

Global Secularity. A Sourcebook
Volume 3: Buddhist Asia

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Edited by
Christoph Kleine, Monika Wohlrab-Sahr, Florian Zemmin,
and Judith Zimmermann

Volume 3

Buddhist Asia

Edited by
Christoph Kleine, Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz,
and Hubert Seiwert

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Cover image: Taira no Kiyomori 平清盛 (1118–1181), a powerful military commander in ancient Japan, calls back the setting sun. After his resignation as Grand Minister of State, Kiyomori took the Buddhist vows in 1168 and henceforth presented himself as a 'lay monk' (*nyūdō* 入道) under the dharma name Shōren 清蓮 (later Jōkai 静海). However, he remained de facto the most powerful man in Japan. See also the text no. 29 in this volume. Colour woodcut from the collection "Unparalleled Warriors" (*Musha burui* 武者无類) by Tsukioka Yoshitoshi 月岡芳年 (1839–1892).
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Instructions for Use

Structure of Entries

As the titles of some sources are very long, we have generally used short titles for the headings of the entries, reflecting the content of the text.

All entries are structured as follows:

- **Heading:** Name of author of the source text: *Short English title reflecting the content* (year)
- **Introduction:** Each text is preceded by a short introduction detailing the context in which the text was written, its reception, and its place in the author's oeuvre.
- **Bibliographical information:** Information on the particular edition of the respective source, and on existing translations.
- **Translation**
- While some of the texts and extracts were originally written in English, the majority of our sources were originally published in another language, and appear here in translation. This applies particularly to volumes 2 to 7.
- Where a translation already existed prior to the publication of this sourcebook, we have – with the kind permission of the respective publishers – used these translations as the basis for the present edition. The sourcebook brings together three different types of translations:
 - Existing translations that were already very precise with regard to statements and contexts relevant here have been reproduced unchanged. They are labelled “Translation reproduced from . . .”.
 - Existing translations that we have substantially revised are labelled “Translation adopted from . . .”.
 - Finally, translations that have been produced entirely by us, and have not yet been published elsewhere, are labelled “Translation by . . .”.

Footnotes

There are two types of footnotes in the sources: footnotes that were already included in the original source texts, and editorial footnotes added by our contributors and translators.

We have included footnotes from the original sources (footnotes included by the authors, or those added by the editors or translators of the edition in question) where these were relevant to the content. They appear in Arabic numerals, and contain a reference to the number of the footnote in the original edition of the source (example: 1 [note . . . in the original] . . .).

We have also integrated editorial footnotes from our contributors and translators, and have labelled the authors accordingly. Editorial footnotes are numbered in Latin numerals and begin with I for each new text.

About the Editors

Volume Editors

Christoph Kleine

Leipzig University
Research Centre Global Dynamics
KFG 2344 “Multiple Secularities – Beyond the
West, Beyond Modernities”
and
Leipzig University
Faculty of History
Art and Area Studies
Institute for the Study of Religion

Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz

University of Bern
Faculty of Humanities
Departement Sozialanthropologie und
Kulturwissenschaftliche Studien
Institute for the Science of Religion

Hubert Seiwert

Leipzig University
Research Centre Global Dynamics
KFG 2344 “Multiple Secularities – Beyond the
West, Beyond Modernities”
and
Leipzig University
Faculty of History
Art and Area Studies
Institute for the Study of Religion

Series Editors

Christoph Kleine

Leipzig University
Research Centre Global Dynamics
KFG 2344 “Multiple Secularities – Beyond the
West, Beyond Modernities”
and
Leipzig University
Faculty of History
Art and Area Studies
Institute for the Study of Religion

Florian Zemmin

Freie Universität Berlin
Department of History and Cultural Studies
Institute of Islamic Studies
and
Leipzig University
Research Centre Global Dynamics
KFG 2344 “Multiple Secularities – Beyond the
West, Beyond Modernities”

Monika Wohlrab-Sahr

Leipzig University
Research Centre Global Dynamics
KFG 2344 “Multiple Secularities – Beyond the
West, Beyond Modernities”
and
Leipzig University
Faculty of Social Sciences and Philosophy
Institute for the Study of Culture

Judith Zimmerman

Leipzig University
Research Services Department
Officer for Strategic Knowledge Transfer
Development
and
Leipzig University
Research Centre Global Dynamics
KFG 2344 “Multiple Secularities – Beyond the
West, Beyond Modernities”

Christoph Kleine, Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz, and Hubert Seiwert

Secularity in South Asia, East Asia, Inner Asia and the Himalayan Region: Introduction

The volumes of this series, with their collections of sources, all share the common aim of mapping and explaining the diversity of arrangements between the religious and secular spheres of society in global modernity. In this series, the term ‘securities’ denotes the institutionally and symbolically embedded forms and arrangements of binary distinctions made between religion and other social spheres, practices, and interpretations. In our understanding, then, ‘secularity’ is a specific mode of conceptualising social differentiation, according to which the complexity of social structures is reduced to a binary epistemic structure that is based on the distinction between what is classified as religious and what is classified as secular. As a ‘special-purpose taxonomy,’ this mode of distinction has spread worldwide since the late nineteenth century. How religious and secular matters are related to each other, where the boundaries are drawn, and how permeable or impermeable these boundaries are, varies considerably between individual nation states, however. We assume that there has been a variety of causes for the diversity of securities emerging in global modernity. The current distinctions between religious and non-religious areas of life found in non-European societies do not represent a passive reception of ‘Western’ classification systems that have replaced earlier distinctions. Rather, the specific forms of secularity found in each case are shaped by an ongoing process that transforms existing epistemic structures. To understand the diversity of modern securities, it is therefore essential to consider the historical conditions under which they evolved, and the conceptual resources upon which they built. Of particular interest here are sources that illustrate how social differentiation was conceptualised in a particular culture, where debates about drawing boundaries become visible, and where competing knowledge systems, epistemologies, value spheres, and life orders collide. Particular attention must be paid to demarcations based on a distinction between transcendence and immanence, or mundane and supramundane matters.

In general, our main criterion for the selection of premodern sources was that they should offer a *longue durée* perspective on the epistemic and social conditions under which the respective societies would subsequently grapple with ‘Western’ secularity. That is, how they confronted Western ideas about the appropriate institutionalisation of the relationship between the religious and secular spheres in modern nation states. Our main criterion for the selection of more recent texts was that they should shed light on the current, often controversial debates on the position of religion in modern societies. Now – and, in fact, since the late nineteenth century – hardly any society or state can afford not to take up a position with respect to the relationship between religion and secular societal spheres. The nature and intensity of the conflicts over the concrete configu-

rations of secularity also reflect the diversity of the historical preconditions for its implementation – that is, the diversity of cultural imprints and path dependencies that can be reconstructed from premodern sources.

Alongside the identification of relevant sources, a substantial challenge has been the arrangement of the volumes of this series according to meaningful criteria. There are several justifiable options: the series could be organised according to geographical, chronological, thematic, linguistic, or cultural criteria. Regardless of the chosen approach, there are always alternatives that might have been preferable according to a certain perspective. Thus, the spatial scope of this volume requires an explanation.

Geographically, we cover a region within Asia that roughly comprises parts of South Asia (India, Sri Lanka), East Asia (China, Korea, Vietnam, Japan), Inner Asia (Buryatia, Mongolia, Tibet) and the wider Himalayan region (Bhutan). With this geographically limited selection, the question arises as to whether there is any common denominator connecting these regions. As the collections of sources in this series are primarily focussed on representing discourses that involve conceptual distinctions between ‘religious’ and ‘non-religious’ spheres of life – or other, analogous binary classifications – it is logical to identify discursive spaces rather than strictly geographic regions. These discursive spaces are areas of dense communication where concepts circulate, and ideas are exchanged, in a somewhat systematic, organised, and reflexive manner.

Thus, shifting our perspective from geographical to discursive spaces, it becomes apparent that we are dealing with a discursive space whose most striking link is Buddhism. For this reason, India is only briefly mentioned here as the birthplace of Buddhism, and is otherwise covered in more detail in the sixth volume of this series. Our (by no means exclusive) emphasis on Buddhist texts does not imply that Buddhist discourses were always dominant in the selected regions. Buddhism was present in all of them, however, and, at least in some periods, was of considerable importance as a system of cognitive and normative orientation, and of interrelated beliefs and practices. In these regions, at these times, even Buddhism’s opponents could not ignore its ideas and values.

The Role of Buddhism

Given that Buddhist discourses occupy a prominent place in this volume, it is structured to roughly follow the chronology of the spread of Buddhism. Originating in northern India around the fourth century BCE, Buddhism spread rapidly to the south of the Indian cultural sphere, including the island of Sri Lanka, and to its northwestern regions in present-day Pakistan and Afghanistan. Travelling along the ‘Silk Roads’ through the Central Asian kingdoms, it later arrived in China, in around the first century CE. Spreading from China, Buddhism reached the area of present-day Vietnam in the second or third

century CE, the Korean Peninsula in the fourth century, and Japan in the sixth century. East Asia constituted a vast discursive space, known as the ‘Sinosphere,’ where written Chinese was the *lingua franca* of scholars and officials. The exchange between the ‘Sinosphere’ and the ‘Indosphere’ was maintained for centuries. Central Asian kingdoms – and especially multilingual oasis cities, such as Dunhuang at the intersection of all three main silk routes (north, central, and south), or the trade centre Turfan, both in modern-day Northwestern China – functioned as hubs of both commerce and cultural exchange. The travel and translation activities of Buddhist monks from Central Asia, China, and Korea also contributed to cultural entanglements between the two dominant cultural spheres. Moreover, there was lively direct contact between China and Sri Lanka. Without the involvement of Sri Lankan Sinhalese nuns in the fifth century, for example, the establishment of an order of nuns in China would surely have failed. As early as the third century BCE, monks from the Indian subcontinent had brought Buddhism to Sri Lanka, where a strong Buddhist tradition developed, and remained alive even after the almost complete disappearance of Buddhism in India. From Sri Lanka, intensive Buddhist missions were carried out to Southeast Asia, particularly to present-day Thailand, Myanmar, Laos, and Cambodia.

Tibet, situated at the interface between the ‘Indosphere’ and the ‘Sinosphere,’ is particularly noteworthy. This situation is reflected in the biography of king Srong btsan sgam po (died 645 or 650), founder of the Tibetan Empire. According to Tibetan tradition, he married one woman from Nepal and one woman from China, both of whom were Buddhists. Historically, however, the official recognition and promotion of Buddhism only occurred in the eighth century, which was followed by two centuries of decline, after which Buddhism gained new momentum in Tibet in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The early decision of the Tibetans to orient themselves more closely to the Indian Buddhist tradition than to the Chinese one was likely motivated more by political reasoning than religious considerations. In any case, Tibetans remained in close exchange with both cultural spheres.

From the Tangut Empire (Xi Xia) in Northwest China and Tibet, Buddhism spread further to Mongolia – which was also very much entangled with China – and Buryatia. From Tibet, Buddhism also spread to Bhutan and the neighbouring Himalayan regions. In later centuries, we can even speak of a ‘Tibetosphere,’ with Lhasa in Tibet as its centre. The language of religious and intellectual communication in this vast discursive sphere – stretching from the Himalayas, eastwards across the Mongolian regions and Manchuria, to Buryatia, and westwards to the lower Volga region – was classical Tibetan.

Although Buddhism could not claim epistemic hegemony everywhere and at all times, Buddhist ideas nonetheless formed an integral part of the dominant epistemes in all the regions mentioned here. Even outspoken critics of Buddhism, such as officials of the Confucian literati, or Shintō nationalists, had to engage with Buddhist ideas about the world, human life, and the afterlife.

However, the special significance of Buddhism with respect to the shaping of specific forms of secularity in Asia is not limited to its geographical spread and its role as a mediator of a transregional discursive space. There are also certain doctrinal and institutional peculiarities of Buddhism that make it significant to the development of Asian secularities. At the level of epistemic structures, Buddhism distinguishes sharply between transcendence and immanence, which is reflected in a pronounced monasticism at the level of social structures. We assume that the corresponding binary epistemic and social structures have considerably facilitated and shaped the culturally specific appropriation of secularity in modernity. As we will try to show, in countries where Buddhism was a major intellectual force before the encounter with the West, it provided epistemic and institutional resources for the shaping of secularity. In China, on the other hand, the intellectual foundations for the formation of modern secularism were laid by Confucianism.

Buddhist India and Sri Lanka

We have already pointed out the special significance of Buddhism as a highly networked discourse community and trans-regionally effective system of cognitive and normative orientation. We have also emphasised the fact that Buddhism developed its very own form of binary distinction between mundane and supramundane activities, norms, goals, and purposes. Because of the fundamental importance of the corresponding ideas, in the first section of this volume, we present a selection of classical Buddhist texts, followed by post-canonical and modern texts from Sri Lanka. Many of the influential ideas regarding the dual rule of two complementary and interdependent regimes, which resemble a prefiguration of secularity, were also taken up in Inner Asia and East Asia, in an adapted form.

The texts selected for this section illustrate four aspects regarding Buddhist ideas connected to the modern perspective of secularity, looking at their application to and within Sri Lanka. Firstly, a series of authoritative texts from the Theravāda tradition reveals the mythological foundations of these ideas. Secondly, another set of texts engages with classical religio-political models, such as the symbiosis of religion and the state in Sri Lankan history. This is followed by a third set of texts that provides a specific Buddhist narrative of decline, which is sometimes connected with notions of secularisation in present-day Sri Lanka. Finally, we present voices propagating a modern Buddhist anti-secularism.

In early Buddhist texts, teaching and governance are treated as cosmic twins. Classical Buddhist perspectives on the social world frequently delineate two distinct spheres of activity, often labelled in modern literature as ‘secular’ and ‘religious.’ Texts, mostly written by Buddhist monks, emphasise the interdependence of these spheres, and their mutual indispensability for societal well-being, asserting that ne-

glecting one could lead to social catastrophe, or even the collapse of civilisation – a trope that we also find in Buddhist discourses in Japan and Mongolia, for example. A unique vulnerability is attributed to Buddhism, however, positioning it as being dependent on external support. This dependence serves as a persuasive tool, portraying Buddhism as fragile, and requiring constant protection and backing from the powerful and wealthy.

The classical religio-political discourse envisions an ideal king who harmonises peaceful Buddhist principles with a strong, protective role against societal challenges, presenting a normative model for worldly authorities. Despite the underlying tension between the moral values of Buddhism and the role of a ruler, which is often characterised – particularly in traditional Indian theories of rulership – by the use of force and violence, some historical kings have nonetheless been described as embodying this dual responsibility, managing to be both just rulers and patrons of religious institutions. The idealised figure of the Dharma king, or righteous king, acknowledges fundamental ethical principles, such as righteousness, justice, and modesty. This concept of just rule culminates in the idea of *cakravartins*, or wheel-turning monarchs, who embody the Dharma so profoundly that they can rule and expand their territory without resorting to warfare, relying on their noble charisma and an exemplary lifestyle. These exceptional rulers are believed to be the result of karmic preparation across numerous lifetimes, akin to the preparation of a bodhisattva for supreme awakening.

The idea of two distinct spheres of activity is already seen in hagiographies of the Buddha, which state that Siddhārtha Gautama, possessing the thirty-two marks of a ‘Great Man,’ was presented with two paths: either to pursue Buddhahood, or to become an ideal worldly ruler. Both the religious and the political sphere are symbolised by wheels: the “wheel of the doctrine” (*dharmacakra*) and the “wheel of authority” (*ājñācakra*). Both supramundane truth and mundane authority have their own logic, language, organisation, and authority structure. The wheel of the doctrine is set in motion when a Buddha delivers his first sermon, as exemplified by Gautama Buddha’s lecture in the “deer park” at Isipatana near Varanasi. The wheel of authority is represented materially by the “wheel-treasure,” a 1000-spoked wheel that miraculously appears and disappears when a king embodies the characteristics of a wheel-turning monarch. The wheel-turning monarch enlightens the world with Dharma through ‘political means’; the Buddha does so through ‘religious instruments.’ Thus, the cosmological twins of the wheel-turning monarch and the Buddha symbolise the ‘political’ and ‘religious’ facets of an ideal world, governed by truth or righteousness (*dharma*).

Eventually, this twin concept transformed into a political model for an ideal kingdom. The twin pair is represented by the worldly ‘state’ or society (*loka*), and the institutionalised representation of the Buddha’s teachings (Pali *sāsana*; Sanskrit *śāsana*) within society. Both are considered distinct domains that are to be supported and protected by the king. The term *sāsana* is synonymous with Dharma in this context, representing the supramundane truth that is comprehended and revealed by an awak-

ened being – that is, the Buddha. However, *sāsana* is not completely identical with Dharma in *all* contexts. *Sāsana* is the embodiment of the Dharma within time and space, representing the ‘three jewels’ in society: the Buddha, his teachings (Dharma), and his community (*saṅgha*). Located in time and space, *sāsana* is described as a material entity vulnerable to historical contingencies, and thus requiring protection. A Dharma king plays a crucial role by investing resources in maintaining and expanding the kingdom, and in creating optimal conditions for the monastic community to preserve, practice, and spread the *sāsana*.

On a practical level, this involves significant royal donations to monasteries – including royal monasteries, which receive daily support from the king’s budget. Monasteries enjoy various privileges, such as tax exemptions and legal protection. In Sri Lankan historiography, king Parākramabāhu I of Polonnaruva (1153–1186) represents an ideal protector of the *sāsana*. He is celebrated for his political success, and his efforts in establishing religious conformity, often being referred to as a *cakravartin*, or wheel-turning monarch. Notably, the chapter presented in this collection narrating the deeds and achievements of this king (text no. 4) is structured around the distinction between *loka* (mundane) and *sāsana* (‘religious’) – indicating a Buddhist distinction of two spheres akin to secularity. The text outlines Parākramabāhu’s achievements, starting with his military campaigns against both rebels within Sri Lanka and external threats from South India and possibly Burma. Once his sovereignty is secured, he focuses on stabilising the kingdom by establishing a centralised administrative apparatus for the mundane sphere (*loka*). Additionally, he purifies the ‘religious’ domain (*sāsana*), by expelling monks with heretical views, addressing a historical disharmony among monastic communities that had split into different sects 1,254 years earlier.

Later sources suggest that Parākramabāhu may have also initiated a centralised hierarchy within the *saṅgha* – the monastic community – a system fully developed in later sources. This hierarchical structure parallels the twin concepts of *loka* and *sāsana*, reflecting a similar organisational structure with delegated authority for both worldly and religious domains. The text implies that peace and order were restored through violence (warfare and eradication of heresies), followed by the establishment of centralised authority to prevent future conflicts. Another text from the same period explicitly references the parallelism, stating that the king redesigned the wheel of authority and the wheel of the doctrine in Sri Lanka, to prevent fragmentation of control.

Classical Buddhist discourses not only distinguish between mundane and supra-mundane spheres represented by the king and the *saṅgha* respectively, but also provide a unique ‘secularisation narrative.’ This narrative informs Buddhist perspectives on secularisation even today, framing it as a decline in morality, with catastrophic consequences for humanity. Unlike the European historiographical focus on progress, Buddhist concepts of history assert that everything was better in the past, and the future will see further deterioration, until a distant period of improvement – that is, when the future Buddha Maitreya descends from Tūṣita heaven to restore the Dharma.

Text no. 5 and no. 6 discuss the Theriya tradition's prediction of the *sāsana*'s disappearance. According to this tradition, particularly found in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia, it is foreseen that the *sāsana* will vanish 5,000 years after the death of Buddha Gautama; other Buddhist traditions may use different timeframes. The Theriya concept, introduced to Sri Lanka by commentator Buddhaghosa in the fifth century CE, outlines five stages of decline, each lasting 1,000 years. Notably, one version of the narrative of decline (text no. 5) emphasises that the moral decline and near extinction of humankind are directly linked to political failure, a motif that modern Buddhist authors often draw upon.

Given the religio-political model of mutual support between the *sāsana* and the secular authorities, and the fact that ideas of secularisation are often formulated in line with the ancient Buddhist prediction of the gradual decline of the Dharma and the disappearance of the *sāsana*, it is not surprising that secularism is strongly rejected by most Buddhists nowadays, and that secularisation is viewed rather negatively. Issues of modern Buddhist anti-secularism and nationalism in Sri Lanka are discussed in a famous text (text no. 8), parts of which are reprinted here. The absence of a formal declaration of secularism in post-independence Sri Lanka (Ceylon) provided a loophole for Buddhism in the state: the constitution avoids the term 'secular,' opening the door for the consolidation of Buddhist supremacy. This absence is attributed to political concessions to Buddhist nationalist forces that emerged during the anti-colonial struggle. The Buddhist nationalist D. C. Wijewardena (Vijayawardhana) – in accord with his contemporaries' writings in many other publications in the period – formulated a new master narrative of Buddhist nationalism in 1953 (text no. 8), which brings forth three main arguments:

1. Buddhism and the Sinhalese nation have been intertwined for more than two millennia. Buddhist kings of the past were guided by Buddhist principles, exercising power in order to promote societal welfare.
2. British colonialism and Christian missionaries disrupted this harmony, nearly extinguishing Buddhism, and causing turmoil in post-independence Sri Lanka.
3. Buddhism should be restored to its former glory under modern democracy.

Such Buddhist nationalist texts often blend European and Buddhist philosophical resources, to revise cultural memory. Wijewardena here traces a timeline from a golden past through to colonial decline, and advocates a bright future where righteousness prevails, aligning with classical cosmic oscillation themes. The Sinhalese/Sanskrit title of the text, *Dharmavijaya*, implies a triumph of righteousness, reflecting the demand for the re-marriage of politics and Buddhism. The author integrates traditional Buddhist ideas with modern political and philosophical concepts, emphasising the symbiotic relationship between politics and Buddhism. The narrative contends that a secular state would lead to the annihilation of Buddhism and global moral bankruptcy, advocating instead for religion's taming of politics and society.

The book details a world in moral decline, which it attributes to imperialism, Christianity's corruption, and the rise of materialism and the 'American lifestyle.' It parallels the 'endangered *sāsana*' motif in premodern Buddhist historiography, but expands the crisis to a global scale. The text introduces the term "*dharmocracy*," where the state's ultimate purpose is to serve a higher religious goal. Thus, the reinterpretation of traditional concepts of dual dominance is used to address contemporary political challenges. Either a purely materialistic ideology or a strictly secular society without a religious foundation would be destined to fail. The author of text no. 8 takes a daring conceptual leap by associating the supposed moral decay observed in Christian Europe with the United States, suggesting that the US has substituted religiosity for the deities of consumerism. Buddhism offers itself as the antidote. The principles of Buddhism should guide and govern the individual, as well as the instruments and organs of the state. The harmony of religion and politics should be the ideal of any state, with the happiness of the people being its ultimate goal.

East Asia

China occupies a unique position among the East Asian countries in several respects. Perhaps the most significant factor is that writing was invented there in the second millennium BCE, with a rich body of literature emerging from the middle of the first millennium BCE onward. By contrast, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam did not have their own writing systems until well into the common era. Consequently, the earliest literary records in all these regions are in Chinese script. Chinese literature and the ideas it conveyed thus spread widely throughout East Asia. Particularly in the adjacent countries of Korea and Vietnam, the worldview of the literate elites was strongly influenced by Chinese philosophy and historiography. The lively exchange of cultural artefacts similarly justifies referring to East Asia as the 'Sinosphere.'

Key mediators of Chinese literature were the monks who brought Buddhism from China to Vietnam, Korea and Japan. Many of them were well versed in literature, and brought with them not only Buddhist scriptures, but also other writings. Buddhism had been introduced to China predominantly from India, via Central Asia, in the first century CE, and spread rapidly in the following centuries. Buddhist scriptures were widely translated into Chinese, and these Chinese translations were disseminated throughout East Asia. The influence of Buddhism reached its zenith during the Tang dynasty (618–907). The number of monasteries, monks, nuns, and lay followers was immense, and Buddhist philosophy dominated intellectual life. It was only during the Song dynasty (960–1279) that the dominant influence of Buddhist metaphysics was broken, as many outstanding scholars systematically re-examined the pre-Buddhist Chinese philosophy of antiquity, expanding it into a comprehensive philosophical system known in the West as 'Neo-Confucianism.' This intellectual movement attained the status of a state

orthodoxy under subsequent dynasties, dominating the Chinese elites' understanding of the world until the end of the imperial era in 1911.

In line with the objectives of this volume, we have to address whether, in premodern China, a distinction similar to the modern one between religious and non-religious (or 'secular') ways of life can be found. It should be pointed out that, until the end of the nineteenth century, the Chinese language lacked a word that could unequivocally be translated as 'religion' or 'religious.' Nevertheless, historical sources indicate the existence of practices and beliefs from ancient times that can, from a modern Western perspective, be labelled as 'religious.' This is particularly true of Buddhist and Daoist monks, nuns, priests, their rituals, teachings, and the social formations centred around monasteries and temples. Even though there was no equivalent general term for the word 'religion,' it is evident that Buddhism and Daoism were distinguished from other social phenomena.¹

To fully grasp the breadth of practices and beliefs that, from a modern perspective, would be described as 'religious,' one must go back to pre-Buddhist antiquity. During the Zhou dynasty (approx. 1050–221 BCE), belief in the existence of gods and spirits, and the great importance of sacrificial rites, are well documented. While the form of state sacrifices and offerings to the ancestors was precisely regulated, belief in gods and spirits was by no means binding. In the later part of the Zhou era, many – especially among the educated – seem to have doubted the existence of gods who could be influenced by sacrifices. Two texts printed in this volume present opposing opinions on this matter (texts no. 9 and 10): Mozi defended the belief in the existence of gods who intervene positively or punitively in human life. Xunzi, on the other hand, considered this idea to be a superstition of the unenlightened, and argued that nature followed immutable laws unaffected by gods or spirits. Mozi and Xunzi can thus be seen as early representatives of 'religious' and 'secular' interpretations of the world, respectively.

Xunzi's position is of particular interest because his 'secular' naturalism had a lasting impact on the Confucian interpretation of sacrificial rites. For him, such sacrifices were not a service to gods or spirits, but cultural conventions expressing the feelings and attitudes of the participants. According to this interpretation, although the rites were obligatory, there was no need to believe in the existence of supernatural beings responding to the sacrifices. Up until the end of the imperial era, state sacrificial rites, performed by the emperor or his officials, remained an indispensable expression of legitimate rulership. However, individuals were free to understand the sacrifices as pleas for divine assistance or, following Xunzi, as ritual manifestations of social order. Both interpretations are historically traceable. This ambivalence on state sacrificial rites has led to contrasting interpretations of premodern Chinese statehood.

¹ In the *Weishu* 魏書 (History of the Wei Dynasty), which was compiled in the sixth century, Buddhism and Daoism are treated together in one chapter (chapter 131). The chapter is entitled: *Shi Lao zhi* 釋老志 (Treatise on [the Traditions of] Śākyamuni and Laozi).

While some scholars view China as having been a “religious state,” others characterise the Confucian state as “secular.”^{II}

Starting in the Han Dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE), and up until the end of the imperial era, the Confucian tradition was the primary subject of study for the literati, from whom state officials were recruited. The Confucian understanding of political and social order thus became the basis for the organisation of the state. Buddhism and Daoism, unlike Confucianism, spoke of transcendent worlds, heavens and hells, demons, gods, and merciful buddhas and bodhisattvas. These were doctrines of salvation, with Daoism promising a long life, or even immortality, and Buddhism offering a blissful heavenly existence after death, and ultimately the attainment of nirvana.

By the fourth century, Buddhism had gained many followers, including literati and officials. These were laypersons who, despite their Confucian education, believed in and promoted the Buddha’s teachings. A key controversy at that time revolved around whether monks, in line with their self-image, were outside of society – and thus not bound by the duty to honour secular authorities through prescribed rites (text no. 11). This debate took place between high-ranking officials at the imperial court. Arguments put forth by both sides foreshadow much of subsequent discussions of the following centuries – and even up to the present day – about the relationship between Buddhism (and, today, religion in general) and the state. The ruling regent, representing the Confucian position, emphasised that state laws and ritual regulations applied to all subjects of the emperor, and that, therefore, monks must show the emperor the respect he was due. He highlighted that the Buddha’s teachings pertained to other-worldly matters, whereas the teachings of the wise rulers of antiquity pertained to the order of this world. Individuals were permitted to believe in the Buddha’s teachings privately, but it was not permissible for state laws to be based on Buddhist rules. This argument reflects the basic structure of secularity, in the clear distinction between ‘religious’ (*fangwai* 方外, other-worldly) and ‘secular’ (*fangnei* 方內, inner-worldly) spheres. It is also a ‘secularist’ position that prioritises state laws over religious ones, and seeks to confine religious beliefs to the private sphere.

The question of whether monks should bow before the emperor remained controversial for centuries, before the Confucian position was finally favoured. Before that, however, Buddhism enjoyed a triumphant ascent, and dominated not only religious but also intellectual life, until the ninth century. The beginning of the Confucian reaction can be seen in a memorial to the throne presented by the official and scholar Han Yu in 819, criticising both the harmful influence of Buddhism on society, and the emperor’s tolerance of religious fanaticism (text no. 13). Han Yu’s critique of Buddhism became a widely cited model for numerous Confucians in later years. With the

II For examples of the contrasting interpretations, see John Lagerwey, *China: A Religious State* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2010), and Wang Gungwu, “Secular China” [Giri Deshingkar Memorial Lecture], *China Report* 39, no. 3 (2003): 305–21; see text no. 30 in Vol. 1 of the series.

rise of Neo-Confucianism, starting in the Song dynasty, Buddhism lost its overwhelming influence on the intellectual and political elites.

The fact that, until the beginning of the twentieth century, Confucianism was considered the state orthodoxy, and knowledge of Confucian scriptures was an essential prerequisite for state offices, does not mean that all officials and literati opposed Buddhism and Daoism. Many, including some emperors, personally leaned towards one or the other of these religions. However, in state affairs and political debates, the Confucian tradition formed the only legitimate reference for any argumentation. This separation of private belief, which can be described in modern terms as ‘religious,’ and ‘secular’ discourses on political matters and questions of social order, can be interpreted as a form of secularity – even though a terminological distinction between ‘religious’ and ‘secular’ was not made at the time.

The consistent influence of Confucianism on the state is also evident in legislation. There are numerous examples of state laws regulating ‘religions,’ in line with demands raised by Confucians, from as early as the fourth century. An extensive legal framework from the Song period (960–1279) regulated the rights and duties of Buddhist and Daoist clerics in detail.^{III} The legal codes of the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1911) dynasties also contain provisions restricting the construction of monasteries and the ordination of Buddhist and Daoist clergy. Particularly in the commentaries on some laws, it is evident that the Confucian authors harboured deep mistrust towards these two religions, as well as other religious communities (text no. 14). One reason for this can be found in the frequent reference to the social unrest and rebellions triggered by religious movements. This experience was already hinted at during the fourth-century controversy over the role of monks, and has remained ingrained in the historical memory of political elites to the present day.

Neo-Confucianism was not a static philosophical system. During the Ming and Qing dynasties, different schools emerged, and their interpretations sometimes deviated significantly from the state orthodoxy. Debates and discussions arose over the correct understanding of the teachings, and the demarcation from Buddhism, whose metaphysics also influenced the thinking of some Confucians. In text no. 15 in this volume, the differentiation between Confucianism, on the one hand, and Buddhism and Daoism, on the other, is justified by the claim that the latter two only deal with transcendent matters (*renwai* 人外, literally: “outside the world of humans”), while the teachings of Confucianism are an indispensable prerequisite for the well-ordered co-existence of humans in society.

The heterogeneity of Neo-Confucian thought was not limited to China, but is also reflected in Vietnam and Korea, where this tradition was further developed and diversified. The two texts selected from these countries – from 1773 for Vietnam, and

^{III} See Werner Eichhorn. *Beitrag zur rechtlichen Stellung des Buddhismus und Taoismus im Sung-Staat* (Leiden: Brill, 1968).

1833 for Korea – show an engagement with Western ideas that had become known through the Jesuit mission in China from the sixteenth century, and through Protestant missions in Korea in the nineteenth century (texts no. 21 and 22).

In all the examples mentioned so far, where various distinctions are made between the other-worldly orientation of Buddhism and Daoism, and the focus on the mundane world in the teachings of the ancient sages, no terminological differentiation is made between ‘religious’ and ‘secular.’ Nevertheless, modern terminology can capture the distinctions between these terms. An explicit reference to this modern terminology appears for the first time at the end of the nineteenth century, in a text addressing a Western audience (text no. 16). The positions presented therein essentially correspond to those mentioned so far. However, it emphasises that, in the Western definition, ‘religion’ implies the worship of God or gods, which is not found in Confucianism. Therefore, the latter should be considered not as a religion, but as a secular doctrine.

The engagement with the Western concept of religion in the nineteenth century was also driven by the presence of Christian missionaries, who enjoyed the protection of European powers. European colonial ambitions and military superiority exacerbated the political crisis that China had been experiencing since the Taiping Rebellion (1851–1864), which was triggered by a Christianity-influenced religious movement. Towards the end of the century, open calls for reform became inevitable and impossible to ignore. Some Confucian scholars voiced the idea of reforming Confucianism and making it the state religion, following the example of Christianity in Europe (text no. 17). However, most revolutionary intellectuals viewed Confucianism as a conservative doctrine hindering a radical reform of state and social structures. After the revolution that led to the overthrow of the Qing dynasty in 1911, politically active intellectuals turned to Western ideas of democracy, progress, and science. Similarly to the views of ‘progressive’ circles in Europe, religion was seen as being incompatible with scientific knowledge, and, therefore, an obstacle to modernisation (see text no. 18). The contrasting of religion with science resembles the distinction between religious and secular knowledge, pointing to a significant opposition inherent in the concept of secularity.

All political ideologies of the twentieth century invoked the theme of ‘science.’ The Chinese Communists, claiming to represent a ‘scientific worldview,’ also adopted the Marxist-Leninist criticism of religion. However, religion was not seen as the cause of societal ills – but rather as their concomitant. In a text from 1927, Mao Zedong points out that traditional power structures were supported by superstition (he avoided the word ‘religion’) and that, with the liberation of peasants from oppression, superstition would be abandoned (text no. 19). To this day, the Communist Party of China adheres to the thesis that religion will disappear upon the full realisation of socialism and communism. However, it is acknowledged that this will be a lengthy process. Therefore, at present, it is necessary to integrate religious believers into socialist society, while subjecting religious activities to state control, through laws and educational measures (see text no. 20).

The Chinese sources selected for this volume predominantly reflect a Confucian perspective on the social phenomena now classified as ‘religious.’ By contrast to the teachings of Buddhism and Daoism, Confucianism placed its emphasis on the social and political order. Within this context, the relationship between the state and ‘religion’ was a central theme. From the Confucian viewpoint, this relationship was hierarchical, with religious communities, like all other societal formations, being subordinate to the state and its laws.

Considering this through the theoretical lens of secularity, we see that certain distinctions emerged that structurally resemble those between ‘religious’ and ‘secular’ – such as the juxtapositions of ‘religious’ (*shen* 神) and ‘cultural’ (*wen* 文) practices, or inner-worldly (*fangnei* 方內) and outer-worldly (*fangwai* 方外) teachings. Distinctions of this nature can be traced back to antiquity, but the fact that they were not terminologically fixed, and were expressed in various formulations, suggests that they did not become the subject of systematic reflection and discussion. From the Confucian standpoint, ‘religious’ beliefs and practices pertained to things beyond this world, and were therefore deemed useless for government and societal order (see texts no. 15 and 16). Buddhist texts, again using different terminology, made a similar distinction, unsurprisingly presenting the ‘religious’ truth as superior to the ‘worldly’ one (text no. 12).

Against the backdrop of these established distinctions, it was relatively straightforward to apply the term ‘religion,’ introduced in the late nineteenth century, to Chinese society. In this process, the evaluative framework shaped by Confucianism was largely retained. What changed was that religion was no longer seen as antithetical to the Way of the wise rulers of antiquity, but instead was opposed to a secular knowledge that was now labelled as ‘science.’

The discourse on the interplay between spiritual and worldly power, between “temple nobility” and “military nobility” – to use Max Weber’s^{IV} words – is exceptionally well documented in the case of Japan, with its abundance of textual sources. Most of them were written by Buddhist monks, who, as an educated elite, claimed a high degree of epistemic authority in medieval Japan. As early as the tenth century, a model was successfully propagated by Buddhists, distinguishing the Buddha Dharma (*buppō* 佛法) and the ruler’s law (*ōbō* 王法) as two distinct yet interdependent or complementary normative systems or “nomospheres” (see texts no. 23–31; 35, 37, 38).^V Both nomospheres were believed to be mutually dependent, repeatedly likened metaphorically to the two wings of a bird or the two wheels of a cart. The Buddha Dharma – with its superior potential for domesticating the masses and civilising the people,

IV Max Weber, Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*. 2 vols. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1978), 1160.

V Cf. Kuroda Toshio, “The Imperial Law and the Buddhist Law,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 23, 3–4 (1996): 271–85; Christoph Kleine, “Religion and the Secular in Premodern Japan from the Viewpoint of Systems Theory,” *Journal of Religion in Japan* 2, no. 1 (2013): 1–34.

through moral instruction (including the threat of divine punishment and torment of hell) and ritual subjugation of demonic forces – was considered indispensable to social peace, prosperity, and stable political order. It was thus thought to complement the institutions of the state, which resorted to corporal punishment and physical force. Buddhism's supporters argued that it should be allowed to develop according to its specific intrinsic laws, and be largely free from state intervention, in order that it might be allowed to achieve its full potential in its ritual and moral efficacy. Moreover, especially in the Kamakura period (1185–1333), worldly authorities were often called upon to combat deviant currents within Buddhism, as the preservation of orthodoxy was also considered a prerequisite for the Buddha Dharma's support of the ruler's law (see texts no. 23 and 25). This model of the “interdependence of the Buddha's law and the ruler's law” (*ōbō buppō sō'i* 王法佛法相依) was a religious and political paradigm that retained its validity – albeit often being rejected by non-Buddhist intellectuals – until well into the nineteenth century. The actual relationship between Buddhist and state institutions underwent significant modifications over the centuries, however, shifting from a model of dual domination by two roughly equal power blocks in the Middle Ages, to a Chinese-style model of the subordination of Buddhist institutions under an absolutist state in early modern times. Accordingly, the interpretation of this paradigm underwent certain modifications too, partly due to the specific doctrinal preferences of the authors, and partly due to changes in power configurations, as the selection of texts presented here demonstrates.

For example, the monk Nichiren (1222–1282) advocated a form of ‘mystical union’ between the two nomospheres (text no. 27). It was envisioned that this unity would find visible expression in a national “ordination platform of the original gate” (*honmon no kaidan* 本門の戒壇), though Nichiren and his followers were unable to persuade the rulers to establish such a national place of worship in their own time. After the Second World War, the influential lay organisation Sōka Gakkai revived this programme, founding the Kōmeitō political party, with a view to establishing such an ordination platform^{VI} – now a delicate issue in light of the strict separation between religion and state prescribed by the post-war constitution.

Nichiren's desire for a de-differentiated relationship between the nomosphere of the Buddha and the nomosphere of the ruler remained a rare exception, however. In premodern Japan, the idea of a division of labour and complementary differentiation was generally maintained, a concept not dissimilar to modern forms of secularity.

Regarding the paradigm of the interdependence of a mundane and a supramundane sphere as a potential conceptual resource for establishing a modern, specifically

VI Levi McLaughlin. “Did Aum Change Everything? What Sōka Gakkai Before, During, and After the Aum Shinrikyō Affair Tells Us About the Persistent ‘Otherness’ of New Religions in Japan.” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 39, no. 1 (2012): 51–75; 58.

Japanese form of secularity, there is a noteworthy emerging trend of the ‘privatisation’ of the Buddha Dharma from the fifteenth century onwards, particularly in the context of the highly influential True Pure Land School (Jōdo shinshū).^{VII} Before this point, the Buddha Dharma and the ruler’s law had both been perceived as having a primarily public function of providing social peace, economic prosperity, and political stability. Moving away from this interpretation, Rennyo (1415–1499), the ‘second founder’ of the Jōdo shinshū sect and leader of the powerful Honganji Temple, emphasised that, while the sphere of the ruler should regulate the public life and social actions of the faithful, believers should be inwardly (that is, privately) entirely focused on the Buddha Dharma (text no. 31). In other words, we observe here a division of the individual into a publicly acting subject and a privately engaging believer, a rather ‘modern’ image of the person. Another reinterpretation occurred in the nineteenth century, when there was a renegotiation of the relationship between the newly established Meiji government and the Buddhist institutions, which were facing various pressures.^{VIII} Instead of emphasising the supramundane dimension of the Buddha Dharma, most relevant for the individual believer, representatives of Jōdo shinshū, such as Fukuda Gidō (1806–1883) (text no. 37) and Hakoya Tokuryō (1803–1892) (text no. 38), now emphasised the Buddha Dharma’s mundane aspect, as a normative system forming the basis for all morality, including the ethical principles of Confucianism. This argument, too, undoubtedly put forward without any Western influence, has something modern about it. It is reminiscent of the famous dictum of the German constitutional and administrative lawyer and legal philosopher Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde (1930–2019), according to which the liberal, secularised state rests on preconditions that it cannot itself guarantee.^{IX} Accordingly, political debates in Western European countries repeatedly refer to the Christian foundations of the modern European view of the world and humanity.

Approaches to the distinction between the religious and the non-religious can be found in Japan in greater variety than just as a paradigm of the interdependence of two spheres, however. The Japanese encounter with Christian missionaries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries created the necessity of finding general terms for comparing the seemingly similar traditions of Buddhism and Christianity. If the development of secularity as a binary ‘special-purpose taxonomy’ depends on the differentiation of religion as a distinct realm of social action, then the development history of a comparative concept analogous to the European concept of religion, which became in-

VII Kleine, Christoph. “Preparing the Field for Secularity in Medieval Japan.” Accessed March 20, 2023. <https://politicaltheology.com/preparing-the-field-for-secularity-in-medieval-japan/>.

VIII See Christoph Kleine, “Rethinking the Interdependence of Buddhism and the State in Late Edo and Meiji Japan.” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 49, no. 1 (2022): 89–113.

IX Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde, “Die Entstehung des Staates als Vorgang der Säkularisation,” in *Recht, Staat, Freiheit: Studien zur Rechtsphilosophie, Staatstheorie und Verfassungsgeschichte*, ed. Ernst W. Böckenförde, 92–114 (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 2006), 112.

creasingly generalised due to European expansion, is of great relevance to our attempt to identify culturally specific paths to secularity. In the seventeenth century, general terms (e.g. *shūshi* 宗旨 and *shūmon* 宗門) were established for characterising both Buddhism and Christianity, for the purpose of comparison and translation. Until the late nineteenth century, and in some cases even until the modern day, these terms were used as equivalents to the term religion.

Initially, Christianity and Buddhism were considered the primary representatives of *shūshi* or *shūmon*, and thus of religion. However, with Japan's horizons widening after a nearly 250-year-long period of isolation, these terms were also applied to other traditions, such as Islam, Judaism, and Hinduism. By the beginning of the Meiji era, it was widely accepted that there existed a particular domain of human action that was to be treated in a special manner in law and politics; a domain referred to in the West as religion, and in Japan as *shūshi*, *shūmon*, etc. By the 1880s, these older terms had largely been replaced by the term *shūkyō* 宗教.^X Furthermore, Japan quickly threw itself – with some intensity – into the rapidly globalising discourse on religion, and made a significant contribution to its development. Texts by the reform-minded intellectual Shimaji Mokurai (1838–1911) (text no. 36) and an early work by the famous scholar and cultural mediator Suzuki Daisetsu Teitarō (1870–1966) (text no. 39) are illustrative of this.

