and Vietnam. They illustrate that Buddhism has been engaged in and related to society. Because this is the case, the book makes us reconsider the meaning of Engaged Buddhism. Why do we need to use this term?

_____. “Buddhism and Politics in Asia: The Textual and Historical Roots.” In *Buddhism and Politics in Twentieth-Century Asia*, ed. Ian Harris, 1–25. London and New York: Continuum, 1999.

In this article, Ian Harris examines the relationship between Buddhism and Politics. At first, he speaks about the “just-war” doctrine in the Buddhist tradition. He states that “although the historical record relating to actual Buddhist kingship is far from complete, the tradition seems to possess a sort of

‘just-war’ doctrine (p5). He goes on to state that “evidence like this suggests that, by and large, kings have been more in need of the support of the *sangha* than vice versa (p. 9).” He delineates the history of their relationship in the Asian countries of China, Tibet, Mongolia, and Japan. This is the strength of Harris’ contribution.

_____. “Buddhism in Extremis: The Case of Cambodia” In *Buddhism and Politics in Twentieth-Century Asia*, ed. Ian Harris, 54-78. London and New York: Continuum, 1999.

This article is about the history of the role of Buddhism in Cambodia. Harris describes:

how Buddhism has regularly taken a leading role by offering “subdued resistance” to oppressive governance at crucial points in modern Cambodian history (p. 71).

He explains that Cambodian Buddhism received considerable influence from the turmoil that occurred in other countries such as Thailand, Vietnam, and France. He presents this history primarily from a political perspective.

Heine, Steven, and Charles S. Prebish. *Buddhism in the Modern World: Adaptations of an Ancient Tradition*. New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 2003.

Hirota, Dennis, ed. *Toward a Contemporary Understanding of Pure land Buddhism: Creating a Shin Buddhist Theology in a Religiously Plural World*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000.

Huang, C. Julia. “The Buddhist Tzu-chi Foundation of Taiwan.” In *Action Dharma: New Studies in Engaged Buddhism*, eds. Christopher Queen, Charles Prebish and Damien Keown, 136–153. London: Routledge Curzon, 2003.

Hunt-Perry, Patricia, and Lyn Fine. “All Buddhism Is Engaged: Thich Nhat Hanh and the Order of Interbeing.” In *Engaged Buddhism in the West*, ed. Christopher S. Queen, 35–66. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2000.

Hunt-Perry and Fine argue that we should understand Engaged Buddhism through the words and philosophy of Thich Hhat Hanh. They argue that “Engaged Buddhism” existed in Vietnamese Buddhism from the beginning. However, the authors do not clearly state how it operated in Vietnamese

Buddhism. Their understanding of Thich Nhat Hanh is nonetheless very lucid and detailed.

Ikeda, Daisaku. "The SGI Peace Movement." In *Buddhist Peacework: Creating Cultures of Peace*, ed. David W. Chappell, 129–138. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1999.

This article briefly introduces Soka Gakkai International (SGI) and describes Ikeda Daisaku, the author, and his vision for the SGI. It is based on the teaching of Nichiren. Ikeda states the purpose of the SGI. In the following manner:

The SGI aims to apply a philosophy of the human, rooted in respect for the sanctity of life, in the fields of peace, culture, and education. In this way, we seek to foster a robust and universal culture of peace. These three fields correspond to the Buddhist concept of the "three virtues," those qualities inherent in humankind identified by Nichiren as most worthy of respect: a sense of responsibility, compassion, and wisdom (p. 133).

At the end of the article, Ikeda emphasizes religious dialogue for peace:

I strongly hope that the world's religions will use dialogue and exchange to resolve the multitude of problems that threaten the survival of humanity, and stress harmony and cooperation with the aim of creating a culture of peace (p. 137).

Religious dialogue would make many religious practitioners return to their fundamental doctrine and reinterpret it within contemporary society. This article offers a clear introduction to SGI.

Ingram, Paul O. "An Essay on Socially Engaged Buddhism." In *Engaged Pure Land Buddhism: Challenges Facing Jōdo Shinshū in the Contemporary World*, eds. Kenneth K. Tanaka and Eisho Nasu, 27–47. Berkeley: Wisdom Ocean Publications, 1998.

Jeffreys, Derek S. "Does Buddhism Need Human Rights?" In *Action Dharma: New Studies in Engaged Buddhism*, eds. Christopher Queen, Charles Prebish and Damien Keown, 270–285. London: Routledge Curzon, 2003.

Jeffreys describes the difference between general ethics and Buddhist ethics by frequently citing the thought of Damien Keown and Phra Payutto. For example,

the former insists that human rights are “is not merely a moral principle (p.271).” The latter, on the other hand, “rejects human rights as an *ethical* foundation” because of its non-absolute and temporal truth. Jeffreys insists that it is important to think about ethics in Engaged Buddhism, because it is a central point of Engaged Buddhist movements as well as in practices of self-reflection (p.274).

Jenkins, Stephen. “Do *Bodhisattvas* Relieve Poverty?” In *Action Dharma: New Studies in Engaged Buddhism*, eds. Christopher Queen, Charles Prebish and Damien Keown, 38–49. London: Routledge Curzon, 2003.

The author compares the relationship between *Bodhisattvas* and poverty. He states that *Bodhisattvas* are to relieve material needs, not only through moral leadership but through direct action, in order to prepare the conditions necessary for teaching the Dharma. However, he does not make clear how *Bodhisattvas* relieve human attachment to material needs and what the necessary is condition for teaching the Dharma.

Jones, Ken. “Buddhism and Social Action: An Exploration.” In *The Path of Compassion: Writings on Socially Engaged Buddhism*, ed. Fred Eppsteiner, 65–81. Berkeley: Parallax Press, 1985.

The author, Ken Jones, discusses the relationship between Buddhism and social action in this paper. For him, Buddhism is “a very practical and pragmatic kind of idealism” (p. 80). He also introduces a discussion of Asoka’s various actions to explain historical social Buddhist engagement. He concludes that the creation of social Buddhist action depends on Buddhist practitioners. Jones describes his redefinition of Buddhism in this paper.

_____. *The New Social Face of Buddhism: A call to Action*. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2003.

Kawanami, Hiroko. “Japanese Nationalism and the Universal Dharma.” In *Buddhism and Politics in Twentieth-Century Asia*, ed. Ian Harris, 105–126. London and New York: Continuum, 1999.

This article introduces the then new Buddhist organizations that attempted to revive the true Buddhist teaching during the period of oppression known as *Haibutsu Kishaku* (Movement to Abolish Buddhism) and during the wars in

which Japan participated during the twentieth century. These included the Bukkyō Seito Dōshikai (Association of Buddhist Purists) and Shinkō Bukkyō Seinen Dōmei. Hiroko Kawanami focuses on the history of new Buddhist organizations further related to Nichiren sub-sects following the. These are Reiyūkai, Risshō Kōseikai, and Sōka Gakkai. The new organizations show us the potentiality of the concept of Engaged Buddhism. As a result, Kawanami states:

In spite of the general criticism that traditional Buddhism had become sōshiki Bukkyō (Buddhism involved only with funeral rites), catering only for matters connected with death and ancestral rites, with little relevance to the spiritual life of contemporary Japanese people, many of the traditional sects such as Jōdo, Tendai, Nichiren, Sōtō, and Rinzai have attempted to revive their spiritual roots by engaging in structural modification of their organizations (p. 119).

This article offers a great introduction into the history of modern Japanese Buddhism from the period of the Pacific War into the post war era and the Japanese Buddhist organizations within which the concept of Engaged Buddhism emerged.

Kaza, Stephanie, ed. *Hooked: Buddhist Writings on Greed, Desire, and the Urge to Consume*. Boston and London: Shambhala, 2005.

_____. "Keeping Peace With Nature." In *Buddhist Peacework: Creating Cultures of Peace*, ed. David W. Chappell, 81–91. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1999. Kaza considers peace primarily from the perspective of ecology. For her, working toward peace begins with four basic concepts: 1) repentance, 2) resistance, 3) root cause analysis, and 4) rebuilding moral culture. She comments that: "For many students, environmental awareness and personal lifestyle change flow naturally from a Buddhist practice commitment (p. 87)." Kaza emphasizes ecology with Buddha's teachings, but she does not incorporate the concept of human nature in her analysis. To survive, we humans have to destroy much life. We must come to the realization that there is no difference between the life of plants and the life of animals. Without this, there is no meaning in insisting on ecology in Buddhism.

_____. "To Save All Beings: Buddhist Environmental Activism." In *Engaged Buddhism*

in the West, ed. Christopher S. Queen, 159–183. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2000.

In this article, Kaza again talks about Buddhist environmental activism and its contents. She describes the relationship between ecology and Buddhism as follows: “Ecological understanding of natural systems fits very well within the Buddhist description of interdependence (p. 166).” Moreover she states “Buddhist environmentalists turn to principles of non harming, compassion, and interdependence as core ethic in choosing activism strategies (p. 174).” I wonder, however, if these are the only connections between ecology and Buddhism. The primary aspect of Buddhism is to know our existence and to turn our selfish mind into selfless mind. With respect to this, she introduces Thich Nhat Hanh’s thought and his practices of walking and meditation. However, she only emphasizes on the concept of interdependence in his thinking. Activism is supposed to be rethought from the perspective of the inside acts into the outside. This would be the motivation for activism.

King, Robert H. *Thomas Merton and Thich Nhat Hanh: Engaged Spirituality in an Age of Globalization*. New York and London: Continuum, 2001.

This work examines the dialogue between Thomas Merton and Thich Nhat Hanh. Merton was a Christian priest, a Trappist monk. Merton developed his understanding of society from a Christian contemplative perspective influenced by D.T. Suzuki’s interpretation of Zen. King finds that for Merton “the principle of nonviolent resistance, as he saw it, derives from faith in the underlying unity of all beings in God (p. 68).” His partner in dialogue, Thich Nhat Hanh was a Zen Buddhist monk. It was he who created the word “Engaged Buddhism” base on suffering experienced during the Vietnam War. About Thich Nhat Hanh, King writes:

In books, lectures, and workshops, he endeavors to teach person of all nationalities and religions how to live mindfully. He continues to be an advocate for social justice, peace, and reconciliation, but he does not believe any of these conditions are attainable apart from personal transformation. So that is where he has chosen to place the emphasis of his engaged Buddhism (p. 105).

As with Merton, Thich Nhat Hanh also insists on contemplation. They hold in common the importance of “contemplative practice.” This was the core of their dialogue. King summarized two interesting points; 1) the matter of

self-immolation and 2) Thich Nhat Hanh's interpretation of Engaged Buddhism. About the former, King says that Thich Nhat Hhan denied that the self-immolations of the monks and nuns were suicides. These arose from their compassion (p. 80 and p. 124). About the latter, King defines Engaged Buddhism as: "Engaged Buddhism must include meditation in a form that is meaningful and practical for people who are living responsible lives in the words" (p. 150). Moreover he says that "even [Thich Hhat Hanh's] engaged Buddhism took on new meaning as he outgrew his 'familiar life horizon (p. 186).'" This book examines how persons from different religious traditions could transcend those boundaries.

King, Sallie B. *Being Benevolence: The Social Ethics of Engaged Buddhism*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005.

_____. "Thich Nhat Hanh and the Unified Buddhist Church of Vietnam: Nondualism in Action." In *Engaged Buddhism: Buddhist Liberation Movements in Asia*, eds. Christopher S. Queen and Sallie B. King, 321-363. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996.

_____. "Conclusion: Buddhist Social Activism." In *Engaged Buddhism: Buddhist Liberation Movements in Asia*, eds. Christopher S. Queen and Sallie B King, 401-436. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996.

Kotler, Arnold, et. al., eds. *Engaged Buddhist Reader*. Berkeley: Parallax Press, 1996.

Kraft, Kenneth. *Inner Peace, World Peace: Essays on Buddhism and Nonviolence*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992.

_____. "New Voices In Engaged Buddhist Studies." In *Engaged Buddhism in the West*, ed. Christopher S. Queen, 485-511. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2000. Kraft argues that Engaged Buddhism is a set of domain-specific issues that relate to human rights, the environment, and so on. He also argues that "self-reflection" is a fundamental assumption of Engaged Buddhism. Engaged Buddhism is action based on "self-reflection," which is action is directed toward how to best respond to the world.

_____. *The Wheel of Engaged Buddhism: A New Map of the Path*. New York: Weatherhill, Inc., 1999.

Kraft, explains what Engaged Buddhism is and how this book can contribute to its understanding. His focus is on Zen Buddhism as he explains how Zen Buddhist meditation should be developed for Engaged Buddhist practices by using example of bodhisattvas. Concerning the former, he says;

Engaged Buddhism is an international movement whose participants seek to apply the Buddhist ideals of wisdom and compassion to present-day social, political, and environmental issues (p. 9).

He goes on to say, “Engaged Buddhism holds that inner peace, family peace, community peace, and world peace are deeply interconnected (p. 52).”

With this he attempts to define Engaged Buddhist:

Engaged Buddhists look for ways to expand the notion of spiritual liberation to other arenas (without abandoning the essential role of individual enlightenment) (p. 9).

He points out the difference between traditional Buddhism and Engaged Buddhism in the following manner. Traditional Buddhism focuses on psychological factors which cause suffering, while Engaged Buddhism deals with large—scale systems which cause suffering, as well as psychological problems. One of the interesting facts that Kraft mentions is that:

Engaged Buddhism’s insistence on systemic change does not overlook the vital role of a homemaker: a parent striving to raise children to be nonviolent and free of prejudice is thereby working to change society (pp. 42–43).

This book is a very clear and brief introduction to Engaged Buddhism. It is useful for anyone interested in the subject.

_____. “Wellsprings of Engaged Buddhism.” In *Not Turning Away: The Practice of Engaged Buddhism*, ed. Susan Moon, 154–161. Boston: Shambhala Publications, Inc., 2004.