After its opening, and under some pressure exerted by Western nations – though with remarkably little resistance – Japan soon established its own form of secularity. As we have seen, this principle was not entirely unfamiliar to the Japanese in any case. However, the concrete implementation of secularity was rather tricky in one respect: the question of which mythological and ritual traditions should be considered religion/*shūkyō*, implying that individual participation therein was to be considered a matter of free choice, became a subject of political debate. The architects of the new regime of modern Japan argued that the tennō-centric state Shintō and its shrines – in contrast to “sect Shintō” (*kyōha shintō* 教派神道) – did not belong to the realm of religion. This resulted in a specifically Japanese variant of secularity, in which (the idea of) a sacred ruler descending from the gods and the ritual system revolving around him were legally categorised as “non-religious” (*hi-shūkyō* 非宗教), but at the same time demanded cultic veneration and absolute normative hegemony. Tennō-centric Shintō, the ritual veneration of the emperor, and the recognition of a moral

X Christoph Kleine, “When Christianity Became a *Shūshi* 宗旨: Cultural Encounters and Comparisons Between Europe and Japan and the Origins of a Global History of Religion,” Special Issue of the *Interdisciplinary Journal for Religion and Transformation in Contemporary Society (JRAT)* 10, no. 2 (2023); for detailed studies on the development of a generalised concept of religion in modern Japan, see also Jason Ananda Josephson, *The Invention of Religion in Japan* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2012) and Hans Martin Krämer, *Shimaji Mokurai and the Reconception of Religion and the Secular in Modern Japan* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015).

order centred on the emperor were deemed a civic duty, and a public matter that did not contradict the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of religion (text no. 40).

By contrast, Buddhism's being classified alongside Christianity under the globalised category of 'religion' – defined as a matter of personal conviction and private concern – was largely undisputed and uncontroversial. It was mainly Buddhists who dealt with questions concerning 'religion' (*shūkyō*) and its relationship to other social spheres, now classified as 'secular.' Moreover, Buddhist authors supported the theory of a non-religious Shintō. They asserted that imperial power, and the complex of legitimising myths and symbolic performative rituals that revolved around it – now known as Shintō – although undoubtedly sacred, nevertheless had a 'secular' character. The reason for this distinction was that Shintō was only concerned with mundane affairs, especially with legitimate political power and social order, whereas Buddhism was primarily in charge of supramundane affairs – though the Buddhist authors maintained that Buddhism was ultimately also the decisive factor in maintaining social peace and political stability.

One could consider the pre-1945 distinction between the religious and the secular, which excluded Shintō from the religious realm, as the first attempt at a specifically Japanese version of secularity. It responded to the normative requirements of Western secularism, particularly the granting of religious freedom, but also drew from indigenous conceptual resources, and took into account political interests – in particular, the restitution of the emperor as a descendant of "Shintō gods," legitimised by "Shintō myths." However, with the Allied occupation, the issuing of the "Shintō directive" (see texts no. 42 and 43), and the imposition of a constitution dictated by the Americans after the Great Pacific War, this specifically Japanese form of secularity was replaced by one constructed according to American standards (text no. 40). According to the post-war constitution, Shintō is legally defined as one religion among many, and may not be funded or otherwise supported by state authorities. Government officials are prohibited from participating in Shintō festivals in their official capacity. This post-war configuration of secularity has repeatedly led to conflicts, both at the local level and nationally, especially in the context of the annual commemorative event for the war dead at the Yasukuni Shrine. This form of secularity is considered by many conservatives to be inappropriate to Japanese culture. The long-ruling conservative LDP party has thus sought a revision of the constitution time and again, envisioning the culturalisation of Shintō, redefining its festivals as social events and traditional customs (texts no. 40 and 41). With such culturalisation, an attempt is made to bring state and Shintō closer together again. Indeed, we find similar endeavours towards analogous (re-)entanglements in many parts of the world, although with very different motives.

However, as elsewhere in the world, the issue of drawing boundaries between the religious and secular is not limited to the determination of the relationship between religious and state institutions. A classic grey area between the religious and the non-religious, or between spiritual and material activities, is the healing of the

sick. As can be seen from the texts presented here, in the context of healing practices, such delineations are at most only implicitly present in the stated distinctions between causes of illness, healing methods, and ultimate goals (healing or salvation?).^{XI} This issue also presented an interesting challenge in the confrontation between Christian Europeans and the Japanese. How could seemingly effective healing methods be adopted, without embracing the undesired associated religious interpretive frameworks? While Jesuits such as Luís Fróis (1532–1597) claimed that religion is the “true” medicine, superior to natural science, and that the Jesuit missionaries were “preachers and professors of the divine and supernatural science and of the salvation of men,” Japanese physicians were curious about the Jesuits’ medical knowledge, and less interested in their belief system (text no. 32).

In Japan, from the banning of Christianity in the early seventeenth century (text no. 34), the adoption of Christian ideas was definitively no longer an option. Christianity was regarded as the prototypical “evil tradition,” “evil Dharma,” or “evil sect” (*ja-shūshi* 邪宗旨, *ja-hō* 邪法, *ja-shūmon* 邪宗門, etc.) until the 1870s. People accused of being Christians were crucified in Ōsaka as late as the 1820s. It was only in 1873 that some 3000 Christians were released from imprisonment, under massive diplomatic pressure. Thus, what Balagangadhara (vol. 1, text no. 14) states for Europe also applies to Japan: in addition to the distinction between religious and secular, the social field was also structured by the distinction between “good religion” and “bad religion.”

Lastly, even in the present, the demarcation between the religious and the secular continues to be a subject of public controversy in the fields of education, bioethics, and similarly normative issues. This applies to the West: Habermas, in his vision of a post-secular society (vol. 1 of this series, text no. 69),^{XII} calls on secular individuals to be open to arguments based on religious considerations but communicated in secular semantics. But it also applies to modern Japan, which is generally considered highly secular. Two texts from the Buddhist Jōdo Shinshū tradition, reprinted here, confirm the situation-dependent and flexible character of secularity, through the incoherence of distinctions between religion and social spheres such as politics, law, public education and science, within the same doctrinal framework of interpretation. Against the background of historical experiences from the time of ultra-nationalism, the authors of one text (text no. 44) firmly reject attempts at a patriotic ‘revision’ of the *Fundamental Law of Education* and increasing state interference in the area of moral education and char-

^{XI} See C. Pierce Salguero, “Healing And/or Salvation? The Relationship Between Religion and Medicine in Medieval Chinese Buddhism,” *Working Paper Series of the HCAS “Multiple Secularities – Beyond the West, Beyond Modernities”* 4, Leipzig, 2018; Christoph Kleine, Katrin Killinger, and Katja Trippelt, “Distinctions and Differentiations Between Medicine and Religion,” *Asian Medicine* 14, no. 2 (2019): 233–62.

^{XII} Jürgen Habermas, *Glauben und Wissen: Dankesrede für die Verleihung des Friedenspreises des Deutschen Buchhandels 2001* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2001); “Notes on Post-Secular Society,” *New Perspectives Quarterly* 25, no. 4 (2008): 17–29.

acter formation. They see parallels here with the aforementioned attempts to amend the constitution, and emphasise the importance of an individual education that does not view children primarily as future patriotic citizens. However, the authors leave open the extent to which education is a religious responsibility. By contrast, the Shinshū leadership has taken a clear stance regarding a planned revision of the organ transplant law, and the law on brain death and organ transplants. Decisions related to death, they contend, must also consider religious viewpoints regarding life and death (text no. 44).

Inner Asia and the Himalayas

In eighth-century Tibet, we find the first textual evidence that Buddhism, which had been introduced to the country a century earlier, was assigned to a separate discursive sphere. A philosophical text preserved in the Tibetan Buddhist canon, allegedly written by the Tibetan ruler Khri srong lde'u btsan (r. 755–797), expounds on the doctrinal system of Mani, the founder of Manichaeism.^{XIII} Here, Khri srong lde'u btsan uses a single umbrella term to describe both Buddhist doctrine and Mani's non-Buddhist philosophical doctrinal system, and in this way distinguishes both from other areas of knowledge. However, these other areas of knowledge are not specified in more detail, and so cannot be addressed as domains of a 'secularity,' as defined at the outset of this introduction – namely as a modality of distinction between religion and other areas of society.

In later centuries, a distinction between the binary spheres of religion and politics emerged as a fundamental principle of societal organisation in the Tibetan cultural zone. This differentiation is comparable to the distinction previously outlined for Japan, and also shares common features with the distinction in Sri Lanka. Based on the fundamental Buddhist division between “mundane” (Skt. *laukika*) and “supramundane” (Skt. *lokottara*), this binary distinction is fleshed out in the doctrine of the two orders of ‘worldly’ and ‘religious’ rule, whose mutual relationship is also expressed in the concept of the “Joint Twofold System of Governance” (Tib. *chos srid zung 'brel*). Over the centuries, the model has been repeatedly modified and reconfigured, and thus requires careful contextualisation in its specific historical circumstances. The earliest Tibetan texts describing and exhorting a good Buddhist government date back to the time of the Mongol Empire, and its rule in Tibet in the thirteenth century. During this period, the Tibetan sphere of influence began to extend far beyond the Tibetan-speaking regions, such as the Kingdom of Xi Xia in the northwestern territories of present-day Gangsu and Shanxi provinces in China, to non-Tibetan-speaking

XIII *bKa' yang dag pa'i tshad ma las mdo btus pa* (“Summary of the proofs for the true revelation”), Tibetan Tripitaka 144, Nr. 5839, fol. 99v2–4 (fols. 64r4–103v6).

regions, such as the Mongolian territories. Buddhist influence manifested itself particularly in its close relationship with the rulers, in the areas in which Tibetan Buddhism gained a foothold. Spiritual advice to rulers and princes has a long tradition in the history of Buddhism. Tibetan texts of advice are classified under the category of *gdams pa* or *bshad pa*, “instruction, explanation,” or under the category of *zhu lan*, “question-answer,” or simply as *yig*, “letters.” On the one hand, they serve as explanations of the subtleties of Buddhist teaching; on the other hand, they exhort the realisation of a just and good (Buddhist) government. In the Mongol era, the addressees were usually princes and rulers. The letters from Tibetan Buddhist high dignitaries to Mongol rulers and princes give detailed advice on appropriate social behaviour, based on the doctrine of the two orders, in a manner similar to the European ‘mirrors for princes.’ Thus, they provide us with an insight into the ‘secular’ sphere of the societies of the time. However, the secular and religious spheres are not seen here as a dichotomous pair that can be equated with ‘Buddhist’ and ‘non-Buddhist’; rather, the Tibetan term *tshul gnyis* in these texts refers to a Buddhist ethics that is related to both the worldly sphere, and to the sphere of (Tib.) *chos* – the Dharma of the Buddha.

In the Tibeto-Mongolian cultural zone, starting in the thirteenth century, the rule of Qubilai Qayan (1215–1294)^{XIV} – the founder of the Mongolian Yuan dynasty (1271–1368), under which Buddhism was afforded the highest status of all the competing worldviews in the area – was regarded as a concrete realisation of ideal Buddhist rule. The concept of a Buddhist government, in which ‘religion’ and worldly power are separated but equally valued, was thus theorised in Tibet and Mongolia, in a political-cultural situation of encounter and interaction. The dynamics of encounter and interaction ultimately resulted in the formation of a shared cultural space, in which these culturally and linguistically heterogeneous Inner Asian societies were tied together by two factors. These factors comprised a common religion – Tibetan Buddhism – and a common language of communication, the written or classical form of Tibetan. The seventeenth-century establishment of the central government in Lhasa, with the Dalai Lama at its head, led to the city taking on the role of the centre of this shared communicative space. From then on, we can speak of a ‘Tibetosphere,’ which encompassed a huge geographical area stretching from the Himalayas, across Tibet and Mongolia, to China, and on to Buryatia and Manchuria – and, in the west, to the lower Volga regions. Irrespective of the ethnic, linguistic, and cultural differences between the peoples of this communicative space, their societies were deeply influenced by the distinctions and interrelations between religion and politics, as well as the societal differentiations between these two spheres that played an equally important role in the shaping of governance. For the Mongols, this had been the case since at least the sixteenth century. Judging by the relevant Mongolian literature on Buddhist governance, we may even suggest that this relationship was ascribed a very special place in social discourse. Uniquely within the Tibeto-Mongolian cul-

XIV More commonly known in the Anglosphere as Kublai Khan.

tural zone, the Mongol regions produced their own literary rendering of the relationship between (Mo.) *śāsin* – the Buddhist Dharma – and (Mo.) *törö* – politics: the sixteenth-century *White History* (Mo. *Čayan Teüke*), part of which in fact dates back to the thirteenth century. The *White History* imagines an ideal Buddhist society, in which the worldly and religious spheres are two separate yet interrelated domains, in a “Joint Twofold System of Governance.” The work pays special attention to a description of the social rules pertaining to the worldly realm. Relevant passages are presented here in translation (see text no. 50).

The influence of the Joint Twofold System of Governance has remained prominent, both in Tibet itself and in the wider Himalayan region, especially since the seventeenth century. Under the rule of the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (1617–1682), political power in Tibet was centralised for the first time since the Great Tibetan Empire (seventh to ninth centuries CE). In 1645, the Fifth Dalai Lama composed a letter to the Khalkha Mongolian leader, the Tüšiyetü Khan Gombodorji (r. 1636–1655), in which he gave the Mongolian noble practical advice on taking equal account of the two spheres, the ‘religious’ and the ‘secular,’ in his political actions (see text no. 45). The genealogy of this letter can be traced back to the aforementioned letters of Tibetan religious dignitaries to Mongolian leaders in the thirteenth century, and even further to earlier Indian models.^{XV} However, the concept of the Joint Twofold System of Governance is by no means only relevant historically: the Tibetan government-in-exile, the Central Tibetan Administration, still refers to this model, for example in connection to the fourteenth Dalai Lama, who, until recently, was addressed as “Ruler over religion and the secular government of Tibet” (Tib. *bod ljongs chos srid gnyis kyi mnga’ bdag*). It was only in 2011 that the Dalai Lama abdicated his political leadership role, which has since been held by the democratically elected Sikyong in the Central Tibetan Administration. Likewise, in Mongolia, Buddhist concepts of good government have been regaining a role in public discourse since 1990. This trend is also evident in the neighbouring Himalayan regions. The Joint Twofold System of Governance was institutionalised in Bhutan in 1625/26, and forms the conceptual basis of the country’s first standardised code of laws, the “Bhutanese Legal Code from 1729”. This important text is reproduced here in excerpts (text no. 49). The conceptualisations and taxonomic orders contained within it continue to be drawn upon today, to institutionalise, legitimise, and adjust the Joint Twofold System of Governance, within the legal framework of the 2008 Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan, and the Bhutanese Gross National Happiness (GNH) Policy. The relationship between religious and secular spheres in contemporary Bhutanese society is grounded in the emic taxonomic orders described here, and continues to determine the specifically Bhutanese manifestation of a secular society today.

XV Adam C. Krug, “Pakpa’s Verses on Governance in *Advice to Prince Jibik Temür: A Jewel Rosary*,” *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie* 24 (2015).

The historical traces of a specifically Tibeto-Mongolian understanding of secularity are not limited to the dyadic relationship between religion and politics, but can also be detected in other areas of society. Often, in our sources, the secular is not positively defined, but tends to appear as a residual category; in other words, it comprises everything that is not categorised as religious. In the Tibetan cultural area, however, we can work towards a positive understanding of the secular, by including the binary pair of epistemic terms *mi chos* and *lha chos* in the discussion. These two important terms can be translated as “human rules” and “rules of the gods” respectively. *Mi chos* is probably an indigenous Tibetan term for everyday rules of conduct. According to Ulrike Roesler,^{xvi} this classification, in its Buddhist guise, goes back to the late eighth century. The “human rules” primarily comprise social and legal norms; since the triumph of Buddhism in Tibet in the late eighth century – with its being declared the official state religion – these rules have been in a dynamic relationship with *lha chos*, which was then newly defined as Buddhist Dharma. But *mi chos* can also stand on its own, as Janet Gyatso has shown for the domain of medicine – one of the most important Tibetan orders of ‘mundane’ knowledge. In medicine, *mi chos* is “not a handmaiden to *lha chos*,”^{xvii} but rather “entails sophisticated reflection on how medical learning unfolds and the full spectrum of preparation necessary to thrive professionally and to serve patients effectively.”^{xviii} The Tibetan sources meticulously analysed by Janet Gyatso reveal the shift in medicine from normative Buddhist guidelines to empirically based science, and help us to positively define the secular in this important sub-area of society in Tibet. Further sub-areas of the secular can be explored in the *Biography of Do ring Pandita* (1806), a high lay official in the central government in late eighteenth-century Lhasa. His biography allows us a glimpse into what constituted the secular in eighteenth-century Tibet, by describing the sources of secular authority, which were grounded as much in legal titles and contracts as in the role of pious donor of the Dharma (see text no. 46).

Large areas of the so-called Tibetosphere have historically been closely intertwined with the Sinosphere. It is therefore not surprising that Tibetan and Mongolian scholars negotiated the relationship between the ‘secular’ and ‘religious’ spheres in not only Buddhist, but also sometimes Confucian patterns of thought. This is exemplified in the œuvre of the Inner-Mongolian author Injannasi (1837–1892), especially in

^{xvi} Ulrike Roesler, “Die Lehre, der Weg und die namenlose Religion: Mögliche Äquivalente eines Religionsbegriffs in der tibetischen Kultur,” in *Religion in Asien? Studien zur Anwendbarkeit des Religionsbegriffs*, ed. Peter Schalk, Max Deeg, Oliver Freiburger, Christoph Kleine, and Astrid van Nahl, 129–50 (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet 2013).

^{xvii} Janet Gyatso, *Being Human in a Buddhist World: An Intellectual History of Medicine in Early Modern Tibet* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 349.

^{xviii} Gyatso, *Being Human*, 350.

his historical novel *Blue Chronicle (Köke sudur)*.^{XIX} However, this Chinese and Confucian influence did not apply to the Buryat-Mongolian regions, which had, since the eighteenth century, formed part of the Russian Empire. Naturally, then, these regions were much more heavily affected by Russian influence. In their chronicles, Buryat historiographers of the nineteenth century identify the secular sphere, which is strictly separated from the Buddhist monastic institutions – not only in the “laws of the emperor,” but also in the language schools of the Tsarist empire, which gave their graduates access to the newly founded secular state universities (see text no. 52).

The deeply Buddhist-influenced secularity in Inner Asia and the Himalayas is understood variously, and there are different versions of secularism in the region, following entanglement with the Western model of secularism. Studying precursors of secularity in this region, we do not find a homogeneous, teleologically oriented history that ultimately merges into the Western model of secularism. The history of secularity in this region cannot be told without the ruptures and fissures that shaped it, and thus without the counter-histories and counter-designs to a secular modernity that likewise informed it. This is best illustrated by the example of the Buryat-Mongolian and Mongolian intelligentsia at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, which was strongly divided over how best to view secularity in a Buddhist context. Due to the increasingly strong influence of Russian and Western European ideas, the boundaries between the two spheres of ‘religion’ and ‘non-religion’ were renegotiated in Inner Asia in the late nineteenth century. One faction of the religious and lay elites joined the project of a socialist modernity, and tried to unite socialist ideas of a secular society with Buddhist concepts. The Tibetan monk and intellectual Gendun Chopel (1903–1951) even went so far as to claim that scientific reasoning based on empirical facts is inherent in Buddhism. While he engages with the contemporary discourse surrounding the compatibility of Buddhism with science, he anchors his argument in the centuries-long textual tradition of Buddhist scholars in Tibet and Mongolia, in which such questions have been debated repeatedly (text no. 47).

Another faction of the religious elites, however, was sceptical of – or even hostile to – such modernisation projects, and tried to cling to the model of the Joint Twofold System of Governance. Such a critical and ultimately dismissive attitude toward new social models that renegotiated the secular sphere was demonstrated by the Mongolian monk scholar Zava Damdin (1867–1937), who witnessed the transformation of traditional Buddhist Mongolian society into a socialist society in the first decades of the twentieth century. One of his texts that takes a deeply pessimistic view of a European-style secular modernity is also included in the sourcebook (text no. 51).

It is important to note that, in Buddhist Inner Asia and the Himalayan regions, the religious and the secular are conceived as two separate sovereign spheres that are none-

XIX John Gombojab Hangin, *Köke Sudur (The Blue Chronicle): A Study of the First Mongolian Historical Novel by Injannasi*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1973.

theless complementary to each other. For the historical Inner Asian and Himalayan Buddhist societies, it can be stated that the worldly spheres of knowledge only attain their social acceptance through their reference to the religious sphere. This can be seen, for example, in the formulation of the ideal worldly rule, which must be configured in Buddhist terms (see text 49, and the two texts 47 and 48). The mutual interrelatedness between the two distinct spheres is also evident in today's understanding of the secular, for example when the English term "secular" is rendered in modern standard Tibetan as "impartial in relation to religion" (*chos lugs ris med*). The trajectories highlighted in the texts presented here thus allow for a deeper understanding of the different forms of secularity in today's Inner Asian and Himalayan societies shaped by Buddhist thought.

Theoretical Evaluation

As elaborated in more detail at the start of this introduction, the *Multiple Secularities* research approach is based on the assumption that the multiplicity of secularities in global modernity can, in part, be explained by the varying combinations of indigenous conceptual resources, and the particularities of the specific circumstances under which encounters between Western and non-Western epistemes occurred. We assume that existing epistemic and social structures have decisively shaped the appropriation and transformation of Western concepts of order within the framework of diverse, often complex, power configurations. This resulted in culturally specific arrangements of the relationship between religious and non-religious cultural elements, social formations, and nexuses of social activities.^{XX}

From the extensive textual material presented here, we can draw the following conclusions: At the level of epistemic structures, systems of thought with a strong distinction between transcendence and immanence^{XXI} tend to conceptualise societal differentiation in a binary scheme. There are things that belong to this world, while other things transcend the world. In Buddhism, we find a very strong and influential transcendence-immanence dichotomy.

Furthermore, such binary epistemic structures, according to our thesis, promote the development of binary models of an institutionalised division of labour at the level

XX See Christoph Kleine, and Monika Wohlrab-Sahr, "Comparative Secularities: Tracing Social and Epistemic Structures Beyond the Modern West," *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion* 33, no. 1 (2021): 43–72.

XXI Some refer to these systems of thought as "axial religions." See, for example, Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, "The Axial Age: The Emergence of Transcendental Visions and the Rise of Clerics," *European Journal of Sociology / Archives Européennes de Sociologie/Europäisches Archiv für Soziologie* 23, no. 2 (1982): 294–314; *The Origins and Diversity of Axial Age Civilizations*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1986; Robert N. Bellah, and Hans Joas, eds. *The Axial Age and Its Consequences*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012.

of social structures. A class of full-time professionals dedicate themselves to making transcendence accessible and manageable. This requires specific competences; we might refer here to Weber's idea of "charisma"^{XXII} or Bourdieu's "symbolic efficacy" (*l'efficacité symbolique*),^{XXIII} which can only be acquired and cultivated through a specific, rationalised way of life. The establishment of monasteries as "heterotopias"^{XXIV} conducive to the cultivation of charismatic qualities is an obvious consequence of the requirements of a division of labour between transcendence-oriented and immanence-oriented nexuses of activity. Even more than for Christianity, monasticism is truly constitutive for Buddhism.

It can be assumed that the corresponding epistemic and social structures reinforce each other. Once a class of experts in transcendent affairs has emerged, it is very likely that, for the sake of self-assertion, they will strongly emphasise the difference between transcendence-related and immanence-related activities, and thus constantly reinforce the corresponding epistemic structure. Not surprisingly, it is usually those occupied with the transcendent dimension of human life who propagate the binary organising principle of two complementary, interdependent, and yet autonomous nomospheres. This is precisely what Buddhist authors in various regions of Asia did with great vigour – at least whenever and wherever the Buddhist order was in a position to formulate such claims vis-à-vis the worldly power with a realistic prospect of enforceability.

Needless to say, the form of dual domination advocated by Buddhists, wherein two equal powers coexisted, was highly controversial. Specifically, Confucian literati officials in East Asia generally preferred a hierarchical model of domination, in line with the renowned statement attributed to Confucius that, just as there are not two suns in the sky, there should not be two rulers of the people. The political power represented by the emperor was to dominate all areas of society, including those socio-cultural formations that we refer to today as 'religions.' These were granted limited autonomy, as long as they did not jeopardise or challenge political power. In this respect, the configuration that prevailed in China in particular, as well as in Korea and, from the seventeenth century onwards, in Japan, is surprisingly similar to modern forms of secularity. Most modern states similarly grant religious freedom only within the confines of the law, and on condition that social peace is not jeopardised. With regard to the question of whether we are dealing here with a form of secular rule *avant la lettre*, however, a conceptual problem arises: can the mythically legitimised and ritually symbolised political power in East Asia really be characterised as secular?

XXII Max Weber, *Grundriss der Sozialökonomie. III. Abteilung: Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1922), 227.

XXIII Pierre Bourdieu, "Genèse et structure du champ religieux." *Revue française de sociologie* 12, no. 3 (1971): 317.

XXIV See Michel Foucault, "Des espaces autres: conférence au Cercle d'études architecturales, 14 Mars 1967," *Architecture, Mouvement, Continuité* 5 (1984): 46–49.

Of course, this question is, in itself, somewhat anachronistic. It would not have made much sense to people in premodern East Asia. When trying to work out the religious or secular character of court rituals, for example, one is inherently bound to the perspective of the modern observer, using meta-linguistic concepts such as ‘religious’ or ‘secular,’ on the basis of a predefined set of criteria.

Indeed, one recurring theme in discussions about the concept of secularity is the question of the positively determinable characteristics of the secular. Often, the secular is defined simply in negative terms as that which is not religious. The content of the secular then depends on how the religious is constituted and delineated. Particularly in contexts where the existence of an approximate equivalent of the concept of religion is at least controversial, then, such a negative definition of the secular becomes inadequate. There are undoubtedly good reasons for speaking of the secular only in relation to religion – we, too, assume that the concept of the secular only makes sense with reference to religion. However, if we follow Talal Asad and others in supposing – and there are good reasons for doing so – that the secular is “a variety of concepts, practices, and sensibilities,”^{XXV} and that it is “a concept that brings together certain behaviors, knowledges, and sensibilities in modern life,”^{XXVI} then it seems appropriate to inquire about these concepts, behaviours, knowledges, practices, and sensibilities.

With regard to premodern societies, it would then be necessary to clarify whether corresponding characteristics can be found. Some texts in this volume suggest that, even in premodern societies, there were people who followed epistemic norms – such as empiricism, immanentism, and logical consistency, instead of revelation or precedent – which we would today consider typical of the secular; or, to use Charles Taylor’s words, they acted and argued within some sort of “immanent frame.”^{XXVII}

In any case, the texts in this compilation cast doubt on the thesis that Western Europe, dominated by Latin Christianity, is the exclusive and only conceivable place of origin of secularity. The prevailing diffusionist narrative – shared by many Eurocentric and postcolonial scholars, albeit from very different normative positions – considers modern secularism to be a programme for enforcing or enabling a form of secularity that is based on conceptual distinctions and institutional differentiations that are the historically contingent outcome of a specific European experience.^{XXVIII}

The peculiarity of European development, it is repeatedly claimed, is primarily due to the fact that Christianity propagated a strict distinction between transcendence and immanence, as well as a dichotomy between a worldly and a spiritual sphere

XXV Talal Asad, *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003), 16.

XXVI Asad, *Formations of the Secular*, 25.

XXVII Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 539–93.

XXVIII There are a legion of publications advocating this position, so we will not provide references here. We have reprinted some examples in Volume 1 of this series.

based on this. The distinction between transcendence and immanence was institutionalised by the differentiation of emperor and pope. The famous saying of Jesus in the Bible, “Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar’s, and to God the things that are God’s” (Mark 12.17), perfectly illustrates this concept. In the fifth century CE, Pope Gelasius differentiated between worldly and ecclesiastical power with his doctrine of the two swords. This motif was taken up during the Investiture Controversy, and again in the sixteenth century, when Martin Luther formulated his doctrine of the two kingdoms. In the wake of the confessional wars that followed the Reformation in Europe, a stricter separation between state and church finally prevailed, aimed at preventing further religious conflict. In modern times, secularity has been considered the standard configuration of modern nation-states, and has spread worldwide. In rather brief and simplified terms, this is the standard narrative of the path and process of secularisation in Europe. Against this backdrop, it is then argued that the emergence of secularity is inextricably linked to the historically singular conditions of Western European societies.

In the light of the sources presented in this volume, it must be asked how unique the European experience actually was. This question presupposes comparative research, as envisioned in the Multiple Secularities approach. Buddhism proved to be a particularly illuminating unit of comparison. As we have seen, despite its entirely different origin, Buddhism exhibits significant structural analogies with pre-Reformation Christianity. Here, too, we find a sharp distinction between transcendence and immanence – with a strong but non-theistic concept of transcendence. As in Christianity, the Buddhist distinction between transcendence and immanence finds its institutional expression in a strong monasticism. Celibate coenobites form the heart of Buddhism; their monasteries have their own rules and legal procedures, specific norms, ways of life, *habitus*, time regimes, etc. They are conceived as places providing optimal conditions for overcoming the world – that is, the eternal cycle of birth and death driven by the laws of karmic retribution. Similarly to Christian monasteries, in various places and times, Buddhist monasteries eventually became rich and powerful institutions, some of which resisted state orders, claimed legal immunity, acted as feudal lords, and formed a sort of state within the state. This tendency was particularly strong in Japan and Tibet, but was also significant in those regions dominated by Theravāda Buddhism.

Also noteworthy in this context are the early Indian hagiographies rendering the life of Buddha Siddhārtha Gautama, which present two potential paths for the newborn prince – that of a spiritual leader or that of a great king. This contrast establishes an initial dichotomy between a worldly and a spiritual existence, between paths towards mundane or supramundane achievements. In many Buddhist texts, a clear distinction is made between activities associated with mundane (*laukika*) matters, and those linked to supramundane (*lokottara*) concerns;^{XXIX} authority over the latter is

XXIX See David Seyfort Ruegg, “A Note on the Relationship Between Buddhist and Hindu Divinities in Buddhist Literature and Iconology: The *Laukika/Lokottara* Contrast and the Notion of an Indian ‘Reli-

claimed by the Dharma as taught by the Buddha, or by *śāsana/sāsana*, his teaching, (which today means “religion”). While it may be an anachronism to directly equate *laukika* with ‘secular’ and *lokottara* with ‘religious,’ or *śāsana* with ‘religion,’ this distinction within Buddhist discourses, in all likelihood, has significantly contributed to the formation of a culturally adapted form of secularity in modern societies influenced by Buddhism. At the level of power structures, the separation between mundane and supramundane means and ends found expression in the aforementioned juxtaposition of professional groups in many of those societies. Consequently, the regulation of the relationship between monasteries on the one hand, and secular authorities, donors, and patrons on the other, remained a persistent issue for many centuries.

Conventions and Formalities

A few words on formalities are in order here. Where English translations have been made for the first time in this volume, page breaks in the original are indicated in square brackets, e.g. [p. 1/2]. Existing translations reproduced here only contain these references if the original was consulted. Square brackets within translations indicate additions by the translator, while round brackets are part of the original text, or serve to emphasise key terms in the transliteration. Note, that due to the specificities of the syntax of the original languages, an exact matching of page breaks is oftentimes impossible.

The International Alphabet of Sanskrit Transliteration (IAST) was used for the transliteration of terms, names, and titles in Pāli and Sanskrit. For the romanisation of Chinese, we chose Pinyin (ISO 7098:1991) without tone characters. Japanese was transcribed using the modified Hepburn system, Korean using the McCune-Reischauer system. The transliteration of Bhutanese and Tibetan terms follows the extended Wylie system. However, in the translated texts, Bhutanese and Tibetan personal names and places were transcribed using the THL Simplified Phonetic Transcription of Standard Tibetan by David Germano and Nicolas Tournadre. Classical Mongolian was transcribed according to the Vladimirtsov-Mostaert system (V-M).

giours’ Substratum?” In *Le parole e i marmi: Studi in onore di Raniero Gnoli nel suo 70. compleanno*. Edited by Raniero Gnoli, Raffaele Torella and Claudio Cicuzza, 735–42. Serie orientale Roma / Istituto italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente 92 (Roma: Istituto italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente, 2001); Christoph Kleine, “Religion and the Secular in Premodern Japan from the Viewpoint of Systems Theory,” *Journal of Religion in Japan* 2, no. 1 (2013): 1–34; Max Deeg, “Innerhalb und jenseits der Welt: Kritische Überlegungen zum buddhistischen Begriffspaar *laukika/lokottara* im Verhältnis zu säkular/religiös.” In *Grenzen der Religion: Säkularität in der Asiatischen Religionsgeschichte*, ed. Max Deeg, Oliver Freiberger, Christoph Kleine, and Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz, 173–95. *Critical Studies in Religion / Religionswissenschaft* (CSRRW) 17 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2023).

And finally, it should be noted that, in contrast to the first two volumes of the series, the English short titles listed in the table of contents and section headings do not always correspond to the bibliographical information. This is due to the fact that many of the texts printed here in translation come from collections of original-language sources where they are not listed with their own title. Furthermore, it should be noted that, in many cases, attributing an author is problematic, if not impossible. Some texts are traditionally attributed to an author, even though the attribution is clearly incorrect. These are therefore pseudepigrapha, but not anonymously authored texts. In such cases, we have listed the source collection instead of an author (e.g., “Dīgha Nikāya” instead of “Siddhattha Gotama,” or “Ming Code” instead of the name of the emperor ultimately responsible); in some cases, the responsible institution is listed (e.g., “Supreme Commander of Allied Powers”). In certain cases, where an older English translation already existed, the responsible contributor decided, for content-related reasons, to assign a different short title.

South Asia

Buddhist India & Sri Lanka

1 The Dīgha Nikāya: *The Discourse of Ambattha* (ca. 5th–1st Century BCE)

Introduced by Sven Bretfeld

Introduction

Traditional Buddhist sources are not against the idea of strong, authoritative worldly leadership – as long as it is driven by ethical principles of righteousness, justice, and modesty. A king embodying these principles would be called a *dharma-rāja* – a dharma king or righteous king. Violence – especially violence in self-defence or to punish criminals – does not, in itself, contradict the ideal of a dharma king. However, occasionally, special dharma kings appear, who do not have to resort to warfare or punishment at all. These so-called *cakravartins*, or wheel-turning monarchs, embody the principles of dharma so well that they can rule, and even conquer new territory, merely by winning people over through their exemplary lifestyle, noble charisma, and illustrious reputation. The properties of such a ruler are not achieved by mere coincidence, but as the result of a long karmic preparation, spanning innumerable lifetimes of merit accumulation. This resembles the karmic preparation of a bodhisattva for supreme awakening.¹

According to legend, Siddhārtha Gautama himself had the chance to become such an ideal worldly ruler, but chose instead to achieve the supreme state of Buddhahood. This choice was available because Siddhārtha Gautama was born with the thirty-two major marks of a “Great Man” (*mahāpuruṣa*). The birth of a Great Man is a rare cosmic event that happens only a few times per world-cycle – if at all. It is the conclusion of a special aspiration, spanning millions of lifetimes. In all of these former lives a Great Man will have systematically collected good karma (*punya*), explicitly dedicating the beneficial power of his good deeds to the one moment in which he would attain one of two possible ultimate goals: either enthronement as an ideal king – a wheel-turning monarch (*cakravartin*), who rules the world in peace and righteousness – or the moment of supreme awakening (*saṃyaksambodhi*), which would turn him into a supreme Buddha who would open the gates to deathlessness by revealing to the world the path to nirvana.

The concept of the Great Man seems to stem from ancient Indian lore, and is perhaps not unlike the Jewish messiah concept. It is the hope for the arrival of a pre-

¹ For more information on the *cakravartin* concept, see Stanley S. Tambiah, *World Conqueror and World Renouncer: A Study of Buddhism and Polity in Thailand Against a Historical Background* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

Sven Bretfeld, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies

dicted ‘chosen one,’ who will turn the world into a better place. The following story suggests that this prophecy was part of the Indian Vedic – that is, pre-Buddhist – tradition, but this cannot be confirmed by the extant Vedic material. The myth of the Great Man seems to combine the hopes for an idealised hero figure in the political and the religious spheres. However, unlike the Jewish messiah, the Indian Great Man would fulfil only one of the two aspects of the prophecy, depending on his chosen path. Siddhārtha Gautama chose the religious path, becoming a supreme Buddha. In some texts he introduces himself as the “Thus-Come” (*tathāgata*), implying that he is the one everybody has been waiting for. Some 100 years later, King Aśoka (304–232 BCE) would choose the other path; he is identified in the Buddhist tradition as a wheel-turning monarch. Both – the Buddha and Aśoka – are depicted with the thirty-two major marks of a Great Man (that is, the bodily features making every Buddha image unmistakable, such as the protuberance on top of the head (*uṣṇīṣa*), the tuft of hair between the eyebrows (*ūrṇa*), or the wheel symbol on the soles of the feet; the distinctive long earlobes are among the eighty minor marks of a Great Man). The *tathāgata* and the *cakravartin* are, in a way, twin figures of the cosmic process – though they are not monozygotic twins, as they are distinguished by their ‘career choices’: one has to play the role of a religious saviour, the other the role of saviour of the political world.

In the following passage from the early Buddhist scriptural collection *Dīgha Nikāya*, the Brahman (Vedic priest) Pokkharasati has heard that the ascetic Gotama (Siddhārtha Gautama, the Buddha) will spend the night in a jungle close by. The Brahman has heard rumours that Gotama is believed to be a fully enlightened Buddha by his followers. Therefore, he sends his pupil Ambattha to the place where Gotama is staying, to find out whether the rumours are true. Before Ambattha leaves, Pokkharasati teaches his pupil about the prophecy of the Great Man, and how to recognize such a being.

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Page numbers given in square brackets refer to this edition.

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Maurice Walshe. *The Long Discourses of the Buddha: A Translation of the Dīgha Nikāya*. Translated from the Pali. Boston, MA: Wisdom Publications, 2012; 3.1.4–3.1.5.

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1.4. And Pokkharasati said to Ambattha: ‘Ambattha, my son, the ascetic Gotama . . . is staying in the dense jungle of Icchānankala. And concerning that Blessed Lord a good report has been spread about . . . Now you go to see the ascetic Gotama and find out whether this report is correct or not, and whether the Reverend Gotama is as they say or not. In that way we shall put the Reverend Gotama to the test.’

1.5. ‘Sir, how shall I find out whether the report is true, or whether the Reverend Gotama is as they say or not?’ ‘According to the tradition of our mantras, Ambattha, the great man who is possessed of the thirty-two marks of a Great Man has only two courses open to him. If he lives the household life he will become a ruler, a wheel-turning righteous monarch of the law,¹ conqueror of the four quarters, who has established the security of his realm and is possessed of the [p. 88/89] seven treasures.² These are: the Wheel-Treasure, the Elephant-Treasure, the Horse-Treasure, the Jewel-Treasure, the Woman-Treasure, the Householder-Treasure, and, as seventh, the Counsellor-Treasure. He has more than a thousand sons who are heroes, of heroic stature, conquerors of the hostile army. He dwells having conquered this sea-girt land without stick or sword, by the law. But if he goes forth from the household life into homelessness, then he will become an Arahant, a fully-enlightened Buddha, one who draws back the veil from the world.³ And, Ambattha, I am the passer-on of the mantras, and you are the receiver.’

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¹ [editorial note 144 in the original] See DN 17.

² [editorial note 145 in the original] See DN 17.

³ [editorial note 146 in the original] *Loke vivattacchaddo*: a difficult expression. I follow DA. The ‘veil’ is that of ignorance, etc.

2 The Dīgha Nikāya: *The Discourse of the Lion's Roar of a Wheel-Turning Monarch* (ca. 5th–1st Century BCE)

Introduced by Sven Bretfeld

Introduction



Figure 1a and 1b: Two reliefs from Andhra. The left shows the indepictable Buddha represented by the Wheel of the Doctrine (*dharmacakra*) above an empty throne. The right one shows a Cakravartin, a Wheel-turning monarch, possibly Aśoka.

In the previous chapter, we encountered the most important symbol representing the religious and the political sphere: the wheel. Both religious truth as an institutionalised tradition in time and space, and the manifestation of political authority on earth are symbolised as wheels. Thus there are two wheels: the wheel of the doctrine (*dharmacakra*), see e.g. figure 1a, and the wheel of authority (*ājñācakra*), see e.g. figure 1b. The historical origin of this twin symbolism is unclear, but, in texts, both can be used as abstract metaphors similar to the European expression ‘religious and political spheres/fields.’ Both represent distinct domains of society – each with its own logic, language, organisation, and authority structure. Unlike the distinctly static European field and sphere metaphors, however, the wheel is a dynamic symbol. As long as the respective wheel is spinning, the religious community or the kingdom/empire remains

Sven Bretfeld, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies

functional. It stops or disappears once the king is dead, or when a Buddha's dharma has completely been forgotten on earth.

The initial momentum of each wheel is imparted by the two figures described in the previous chapter. The wheel of the doctrine is set into motion by a Buddha, with his first preaching. The historical Buddha Gautama is believed to have done this in a park, close to the north-eastern Indian town Varanasi, where five ascetics witnessed him preaching the Four Noble Truths for the first time, eight weeks after his awakening. The wheel of authority has a concrete material symbol, called the 'wheel-treasure.' It is a kind of sculpture of a 1000-spoked wheel, which spontaneously materialises whenever a king displays the characteristics of a wheel-turning monarch. At the moment of his death, it likewise miraculously disappears.

The following passage, again from the early Buddhist scriptural collection *Dīgha Nikāya*, makes clear that a wheel-turning monarch is – unlike an ordinary king – a ruler who governs his kingdom strictly according to religious principles (*dharma*). Even his conquests of other countries happen without bloodshed, as the inhabitants of invaded countries welcome him, surrender voluntarily to his peaceful authority, and happily adopt his righteous laws. In other words, the wheel-turning monarch expands the influence of dharma in the world, and thus once again highlights the twin figuration of wheel-turning monarch and *tathāgata* (the “Thus-Come”, one of Buddha Gautama's titles). Both enlighten the world with the dharma, one with the religious instruments of a preacher, the other by political means.

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5. “But what, sire, is the duty of an Ariyan wheel-turning monarch?” “It is this, my son: Yourself depending on the Dhamma, honouring it, revering it, cherishing it, doing homage to it and venerating it, having the Dhamma as your badge and banner, acknowledging the Dhamma as your master, you should establish guard, ward and protection according to Dhamma for your own household, your troops, your nobles and vassals, for Brahmins and householders, town and country folk, ascetics and Brahmins, for beasts and birds.¹ Let no crime² prevail in your kingdom, and to those who are in need, give property. And whatever ascetics and Brahmins in your kingdom have renounced the life of sensual infatuation and are devoted to forbearance and gentleness, each one taming himself, each one calming himself and each one striving for the end of craving, from time to time you should go to them and consult them as to what is wholesome and what is unwholesome, that is blameworthy and what is blameless, what is to be followed and what is not to be followed, and what action will in the long run lead to harm and sorrow, and what to welfare and happiness. Having listened to them, you should avoid evil and do what is good.³ That, my son, is the duty of an Ariyan wheel-turning monarch.”

“Yes, sire”, said the King, and he performed the duties of an Ariyan wheel-turning monarch. And as he did so, on the fast-day of the fifteenth, when he had washed his head and gone up to the verandah on top of his palace for the fast-day, the sacred Wheel-Treasure appeared to him, thousand-spoked, complete with felloe, hub and all appurtenances. Then the King thought: “I have heard that when a duly anointed [p. 61/62] Khattiya king sees such a wheel on the fast-day of the fifteenth, he will become a wheel-turning monarch. May I become such a monarch!”⁴

6. ‘Then, rising from his seat, covering one shoulder with his robe, the King took a gold vessel in his left hand, sprinkled the Wheel with his right hand, and said: “May the noble Wheel-Treasure turn, may the noble Wheel-Treasure conquer!” The Wheel turned to the east, and the King followed it with his fourfold army. And in whatever country the Wheel stopped, the King took up residence with his fourfold army. And those who opposed him in the eastern region came and said: “Come, Your Majesty, welcome! We are yours, Your Majesty. Rule us, Your Majesty.” And the King said: “Do not take life. Do not take what is not given. Do not commit sexual misconduct. Do not

1 [editorial note 788 in the original] A truly Buddhist touch! Asoka, who made some effort to live up to the ideal of a wheel-turning monarch, established animal hospitals.

2 [editorial note 789 in the original] *Adhamma-kāro*: ‘non-Dhamma-doing’.

3 [editorial note 790 in the original] The word rendered ‘good’ is the same, *kusala*, as rendered just previously by ‘wholesome’. The literal ‘skilful’ is also sometimes to be preferred. A case where variation in translation is desirable — but it should be indicated.

4 [editorial note 791 in the original] All as in DN 17.

tell lies. Do not drink strong drink. Be moderate in eating.”⁵ And those who had opposed him in the eastern region became his subjects.’

7. ‘Then the Wheel turned south, west, and north . . . (as verse 6). Then the Wheel-Treasure, having conquered the lands from sea to sea, returned to the royal capital and stopped before the King’s palace as he was trying a case, as if to adorn the royal palace.’

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⁵ [editorial note 792 in the original] But see n.472. Warder (as n.801) has ‘rule (collect taxes) in moderation’.

3 King Kassapa V: *Anurādhapura Slab Inscription* (919 CE)

Introduced by Sven Bretfeld

Introduction

To summarise the previous two chapters, the wheel-turning monarch is a political concept, embedded in a religious framework. The mythology of this figure obviously grew alongside and together with that of the *tathāgata*. The two figures are imagined as cosmological twins, representing the political and the religious legs of an ideal world, which is completely permeated and driven by truth and righteousness (*dharma*), see figure 2.

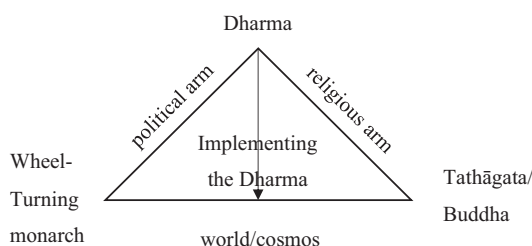


Figure 2: Figure of twin-pair Wheel-Turning Monarch and *tathāgata* / Buddha.

In later discourse, this twin figuration remains, but is transformed into a political model of an ideal kingdom. The twin pair now becomes a) the ‘state’ or society (*loka*, literally “the world”), and b) the institutionalised representation of the Buddha’s teaching within society (*sāsana*, literally “the message”), see figure 3. Both can be considered distinct domains within society, supported and protected by the king.

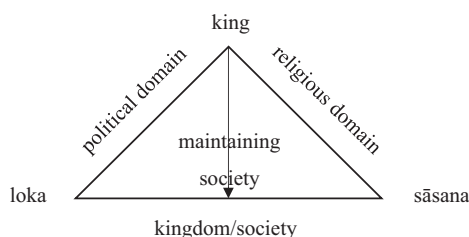


Figure 3: Figure of twin-pair *loka* and *sāsana*.

Sven Bretfeld, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies

In order to govern his realm successfully, a king has to secure the welfare of both social domains. The use of the term *sāsana* in this context is typical for the South and Southeast Asian traditions of Buddhism. In its unspecific meaning, it is a synonym to *dharma* – that is, the world-surmounting truth, as it is comprehended and revealed to the world by an enlightened being. The more specific usage distinguishes the term *sāsana* from *dharma*. In these cases, the *sāsana* is the embodiment of the *dharma* within time and space. Concretely, it signifies the empirical representations of the three jewels in society: (1) the Buddha in the form of installed relics, including statues and the Bodhi trees, (2) the *dharma* as a collection of the Buddha's utterances, carried by human memory and written media, and (3) the *saṅgha*, the monastic communities of those who follow the Buddha's path, and safeguard his teaching through the generations. As a material entity, dependent on social effort and careful ministration, the *sāsana* is subject to the contingencies of history. Therefore, Buddhist social models and historical narratives are centred around the idea of the *sāsana*'s weakness, vulnerability, and need of protection. The king has a special role to play in this regard. A good Buddhist king – a dharma king – invests his resources not only in the maintenance and expansion of his kingdom, but also in the creation of optimal conditions for the monastic community to maintain, practice, and spread the *sāsana*. In practice, this mainly means that considerable shares of the royal treasure were donated to the monasteries. The sustenance of certain large monastic estates, so-called royal monasteries (*rāja-mahāvihāra*), were accounted for as expected daily running costs in the king's budget, which could include the supply of food, medicine, and other necessities, to these estates' several thousand monks. In addition, kings and nobility funded new monasteries, and donated monetary and material resources for the maintenance and repair of older buildings, statues, and relic shrines. Donations included large sums of money, cultivated land, villages (together with the labour of the inhabitants), and irrigation rights. Monasteries were often exempted from taxes, and held other legal privileges, such as protection from dissolution by royal officials.

The following inscription records how King Kassapa V of Anurādhapura (914–923) grants such donations and privileges to several monasteries. Noteworthy here is how the first paragraph expresses the king's merits in the *loka* and *sāsana* domains (*loka* is generically translated as “world” in the translation at hand) in poetic images and laudatory stock phrases. These allude to his generosity toward the monastic community, his erudition (Kassapa is considered a well-educated scholar-king in the historiography), his popularity among the citizens, and the fear-inducing prowess he displayed against his enemies (he undertook an ultimately unsuccessful military campaign against the rising Cōla Empire in South India). The second paragraph is more explicit in enumerating some of the king's activities in both domains. The rest of the inscription consists of regulations he issued regarding – and in favour of – monastic institutions attached to the Abhayagiri and Seyigiri (Mihintale), two of the largest monastic estates of Sri Lanka at the time. The account is simultaneously a legal document and eulogistic praise of the king's merits in the *sāsana* domain.

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Page numbers given in square brackets refer to this passage.

The translation reproduced here can be found in:

Sirimal Ranawella, ed. *Inscriptions of Ceylon: Containing Pillar, Slab, and Rock Inscriptions from 815 A. D. to 923 A. D.*, Archaeological Survey of Ceylon. Colombo: Department of Archaeology, 2001; 333–36.

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His Highness,¹ the Great King *Debisevā-jā*² Salameyvan Abahay who was conceived in the womb of our anointed Queen Saṅgbaṇḍay, and received at the very instant of his birth the auspicious unction of *Yuvarāja* and illuminated the world with his sun and moon-like glory and splendour, and became famous in the world by subduing (his) enemies with his own valour; he was born unto His Majesty, the Great King Buddas Sirisaṅgboy Abahay who has by right of descent inherited the Queen of Earth, that is the Island of Laṃkā; who promoted the teaching of the Buddha (*sāsana*) and comforted the world with showers of (his) boundless all-embracing gentle and pure qualities, as limpid as water, flourished with the prowess of a lion, having ascended his auspicious Lion-throne, which was like unto a plateau of red arsenic subdued the must-like pride of his elephant-like enemies with the terrible lion-roar of his words (of command).

Our Majesty who is descended from the Solar dynasty, and who is like unto a forehead ornament unto the royal line of Okkāka, the pinnacle of the Sākya race, that was descended from the Solar line, having restored the Mirisiviṭṭi monastery, Saṅgsen-arama, by and Kasubraj-Mahavehera caused five hundreds monks to reside, and honoured (them) by making the four requisites plentiful, uplifted the pinnacle of *sāsana*, allayed the fear of disease by building royal hospitals by the King's High-Street, near

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1 [editorial note 50 in the original] *Maharaj-yutār*:- Wickremasinghe is of the opinion that it 'must be equivalent to Skt. *Mahā-rājya-yuta* with Tamil *ār*, signifying 'he who is possessed of the dignity of a great king' (cf. *śrī-yuta*)' (EZ. [Epigraphia Zeylanica], Vol. I, p. 49, fn. 4).

2 [editorial note 51 in the original] *Debisevā ja*:- 'born of two consecrations.' Kassapa V was consecrated as a *Mahapā* or *Yuvarāja*, once during the reign of his father, King Sena II (859–887), and again during the reign of his uncle, King Kassapa IV. No other ruler had the good fortune of undergoing twice the ceremony of consecration *Yuvarāja* or *Mahapā*.

the Southern-gate of the inner-city; put out the fear of famine by promoting agricultural activities using rain-water and reservoir water³ and thereby caused Sri Laṃkā to flourish;⁴ removed the fear of armed attack by clearing the country of enemies;⁵ having modelled the images of the Buddha⁶ out of various material and in various ways, and having offered those all the wealth; honoured the Lord Buddha by conducting relic-festivals; having thought ‘how I shall honour the precious *Dhamma*,’ (he) caused the discourses of *Abhidhamma* to be inscribed on plates of gold and offered it much honours in fulfilment of that resolution, and with his heart’s longing ‘I will promote the *sāsana*’ expounded that same *Dhamma*⁷ in the presence of esteemed teachers and extolled the virtues of the Buddha in mother tongue.

In the sixth year after the raising of the canopy (of dominion) by him, he, having built the Salamevan-pavu monastery for Kapārā-muḷa in the Abhayagiriya monastery, caused the monks to take up residence there, made the four requisites easily available and enacted the following rules concerning the *āvāsas* (dwelling places) of the monks attached to these monasteries:

The officials of the royal household shall not enter the villages and estates attached to the Inner-monasteries of the Abhayagiri-vihāra and the Seyigiri-vihāra as well as the (other) monasteries attached to them; also to the Rajamahā-vihāra, the *Pirivenas*, the Meditation hall; also to the villages and estates belonging to the monks and to private individuals; (they also) shall not appropriate domesticated elephants, carts, oxen, and buffaloes, and (they) shall not cut down trees and shrubs (therein); also the *Melāṭsi* officers shall not enter. Should there be anyone who has committed murder, the officials may enter the village and investigate⁸ only his case, but no injustice be

3 [editorial note 52 in the original] *Podonavulu puluṇḍāvuluyen*:- Wickremasinghe has treated these two words as the names of two reservoirs; but in our opinion they refer to rain-water and reservoir-water respectively, with which the cultivation of fields and land had been carried out, or they denote wet and dry lands, paddy-fields and the *Heṇa* land.

4 [editorial note 53 in the original] *Sirilak loṇḍurvay*:- literally, it means ‘having caused Sri Laṃkā to flower and grow’.

5 [editorial note 54 in the original] *Raṭ-soyay*:- the word *soyay* is equivalent to ‘sodhetvā’ in Pali, meaning, having ‘cleaned’, ‘examined’ or ‘searched’.

6 [editorial note 55 in the original] *Nan jāyin nan sey Bud-biṇḍ karay*; Wickremasinghe has read this as and has rendered it as ‘he made converts to Buddhism from divers nationalities,’ but it is clear from the context that it refers to the creation of something like icons or images for the people to venerate.

7 [editorial note 56 in the original] *Dhamdesun viyak-han kala*:- The word *viya-han* is equivalent to *vyākhyāna* in Skt., meaning, ‘expounding’ or ‘enumerating’. It occurs in the *Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gāṭapa-daya* (page 1.1) of King Kassapa V in a slightly different form as ‘*viykhyan*’.

8 [editorial note 57 in the original] *Illā*:- ‘investigate’ or ‘inquire’; this word occurs in several places in our record (lines 18, 19, 20, 36, 37, 55). Wickremasinghe renders it either as ‘demand,’ or ‘having obtained’ which are the general meanings of that word, but those meanings do not suit the context of our record. It occurs in the *Sikhavalaṇḍa vinisa Piṭapota* (edited by Pandita Vataddara Medhananda Thera, p. 3) and in the Koṇḍavaṭṭavan Pillar Inscription of King Dappula IV and the Vevālkāṭiya Slab Inscription of King Udaya IV (EZ., Vol. V, pp. 136, 137, C, 27–28; EZ., Vol. I, pp. 246, 247). The *Sikhavalaṇḍa vinisa Piṭapota* has interpreted it as meaning, ‘having investigated’ or ‘examined.’ Paranavi-

done to other tenants who are not involved in it; the officials of the royal household who visit the Districts on inspection at the expiration of every two years shall demand only those who have committed the five great heinous crimes, but shall not demand the others who have committed minor offences; if fines had already been imposed earlier by the authorities according to the custom of the village, no fines shall be levied again for the same offence; all the fines collected from the villages and estates belonging to the Inner-monastery shall be remitted to the Inner-monastery for the repairs (of its buildings).

The *Perenāṭṭiyam* officers shall not enter any place, which they have never visited before;⁹ should there be a dispute concerning the fines imposed by royal officers who had gone on inspection to the Districts, the officials and the judges shall sit (together) in session and, after deliberations, shall remit whatever that ought to be remitted.

If there be anyone who, after having committed murder (elsewhere), has taken refuge in the premises occupied by the monks, he, and the others who are involved in it shall be tried and be handed over to be exiled to India; should there be anyone who enters such a place owing to some other fear, neither (his) house shall be confiscated as a fine nor he shall be exiled.

(Even) under the (King's) wrath [the state] shall not confiscate the *pamaṇu* lands, which had been endowed and dedicated in accordance with the teaching of the Buddha by the royal household. Should the employees (of the monasteries) and the holders of village leases go before the monks (over some dispute), it shall be inquired into and recover any debt that ought to be recovered, but no other punishment shall be inflicted. Lodgings shall not be provided in the *āvāsas* of the monks for men who were expelled from the royal household; the *āvāsas*, which are dedicated to the community of monks, shall not be made private property. If there be an offence which is said to have been committed by a monk who is a destitute, or one who has received some benefits, or a recipient of an *āvāsa*, first the monks of the three fraternities shall sit in session and settle it;¹⁰ if it cannot be settled by those monks, then they shall, after having gathered together with the officials, investigate it and punish him according to its merit.

If there be a dispute over partaking of gruel by the monks, the officials shall be sent to reconcile the monks and induce them to partake of the gruel, but shall not compel them to accept it, if there be any official who has done any of these acts without a royal command, he shall be dismissed from the service; if any of these acts had

tana, who edited the Koṇḍavaṭṭavan Pillar Inscription, has rendered it into English as 'making investigations' (EZ., Vol. V, p. 140). This meaning suits the context very well in which it occurs in our record.
 9 [editorial note 58 in the original] The phrase can be rendered also as 'where the officials of (the Department of) *Pere* are not expected to go.'

10 [editorial note 59 in the original] *Kaḷaha yana varadak āta puva temulā saṅgun hiṇḍā nimavanu:-* ('If there be an offence which is said to have been committed by a monk', first the monks of the three fraternities shall sit and settle it.) Here the word has been used to convey the meaning of 'first.' The three *Mūlas* or fraternities were probably the Uttara-mūla, Kapārā-mūla and Mahānēttap-pāsāda-mūla which had been affiliated to the Abhayagiri-vihāra.

been carried out by a command of the royal household, a *Payala* (of land) shall be granted from the royal household to the *vihāra* in which it had happened, and persuade the monks to partake gruel. If the monks go away, disregarding the accepted rules, they shall be made to partake gruel after paying customary fines.

The Image-house, the *stūpa*, the *Mahābodhi-ghara*, the Ratna-pāsāda, and the Refectory, all the aforementioned places, which are attached to the Abhayagiri-vihāra, shall be inspected by the chief monks of the two fraternities and of the six *āvāsas* at the end of the year and thereafter prepare a record (of income and expenditure). This record shall be read out in the midst of the congregation of monks. The chief monks of the two fraternities attached to the monastery, too, shall be inspected (the respective places) and then prepare a record of (its income and expenditure), which shall be read out in the midst of the congregation of monks.

If someone to be ordained, he shall be from among those who have mastered the four sections of the *paritta*; nothing whatsoever shall be accepted from those who are to be ordained. The givers and the recipients (of such gifts) shall not take lodgings in the same *āvāsa*, and no four relatives shall be lodged in one *āvāsa*.

The monks shall be admitted to all the *āvāsas* attached to the two fraternities where there are vacant places in accordance with the resolutions of the benefactors at the end of the rainy season without transgressing the observances and practices; the monks who are as known to the (monks of those) *āvāsas*, and have studied and mastered the text shall be admitted (to the *āvāsas*) where there are vacant places, even if it is not the end of the rainy season. The monks who teach (the subject) of observances shall be admitted to those places where discourses on observances are taught. The monks who live in discord (in an *āvāsa*) and whose violations of observances and practices had exceeded the limit, and the monks who are in agreement with those (violations) shall not be lodged in that *āvāsa*. The monks who had been exiled to India due to the (King's) wrath, as well as those who had been expelled from premises of the *āvāsa*, shall not be allowed to come again into that *āvāsa* from which they have been expelled; those monks who have taken action to readmit them, too, shall not be lodged in that *āvāsa*.

The officials who have given away the oxen attached to Karvaḷ-hala to others, and those who have taken the same for themselves, shall be dismissed from the service. Other than the *dasa-kārā* (one tenth of the produce), which is granted to them out of the (revenue) of the villages and estates attached to the Inner-monastery, (the officials) shall not appropriate shares of *pamaṇu* (land)¹¹ bordering reservoirs, and shall not undertake any agricultural activity there. [p. 330/331]

¹¹ [editorial note 60 in the original] *Pāt-pamaṇu*:- This term occurs in the Panākaḍuva Copper-plate Inscription of King Vijayabāhu I (1055–1110) in a slightly different form as '*pet-pamaṇu*'. Paranavitana, its editor, has interpreted it as 'shares (of land-holdings) and estates.' He equates the word '*pet*' with '*patti*' in Pali, meaning, shares (EZ., Vol. V, pp. 22, 26).

These rules shall be followed in the two *āvāsas*, Mahanetpā and Vahadū. Neither here nor in the other *āvāsas* the children of tender age¹² shall be ordained. An *amuṇa* of raw-rice, and four *akas* of gold for the provisions of alms (shall be given) daily to the recipients of the *āvāsas* in the Mahakapārā-pirivena, and one thousand (*kaḷaṇḍas* of) gold as the cost of the robes, and two *Payalas* of land from Vāligama for the servants shall be given at the end of the year; the men who are attached to this place shall be (employed as) servants.

The recipients of the *Pirivenas* who have secured for themselves the enjoyment of whatsoever material that is inside or outside the *āvāsa*, except those which are assigned to them, after due investigation has been made jointly by the monks and the royal officials, they shall be expelled from the *āvāsas*. The land shall be acquired by the recipients of the *Pirivenas* out of the (revenue) of the share allotted to (them), only if there is a surplus (of revenue) after paying the allowances to the monks and servants, and after defraying the expenses connected with new works and repairs (to the buildings), the offerings, and painting work of (the buildings). The greatly devoted Venerable Elders shall be looked after in accordance with the former custom. Eight persons, including four destitute (monks), and four elderly (monks) from the two institutions,¹³ who are recommended jointly by the recipients of the *Pirivenas* and (the congregation) of the monks, shall inspect the (*Pirivenas*) and a record (of income and expenditure) shall be prepared and be made the community of monks hear it at the end of the year.

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¹² [editorial note 61 in the original] *Unu-povā mahaṇ nokaranu*:- Wickremasinghe renders this phrase as ‘no youths of tender age be received into the order’. (EZ., Vol. I, pp. 56–57). According to the *Sikha-valanda-vinisa Piṭapota* (page 9) the meaning of the word *unu* is ‘small’ (*kuḍā*), and the word *povā* has the meaning of ‘young ones.’ Hence, the word may be rendered as ‘children of young age’.

¹³ [editorial note 62 in the original] *De-asanin*; the exact meaning of this word is not known. Wickremasinghe has adopted its literary meaning and has interpreted it as ‘the two seats’ (EZ., Vol. I, p. 57). But its context suggests that what is meant here is the two Monasteries, the Abhayagiriya and Sāgiriya.

4 Jayabāhu Dharmakīrti: *Compendium of the Buddhist Lineages* (14th or 15th Century)

Translated and introduced by Sven Bretfeld

Introduction

The following chapter of the *Nikāyasaṅgrahaya*, a history of the Buddhist teaching composed in medieval Sinhalese in the fourteenth century, describes the measures taken by King Parākramabāhu I of Polonnaruva (1153–1186) to stabilise his kingdom. Parākramabāhu I, or the Great, is one of the major heroes of Sri Lankan cultural memory. Politically extremely successful, and no less efficient in establishing religious conformity, his name is often adorned with the title *cakravartin* or “wheel-turning monarch.” This, of course, refers to the ancient idea of a worldly twin to the Buddha. In these later uses of the title, it does not imply a claim of worldwide domination. The chapter is quite cleanly structured along the lines of the *loka-sāsana* distinction. The king’s worldly achievements are described first. Before he could bring peace and order to the *loka* domain, he had to fight several wars – first against rebels within Sri Lanka, then abroad, against threatening powers of South India, and perhaps Burma (it is unclear whether or not Aramaṇa really means Lower Burma here, as it does in later periods). Once he has secured his sovereignty, he sets out to stabilise the kingdom, first establishing a well-structured administrative apparatus as an instrument of centralised authority (the *loka* domain). Next, he purifies the *sāsana*, by having those monks who entertained heretical views cast out of the community. This (allegedly) removed a centuries-old disharmony among the monastic communities of Sri Lanka, which had split into different “sects” (*nikāya*) 1,254 years earlier.

What is not stated here is that Parākramabāhu also seems to have established a centralised hierarchy within the *saṅgha*. This hierarchical apparatus was fully established in somewhat later sources, but the structure – or at least the central idea – seems to stem from Parākramabāhu’s initiative. In the developed system, the complete *saṅgha* of Sri Lanka is centrally administered by a committee of representatives of the major monastic establishments around the island (*kāraka-saṅgha*), headed by a *saṅgha* king (*saṅgharāja*), and two subsidiary hierarchs. Here, again, we recognise the twin structure of *loka* and *sāsana*. In both domains, centralised authority is secured through a similarly structured hierarchical apparatus with authority delegated to various bodies, including the parallelism of a king for the worldly domain, and a monk-king governing the religious domain. Had the text included a description of the religious administration, the parallelism would have been perfect: first, peace and order had to be restored by means of violence (war-

Sven Bretfeld, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies

fare and the eradication of heresies, respectively for the two domains); second, systems of centralised authority are established to prevent future rivalries. A parallel text of the same period (*Daḷadā-Pūjāvaliya*) makes explicit reference to the two wheels, stating: “in order to prevent a fragmentation of control, [the king] (re-)designed the Wheel of Authority (*aṇasaka*) and the Wheel of the Dharma (*dahamsaka*) in Sri Lanka.”

Bibliographical Information

Sven Bretfeld, ed. and trans. *Nikāyasaṅgrahaya: A Transmission History of the Śāsana by Jayabāhu Dēvarakṣita Dharmakīrti*. Critical Edition and English Translation. Oxford: Pali Text Society, 2025.

Translation by Sven Bretfeld

After the three kings Mahalu Vijayabāhu, Jayabāhu and Vikramabāhu¹ – in the year 1696 after our Buddha’s Parinirvāṇa – a great king named Śrī Saṃghabodhi Śrī Parākramabāhu² arose in Śrī Laṅkā, resplendent with a corona of light, namely the horizon-pervading fame of a king of kings born to the royal dynasty, connected to the succession lineage starting with Mahāsammata.³ Familiar with royal authority and endowed with the [karmic] power of noble meritorious deeds [done in past lives], he subdued 364 independent domains and became the emperor of the island. Then he assembled the Sinhalese troops scattered around the island of Laṅkā which formerly decimated each other by mutual quarrels. From this great Sinhalese army – combining 2,425,000 mercenaries, who had been awarded with golden daggers, with a large army of about 995,000 navy-soldiers, who were likewise decorated for [previous] victories – he selected ten percent and sent 2,125,000 Sinhalese warriors to foreign countries.⁴ Having conquered the countries from the Sōlī and Paṇḍi kingdoms to Aramaṇa, he spread the realm of his sway to both his own country and foreign countries simultaneously. Thinking, “I will bolster the administrative texture of the kingdom in order to prevent any fragmentation of authority in Śrī Laṅkā”, he released the following enactment:⁵ “The efficacy of the principal offices – viz. prime minister, commander in

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1 [editorial note 1 in the original] Vikkamabāhu I.

2 [editorial note 2 in the original] Parākramabāhu I.

3 [editorial note 3 in the original] The mythical first king of human kind.

4 [editorial note 4 in the original] The incorrect calculation is due to a transmission error.

5 [editorial note 5 in the original] Several items of the list are not fully clear.

chief, heir apparent/vice king, heir presumptive/second vice king, chief secretary, chief administrator of the provinces, assistant minister, chief juridical officer, head of the mercentile groups, principal legal secretary, principal secretary for envoys, chief intelligencer, chief physician, chief astrologer and chief educator – as well as eight councils of scholarly experts, eight offices of trade taxes, four offices of finances, eight centres for elephant taming and 18,000 abodes for outcasts – all this shall be maintained without interruption.” Having issued this ordinance, he enjoyed strong royal governance.

With citizens save and happy, delighting through the virtues of the king,
Who exists for the protection of the people, pleasing in its forms,
Is the golden Pulatthinagara,⁶ with its houses tall like the king of mountains,
Home of great noble lords, the most excellent among the cities.⁷

In the area of the thus-described city of Poḷonnaru⁸ he had beautiful monasteries constructed: Purvārāma, Dakṣiṇārāma, Paścimārāma, Uttarārāma, Kapilavastu, Isipatana, Kusinārārāma, Vēḷuvanārāma, Jētavana, Laṃkātilaka, Trivaṃka, Ātubadlena and others.⁹ In these he made a Mahāsaṃgha of several thousand [monks] spend the rainy seasons. He caused to be build 360 Pariveṇas named with bardic epithets referring to his own recent heroic deeds:¹⁰ God of Death for the Coḷa Dynasty of Hostile Kings, Uprooter of Haughty Kings, Subduer of False Believers, Armour Against Injustice, Knower of the Constituents of Power, Conqueror of All Directions, Victor over the Enemies of Endless Love, Diamond Cage for those Having Come for Refuge, Heroism and Brilliancy that Foil the Opponent’s Plans, The Stainless One, Ruby Crest-Gem of All Sciences, Designer of Action and Counter-Action, Pararājagodhūmaghaṭṭanaghar-aḍa (?), Aivararāyagaḍa (?), Brother to the Wives of Other Men, Paramour of the Enemy King’s Courtesans, etc. Giving continuous support to 3,700 ordained Bhikṣus, he was living a contented life.

Then he heard how the Śāsana has been in decline for 1,254 years since the 15th year of the aforementioned King Vaḷagam Abhā up to the 4th year of his own reign, after the emergence of Split-Nikāyas due to evil monks who were accepting non-Dharmas as the Dharma, like the Vaitulyavāda and other non-Dharmas, which were – as explicated earlier – unfortunately transmitted after being produced by Tīrthakas of other [religious systems] in order to destroy the Śāsana. After he learned

6 [editorial note 6 in the original] Polonnaruva.

7 [editorial note 7 in the original] Various verses like this occur in Cūlv 73 which describes Parākramabāhu’s restoration of Pulatthinagara.

8 [editorial note 8 in the original] Pulatthinagara.

9 [editorial note 9 in the original] On these monasteries see Cūlv [Cūlavamsa] 73, Nicholas 1960, pp. 463–465 and Seneviratna 1998, pp. 91–204.

10 [editorial note 10 in the original] Some names are corrupt or unclear. They are discussed in the philological notes to the text edition.

about this issue he thought: “If a powerful Cakravartin like me, having repeatedly heard of the filth that has now befallen the utterly pure Śāsana of the Buddha, remained indifferent, the Śāsana of the Buddha would perish. Many living beings would go to hell. [Therefore,] I have to serve the Śāsana of the Buddha which is to persist for 5,000 years.” With his heart moved by compassion based on wisdom, he thought: “With which reverend’s help can I serve the thus violated Śāsana and cleanse it so that it is stainless again?” Then he approached the Mahāsaṃgha of the Mahāvihāravāsin headed by the Thera Mahākāśyapa of the Audumbagiri forest-hermitage who was endowed with a bulk of various virtues like complete faultlessness, helpful to the threefold Śāsana. Having informed them about the matter, he sent for several hundred ill-disciplined, evil Bhikṣus of the three Nikāyas Dharmaruci, Sāgalika and Vaitulyavāda who spoil the unstained Śāsana of the Omniscient One with their wrong practices. He assembled them in a creeper-bower and, standing there through the three watches of the night, he had them all removed from the Śāsana. Having [thus] purified the Śāsana of the Buddha he unified the three Nikāyas. By the power of this meritorious deed he was reborn, at the end of his life, as a god-king named Naradēva with the lifetime of a kalpa on top of a mountain of gold and silver in the Himālaya region which shines because of 84,000 golden mountain peaks.

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5 Anāgatavaṃsa (Deśanā): *The Chronicle of the Future* (date uncertain, before 14th Century)

Introduced by Sven Bretfeld

Introduction

If secularisation is understood as the gradual decrease in the significance of religious commitment for the constitution and sustenance of society, classical Buddhist sources portray their own peculiar narrative framework of secularisation. Unsurprisingly, these narratives depict ‘secularisation’ as a negative – a *loss* or *decline* of morality, with catastrophic consequences for humanity. These narratives became especially relevant when some modern Buddhist authors created anti-secularist diagnoses of the present state of global civilisation, infusing these classical narrative frameworks with accounts of the colonial powers’ exploitation of Asia, the failure of colonial governments, the decline of Buddhism in Asia, and the spread of an inferior rival religion (Christianity), materialist capitalism, and the American way of life. While narratives of decline in classical Buddhist sources are complex and variegated, they are very much present in all Buddhist cultures.¹

While the master narratives of European historiography are centred around the idea of progress, the opposite could be said of Buddhist concepts of history: everything was better in the past, and things will worsen further in the future. Only in the distant future, after humankind has gone through the nadir of civilisation, will the few survivors of a worldwide outbreak of violence slowly achieve an improvement in their material and moral conditions. After a while, wheel-turning kings will emerge again, and the Buddhist religion – which will, by then, have been long forgotten by mankind – will be recreated with the appearance of Maitreya, the Buddha of the future.

It seems that the narrative of decline is synthesised from three originally separate topoi:

- the natural decline and ultimate disappearance of the *sāsana* (as a consequence of the cosmic law of impermanence),
- the natural oscillation of mankind between highly moral and utterly immoral, self-destructive states (likewise a cosmic law, according to which eons of moral decline and moral improvement continually alternate),

¹ For a comprehensive study, see Jan Nattier, *Once Upon a Future Time: Studies in a Buddhist Prophecy of Decline* (Berkeley, CA: Asian Humanities Press, 1991).

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- the kings failing to live up to the ideals of a wheel-turning monarch, which leads to the gradual moral collapse of society, the outbreak of criminality, and martial competition for resources (as social consequences of the personal weaknesses of rulers who lacked morality and intelligence).

In the synthetic story, the synchrony of the disappearance of the *sāsana* and the nadir of human civilisation, while remarkable, is pure coincidence. The Buddha Gautama had established the present *sāsana* in a period when human civilisation had already been declining for several millennia; the respective timeframes thus mean that the eclipse of his teaching on earth will occur exactly when the rock bottom of human morality is reached. The topos of failing kings may have been added to the framework after the mythology of the wheel-turning monarch became popular as a political ideal.

The *sāsana*'s disappearance is, according to the Buddhist Theriya tradition (Sri Lanka, Southeast Asia), predicted to occur 5,000 years after the Buddha Gautama's death. Other traditions calculate other, mostly shorter timeframes. Before its final disappearance, the *sāsana* declines in several stages. According to the Theriya concept, as introduced to Sri Lanka by the famous commentator Buddhaghosa in the fifth century CE, there are five stages of decline, each lasting 1,000 years. The following extract is taken from the *Anāgatavaṃsa*, a post-canonical text narrating the history (*vaṃsa*) of the future (*anāgata*). It tells the story of the decline of Buddha Gautama's *sāsana*, up to the time when Maitreya (Metteyya), the next Buddha, appears and re-establishes the *sāsana*.

Bibliographical Information

The translation reproduced here can be found in:

Henry Clark Warren, trans. *Buddhism in Translations*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1896; 481–85.

Page numbers given in square brackets refer to this edition.

Translation Reproduced from Henry Clark Warren

[. . .]

Thus have I heard.

On a certain occasion The Blessed One was dwelling at Kapilavatthu in Banyan Grove on the banks of the Rohanī River.

Then the venerable Sāriputta questioned The Blessed One concerning the future Conqueror:

“The Hero that shall follow you

As Buddha, of what sort is he?

Th’ account in full I fain would learn.

Declare to me, thou Seeing One.”

When he had heard the elder's speech,
The Blessed One vouchsafed reply:
"I'll tell it thee. Sāriputta,
Pray lend your ears, for I will speak. [p. 481/482]

Our cycle is a happy one,
Three Leaders have already lived,
Kakusandha, Konāgamana,
And eke the leader Kassapa.

The Buddha now Supreme am I,
But after me Metteyya comes,
While still this happy cycle lasts,
Before its tale of years shall lapse.

This Buddha, then, Metteyya called,
Supreme, and of all men the chief—"

Then follows a history of the previous existence of Metteyyo, with the three Buddhas, Sumitto, Metteyyo, and Muhutto, during twenty-seven Buddhas, and finally at the time of the Buddha gotama, when he was born as son of Ajātaçattu, prince of Ajita (pp. ka–ca). On page ca begins the future history of Metteyya with a quotation of the recension compiled in verse. Then follows the description of the gradual declension of the holy religion:¹

"How will it occur? After my decease, first will occur the five disappearances. And what are the five disappearances? The disappearance of the attainments, the disappearance of the method, the disappearance of learning, the disappearance of the symbols, the disappearance of the relics. These are the five disappearances that are to occur.

"First: —

"*The attainments*: —Only for a thousand years from the time The Blessed One passes into Nirvana will the priests be able to acquire the analytical sciences. Then as time goes on my disciples will attain only to never returning, to once returning, to conversion. As long as such exist the disappearance of the attainments will not yet have occurred. But with the death of the last disciple that has attained to conversion the attainments will have disappeared.

"This, O Sāriputta, is the disappearance of the attainments.

"*Disappearance of the method*: —My disciples being un[p. 482/483]able to realize the trances, the insights, the Paths, and the Fruits, will keep only the four purities of conduct. Then as time goes on they will keep only the commandments forbidding the four deadly sins. As long as there are a hundred or a thousand priests who keep the commandments forbidding the four deadly sins, the disappearance of the method will

I SB: This paragraph was added by the translator.

not have occurred. But when the last priest shall break the precepts, or shall die, the method will have disappeared.

“This, O Sâriputta, is the disappearance of the method.

“Disappearance of learning: —As long as the text of the Three Baskets, which is the word of The Buddha, and as long as their commentaries are extant, the disappearance of learning will not have occurred. But as time goes on there will be irreligious kings of base extraction, and the courtiers and others in authority will be irreligious, and then the country people throughout the kingdom will be irreligious. On account of their irreligion the god will not rain in due season, and the crops will not flourish properly. And when the crops do not flourish, those who are wont to give the reliances to the congregation of the priests will be unable to do so any more. And the priests, not receiving the reliances, will not teach the novices, and as time goes on learning will disappear. When it disappears, it is the Great Work [i.e. Patthâna. [. . .]] that first disappears; when that has disappeared, then the Yamaka, the Kathâ-Vatthu, the Puggala-Paññatti, the Dhâtu-Kathâ, the Vibhanga, and the Dhamma-Sangani do so. When the Abhidhamma-Pitaka has disappeared, the Suttanta-Pitaka will also disappear. When the Suttanta disappears, it is first the Anguttara-Nikâya that disappears, and when the Anguttara-Nikâya disappears, then the Samyutta-Nikâya, the Majjhima-Nikâya, the Dîgha-Nikâya, the Khuddaka-Nikâya will disappear. My disciples will only remember the Jâtaka together with the Vinaya-Pitaka. It is, however, only the well-conducted priests that will remember the Vinaya-Pitaka. But as time goes on they will be unable to remember the Jâtaka, and first the Vessantara Birth-Story will disappear, and when the Vessantara Birth-Story has disappeared . . . the Apannaka Birth-Story will disappear. When the Jâtaka [p. 483/484] has disappeared, they will only remember the Vinaya-Pitaka. As time goes on the Vinaya-Pitaka will disappear, but as long as a four-line stanza remains among men, so long the disappearance of learning will not have occurred. But when a pious king shall cause a purse containing a thousand pieces of money to be placed in a golden casket on the back of an elephant, and shall cause proclamation up to the second and third time to be made throughout the city to the sound of the drum, as follows: ‘Anyone who knows a single stanza spoken by The Buddhas, let him take these thousand coins together with this elephant,’ and yet shall fail to find anyone who knows a four-line stanza, and shall receive again the purse containing the thousand pieces into the royal palace, then the disappearance of learning will have occurred.

“This, O Sâriputta, is the disappearance of learning.

“Now as time goes on the last of the priests will carry their robes, their bowls, and their tooth-sticks after the manner of the naked ascetics. They will take a bottle-gourd, make of it a begging-bowl, and carry it in their arms, or in their hands, or in the balance of a carrying-pole. And as time goes on a priest will say, ‘What is the good of this yellow robe?’ and cut a small piece of yellow cloth, and tie it around his neck, or his ears, or his hair, and devote himself to husbandry or trade and the like, and to taking care of wife and children. Then he will give gifts to the southern congregation.

And the fruit of this gift, say I, will be a myriadfold. As time goes on the priests will say, ‘What do we want with this?’ and they will throw away the piece of yellow cloth and persecute the wild animals and birds of the forest, and thus the disappearance of the symbols will have occurred.

“This, O Sâriputta, is *the disappearance of the symbols*.

“Thereupon, the dispensation of The Supreme Buddha being now five thousand years old, the relics will begin to fail of honor and worship, and will go wherever they can receive honor and worship. But as time goes on they will not receive honor and worship in any place. Then, when the dispensation has disappeared, the relics will come from every place; from the serpent world, from the world of the gods, and from the [p. 484/485] Brahma-world; and having congregated together at the throne under the Great Bo-tree, they will make an effigy of The Buddha and perform a miracle resembling the double-miracle, and will teach the Doctrine. Not a single human being will be found at that place; but all the gods from ten thousand worlds will come together and listen to the Doctrine, and many thousands of them will attain to the Doctrine. And these will cry aloud, saying, ‘Divine sirs, on the seventh day from now our One Possessing the Ten Forces will pass into Nirvana.’ Then they will weep, saying, ‘From henceforth we shall be in darkness.’ Then the relics will put forth flames of fire and burn up that effigy without remainder.

“This, O Sâriputta, is *the disappearance of the relics*.”

Immediately after this, there follows an account of the destruction of the *Kappa* [World-Cycle].^{II}

II SB: This sentence was added by the translator.

6 *Anāgatavaṃsa* (Deśanā): *Exposition of the Chronicle of the Future* (ca. 14th Century)

Introduced by Sven Bretfeld

Introduction

The following extract is taken from an English translation of the Sinhalese *Anāgatavaṃsa Deśanā(va)*. The date of the original is not clear. As the translator, Udaya Meddegama, does not mention a printed edition, it is likely that he was translating from manuscripts. He dates the source text to the eighteenth century on linguistic grounds. Godakumbura, however, mentions that the last chapter of the Sinhalese story collection *Saddharmālaṅkāraya*, composed by Jayabāhu Dharmakīrti (see text no. 4), was published independently, under the title *Anāgatavaṃsadēśanāva*, in 1923.¹ If this text is identical to the one translated by Meddegama, the original goes back to the fourteenth or fifteenth century, and was apparently uncoupled from the *Saddharmālaṅkāraya* long before the printed edition of 1923. In any case, the text is closely related to the Pāli *Anāgatavaṃsa* (see text no. 5). The Pāli text was translated into Sinhalese around the beginning of the fourteenth century. The English translation is based on a later reworking; whether this later version is identical to Dharmakīrti's chapter has not been established. The text contains a description of the near-extinction of humanity, which was not included in Warren's translation of the Pāli *Anāgatavaṃsa* (see above).

The passage starts with the question of when the Buddha Maitreya will appear. The text then describes the time after the *sāsana* has vanished from earth. Humanity has deteriorated to the state of animals, and the average lifespan is no longer than ten years. A final worldwide massacre follows, induced by a miraculous rainfall which turns everybody berserk. Some gods had warned humankind seven days prior, but few had listened to the warning. Those who did, sought shelter in caves, and waited for the rain and the bloodbath to end. From this surviving rump of humanity, new generations emerge, causing morality and the average lifespan to increase again. When morality (here *kuśala dharma*) is in full blossom again, the average lifespan of a human will have increased to 100,000 years (which, the text claims, it had been many thousands of years ago, the last time morality was at its peak). Under these near-divine circumstances, people will become oblivious to their birth, suffering, and old age. This carelessness for the true nature of reality (impermanence and suffering) is why morality – and with it the average life span – will slowly start to decrease again.

I C. E. Godakumbura, *Sinhalese Literature* (Colombo: The Colombo Apothecaries, 1955), 102n7.

Sven Bretfeld, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies

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Udaya Meddegama, trans. *Anāgatavaṃsa Deśanā: The Sermon of the Chronicle-To-Be*. Edited by John Clifford Holt, 21–55. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1993; 26–28.

Page numbers given in square brackets refer to this edition.

Translation Reproduced from Udaya Meddegama

[. . .]

And when shall he become the Buddha? The *karuṇasāsana* will last for five thousand years after which, as the result of a dominance of demerit, the maximum age of a human being will gradually deteriorate to ten years. At that time, people will be similar to animals. They will not observe the difference between themselves and their parents, nor will they observe a difference between a sister or a sister-in-law, a brother or a nephew or even one's own daughter. They will only love themselves. Five month old boys will marry five month old girls. All the tastes will disappear. Rice cooked with inferior grains will be considered fit for kings. The world will be devoid of all luxuries and will be destroyed in the *kalpa* called Sattāntara as a result of an abundance of hatred in the minds of the people.