Loy, David R. Can Buddhism Save the World?: A response to Nelson Foster. From <http://www.bpf.org/tsangha/loysave.html>.

From the perspective of Ch’an/ Zen, Loy attempts to discuss how Buddhism should exist in the west. One of his unique contributions is his classification of the different role of Buddhism in western and Asian countries. He states:

What we need is to become more aware of our preconceptions, including culturally-determined Buddhist ones, and more conscious of our own role in the creative adaptation of Buddhism to the West (p. 4). Although, he does not emphasize the commonality to be found in Buddhism East and West, he offers a clear interpretation of Engaged Buddhism in the west.

_____. *The Great Awakening: A Buddhist Social Theory*. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2003.

Loy describes the role Buddhism can play in contemporary society. He discusses how Buddhism can influence issues in politics, economics, and ecology. To live within Buddhism is to challenge our usual conceptions of independence. As a result, we can improve our selfish nature and naturally realize action based on the dignity of all sentient beings. This book illuminates the intrinsic nature of Buddhism toward social action.

Litsch, Franz-Johannes. "Engaged Buddhism in German-Speaking Europe." In *Engaged Buddhism in the West*, ed. Christopher S. Queen, 423–445. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2000.

As the title indicates, Litsch discusses Engaged Buddhism in German-speaking Europe, identifying it as "responsible Buddhism (p. 423)." He proceeds to explain the history of Buddhism there, introducing the great translator Karl Eugen Neumann as its first convert. As for Engaged Buddhism in Germany, Litsch states, "the German-speaking network particularly emphasizes efforts on behalf of human rights (p. 434)." The article provides a good introduction to Buddhism in German-speaking Europe.

Lokamitra, Dhammachari. "The Dhamma Revolution in India: Peacemaking Begins with the Eradication of the Caste System," In *Buddhist Peacemaking: Creating Cultures of Peace*, ed. David W. Chappell, 29–38. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1999.

Dhammachari writes brief introductions to two Engaged Buddhists; Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and Sangharakshita. Ambedkar led 500,000 untouchable who had suffered terrible discrimination under the Hindu caste system, to convert to Buddhism and gave them dignity as human beings. Sangharakshita worked toward the establishment of the Trailokya Bauddha Mahasangha, Sahayaka

Gane (TBMSG) in India in 1978. Dhammachari describes their upbringing personal educations and what they did as Engaged Buddhists. Throughout this piece, Dhammachari points out the common ideas between them:

Sangharashita's conception of the Sangha comes close to Dr. Ambedkar's: individuals committed to transforming their own minds, to spiritual fellowship with others likewise committed, and to working together to help others benefit from the Dhamma (p. 32).

This article shares a brief history of Buddhism in India in the twentieth century.

Matthews, Bruce. "The Legacy of Tradition and Authority: Buddhism and the Nation in Myanmar." In *Buddhism and Politics in Twentieth-Century Asia*, ed. Ian Harris, 26–53. London and New York: Continuum, 1999.

Matthews describes the historical relationship between Buddhism and politics in Burma in the twentieth century:

The twentieth century brought several specific political experiences to Burma – colonialism, Westminster-style parliamentary democracy and military rule (p. 41).

Buddhism had to confront these realities and adapt to their effects in order to continue in Myanmar. By changing the priesthood system over time, the role of Buddhism had changed from an ethical and traditional role into a tool to control the people under military rule. There are some people however who continue to have hope and look out for the well being and dignity of the Burmese people:

"Far-sighted and gifted monks and lay thinkers are there in Burma, waiting for the opportunity so long denied to bring the dhamma into a new light [of a violent political system] (p. 42)."

Matthews presents a good and brief explanation of Buddhist-political history in Burma.

McLellan, Janet. "Social Action among Toronto's Asian Buddhists." In *Engaged Buddhism in the West*, ed. Christopher S. Queen, 280–303. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2000.

Janet McLellan discusses the Asian Buddhists in Toronto. She suggests that Buddhism in Toronto was spread by the immigrants and refugees from Asian countries. McLellan especially focuses on Jōdo Shinshū, Tibetan Buddhism, and the Ambedkar mission from India. Her conclusion is:

Asian Buddhism temples and groups [in Toronto] are involved in a variety of activities oriented toward their homelands that encompass both social engagement—providing health and educational services, calling attention to human rights abuses, protesting against religious and cultural repression(p. 295).

Therein we can recognize “the integral form” and “true concept” of Engaged Buddhism.

Mishigish, Lama Bataa. “The Oppression of Buddhism in Mongolia,” In *Buddhist Peacework: Creating Cultures of Peace*, ed. David W. Chappell, 61–68. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1999.

Mishigish, Buddhism in Mongolia “had played a strong role in the unification of the nation as a powerful social institution (p. 63).” However, some monks abused this power so that Buddhism was suppressed by Mongolia’s revolutionary movement. At present, Buddhists are trying to recreate the role of Buddhism, but many still have a prejudice against Buddhism. Thus Mishigish concludes:

Religious organizations are struggling to overcome their economic, educational, and social constraints. Monks and nuns need modern education to deal with today’s challenging social issues and maintain Buddhist traditions and cultures (p. 68).

This is a rare article about Buddhism in Mongolia.

Moon, Susan. “Activist Women in American Buddhism,” In *Engaged Buddhism in the West*, ed. Christopher S. Queen, 247-268. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2000. Susan Moon presents four Buddhist women activists: Joanna Macy, Paula Green, Sala Steinback, and Melody Ermachild Chavis. According to Moon, they are each involved in a society of social activities they believe to be a part of their Buddhist practices; such as the peace movement, opposition to nuclear weapons, contribution to the poor and so forth. Moon says that the “three jewels [Buddhism, activism, and feminism]” are important (p.247). However the relation between Buddhism and feminism, and between activism and feminism are not discussed in much detail. Moon provides an introduction to Buddhist women activists in the U.S.

_____. *Not Turning Away: The Practice of Engaged Buddhism*. Boston, London:

Shambhala, 2004.

Nhat Hanh, Thich. “Ahimsa: The Path of Harmlessness.” In *Buddhist Peacework: Creating Cultures of Peace*, ed. David W. Chappell, 155–164. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1999.

Thich Nhat Hanh explains the Buddhist practice of “ahimsa,” which is often translated as “nonviolence.” He describes his exile experience in France and how he overcame his suffering by keeping his inner peace and employing sitting meditation. This article encourages the use the Buddha’s teachings in daily life.

_____. *Being peace*. Berkeley: Parallax Press, 1987.

_____. *Creating True Peace: Ending Violence in Yourself, Your Family, Your Community, and the World*. New York: Free Press, 2003.

_____. *Fragrant Palm Leaves: Journals 1962-1966*. Berkeley: Parallax Press, 1966.

_____. *Love in Action: Writings on Nonviolent Social Change*. Berkeley: Parallax Press, 1993.

Parkum, Virginia Cohn, and J. Anthony. Stultz. “The Angulimala Lineage: Buddhist Prison Ministries.” In *Engaged Buddhism in the West*, ed. Christopher S. Queen, 347–371. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2000.