The Destruction of the Old World and the Beginning of the New

Seven days before the destruction of that *kalpa*, some *kāmāvacara* deities dressed as if bereaving, will go all over this human world and warn [the people]:

O men, seven days from today, a dangerous and destructive rain called the *mṛga-saṃvaraṣa* will fall for seven days, and those who get wet will perceive each other as game [p. 26/27] and try to kill each other. Those hoping to save themselves must collect provisions such as rice, salt, firewood and repair protective places like caves.

The deities will travel through a hundred million universes. On hearing this [warning], people, being naturally foolish, will laugh, saying: 'Who has ever seen or heard of such a thing? What nonsense!' But some wise men will say: 'Who knows what could happen? We shall abide by the words of these gods.' And these people will live in caves and other hiding places so as not to see one another.

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Then the *mṛgasaṃvarṣa* will begin to fall heavily all over the hundred million universes. Those who get wet with even one drop of that rain will seem like game to one another. 'Hey, run, shoot that deer, kill it!' And so they will chase each other. Blades of grass and leaves will turn into sharp swords. During those seven days, people will turn this world into one big heap of meat and the ocean will be filled with the blood of those killing one another. When the rain ceases after seven days, those who are still living will come out of their hiding places and see the mutilated parts of their relations' bodies – their hands, feet, ears, and noses. Being overcome by grief and compassion, they will say: 'Our relatives killed themselves by not listening to us. Now, all of us who remain will give up killing from today.' So, these survivors will desist from killing and from that meritorious action, their children will live for twenty years. By desisting from stealing, their children will live for thirty years. By giving up adultery, their children will live for forty years. Giving up lying, the children they beget will live for fifty years. Giving up gossip, their children will live for sixty years and abstain from the ten-fold acts of demerit. Simultaneously, they will observe the ten acts of merit. Consequently, their ages will increase up to one hundred years. At that time, Jambūdvīpa will be full of men like a forest full of bamboo. Rich and prosperous villages, towns and cities [p. 27/28] will abound. All these wealthy kingdoms will be devoid of fear from robbers. Even the city of Baranas [Benares] will be known then.

Then the *kusala dharma* will increase; the age of the people will also increase to ninety thousand years; the name of the city of Baranas will change to Uppala and will expand in size to one *yojana* in every direction. After the time when the age limit has increased to one hundred thousand, the city of Uppala will expand to seven *yojanas* in length and will become known as Paduma. After that, on account of continuously improving virtues, the age limit will increase to an *asaṃkhyā*. Then the name of the city of Paduma will change to Mandārā and expand its length to twelve *yojanas*. In that time, the human world will surpass even the heavens with regard to age. As it has been said:

At that time, the country called Jambūdvīpa will be full of villages, towns and cities with many prosperous people, and it will surpass in age limits even the world of the gods.

And so, people will generally forget when they were born, nor will they know when they are about to die. They will experience neither old age or decay; nor will they suffer from illness. Without realizing the cause of happiness or suffering, people will not be interested in making acts of merit; consequently, their ages will gradually

decrease to eighty thousand years; maidens of five hundred years will marry lads of the same age; the whole of Jambūdvīpa will have food in plenty, many useful goods, and all of the five types of comfort. Fortnightly at midnight, the rain will nurture the fertility of the earth. And by that time, the name of the city of Mandāra will be changed to the kingdom of Ketumatī. It will be twelve *yojanas* long and seven wide.^I

I SB: The text continues with the rise of a wheel-turning monarch – the first in many millennia. By this time, the average lifespan has deteriorated to a (still considerable) 84,000 years. The *cakravartin* will rule peacefully over a unified world that is “more comfortable than the heavens” (p. 35). Within this king’s lifetime, the Buddha Maitreya will appear, and promulgate a new *sāsana*, revealing the timeless truths of Buddhism again in the world of time and space.

7 The Dīgha Nikāya: *The Discourse of the Lion's Roar of a Wheel-Turning Monarch* (ca. 5th–1st Century BCE)

Introduced by Sven Bretfeld

Introduction

The next passage is a much older version of the *Anāgatavaṃsa* story of the downfall of human civilisation, though with some differences – both major and minor. The biggest difference is that, this time, a cause for the moral decline is given: the world remains in order only as long as kings follow the ideal of a wheel-turning monarch. In the passage, this is described as having been the case for seven generations of kings, all honoured with the celestial wheel treasure (see above). When a king dies, the wheel vanishes, and when his son has proven that he is continuing his father's merciful and wise politics, the wheel appears again. The eighth ruler interrupts this line, and starts to “rule the people according to his own ideas.” As a consequence, the celestial wheel treasure no longer appears, and the realm starts to deteriorate. No reason is given for the king's refusal to act like his wise ancestors, however. The story seems to imply that he is simply foolish, greedy, and selfish. His neglect of the people's welfare sets in motion a chain reaction of moral decay. The people become poor, and start to depend on theft. Over time they resort to killing, lying, and other crimes. With the increasing immorality of the people, their lifespans and beauty decrease. The turning point is similar to the *Anāgatavaṃsa*: a seven-day massacre depopulates the earth (though a violence-inducing rain is not mentioned in this version) and the eventual few survivors gradually return to moral behaviour. When the world's morality is again in full bloom, the first wheel-turning monarch appears, followed a little later by the Buddha Maitreya.

The major point of this version is that the moral decline and near extinction of humankind is caused by political failure. This motif is still drawn upon by modern Buddhist authors.

Sven Bretfeld, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies

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8. ‘And a second wheel-turning monarch did likewise, and a third, a fourth, a fifth, a sixth, and a seventh king also . . . told a man to see if the Wheel had slipped from its position (*as verse 3*). [p. 63/64] And seven days after the royal sage had gone forth the Wheel disappeared.

9. ‘Then a man came to the King and said: “Sire, you should know that the sacred Wheel-Treasure has disappeared.” At this the King was grieved and felt sad. But he did not go to the royal sage and ask him about the duties of a wheel-turning monarch. Instead, he ruled the people according to his own ideas, and, being so ruled, the people did not prosper so well as they had done under the previous kings who had performed the duties of a wheel-turning monarch. Then the ministers, counsellors, treasury officials, guards and doorkeepers, and the chanters of mantras came to the King and said: [p. 64/65] “Sire, as long as you rule the people according to your own ideas, and differently from the way they were ruled before under previous wheel-turning monarchs, the people do not prosper so well. Sire, there are ministers . . . in your realm, including ourselves, who have preserved the knowledge of how a wheel-turning monarch should rule. Ask us, Your Majesty, and we will tell you!”

10. ‘Then the King ordered all the ministers and others to come together, and he consulted them. And they explained to him the duties of a wheel-turning monarch. And, having listened to them, the King established guard and protection, but he did not give property to the needy, and as a result poverty became rife. With the spread of poverty, a man took what was not given, thus committing what was called theft. They arrested him, and brought him before the King, saying: “Your Majesty, this man took what was not given, which we call theft.” The King said to him: “Is it true that you took what was not given – which is called theft?” “It is, Your Majesty.” “Why?” “Your Majesty,

I have nothing to live on.” [p. 65/66] Then the King gave the man some property, saying: “With this, my good man, you can keep yourself, support your mother and father, keep a wife and children, carry on a business and make gifts to ascetics and Brahmins, which will promote your spiritual welfare and lead to a happy rebirth with pleasant result in the heavenly sphere.” “Very good, Your Majesty”, replied the man.

11. ‘And exactly the same thing happened with another man.

12. ‘Then people heard that the King was giving away property to those who took what was not given, and they thought: “Suppose we were to do likewise!” And then another man took what was not given, and they brought him before the King. [p. 66/67] The King asked him why he had done this, and he replied: “Your Majesty, I have nothing to live on.” Then the King thought: “If I give property to everybody who takes what is not given, this theft will increase more and more. I had better make an end of him, finish him off once for all, and cut his head off.” So he commanded his men: “Bind this man’s arms tightly behind him with a strong rope, shave his head closely, and lead him to the rough sound of a drum through the streets and squares and out through the southern gate, and there finish by inflicting the capital penalty and cutting off his head!” And they did so.

13. ‘Hearing about this, people thought: “Now let us get sharp swords made for us, and then we can take from anybody what is not given [which is called theft], [p. 67/68] we will make an end of them, finish them off once for all and cut off their heads.” So, having procured some sharp swords, they launched murderous assaults on villages, towns and cities, and went in for highway-robbery, killing their victims by cutting off their heads.

14. ‘Thus, from the not giving of property to the needy, poverty became rife, from the growth of poverty, the taking of what was not given increased, from the increase of theft, the use of weapons increased, from the increased use of weapons, the taking of life increased – and from the increase in the taking of life, people’s life-span decreased, their beauty decreased, and as a result of this decrease of life-span and beauty, the children of those whose life-span had been eighty thousand years lived for only forty thousand.

‘And a man of the generation that lived for forty thousand years took what was not given. He was brought before the King, who asked him: “Is it true that you took what was not given — what is called theft?” “No, Your Majesty”, he replied, thus telling a deliberate lie.

15. ‘Thus, from the not giving of property to the needy, . . . the taking of life increased, and from the taking of life, lying increased, [p. 68/69] from the increase in lying, people’s life-span decreased, their beauty decreased, and as a result, the children of those whose life-span had been forty thousand years lived for only twenty thousand.

‘And a man of the generation that lived for twenty thousand years took what was not given. Another man denounced him to the King, saying: “Sire, such-and-such a man has taken what was not given”, thus speaking evil of another.¹

16. ‘Thus, from the not giving of property to the needy, . . . the speaking evil of others increased, and in consequence, people’s life-span decreased, their beauty decreased, and as a result, the children of those whose life-span had been twenty thousand years lived only for ten thousand.

‘And of the generation that lived for ten thousand years, some were beautiful, and some were ugly. And those who were ugly, being envious of those who were beautiful, committed adultery with others’ wives.

17. ‘Thus, from the not giving of property to the needy, . . . sexual misconduct increased, and in consequence people’s life-span decreased, their beauty decreased, and as a result, the children of those whose life-span had been ten thousand years lived for only five thousand.

‘And among the generation whose life-span was five thousand years, two things increased: harsh speech and idle chatter, in consequence of which people’s life-span decreased, their beauty decreased, and as a result, the children of those whose life-span had been five thousand years [p. 69/70] lived, some for two-and-a-half thousand years, and some for only two thousand.

‘And among the generation whose life-span was two-and-a-half thousand years, covetousness and hatred increased, and in consequence people’s life-span decreased, their beauty decreased, and as a result, the children of those whose life-span had been two-and-a-half thousand years lived for only a thousand.

‘Among the generation whose life-span was a thousand years, false opinions² increased . . . and as a result, the children of those whose life-span had been a thousand years lived for only five hundred.

‘And among the generation whose life-span was five hundred years, three things increased: incest, excessive greed and deviant practices³ . . . and as a result, the children of those whose life-span had been five hundred years lived, some for two hundred and fifty years, some for only two hundred.

1 [editorial note 793 in the original] Even though the charge was justified! But the denunciation was malicious.

2 [editorial note 794 in the original] *Micchā-dīṭṭhi*: see n.708[: *Sammā-dīṭṭhi*. This, or ‘Right Seeing’ is the literal rendering (‘Right Vision’ would be an unwise redering, because liable to be misleading!). *Dīṭṭhi* here is a singular, and denotes ‘seeing things as they really are’, whereas ‘views’ in the plural are always wrong. It should be noted that when not prefixed with the word *sammā*, *dīṭṭhi* means ‘speculative opinions’, and the like, which are not based on seeing things as they really are’. The formal opposite of *sammā-dīṭṭhi* is *micchā-dīṭṭhi*, a term generally reserved for especially pernicious views (cf. n.245). *Sammā-dīṭṭhi* and the rest are sometimes rendered ‘Perfect View’, and so on, but this only refers to the supramundane path as described in MN 117.]

3 [editorial note 795 in the original] *Micchā-dhamma*. DA says ‘men with men, women with women’.

‘And among those whose life-span was two hundred and fifty years, these things increased: lack of respect for mother and father, for ascetics and Brahmins, and for the head of the clan.

18. ‘Thus, from the not giving of property to the needy, . . . [p. 70/71] lack of respect for mother and father, for ascetics and Brahmins, and for the head of the clan increased, and in consequence people’s life-span and beauty decreased, and the children of those whose life-span had been two-and-a-half centuries lived for only a hundred years.

19. ‘Monks, a time will come when the children of these people will have a life-span of ten years. And with them, girls will be marriageable at five years old. And with them, these flavours will disappear: ghee, butter, sesame-oil, molasses and salt. Among them, *kudrūsa*-grain⁴ will be the chief food, just as rice and curry are today. And with them, the ten courses of moral conduct will completely disappear, and the ten courses of evil will prevail exceedingly: for those of a ten-year lifespan there will be no word for “moral”⁵ so how can there be anyone who acts in a moral way? [p. 71/72] Those people who have no respect for mother or father, for ascetics and Brahmins, for the head of the clan, will be the ones who enjoy honour and prestige. Just as it is now the people who show respect for mother and father, for ascetics and Brahmins, for the head of the clan, who are praised and honoured, so it will be with those who do the opposite.

20. ‘Among those of a ten-year life-span no account will be taken of mother or aunt, of mother’s sister-in-law, of teacher’s wife or of one’s father’s wives and so on – all will be promiscuous in the world like goats and sheep, fowl and pigs, dogs and jackals. Among them, fierce enmity will prevail one for another, fierce hatred, fierce anger and thoughts of killing, mother against child and child against mother, father against child and child against father, brother against brother, brother against sister, just as the hunter feels hatred for the beast he stalks . . . [p. 72/73]

21. ‘And for those of a ten-year life-span, there will come to be a “sword-interval”⁶ of seven days, during which they will mistake one another for wild beasts. Sharp

4 [editorial note 796 in the original] Said by RD to be ‘a kind of rye’. The dictionaries are less specific.

5 [editorial note 797 in the original] *Kusala* (see n.790 [The word rendered ‘good’ is the same, *kusala*, as rendered just previously by ‘wholesome’. The literal ‘skilful’ is also sometimes to be preferred. A case where variation in translation is desirable – but it should be indicated.]). The real meaning is ‘skilful’ in regard to knowing the karmic consequences of one’s actions – in other words not having *micchā-diṭṭhi* (see n.708).

6 [editorial note 798 in the original] RD’s note is barely intelligible, or at least unhelpful: *Sattha* is sword; *antarakappa* is a period included in another period. Here the first period, the one included, is seven days. See Ledi Sadaw in the *Buddhist Review*, January 1916 – a journal not all readers will have to hand. On *Antarakappa*, Childers (as often) is more helpful than PED: ‘Each Asankheyyakappa [“incalculable aeon”] contains twenty Antarakappas, an Antarakappa being the interval that elapses while the age of man increases from ten years to an asankheyya, and then decreases again to ten years.’ Clearly this immense period – which, in regard to the human life-span, is not canonical – is not meant here, but the reference to ‘ten years’ is relevant. DA distinguishes three kinds of *Antarakappa*:

swords will appear in their hands and, thinking: “There is a wild beast!” they will take each other’s lives with those swords. But there will be some beings who will think: “Let us not kill or be killed by anyone! Let us make for some grassy thickets or jungle-recesses or clumps of trees, for rivers hard to ford or inaccessible mountains, and live on roots and fruits of the forest.” And this they will do for seven days. Then, at the end of the seven days, they will emerge from their hiding-places and rejoice together of one accord, saying: “Good beings, I see that you are alive!” And then the thought will occur to those beings: “It is only because we became addicted to evil ways that we suffered this loss of our kindred, so let us now do good! What good things can we do? Let us abstain from the taking of life – that will be a good practice.” And so they will abstain from the taking of life, and, having undertaken this good thing, will practise it. And through having undertaken such wholesome things, they will increase in life-span and beauty. [p. 73/74] And the children of those whose life-span was ten years will live for twenty years.

22. ‘Then it will occur to those beings: “It is through having taken to wholesome practices that we have increased in life-span and beauty, so let us perform still more wholesome practices. Let us refrain from taking what is not given, from sexual misconduct, from lying speech, from slander, from harsh speech, from idle chatter, from covetousness, from ill-will, from wrong views; let us abstain from three things: incest, excessive greed, and deviant practices; let us respect our mothers and fathers, ascetics and Brahmins, and the head of the clan, and let us persevere in these wholesome actions.”

‘And so they will do these things, and on account of this they will increase in life-span and in beauty. The children of those whose life-span is twenty years will live to be forty, their children will live to be eighty, their children to be a hundred and sixty, their children to be three hundred and twenty, their children to be six hundred and forty; the children of those whose life-span is six hundred and forty years will live for two thousand years, their children for four thousand, their children for eight thousand, and their children for twenty thousand. The children of those whose life-span is twenty thousand years will [p. 74/75] live to be forty thousand, and their children will attain to eighty thousand years.

Dubbhikkhantarakappa, *Rogantarakappa*, and *Satthantarakappa*, caused by greed, delusion and hatred respectively. RD ignores all this.

Cf. EB under *Antarakalpa*, where a parallel to this commentarial passage is cited from the 11th-century Sanskrit-Tibetan dictionary called *Mahāvvyutpatti*. The article concludes: ‘Yet, the context in which the term *satthantara-kappa* occurs in the Dīgha Nikāya (III, 73) seems to suggest that the word could also be used in a very general sense to mean a period which is not of the same duration as an *antarakappa*.’ The context in fact suggests that this period of one week marks a turning-point which is the beginning of an *Antarakappa* in the sense mentioned by Childers.

23. 'Among the people with an eighty thousand-year lifespan, girls will become marriageable at five hundred. And such people will know only three kinds of disease: greed, fasting, and old age.⁷ And in the time of those people this continent of Jambudipa will be powerful and prosperous, and villages, towns and cities will be but a cock's flight one from the next.⁸ This Jambudipa, like Avīci,⁹ will be as thick with people as the jungle is thick with reeds and rushes. At that time the Vārānasi¹⁰ of today will be a royal city called Ketumatī, powerful and prosperous, crowded with people and well-supplied. In Jambudipa there will be eighty-four thousand cities headed by Ketumatī as the royal capital.

24. 'And in the time of the people with an eighty thousand-year life-span, there will arise in the capital city of Ketumatī a king called Sankha, a wheel-turning monarch, a righteous monarch of the law, conqueror of the four quarters . . . (as verse 2).

25. 'And in that time of the people with an eighty thousand-year life-span, [p. 75/76] there will arise in the world a Blessed Lord, an Arahant fully-enlightened Buddha named Metteyya,¹¹ endowed with wisdom and conduct, a Well-Farer, Knower of the worlds, incomparable Trainer of men to be tamed, Teacher of gods and humans, enlightened and blessed, just as I am now. He will thoroughly know by his own super-knowledge, and proclaim, this universe with its devas and maras and Brahmas, its ascetics and Brahmins, and this generation with its princes and people, just as I do now. He will teach the Dhamma, lovely in its beginning, lovely in its middle, lovely in its ending, in the spirit and in the letter, and proclaim, just as I do now, the holy life in its fullness and purity. He will be attended by a company of thousands of monks, just as I am attended by a company of hundreds.

26. 'Then King Sankha will re-erect the palace once built by King Mahā-Panāda¹² and, having lived in it, will give it up and present it to the ascetics and Brahmins, the beggars, the wayfarers, the destitute. Then, shaving off hair and beard, he will don

7 [editorial note 799 in the original] There will be, it seems, no real disease at all: death will result only from excessive or inadequate nourishment or the inevitable onset of old age. Accidents also seem to be excluded.

8 [editorial note 800 in the original] This seems to be the meaning of a doubtful expression.

9 [editorial note 801 in the original] In the commentaries and later literature Avīci denotes the lowest of the hells (or 'purgatories', as RD and other translators have it, to indicate that no such hell is eternal). This, and a parallel passage at AN 3.56, is the only passage in the first four Nikāyas where it is mentioned, and 'hell' does not seem to be its meaning (RD renders it 'the Waveless Deep'), though its exact sense is doubtful. Warder, in his paraphrase of this Sutta (*Indian Buddhism*, 168) says parenthetically: "like purgatory", the Buddha remarks ambiguously, thinking probably of his preference for seclusion.' The Buddhist hells grow steadily worse in the popular imagination, but most of their horrors find little support in the Suttas (though see MN 129, 130). Cf. n.244 and Introduction, p. 40.

10 [editorial note 802 in the original] Benares.

11 [editorial note 803 in the original] The next Buddha, perhaps better known by the Sanskrit name Maitreya.

12 [editorial note 804 in the original] This had been drowned in the Ganges.

yellow robes and go forth from the household life into homelessness under the supreme Buddha Metteyya. Having gone forth, he will remain alone, in seclusion, ardent, eager and resolute, and before long he will have attained in this very life, by his own super-knowledge and resolution, [p. 76/77] that unequalled goal of the holy life, for the sake of which young men of good family go forth from the household life into homelessness, and will abide therein.¹

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I SB: It needs to be noted that the moral recovery of humanity happens in a religious interim period, when the *sāsana* of Gautama has already vanished from earth, and Maitreya's new *sāsana* has not yet arisen. By implication, this means that morality or ethics is not tied to the Buddhist religion. To a certain degree, some kind of 'default ethics' are innate in humankind, and can be either activated or eclipsed. As a macro-social effect, morality oscillates in the *loka* sphere between 0 and 100% dependent on – or independent of – the *sāsana*, as a morality-enhancing power. These 'default ethics' are called *kuśala dharma* in the *Anāgataṃsa*. This wording connects this idea to the Buddhist system of inner-worldly (*laukika*) ethics, from which the ethical categories are also taken (refrain from stealing, killing, lying, etc.)

8 D. C. Wijewardena: *The Revolt in the Temple* (1953)

Introduced by Sven Bretfeld

Introduction

Since its foundation in 1948, the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka (Ceylon) has never formally declared itself to be a secular state – though, in fact, the constitution does guarantee the religious neutrality of the state, in full awareness of the fact that religious plurality and minority rights would be one of the most pressing challenges for years to come. Nevertheless, the term ‘secular’ was avoided in the constitution and in all subsequent amendments to the constitution, creating a back door for the installation and consolidation of a Buddhist supremacy within the legal and social fabrics of the state. This avoidance was no oversight, but a political concession to Buddhist nationalist forces. These had appeared during the anti-colonial struggle that started in the mid-nineteenth century, and gained momentum in the early years after independence, when it became clear that the disposal of the British yoke would not automatically turn Ceylon into the economic paradise and global beacon of morality and social happiness that people had imagined.

The following excerpts are from one of the most influential books voicing the ideology of Buddhist nationalism. Published in 1953, in a Sinhalese and an English version, *Dharmavijaya* by D.C. Wijewardena (published under the sanskritised semi-pseudonym Vijayavardhana; his name is also seen rendered as Wijewardene, or with various other spellings) evokes a new master narrative that is mirrored in many other publications in the period, including the Final Report of the Buddhist Committee of Inquiry (also known as the Buddhist Commission) of 1956. The main argument has three steps:

1. For more than two millennia, the Buddhist religion and the Sinhalese nation have been linked together, as a community of destiny predicted and consecrated by the Buddha himself. The Buddhist kings of the past were guided by Buddhist principles, and exercised power with the sole objective of providing for the social welfare, harmony, and happiness of a highly moral and profoundly spiritual society (sarcastic individuals may add: unless this peace was disturbed by foreigners!)
2. The British colonial system and the Christian missionaries riding its coat-tails distorted this harmony by exploiting the country’s autonomy and economy, nearly extinguishing Buddhism, and thus bringing the nation into a catastrophic turmoil that has not yet healed, five years after the country’s independence.
3. Buddhism needs to be restored to its former status and glory at any cost, and under the conditions of a modern democracy.

Sven Bretfeld, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies

The author – a member of the wealthy, influential Wijewardena family, a member of the Buddhist Committee of Inquiry, and the husband of the controversial politician Vimala Wijewardena – had already published substantial parts of the book in 1946, quasi-anonymously (he identified himself as the editor of the respective journal but not as the author of the text). The text is a blatant appeal for political action, formulated as an account of a national and worldwide crisis, and giving a bleak diagnosis of the state of moral decline all around the globe. As such, the book anticipates, and provides a theoretical basis for, the Final Report of the Buddhist Committee of Inquiry, of which the author was a member, and which would demand political measures for the restoration of Buddhism in 1956.

Dharmavijaya formally mimics the structure of classical Buddhist literature – it is a mix of a Pāli commentary and a Buddhist historiography of the *vaṃsa* genre. In terms of content, the evidently well-read author combines a rich repertoire of European philosophical, poetic, and historical literature, as well as social and political theory (especially Marxism), with traditional Buddhist philosophical and historical resources, to create a (re)vision of the Buddhist cultural memory. The timeline proceeds from a golden past (remote history), through an epoch of heavy decline (recent history, the colonial period), to a rock-bottom state (the present, post-colonial ruins of society). From here, the book appeals to the state to turn the tide, by working toward a bright future, in which righteousness will again prevail, and Buddhism will (again) be the light of the world. Here, we can vaguely discern the structure of the classical cosmic oscillation narrative illustrated above – whether or not this parallel was immediately evident to the Buddhist readers of the time (or even to the author); as a culturally embedded, familiar plot structure, it may at least have rung a quiet bell, and contributed to the popular success of the book's theses.¹

Even the Sinhalese/Sanskrit title of the book, *Dharmavijaya*, alludes to the classical religio-political model. The publisher of the English version translates this term as “Triumph of Righteousness” in the preface. The term can, however, also be understood as “Triumph *by* Righteousness” or rather “Victory by Dharma.” This is the term denoting the peaceful policy of a wheel-turning monarch who conquers and rules by the application of religious principles, rather than weapons. The term appears in exactly this meaning in the famous thirteenth Major Rock Edict by King Aśoka, the prototypical *cakravartin* of Buddhist cultural memory. This perfectly matches the major demand of the book: the re-marriage of politics and (Buddhist) religion. The title of the English version, *The Revolt in the Temple*, is more martial in its expression.

Wijewardena revives traditional Buddhist ideas and narrative patterns in other respects too. These underlie his account, which, at the first glance, appears to be a modern

¹ On the discourse-theoretical background of this assumption, see Willy Viehöver, “Diskurse als Narrationen,” in *Handbuch Sozialwissenschaftliche Diskursanalyse: Theorien und Methoden*, ed. Reiner Keller et al., vol. 1 (Opladen: Leske & Budrich, 2001), 177–206.

politico-philosophical treatise. A closer look at plot structure and argumentative arrangement reveals the hybrid nature of the text, as a modernised reformulation of the ancient narrative of the *sāsana*'s decline. Other elements of this hybrid texture are:

- Politics and the Buddhist religion are twins. They are different social spheres, but cannot prosper without one another. A new element is the modern concept of the 'nation,' which replaces much of what was expressed in classical texts with the term *loka*, but carries a semantic surplus: As in other nationalist ideologies, the nation of the Sinhala people is invested with a value and a meaning in itself. The ultimate purpose of the Sinhala nation has been to safeguard the Buddha's original teaching through the ages – a mandate given to the Sinhalese by the Buddha himself on his deathbed; the fulfilment of this mandate is now at stake.
- Religions need to be 'protected' – not only *from* the state but, especially in the case of Buddhism, *by* the state. The Sinhalese Buddhist kings of yore are depicted as having made this objective the prime motivator of their actions, and the ultimate legitimisation of their authority. The twin concept of *loka-sāsana* is thereby reinterpreted as a 'dharmocracy,' in which the ultimate reason of the state is to serve a higher, religious purpose. The British Crown failed to fulfil the role of a traditional Buddhist king, as will the modern republic if it continues to follow secularist ideals coined in the West.
- A secularist state, in the sense of a political system without religious principles – he calls it "ideology" – will have a catastrophic result not only in Ceylon (namely the complete annihilation of the Buddha's *sāsana*); it will lead to worldwide moral bankruptcy, and ultimately to the global collapse of society. Politics, societies, and individuals need to be 'tamed' by religion, just as the Sinhalese were 'disciplined' by the *sāsana* many centuries ago. Here, Wijewardena also leaves a space for non-Buddhist religions. Though the Buddhist *sāsana* would be the best option for securing worldwide social prosperity, any moral ideology can provide the essential requirements of a stable society. This parallels the old Buddhist idea of a moral restoration of humankind based on some "default ethics" (*kuśala dharma*) after the disappearance of the *sāsana* (see above).
- However, with Buddhism almost extinguished, and other religions (Christianity) corrupted by imperial interests, we are living in a world of moral decline. Times may yet become worse, if a religious (Buddhist) revolution does not save the day. This narrative of crisis directly parallels the 'endangered *sāsana*' motif that we so often find in premodern Buddhist historiography. But there are important differences: first, it is not only Buddhist Sri Lanka, but the whole world that is standing on the edge of the precipice. Second, while in historiography, the *sāsana* is always eventually saved by the great heroes of the past, such heroes have yet to materialise in the present situation (in 1956, some would interpret the election victory of S.W.R.D., Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party, as the 'Buddhist Revolution' Wijewardena was anticipating in his book, but this event would not bring the yearned for turning point [indeed, the opposite occurred]). Third, the moral decline of humanity is spelled out in great detail in *Dharmavijaya*, with criticism particularly

- levied at the imperial greed of colonialism, Christianity's failure and corruption, and the global escalation of materialism and the American way of life, which propagates happiness through material consumption, instead of inner peace.
- The term *sāsana* is prominently featured in the book, and in the general political discourse of the time. The old *cakravartin/dharma-rāja* concept did not take other religions into account. The twin concept of *loka-sāsana* exclusively referred to the *Buddha-sāsana*. Non-Buddhist religions, if mentioned at all, *passively* enjoyed 'protection' by a *dharma-rāja*, but played no *active* role in morally guiding his actions. This asymmetry is mirrored in the modern language use. Significantly, the term *sāsana* was not widened into a general term for religion in the modern discourse. Religion as a comparative or classificatory concept is expressed by the word *āgama*, including in legal language. In the guarantee of religious freedom of the original constitution, Buddhism was one 'religion' (*bauddha āgama*) among many, such as Christianity (*kristiyāni āgama*) and Islam (*mahammad āgama*). When later reworkings and amendments granted more and more privileges and special roles to Buddhist institutions, Buddhism was no longer the *bauddha āgama* but *the sāsana*. As *the sāsana*, Buddhism was no longer just a legally protected asset like the other religions, but a specially fostered, declared national goal – and more and more an active player in national politics.¹¹

In passage A, the author warns the Buddhists of Sri Lanka that their sacred mission to protect the *sāsana* is more endangered than it was in any other period of history. He then accuses the British Crown of having broken its promise to protect and defend Buddhism. With the British failing to fulfil the religious duties of a traditional Buddhist king, the *sāsana* was betrayed, plundered and destroyed. The final report of the Buddhist Commission would dwell on this argument in much greater detail three years later.

Passage B emphasises the importance of religion – any religion – for the sustenance of civilisation. Colonialism is, again, accused of having caused the destruction of this indispensable condition in Ceylon. Vijaya, mentioned in the first sentence of the passage, is the mythical first king of Sri Lanka. His appropriation of the island is believed to have happened at the very same moment in which the Buddha achieved *parinirvāṇa* (that is, died). Before his death, the Buddha is believed to have assigned the god Sakka (Indra) to protect Vijaya and his scions, as Sri Lanka would play a special role for the *sāsana*'s duration in the future. Wijewardena restyles this story into a nationalist core idea, inferring a notion of unity of race, land, and faith.

In passage C, the author discusses the general requirements of a happy society. Material provision is essential, though a materialist ideology – a strictly secular soci-

¹¹ See also Sven Bretfeld, "Equality in Hierarchy: Secularism and the Protection of Religions in Sri Lanka," in *Religion and Secularity: Transformations and Transfers of Religious Discourses in Europe and Asia*, ed. Marion Eggert and Lucian Hölscher (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 175–92.

ety, lacking a religious superstructure – can only fail. In a rather bold mental leap, he links the moral corruption of Christian Europe to the USA, which has replaced religiosity by the gods of consumerism.

Passage D first continues the preceding argument, then provides a counter-image. Mankind has advanced greatly in the field of technology and the provision of material resources, but has lost the ability to control its inner nature. Buddhism offers itself as an antidote.

In passage E, the author argues that the principles of Buddhism should guide and govern the individual, as well as the instruments and organs of the state. The harmony of religion and politics should be the ideal of any state, with the happiness of the people as its ultimate goal.

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Page numbers given in square brackets refer to this edition. Section titles reflecting the contents of the paragraphs presented here have been added in square brackets.

Revolt in the Temple

[SB: A. Buddhism Endangered]

The Sangha of Lanka, if they are not to be traitors to the charge entrusted to them by the Master on his deathbed, must be on the alert more than ever now. The intolerance shown by the Church Fathers to our religion and to our national aspirations make it only too clear that we have indeed a very hard struggle ahead. The past record of our relations both with British statesmen and Christian churchmen has been very significant indeed.

Let us go back to the day on which King George the Third of England entered into the heritage of Vijaya and his successors. For 2000 years the Kings of Ceylon had been the Defenders of the national faith of Lanka. What did General Brownrigg mean when he pushed the King of England to this position on March 2, 1815? Every British sovereign, on succeeding to the Throne, has to take an oath to defend the national faith of England, which is, Protestant Christianity. Can he conscientiously be defender

of both Buddhism as well as Christianity? During the course of its discussion, in the State Council, the Dominion Status Bill was characterised both by a Sinhalese and by a British member thereof as a “fraud and a hoax.” No truer words were ever spoken in that august chamber since it came into being.

[p. 494/495] By Article 5 of the Convention of 1815 the British Government declared Buddhism inviolable, and promised the “maintenance and protection of its rites, priests and temples.” Was this promise fulfilled? What happened to the numerous benefactions of land and property gifted to the Temples and *Devalas* by Sinhalese Kings and pious Buddhists? Who defended and protected these, during the last one and a quarter centuries, whilst they were being confiscated, robbed and despoiled?

[SB: B. Religion and Civilization]

The Buddha’s blessing of Vijaya and his band of followers and the land which they “went forth to possess,” foreshadowed an intimate connection between the Race, the Land and the Faith. The Faith gave to the Land a culture of her own and to the Race a stimulus to action. T. S. Eliot, in his book *Notes towards the Definition of Culture*, argues that a culture cannot come into being, or maintain itself, without a religious basis. In the abstract he would admit that such a religion need not necessarily be Christianity, but, given the historical situation in Europe, he argues that it must be Christianity. He does not “overlook the possibility that Britain, if it consummated its apostasy by reforming itself according to the prescriptions of some inferior materialistic religion, might blossom into a culture more brilliant than we can show today.” But “that would not be evidence that the new religion was true, and Christianity was false. It would merely prove that any religion, while it lasts, and on its own level, gives an apparent meaning to life, provides the framework for a culture, and protects the mass of humanity from boredom and despair.”

The advent of Western adventurers in Ceylon disrupted the pursuit of the ideals of the Sinhalese. The destruction of the temples, the relegation of the Sangha to the background, the replacement of the national king with an alien one professing an alien religion, [p. 514/515] have been among the root causes of the decay and deterioration of the Sinhalese race. “The century of British rule over Ceylon,” declared Lord Soulbury, the Governor-General of Ceylon in a recent speech, “seriously disrupted the threads of her national life. The same thing has happened throughout history in almost every country that has fallen under alien control. It could scarcely be otherwise, for it is very hard for people of another race and climate to comprehend and value intimate and subtle features of thought and expression different from their own.”

In the set-up of Ceylon as a “little bit of England,” the Sinhalese found no stimulus to action beyond the universal urges of hunger, sex and anger, and the gift of Dominion Status was received with cold indifference and almost with resentment. Enormous sums were spent by the new rulers on “Independence” celebrations, to rouse enthusi-

asm among the people and as propaganda for the new set-up. The Duke of Gloucester was invited to be present in person on the occasion, to stand before the people as the representative of the new symbol of freedom. But it was a stonily silent, almost a sullen, people who received him. The manner in which they greeted the Duke's procession along the Colombo streets was devoid of those elements of spontaneous and excited rejoicing that should mark popular feeling in a celebration of freedom.

"In nature, an evolutionary process is difficult to reverse once it has gone too far." With the human species also the same law is true. The Sinhalese have been disciplined by a religion, the fundamentals of which – the denial of a Supreme Being, the soul and immortality – are even today accepted as scientific truths. The attempt, from Portuguese times, to convert them to a religion, the fundamentals of which are the reverse, and hence unacceptable to the Sinhalese, can only end in the disintegration of the race. The clamour of the missionaries that they are out to "win Ceylon for Jesus Christ," howsoever remote of realization, is not an objective favourable to the nation's survival. And Bishop Lakdasa de Mel really precipitated himself into the company of "brutal destroyers" when he declared that the task of the Church in Ceylon would not be finished till the remaining ninety per cent of the population were converted to Christianity.

[SB: C. Failure of Materialism]

Not the least important function of an ideology is to hold society together and lubricate its workings. And in this guise at least ideology reacts on technology and material equipment. For, like spiritual equipment, material equipment is a social product and not only in the sense that it springs from social tradition. In practice, the production and use of tools also requires co-operation between members of a society. Today it is self-evident that modern societies get food, housing, clothing and satisfaction for other needs only as a result of the co-operation of a vast and highly complicated productive organization or economy. Cut off from this, we would be very uncomfortable and should probably starve. Theoretically "primitive man," with simpler wants and more rudimentary equipment, could shift for himself alone. In practice even the rudest savages live in groups organized to co-operate in getting food and preparing equipment, as well as in performing ceremonies. Among the Veddahs of Ceylon, for instance, we find a division of labour between the sexes in hunting and gathering, as well as in making implements. There is also a division of the product of this co-operative activity.

Even the student of material culture has to study a society as a co-operative organization for producing means to satisfy its needs, for reproducing itself – and for producing new needs. He wants to see its economy working. But its economy affects, and is affected by, its ideology. The "materialist concept of history" asserts that the economy determines the ideology. It is safer and more accurate to repeat in other words what has been stated already: in the long run an ideology can survive only if it facilitates the smooth and efficient functioning of the economy. If it hampers such a pro-

cess, then society – and with it its ideology – must perish in the end. But the final reckoning may be long postponed. An [p. 520/521] obsolete ideology can hamper an economy, and impede its change, far longer than Marxists would admit.

Ideologies find their most effective expression, not in logical propositions, but in suggestive symbols and slogans. In countries where the economy is controlled by the national State, the ideology of progress is symbolized by the Plan. “You may be wretched now, but our Six-Year, Ten-Year, n-Year Plan is positively guaranteed to bring future happiness in exchange for present misery.” The symbols of the ideology of capitalist society are to be found in the advertising pages of the popular magazines. Here, for example, are the four members of the ideal family gazing rapturously, and in full colour, at their newly acquired ice-box, piano, radio set or automobile. They are having, the advertisers assure us, “the thrill of their lives.” Every face is smiling, every dentition is perfect. The father is young, handsome, broad-shouldered; the mother looks as though she were modelling brassieres; the children are like angels. Cheeks glow, eyes sparkle, health radiates from every pore. And what an atmosphere of domestic happiness! How right-feeling, kindly-feeling and devoid of ill-will everybody is! What a civilization that has such people in it! And what mechanical gadgets that have created this new civilization and must inevitably, as they are improved, create ever newer and greater worlds inhabited by ever happier people!

Translated into cold prose, the message of this and all the other symbols of our mechanized world may be expressed in some such words as these: “All happiness, all virtue, all that has value in human life, come not, as the Buddha and all the philosophers erroneously taught, from within, but from without, through changes in external circumstances. Radio sets and the techniques, of organization are being improved; therefore, our children will be better and happier than their parents, while we ourselves, in spite of all appearances to the contrary, are happier and better than we used to be before radio and moving pictures were invented. Advances in technology can be actually experienced by individuals as a felt increase in personal well-being.”

Now it is obviously true that the passage from anarchy to almost any kind of order, from general starvation to plenty for all, will be felt by every member of the community in question as a personal blessing. But where the advance is from a not intolerable condition to another that is only a little better, the direct experience of progress as an increase of personal happiness will be largely non-existent. There are two very simple reasons for this. The [p. 521/522] first is that, physiologically speaking, human life is the very reverse of progressive. To an old man, whose friends are all dead, who is deaf and suffers from arthritis or high blood pressure, the fact that the local standard of living is twenty-five per cent higher than it was when he was a boy is only moderately consoling. In spite of the greater wealth and efficiency in the midst of which he lives, this man is in all probability a good deal less happy than he used to be in the bad old days when he was young and healthy.

In spite of this anti-progress within the organism, some people undoubtedly go on becoming happier and better to the end of their days. But these are the men and

women who have learned something of that wisdom which the old philosophers declared to be more precious than rubies. In other words, personal progress takes place in the inner world, and is independent of advancing technology and the changes in external circumstances which it brings about. True human progress consists in increase of aesthetic, intellectual, and spiritual experience and satisfaction.

Of course, increase of control and of independence is necessary for the increase of these spiritual satisfactions; but the more or less measurable and objective control over, and independence of, external environment is now merely subsidiary mechanism serving as the material basis for the human type of progress; and the really significant control and independence apply to man's mental states – his control of ideas to give intellectual satisfaction, of form and colour or of sound to give aesthetic satisfaction, his independence of inessential stimuli and ideas to give the satisfaction of mystic detachment and inner ecstasy.

The civilization of the West, the civilization which churchmen and statesmen prefer to call the "Christian civilization," originated in Greece, travelled to Rome, was highly corrupted out there by the Empire, went underground in the darkness of the Middle Ages, was rediscovered in England and emigrated to the American colonies. The home of civilization in Europe has been torn to pieces. The torch first lighted in Athens is now, for good or ill, in the hands of the American people.

The United States can lead the free world, for a time anyway, on its own terms, and two choices are before it. It can follow the example of other newly rich empires of the past, which entered the world only to dominate it and fatten on its resources. Or it can enter the world to serve it and save it, serving and saving itself in the process.

[p. 522/523] The United States is the first dominant World power in history which, because of its own natural resources, has no need to control any other nation, which requires no foreign territory, nor reservoir of slave labour. History has never before presented such a clear opportunity for the physically greatest World power to become also its greatest moral power.

Assuming that the United States will use its leadership for the benefit of the world, and not to establish an American empire, there still remains the question of American morality. This will overshadow every other question, because the paramount issue of humanity in our time is a moral, not a political or economic one.

The American people are the first who have ever had the chance of general prosperity, of ample goods for everybody. In the past, such an opportunity has been confined to a few small areas of the world and to a few privileged classes. The American people possessed half a continent, replete with nearly all essential resources, at the moment when invention made it possible to convert these resources into goods and equipment. By this unique combination they have built the highest standard of living ever known, and this they have called the Pursuit of Happiness.

But the world's highest standard of living has not produced the highest standard of happiness. Many poorer nations are far happier; and by all the indexes of American life – by its literature, by its crime, by its divorce rate, by its desperate efforts to

escape the reality of its life through a huge and shallow industry of entertainment, by the restlessness and discontent which sends people hurtling over its highways away from home – we can see that the Pursuit of Happiness has not succeeded.

The reason is not difficult to find. Instead of seeking happiness within, the American people have been dazzled by the paraphernalia of outer happiness, the glittering, thin satisfactions of unexampled luxury, which threaten to drug them. Former President Herbert Hoover, in lightsome vein, once said that “the aspiration, of the American people seem to have advanced from two chickens in every pot to two cars in every garage.” Some Republicans adopted this as a serious slogan. Today the chief drive of American life and politics is to create more things, in the belief that they will create better men. The philosophy preached by each political party, by every successful politician, by business and by labour, holds that if enough goods are produced and distributed all the ills of human life will be cured.

[p. 523/524] The conquest of self has been interpreted to mean the conquest of Nature and the provision of material conveniences. The search for truth has become for millions a search for a new kind of bath-tub rather like the one Caligula used in Rome just before the unwashed barbarians arrived. The gods currently worshipped closely resemble the Roman deities, which were then created by the Senate and are now created by Hollywood.

The American conviction that progress is to be measured by the increase of material conveniences and creature comforts is an idea that is very important in their national life. An insistent and expensive advertising campaign has connected it with the calendar; the average American is apparently convinced that all mechanical contrivances automatically improve every three hundred and sixty-five days, and under the spell of this illusion he has bought millions of cars and radios and refrigerators which he did not need to the profit of those who fostered the illusion.

The idea of progress is one of America’s great national investments. The amount of money spent in the schools, in the newspapers and on the radio to protect it exceeds computation. It is part and parcel of “boosting,” of that mass optimism which has made the Americans, for good and evil, what they are today. Nothing is more treasonable to the basic American spirit than to doubt that they have improved and are improving – every day in every way.

And, for reasons which the social historian can perhaps explain, the bath-tub has become an especial symbol not only of their material progress but of their spiritual progress as well. For the Americans set great store by things of the spirit. Nothing is more warmly rejoiced in than their superiority to the grimy Europeans in the matter of bath-tubs. Cleanliness is far ahead of godliness.

No argument against public housing has been used more consistently than the assertion that if you give bath-tubs to the poor, they will only dump coal in them. To point out that most housing projects are centrally heated and supplied with gas and electricity so that their occupants have no need of coal, is to earn the reproach of being frivolous. It is absolutely “known” that all occupants of housing projects put

coal in their bath-tubs. And their so doing indicates such depravity that to build houses for them is practically contributing to moral delinquency. The poor have been weighed in the bath-tub and been found wanting.

To the Americans the standard of living appears to be their ideal of life, the answer to every riddle, the secret to happiness. But the standard of living is only the first beginning of a true [p. 524/525] standard of life. Prosperity is useful only if it creates a climate in which the happiness of the mind and spirit can grow, but generally, in all past civilizations, this happiness has withered just about the time prosperity began to appear.

No Golden Age lasts long, says Haverfield in his *Roman Britain*. The happiest period of the British, the Victorian Age, lasted only sixty-three years. "No one yet knows," writes Professor Burkitt, "why the Roman Empire fell." "If you want to know why the Roman Empire fell, read Finlay," wrote John Morley. There is another, that caustic comment of Scott's when he came on board ship after seeing Knossos in Crete: "The moral of Knossos is that good plumbing will not save a civilization."

Whether the "savages" of the past were as "happy" as the people of today, there is no means of judging. We have more conveniences, more diversions, more delicacies; they had better health and greater contentment. We should say the amount of happiness among men is a constant. Sometimes there is more of this, sometimes more of that. The total does not vary much, at any rate in civilized communities. For the civilized, if they are not plagued with real troubles, plague themselves by inventing artificial ones. Civilization cannot rightly be called either a boon or a bane. It may be made either. All depends on the use that is made of it. But it does seem that so far it has not been used with much wisdom, seeing that all civilizations have destroyed themselves.

The earth is the grave of civilizations. They embodied the achievements of Man in society over roughly 8,000 years, and all alike are extinct. Some have left only fragmentary remains, while others have excited the modern mind by wonders of architecture and public works, literature, and evidences of skill and social amenity. Professor Arnold Toynbee makes a list of something over twenty vanished systems, and in his ambitious *Study of History* he discusses at length the various theories concerning their decline and dissolution.

First among these is the concept of an inevitable cycle, the assumption that the biological law of growth, maturity, and decay must be applied as inexorably to societies, however extensive and elaborate, as to the individual organism. This theory was elaborated afresh by the late Oswald Spengler in *The Decline of the West*. Spengler did much more than adopt the cycle. He argued that it was possible, in a given case, to mark the stage reached in the decline by examining the phenomena of governments, economics, and culture. As developed by Spengler, the theory is the bleakest [p. 525/526] pessimism, for, while the cycle force in society, as in Nature and common life, is undeniable, the mind refuses to believe in an all-inclusive predestination.

It is not difficult to enumerate causes which have been powerful agencies of destruction. Among these are continental changes of climate, drought, pestilence and the destruction by Man of the bases of life, as in deforestation and systematic exhaustion of the soil.

Toynbee, again, gives importance to loss of command over the environment, which is plainly to be seen in the failures of the Greek City-States and, still more, in the complex troubles throughout the Empire which accompanied the prolonged decline of Rome. With this powerful cause of disintegration, he suggests, we may well consider “the intractability of institutions,” the clinging to “semi-dead tissues of the social body” – in a word, political and social conservatism.

Gibbon put the Christian religion and the barbarian invasions high among the causes that were destructive of Rome, and it is manifestly impossible to confute him. Nor need we contest one of Toynbee’s more emphatic assertions – namely, as to history’s overwhelming demonstration that they who take the sword shall perish by the sword. War and conquest are the supreme enemies of civilization. From the deadly consequences of greed and aggression, there is no escape.

Historian Gibbon was not the only eminent scholar to view Christianity as a menace to civilization. Anthropologist Sir James Frazer, the author of *The Golden Bough*, regretted that the “unselfish ideal” of Greek and Roman society, which subordinated the individual to the welfare of the State, was superseded by the “selfish and immoral doctrine” of “Oriental religions which inculcated the communion of the soul with God and its eternal salvation as the only objects worth living for . . .” The result, said Frazer, was “a general disintegration of the body politic.”

Toynbee also discusses, in the light of history, the crisis which has arisen because Man has achieved control of Nature before achieving control of himself. He looks back to the rise and fall of other civilizations, and declares that one lesson runs through history. “Nothing fails like worldly success.”

Civilizations, like individuals, become besotted by it, and the particular form of worldly success which they are most prone to idolize is that of technical efficiency. Blinded by worship of [p. 526/527] their past successes, they fail to meet a new crisis with a new and creative response. So – they fall.

At each decisive moment of history, he maintains there comes a moral choice. And, looking back over the vanished civilizations he has studied, Professor Toynbee is not sanguine about man’s ability to choose wisely now – if he persists in omitting spiritual values.

If civilization, as we know it, is to continue at all, then it will have to be built on ideals more enduring than those of mere material abundance. Civilization cannot be built to last on the theory of two cars in every garage, for such a civilization will be no better than a Hollywood scenic set, with the glitter of chorus girls in front of it and nothing behind it. The paramount question is not whether we can solve the political and economic problems of the world, but whether we can solve the problem of our own life, the problem of finding inner happiness in a world clamouring for luxury which has invariably sapped and destroyed all groups of men who enjoyed luxury in the long past.

[SB: D. Buddhism as an Antidote]

Progress is a moot point. Have we progressed? Technical, certainly, in our power over things. Thanks to the scientific method, we have more knowledge, and that is increasing hourly, formidably. Socially there is less poverty, illness, drunkenness: there is more consideration for the under-dog. Social reform is in the air, and almost equally fashionable with all the political parties. Water is cheap, plumbing is good and cleanliness is the commonest of all the virtues. And yet one wonders whether fundamentally mankind is really better for all this material gain. We have the power, but not the wisdom to use it well. We lack a moral sense, in spite of our social progress and kindness to animals. The crime and torture, the burning and destruction of life and property, the wrecking of homes and the turning of men, women and children into wanderers in a wilderness, which has taken place in our own life-time – and been accepted as a matter of fact which may even shortly be repeated – has outstripped in magnitude of crime the darkest ages of world history.

[p. 530/531] Man's control over his own nature has not increased commensurately with his control over external nature, and that improvement in the quality of his life has as a result failed to keep pace with the improvement in his opportunities for living. In the last half century, the degree of man's control over himself has definitely diminished. One who looks back from the world of today will find it difficult to gain-say this view. Men today are crueller, more predatory and more unprincipled; they have less consideration for justice, less compassion for the helpless, less tenderness and less tolerance than they had fifty years ago. What is the reason for this recession?

There has been a vast increase in human power, and consequently a vast release of human energy, but there has been no proportionate increase in ethical insight. To make good the deficiency, men have embraced the worship of the State and the philosophy of militarism, which combine to ensure that power shall be used most destructive way. Evolution there must be, but there is no need for the methods of that evolution to be war, revolution, and violence. Mankind has other capacities for solving problems of development, however difficult they may seem, and it is these capacities which distinguish him, or should distinguish him, from the brute beast.

It is at this point that Buddhism offers itself as an alternative. Although the Buddhist way of life still embodies an ethical creed far in advance of the world's development today, it does offer in the present anarchy of ethics a creed to live for, and a principle to live by. The creed is Righteousness; translated to the ideal of the Brotherhood of Man; the principle, Justice. The measure of that justice is the good of humanity, and not the good of this or that section, class, or nation. Buddhism is a doctrine of the brotherhood of all men. Frontiers of nationality, race, religion or colour have no place in it. We cannot claim to be enlightened or tolerant if our virtues extend only as far as the members of our own family, creed or race.

Jawaharlal Nehru, in his *Mahatma Gandhi*, says how hurt he was when he first learned that the Pope had refused to interview Gandhiji when he was returning from

the Round Table Conference in December, 1931. That refusal had seemed to him an affront to India, and there could be no doubt that the refusal was intentional: "The Catholic Church does not approve of Saints or Mahatmas outside its fold, and because some Protestant churchman had called Gandhiji a great man of religion [p. 531/532] and a real Christian, it became all the more necessary for Rome to dissociate itself from this heresy." The Catholic Church has created a vested interest in sainthood, and it does neither "approve of saints outside its fold" nor recognise righteousness outside its own creed: it prefers to worship saints in stained glass windows rather than living ones.

Hardly a person will be found today who will deny the brotherhood of man as a sound moral, ethical, or religious basis for judgment. The Buddhist faith definitely lays it down that we should regulate our relationships on that footing. If we are right in the foregoing diagnosis of the causes of our ethical bankruptcy this creed and the principle which it enshrines have a topical relevance have, in fact, an urgency of a quite peculiar kind.

For it is the worship of the State which, in the absence of such a creed, is accepted as its substitute, just as it is the power of the State, resulting from such worship, which threatens our civilization with destruction. Thus the ethics of Buddhism prescribe the duty of enlarging the sentiments of brotherhood and patriotism, which now embrace the welfare only of those who are of the same creed and who are born within the same territorial area as oneself to cover a wider horizon. For, once it be admitted that it is the individual's duty to subordinate his interests to those of a larger whole, and to sacrifice prejudices and comfort and happiness to the good of others, then there can be no logical reason for not extending these sentiments to all mankind.

When the day comes when men of all creeds and colours accept as their religion the common brotherhood of man and obey the Buddhist teaching that they should love one another and hold as their highest ideal the continuous search for, and love of truth mankind will be well on the way to the millennium.

There is no sphere in which the gulf between the quality of our technical accomplishment and the nature of the uses to which it is put is so marked as in that of religion – so marked indeed that at times it seems as if man's sense of purpose and value in the world declines as his power over the world grows. The suggestion we make is that Buddhism is the bridge that can be thrown across the gulf.

The connection between the State and Religion arises in this way. Religion may be advocated, not only as a means of averting war, but as a means of preserving liberty. The modern State is an enemy to liberty, and, while continually asserting its independence, deprives its citizens of theirs, treating them not as ends [p. 532/533] in their own right, but as instruments to the ends which it imposes upon them. With its prisons and concentration camps for the confinement of men's bodies, its censorship and laws against sedition for the stifling of their minds, the State impedes that development of the free personality which it exists to promote. Nor, while the State retains its powers, will the individual ever again enjoy the liberty to vote as he pleases, to speak and to write as he pleases, and to hear the words and to read the writings of others.

Now it has become open to serious question whether democracy can be maintained in the modern world, except it be regarded as a corollary of religion. When the foundation of ethical and religious principle began to crumble, one of the first and most noticeable effects was the destruction of democratic forms and individual liberties. It is no accident that the decline of Christianity should have coincided with a monstrous invasion of the rights of man. Could the totalitarian regime of Spain and of those behind the Iron Curtain have successfully imposed their claims upon the bodies and minds of their members, save in the twilight of Christianity?

If you look back into the history of modern civilization, you will find that our finest institutions were primarily moulded by ideals of righteousness and justice such as those which Buddhism inculcates. But as peoples gained increasing power over their material environment, they have lost, in the process, many of these qualities. There is not among those in high office the same conscious sense of duty which prevailed in earlier days; and there is not among peoples the same sense of duty to their fellow men. For we must remember that freedom cannot exist unless the individuals who possess it have the qualities of self-control, self-restraint and self-sacrifice which alone make freedom tolerable.

During the past 30 years, we have seen a new power rise to great eminence in the world – the Soviet State. How has that come about? The power of the Soviet Union, and particularly of the Soviet Communist Party, is due to the fact that, while in a sense the Soviet State has moved into a power vacuum in Europe and Asia, the Soviet Communist Party has moved into a moral vacuum in the world.

What has given Soviet Communism its tremendous influence over men everywhere? It is the moral slogans which the Marxists have adopted. They profess to stand for an end of economic [p. 533/534] exploitation of man by man. They profess to stand for the equitable sharing of the wealth of a country amongst all its citizens. They profess to stand for an end of colonial exploitation. They profess to stand for the dignity of the individual, irrespective of caste, colour and race.

Their slogans are nothing but an expression of the same principles for which religion has stood. But recognizing that religion had failed to stand militantly for those ideals, the leaders of Soviet Communism took them over and professed them to the world as the principles for which Marxism stood. The leaders of the Soviet Communist Party have been shrewd enough to see that the way to obtain influence in the world is to sponsor great moral principles, although they themselves do not necessarily conform to these principles in practice.

Democracy in the modern world cannot, in fact, resist the claims of totalitarianism by a vague and tepid belief in human rights and human decency; it can stand only if it is successful in strengthening that belief with the conviction that only religion can command and with the enthusiasm which only religion can generate. It is because Communism has come to take the place of religion in the minds of so many of its adherents that it can command this conviction and enlist this enthusiasm. Democracy, if it is to survive, must draw upon a like energy and evoke a like enthusiasm.

The connection, then, which we are suggesting, is reciprocal. Religion can only survive in the modern world if it addresses itself to the problems of the day and shows how they can be solved consonantly with the maintenance of the religious way of life. It must, in fact, be interpreted anew in the light of the existing situation. It may well be that democracy can only be maintained, and the rights of the individual preserved, if the enthusiasm which religious faith can generate can be harnessed in its service.

[SB: E. Harmony of Religion and Politics]

Whatever be the aspect of religion we may consider, it is always true that man is its pivotal point. The essence of religion is the emancipation from dependence on the unknown. The more man advances in culture, the more does he depend on himself to get over his dependence on the unknown. Religion is essentially, a means, a mode of action, to realise man's hope of salvation, of deliverance from unhappiness, be it due to poverty, ignorance, disease, old age, or death. The end of religion is always salvation: a larger, freer, more satisfactory, and more abundant life. It does not consist in the profession of a belief in God, the soul and immortality, as recorded in a scripture, or condensed in a creed. God, soul and immortality are the illusions that have crept into religion and, without their suppression, religion cannot appear in its true colours. Lack of confidence in his own powers, engendered by ignorant self-seeking, has made man an abject slave of these illusions. These delusions have turned life into a vale of tears.

Life as the Buddha saw it was full of *dukkha* or suffering. Nirvana was the elimination of this suffering. Much has been made of the emphasis by the Buddha upon the statement, "existence is suffering," but although He did emphasise it, it was not His own, but the world-negating conclusion of the other Upanishadic thinkers. To say that existence is bound up with *dukkha* (sorrow), *anicca* (evanescence), and *anatta* (unreality), is not original. What is original is the remedy which the Buddha proposes – extinction of *lobha* (greed), *dosa* (hatred), *moha* (ignorance), and this is practical (not speculative), ethical, and free from extremes. It means, among other things, the evolution of a social order which aims at perfection of mankind and doing full justice to the rights of man. The Buddha's doctrine aims at perfection of man so that he may lead a happy life in this world itself. It is not, as in the case of some other religions, to prepare him to meet his Maker in another world.

Having satisfied ourselves as to the nature of the original doctrine of the Buddha, we can now proceed to an examination of how best to translate that doctrine into the terms of a practical religion. [p. 547/548] "Religion is politics; and politics is brotherhood," said William Blake. Ultimately, any political question becomes a religious question. A nation which is permeated with evil ideas will inevitably tend to put those ideas into practice and will eventually succeed, unless its evil ideas are countered by others. What happened in Germany not long ago illustrates this viewpoint. So also a nation which is permeated with good ideas will put those good ideas into practice.

It is also true that the existence of evil conditions in a country is evidence of the existence of evil ideas in a people; and, in a country where bad conditions are prevalent, obviously evil ideas must be. It is, therefore, necessary, seeing that evil ideas underlie evil conditions, that evil ideas be supplanted by good ideas. For if we spend our energies combating evil conditions without combating the evil ideas underlying them, we can achieve at best but palliatives, and do nothing towards the development of personality, the real object of all political activity.

It is true that Governments are, properly, not concerned with ideas but with conditions; but, as ideas underlie conditions, it is necessary that Governments should be informed, and impregnated, as it were, by ideas. Religion exists to inspire human beings, enrich personality, stimulate action, and ennoble thought and motive. Governments exist to create, secure and preserve such conditions as are consistent with the attainment of this end. Lord Halifax once said, "Government is the instrument to secure conditions favourable to the fullest possible development of personality."

Nearly every one would in these times admit that the perfection of the citizen ought to be the end of government; and since politics is concerned with the provision of conditions most favourable for the attainment of this end, the perfection of the citizen may be said to be the end of politics.

Although different definitions of the term have been used, we may, broadly speaking, regard politics as concerned with the governance of communities, in themselves and among themselves – that is, with the laying down of definite rules or laws for the control of human conduct in individuals and in groups, and for determining the general conditions under which they live.

As politics is concerned with governance, we must first ask what is the reason and the aim of the control which it seeks to establish.

[p. 548/549] "To say that politics always exists for the sake of human beings, and not the contrary," writes C. A. Richardson in his *Strategy of Living*, "ought to be a truism, but the history of political development shows that it is a truism which must be constantly emphasized. The only intelligible reason for laying down regulative principles of conduct is, not that this is in itself a rather intriguing and stimulating game or contest, but that without such principles, human life would be anarchic and therefore self-destructive; and the only intelligible aim for a particular code of law and order is that in its own field it leads to, or renders possible, a form of life which is desirable to human beings for its own sake."

What is this desirable form of life? If the thesis which we have been developing is well founded, then it is for mankind to select a form of life which would lead to perfection, and thereby to the state of universal happiness. The perfection of the citizen is the aim of both religion and politics; and it is accomplished by the joint effort of religion, government and the citizen. We would therefore maintain that the practice of politics is significant and intelligible only if it is directed to the establishment of laws governing the life of communities of such a kind as to provide the most favourable conditions for the perfection of the citizen and the progressive attainment of happiness of all concerned.

Now, politicians will inevitably differ as to the best kinds of laws and regulations to achieve this end. But, among the great variety of individual opinions, there would undoubtedly be apparent a basic law not only acceptable to them but also in harmony with religion, as robust commonsense dilutes religion and reduces it with politics, into the common problem of the pursuit of a happy human life.

The aphorisms of great men look simple. At first sight they look like platitudes – to the point of being trite. Their significance lies in the difficulty of carrying them out. The Eightfold Path, embodying positive practice of virtues, may be somewhat difficult to follow, but how infinitely simple appear the three exhortations. “Renounce Greed! Renounce Hatred! Renounce Delusion!” Simple indeed, because they are mere negative imperatives.

The world would have had a different tale to tell, and Buddhism a different course to follow, if only its apostles, in the expounding of the Doctrine, had shifted the emphasis, from the speculative [p. 549/550] and world-negating Upanishadic doctrine of *anicca*, *ducca*, *anatta*, to the fundamental and practical Buddhist doctrine of the eradication of *lobha* (greed), *dosa* (hatred), *moha* (delusion). While the moral and mental discipline and the spiritual aspects of Buddhism are highly important, they are not enough to constitute the thing itself. Buddhism, like Democracy or Communism, is a way of life, and has to be given practical shape as a social structure or a form of government, or, in other words, as a political system.

When Lenin, after the overthrow of the Tsarist regime in Russia, secured a free hand to put into practice the teachings of Karl Marx, he did not set up temples with images of the founder of Marxism and then ask the Russians to worship the images, nor did he stop at setting up preaching halls for the enunciation of the doctrine in *Das Kapital*; but he set up a State, the functions of which harmonised with the teachings of Marx, and made the people actually to live the way of life preached by Marx.

Similarly, the highest “worship” we can offer to the Buddha is to live according to His teaching. Buddhism is a way of life which supplies an antidote to the anxieties and anguish of the present, and makes possible the best approach to serenity that is available to an earnest mind in our tortured and uncertain world. As such Buddhism has to be lived and practised – merely worshipping the images of its Founder is not living up to or practising His teaching. In a religion in which there is no place for a Creator or ruler of the universe, there can be nothing corresponding to what is ordinarily called worship or prayer. “Worship consists in fulfilling the design of the Being honoured, not in offerings of perfumes, garlands and the like,” says the *Jātakamāla*. Therefore, true worship, in Buddhism, does not consist in the performance of genuflexions before the image of the Buddha but in being inspired by His genius, and bringing to fruition the ideas which immortalise Him. To the true Buddhist, Buddhism ought to mean, not the building of temples for the housing of images of the Buddha, but leading a life in accordance with the principles of His teachings.

The highest purpose of religion, declared Confucius, is to regulate the life of this world – “I know nothing of the next world.” This regulation begins with the investiga-

tion of life. "Our ancestors, having investigated life, increased their knowledge. Having increased their knowledge, they purified their thoughts. Having [p. 550/551] purified their thoughts, they rectified their hearts. Having rectified their hearts, they harmonised their characters. Having harmonised their characters, they adjusted their family life. And having adjusted their family life, they brought justice to the State."

This is at the core of the Confucian religion and the Confucian philosophy. The business of life is to advance from individual knowledge to social justice. A pure heart is the concomitant of an informed mind, and the Confucianists, unlike the Buddhists, try to follow the teachings of Confucius rather than to bow before his image.

The Buddha defined a way by which man could live a life in harmony with the cosmic laws, which is the only way to happiness, and which constitutes the ultimate aim of both religion and politics. The task of any government in any country, the population of which is predominantly Buddhist, is to harmonise the Buddha's way of life with the every-day life of the community; or, in other words, with the Functions of the State.

Harmony of Religion and the State

The question remains: how to harmonise religion and politics? Both are fundamental necessities of life having one common goal. Both politics and religion are important factors of human civilization, and we cannot do without either of them. Politics, by itself, is not an evil, but when it is misdirected by unscrupulous people, it becomes evil. If there is no police to protect the people against thieves and robbers, if there is no army to guard the country against foreign aggression, one's very life is unsafe. So one should be thankful to those who hold the reins of administration. But if, sitting at the helm of affairs, they betray their trust, they deserve unequivocal condemnation. Those who are inspired by idealism, and actuated by a high sense of justice and equity, are alarmed at the trend of politics in modern times. Politics has become synonymous with fascism, imperialism, militarism, and the biological instinct of struggle and of elbowing out others for one's own enjoyment of power. These things cannot continue for long. If you fight on the plane of animal life, you have to die like animals, too. If you worship the brute in man, you descend to the level of brutes.

[p. 551/552] Here religion comes into the field, and sounds a note of warning. Religion, embodying the spiritual aspirations of the human race, says, 'If you want peace and happiness, base your life on high moral and spiritual principles'. The greater the greed or avarice, the less there is of real happiness. By dishonest means and unscrupulous actions you may succeed for a time, but you must remember that thereby you permanently imperil the cause of personal and national happiness.

In fact politics and religion, at their best, are but the obverse and reverse of the same force making for righteousness in the State. Religion does this by trying to de-

stroy all wickedness through changing the nature of man by teaching and preaching, and politics does it by changing the environment and by eliminating, by force, all wickedness. When these two processes are harmonised we have the set-up of the ideal State.

The ends for which a State exists are:

- (1) Protection of the citizen, whether external or internal: (a) against either the attacks of other States or of individuals within the State; (b) against being exploited by individuals from within or outside the State.
- (2) Justice: The establishment of laws which are just to various citizens within the State. In essence, it may be stated, the main end of the State is Justice.

Both these ends require the use of force. But the State is primarily an institution aiming at protection and justice, and uses force merely to carry out these ends.

There is also a third which may be regarded as a fundamental aim of the State, namely:

- (3) Education, which means civic education, aiming at the development of a child into a citizen. To this end his education should be organised to give him equality of opportunity and directed to cultivate common sense.

Of course, the individual is more than a citizen; he has interests other than the political interests which are, or should be, directed to the problem of government only that the life of all individual members of the community may be rendered more rich, more full, more free.

[p. 552–554] Buddhism is an ethico-religious social philosophy and, as such, it must be harmonised with a system of government. From time immemorial, religion and politics have gone together and have furthered the advancement of civilization. In the ancient days, politics was sustained by religion. In India we hear of Rishis guiding kings and princes with advice, and in Ceylon we had the Sangha guiding our rulers for over 2000 years. The king would wield temporal power, but behind him was a sage or a bhikkhu who was the moral and spiritual force preventing him from going astray. As such, the guiding principle and ultimate motive of statecraft was how to make the subjects better spiritually and morally, in addition to making them happier materially.

If we study European history, we find a similar combination. The remoter the past to which we go, the greater is the influence of religion on politics. For the Greeks, ethics and politics were two aspects of a single enquiry. It was the function of ethics to prescribe the good life to the individual; it was the business of politics to determine the nature of the community in which the good life, as I prescribed by ethics, could be lived. The *raison d'être* of politics, in other words, was to be found in an end beyond itself, an end which was ethical.

The great Empires of the ancient world – Assyria, Persia, Macedonia, Rome – had tried to build a universal State on the basis of power. The Buddha sought to found a wider community of mankind on the basis of love. Power meant the capacity to appropriate, to possess, to dominate: Love meant the capacity to share, to renounce, to sacrifice.

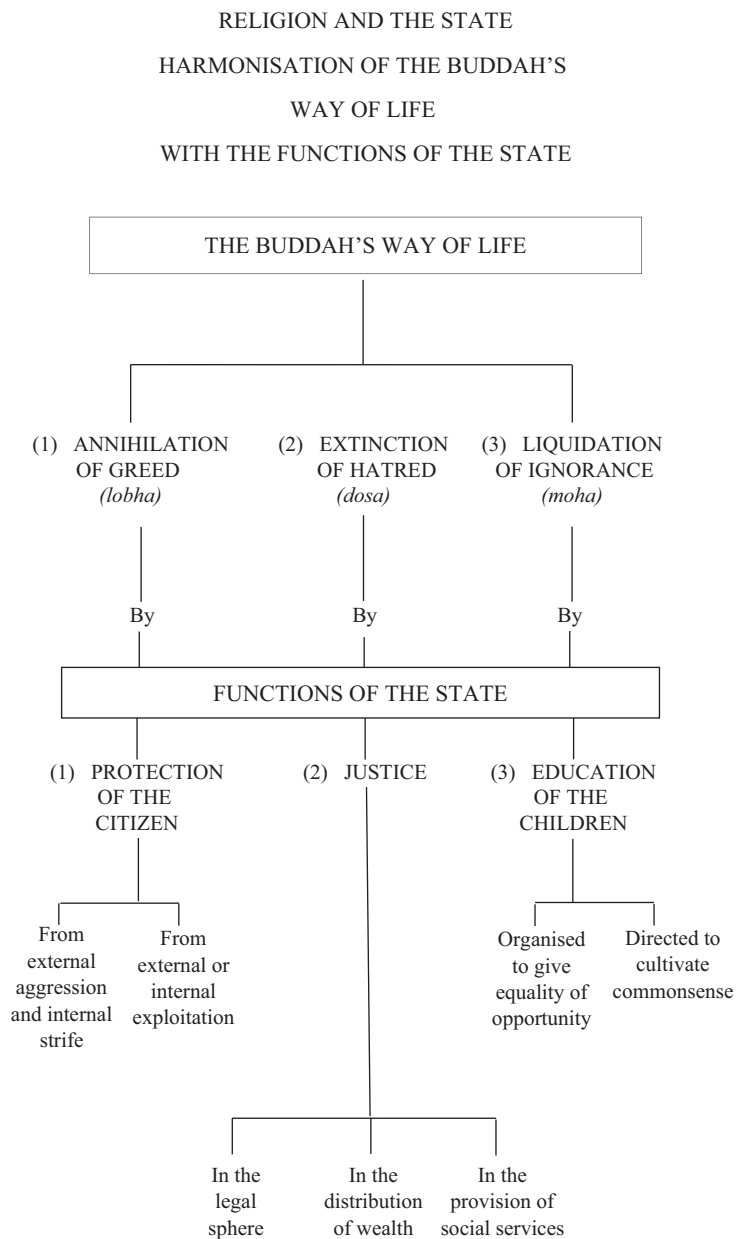


Figure 4: SB: Representation of the Buddha's way of life.

Good men, conscious that they are trustees for righteousness and truth and charged to defend others against the injuries of falsity and evil, are faced with the terrible task of reconciling power with love. Others, with less of goodwill, use power without scruple to enforce their own wills and compel others thereby to use power as a protection in self-defence – and so the bondage of evil grows.

When we must use power, or entrust power to others for them to use, we must wish that they and we may be preserved from the misuse of power which multiplies fear and resentment and injustice and strife, that they and we may seek and find that pure and peaceable wisdom which instils love and creates peace.

The big bullying empires of history, guarded by hosts of soldiers, ships and magistrates: scarcely one of them lasted longer than [p. 554/555] perhaps three centuries. In the Order the Buddha established you have a movement of deliberate paupers, who prized poverty more than wealth; who took vows not to harm or kill other beings; who spent their time in contemplation of the unrealities of this impermanent world; who despised whatever the material world valued, and who valued whatever that world despises—meekness, generosity, love, meditation. And yet, where these mighty empires, built on greed, hatred and delusion, lasted just a few centuries, the impulse of self-denial carried the Buddhist community through 2500 years.

The philosophies behind the empires founded on power are very shallow; they have their day – it is really a very short day, and not a very restful one while it lasts. Whereas the great and universal love preached by the Buddha goes deep down to the very roots, the very breath and rhythm of life. It is the meek that will inherit the earth, it is the meek that have inherited the earth – because they alone are willing to live in harmony with it.

Aristotle said that the State exists “for the sake of goodness” – in plain words, to make better men of its citizens. The Greek mind had realized that schools and teaching and temples and preaching are not the only means by which character is shaped. More decisive in this respect is the structure of society in which we grow up. The social and political structures in which we grow up are moulds into which our plastic natures are run. If the end and object of life is to make men better, an essential means to that end is to see that the moulds into which their natures are run are properly shaped. What men in the mass become will mainly depend on the kind of polity in which they are bred. The structure of the State is therefore of cardinal importance, as the Greeks had seen.

In the view of the Buddha, the end and object of life is to perfect the nature of men. Can we doubt that a mind so profound had seen that, to perfect men, you must perfect the social structure which shapes their characters? This cannot be done merely by teaching and preaching, by calling on men to be better. The political structure in which they grow up must be also improved, must be made consonant with realities, that is to say, with the Law of the Buddha.

The task which the Buddha left to His followers was to create on earth a polity ordered in accordance with His teaching; a polity [p. 555/556] based, that is, on the infinite duty of each to himself and to his fellow-men, as set forth in His exhortation:

*Sabba pāpassa akaranan,
Kusalassa upasampadā,
Sa citta pariyodapanan,*

Refrain from evil,
Cultivate goodness,
Cleanse the heart.

It is this sense of duty which alone enables men to unite in an ordered and civilized polity, as that force of mutual attraction called gravity serves to unite innumerable particles and hold them together in the planet we live on. The mysteries, in which philosophers have clouded political theory, dissolve when the obvious truth is admitted, that the only force that unites men in a State is conscience, a varying capacity in most of them to put the interests of other people before their own.

To the Buddha the final reality in human nature was not self-interest, but a faculty in men, however imperfect, of putting the interests of others before their own – the virtue that distinguishes men from beasts. To develop this faculty is to perfect mankind. But a faculty, like a muscle, is developed by exercise. The right kind of polity is one which depends for its working on the sense of duty in men to each other, and so develops that sense by its repetitive operation.

The tragedy of the Buddha rises to a swift climax. The breath has; scarcely left the Master's body before He becomes enshrouded in myth. The Buddha, the Man, passes out of the picture: in His place there arises a god enmeshed in the polytheism of primitive religions, and celebrated in a score of pagan cults. Karl Marx once said of himself that he was not a Marxist: and of the Buddha one may say, without irreverence, that He was not a Buddhist. For little men, who guarded the Buddha's memory, took him drained off the precious blood of His spirit, mummified His body, wrapped what was left in many foreign wrappings, and over these remains they proceeded to erect a gigantic shrine. "The Diamond Throne of the original Enlightenment," Okakura Kakuzo has remarked, "is now hard indeed to discover, surrounded as it is by the labyrinths of pillars and elaborate porticos which successive architects have erected, as each has added his portion to the [p. 556/557] edifice of faith." The figure it holds is both greater and less than the Man who walked and talked on the foot-hills of the Himalayas: more indisputably a traditional god, more doubtfully an illumined man. But which figure holds the crystalline nucleus of truth? We have no hesitation in saying – the Man.

During the two hundred years that had elapsed between the Buddha's death and Asoka's reign, the Master's disciples had composed many books about Him; and their followers, becoming numerous, certainly believed already that He was more than a

man. Had He not discovered the secret of how to avoid being born again? No man had ever discovered that before. Where was He? What was the blissful state of non-personality in which He existed? These were mysterious and entrancing questions. Many people were occupied in trying to answer them. In the process, the Buddha became less human, more divine.

And it was left to Asoka to rescue the Buddha, the Man, from a place amidst the crowd of gods to which His followers had thrust Him. Asoka was the Lenin of Buddhism, as he was the first to translate the Buddha's Way of Life into a polity. Asoka made the people actually practise the way of life preached by the Buddha. And look at the result achieved! A Chinese traveller to India of those times has recorded that, "Theft was unknown; people were extremely honest and truthful; peace and happiness reigned all over the country; there was no fight between the rulers and the ruled, between the employer and the employed; and there was equitable distribution of wealth." Compare this with the present state of affairs. Which is better?

Amidst the tens of thousands of monarchs that crowd the pages of history, the name of Asoka shines, and shines almost alone, as a star. In its main lines the code of life which Asoka gave to his people, and tried to give to the whole world, by a unique campaign for righteousness, was just the simple standard of social conduct, preached by the Buddha, which is one of the conditions of the stability of a civilization. For the first and only time in history, Asoka established a Ministry for the Development of Human Character. Another official in his government was Director of Women's Welfare. He had his moral exhortations or Edicts carved upon stone pillars, twenty to seventy feet in height, which he set up in all parts of his Empire.

These celebrated Edicts of the greatest of Buddhist monarchs, and, if H. G. Wells be right, the greatest monarch of all times anywhere in the world, are but discourses of the Buddha. Asoka [p. 557/558] showed both in his personal life and in his administration that the Buddha's Dhamma was not a mere philosophical doctrine but a way of life to be cultivated. "How entirely compatible that way of living," says Wells in *The Outline of History*, with reference to the Eightfold Path of Buddhism, "then was with the most useful and beneficent activities his (Asoka's) life shows, Right Aspiration, Right Effort, and Right Livelihood distinguished his career." Those who criticize Buddhism as being just "other-worldly" and out of touch with real life, implying its so-called impracticability, would give up their misconception if they would only read these Edicts of Asoka.

"Asoka", says Joseph McCabe in *The Golden Ages of History*, "did not confine his improvement of the State to a correction of individual conduct. He built a number of hospitals and had large gardens of medicinal herbs which he distributed to the poor. He reformed the prisons and, anticipating our advanced ideas on the subject, urged officials to help prisoners to see the blunder of crime rather than punish them. He recommended the education and kindly treatment of slaves and servants. He built hostels, dug wells and planted trees along the roads for travellers. He opened "spinning-houses" (workshops) for widows and poor women and made provision for the

aged. He had thousands of vessels of water placed on the streets of his capital to meet the contingency of fire, and he imposed a fine upon any man who would not help to extinguish a fire in his neighbour's house. He made it a penal offence to throw dead animals or filth upon the streets. He instituted a department of State to attend to the welfare of the backward races in his Empire. And, above all, he denounced war and most ardently desired the friendly intercourse of all nations, sending his missionaries as far as Syria in the West to preach his gospel. His own people were his children, but all men were his brothers."

How very modern, you reflect! Yes, this is the outcome, the result, when a country gets imbued with the spirit of the teaching of the Master, and is ruled according to the Law of the Buddha.

It took over 1000 years for the Christian world to attain the level of culture and civilization which prevailed prior to the disintegration of the Roman Empire. A glance at the general state of affairs in the sixteenth century shows us that, even with Europe on the verge of the Renaissance, licentiousness and cruelty were still rampant in most countries.

[p. 558/559] They slaughtered and drowned in the Danube alone thousands of starving people. In France, Catherine de Medici ordered the horrible massacre of St. Bartholomew, finding thousands of loyal Frenchmen ready and willing to slay their compatriots. In Rome, Pope Bergia had brought conditions in the Vatican down to the level of Sodom and Gomorrah. In Spain, the Inquisition was blackening the pages of history with sadistic cruelty; while in England the common people were given the frequent spectacle of witches and so-called sorcerers being burned at the stake, and King Henry had no scruples about getting rid of his wives or his friends in the wholesale style of Nero.

But in India, soon after the Buddha's death, there occurred a social phenomenon which has not been duplicated anywhere else. The spiritual revolution brought about by the Buddha's teachings and the humanitarianism it inspired was quick in developing. Within two hundred years of the Buddha's death, we find in Asoka's India humane laws and a culture and civilization unsurpassed even in modern times.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, moving the resolution that, in the centre of the white band of the National Flag of India, there should be the design of the *Dhamma Cakka*, "The Wheel of the Law," the symbol of Buddhism, which appears on the abacus of the Sarnath Lion Capital of Asoka, said: "That wheel is a symbol of India's ancient culture; it is a symbol of the many things that India had stood for through the ages. So we thought that this *Dharma Chakra* emblem should be there, and that wheel appears. For my part, I am exceedingly happy that in this sense indirectly we have associated with this flag of ours, not only this emblem, but in a sense the name of Asoka, one of the most magnificent names not only in India's history but in world history. It is well that at this moment of strife, conflict and intolerance, our minds should go back towards what India stood for in the ancient days and what it has stood for, I hope and believe, essentially throughout the ages, in spite of mistakes and errors and degradation from time to time."



East Asia

China

9 Mozi: Defending the Belief in the Existence of Gods and Spirits (ca. 5th Century BCE)

Introduced by Hubert Seiwert

Introduction

In ancient Chinese texts, there is no general term that can be translated as ‘religion,’ and, therefore, no conceptual distinction between the religious and the secular. However, even before the first appearance of Daoist and Buddhist communities during the Later Han Dynasty (25–220 CE), there were discussions regarding the belief in the existence of spirits and gods, and sacrificial rites. In this and the next source (texts no. 9 and 10) we present excerpts from two texts that took opposing positions on this subject without directly referring to each other.

Both texts were written during the Warring States period (475–221 BCE), an epoch of profound political, economic, and intellectual transformations, and military conflicts. The end of this era is marked by the military victory of the state of Qin, and the establishment of a unified Chinese empire. The Warring States period is also the classical epoch of Chinese philosophy. Beginning with Confucius (552–471 BCE), numerous teachers emerged seeking ways to secure peace and social order, in the face of the social dislocation caused by war and exploitation of the people.

The book *Mozi* 墨子 (“Master Mo”) was compiled by followers of the teachings of Mo Di 墨翟, who lived in the fifth century BCE. Little is known about Mo Di’s life. A central theme of his teaching was the securing of peace and the prosperity of the people. His moral teaching emphasised the need for impartial, universal love (*jian ai* 兼愛), condemned aggression, and opposed opulence and waste. The school he founded became the most important counterpart to the school of Confucius during the late Zhou dynasty (1050–221 BCE). His teachings were therefore criticised by later Confucians, and were considered heterodox.¹

The book *Mozi* is the only surviving text from antiquity in which morality is justified by reference to gods and spirits. Here, Mozi conceives of Heaven (*tian* 天) as a personal deity that sends good and bad fortune as rewards and punishments, according to people’s moral actions. Mozi thus maintained a belief that was no longer generally accepted in his time. Wars and social ills had raised doubts about the justice of

¹ On Mo Di’s philosophy, see Heiner Roetz, *Confucian Ethics of the Axial Age: A Reconstruction Under the Aspect of the Breakthrough Toward Postconventional Thinking*, SUNY Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1993), 234–43.

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Heaven. The behaviour of the rulers was characterised by violence and greed for power and wealth, and not by justice and concern for the people. Mozi sees this disregard for morality as the cause of the social chaos of his time. In his opinion, the contemporary misfortune was the responsibility of human beings who ignore the fact that misfortune is a punishment for moral transgressions, handed down by gods and spirits. Belief in the existence of supernatural agents is thus considered a prerequisite for securing people's moral conduct.

The chapter, excerpts of John Knoblock and Jeffrey K. Riegel's translation of which are reprinted here, illustrates the diversity of opinions on the existence of supernatural beings at the time. While Mozi's defence of the existence of gods and spirits and the superior authority of Heaven can be interpreted as being a religious argument, he is facing opponents who maintain a secular position that not only denies the existence of supernatural beings, but also opposes religious rituals as a needless waste of resources.

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The translation adopted here can be found in:

John Knoblock and Jeffrey K. Riegel. *Mozi: A Study and Translation of the Ethical and Political Writings*. China Research Monograph 68. Berkeley, CA: Institute of East Asian Studies University of California, 2013. 254–272; 254–56, 271–72.

The translation also contains the Chinese text.

The translators' philological notes are omitted. Page numbers refer to *juan* 8 of the Chinese edition.

Translation Adopted from John Knoblock and Jeffrey K. Riegel

Explaining Ghosts (*Ming Gui* 明鬼)

The teachings of our Master Mozi say: “Now that the sage-kings of the Three Dynasties of the past are gone and the world has abandoned righteousness, the lords of the various states use force to govern. On account of this, lords and superiors are not gener-

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ous, and their subjects and subordinates are disloyal to them; fathers are not affectionate, sons are not obedient, younger brothers are not deferential, older brothers are not protective, and none of them is virtuous or good. Officials do not devote their energies to their governmental tasks, and menials do not exert themselves in doing their jobs. The people are given to lewdness and violence, banditry and disorder, and thievery and predation, using weapons, poisons, fire, and water to detain innocent travelers on the highways and bypaths and rob them of their carts and horses, coats and furs for their own benefit. All of these, occurring at the same time, originate from the lords of the various states using force to govern. Because of this the world has descended into anarchy.