This article expresses the concept of Engaged Buddhism and chaplaincy. The two authors, Parkum and Stultz consider chaplaincy as one of the Engaged Buddhism’s practices, because its aim is to bring “peace and freedom.” The authors introduce Jōdo Shinshū and Chaplain Rev. Hogen Fujimoto who was headquartered at the Buddhist Churches of America from 1963 through 1979. He opened a new Shin Buddhist potential as a chaplain. For Shin Buddhists, social engagement is an intrinsic element. We need to create more actions like Rev. Fujimoto from a Jōdo Shinshū standpoint and its potential to serve society.

Powers, John. “The Free Tibet Movement: A Selective Narrative.” In *Engaged Buddhism in the West*, ed. Christopher S. Queen, 218–244. Boston: Wisdom Publications,

2000.

John Powers talks about the relationship between Tibet and China, the reason why the Dalai Lama had to escape to India, and his present position as the most prominent Buddhist promoting nonviolence. Powers describes the history of the Dalai Lama's becoming Tibet's most prominent representative. According to him, the Dalai Lama became famous as a result of the efforts of a number of key supports such as John Ackerly who formed a lobby group to put pressure on the U.S government and media and Robert Thurman who has been one of the most effective spokesman for the free Tibet movement. Powers provides a brief introduction to the Dalai Lama and his wide-ranging relationship between Tibet and the current international situation.

Prebish, Charles S. *Luminous Passage: The Practice and Study of Buddhism in America*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1999.

Puri, Bharati. *Engaged Buddhism: The Dalai Lama's Worldview*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

In the four chapter of this book, Puri describes the Dalai Lama's view of Engaged Buddhism. As he understands it the Dalai Lama's view of Buddhism is based on a positive human nature which allows us to contemplate "non-violence," "human responsibility," and "human rights." For him, there seems to be no difference between Buddhism and Engaged Buddhism. Puri gives a valuable interpretation of the Dalai Lama's thought from an ethical perspective.

Queen, Christopher S. "Introduction: A New Buddhism." In *Engaged Buddhism in the West*, ed. Christopher S. Queen, 1–31. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2000. Queen challenges the reader to examine why there is a need for an Engaged Buddhism. For him, Engaged Buddhism is fundamentally a fourth *yana* (literally "vehicle," *yana* signifies a means of attaining enlightenment). However this *yana* is based on the more modest goal of addressing the social condition for action by the Buddhist in the present. He contends that "socially engaged practice and social activism do not necessarily overlap" and insists that freedom from all human suffering should be central to Engaged Buddhism. Queen provides a solid foundation for Engaged Buddhism.

_____. “Glassman Roshi and the Peacemaker Order: Three Encounters.” In *Engaged Buddhism in the West*, ed. Christopher S. Queen, 95–127. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2000.

In this article, Queen talks about Glassman Roshi who is a leader of the Buddhist Peacemaker order. For Glassman Roshi, the root of peacemaking is “Not Knowing.” This is a teaching of Zen Buddhism and does not refer to its conventional meaning, but has deeper significance. He contends that the state of doubt allows us to explore things in an open and fresh way. This indicates that it is not only what we know about suffering and the problem of people, but the need to experience this as long as one can. As I understand it, his teaching of “Not Knowing” stresses the nonduality and interdependence of suffering among sentient beings. It is Queen’s belief that this attitude can provide Engaged Buddhism’s direction in to the future.

_____. “Introduction: From Altruism to Activism.” In *Action Dharma: New Studies in Engaged Buddhism*, eds. Christopher Queen, Charles Prebish and Damien Keown, 1–35. London: Routledge Curzon, 2003.

Queen addresses the future direction of Engaged Buddhism. He believes that Buddhism should continue to change in the present in order to deal with current problems, and this should be an ongoing process. This direction provides not only a focus on Buddhism, but various elements to address suffering in society. He reiterates his previously stated position that Engaged Buddhism is a fourth *yana*. Engaged Buddhism is not a *yana* based on monastic renunciation (*Hinayana*), nor lay-based altruism (*Mayahaya*), but rather it is a practice vehicle of service and activism. This is his definition of Engaged Buddhism.

_____. “Introduction: The Shapes and Sources of Engaged Buddhism.” In *Engaged Buddhism: Buddhist Liberation Movements in Asia*, eds. Christopher S. Queen and Sallie B. King, 1–44. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996.

Rothberg, Donald. *The Engaged Buddhism Spiritual Life: A Buddhist Approach to Transforming Ourselves and the World*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2006.

Rothberg examines the engaged Buddhist’s spiritual or devotional life. By bringing the Buddha’s teaching into oneself, one can create various actions. Rothberg emphasizes the transformative character of engaged spiritual life.

Transformation is the process of changing one's negative and emotional human nature toward the positive. For example, Rothberg argues that anger is an important motivation to stand up to social issues, if we can understand and handle it correctly. His work provides us with one concrete way to live with Buddha's teaching.

Sachs, Robert. *The Buddha at War: Peaceful Heart, Courageous Action in Troubled Times*. London: Watkins Publishing, 2006.

Schwartz, Ronald D. "Renewal and Resistance: Tibetan Buddhism in the Modern Era." In *Buddhism and Politics in Twentieth-Century Asia*, ed. Ian Harris, 229–253. London and New York: Continuum, 1999.

In his discussion of Tibetan Buddhism, Schwartz describes the relationship between the Chinese invasion and the politics of Tibet in the late nineteenth century and the twentieth century. Schwartz writes that from Chinese perspective:

All expression of national identity—which includes religion—are viewed with suspicion insofar as they potentially threaten the security of Chinese rule in Tibet (p. 248).

He gives a detailed explanation of modern politics in Tibet.

Sheng-Yen, Shih. "A Pure Land on Earth." In *Buddhist Peacework: Creating Cultures of Peace*, ed. David W. Chappell, 175–182. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1999. Chan master Sheng-Yen emphasizes inner peace and self-cultivation to practice Engaged Buddhism. He explains a meditative technique to help practitioners cultivate the self, changing it from selfishness into selflessness. This article combines both Zen and Pure Land perspective.

Simmer-Brown, Judith. "Shambhala: 'Enlightened Warriorship' for Peace." In *Buddhist Peacework: Creating Cultures of Peace*, ed. David W. Chappell, 113–120. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1999.

Simmer-Brown introduces Shambhala as originally a Tibetan tradition of warriors that cultivated an "enlightened society." She explains the activities of Shambhala communities, one of whose unique contributions is the establishment of the Engaged Buddhism Master's degree program at Naropa University. This article presents a brief introduction to the Tibetan Shambhala tradition and its

development.

_____. “Speaking Truth to Power: The Buddhist Peace Fellowship.” In *Engaged Buddhism in the West*, ed. Christopher S. Queen, 67–94. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2000.