What is the cause of this state of affairs? Everyone is uncertain about whether ghosts and spirits [p. 1a/1b] exist or not, and they do not understand that ghosts and spirits have the ability to reward the worthy and punish the violent. Now if everyone were to believe in the ability of ghosts and spirits to reward the worthy and punish the violent, would there be any anarchy in the world?"

Now those who advocate that ghosts do not exist say: "Ghosts and spirits most certainly do not exist." Morning and evening they preach this doctrine to the world, sowing doubts among the masses and causing everyone to be uncertain about whether ghosts and spirits exist or not. The result has been to throw the world into disorder. This is why our Master Mozi said: "Now if the kings, dukes, great men, and the ruling elite of the world in fact desire to promote what benefits the world and to eliminate what is harmful to it, then I think that they must clearly investigate the question of whether ghosts and spirits exist or not."

If it is given that the question of whether ghosts and spirits exist or not is one that must be investigated, then when I want to investigate this matter clearly, what kind of argument is admissible? Our Master Mozi said: "The method used by the whole world to determine whether something exists or not is to rely upon what the great mass of people knows from the evidence of their own ears and eyes and to use this as a standard for determining whether something exists or not. If someone has genuinely heard something with his own ears and seen something with his own eyes, then it must exist. [p. 1b/2a] But if no one has either heard or seen it, then it must not exist. If this is the case, why not try going into villages and districts and asking? If from antiquity to the present, from the birth of humankind to the present day, people have seen evidence of ghosts and spirits and heard their voices, how could we say that ghosts and spirits do not exist? But if no one has ever seen or heard them, how could we say that ghosts and spirits exist?" [. . . p. 2a–9a . . .]

[The text continues by citing numerous historical accounts that prove the working of ghosts and spirits and show that the sage-kings of antiquity believed in them and offered sacrifices.]

Now those who maintain that ghosts do not exist say: "Belief in the existence of ghosts not only fails to benefit parents, it actually does harm to their obedient children, does it not?"¹ Our Master Mozi said: "Ghosts of antiquity or the present are none other than the spirits of Heaven, the ghosts and spirits of the mountains and rivers, and the ghosts of people who have died." Now there are instances of sons predeceasing their parents and of younger brothers, [p. 9a/9b] their elder brothers. Despite the fact that this sometimes happens, the natural order of things in the world is: the first to be born are the first to die. This being the case, if the first to die is not your father, it will be your mother; if not your elder brother, it will be your elder sister. Now when we prepare purified wine and rice and millet cakes and offer them in sacrifices with reverence and care, if ghosts and spirits really exist, this is the same as giving food and drink to our fathers, mothers, elder brothers, and elder sisters. Is this not a rich benefit? But if ghosts and spirits do not in fact exist, then would we have wasted materials making purified wine and rice and millet cakes? Though we do use up resources making them, it is not as though we had just poured the wine down the drain or thrown away the rice and millet cakes. Within the family, descendants of the common ancestors, and from outside the family, members of the village and district, can all gather to eat and drink them. So even if ghosts and spirits do not in fact exist, people would still be able to enjoy being with the assembled family and develop closer ties with the people of the village and district.

Now those who advocate that ghost do not exist say: "It is patently obvious that ghosts and spirits do not exist. This is why we do not contribute goods like purified wine, rice and millet cakes, or animals for sacrifice. It is not a matter of our begrudging the expense of such things, but that we do not see what is accomplished by using them." This contradicts the records of the sage-kings and violates the actions proper to the people and to obedient sons. Though such people desire to be eminent gentlemen in the world, [p. 9b/10a] this is not the way to become one.

This is why our Master Mozi said: "Now when I perform sacrifices and make offerings, it is not as though I merely pour out the wine and throw away the millet. Above I secure the blessings of the ghosts and below assemble the whole family on an enjoyable occasion and cultivate closer relations with people of the village and district. If spirits exist, then I am able to provide food to my parents and brothers. How could these not be things that benefit the whole world?"

This is the reason our Master Mozi said: "Now if the kings, dukes, great men, and the noble elite of the world in fact seek to promote what benefits the whole world and eliminate what harms it, they cannot but honor and explain to others the fact that ghosts and spirits exist, for this is the Way of the sage-kings."

1 [editorial note 29 in the original] Based on Mozi's response, it would appear that what is being objected to is the wastefulness of offerings that not only fail to benefit the deceased, but are expensive for their descendants to prepare.

10 Xunzi: Rational Interpretation of Nature and the Rejection of the Belief in Spirits (ca. 3rd Century BCE)

Introduced by Hubert Seiwert

Introduction

The Book *Xunzi* 荀子 (“Master Xun”) contains the teachings of Xun Kuang 荀况, who lived at the end of the Warring States period, in the third century BCE. Xunzi was one of the most influential scholars of his time, being familiar with, and critical of, the teachings of numerous philosophical schools.

His own teachings are attributed to the Confucian school. However, his view that human beings were inherently evil was subsequently criticised by the neo-Confucians of the Song Dynasty (960–1279 CE), because it was contrary to the preferred teaching of Mencius (fourth century BCE), that human nature was inherently good.

Xunzi’s thesis that people are naturally selfish, seeking only their own advantage, can be understood as a rational conclusion in the face of widespread violence and ruthlessness. The idea of a natural morality seemed to him as erroneous as the belief in the existence of supernatural powers that reward and punish according to people’s behaviour. Xunzi advocated a rational naturalism that had no place for the workings of gods and spirits. His understanding of *tian* 天 is symptomatic of this. The word can be used and understood in different senses, with its meaning ranging from the sky and celestial phenomena to Heaven, understood as a personal god. While for Mozi *tian* was the supreme deity of Heaven who supervises people’s moral behaviour and responds to offerings, Xunzi interpreted *tian* as the world of natural phenomena. In Xunzi’s view, natural phenomena follow constant laws that are not affected by human behaviour. Xunzi’s naturalism can thus be described as a ‘secular’ understanding of the world, because *tian* is understood as nature disenchanted from any supernatural meaning. This can be seen in his chapter *Tian Lun* (“Discourse on *Tian*”), excerpts of which are presented here, translated by John Knoblock, under the title “Discourse on Nature.”

Seemingly contradicting his rational naturalism, Xunzi attaches central importance to rituals, including sacrificial rites, in line with the Confucian tradition. However, Xunzi’s interpretation of the meaning of rites is consistent with his view that humans are inherently selfish and uncivilised. Conflict-free coexistence is only made possible through civilisation, a prerequisite for which is the learning and observance

Hubert Seiwert, Leipzig University, Research Centre Global Dynamics, KFG 2344 “Multiple Secularities – Beyond the West, Beyond Modernities”; Leipzig University, Faculty of History, Art and Area Studies, Institute for the Study of Religion

of cultivated manners. Rituals (*li* 禮) comprise the totality of this civilised behaviour. Sacrificial rites are also seen as part of the cultural tradition, but Xunzi does not see them as a service to gods or spirits. Instead, in the various rituals, the ancestors are only treated *as if* they were alive, although they have no spiritual existence. Sacrifices are thus stripped of any religious significance. Xunzi explains his understanding in the chapter *Li Lun* (“Discourse on Ritual Principles”), which had a lasting influence on the Confucian interpretation of rituals. Excerpts of John Knoblock’s translation are reprinted below.

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Page numbers given in square brackets refer to this edition.

The translation adopted here can be found in:

Xunzi. “Discourse on Nature,” and “Discourse on Ritual Principles.” In *Xunzi: A Translation and Study of the Complete Works, Volume III, Books 17–32*, edited and translated by John Knoblock, 14–22, and 55–73. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994; 14–15, 17–20, 55, 58, 72–73.

The translator’s philological notes are omitted.

Translation Adopted from John Knoblock

Discourse on Nature (*Tian Lun* 天論)

The course of Nature^I is constant: it does not survive because of the actions of a Yao; it does not perish because of the actions of a Jie.^{II} If you respond to the constancy of

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I HS: The expression *tian xing* 天行, which is translated here as “the course of nature,” could also be translated as “the course of Heaven,” or “the course of the celestial bodies.” For the meaning of *tian*, see the introduction above. In this chapter, Xunzi plays with the double meaning of *tian*, to invalidate the understanding of *tian* as a divine moral actor.

II HS: Yao 堯 is a legendary Chinese ruler of high antiquity, renowned for his virtue and intelligence. Jie 桀, the last ruler of the Xia dynasty (twentieth to sixteenth century BCE), was a tyrant. Yao and Jie symbolise the contrast between good and bad government. According to traditional beliefs, *tian* (understood as Heaven) was supposed to respond to the moral behaviour of the rulers. However, Xunzi maintains that the course of *tian* (understood as the course of the celestial bodies or of Nature) is not changed by human behaviour, but is instead constant.

Nature's course with good government, there will be good fortune; if you respond to it with disorder, there will be misfortune. If you strengthen the basic undertakings and moderate expenditures, Nature cannot impoverish you. If your nourishment is complete and your movements accord with the season, then Nature cannot afflict you with illness. If you conform to the Way and are not of two minds, then Nature cannot bring about calamity. Accordingly, flood and drought cannot cause famine, cold and heat cannot cause sickness, and inauspicious and freak events cannot cause misfortune.

If you ignore the basic undertakings and spend extravagantly, then Nature cannot enrich you. If your nourishment lacks essential elements and your movements accord with rare events, then Nature cannot make you whole. If you turn your back on the Way and behave with foolish recklessness, then Nature cannot bring good fortune. Accordingly, there will be famine when neither flood nor drought has come, there will be sickness when neither heat nor cold has reached you, and there will be misfortune even though inauspicious and freak events have not occurred. Although the seasons are received just the same as in an orderly age, the catastrophes and calamities will be of a different order [of magnitude] from those of an orderly age; yet you can have no cause to curse Nature, for these things are the consequences of the way that you have followed. Accordingly, if you understand the division between Nature and mankind, then you can properly be called a 'Perfect Man.' [. . . p. 205–207 . . .]

What is the relation of order and chaos to Heaven? I say: the revolutions of the sun and moon and the stars and celestial points that mark off the divisions of time by which the calendar is calculated were the same in the time of Yu^{III} as in the time of Jie. Since Yu achieved order and Jie brought chaos, order and chaos are not due to Heaven.

What about the Seasons? I say that crops germinate and grow to maturity in the course of spring and summer [p. 207/208] and are harvested and gathered for storage during autumn and winter. This also was the same in the time of Yu and in the time of Jie. Since Yu achieved order and Jie brought chaos, order and chaos are not due to the seasons.

What about Earth? I say that if something obtains land on which to grow it will live and if it loses that land then it will die, and that this as well was the same for both Yu and Jie. Since Yu achieved order and Jie brought chaos, order and chaos are not due to Earth. [. . . p. 208/209 . . .]

When stars fall or trees groan, the whole state is terrified. They ask what caused this to happen. I reply that there was no specific reason. When there is a modification of the relation of Heaven and Earth or a transmutation of the Yin and Yang, such unusual events occur. We may marvel at them, but we should not fear them. As for the sun and moon being eclipsed, winds and rain occurring unseasonably, and the sudden appearance of a marvelous new star, there has been no age that has not occasion-

III HS: Yu is considered the founder of the Xia Dynasty, and an exemplary ruler.

ally had them. If the ruler is enlightened and his governmental regulations equitable, then although all these should occur within a generation, it would cause no harm. If the superior is benighted and his governmental regulations harsh, then although not one of them occurs, it would be of no advantage. For indeed the falling of stars and the groaning of trees – these are unusual events that occur because of a modification of the relation of Heaven and Earth or a transmutation of the Yin and Yang. We may marvel at them, but we should not fear them.

Among the things that have occurred, the most fearful are monstrosities among men. {Someone asks what are called monstrosities among men? I say:}^{IV} Plowing so badly done that the grain crop is damaged; weeding so poorly carried out that the harvest is lost; governmental regulations so unfair that the people are lost; fields so overgrown with weeds that the grain crops are bad; and grain so expensive and the people so hungry that the bodies of the dead lie along the roads – these are called monstrosities among men. [. . . p. 209–211 . . .]

If you pray for rain and there is rain, what of that? I say there is no special relationship – as when you do not pray for rain and there is rain. When the sun and moon are eclipsed, we attempt to save them; when Heaven sends drought, we pray for rain; and before we decide any important undertaking, we divine with bone and milfoil. We do these things not because we believe that such ceremonies will produce the results we seek, but because we want to embellish such occasions with ceremony. Thus, the gentleman considers such ceremonies as embellishments, but the Hundred Clans consider them supernatural.^V To consider them embellishments is fortunate; to consider them supernatural is unfortunate.

Discourse on Ritual Principles (*Li lun* 禮論)

How did ritual principles arise? I say that men are born with desires which, if not satisfied, cannot but lead men to seek to satisfy them. If in seeking to satisfy their desires men observe no measure and apportion things without limits, then it would be impossible for them not to contend over the means to satisfy their desires. Such contention leads to disorder. Disorder leads to poverty. The Ancient Kings abhorred such disorder; so they established the regulations contained within ritual and moral principles in order to apportion things, to nurture the desires of men, and to supply the means for their satisfaction. They so fashioned their regulations that desires should

IV HS: The passage in curly brackets has been inserted by the translator based on a parallel edition of the Chinese text.

V HS: Here, Xunzi presents his understanding of rituals as cultural practices (*wen* 文), which is translated here as “embellishments.” This understanding is contrasted with the common view that these rituals are religious practices (*shen* 神), referring to supernatural things, which Xunzi regards as an incorrect belief. From a modern perspective, the contrast between *wen* and *shen* is similar to the contrast between secular and religious interpretations of ritual practices.

not want for the things which satisfy them and goods would not be exhausted by the desires. In this way the two of them, desires and goods, sustained each other over the course of time. This is the origin of ritual principles. [. . . p. 231–233 . . .]

Ritual principles have three roots. Heaven and Earth are the root of life. Forebears are the root of kinship. Lords and teachers are the root of order. Were there no Heaven and no Earth, how could there be life? Were there no forebears, how could there be issue? Were there no lords and no teachers, how could there be order? Were even one of these three lost, there would be no peace and security for man. Thus, rituals serve Heaven above and Earth below, pay honor to one's forebears, and exalt rulers and teachers, for these are the three roots of ritual principles. [. . . p. 233–249 . . .]

Sacrifice originates in the emotions stirred by remembrance and recollection of the dead and by thinking of and longing for the departed. There inevitably are occasions in everyone's life when he is seized by an unexpected change of mood, when feelings of disquietude and melancholy cause him to sigh involuntarily or to feel that his breath is short from deep emotion. Thus, even in the midst of enjoying himself with congenial company, the loyal minister and the filial son are sometimes overcome with such changes of mood. When they do come, they are profoundly [p. 249/250] moving. If they are repressed, the emotions stirred by remembrance of the dead will be frustrated and remain unexpressed, and the rituals in dealing with such matters will seem lacking and incomplete. Thus, the Ancient Kings acted to establish proper forms wherein men could express the full measure of their obligation to pay honor to those deserving honor and to show affection to those whom they cherished.

Hence, I say that sacrifice originates in the emotions stirred by remembrance and recollection of the dead and by thinking of and longing for the departed, expresses the highest loyalty, faithfulness, love, and reverence, and is the fulfillment of ritual observances and formal bearing. If it were not for the sages, no one would be capable of understanding the meaning of sacrifice. The sage clearly understands ritual, the scholar and gentleman find comfort in carrying it out, officials of government have as their task preserving it, and the Hundred Clans incorporate it into their customs. For the gentleman, ritual observances are considered to be part of the Way of Man. Among the Hundred Clans, they are thought to be a matter of serving the ghosts of the departed.^{VI} [. . .]

One divines with the tortoise shell and milfoil, determines auspicious days, purifies oneself and fasts, repairs and sweeps the temple, lays out the low tables and bamboo mats, presents the ceremonial offerings, and informs the invocator as though someone were really going to enjoy the sacrifice. One takes up the offerings and presents each of them as though someone were really going to taste them. The chief waiter does not lift up the wine cup, [p. 250/251] but the chief sacrificer himself has

VI HS: Here, a contrast is made between “the Way of Man” (*ren dao* 人道) and “serving the ghosts” (*gui shi* 鬼事), which could also be translated as “ghostly (or spiritual) matters”. This distinction resembles the one between ‘cultural practice’ (*wen* 文) and ‘religious practices’ (*shen* 神) mentioned in the previous note.

that honor, as though someone were really going to drink from it. When the guests leave, the chief sacrificer bows and escorts them out, returns and changes his clothing, resumes his place, and weeps as though someone had really departed with the guests. How full of grief, how reverent this is! One serves the dead as one serves the living, those who have perished as those who survive, just as though one were giving visible shape to what is without shape or shadow, and in so doing one perfects proper form!^{VII}

VII HS: The paragraph describes a Confucian understanding of sacrificial rituals, which are performed *as if* there were spirits consuming the offerings and enjoying being treated as honoured guests. This understanding had already been expressed by Confucius: “He sacrificed to the dead, as if they were present. He sacrificed to the spirits, as if the spirits were present.” (*Lunyu*, *Bayi* 論語, 八佾. Trans. James Legge, *The Chinese Classics* [Taipei: Wenshi zhexue chubanshe, 1971], I:159).

11 *The Controversy Over the Relationship Between Buddhism and the State in the Fourth Century (4th Century)*

Introduced and translated by Hubert Seiwert

Introduction

Buddhism spread through China from the first century CE onwards, becoming the most influential religious tradition, penetrating large parts of Chinese society, by the fifth century. Particularly in the south, eminent monks and nuns maintained close relations with, and gained the support of, members of the ruling elite. However, the influence of the Buddhist teaching and the exalted position of the Buddhist *saṅgha* also met resistance from Confucian-minded politicians and scholars, who criticised Buddhism for being detrimental to the state's authority, and for violating the rules of social relationships. As Buddhist monks and nuns left their families and led a celibate life, did not produce offspring, and did not work productively, Buddhism could be accused of being a foreign creed that undermined the social and political order.

During the Eastern Jin Dynasty (317–420 CE), the conflict between pro- and anti-Buddhist forces manifested itself in a discussion about whether *śramaṇas* – i.e. Buddhist monks – were outside society, as per their own understanding. The debate was prompted by the de facto regent Yu Bing 庾冰 (296–344) demanding that monks should follow the general ritual regulations, and show their reverence to the secular ruler by kneeling down. In response, several high officials, led by He Chong 何充 (292–346), drafted a memorial to the throne – an official communication to the emperor – advocating that monks should remain exempt from the obligation to kneel before the ruler. In response, Emperor Cheng 成 (322–342), at the instigation of Yu Bing, issued a decree rejecting He Chong's opinion. This was followed by another memorial to the throne, and another imperial decree, exchanging the divergent positions.

Yu Bing and He Chong were representatives of rival factions in the imperial court.¹ The conflict over Buddhist monks' privileges was also part of a wider power struggle, from which He Chong emerged victorious, after Yu Bing's death. As a result,

¹ For the historical background to the controversy, see Erik Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, 2 vols., Sinica Leidensia 11 (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 104–10. Zürcher also provides a translation of the documents (p. 160–63), which has been consulted for the present translation.

Hubert Seiwert, Leipzig University, Research Centre Global Dynamics, KFG 2344 “Multiple Secularities – Beyond the West, Beyond Modernities”; Leipzig University, Faculty of History, Art and Area Studies, Institute for the Study of Religion

the position of Buddhism in the Jin Empire was consolidated in the following decades. Half a century later, however, the question was raised once again. On this occasion, the famous monk Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–416) wrote an extensive treatise entitled *A Monk Does Not Pay Respect to a King* (*Shamen bu jing wang zhe lun* 沙門不敬王者論), in defence of Buddhism.¹¹ The discussion continued to flare up for some centuries, and it was not until the Song dynasty (960–1279) that the monks' duty to pay homage to the ruler was no longer questioned.

The main arguments of both sides are present in the dispute between Yu Bing and He Chong, translated here. The literary genre of petition and decree does not allow for discussion among equals, however. Even the representatives of the pro-Buddhist position are forced to argue within the discursive framework of the Confucian understanding of the state. Religious arguments have no validity in this context. Instead, reference is made to the benefits of Buddhism to the state.

Both sides see religion as an area of social life that must be distinguished from the secular order of the state. Yu Bing points out that different religions (*shendao* 神道) exist in different countries, and He Chong emphasises that Buddhism, unlike other religions (*shendao*), is not subversive, but supports the state. The reference to other religions, allegedly dangerous to the state, alludes to the uprising of the Daoist Yellow Turbans (184 CE), which brought about the fall of the Han Dynasty.

Yu Bing does not discuss the advantages and disadvantages of certain religions for the state, but emphasises the fundamental difference between religious teachings and secular laws. Buddhist teachings refer to transcendent things (*fangwai* 方外), while social order is an inner-worldly matter (*fangnei* 方內). The state's laws are man-made, and originated in the rational considerations of the rulers of antiquity. On the other hand, Buddhist teachings refer to the Buddha, whose very existence is a matter of uncertainty. However, Yu Bing concedes that everyone is free to believe in the Buddha, and engage in religious speculation, provided it is limited to the private sphere; it is not acceptable to disregard state laws by invoking religion.

The arguments put forward by Yu Bing are similar to those used to justify the separation of religion and state in Western modernity. Religion is relegated to the realm of private belief. Even though Yu Bing personally doubts the truth of Buddhist teachings, as a representative of the state, he does not presume to judge them. Religious belief and the secular order of the state are two different spheres, which must not be mixed.

¹¹ For a study and translation of Huiyuan's treatise, see Leon Hurvitz, "'Render Under Cesar,' in Early Chinese Buddhism: Hui-Yüan's Treatise on the Exemption of the Buddhist Clergy from the Requirements of Civil Etiquette," *Sino-Indian Studies* 5, no. 3–4 (1957): 88–114. The historical context is described in Zürcher, *The Buddhists Conquest*, 231–39.

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Page numbers given in square brackets refer to this edition.

Parallel text (with slight modifications): *Ji shamen buying bai su dengshi* 集沙門不應拜俗等事 [Collection of Documents on Whether Śramaṇas Do Not Need to Pay Respect to Wordly [Rulers]], in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經. Tokyo: Issaikyō kankōkai, 1924–1935. Vol. 52, No. 2108; 443.3–444.2.

Translation by Hubert Seiwert

Submission to the Throne by He Chong, Requesting that Monks be Exempt from the Duty of Paying Respect to the Ruler

In the sixth year of the Xiankang era of the Jin Dynasty [340 CE], when Emperor Cheng 成 [r. 326–342] was still a minor, the de facto regent Yu Bing 庾冰 declared that the *śramaṇas* must fulfil their duty to pay homage to the ruler. The Director of the Department of State Affairs He Chong 何充 and other senior officials argued that the *śramaṇas* should not be obliged to pay homage to the ruler. The matter was referred to the Ministry of Rites for a detailed discussion. The scholars agreed with He Chong's opinion, while the palace officials, on the instructions of Yu Bing, disagreed with it.

The Director of the Department of State Affairs He Chong, the Chief Administrators Chu Yi 褚翊 and Zhuge Hui 諸葛恢, and the Ministers Feng Huai^I and Xie Guang 謝廣 and others submitted a memorial to the throne, requesting that *śramaṇas* should not be obliged to pay homage to the ruler:

Your servant, the Director of the Department of State Affairs,^{II} General of the Pacifying Army and Chief Township Marquis [He] Chong, your servant, the Cavalier Attendant, Attendant-in-ordinary, Chief Administrator and Earl of Changping [Chu] Yi, your servant, the Cavalier Attendant, Attendant-in-ordinary, Chief Administrator and Earl of Jian'an [Zhuge] Hui, your servant the Minister and Marquis of Guanzhong Huai Shou 懷守, your servant the Minister and Marquis of Chang'an [Xie] Guang say:

The Ancestor of this Era (*shizu* 世祖), Emperor Wu 武 [r. 266–290], founded this dynasty with his superior intelligence, and the Quiet Ancestor (*suzu* 肅祖), Emperor Ming 明 [r. 322–326], was far-sighted in his wisdom. How is it to be explained that

^I HS: The original text states Ping Huai 憑懷 here, which is a misspelling of Feng Huai 馮懷, as the text below shows.

^{II} HS: The translation of the titles of government officers and honorary titles in traditional China is difficult, if not impossible. Here, I follow the translations proposed in Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985).

they, in their times, made no change concerning the *śramaṇas* by demanding them to bend their knee? On the contrary, they complied with the will of the whole world by not changing the [Buddhist] rules for cultivating virtue. In our humble opinion, the ancient practice of the previous emperors should be honoured and continued. This will make righteousness permanent.

Yu Bing led Emperor Cheng to issue an order that the *śramaṇas* must fulfil their duty of paying homage to the ruler, and issued two decrees.^{III}

(First decree:)

It is difficult to assess the various customs and religious teachings (*shendao* 神道) in the countless regions [of the world], because they have their own specific history. When one looks at things comprehensively, [the various customs] are indeed not surprising. How much more does this apply to rites of worship by kneeling down! One must return to the intention for which our early rulers emphasised this practice. How could they find this bowing, sitting, and walking around beautiful? This is certainly not the case. The hierarchical order between prince and subject has its model in the respectful relationship between father and son. [p. 79.2/79.3] How could the institution of laws and the order of ritual worship be in vain? They have a good reason (*liang youyi* 良有以矣). Since they have a reason, why change them? Didn't establishing [correct] designations and ritual rules have a [reasonable] motive?

Moreover, does the Buddha really exist, or does he not exist? If the Buddha does exist, his teaching (*dao* 道) will surely spread. If the Buddha does not exist, why should one accept his teaching? Furthermore, belief in the Buddha indeed refers to something that is outside this world (*fangwai zhi shi* 方外之事). Since it is something that is outside this world, how should it have substantial consequences within this world (*fangnei* 方内), so that one must straighten the body [in front of the ruler] and violate the established forms [of respectful behaviour], change the rule of the ritual, and abandon the doctrine of [correct] designations (*mingjiao* 名教) [i.e. the Confucian teachings]? This, I strongly doubt.

The doctrine of [correct] designations originated in the past, and was not abandoned for a hundred generations. From the earliest times, it was great and brilliant, but in later generations, it fell into danger [of being obscured]. The reasons for this damage are difficult to determine. But that we should now deeply admire something uncertain and dark, and lean on what is unclear and indistinguishable, that we should abandon the proper rites in this one dynasty, and neglect the doctrine in the present time, so that everyone can arrogantly evade the rules – this is something I also strongly doubt. But even if it were true, and [the Buddha] existed, I believe that [the Buddhist teaching] can only be penetrated in the spirit and realised within. The great example of rules and statutes should certainly not be abandoned in the audience hall. All such persons [i.e. monks] are subordinates of the Jin Dynasty, and their abilities

III HS: The translation of this sentence and the following heading follows the text in T 2108, p. 444.1.

and wisdom are those of ordinary people. That, on the grounds of the aforementioned difficulty in assessing [different customs], they should don inappropriate attire that violates the proper rules, and uphold the haughty rituals of foreign countries by standing before the Lord of the Ten Thousand Chariots [i.e. the emperor] with their bodies erect, this, again, is something I do not accept. You, gentlemen, are servants of the state. In your private conversations, you can plumb the dark and deep [of the Buddhist teaching], but in political matters, you must respect the regulations of the state. If you disagree, what should I say?

Second Memorial to the throne of the Director of the Department of State Affairs He Chong and Chong Yi, Zhuge Hui, Feng Huai, and Xie Guang.

[The names and official titles of the authors of the memorial are listed.]

Your servants, in their limitation, are unable to adequately praise the above imperial edict and announce its great significance. Reverently we have studied the enlightened edict, and tremble with fear and trepidation. We have explored together in detail the question of whether the Buddha exists, but this is certainly not something that your servants can decide. However, if one examines the transmitted scriptures [of Buddhism] and [p. 79.3/80.1] their main intention, then [it becomes apparent that] the prohibitions of the five precepts support the actions of the ruler in his civilising transformation of the people (*wanghua* 王化). [The Buddhist teachings] disregard the public pursuit of glory, but value restrained modesty. Virtue lies in selflessness and the pure and wonderful experience of concentrating the mind.

Moreover, [the Buddhist teaching] has flourished since the Han dynasty, to the present day, and, although the dharma has a chequered history, it has never caused any harm through wicked and fantastic teachings. As a religious teaching (*shendao* 神道), it has existed longer than any other. While [other teachings'] evil charms cause harm, the prayers [of Buddhism] always bring benefit. In their ignorance, your servants honestly desire to add some grains of dust to Mount Song, and wet the ocean with some drops of dew, to benefit the exalted emperor with their insignificant good wishes.

When the order should be given that [the monks must] pay homage to [the ruler], their teaching shall be destroyed. By commanding that cultivating the good be abandoned in this holy age, profane customs will arise that will undoubtedly lead to worry and fear and darken [this age]. This fills the heart of your servants with uneasiness. Your servants are ignorant, and how dare we, with our one-sided view, doubt and disregard your sacred injunction? We only say that people have become more enlightened and wiser during the three [recent] dynasties. If no restrictions are placed on this matter, it will mean no harm to the Law of the Ruler (*wangfa* 王法) because the path to the hidden and unseen [mysteries of Buddhism] will not be blocked. Therefore, we again submit our ignorant opinion and sincerely request that it be considered and verified. Respectfully submitted.

Second Edict of Emperor Cheng

I have examined your arguments. Dark and hidden things certainly cannot be captured with metaphors. Still, the matter is roughly like the established rules of the relationship between humans and gods (*ren shen chang du* 人神常度), or, to put it simply, there are conventional forms. Generally speaking, the countless kings [of antiquity] enacted laws and, although these were adapted in content and wording to suit the times, no one ruled with foreign customs, thus mixing and changing [the laws] in an absurd manner. How could it be that our sages of former times had no understanding, but the newly arrived sages understand everything? The merits of the five [Buddhist] precepts are roughly comparable to the [Confucian] rules of human relations, but they deviate from them because they omit the rites of respect to the ruler of the world. The rites are important, and respect is crucial. They are the basis of creating order. The Lord of Ten Thousand Chariots has no pleasure in being honoured, and the people in the land have no pleasure in being of low status. But if the teachings of the previous kings are not realised [by distinguishing between] low and high, the result will be chaos. That is why the sages of antiquity governed the state by laws and statutes. There should be no doubt about this.

[You] highly educated persons collect widely [different teachings] and are frequently involved in them. In private, you may cultivate them; however, in matters of state and at court, you are not allowed to do so. Is this not a far-reaching [concession]?

I have noted your conclusion that you do not know whether the Buddha exists or not. But, even if you knew, I would maintain that [the Buddhist teaching] must not be involved in government affairs. How much less can one run the government based on the two teachings simultaneously if the Buddha does not exist?

12 *The Sacred and the Secular in a Medieval Chinese Buddhist Scripture – The Sūtra on the Analogy of the Physician* (ca. 1000 CE)

Introduced and translated by C. Pierce Salguero

Introduction

Sacred Buddhist texts were greatly influenced by secular medical systems, such as Āyurveda and classical Chinese medicine.^I References to medical doctrines, models, and terminology can be found in even the earliest Buddhist scriptures, and increased in frequency and importance in subsequent centuries. Heroic doctors, legendary surgeons, and miracle-working healer-monks were presented as model Buddhist patrons or practitioners. Divine Buddhist healers, such as Bhaiṣajyaguru (*Yaoshifo* 藥師佛), Avalokiteśvara (*Guanshiyin* 觀世音), and Jīvaka (*Qipo* 耆婆 or *Qiyu* 耆域), were popularly venerated through a wide range of healing rituals. Although Buddhist views on the relationship between Buddhism and medicine have been neither uniform nor unvarying, in the premodern world, medicine was a central part of the practice of Buddhism, and Buddhism was a major catalyst for cross-cultural medical exchange.

While Buddhism and medicine were thus entangled throughout the premodern period, some Buddhist traditions were at great pains to distinguish between these two fields. Most Buddhist societies have recognized monastics and physicians as discrete social categories, and Buddhist texts consistently value the former over the latter. One way of making this valuation is by distinguishing the “worldly” or “mundane” (Skt. *laukika*) activities of ordinary unenlightened society from the “otherworldly” or “supramundane” (Skt. *lokottara*) activities concerned with liberation. In Chinese Buddhist texts, this *laukika/lokottara* dichotomy is generally represented in translations as “of the world” (*shi* 世 or *shijian* 世間) versus “transcending the world” (*chushijian* 出世間, *lishi* 離世, *dushi* 度世, etc.).^{II}

I The perspectives introduced in this paragraph are detailed in C. Pierce Salguero. *A Global History of Buddhism & Medicine* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2022); C. Pierce Salguero. *Buddhism & Medicine: An Anthology of Modern and Contemporary Sources* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2020); C. Pierce Salguero, *Buddhism & Medicine: An Anthology of Premodern Sources* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017).

II See discussion in C. Pierce Salguero. “Healing and/or Salvation? The Relationship Between Religion and Medicine in Medieval Chinese Buddhism,” *Working Paper Series of the HCAS: Multiple Secularities – Beyond the West, Beyond Modernities* 4 (2018); https://www.multiple-secularities.de/media/workingpaper_4_salguero_final.pdf.

C. Pierce Salguero, The Abington College of Pennsylvania State University, Division of Arts & Humanities, Asian History and Religious Studies

The short Buddhist scripture called the *Sūtra on the Analogy of the Physician* (*Foshuo yiyu jing* 佛說醫喻經) was translated into Chinese in the late tenth century by a monk named Danapala (?–1017) who hailed from Udyāna, India. Like many Buddhist texts in Chinese and other languages, this sūtra uses a number of medical analogies. It equates the Buddha to a physician, calls the Buddha’s teaching a “Dharma-medicine,” and also compares the Four Noble Truths (a fundamental Buddhist doctrine) to the steps taken by a doctor in diagnosing and prescribing for a patient.^{III} These analogies are intended to draw the readers’ attention to the systematic efficacy of the Buddha’s teachings, both in understanding the sources of human suffering, and in providing remedies for those ills.

In the course of presenting these metaphorical equations, this text distinguishes explicitly between the knowledge of the “skilled worldly physician” (*shi langyi* 世良醫), on the one hand, and the “supreme Dharma-Medicine” (*wushang fayao* 無上法藥) taught by the Buddha, on the other. In so doing, it contributes to the construction of a dichotomy between worldly and Dharmic knowledge that is reminiscent of (though surely not exactly the same as) our modern concepts of the secular and the sacred.

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Translation by C. Pierce Salguero

Thus have I heard. At one time the World Honoured One was staying in Śrāvastī, together with a group of monks. At that time, the World Honoured One spoke to the monks, saying:

You ought to know: A skilled worldly doctor’s knowledge of disease and understanding of medicines is fourfold. If he is consummate in these, then he has earned the name “King of Physicians.” What are these four? 1) He knows each disease, and applies its specific medicine. 2) He knows the cause of the disease, and applies the medicine according to this cause. 3) When the disease has arisen, he knows how to purge it. 4) The disease having been eliminated, he knows how to prevent it from arising again. These are the four types [of knowledge].

III For more on the use of medical metaphors in Chinese Buddhist texts, see C. Pierce Salguero, *Translating Buddhist Medicine in Medieval China* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 67–95.

What do I mean by saying, “he knows each disease, and applies its specific medicine”? I mean that, having first understood the symptoms, he knows the medicine by which the disease may be cured, and he thus brings about harmony.

What do I mean by saying, “he knows the cause of the disease, and applies the medicine according to this cause”? I mean that he knows whether this disease arose because of *vāta*, or arose because of *pitta*, or arose because of *ślesman*, or arose because of the combination,¹ or arose because of the bones and joints, or arose because of excesses. Knowing the origins of the disease, he uses the appropriate medicine to treat it, and he thus brings about harmony.

What do I mean by saying, “when the disease has arisen, he knows how to purge it”? I mean that he knows whether this particular disease should be purged through the eyes; or purged through the nose by means of a specific therapy such as nasal fumigation, irrigation, or exhalation; or purged through vomiting; or purged through full-body sudation; or whether purging via the upper or lower portions of the body is most appropriate. Knowing the location by which this disease may be purged, he skillfully uses the medical treatment, and he thus brings about harmony.

What do I mean by saying “the disease having been eliminated, he knows how to prevent it from arising again”? I mean that understanding the conditions that led to the disease arising, he consequently will understand its removal. Working zealously on the task before him, he will get rid of it. Having done so, this disease will never again arise, and thus he brings about harmony.

These, then, are the four types of knowledge about disease and understanding of medicines. The Tathāgata, Worthy of Honor, Supremely Enlightened, is just like this. Having appeared in this world, he teaches four types of supreme Dharma-medicines. What are these four? They are the Noble Truths of suffering, its arising, its cessation, and the path to enlightenment.

These Four Noble Truths, which the Buddha teaches to living beings based on his own true knowledge, lead to the elimination of the arising of dharmas. Because dharmas arising from the roots of suffering are eliminated, old age, illness, death, sorrow, and suffering are all forever destroyed.

The Tathāgata, Worthy of Honor, Supremely Enlightened, on account of these benefits, teaches this supreme Dharma-medicine so that all sentient beings may be

I CPS: *vāta*, *pitta*, and *ślesman* are the three main disease factors (*tridoṣa*) of classical Indian medicine, and are frequently encountered in both Buddhist and Āyurvedic texts. See Mark Tatz, trans., *Buddhism and Healing: Demiéville's Article "Byō" from Hōbōgirin* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1985), 65–76; C. Pierce Salguero, “Mixing Metaphors: Translating the Indian Medical Doctrine *Tridoṣa* in Chinese Buddhist Sources,” *Asian Medicine: Tradition and Modernity* 6, no. 1 (2010–11): 55–74; Natalie Köhle, “A Confluence of Humors: Āyurvedic Conceptions of Digestion and the History of Chinese ‘Phlegm’ (tan 痰).” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 136, no. 2 (2016): 465–93. While the Chinese term *yin 癰* usually also refers to *ślesman*, here it is most likely referring to the combination of the three disease factors, which typically is mentioned after *vāta*, *pitta*, and *ślesman*, as a fourth cause of disease.

free from all suffering. Monks, I am like a wheel-turning Dharma-King who is endowed with four armies, and has therefore attained total freedom. The Tathāgata, Worthy of Honor, Supremely Enlightened is just like this.

When the Buddha had spoken thus, the assembly of monks rejoiced, and accepted his words.

13 Han Yu: *Critique of Buddhism* (819 CE)

Introduced and translated by Hubert Seiwert

Introduction

During the Tang dynasty (618–907), the influence of Buddhism reached its zenith. The number of Buddhist monks, nuns, and monasteries was immeasurable, with many monasteries being affluent and possessing vast land holdings, due to the donations of laypeople and the patronage of the powerful. Buddhism dominated the religious life of the population, and many emperors supported it, in some cases alongside Daoism. The significant influence of both religions in the state and society went against the Confucian understanding of political and social order, however. Against this backdrop, Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824), a high-ranking official and prominent literary figure, composed a memorial to the throne – that is, an official communication to the emperor – in 819, sharply criticizing Emperor Xuanzong's 憲宗 (r. 805–820) support for Buddhism. The text gained fame, and was later widely quoted, as it is considered the beginning of the Confucian reaction to the dominance of Buddhism, which was consummated during the Song dynasty (960–1278), with the rise of the neo-Confucian movement.

For Han Yu, this memorial to the throne initially had severe consequences. The emperor was furious at the criticism, and imposed the death penalty. Due to the intercession of senior officials, the sentence was commuted, and Han Yu was demoted and banished to an official post in a distant prefecture in the south. However, following the emperor's death a year later, he was able to return to the capital, Chang'an, where he was again appointed to high-ranking positions.

The memorial is recorded in various sources. The translation presented here is based on the *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (*Old History of the Tang Dynasty*), which starts by describing the events that provoked Han Yu's criticism: a grand Buddhist festival where a relic, purportedly a finger bone of the Buddha, was venerated, leading to outbreaks of religious fanaticism. However, the primary reason for the critique was that the emperor himself observed this religious fervour, and directed the Buddha's bone to be brought into the imperial palace. Han Yu seized this opportunity to elucidate the detrimental influence of Buddhism on the state, through historical examples, and to expose the belief that worshipping the Buddha could bring happiness as a delusion. While in this text Han Yu undergirds his critique of Buddhism with the argument that it is a foreign doctrine, he similarly opposed Daoism in other writings. Thus, he espoused a radically Confucian position, viewing both religions as threats to the state's order.

Hubert Seiwert, Leipzig University, Research Centre Global Dynamics, KFG 2344 “Multiple Secularities – Beyond the West, Beyond Modernities”; Leipzig University, Faculty of History, Art and Area Studies, Institute for the Study of Religion

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Page numbers given in square brackets refer to this edition.

Translation by Hubert Seiwert

In the Famen Monastery of Fengxiang, there was the Pagoda of the True Body for the Protection of the State. In the pagoda, a finger bone of Buddha Śākyamuni was preserved, along with scriptures for the transmission of the Dharma. It was opened once every thirty years, and it was believed that when it was opened, the harvests would be fruitful, and people would live in abundance. In the first month of the fourteenth year [of the Yuanhe era] (819 CE), the emperor decreed that the imperial commissioner Du Yingji, escorted by thirty palace servants carrying incense and flowers, should proceed to the Lin'gao Station [in Chang'an] to receive the Buddha's bone. From the Guangshun Gate, it was brought into the imperial palace, and it stayed three days in the Forbidden City. Afterwards, it was escorted through all the monasteries. Aristocrats, scholars, and ordinary people rushed to make donations, fearing to be left behind. Everyone forgot their work, and squandered their wealth; they branded their skulls, or burned their arms as offerings. Han Yu, who was not a friend of Buddhism, submitted a memorial to the throne, criticising this:

I respectfully hold the view that Buddhism is a doctrine of barbarians. Since the Later Han period, it has spread in China, but in ancient times, it did not exist [here]. In ancient times, Huangdi sat on the throne for a hundred years, and lived to be 110. Shaohao was on the throne for eighty years, and lived to be a hundred. Zhuanxu was on the throne for seventy years, and lived to be ninety-eight. [. . . p. 4198/4199] In those times, the empire had great peace (*taiping* 太平), and the people lived happily, [enjoying] a long life. It was like that when there was no Buddhism in China. Even afterwards, Emperor Tang of the Yin dynasty lived to be a hundred. [. . .] Because Buddhism had not yet come to China in those times, it is not true that a long life is attained through the worship of the Buddha.

When Buddhism first appeared during the reign of Emperor Mingdi (r. 57–75 CE) of the Han dynasty, Emperor Mingdi was on the throne for only eighteen years. After that, one rebellion followed another, and happy times did not last long. During the Song, Qi, Liang, Chen, and Northern Wei dynasties, the worship of the Buddha became increasingly popular, and the reigns were particularly short. Only Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty (r. 502–549) was on the throne for forty-eight years. People everywhere sacrificed their lives for the Buddha; no animal sacrifices were made at the imperial ancestral temple, and only one vegetarian meal was consumed daily. After that came

the rebellion of Hou Jing,¹ resulting in starvation in the palace, and the continued decline of the empire. The worship of the Buddha, hoping to attain happiness, turned into suffering misfortune. Considering these events, it is evident that the Buddha is unworthy of trust.

When Emperor Gaozu of the Tang dynasty (r. 618–626) took over the throne from the Sui dynasty, he initially considered abandoning the patronage of Buddhism. However, at that time, the officials' understanding was limited. They could not comprehend the ways of the rulers of antiquity, and the appropriate past and present policies to understand the wisdom [of the emperor], and thereby free the empire from harm. The proposal was not pursued further, a decision your servant profoundly regrets.