Simmer-Brown details the origins of the Buddhist Peace Fellowship (BPF), which aims to overcome the sectarian lines within Buddhism as a means to resolve suffering in this world. She argues that BPF is the shape of American Buddhism. However, she does not address why Buddhism has a role in social action.

Sivaraksa, Sulak. “Buddhism and a Culture of Peace,” In *Buddhist Peacework: Creating Cultures of Peace*, ed. David W. Chappell, 39–46. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1999.

Using the example of Siam (Thailand), Sivaraksa describes the possibilities that Buddhism has in creating a peaceful society. He presents the Buddhist Sangha as a model of a peaceful society and the Buddhist teachings which allow us to cultivate our “inner peace, wisdom, and release from suffering (p. 40).” He concludes by emphasizing the role of religions in creating a peaceful society. In this manner, he implies that Buddhism is not the only religion that works toward creating peace:

The Declaration on the Role of Religion in the Promotion of a Culture of Peace is a good starting place from which we may go forward into the next millennium with the aspiration of improving society (p. 45).

Sivaraksa provides interesting insights into the places of Buddhism and religions in efforts toward peace.

_____. *Conflict, Culture, Change: Engaged Buddhism in a Globalizing World*. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2005.

_____. *Global Healing: Essays and Interviews on Structural Violence Social Development and Spiritual Transformation*. Bangkok: Thai Inter-Religious Commission for Development and Sathirakoses-Nagapradipa Foundation, 1999.

_____. *Loyalty Demands Dissent: Autobiography of an Engaged Buddhist*. Berkeley: Parallax Press, 1998.

_____. *Religion and Development*. Bangkok: Church of Christ in Thailand, 1976.
This book is based on the ninth in the series of Sinclair Thompson Memorial lectures on “Religion and Development.” Sivaraksa explains the relationship between religion and the development of humanness. As he understands religion:

[The religion] puts material things in second place and keeps the ultimate goals of development in sight, [so] that can bring out the true value in human development [p. 59].

It is difficult to get away from materialism and capitalism in this world. Therefore he places his emphasis on humanness and on Buddhism as one religion that can address the concerns of society. Sivaraksa gives a good review of the role of religion in human development.

_____. *Seeds of Peace: A Buddhist Vision For Renewing Society*. Berkeley, California: Parallax Press, 1992.

In this book, Sivaraksa succinctly states his view of society. He argues for an economy and social policy based on Buddhism which he believes has the potential for creating a peaceful society in this world. However, he does not develop a sustained doctrinal rationale, thus his argument for Buddhism is somewhat ambiguous. This book expresses his view that Buddhist teachings are at the center of society.

_____. *Socially Engaged Buddhism*. Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation, 2005.

_____, ed. *The Quest for a Just Society: The Legacy and Challenge of Buddhadasa Bhikkhu*. Bangkok: Thai Inter-Religious Commission for Development and Santi Pracha Dhamma Institute, 1994.

_____, P. Udomittipong, and C. Walker. *Socially Engaged Buddhism for the New Millennium: Essays in honor of the Ven. Phra Dhammapitaka (Bhikkhu P.A. Payutto) on His 60th Birthday Anniversary*. Bangkok: Sathirakoses-Nagapradipa Foundation and Foundation for Children, 1999.

Sørensen, Henrik H. “Buddhism and Secular Power in Twentieth-Century Korea.” In *Buddhism and Politics in Twentieth-Century Asia*, ed. Ian Harris, 127–152.

London and New York: Continuum, 1999.

Sørensen describes Japanese Buddhism as it accompanied the Japanese military's invasion and occupation of Korea in the early twentieth century. The role of Japanese Buddhism in Korea was not to further propagation, but to further colonization of the Korean peninsula. As a result, he contends that some Korean Buddhist schools have "a clear Japanese background (p. 137)." He gives a brief history of the relationship between Japan and Korea and the invisible wall which still exists between them.

Snyder, Gary. "Buddhism and the Possibilities of a Planetary Culture." In *Engaged Buddhist Reader: Ten Years of Engaged Buddhist Publishing*, ed. Arnold Kotler, 123–126. Berkeley: Parallax Press, 1996.

The author, Gary Snyder, describes his understanding of Buddhism in this piece. At first, the author criticizes Buddhism by observing that;

Historically, Buddhist philosophers have failed to analyze out the degree to which ignorance and suffering are caused or encouraged by social factors, considering fear-and-desire to be given facts of the human condition (p. 123).

After this, Snyder rethinks the importance of the Buddhist theory "interconnectedness" and demonstrates the possibilities for Buddhist social engagement.

Sponberg, Alan. "TBMSG: A Dhamma Revolution in Contemporary India." In *Engaged Buddhism: Buddhist Liberation Movements in Asia*, eds. Christopher S. Queen and Sallie B. King, 73–120. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996. Sponberg introduces the Trailokya Buddha Mahasangha Sahayaka Gana (hereafter, TBMSG). Created by Ven. Sangharakshita and B.R. Ambedker in India, it is composed of three interrelated organizations or institutions: the Trailokya Buddha, a legally constituted religion organization, and the social work branch of TBMSG. Sponberg discusses the social reformation aspects of the movements together with Sangharakshita's central idea "neither lay nor monastic" (p. 86). This corresponds to Shinran's words "neither a monk nor one in worldly life." This article provides considerable insight into the work of Sangharakshita and Ambedker and further suggests the necessity of their Dharma action for this world.

Stone, Jacqueline I. “Nichiren’s Activist Heirs: Sōka Gakkai, Risshō Kōseikai, Nipponzan Myōhōji.” In *Action Dharma: New Studies in Engaged Buddhism*, eds. Christopher Queen, Charles Prebish and Damien Keown, 63–94. London: Routledge Curzon, 2003.

Stone introduces three new groups that have developed from the Nichiren tradition; Sōka Gakkai, Risshō Kōseikai, and Nipponzan Myōhōji. She attempts to identify the directions these groups will take in the future. She argues that they will need to reinterpret Nichiren’s thinking. By doing so, they may be able to construct a new theory, which essentially will be Engaged Buddhism. This potential theory of the Nichiren-based sects which are centered on the Lotus Sūtra might have very strong appeal socially, but we should recognize that their approach has the potential for violence.

Stuart-Fox, Martin. “Laos: From Buddhist Kingdom to Marxist State.” In *Buddhism and Politics in Twentieth-Century Asia*, ed. Ian Harris, 153–172. London and New York: Continuum, 1999.

Stuart-Fox delineates the history of the relationship between Politics and Buddhism in Laos. He states:

The political importance of Buddhism [Theravāda Buddhism, the form practiced in Laos] throughout the classical period of Lao history derived from the legitimation it provided for the exercise of power at all levels of Lao society (p. 153).

However, there was an ambiguous dimension to Lao Buddhism, because it depended on the nation state for its continued role in society. For example, Buddhist authority which appeared to permeate among people was conquered and easily accepted French colonial influence.

Sunim, Kosan. “My Way of Pilgrimage to Peace.” In *Buddhist Peacework: Creating Cultures of Peace*, ed. David W. Chappell, 121–128. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1999.

Sunim describes his own Buddhist pilgrimage of peace. “My life of study and practice,” he says, “was a way to seek the reality of life and peace of mind for others and for myself through Buddhist wisdom and meditation (p. 125).” He had studied various Sūtras in Korean such as the: *Avatamsaka Sutra*, *Saddharma-pundarika Sutra*, *Perfect Enlightenment Sutra*, *The Awakening of Faith*, and so forth. His description shows us a different approach to Engaged

Buddhist life.

Swearer, Donald K. "Center and Periphery: Buddhism and Politics in Modern Thailand."

In *Buddhism and Politics in Twentieth-Century Asia*, ed. Ian Harris, 194–228.

London and New York: Continuum, 1999.

Swearer articulates the history of Thai politics as it was related to the *sāsana* (Buddhism) in nineteenth century and twentieth century. He does so by focusing on the relationship among king, nation, and Buddhism. He introduces two Buddhists who attempted to make social contributions: Buddhadāsa and Sulak Sivaraksa. Swearer states that their actions "might be understood as responses to the gradual displacement of Buddhism as the core of Thai culture and social identity (p. 224)." This article is a good description of the relationship between Buddhism and politics in modern Thailand.

_____, ed. *Me and Mine: Selected Essays of Bhikkhu Buddhadāsa*. Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1989.

_____. "Sulak Sivaraksa's Buddhist Vision for Renewing Society." In *Engaged Buddhism: Buddhist Liberation Movements in Asia*, eds. Christopher S. Queen and Sallie B. King, 195–235. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996.

Swearer presents Sulak Sivaraksa's Buddhist vision with an introduction to him and then engages Sivaraksa's understanding of society. He does this by using western theological, sociological and Buddhist categories of interpretation: "Reinhold Niebuhr's love and justice polarity, Robert Bellah's concept of reformist, and Ganath Obeyesekere's characterization of various twentieth-century developments in Sri Lankan Buddhism as 'protestant Buddhism(p. 223).'" This article clearly shows us that we need to study social actions from the perspective of religious consciousness.

Takagi, Kenmyo, and Robert F. Rhodes, trans. "My Socialism." In *Living in Amida's*

Universal Vow: Essays in Shin Buddhism, ed. Alfred Bloom, 189–196.

Bloomington, Indiana: World Wisdom, Inc., 2004.

As a Jōdo Shinshū minister, Takagi explains his understanding of Dharma and his development of a Jōdo Shinshū philosophy toward socialism. It is notable that his socialism is articulated partly through Christian expressions, such as,

“a gospel for peace,” which also shows us the role that Christianity had in Japanese socialism and the positive dialogue that ensued with Shin and other forms of Buddhism in Japan.

Tanaka, Kenneth K. “Concern for Others in Pure Land Soteriological and Ethical Considerations: A Case of Jōgyō Daihi in Jōdo Shinshū Buddhism.” In *Engaged Pure Land Buddhism: Challenges Facing Jōdo Shinshū in the Contemporary World*, eds. Kenneth K. Tanaka and Eisho Nasu, 87–110. Berkeley: Wisdom Ocean Publications, 1998.

Tedesco, Frank M. “Social Engagement in South Korean Buddhism.” In *Action Dharma: New Studies in Engaged Buddhism*, eds. Christopher Queen, Charles Prebish and Damien Keown, 154–182. London: Routledge Curzon, 2003.

Tenzin Gyatso, The XIVth Dalai Lama. “Dialogue on Religion and Peace.” In *Buddhist Peacework: Creating Cultures of Peace*, ed. David W. Chappell, 189–197. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1999.

This article is the transcript of a discussion held at the December, 1994 UNESCO seminar on “The Contribution by Religions to the Culture of Peace.” In this article the Dalai Lama defines what religion is to him, stating that it religion is “a personal matter (p. 190).” However he also says that “all human beings have a responsibility, so naturally religious believers have a responsibility to take a more active role in that field (p. 192).” He concludes by saying “I personally see religion as a method to bring about an inner positive transformation (p.196).”

Tsomo, Karma Lekshe. “Buddhism Women in the Global Community: Women as Peacemakers.” In *Buddhist Peacework: Creating Cultures of Peace*, ed. David W. Chappell, 53–60. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1999.

The focus of this article is primarily Sakyadhita: the International Association of Buddhist Women. This organization was established as one of essential components for creating a peaceful society. Fundamental to its mission is “awakening women to their own potentialities and imparting the confidence and training needed to maximize those potentialities (p. 58).” Tsomo provides a good brief introduction to Sakyadhita.

Unno, Mark T. "Shin Buddhist Social Thought in Modern Japan." In *Engaged Pure Land Buddhism: Challenges Facing Jōdo Shinshū in the Contemporary World*, eds. Kenneth K. Tanaka and Eisho Nasu, 67–87. Berkeley: Wisdom Ocean Publications, 1998.

Watts, Jonathan S. "A Brief Overview of Buddhist NGOs in Japan," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 31/2 (2004): 417–428.

Williams, Angel Kyodo. *Being Black: Zen and the Art of Living with Fearlessness and Grace*. New York: Penguin Compass, 2000.

Wratten, Darrel. "Engaged Buddhism in South Africa." In *Engaged Buddhism in the West*, ed. Christopher S. Queen, 446–467. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2000. Wratten explains the relationship between Buddhism in South Africa and especially its problem of apartheid. He suggests that an ethical aspect should be included in South Africa's Engaged Buddhist sects which are Sōka Gakkai International, Tibetan Buddhism, Chinese Buddhism, Zen Buddhism, and Nipponzan Myōhōji. These different schools try to solve social problems in corporation with each other. Wratten concludes that this condition is the important character of Engaged Buddhism in South Africa.

Yarnall, Thomas Freeman. "Engaged Buddhism: New and Improved? Made in the USA of Asian Materials." In *Action Dharma: New Studies in Engaged Buddhism*, eds. Christopher Queen, Charles Prebish and Damien Keown, 286-344. London: Routledge Curzon, 2003.

Describing the recent study of Engaged Buddhism, Yarnall says that there are two types of interpretation of Engaged Buddhism, traditionist and modernist. Each has short comings. They ignore the original intention of Thich Nhat Hanh who first coined the term Engaged Buddhism. He emphasized engaging in suffering with Buddha's teaching. Yarnall contends that they seem to ignore this assumption, and instead, put forth a new assumption on which they imposes their interpretation of Engaged Buddhism. As a consequence, their interpretations are deprived of Engaged Buddhism's original Buddhist basis. Both sides seem to be merely poses of socialism. I believe we should return to Thich Nhat Hanh's original intent.

Zelinski, Daniel. "Dōgen's "Ceaseless Practice"." In *Action Dharma: New Studies in Engaged Buddhism*, eds. Christopher Queen, Charles Prebish and Damien Keown, 50-62. London: Routledge Curzon, 2003.