I prostrate myself before Your Majesty, before your sublime wisdom and heroism in battle, unparalleled throughout eternity. At the beginning of your reign, ordaining Buddhist monks and nuns or Daoist priests was not allowed, nor was the construction of new Buddhist or Daoist monasteries permitted. At that time, your servant believed that the will of Emperor Gaozu would be fulfilled through Your Majesty's hand. Even if his will cannot be fulfilled now, how is it possible to ignore it and, on the contrary, order the promotion of Buddhism!

Now your servant has heard that Your Majesty has commanded the monks to welcome the Buddha's bone in Fengxiang, that the emperor himself will climb a tower to see it carried into the palace, and that the order has been given for the bone to be received by all monasteries such that offerings can be made to it. Although your servant is extremely foolish, I am sure Your Majesty is not confused by [belief in] the Buddha so as to honour him for good fortune and blessings. Just because the year was productive, and people are happy, you comply with the people's good mood, by letting officials and the common people in the capital watch this strange spectacle and entertaining bustle. How could your sublime wisdom actually believe in such things! But people are ignorant and unenlightened; they are easily confused and understand with difficulty. When they see Your Majesty behaving this way, they will say that you wholeheartedly believe in the Buddha. Everyone will say, "The emperor is a great sage; he is unanimous with us in worshipping and believing in the Buddha. We, being common people, are of low rank; how should we, in the face of the Buddha, cling to our bodies and our lives?" [p. 4199/4200] Therefore, they brand their skulls, and burn their fingers. In groups of hundreds, they take off their regular clothes, and waste money as donations. This goes on from morning to evening. They imitate each other, and everyone hurries not to be late. Old and young crowd together, and neglect their livelihoods. If this is not more strongly prohibited and prevented, and [the Buddha's bone] continues to be led through all the monasteries, people will cut off their arms and pieces of flesh from their bodies as offerings. Thus, our customs will be corrupted, and become a mockery throughout the world. This is not a trivial matter.

I HS: Hou Jing 侯景 (d. 552), a notorious warlord who rebelled against the Liang dynasty.

The Buddha was fundamentally an uncivilised foreigner who did not master the Chinese language, and whose clothes were of a different cut. In his speech, he did not speak of the laws of our former rulers, and in his behaviour, he did not conform to them either. He knew nothing of righteousness in the relationship between ruler and subject, and the love between fathers and children. If he were still alive, and came on behalf of his country to the imperial palace in the capital, Your Majesty would allow him to be received, but only to meet him once in the Xuanzheng Hall, exchange pleasantries, present him with a set of clothes, and then have him escorted to the border. But surely, you would not order him to spread erroneous teachings among the people. How can it be appropriate that now that he is long dead, his rotten bone, the remnant of dreadful filth, is brought into the Forbidden City? Confucius says, "Honour the spirits, but keep them at a distance." In ancient times, therefore, when there was a death, the princes ordered that exorcists first eliminate the ominous influence [of the deceased] with a broom made of peach branches, and only then did they go for a condolence visit. But today, rotted dirt is received without reason and personally watched, exorcists do not come to eliminate first the ominous influence with a peach broom, officials say nothing about this mistake, and censors do not object — your servant truly considers this a shame. I request that this bone be thrown into water or fire to eradicate it forever, thus ending uncertainties in the empire, and preventing the misguidance of future generations. All in the empire should know that the behaviour of the great, wise ruler has deviated a thousand times from the customary. Wouldn't that be great! Wouldn't that be delightful! If the Buddha has supernatural abilities and can bring great calamity, let all misfortune fall on your servant. Heaven above will witness that your servant will not complain or regret anything.

14 Religion in the Law Codes of the Ming and Qing Dynasties (1552)

Introduced and translated by Hubert Seiwert

Introduction

Beginning with the Qin dynasty (221–206 BCE), Chinese states were administered by a bureaucracy that had to observe the laws promulgated in the emperor's name. While most dynasties' law collections have survived only in part, complete versions of the legal codes of the Ming (1386–1644) dynasty, which was then largely transferred directly into the code of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911), still exist.¹ The Ming and Qing codes provide an insight into the normative system that ruled Chinese society until the end of the empire in the early twentieth century. It was permeated by Confucian morality, combined with the legalist attitude of enforcing the law through harsh punishments.

Legal texts do not describe social reality, however. Penal laws, in particular, do not reveal what is, but what ought or ought not to be (indeed, it would be very rare and unusual to legislate against behaviours unseen in society). They are normative texts, intended to implement social order according to the values and interests of the ruling elites. Legal terminology discloses a conceptual framework used to grasp the variety of social phenomena, and make them conceptually and practically manageable by the administration. In traditional China, religion was not part of the legal terminology, indicating that the modern distinction between religion and secular spheres of society was not considered significant from a legal perspective. Nevertheless, some rules in the Ming and Qing codes refer to matters that, in modern Western terminology, would be classified as 'religious.' Since the penal code only mentions the offences and their punishments, a Ming-era commentary on the laws concerned has also been translated, explaining the reasons for the prohibitions.

The first of the laws translated below forbids the building of new Buddhist or Daoist monasteries, and the private ordination of monks and nuns. Also translated is a commentary on the law, which reflects the views of officials belonging to the Confucian elite, and reveals a deep mistrust of the two religions. The law is part of the regu-

¹ For translations of the laws of both codes, see *The Great Ming Code: Da Ming Lü*, Asian Law Series 17 (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2005), Jiang Yonglin, trans. *The Great Qing Code* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), trans. William C. Jones, assistance Tianquan Cheng and Yongling Jiang.

Hubert Seiwert, Leipzig University, Research Centre Global Dynamics, KFG 2344 "Multiple Secularities – Beyond the West, Beyond Modernities"; Leipzig University, Faculty of History, Art and Area Studies, Institute for the Study of Religion

lations on households (*hu lǜ* 戶律), which were the basic units of taxation.^{II} Buddhist and Daoist clergy enjoyed a special legal status, conferred through ordination. They were exempted from some of the obligations of ordinary household members, such as paying tax, or corvée service.^{III} Thus, the law distinguished the two religions, their clergy, and their institutions from other spheres of social life, and subjected them to their own specific regulations.

The second of the laws translated below is from the section on rituals (*li lǜ* 禮律). It deals with practices that, from a modern perspective, are religious. Its target is teachers who attract followers, and popular sects that have emerged from such communities. The fact that the law threatens the leaders of such sects with the death penalty shows that these religions were considered a great danger to the state. The commentary on the law reveals a general mistrust of religion, even including famous monks highly esteemed by Buddhists. The motives behind such suppression were political in nature, rather than being based on religious intolerance, however. The primary concern of the law was to prevent the formation of associations that could eventually turn into mass movements that might challenge the political order. As the commentary shows, uprisings connected with religious movements were deeply rooted in the historical memory of the political elites (and remain so to this day).

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Page numbers refer to the original pagination in the facsimile.

They are given as follows: “j. 4, p. 4b” means “*juan* 卷 4, page 4 *verso* (i.e., the left side of the reprinted facsimile).

^{II} Laws regulating the status, rights, and obligations of the Buddhist and Daoist clergy existed from early on. Copies of the comprehensive regulations of the Song dynasty have survived intact. For a translation, see Werner Eichhorn, *Beitrag zur rechtlichen Stellung des Buddhismus und Taoismus im Sung-Staat* (Leiden: Brill, 1968).

^{III} Corvée service is unpaid forced labour undertaken for a fixed and finite time – usually a prescribed number of days.

Translation by Hubert Seiwert

Private Establishment of Buddhist and Daoist Convents and Private Ordination of Buddhist and Daoist Clergy (*Si chuang anyuan si du sengdao* 私剏庵院私度僧道)

The law concerns the following cases: Apart from already existing Buddhist and Daoist monasteries and nunneries, it is forbidden to establish additional ones on private initiative. Whoever violates this law shall be sentenced to a hundred strokes of the heavy bamboo, Buddhist and Daoist monks shall [in addition] be relegated to lay status, and exiled to a distant border region for military service. Buddhist and Daoist nuns shall become state slaves.

If Buddhist or Daoist monks without an official ordination certificate wear the [Daoist] hairstyle, or shave their heads [like Buddhist monks], the penalty shall be eighty strokes of the cane. If the head of the household instigated the offence, [l. 4, p. 4b/5a] he shall also be punished. If the abbot of the monastery or the teacher has carried out the private ordination, they shall receive the same punishment, and are to be relegated to lay status.

The commentary explains: Buddhist and Daoist monasteries and nunneries are places where Buddhist or Daoist monks or nuns live. They are possible places of extremist (*yiduan* 異端)^I teachings, and practices that should be forbidden. However, the law considers that, these days, completely removing monasteries where Buddhists or Daoists have lived for a long time would probably provoke a rebellion. Therefore, it only determines that, excluding already existing locations, it is forbidden to build new ones. The offence of wearing a Daoist hairstyle or shaving one's head [as a Buddhist monk or nun] without having received an official certificate of ordination, amounts to separating oneself from ordinary households. The names of Buddhist and Daoist monks have already been expunged from the registers of their native places. It is probably difficult to detain and send them immediately to military service. For this reason, the law first says that they must be returned to lay status, and, after that, sent to a frontier region to serve as soldiers. When Buddhist or Daoist monks have been returned to lay status, the monasteries and nunneries that have been privately constructed shall be confiscated, and transferred to other uses.

^I HS: The term *yiduan* 異端 is usually translated as “heterodox,” but it is not confined to deviant teachings (*doxa*). It literally means “different and extreme.” Its connotation seems to be similar to the modern Chinese concept of extremism (*jiduanzhuyi* 极端主义), which is also applied to some religions.

Prohibition of Magicians and Heterodox Practices (*Jinshi shiwu xiexu* 禁止師巫邪術)

The law concerns the following cases: male and female magicians (*shiwu* 師巫) who pretend to summon heterodox spirits (*xie shen* 邪神); the writing of magical formulas and casting of spells over water;^{II} spirit-writing (*fuluan* 扶鸞); the invocation of saintly persons; people who call themselves *duangong* 端公 (“High Lord”), *taibao* 太保 (“Great Protector”), or *shipo* 師婆 (“Master Old Lady”);^{III} societies absurdly calling themselves Maitreya, White Lotus, or Venerable of Light Teachings;^{IV} the White Cloud Tradition and similar societies;^V all other forms of depraved ways that disturb the correct teaching (*zuodao luanzheng* 左道亂正); or the concealing of [illicit] drawings and images; the burning of incense when assembling adherents to gather at night and disperse at dawn, under the pretext of practicing good deeds to incite and mislead the populace.^{VI} [In all these cases] the leaders will be sentenced to strangulation, the followers to a hundred strokes of the heavy bamboo and exile to three thousand *li*.^{VII} [j. 11, p. 6a/6b]

If soldiers or civilians dress and adorn images of gods, and beat gongs and drums in processions to welcome these gods (*yingshen saihui* 迎神賽會), the punishment will be a hundred strokes of the heavy bamboo for the leader [of this event]. If the head of the local community knows [of the event] but is not its leader, the punishment shall be forty strokes of the light bamboo. This prohibition does not apply to the local population’s appropriate spring and autumn festivals.

The commentary explains: Those who pretend to invoke heterodox spirits also spread these spirits’ [alleged] words. Writing magical formulas, casting spells over water, and spirit writing is all the same kind, because it implies praying to [alleged] saintly persons and spreading the words of spirits. *Duangong*, *taibao*, *shipo*, Maitreya Buddha, White Lotus Society – these all correspond to the teachings of Huiyuan from

II HS: The expression alludes to a practice attributed to Zhang Jiao 張角 (d. 184 CE), the leader of the Daoist Yellow Turban rebellion, who wrote magical formulas and cast spells to heal the sick.

III HS: The terms *duangong*, *taibao*, and *shipo* are some of many vernacular titles common in different regions, referring to practitioners who, in Western terminology, would be called ‘shamans,’ ‘mediums,’ ‘magicians,’ ‘ritual masters,’ etc. The translations given here are tentative.

IV HS: Maitreya Teaching (*Milejiao* 彌勒教) and White Lotus Teaching (*Bailianjiao* 白蓮教) were stereotypical names for popular religious sects during the Ming and Qing dynasties. Venerable of Light Teaching (明尊教) refers to sects connected with Manichaeism.

V HS: The White Cloud Tradition (*Baiyunzong* 白雲宗) was a lay Buddhist sect originating in the Song dynasty.

VI HS: This is a standard formulation used to characterise folk religious communities outside the recognised structures of Buddhism and Daoism, which were seen by the authorities as illegitimate, and a possible source of rebellion.

VII HS: Three thousand *li* denotes a distance from the capital. Though one *li* has now been standardised as 500 metres, its historical value fluctuated across the eras.

the Jin dynasty.^{VIII} So too does the worship of Amitābha Buddha, the belief in the eighteen dragon kings (*shiba longtian* 十八龍天), vegetarian eating, and the recitation of the Buddha's name. The male and female followers of the Venerable of Light Teaching observe vegetarian precepts, and follow the law of Mani, the Buddha of Light. The White Cloud Tradition is one of the seventy-two branches of Buddhism. They are the same kind of people as Huangmei, Caohan and Linji.^{IX} If a teaching (*dao* 道)^X worships the left [j. 11, p. 6b/7a] and is not the correct teaching, it is called [teaching of] the left.

The common people are stupid, and can easily be misled and agitated. During the Later Han dynasty, Zhang Jiao^{XI} 張角 [d. 184 CE] could propagate heterodox practices (*xieshu* 邪術), and his followers spread throughout the empire; the outcome was the fall of the house of Han. For this reason, concerning all such associations and teachings of the left that disturb the right by concealing the images of heterodox gods, burning incense when assembling adherents, gathering at night and dispersing at dawn under the pretext of practising good deeds to incite and mislead the populace, the law provides for death by strangulation to the leaders, and to the followers a hundred strokes of the heavy bamboo and exile to three thousand *li*.

VIII HS: The text states Jin Huigong 晉慧公 (Lord Hui of the Jin Dynasty), which refers to the famous monk Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–416). On Huiyuan, see also the introduction to the controversy over the relationship between Buddhism and state in the fourth century, in this volume (p. 110).

IX HS: The three people named here are famous Buddhist monks of the Chan school. Huangmei 黃梅 refers to Hongren 弘忍 (601–674), the sixth patriarch, who was born in Huangmei; Linji 臨濟 refers to Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄 (d. 866), the eleventh patriarch. Caohan 曹漢 could not be identified.

X HS: The word *dao* 道 has a variety of meanings. The basic meaning is “way” or “path.” In Daoist contexts, it usually refers to the impersonal source of all being, and is often left untranslated as “Dao.” However, *dao* is also used metaphorically, to refer to the way or path of specific teachings, such as the “way of the Buddha” (*Fodao* 佛道). As Robert Company has shown, in such contexts, the term comes close to the modern concept of ‘religion’ (Robert F. Company, “On the Very Idea of Religions [In the Modern West and in Early Medieval China],” *History of Religions* 42, no. 4 (2003): 287–319, 300–305) In the present text, *zuodao* 左道 (“ways of the left”) has the negative connotation of depraved teachings, or practices deviating from the right way.

XI HS: Zhang Jiao 張角 [d. 184 CE] was the leader of the Yellow Turbans rebellion.

15 Li Fu: *The Shortcomings of Teachings Dealing with Transcendent Matters* (1740)

Introduced and translated by Hubert Seiwert

Introduction

The treatise reproduced here in excerpt is entitled *Yuan Jiao* 原教 (“On the Original Meaning of *Jiao*”). Its author, Li Fu 李紱 (1673–1750), was a high-ranking official in the imperial administration, and an eminent scholar. In addition to historical and philosophical works, he wrote numerous poems.

The treatise joins a series of essays by Confucian scholars that are all similarly titled “On the Original Meaning of *Jiao*.”^I *Jiao* 教 literally means “to teach” or “teaching.” The central concern of the authors here was to determine the proper understanding of the Confucian teaching. On the one hand, the texts often criticise other schools of Confucianism, which, according to the authors, misunderstand the doctrine; on the other hand, Buddhism and Daoism, as well as occasionally Islam and Catholicism, are criticised as inherently false teachings.

Li Fu’s essay is selected here, because it shows that a distinction between religious and secular doctrines was already made during the early Qing dynasty (1644–1911), even though no native Chinese concepts of ‘religious’ and ‘secular’ existed at that time. Li Fu discusses the meaning of *jiao* 教, in order to determine the differences between Confucianism, on the one hand, and Buddhism and Daoism, on the other. In the parlance of his time, Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism were often referred to as the “three teachings” (*san jiao* 三教),^{II} making them appear to be similar and equivalent. Li Fu argues that this view is wrong, because Confucianism alone manifests *jiao* in the correct sense. To substantiate his thesis, he establishes a connection between the two terms *jiao* and *dao* 道. In Li Fu’s understanding, *dao* (“the Way”) means the way of ordering society shown by the sage rulers of antiquity. *Jiao*, he writes, denotes the teaching through which this way is spread throughout the world. Therefore, only the Confucian teaching can be called *jiao* in the proper sense.

I For a comprehensive introduction to and translation of various *Yuanjiao* texts, see Wolfgang Omerborn, *Die rechte Lehre und die falschen Lehren: Konfuzianische Yuanjiao-Texte aus der Qing-Zeit* (Bochum: Projekt-Verlag, 2013).

II In older Western literature, the term *san jiao* is often translated as ‘three religions’ (e.g. William Edward Soothill, *The Three Religions of China: Lectures Delivered at Oxford* [London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1913]).

Hubert Seiwert, Leipzig University, Research Centre Global Dynamics, KFG 2344 “Multiple Secularities – Beyond the West, Beyond Modernities”; Leipzig University, Faculty of History, Art and Area Studies, Institute for the Study of Religion

Li Fu points out that the teachings of Buddhism and Daoism share structural similarities that fundamentally distinguish them from Confucianism. Buddhism and Daoism refer to matters “beyond the human sphere” (*renwai* 人外) – i.e. matters outside the mundane world. On the other hand, the Confucian teaching (*jiao*) relates exclusively to inner-worldly matters – i.e. interpersonal relations and the safeguarding of social order. Without rules for social coexistence, there would be no social institutions or peace, and chaos would reign in the world. Therefore, he maintains that the Confucian way (*dao*) and the Confucian doctrine (*jiao*) are necessary prerequisites of social order, and will inevitably prevail. Buddhism and Daoism, by contrast, do not contribute to the preservation of social order, because their teachings are directed only toward otherworldly goals.

The expression “beyond the human sphere” (*renwai*) can be interpreted in modern terminology as ‘otherworldly’ or ‘transcendent.’ In Li Fu’s view, Buddhism and Daoism refer to the realm of transcendence, while Confucianism remains within the realm of immanence. This distinction can also be understood as reflecting the difference between ‘religious’ and ‘secular’ teachings, even though these concepts did not exist in classical Chinese.

Li Fu’s essay proves that structural differences between religious and secular teachings were perceived before the concept of religion became available in the nineteenth century under Western influence. However, it is noteworthy that, for the author, only Confucianism can be considered a *jiao* 教 in the proper sense, and he does not consider the two religions, Buddhism and Daoism, to be full-fledged *jiao*. This understanding of *jiao* did not prevail, however. In modern usage, *jiao* can often be translated as ‘religion.’ The word is part of the neologism *zongjiao* 宗教, which was introduced in the late nineteenth century from Japanese (Japanese pronunciation: *shūkyō*), as a translation of ‘religion.’ However, even after this, the Confucian teaching was not classified as a religion, but rather as a secular doctrine – a categorisation consistent with Li Fu’s view.

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Reprint of the 1831 edition.

Page numbers refer to the pagination of the 1831 edition.

Translation by Hubert Seiwert

What is the original use of the concept of *jiao* 教 (“teaching”)? The *Doctrine of the Mean* says: “*jiao* means cultivating the Way (*dao* 道).”^I Where can the Way be found? The Way manifests itself in the relationships between ruler and subject, father and son, husband and wife, elder brothers and younger brothers, and between friends. If the Way is realised in these relationships, then there is also the teaching (*jiao*). The teaching emerged for the first in the time of Tang 唐 and Yu 虞,^{II} when Xie 契 was appointed minister of education, and respectfully spread the five elements of the teaching, which are: between father and son there must be closeness, between lord and subject rightfulness, between husband and wife appropriate distinctions, between seniors and juniors the correct sequence, and between friends there must be trust.

Mencius^{III} explained [the significance of] *jiao* during the Three Dynasties:^{IV} schools were established to teach (*jiao* 教) to the people, and explain human relationships. When human relationships are clarified by those ruling above, there will be close relations among the common people. However, if the five basic principles of the Way are abandoned, and the rules of human relationships are disregarded, [p. 1a/1b] one cannot speak of *jiao*. [. . . p. 1b/2a . . .]

Regarding social classes, there is a distinction between rulers, ministers, high and low officials, and the common people; regarding professions, there is a difference between scholars, peasants, artisans, and merchants. However, they all belong to the human species, and, therefore, rulers, ministers, fathers, sons, husbands, wives, elder and younger brothers, and friends are all bound together by the five forms of human relationships. This is why there cannot be a Way (*dao*) in the world that is not concerned with human relationships, which implies that there cannot be any human being outside the Way. Since there is no human being outside the Way, it is implied that there cannot be teaching (*jiao*) not referring to the human sphere (*renwai zhi jiao* 人外之教). Since the time of the two emperors and three kings [of antiquity], this has not changed. Later generations [p. 2a/2b] only regarded the teaching of the sages as Confucian (*ru* 儒). However, aberrant theories, which separated from the Way of the Confucians and advocated distorted views, were founded, and often also labelled a ‘teaching’ (*jiao*). [. . . p. 2b/3a . . .]

I HS: Literal quotation from the introduction of the *Doctrine of the Mean* (*Zhongyong* 中庸), which is one of the *Four Books* regarded as the core of the Confucian teaching during the Ming and Qing dynasties.

II HS: Legendary rulers of high antiquity, better known under the names Yao 堯 and Shun 舜.

III HS: Mengzi 孟子 or Mencius (372–289 BCE) is often considered the second highest authority of Confucianism, after Confucius. Like the *Doctrine of the Mean*, the book *Mengzi* belongs to the classical *Four Books*.

IV HS: The Three Dynasties refer to the three first dynasties in Chinese history (Xia, Shang, and Zhou). Their idealised institutions were highly esteemed by Confucius.

If we come to later times, there appeared what is called Daoism and Buddhism. Only then was there the talk of a 'Way' (*dao*) not concerned with human relationships; only then were there people outside the Way, and teachings (*jiao*) not related to the human sphere. But what is this so-called Way that is not concerned with human relationships? Consider that human beings are endowed with rational understanding (*li* 理), spirit (*shen* 神), vital energy (*qi* 氣),^V and a physical body (*xing* 形). Rational understanding manifests in [the virtues of] humanity (*ren* 仁), rightfulness (*yi* 義), propriety (*li* 禮), wisdom (*zhi* 智), and trust (*xin* 信). Spirit manifests in conscious actions, vital energy manifests in movements and breathing, and the physical body manifests in ears, eyes, mouth, nose, and the four limbs. Spirit is controlled by rational understanding, vital energy is moved by spirit, and the physical body is moved by vital energy. If individuals practise and generations act according to these [basic truths], correct human relations appear. This is what is called the Way.

If we turn to the 'Way' of the Buddhists, we find that they are only concerned with quietly guarding their spirit (*shen*). They know that there is spirit but ignore that there is rational understanding, and only fear that something might disturb their spirit. Therefore, they regard everything as empty. Even if people leave behind and abandon the five human relationships, they do not care. To raise to the utmost significance the practice of quiescence in search of understanding [p. 3a/3b], and to aim to act with knowledge of past and future existences, is confused thinking.

The 'Way' of the Daoists only concentrates on vital energy (*qi*). They know about the existence of vital energy, but ignore that there is rational understanding, and only fear some event may cause a loss of their vital energy. Therefore, they talk about being clear and pure and non-acting. Even if there are events that leave behind and abandon the five human relationships, they do not care. To raise to the utmost significance the practice of concentration on vital energy in order to overcome illness and extend one's lifetime, is doomed to fail.

This [i.e. the practices of Buddhism and Daoism] is what is called a 'Way' (*dao*) not concerned with human relationships. A 'Way' not concerned with human relationships has nothing to do with family, state, and the whole world. Therefore [Buddhists and Daoists] are people outside the [true] Way. People outside the Way have nothing to do with maintaining order and establishing peace. Therefore, one speaks of teachings (*jiao*) beyond the human realm (*renwai zhi jiao* 人外之教). Master Han from Changli^{VI} demanded the restriction and cessation of such teachings, which corre-

V HS: There is no adequate translation for the Chinese concept of *qi* 氣. It originally meant breath or air, but early on it became a fundamental concept in Chinese cosmology. Its meaning is broad and ambivalent, depending on the discursive context. For the neo-Confucians, it was primarily the subtle material essence that, depending on its state of aggregation, underlies all manifestations. The Daoists, in addition, stressed the aspect of vital energy, which must be maintained to preserve life.

VI HS: Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824), a Confucian philosopher renowned for his critique of Buddhism and Daoism. See Han Yu's treatise translated above in this volume (p. 119–122).

sponds to the demand of Mencius to eliminate them. Master Ouyang^{VII} demanded the cultivation of the root [of the Confucian teaching] to defeat them, which corresponds to the saying of Mencius of returning to the orthodox root. However, I say that there is no need to restrict and stop them. Even if they are not restricted, our [Confucian] teaching will certainly flourish, and even if they are not stopped, our teaching will certainly prevail. Nor is it necessary to cultivate the root to defeat them, because our root exists by itself. Because our root naturally exists, all other [teachings] will be defeated by it.

Why do I say so? Our Confucian teaching (*jiao*) is the teaching of the sages. [p. 3b/4a] The teaching of the sages is about practising the Way (*dao*) of the five fundamental relationships. If the teaching of the sages were to not flourish, be practised or cultivated for a single day, it would not be worth being called sage. Why do I say so? Without proper relations between ruler and subject, the powerful would oppress the weak, and the numerous would commit violence against the few; accordingly, social chaos would prevail in the world. Without proper relations between parents and children, and between husband and wife, human life would cease to continue; accordingly, everything would practically come to an end. Parents and children, and husband and wife, necessarily exist in relationship to each other; likewise, if there are friends, there also must be mutual relationship. This is the firm foundation of our Confucian Way that eternally pervades the world. Why then should we need to restrict and stop the two schools of Buddhism and Daoism, and only then spread and practise [the Confucian Way]?

Some say: In these later times, the teaching of the sages cannot be cultivated in the same manner as in the times of the rulers of high antiquity. As the root is not sufficiently firm, the followers of those teachings [i.e. Buddhists and Daoists] are numerous. How can one, under such conditions, be sure to defeat them? I answer: The root is firm and has never been uncultivated. Although in later generations [the teaching of the sages] has been observed sincerely and correctly, it flourished and declined depending on the times. Because nobody can govern the world while ignoring the teaching of the Five Relationships, our root is cultivated every day. [p. 4a/4b] As the root is cultivated every day, the teaching of Confucians is respected by everyone, and the question of defeating [Buddhism and Daoism] is irrelevant. An erudite scholar doubts that [followers of] Buddhism and Daoism are numerous, and that those who keep to the Confucian teaching are only a few. Confucians do not necessarily wear ritual headgear and robes with wide sleeves. All those who rule the world facing south are rulers, and they are also Confucians; those who pass on the good customs and spread the commands of the ruler to reform the world are ministers, high and low officials, and they are also Confucians; those who are zealous in offices are scribes and clerks, and are also Confucians; those who till the field for good crops are farmers, and are also Confucians; those who trade and all who ex-

VII HS: Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1005–1072), a famous politician and scholar.

haust themselves in physical labour are merchants and craftsmen, and are also Confucians. Why is it possible to say so? Such people follow the way of correct relations between ruler and subject, father and child, husband and wife, elder and younger brother, and between friends. That means that they all follow the teaching (*jiao*) of the sages.

Those who have abandoned the Way of the five fundamental relationships, to become Buddhists or Daoists, only practise a single method of cultivating their spirit or cultivating their vital energy. However, among innumerable people only one or two of them [practise these methods]. Since it is only one or two, why should there be inflated talk about the existence [of these few people] or whether they should be defeated or not? For this reason, I maintain that there cannot be a Way that is not concerned with the five human relationships, [p. 4b/5a] and, accordingly, there are no human beings outside the Way. And because there are no human beings outside the Way (*dao*), there cannot be a teaching (*jiao*) that refers to matters outside the human sphere.

16 Peng Guangyu: *Confucianism is Not a Religion* (1893)

Introduced by Hubert Seiwert

Introduction

The treatise reproduced here in excerpt was presented in English under the title “Confucianism” to the World’s Parliament of Religions held in September 1893, on the occasion of the Chicago World’s Fair. It is probably the first text written by a Chinese author discussing the Western concept of religion, and explaining the relationship between Confucianism and religion to a Western audience. Contrary to what the organisers of the World’s Parliament of Religions likely expected, it does not present Confucianism as China’s main religion, but clearly distinguishes it from religion, as a secular doctrine.

The author of the text is Pung Kwang Yu (Peng Guangyu 彭光譽),^I a Chinese diplomat, about whom little else is known. Peng was officially sent by the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on the invitation of the organisers of the World’s Parliament of Religions, to give a talk on Confucianism. He then wrote a longer text in Chinese, which was translated into English by the Chinese Embassy’s chief translator Rong Kui 容揆. The Chinese version of the text was approved by Emperor Guangxu in 1894, and printed in Beijing in 1896 under the title *Shuo jiao* 說教, which could be translated as ‘Discussing Teachings’ or ‘Discussing the (Confucian) Teaching.’^{II}

The published English version consists of sixty-six pages; the Chinese version has 112 pages, in which the basics of the Confucian teaching are set out in nine chapters. Since Peng Guangyu was a civil servant and not a scholar – and, as he points out, had thus had only the standard Confucian education – the text can be seen as an example of the common-sense understanding of Confucianism among the Chinese elites at the end of the imperial period. The imperial endorsement gives it the status of a semi-official exposition of the Chinese view of religions and their relationship to Confucianism, for a Western audience.

I In the English version, the name of the author is romanised as Pung Kwang Yu. The modern standard Pinyin romanisation is Peng Guangyu, which will be used in this text to refer to the author.

II For details on the circumstances of the Chinese government’s dispatch of Peng Guangyu, see Sun Jiang, “Representing Religion: ‘Chinese Religions’ at the 1893 Chicago World Parliament of Religions,” *Oriens Extremus* 54 (2015): 59–84.

Hubert Seiwert, Leipzig University, Research Centre Global Dynamics, KFG 2344 “Multiple Secularities – Beyond the West, Beyond Modernities”; Leipzig University, Faculty of History, Art and Area Studies, Institute for the Study of Religion

The extracts selected here are mainly from the long introduction, in which Peng sets out the problems that make applying the Western concept of religion to China difficult. At the time, there was no established Chinese translation for ‘religion,’ which is why Peng chose the phonetic rendering *erlilijing* 爾釐利景 in the Chinese version of the text. Other words, such as priest or prophet, were also rendered phonetically. Peng then discusses the question of which Chinese terms correspond to the English concepts. He rejects the translation of ‘religion’ as *jiao* 教, as chosen by the Jesuits in the Ming dynasty, because this would wrongly put Confucianism on the same level as Buddhism and Daoism: “The Confucianists devote themselves to the study of things human, while the priests of the two sects devote themselves to the study of things spiritual.”^{III} Peng points out that in ancient times “secular and spiritual matters soon became mixed and misfortunes and calamities befell the nation.”^{IV} For this reason, a separation was made and “from that time the system of public instruction has been conducted on a secular and not on a religious basis.”^V

The English text thus makes a clear distinction between religious and secular. The translator uses this terminology for which there was no equivalent in Chinese at the time. In the original Chinese, the contrast between secular and religious is expressed in the juxtaposition of *ren* 人 (‘people,’ ‘human’) and *shen* 神 (‘spirits,’ ‘concerning the spirits’). Since Confucianism is not concerned with spirits, it is obvious to Peng that it cannot be called a religion.

For Peng Guangyu, Confucianism is a purely secular doctrine. He thus represents an interpretation in the tradition of Xunzi.^{VI} As with Xunzi, the central concepts *tian* 天 (‘heaven,’ ‘sky’) and *di* 地 (‘earth’) are not understood as divine powers, but as impersonal forces of nature. In the English version of the text, they are translated throughout as “nature.” Nature follows its immutable laws, which prayers cannot influence. However, the criticism of religious beliefs and practices implied by this is not elaborated further – possibly in consideration of the religious feelings of his audience in the World’s Parliament of Religions. Instead, Peng refers to the harmful influence of religions in Chinese history. He notes that religions had repeatedly led to rebellions, and tried to undermine the social order.

Peng Guangyu was aware that his presentation of Confucianism as a secular doctrine would not meet his listeners’ expectations. This explains the unusual length of his article, in which he argued at length the merits of Confucianism over any form of religion. His fundamental criticism of religions ostensibly refers primarily to Chinese Buddhism and Daoism; he notes that Christianity is similar to these two religions in

III Pung Kwang Yu, “Confucianism,” in *The World’s Parliament of Religions: An Illustrated and Popular Story of the World’s First Parliament of Religions Held in Chicago in Connection with the Columbian Expositions of 1893*, ed. John H. Barrows, vol. 1 (Chicago, IL: The Parliament Publishing Company, 1893), 412.

IV Pung Kwang Yu, “Confucianism,” 379.

V Pung Kwang Yu, “Confucianism,” 279–380.

VI See text no. 10 above (p. 103–108).

many ways, however. In the background, there is also a critique of Christianity and, above all, the Christian mission in China. Since the first Opium War (1839–1842), the Western powers had forced an opening of China to Christian missionaries, through unequal treaties. The Christian mission was, therefore, perceived by Chinese elites as part of Western aggression. Conflicts and anti-Christian riots were frequent at the local level and became a political problem because foreign powers protected the missionaries. Peng Guangyu points out that mission and proselytism are evidence of cultural arrogance, because other cultures are considered inferior. Such an attitude, he notes, is alien to Confucianism.

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Page numbers given in square brackets refer to this edition.

The romanisation of Chinese terms has been maintained from the original. However, the standard pinyin romanisation and the Chinese characters have been inserted in square brackets.

The Chinese original can be found in:

Peng Guangyu 彭光譽. *Shuo jiao* 說教. Beijing, 1896. A facsimile of the Chinese edition can be found under: <<https://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0003386500000000>>.

Confucianism. By the Hon. Pung Kwang Yu [Peng Guangyu 彭光譽]

In the preparation of this paper I have had a great deal to contend with owing to the differences of language. I beg, therefore, to explain some of the terms used with a view to making my meaning clear.

Now take the word "Religion,"^I which is the subject under discussion. Toward the close of the Ming Dynasty, the Europeans in China used the word "kao" [*jiao* 教] in the sense of Religion. But "kao" signifies properly "to teach," if used as a verb, or "instruction" if used as a noun. The word "kao," therefore, may be applied to anything that is taught by men from the "six liberal arts" to the various forms of manual labor, and its meaning can not be restricted to any particular kind of instruction, so that the word may be applied to it by the way of eminence. With Chinese scholars the words

I HS: The Chinese version renders "religion" phonetically as *erlilijing* 爾釐利景.

“kao”—instruction—and “ching” [*zheng* 政]—law—are interchangeable, because both derive their authority from the Emperor. Instruction by rulers, and instruction by teachers are the established modes of instructing the people.^{II} Besides these established modes of instruction there are no societies organized for the express purpose of imparting a particular kind of instruction, that command the respect and confidence of the people at large. Even the term “Yu kao [*Rujiao* 儒教],” or Confucian school, is employed only by the Taoists and Buddhists to distinguish the established system of instruction founded upon the principles of social relation, from their own systems of belief, which they call “Tao-kao [*Daojiao* 道教]” and “Foh-kao [*Fojiao* 佛教]” respectively, by prefixing the word “yu [*ru*]” to the general term “kao.” To these three systems of doctrine they sometimes give the name of “San-kao [*sanjiao* 三教],” or three systems of instruction. But Confucianists refer to the two sects only as “heterodox systems of doctrine.” Mohammedans call the Confucian system of doctrine “ta-kao [*dajiao* 大教],” or the great system of instruction. All these terms, however, can be traced to those who desire to separate themselves by a distinctive name from the general body of the people. They are not of a Chinese origin. The only term that is of a Chinese origin is “li-kao [*lijiao* 禮教],” or the proper system of instruction.

I find “Religion,” as defined by Webster, to be “the recognition of God as an object of worship, love and obedience, or right feelings towards God as rightly apprehended;” “prophet” to be “a person illuminated, inspired or instructed by God to speak in his name or announce future events,” and [p. 375/376] “priest” to be “one who officiates at the altar, or performs the rites of sacrifice, hence, one who acts as a mediator between men and the divinity of gods,” pastor, minister, missionary being only different names for persons who perform functions quite similar to those of a priest. Now, according to these definitions, “Religion” has its proper Chinese equivalent in the word “Chuh [*zhu* 祝].”^{III} As for those persons who can foretell the future events, they can find their associates in China in those who are versed in sooth-saying.

Turning to the Chinese authorities we find the word “wu [*wu* 巫],” as defined by Hsu Shen [Xu Shen 許慎],^{IV} of the Han Dynasty, in his work on Philology, to be “a priest who is acquainted with the manner of performing services to the invisible so that he has the power to call up spirits by mystic dances.” In the notes to the Book of Rites of the Chau [Zhou 周] Dynasty, “wu” is defined as “one who can arrange the proper places which the various Deities occupy in the Celestial hierarchy.” “Wu” is defined by Kung Yang [Gongyang 公羊, i.e. Gongyang Gao 公羊高], in his notes to the Spring and Au-

II HS: “Established modes of instructing people” is used as a translation of the term *lijiao* 禮教, which literally means ‘instruction in propriety,’ and usually refers to the Confucian teaching.

III HS: The Chinese version has *wu* 巫 instead of *zhu* 祝. However, according to the text, the two words have similar meanings. In the Chinese text, they are often combined (*wuzhu*) as a translation of the English word ‘priest.’

IV HS: Xu Shen 許慎 (first century CE) is the author of the first Chinese dictionary *Shouwen jiezi* 說文解字.

turnn Annals, to be “one who performs religious services to spirits, and by means of prayers can heal diseases and bestow blessings.” The work on Philology defines the word “chuh [zhu]” to be “one who superintends sacrificial rites by calling out the required directions.” In the notes to the History of the Warring States, “chuh” is given as “one who offers prayers.” The work on Philology defines the word “chan [chen 讖]” as “a book of oracles.” The books that were taken out of the Ho [He] and Loh [Luo] rivers were called “chan [chen 讖],” or oracles. In the notes to the History of the After Han Dynasty “chan [chen]” is defined as “a book of prophecies.” “Hui [wei 緯]” is only another word for book. It will be seen that China was never found wanting in men who are versed in supernatural things. But both men and books of this character have always been placed under a legal ban that they may not have the power to corrupt the people.

When Europeans first made their way into China, toward the close of the Ming Dynasty, they found it difficult to hit upon a proper Chinese word for God.^V They made use of the terms “Shangti [shangdi 上帝]” (Ruler of the Upper Regions), “Shen [神]” (Spirit), “Chan Shen [zhen shen 真神]” (True Spirit), “Tuh-i-chi-Shen [duyi zhi shen 獨一之神]” (Only Spirit). Sometimes they merely translated the words “Pater” and “Jehovah” by means of Chinese characters. In their worship they made use of images. They had certain traditions on the subject of cosmogony. Their religious beliefs seemed to bear a strong resemblance to those held by Buddhist and Taoist priests. The Buddhists call their God Si-di-hun-yin [Shitihuanyin 釋提桓因, i.e., Śakra, the Lord of one of the Buddhist heavens], and Taoist priests also have a distinct name for their Supreme Ruler of Heaven, together with the host of deities they adore. Both the Buddhists and the Taoists in their worship make use of pictures and graven images, and represent their deities in costumes of princes that once ruled the land of their origin. They have their own accounts of the creation of the universe, in which events are related with the vividness of eye-witnesses, but in which there are irreconcilable discrepancies as to the names and dates. The Confucianists, however, have never indulged in speculations of this nature. [p. 376–378 . . .]

There are some western scholars who say that the system of doctrines of Confucius cannot be properly called a Religion, and there are others who say that China has no Religion of her own. That the ethical systems of [p. 378/379] Confucius cannot be called a Religion may be admitted without fear of contradiction, but that China has no Religion of her own must be taken as not well founded in fact. The primary signification of the word “yu [ru 儒]” is scholar.^{VI} In remote times, when observations had to be first made of things in the heavens above and of things on the earth beneath, discoveries and inventions were the order of the day. There were no teachers to teach, and no learners to learn. Consequently there were no men who could lay claim to the

V HS: The Chinese version renders “God” phonetically as *gaode* 高德.

VI HS: In Western literature, the word *ru* 儒 is usually translated as ‘Confucian’ or ‘Confucianist.’ It should be observed that the term ‘Confucianism’ is a Western invention that has no exact equivalent in classical Chinese.

title of “yu [ru]” in the beginning. In looking up the origin of the word “yu [ru]” it is found in the Book of Rites of the Chau [Zhou 周] dynasty, and was, therefore, first used in the mediaeval age of antiquity. But there were priests [wu 巫] in China as far back as the time of Hwangti [Huangdi 黄帝].^{VII} Among the official titles of ancient times were the Grand Dispenser, the Grand Administrator, Grand Historiographer, the Grand Hierarch, the Grand Scholar, and the Grand Diviner. These were the six ministers that composed the Grand Council of State. [. . .] It will be seen that a form of Religion was practiced in China not only long before the appearance of the Confucian school, but also long before the appearance of any of the great religious founders who formulated the grand systems of religious belief. The term “wu” was originally applied to inspired persons possessing clearness of sight, acuteness of hearing, wisdom, and understanding. Such gifts were quite beyond the reach of common men, but as men of wisdom and understanding did not make their appearance in every age, there began to spring up in after ages men who made pretensions to wisdom and understanding while they were only familiar with magical and strange arts.

In the time of Siao Hau [Shaohao 少昊], son of Hwangti [Huangdi], there were priests who acted in the capacity of recorder in private families. Secular and spiritual matters^{VIII} [ren-shen 人神] soon became mixed and misfortunes and calamities befell the nation. Chuan-kuh [Zhuanxu 顓頊], son of Siao-Hau [Shaohao], appointed separate officers for the conduct of spiritual and civil affairs, in order to put a stop to the confusion and return to the ancient practice. He strictly prohibited the one from interfering with the other. Then the people were allowed once more to enjoy peace and sweet content. This is the first instance on record of priests practicing deceptions upon the people. From that time the system of public [p. 379/380] instruction has been conducted on a secular and not on a religious basis. The entire separation of religious and civil affairs dates from that period, and nothing can now induce the Chinese people to consent to the interference of the one with the other. [. . .]