Zelinski interprets the teaching of Dōgen, founder of Sōtō Zen, and its connection to social action. He, especially, focuses on Dōgen's original interpretation of "nonattachment" and brings to light the contradiction found in many Sōtō Zen monks understanding of "nonattachment" as separation from society. Dōgen teaches that this is not attachment to society, but rather to the self-centered mind. This interpretation provides us with a fresh sense of what Engaged Shin Buddhism could be. I believe we have to return to Shinran's original understanding to direct our efforts toward the effort toward creating a peaceful society like the author has advocated.

Bibliography

Amstutz, Galen. *Interpreting Amida: History and Orientalism in the study of Pure Land Buddhism*. New York: State University of New York Press, 1997.

Bell, Sandra. "A survey of Engaged Buddhism in Britain." In *Engaged Buddhism in the West*, ed. Christopher S. Queen, 397–422. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2000.

Bloom, Alfred. ed. *Living in Amida's Universal Vow: Essays in Shin Buddhism*. Bloomington, Indiana: World Wisdom, Inc., 2004.

Bond, George D. "A. T. Ariyaratne and the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka." In *Engaged Buddhism: Buddhist Liberation Movements in Asia*, eds. Christopher S. Queen and Sallie B. King, 121–146. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996.

Bucknell, Roderick S. "Engaged Buddhism in Australia." In *Engaged Buddhism in the West*, ed. Christopher S. Queen, 468–481. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2000.

Chappell, David W., ed. *Buddhist Peacework: Creating Cultures of Peace*. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1999.

Dake Mitsuya. "Shin Buddhist Studies and Secularization." In *The Pacific World*, New Series, No. 8, 1982, p.32–39.

Dalai Lama. "Dialogue on Religion and Peace." In *Buddhist Peacework: Creating Cultures of Peace*, ed. David W. Chappell, 189–197. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1999.

Dobbins, James C. *Jōdo Shinshū: Shin Buddhism in Medieval Japan*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989.

- Dô, Thiên. “The Quest for Enlightenment and Cultural Identity: Buddhism in Contemporary Vietnam.” In *Buddhism and Politics in Twentieth-Century Asia*, ed. Ian Harris, 254–276. London and New York: Continuum, 1999.
- Ford, James L. “Jōkei and Hōnen: Debating Buddhist Liberation in Medieval Japan—Then and Now.” In *Pacific World: Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies*, Third Series, No. 3 (Fall 2001) p. 212.
- _____. “Jōkei and the Rhetoric of ‘Other-Power’ and ‘Easy Practice’ in Medieval Japanese Buddhism,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 29/1–2, 2002, pp. 67–106.
- Futaba, Kenkō 二葉憲香, Matsuo Hirohito 松尾博仁, and Fukushima Kanryū 福島寛隆. *Rekisho no naka no Shinran 歴史のなかの親鸞*. Kyōto: Nagata Bunshōdō, 1998.
- Futagawa, Kazuo 二河通夫. *Kumanoshi 熊野誌*, vol. 46. Mie: Hamaguchi Insatsu, 2002.
- Harris, Ian, ed. *Buddhism and Politics in Twentieth-Century Asia*. London and New York: Continuum, 1999.
- Honganji Shiryō Kenkyūjo 本願寺史料 研究所, ed. *Honganjishi 本願寺史* [A history of the Honganji]. 3 vol. Kyōto: Jōdo Shinshū Honganji-Ha, 1961.
- Horiguchi, Setsuko 堀口節子. “Shinran Shōsoku Rikai no Sai Kentō(親鸞消息理解の再検討) 2: Shinran kara Shōshin he soshite Takagi Kenmyō, Kinoshita Naoe he (親鸞から性信へそして高木顕明・木下尚江へ)” in *Ryūkoku Shidan 龍谷史壇* (Writing in Japanese) vol. 101, 102. Kyōto: Ryūkoku Daigaku Shi Gakkai 龍谷大学史学会, 1994, pp. 39–96.
- Huang, C. Julia. “The Buddhist Tzu-chi Foundation of Taiwan.” In *Action Dharma: New Studies in Engaged Buddhism*, eds. Christopher Queen, Charles Prebish and Damien Keown, 136–153. London: Routledge Curzon, 2003.

- Hunt-Perry, Patricia, and Lyn Fine. "All Buddhism Is Engaged: Thich Nhat Hanh and the Order of Interbeing." In *Engaged Buddhism in the West*, ed. Christopher S. Queen, 35–66. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2000.
- Ihara, Kesao 井原今朝男. *Chūseijiin to Minshū* 中世寺院と民衆. Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 2004.
- Izumi, Shigeki 泉恵機. "Takagi Kenmyō to Buraku Sabetsu Mondai: Fukumeisho wo moto ni shi te" 高木顕明と部落差別問題 (2) — 「復命書」をもとにして Takagi Kenmyō and the Problem of burakusabetsu [2]: Focus on Superior report, Shinji no shakai sei 信心の社会性. Kyoto: Tankyūsha 探究社, 1998. pp. 77–92.
- _____. "Shingū no Taigyakusō · Takagi Kenmyō" 新宮の大逆僧 · 高木顕明. in *Kumanoshi* 熊野誌, Futagawa Kazuo 二河通夫. vol. 46. Mie: Hamaguchi Insatsu 浜口印刷, 2002, pp. 116–125.
- Jason Ānanda Josephson. "When Buddhism Became a 'Religion': Religion and Superstition in the Writings of Inoue Enryō," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 33/1, 2006.
- Jōdo Shinshū Honganji-Ha. *The Collected Works of Shinran*. Kyōto: Jōdo Shinshū Honganji-Ha, 1997.
- Jones, Ken. *The New Social Face of Buddhism: A call to Action*. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2003.
- Kurube, Kō 訓覇浩. "Shingū ni Kenmyō no Jiseki wo Tazunete" 新宮に顕明の事績を訪ねて in *Takagi Kenmyō: Taigyaku Jiken ni Renza shita Nenbutsusha* 高木顕明—大逆事件に連座した念仏者, eds. Tamamitsu Junshō 玉光順正, Tsujiuchi Yoshihiro 辻内義浩 and Kurube Kō 訓覇浩, Shinshu Booklet 真宗ブックレット no. 8 (Kyoto: Shinshu Ōtaniha Shūmusho Shuppanbu 真宗大谷派主務所出版部, 2000), 67–77.
- King, Sallie B. *Being Benevolence: The Social Ethics of Engaged Buddhism*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005.

- _____. “Thich Nhat Hanh and the Unified Buddhist Church of Vietnam: Nondualism in Action.” In *Engaged Buddhism: Buddhist Liberation Movements in Asia*, eds. Christopher S. Queen and Sallie B. King, 321–363. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996.
- Kraft Kenneth. “Engaged Buddhism,” In *Engaged Buddhist Reader*. Arnold Kotler, et. al., eds., 64–69. Berkeley: Parallax Press, 1996.
- _____. *The Wheel of Engaged Buddhism: A New Map of the Path*. New York: Weatherhill, Inc., 1999.
- _____. “Wellsprings of Engaged Buddhism,” In *Not Turning Away: The Practice of Engaged Buddhism*. Susan Moon, 154–161. Boston, London: Shambhala, 2004.
- Kuroda, Toshio. “Buddhism and Society in the Medieval Estate System,” Suzanne Gay, trans., *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 23/3–4 (1996): 313.
- _____. “The Development of the Kenmitsu System As Japan’s Medieval Orthodoxy,” James C. Dobbins, trans., *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 23/3–4 (1996): 266.
- _____. “The Imperial Law and the Buddhist Law,” Jacqueline I. Stone, trans., *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 23/3–4(1996): 276.
- Litsch, Franz–Johannes. “Engaged Buddhism in German–Speaking Europe.” In *Engaged Buddhism in the West*, ed. Christopher S. Queen, 423–445. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2000.
- Marra, Michele. “The development of Mappō Thought in Japan (II),” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 15/4 (1988): 287–292.
- Minor L. Rogers and Ann T. Rogers, *Rennyō: The Second Founder of Shin Buddhism*. Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1991.

- Mikiso Hane. *Peasants, Rebels and Outcasts: The Underside of Modern Japan*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1982.
- Moriyama, Yoshio 森山義雄. *Shinran no “Shōsoku” ni Mana bu 親鸞の「消息」に学ぶ*. Kyōto: Nagata Bunshōdō, 2000.
- Morrell, Robert E. *Early Kamakura Buddhism: A Minority Report*. Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1987.
- Nhat Hanh, Thich. *Creating True Peace: Ending Violence in Yourself, Your Family, Your Community, and the World*. New York: Free Press, 2003.
- _____. *Fragrant Palm Leaves: Journals 1962–1966*. Berkeley: Parallax Press, 1966.
- _____. *Being peace*. Berkeley: Parallax Press, 1987.
- _____. *Vietnam: Lotus in a Sea of Fire*. New York: Hill and Wang, Inc., 1967.
- Okino, Iwazaburō 沖野岩三郎. “Ka no Sō 彼の僧,” In *Renga no Ame 煉瓦の雨*. Tōkyō: Fukunaga Shoten, 1918.
- _____. *Sei wo Tosite 生を賭して*. Tōkyō: Keiseisha, 1919.
- Queen, Christopher S., ed. *Engaged Buddhism in the West*. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2000.
- _____. “Introduction: A New Buddhism.” In *Engaged Buddhism in the West*, ed. Christopher S. Queen, 1–31. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2000.
- Queen, Christopher S, Charles Prebish, and Damien Keown, eds. *Action Dharma: New Studies in Engaged Buddhism*. New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003.
- Queen, Christopher S and Sallie King, eds. *Engaged Buddhism: Buddhist Liberation Movement in Asia*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996.
- Rambelli, Fabio. “Just behave as You Like; Prohibitions and Impurities Are Not a

Problem: Radical Amida Cults and Popular Religiosity in Premodern Japan.” In *Approaching the Land of Bliss: Religious Praxis in the Cult of Amitābha*, ed. Richard K. Payne and Kenneth K. Tanaka, 169–201. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2004.

Senchakushū English Translation Project, trans., and ed. *Hōnen’s Senchakushū: Passages on the Selection of the Nembutsu in the Original Vow*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1998.

Shigaraki, Takamaro, *A Life of Awakening: The Heart of the Shin Buddhist Path* David Matsumoto, trans. Kyoto: Hōzōkan Publications, 2005.

Simmer-Brown, Judith. “Shambhala: ‘Enlightened Warriorship’ for Peace.” In *Buddhist Peacework: Creating Cultures of Peace*, ed. David W. Chappell, 113–120. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1999.

Sivaraksa, Sulak. *Seeds of Peace: A Buddhist Vision For Renewing Society*. Berkeley: Parallax Press, 1992.

Snyder, Gary. “Buddhism and the Possibilities of a Planetary Culture,” In *Engaged Buddhist Reader*. Arnold Kotler, et. al., eds., 123–126. Berkeley: Parallax Press, 1996.

Sponberg, Alan. “TBMSG: A Dhamma Revolution in Contemporary India.” In *Engaged Buddhism: Buddhist Liberation Movements in Asia*, eds. Christopher S. Queen and Sallie B. King, 73–120. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996.

Stone, Jacqueline I. *Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Medieval Japanese Buddhism*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1999.

Taigyaku no Shinjitsu o Akiraka ni Suru Kai 大逆事件の真実をあきらかにする会.
Taigyaku Jiken Soshō Kiroku 大逆事件訴訟記録. *Shōkobutsu Utsushi* 証拠物写, vol. 5. Tōkyō: Kindai Nihon Shiryōkai, 1960.

Taira, Masayuki 平雅行. *Shinran to sono jidai* 親鸞とその時代. Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 2001.

- Takagi, Kenmyō 高木顕明, “My Socialism.” Robert F. Rhodes, trans. In *Living in Amida's Universal Vow: Essays in Shin Buddhism*, ed. Alfred Bloom, 190–191. Bloomington, Indiana: World Wisdom, Inc., 2004.
- Tedesco, Frank M. “Social Engagement in South Korean Buddhism.” In *Action Dharma: New Studies in Engaged Buddhism*, eds. Christopher Queen, Charles Prebish and Damien Keown, 154–182. London: Routledge Curzon, 2003.
- Ueda, Noriyuki 上田紀行. *Ganbere Bukkyō: Otera runesance no jidai がんばれ仏教！お寺ルネサンスの時代*. NHK Books, 1004. Tōkyō: Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 2004.
- Watts, Jonathan S. “A Brief Overview of Buddhist NGOs in Japan,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 31/2 (2004): 417–428.
- Wratten, Darrel. “Engaged Buddhism in South Africa.” In *Engaged Buddhism in the West*, ed. Christopher S. Queen, 446–467. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2000.
- Yamaizumi, Susumu 山泉進. “Taigyaku jiken to ha nani ka 大逆事件とはなにか,” in *Takagi Kenmyō: Taigyaku Jiken ni Renza shita Nenbutsusha 高木顕明—大逆事件に連座した念仏者*, eds. Tamamitsu Junshō 玉光順正, Tsujiuchi Yoshihiro 辻内義浩 and Kurube Kō 訓覇浩, Shinshu Booklet 真宗ブックレット no. 8. Kyōto: Shinshu Ōtaniha Shūmusho Shuppanbu 真宗大谷派主務所出版部, 2000.
- Yamazaki, Ryūmyō 山崎龍明. *Bukkyō no Saisei: Shinran Futai eno Michi 仏教の再生—親鸞・不退への道*. Tōkyō: Daihōrinkaku, 2001.
- Yarnall, Thomas Freeman. “Engaged Buddhism: New and Improved? Made in the USA of Asian Materials.” In *Action Dharma: New Studies in Engaged Buddhism*, eds. Christopher Queen, Charles Prebish and Damien Keown, 286–344. London: Routledge Curzon, 2003.