“Good fortune,” says Yu [Yu 禹],^{IX} of the Hsia [Xia 夏] Dynasty, “attends a life ordered according to nature;^X evil fortune, a life ordered against nature: as the shadow attends the body, or the echo the sound.” “A family,” says Confucius, in his notes to the Book of Changes, “that has laid up a store of good deeds must have its cup of joy filled to overflowing; a family that has laid up a store of evil deeds must have its cup of misery filled to overflowing.” Now the object of prayer is to secure good fortune

^{VII} HS: Huangdi 黄帝 (‘the Yellow Emperor’): a mythical emperor of high antiquity.

^{VIII} HS: The juxtaposition of “secular and spiritual matters” corresponds in the Chinese version to the phrase *ren shen* 人神, i.e. ‘human and spiritual (matters).’

^{IX} HS: Yu 禹: the legendary founder of the Xia Dynasty (2205–1766 BCE, according to traditional chronology).

^X HS: “Nature” is here a used as a translation for *tiandao* 天道, which literally means ‘way of heaven.’ In other cases, “nature” also serves as a translation for *tiandi* 天地 (‘heaven and earth’) and *tiandi zhi dao* 天地之道 (‘way of heaven and earth’).

and happiness and to avert evil fortune and misery. It is taken for granted that both good and evil come from heaven, and that spirits can bring everything to pass. But it must be admitted by those who believe in the efficacy of prayer that what cannot be gained by prayer can often be gained without prayer, and what cannot be averted by prayer can often be averted without prayer. What is the reason? It is simply that what brings good fortune and happiness may be traced to a life ordered according to nature or to a family that lays up a store of good deeds; and what brings evil fortune and misery to a life ordered against nature and to a family that lays up a store of evil deeds. Nature is inexorable as far as the uniform operation of its laws is concerned. After all, much more depends on men than on spirits in regard to the ultimate effect which the operation of nature's laws has upon human affairs. Spirits can interfere with the affairs of men only when they execute nature's behests. [. . . p. 380/381 . . .]

Nature is not provided with a compassionate heart.^{XI} The bounties of nature are shared by the whole creation alike. Man is only a part of the creation. Nature vivifies the whole creation, but cannot exclude a single individual from the range of her influence. Nature acts upon the whole creation, but cannot act upon a single individual in a different manner. She can only develop the innate qualities which belong to each individual. Nature cannot act with partiality. [. . .]

Happiness and goodness, calamity and wickedness, are as inseparable [p. 381/382] as the shadow and the body or the echo and the sound. If there is neither body nor sound, it is impossible to have a shadow or an echo. If there is a body or sound, it is equally impossible not to have their corresponding shadow or echo. What motive then has Nature ever shown? It does not sum up profitably therefore to devote one's exclusive attention to investigating the laws of the spiritual world if one desires to trace effects to their causes or to follow a stream to its proper source. Consequently Confucius made man only the subject of his study and abstained from discoursing on wonders, brute force, rebellion and spirits. In connection with this subject he says that the art of rendering effective services to the people consists in keeping aloof from spirits as well as holding them in respect. [. . .] Under such circumstances any attempt to present before the people questions and problems that are incomprehensible and incapable of demonstration serves only to delude them by a crowd of misleading lights and lead them to error and confusion. On the other hand, everybody can understand and appreciate what is said concerning the duties of life.^{XII} [. . . p. 382/383 . . .] They consist of nothing else than that sovereigns should be humane; subjects loyal; parents loving; children obedient; husbands faithful; wives devoted; elder brothers respectful; friends true

^{XI} HS: Here again, 'Nature' is a translation for *tiandi* ('heaven and earth'). The Chinese version thus makes it clear that heaven and earth are not seen as deities that react to human behaviour. The translator therefore avoided the misleading (literal) translation "Heaven and Earth."

^{XII} HS: "Duties of life" is a translation of *rendao* 人道, i.e. 'the way of humans.' It should be noted that, on other occasions, *rendao* is rendered as "secular."

to each other. The three superior claims^{XIII} and the five social relations^{XIV} are grounded upon the necessities of nature and fully recognized by all men. The wise and the foolish, the high and the low, are equally bound by these natural ties. For this reason the intelligent portion of the Chinese people have always ranged themselves among the followers of Confucius, who may be said to have succeeded to the privileges of the ancient priesthood without adopting the practice of the great teachers of the West in making religious worship the basis of their systems of education. [. . . p. 383/384 . . .]

Owing to the radical differences in customs and manners between China and the nations of the West, what is properly called religion has never been considered as a desirable thing for the people to know and for the Government to sanction. The reason is that every attempt to propagate religious doctrines in China has always given rise to the spreading of falsehoods and errors, and finally resulted in resistance to legitimate authority and in bringing dire calamities upon the country. At first the Chinese mind was not prejudiced in any way against religious doctrines of any kind or against [p. 384–386]^{XV} religious teachings of any species. Time would not suffice if I were to adduce proofs from the whole range of Chinese history in support of my assertions. I shall, therefore, give only the following notable instances of religious troubles that have occurred within the last hundred years:

The disturbance raised in the Provinces of Sz-chuen [Sichuan], Hupih [Hubei], Shensi [Shaanxi], Shantung [Shandong], and Chibli [Zhili] by the members of the “White Lotus Society,” who professed to practice a form of Buddhism, as was taught by a Buddhist monk called Hui Yuen [Huiyuan 慧遠, 334–416] of the Tsin [Jin] Dynasty, and were banded together for purposes of robber; [. . .] the disturbance raised in the Province of Kwangsi [Guangxi] by the “Long-haired Rebels,” who professed to be Christians and made use of such terms as “Heavenly Father” and “Heavenly Brother,” applying the name of “Heavenly Kingdom” to themselves; [. . .] Sometimes uprisings of this nature were confined to but one province, and sometimes spread to several provinces; sometimes they were suppressed at their inception, and sometimes they taxed the military resources of the Government for years before peace could be restored. It was just at the time when the Government of China was engaged in putting down the uprising of the “Long-haired Rebels” the Western powers united in asking China to open the country to the missionary efforts of all Christian nations.^{XVI}

XIII HS: The three superior claims (*sangang* 三綱) are the three fundamental bonds between ruler and subject, father and child, and husband and wife.

XIV HS: The five constant virtues (*wuchang* 五常) are benevolence (*ren* 仁), righteousness (*yi* 義), propriety (*li* 禮), wisdom (*zhi* 智), and trustworthiness (*xin* 信).

XV HS: No text has been omitted here – page 385 contains a picture.

XVI HS: The “Long-haired Rebels” refers to the Taiping Rebellion (1851–1864), which originated from a religious movement inspired by Christian teachings, and devastated large parts of Southern China. It took the Qing government more than a decade to suppress the rebellion, which weakened the dynasty, and facilitated the military advance of the Western powers.

Christianity, Buddhism, Taoism, and even priestism do not teach error. If the subject were merely to teach the foolish to say prayers, the harm would be slight. On the other hand, if no restraint be put upon the spirit of proselytism, troubles will be sure to spring up. Furthermore, if such a practice as giving religious instructions directly to women and girls and screening the wicked from the pursuit of justice are allowed, this will have the effect of driving away those who value filial piety, brotherly love, sincerity, truth, propriety, rectitude, probity, and have a sense of shame. It will be said that the attempt to propagate religious doctrines drives away those who value filial piety, brotherly love, sincerity, truth, propriety, rectitude, probity, and have a sense of shame. What then must be the kind of material that [p. 386/387] remain for missionary efforts to work upon? Under such circumstances how is it possible that trouble will not break out in course of time? This is one of the reasons why every form of Religion has found it difficult to gain a permanent foothold in China. It makes not the least difference whether the particular form of Religion inculcates truth or error, nor does the character of the propagandists have anything to do with the case. The final result is the same. A religion that teaches error precipitates a crisis more speedily, that is all. [. . . p. 387/388 . . .]

Now it is evident that whoever carries under his arm a system of doctrines, and crosses over into the territory of another state for the purpose of gaining proselytes, in reality sets up as a higher being than his fellows. By assuming the role of moral propagandist he cannot escape the imputation that he looks down upon the people of other nations as irreligious. By assuming the office of teaching others to do good, he cannot escape the imputation that he looks down upon the people of other nations as evil-doers. [. . .] "Whatsoever ye would not," says he [i.e., Confucius], "that others should do to you, do ye not then unto them."^{XVII} Therefore propagandism is a practice that does not commend itself to the favorable consideration of Chinese scholars, ministers of state and emperors. I have no desire to be regarded as a propagandist of Confucianism. [. . . p. 388–410 . . .]

During the Chan [Zhou 周] and Sain [Qin 秦] Dynasties, when the philosophers of rival schools were vying with one another in their effort to gain popular applause, the teaching of Gautama began to find its way into China. [. . .] Still they [i.e., the Buddhist scriptures] only treat of the methods of obtaining release from this world, and have not a word to say concerning the arts by which the world is ruled. [. . .] Inasmuch as the Buddhistic scriptures are silent on all matters pertaining to the regulation of the family, the government of the nation, and the pacification of the world, it is impossible, therefore, that there should be any conflict between the teachings of Buddha and the affairs of state. [. . . p. 410/411 . . .] On this account, though the teachings of Buddha are called heterodox, and not accepted by the Confucianists as a body, yet there are Confucianists who are fascinated with the mysticism of the ideas set forth. At the present day, the followers of Buddha in China are merely priests living in cloisters. Few of them are

XVII HS: Quotation from *Lunyu* 論語, chapter *Yan Yuan* 顏淵.

versed in the classical works of their religion. Among the heterodox faiths in China, Buddhism can, doubtless, muster the greatest number of believers. [. . .]

Though the temples of the Taoists and the Buddhists are scattered throughout the length and breadth of the Empire, yet there are essential differences in the course pursued by each sect to gain proselytes. The so-called Buddhists and Taoists of the present day differ not at all in their training and practices of priests,^{XVIII} and are not, therefore, [p. 411/412] allowed to compete at the public examinations with the Confucianists. The reason is, that the Confucianists devote themselves to the study of things human, while the priests of the two sects devote themselves to the study of things spiritual.

What the Confucianists call things spiritual is nothing more than the law of action and reaction, which operates upon matter without suffering loss, and which causes the seasons to come round without deviation. What priests of the two sects call things spiritual consist of prayers and repentance, which they make use of as a means of practicing deception upon the people by giving out that they can reveal the secrets of happiness and misery thereby. As a rule, they are men given to speculations on the invisible world of spirits, and neglectful of the requirements and duties of life. For this reason they are employed by public functionaries to officiate on occasions of public worship, and at the same time they are despised by the Confucianists as the dregs of the people.

XVIII HS: Here, “priests” is a translation of *wuzhu* 巫祝. The term has a pejorative connotation in Chinese, referring to folk religious specialists despised by Confucians; their practices were forbidden by law. Compare with the law prohibiting magicians and heterodox practices in the Ming and Qing codes, translated in this volume (p. 126–127).

17 Kang Youwei: *Proposal to Establish Confucianism as the State Religion* (1898)

Introduced by Hubert Seiwert

Introduction

The text reproduced below in excerpt is a memorial to the throne, submitted by Kang Youwei 康有為 (1858–1927) in 1898. At that time, Kang Youwei was one of the leading figures of the Hundred Days' Reform, which was supported by the young Emperor Guangxu (1871–1908). The reform movement failed after only a few months, due to resistance from conservative officials, and Empress Dowager Cixi's usurpation of the emperor's power. Kang subsequently went into exile, initially in Japan, to escape the death penalty. He returned to China only after the founding of the Republic.¹

Like many political thinkers of his time, Kang believed that China's external weakness and domestic issues could only be overcome through fundamental political reforms. Just a few months before the Hundred Days' Reform of 1898, Germany had forced the cession of Jiaozhou Bay in Shandong Province; subsequently, Britain, France, and Russia had also obtained territorial concessions. The pretext for Germany's military intervention was the murder of two Catholic missionaries, one of many local anti-Christian incidents that had repeatedly led to conflicts with Western powers since China's opening to Christian missions. Such incidents were recorded in the Chinese administration as "religious cases" (*jiao an* 教案).

Kang Youwei uses these 'religious cases' as an occasion to discuss the significance of religion (*jiao* 教) to China's current weakness. He points out China's lack of laws concerning religions, and its resulting absence of clear rules for dealing with religious cases. To circumvent the predictable resistance of Western powers to Chinese religious legislation, he argues for the necessity of engaging in direct negotiations with the Christian churches. However, this would require China to have a religion on a par with the Christian churches.

¹ For Kang Youwei's biography, see Jung-Pang Lo, ed., *K'ang Yu-Wei: A Biography and a Symposium* (Tuscon, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1967). A new interpretation of Kang Youwei's life, focusing on his religious orientation, is given by Wan Zhaoyuan, *Science and the Confucian Religion of Kang Youwei (1858–1927): China Before the Conflict Thesis*, Ideas, History, and Modern China 26 (Leiden: Brill, 2022).

Hubert Seiwert, Leipzig University, Research Centre Global Dynamics, KFG 2344 "Multiple Secularities – Beyond the West, Beyond Modernities"; Leipzig University, Faculty of History, Art and Area Studies, Institute for the Study of Religion

Therefore, Kang Youwei advocates establishing a Church of Confucius (*Kong jiao hui*).^{II} This church would be organised along the lines of the Christian churches to make Confucius' teachings the moral foundation of the entire populace. Kang links this proposal to extensive criticism of the current decline of Confucian teachings, and the increasing lack of reverence for Confucius. He believed that the main reason for the moral decay among officials lay in the format of the state examinations, which only promoted the mastery of external literary forms, and failed to promote an internalising of Confucius' teachings. Therefore, he calls for a fundamental change in the state examinations.

It is evident that Kang Youwei intended the Church of Confucius to serve as a counterbalance to Christian churches. However, it is unclear whether he understood Confucius' teachings as a 'religion' in the Western sense – i.e. as a 'religious' doctrine distinct from 'secular' teachings. The text is not explicit in this regard, as it only uses the traditional term *jiao* 教 ('teaching').^{III} Kang wanted to place the teachings of Confucius (*Kongzi jiao* 孔子教) on the same level as the "teachings spread by the West" (*taixi chuan jiao* 泰西傳教), meaning Christianity. From his perspective, this required a fundamental reform of Confucianism, which should be induced by the state.

It is noteworthy that the text does not use the established term *rujiao* 儒教 to refer to the Confucian teachings. Kang Youwei does not advocate simply declaring traditional Confucianism the state religion, but rather reforming Confucianism, and organising the teachings of Confucius along the lines of Christian churches. The proposal contains revolutionary elements. While Confucianism, in the sense of *rujiao*, was traditionally confined to scholars, the Church of Confucius was to include the entire populace, with all members having a voice. Apart from the head, all positions should be filled through elections. Temples for the worship of Confucius were to be established not only in the cities, as was usual, but also in all villages. Kang calls for converting folk temples where the people worshipped 'illicit' spirits into Confucius temples.

II A literal translation of *Kong jiao hui* 孔教會 would be 'Confucius Teaching Association.' However, at the end of the nineteenth century, the term *jiaohui* 教會 was already a common translation of 'church' (in the sense of a religious organisation). Therefore, the term can be translated as 'Church of Confucius,' analogous to the *Jidu jiaohui* 基督教会 ('Church of Jesus' – i.e. Christianity). The alternative translation 'Confucian church' would be misleading, because the Chinese equivalents of the Western words 'Confucian' and 'Confucianism' are *ru* 儒 or *rujia/rujiao* 儒家/儒教, which do not directly refer to Confucius.

III The ambivalence of the term *jiao* in nineteenth-century Chinese discourses is discussed by Ya-pei Kuo, "Before the Term: 'Religion' as China's Cultural Other," *Comparativ: Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung* 20, no. 4 (2010), <https://www.comparativ.net/v2/article/view/347/284>. For the history and reception of the term *zongjiao* as the standard translation of 'religion', see Christian Meyer, "Zongjiao as a Chinese Conceptual Term for Religion? Genealogical Notes on Its Development Since the Late Qing Period." *Journal of Chinese Religions* 50, no. 1 (2022): 115–40.

While Kang viewed the organisational form of Christian churches as an example, he emphasised that their teachings were superficial compared to the subtlety of the Confucian doctrine. For him, what mattered was that Western states had national teachings that morally united their populations. In his view, China's weakness stemmed from the absence of an organised national doctrine.

The 1898 text does not definitively reveal whether Kang Youwei at that time conceptually distinguished between religious and non-religious teachings, or was aware of the Western understanding of religion. The term *jiao* remains ambiguous in his argument. However, a few years later, his disciple Liang Qichao 梁啟超, after becoming familiar with the Western concept of religion during his exile in Japan, concluded that religions were irrational beliefs; he therefore vehemently rejected the idea of considering Confucius' teachings to be a religion.^{IV} The goal of establishing Confucianism as a state religion was pursued by some conservative intellectuals in subsequent years, but had no significant political consequences.^V

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IV For details, see Wan Zhaoyuan, *Science and the Confucian Religion of Kang Youwei (1858–1927)*, 129–33.

V For the movement to establish Confucianism as state religion, see Hsi-Yuan Chen, "Confucianism Encounters Religion: The Formation of Religious Discourse and the Confucian Movement in Modern China" (Thesis, Harvard University, 1999).

Translation by Heiner Roetz and Yitao Quan

Kang Youwei: Petition to Establish a Law on Religion

The leading official of the Ministry of Public Works, Kang Youwei, humbly presents a petition for fixing through consultation a law concerning religious cases (*jiao an*),¹ for correcting the examination system, and for increasing the number of Confucius temples in all counties, at the same time forwarding the respectfully written work *An Investigation of Confucius as a System Reformer* to be read by the Emperor, in order to honor the Sage (Confucius), to protect the Great Teaching and to blight further evil. Reverentially, he asks for the attention of the emperor.

According to my humble opinion, the Western countries have used military power to pave the way for trade and for spreading their religion (*jiao*). They highly esteem their religion, and they are bold in spreading it. At the beginning, they intend to change [the minds of] the people of other countries by means of religion, in order to afterwards occupy the other countries under the pretext of fighting for the religion. When formerly the treaties were made, we have not fixed a law of religion (*jiao lü*) together with them, and this is the reason why the whole country is in fear of the evil of religious cases. Since the first year of the Tongzhi era (1861), the eminent officials of our resurging country are well known in China and abroad. During the Guizhou incident, the French enforced the dismissal of the military official Tian Xingshu.² During the Zhenjiang incident, the French sailed up the Yangzi by their military vessels, and during the Tianjin incident, a French general enforced the dismissal of the prefect of Tianjin.³ The court got into anxiety and dismay, but thanks to the spiritual power of our ancestors and a timely happy coincidence France was defeated by Germany.⁴ Zeng Guofan⁵ could handle the matter perfunctorily, but he was openly criticised throughout the empire. The recent Jiaozhou incident led to continuous loss of territory, with impacts on Lüshun the Dalian Bay, the Guangzhou Bay, Weihaiwei and Ji-

1 [translators' note 13] The Chinese term *jiao*, originally 'teaching,' began to oscillate between 'teaching' and 'religion' after missionaries used it to present the Christian doctrine. This makes *jiao* difficult to render. We will have to switch between 'teaching' and 'religion' in our translation. For Kang Youwei, the difference is secondary. His focus is on the traditional Confucian teaching, effectively reorganised by borrowing from Christian religion.

2 [translators' note 14] Tian Xingshu had ordered the execution of five Christians in 1862, among them a French missionary. The five were canonised by Pope John Paul II in 2000.

3 [translators' note 15] In 1870, churches and the French consulate in Tianjin were attacked after rumors that a Christian orphanage ordered the kidnapping of Chinese children. Several dozens of Christians were killed.

4 [translators' note 16] Referring to the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71.

5 [translators' note 17] One of the most influential officials of the Qing government and among other things responsible for the suppression of the Taiping rebellion.

long, not to speak of further incidents which have led to the loss of territory.⁶ Any religious case leads to such losses. The churches (*jiao tang*)⁷ of those Westerners stand everywhere, and they can provoke quarrel at any time. This is disastrous for both sides, and interior as well as exterior conflicts can occur each day. This leads to inextricable entanglements, and those countries frequently come with their military vessels backed by their state power. A single spark can cause a prairie fire, and even though the Emperor and the high officials do their best, we will still lose territory, and the whole country will be shocked. After that, they wait for a new opportunity and use pretexts in order to set us under pressure. It is hard to say whether our whole existence will be at stake some day. Recently I have heard that the prefect of Shandong, when he took office, had to pay his respect to a priest (*jiao shi*) first. If believers (*jiao min*) [of Christianity] are seen in a prefecture or a county, they are feared like tigers. If only one converts to that religion when in a lawsuit, injustice can be turned into justice. Crooks often protect themselves by leaning on [Christianity] and tyrannise their villages. The uneducated people in their ignorance increasingly follow the trend, and more and more are compelled [to become believers]. In Dongguan County in Guangdong province, in one night half of the town became followers [of Christianity]. The more [the Christians] are feared and the more we fawn upon them, the more [Chinese] will convert. And the more bad people will convert, the more religious cases we will have. Such has been the situation for fifty years now, and it would be strange to look up to heaven and bind one's hands and be without any means in the end to properly deal with the consequences.

The stupid subject Kang Youwei has long been worrying about this and has intensively deliberated to find a way out of these difficulties. I am of the opinion that in order to protect the [Confucian] teaching (*jiao*) and officially deal with the religious cases a [political] reform is necessary. And the way towards political reform is only in establishing a church (*jiaohui*) and in setting up a law of religion. When formerly the peace treaties were signed, we were under the constraint of the military defeat and could not help to put religion under protection for them (the Westerners). However, as far as the measures for protecting their religion are concerned, there have never been fixed regulations concerning severity, complicatedness and degree. We always listen to what the [Westerners] do after a religious case has occurred. So in a small case they enforce the dismissal of a prefect and raise claims to exorbitant compensations. And in a bigger case, like in the case of Jiaozhou, it comes up to limitless surrender of territory. Thus the situation gets worse and worse. All of this is due to the fact

6 [translators' note 19 {HS: The incorrect placement of the translator's note has been corrected}] In 1897, Germany took the murder of two German missionaries as a pretext to occupy the Jiaozhou Bay in Shandong. The incident was exploited also by the other imperialist powers to enlarge their spheres of influence in China.

7 [translators' note 18 {HS: The incorrect placement of the translator's note has been corrected}] *Jiaotang*, a church as a building, in contrast to *jiaohui*, the church as an organisation.

that there is no fixed law to settle these issues. For governing a country, there should be laws for everything, in negotiations between states, everything should be done by treaties, and for joint [Chinese/Western] investigations there should be a public authority. How can it be that of all things it is in such dangerous issues where the very existence is at stake and which happen every day and month we hand ourselves over to the demands of those, without any fixed rule? Recently, there has again been a report of an incident in Guangdong. No matter how we treat this case, easily or severely, it will be absolutely improper. But if there would be fixed law, we could put a stop to their excuses and avoid much loss of territory and payment. Then we would not need to worry about the extinction of the country just because of one case. [p. 92/93]

However, to decide a law is beyond the capability of our state. Obviously, its power is already weakened to such an extent that those [foreign countries] can become rampant. As soon as our country establishes relations with them, they take advantage of their [military] power while we negotiate with them. How could we put such laws into practice then? If we look at the mission of the Western countries [in China], then it turns out that they all have churches (*jiaotang*). Founded since the Jiaqing era (1796–1820), they can now be found in all parts of the country. Those [missionaries] who have come to China have all been sent by their churches, and not by their states, which only take over their protection. In their churches (*jiaohui*), there are leading personnel (*zongli*), members of commissions and consultants. They roughly resemble the principals of the examination officials, the education officials, and the leaders of the masters and students in our rites ministry, with the slight difference that in their church one listens to the recommendations of the believers. If we now wish to set up a law, then we first must neutralise their national power, only then can we evade their coercion. The best solution is to get directly into contact with their churches, establish a church ourselves as a counterpart, and then negotiate with them, enter into a peace agreement and stipulate a religious law. I therefore think that to protect the [Confucian] teaching and officially deal with the religious cases presupposes a political reform.

Our country is entirely under [the influence] of Confucius' teaching. What depends on the establishment of a church then? The destruction of the statue of Confucius⁸ is really a deplorable incident, and if we do not bring the masses together and discuss with them, we cannot regain strength. According to my humble opinion, ever since the time of our various sages, the revered early sage Confucius has absolutely surpassed the hereditary nobility of previous times. He is treated with great honor. If the emperor is wise enough and deliberates timely, then he lets the head of the Kong clan establish a church, and lets all who are ready to take up responsibility, from the high nobility over the scholars to the common people, become its members. The head

8 [translators' note 20] In 1898, German troops occupied the city of Jimo and damaged a statue of Confucius in the local temple.

of the Kong clan shall become the leader, and the scholars and ordinary members of the church shall publicly elect someone with high scholarship and virtuous conduct for supervisor, and some who are next virtuous and educated to be coordinators. All provinces, prefectures and counties shall employ recommended educated and virtuous scholars as local supervisors and coordinators. Their names will be registered by the head of the Kong clan, and the head of the Kong clan⁹ will pass them to the court. The more members there will be, the more money can be raised. It is up to the head of the Kong clan and the executives of the church to select scholars of excellent erudition and knowledge of China and the foreign countries as delegates, and let also the chief supervisors of the other religion delegate persons, so that they together set up a treaty between the two religions and fix a regulation for both. If a believer is killed or a church (*libaitang*) is damaged, then, according to the severity of the guilt, the death penalty or a fine is inflicted, both based on a fixed law. If those attack our religion, then the same penal law applies to them. If a religious incident happens, there should be joint hearings, as it is done [already] in the concession of Shanghai. The Catholic religion (*tianzhu jiao*) disposes of a strong self-protection, and it is improper to hand its protection over to the French state. This [religion] has its own independent leadership by the pope (*jiao huang*), by whom everything is supervised and decided. The pope doesn't have soldiers and military vessels, and it is easy to negotiate with him. It is appropriate that the head of the Kong clan sends some people as constant representatives to his country who stipulate treaties and laws directly with the pope and find some more suitable formulations [than hitherto]. As soon as the religious law is fixed, religious cases get a fixed form. In smaller cases, we need not to worry about overreaction, and in larger cases [we can avoid the] evil of having to surrender territory under pretexts. This would be of considerable help in our struggle for existence. The name of the church should be chosen after the example of the church ministry (*jiaobu*) of the foreign states. Its relationship to the Ministry of Rites should be like the relationship of the Military Office to the Grand Secretariat and the relationship of the Foreign Ministry to the Vassal Office. Although we have to listen to what the people bring up (i.e. to public opinion) to a certain extent, everything will be governed by the head of the Kong clan. It resembles the Official Publication Bureau being led by high officials. Which reservations and doubts should there be?

Yet, there is a reason for the insult China has suffered by the foreign countries. Although our China nominally honors Confucius, it does not love him. In the illicit cults (*yin si*), all kinds of gods and spirits are venerated. When scholars and common people leave the village schools and receive their qualification to take part in the civil service examinations, they no longer recite the classics of Confucius and they no longer venerate his statue. Before the Kang Xi era (1662–1722), men and women were allowed to enter the (Confucius) temple and pray respectfully. However, the censor Wu

9 [translators' note 21] The descendants of Confucius (Kongzi—Master Kong).

Pei in his ignorance asked to forbid this. Afterwards, except for the incense ritual when taking office and the offering of vegetables ritual¹⁰ when passing the examination, there was no opportunity for a single honorary offering for Confucius. In this way, the common people are driven to give up Confucius and make sacrifices to the illicit spirits (*yin gui*). The cult of Wenchang,¹¹ who is seen now as a god and now as a human spirit, was taken up in the register of offerings, with the same ritual as for Confucius. The officials responsible for education (*jiaoguan*) teach the scholars, but they do not reach the common people. There are Confucius temples (*wenmiao*) in urban areas, but not in the villages, and never more than one. By contrast, the churches of those are to be found everywhere, and every seventh day, princes and subjects, men and women pray on their knees and recite the bible. Even if their teaching (*jiao*) is superficial, its practice is tightly organised. And even if our teaching is subtle, its practice is loosely organised.

As far as the teaching method is concerned, since Zhu Xi (1130–1200) elucidated the principles (*yili*) [of the Confucian classics] and made known and elucidated the Four Books,¹² the authorities of the Yuan and Ming dynasties respected his interpretation, and the scholars were examined in the meaning of the Four Books. The original purpose was that the scholars of the world should daily recite Confucius' words and spread and elucidate the great way. In the course of time [the system] gradually deteriorated. In the annual qualifying examinations¹³ the only consideration is to prevent fraud. What matters in the examinations are the formalities of the Eight-Legged Essay.¹⁴ [. . .] No situation can be worse than this! How can it be achieved under such conditions that they take up responsibility for the Great Teaching and the Way of Confucius, elucidate the principles [of the classics], cultivate humanity, beautify the customs, make achievements and political improvements and glorify the state? [p. 93/94]

So the scholars of the world of today know the regulations while not knowing the Classics, they know power while not knowing the cultivation of the teaching, they know profit while not knowing rightness, know publicity while not knowing privacy, dare to violate the law and commit crimes but dare not to promote public interests and uphold justice. Serving their superiors they know how to salute, to kowtow and observe taboos, they seem to be respectful and cautious, but [in reality] facilitate their

10 [translators' note 22] A ritual mentioned in the Confucian classic *Liji*, cf. Wang Meng'ou, *Liji jinzhu jinyi* (Taipei: Shangwu, 1977), 209. James Legge, "The Li Ki," in Max Müller, ed., *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 27 (Oxford University Press, 1885), 261.

11 [translators' note 23] A popular deity in charge of success in examinations and worshipped by scholars.

12 [translators' note 24] The four Confucian classics *Daxue* (Great Learning), *Zhongyong* (Doctrine of the Mean), *Lunyu* (Analects) and the *Book of Mengzi*.

13 [translators' note 25] The *xiucaì* degree is roughly equivalent to a Bachelor's degree.

14 [translators' note 26] *Baguwen*, a restrictive writing format to be mastered for the civil service examinations. {HS: This is followed by a lengthy passage, omitted here, criticizing the ills of the current exam system. This includes translators' footnote 27}.

inside selfishness and white-wash. With friends they have social activities and friendly exchanges and invite each other for banquets, but actually have vicious and light-minded ideas inside. To their subordinates, they are harsh and merciless without clemency and amiability. The problem exists in particular in urban areas and in officialdom. Correspondingly, although there are 400 million people in China who have [nominally] subscribed to the teaching of Confucius, there are few who understand to take responsibility for the affairs of the state. If there are some who advocate public lectures to educate the common people, they are sneered at and criticised to be pedantic and hypocritical, or they are attacked for gathering people. This attack will not stop until in the end they stop teaching and become as greedy and shameless as those attackers. Loyalty and love cool down unless they are polished, and learning and moral action degenerate unless they are stimulated. They are never touched by the crisis of the state, but are eager to safeguard the private profit of a recommendation for an office. Those who still have a conscience look at the palace and sigh, unable to take the initiative and face the dangers, but they would like to repay the grace of your majesty and protect the state.

So bad are our morals, and so heartless have the people become. If there are no scholars who have the courage to remonstrate in normal days, then there will be no officials who have the honor and courage to die for loyalty in times of need. Then, once the situation changes, whom could your majesty count on? Mengzi says, "If in the court one does not confess to the Dao and in the offices one does not confess to the rules, if superiors have no civility and inferiors have no learning, then rebellious people will rise, and the day that the state is lost is not far away."¹⁵ The Westerners call our country a country without religion and degrade us to barbarians. Therefore the ambassadors which they sent to China during the recent years all had been in Africa before. They are presumptuous and overbearing and treat us like barbarians. This certainly results from the powerlessness of our country. And the reason for the powerlessness of the country, for the stupidity of the people and for the depravity of the morals is that the teaching of the sage (*sheng jiao*) has degenerated into the examination system and the Four Books have degenerated into the Eight-Legged Essay.

Therefore, the decay of the country is due to the fact that we do not have a religion (*jiao*), and that we do not have a religion is due to the eight-legged essay [system]. Therefore, the Eight-Legged Essay is the foremost [reason] for the loss of the state and the teaching.

Since Heaven has created the people, it has selected a ruler for them in order to bring them together into a society, because they have a physical existence, and it has

15 [translators' note 28] Mengzi 4B1, *Harvard-Yenching Sinological Index Series. A Concordance to Meng Tzu* (Taipei: Chengwen, 1973). Mengzi (ca. 370–290 BC) is regarded as the 'second sage' of the Confucian school after Confucius.

honored the teachers in order to educate them, because they have a heart.¹⁶ The ruler governs the masses by regulations and principles, and the teacher educates the hearts of the people by the principles [of Confucianism]. But political orders can only form the external behavior, while influence by education reaches the inner part [of man]. Therefore, the vicissitudes of a state depend on whether the teaching flourishes or not. If the teaching flourishes, then the morals are refined, and the ruler can govern without effort. If not, then the morals decay, and the state will follow. This rule works anytime and everywhere. The Han official Jia Yi said: “The [roles of] ruler and minister and higher and lower levels have not been established by heaven, but by the sages.”¹⁷ The sage of China is in fact Confucius. When Confucius wrote the *Chunqiu*, the rebellious officials became afraid.¹⁸ He wrote the six classics, and their meaning was revealed.¹⁹ He ensured that everybody knew the guiding principles of the relation between ruler and minister, father and son, and that the families knew humaneness and mutuality and the way of loyalty and love. Otherwise, the people become careless, and disorderly. They cause harm to their heart and confuse their nature, they become brutal, cruel and ignorant. Even if there are penal laws and an administration, how could one bring them into effect? Therefore, if in the people of 400 million that live in China today father and son love each other, husband and wife care for each other, the ruler is respected and the superiors are loved and one finds pleasure in encouraging efforts, then there will be no aggressions from hostile foreign countries, the emperor can rule in tranquility and without effort with just a few old high ministers who let their gown hang down [i.e. are with ease]. This is nothing that can be achieved by laws and orders, but something due to the deep influence of the Great Teaching of Confucius (*Kongzi da jiao*) on the human hearts, and the emperor can enjoy the result sitting at ease. However, if the Great Teaching degenerates, then the guiding principles and cardinal virtues will be lost, and the way of ruler and minister will dissolve. With whom together will your majesty then rule the country? At present, the cession of territory is too frequent, and the people’s hearts are already slightly alienated from the ruler. If there will be any more religious cases and turmoil, how will your majesty be able to suppress and pacify them with two or three officials? I humbly opine that today our country cannot be consolidated without bringing together people’s hearts and encouraging loyalty. But if we do not honor Confucius, then we will be without

16 [translators’ note 29] Alluding to Shujing, Taishi, Gu Jiegang, *Shangshu tongjian* (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chu-banshe, 1982), 10.

17 [translators’ note 30] Paraphrasing Jia Yi, *Xinshu* 17, Rao Dongyuan, *Xinyi Xinshu duben* (Taipei: Sanmin, 1996), 123.

18 [translators’ note 31] Quoting *Mengzi* 3B9. The *Chunqiu* is the chronicle of Confucius’s home state Lu and one of the Confucian canonical writings.

19 [translators’ note 32] According to the orthodox Confucian understanding, Confucius is [merely] the transmitter and editor of the ‘six classics.’ Since Kang wants to present Confucius as the founder of a religion, he departs from this view and makes him the author of the canonical texts.

any means to bring together people's hearts and encourage loyalty. This is the foundation of political reform.

According to my studies, Confucius worked on the six classics and accomplished the achievements of previous sages. He became the greatest master of the teaching of China and a luminous sage king. The institutions and principles of China originate from him. Therefore, Mengzi calls the composition of the *Chunqiu* by Confucius a "matter of the Son of Heaven,"²⁰ and Dong Zhongshu as a pure Confucian of the Han dynasty calls him a "new king" of the "reformation of the system."²¹ This is the unanimous tradition of Zhou and Han times. If in later times Confucius was worshiped, then with the rites and music reserved for the Son of Heaven. In the Tang and Song dynasties, he was honored with the name "King of the promulgation of culture." Following the point of view of Mengzi and Dong Zhongshu, I have compiled opinions from the Zhou and Han, and accomplished a book *An Investigation of Confucius as a System Reformer* which I respectfully present to your majesty for reference. I humbly hope that your majesty will dedicate yourself to its study, continue the Confucian heritage and elucidate the Confucian way. I most respectfully ask the Emperor to conduct a supervision ceremony at the National School (*guozijian*), in order to have the Office of Rites discuss decrees and regulations for the honoring of Confucius, and in particular to issue an edict that all illicit temples (*yin si*) in the Empire should be turned into Confucius temples, to prompt that all scholars and normal people, men and women, are allowed to pray to Confucius on their knees and sacrifice (*jisi*) to him, to prompt that scholars selected by the Confucius-church (*Kong jiaohui*) serve as ritual experts (priests?) in the Confucius temples of all municipalities and counties, that they are responsible for lectures in order to propagate Confucius' way of loyalty and love, humaneness and righteousness day and night, and that those among the teaching scholars of high moral practice and illuminated are rewarded with honorable official positions.

The most urgent thing to begin with in order to solve the problem from the bottom is a correction of the examination system and a reform of the annual qualifying examinations. The Four-Books-Style [essay] should have as its main topic the spreading and elucidating of the Great Dao, and this Dao should be verified by bringing together historical material from later epochs and of all countries of the world. It has to be ensured that in learning the present and the old, China and the outer world are combined. Then the Four-Books-Style can be brought into effect like it was by the Han and Song scholars who passed the examination. The abolishment of the *bagu*-system is not possible without an edict by the Emperor in order to make sure that the news goes through the whole Empire. Once this system is changed, the scholars and the people will immediately fol-

20 [translators' note 33] Mengzi 3B9.

21 [translators' note 34] Referring to *Chunqiu fanlu* 1, 2 and 23, Lai Yanyuan, *Chunqiu fanlu jinzhu jinyi* (Taipei: Shangwu, 1984), 11, 19 and 175. Dong Zhongshu (179–104 BC), the supposed author of the *Chunqiu fanlu*, is an important source of inspiration for Kang Youwei's utopian Confucianism.

low the trend, and outstanding persons will emerge generation by generation accordingly. [94/95] There is no faster way than this to “make the country flourish by a single word,” as Confucius said.²² Given the sagacity of the Emperor, why should one be afraid of changing the system? In all my stupidity and clearly aware of my presumptuousness, I do not dare to conceal the dangers that my heart tells me. I humbly request that the emperor makes a decision by his wise heart and orders the prime minister and the officials of the provinces to discuss measures with the head of the Kong family. Moreover, I request that the Emperor issues an imperial edict that the examination system be immediately reformed. Do not let yourself be moved by vain words and be misled by outdated theories. All under Heaven will be extremely fortunate! I humbly ask the Emperor to consider [my proposal] and give an instruction. This is my sincere memorial.

22 [translators’ note 35] *Lunyu* 13.15, *Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series. A Concordance to the Analects*, (Taipei: Chengwen, 1972).

18 Chen Duxiu: *On the Question of a Confucian State Religion* (1917)

Introduced and translated by Yee Lak Elliot Lee

Introduction

Chen Duxiu (1879–1942) was an intellectual, political activist, and educator, best known as a professor at Peking University, and co-founder of the Chinese Communist Party alongside Li Dazhao in 1921. Chen received a traditional Confucian education, and passed the county-level imperial exam in 1896. Subsequently, he pursued a Westernised higher education at Qiushi Academy in Hangzhou, and then later in Tokyo. During his time in Japan, Chen was exposed to socialism, and became deeply involved in Chinese revolutionary movements. In 1915, he established the periodical *Qingnian* 青年 (*Youth*) in Shanghai, which was renamed *Xin Qingnian* 新青年 (*La Jeunesse/New Youth*) in 1916. Published in vernacular Chinese – as opposed to classical literary Chinese – *Xin Qingnian* gained widespread circulation among the ‘progressive’ intelligentsia, and became a vital platform within the New Cultural Movement.

Chen’s article in *Xin Qingnian*, translated below, responds to the ongoing debate about whether Confucianism should be considered and treated as a religion – a topic discussed since late Qing reformism.¹ The idea of establishing a national Confucian church had resurfaced when Kang Youwei (1858–1927) proposed it to the republican Beiyang government in 1913. This concept was further fuelled by the powerful Beiyang warlords’ appropriation of Confucian state rituals and symbols, such as promoting Confucianism in public schools, sponsoring spring and autumn sacrificial rites at local Confucius temples, and attempts at enshrining Confucianism as the national religion in the Republican constitution. In his article, Chen challenges this ‘religionisation’ of Confucianism on three main grounds: 1) his belief in science as opposed to religion, 2) his assertion of the non-religious character of Confucianism, and 3) his advocacy for the secular nature of the state and constitution.

Chen’s article commences with his support for science as a driving force of progress grounded in the laws of nature. His scientism positions itself in opposition to religions, which he views as artificial and historically specific beliefs that divert people from reality. He then argues that the concept of a Confucian religion, or *Kongjiao*, is inherently contradictory. His argument draws from the traditional Confucian literati

¹ Compare Kang Youwei’s memorial translated above.

Yee Lak Elliot Lee, Leipzig University, Research Centre Global Dynamics, KFG 2344 “Multiple Secularities – Beyond the West, Beyond Modernities”; Leipzig University, Faculty of History, Art and Area Studies, Institute for the Study of Religion

understanding that their tradition primarily concerns ethics and social order in this world, while disregarding the supernatural.^{II} Thus, according to Chen, Confucianism is not a religion, and should not be treated as one.

Subsequently, Chen challenges advocates of a Confucian religion, on the grounds of constitutional neutrality. He asserts that incorporating religious ethics would undermine the constitution's public nature and equal application to the entire nation, particularly regarding the treatment of various religions in China. Chen not only insists on the separation of religion from the legal realm, but also advocates for the separation of the legal realm from the domain of education. Even though state support for Confucianism does not necessarily restrict the freedom of other beliefs, he argues, it would contradict the state's equal treatment of all religions.

Chen's article presents a critical approach to the political question of religion's role in China's modernisation efforts. It illustrates the new intelligentsia's attempt to break away from the country's political and cultural tradition by embracing Western legal concepts and principles, to re-evaluate the political framework of the modern Chinese state. In Chen's formulation, political secularism served as a constitutional principle to safeguard religious equality before the state and, simultaneously, as a means to emphasise the difference between religion and science, and advance his belief that China's modernisation must be based on science.

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Page numbers given in square brackets refer to this edition.

Translation by Yee Lak Elliot Lee

The stagnation in our compatriots' intellectual thoughts is mainly due to the sweep- ingness of claims, and the lack of clarity in argumentation. Recently, the question of a Confucian religion has remained dizzying and undecided – a result of the above. Hence, before I declare my stance [on the question of a Confucian religion], I dare to clarify it with prudence for the readers.

Firstly, I believe that humanity's future awareness and proof of the truth will definitely follow science as the rectified path, and all religions will be discarded. The reasons behind this are complex, yet I will briefly discuss them. There are two kinds of law in the universe: one is the law of nature, and the other is human-made law. The law of nature

II For examples of this attitude, see the texts by Li Fu and Peng Guangyu translated in this volume.

is universal, eternal, and inevitable. Science belongs to it. Human-made law is particular, time-specific, and normative. Religion, morality, and [state] law belong to it. Without eating, one starves, and ageing leads to death. These are eternal inevitabilities for organisms, definitely not partial, time-specific, or normatively prescribed. Yet, the worship of Jehovah, a subject sacrificing his life for his sovereign or a wife for her husband, or the punishment for early marriage, are all human-made laws. They only apply to a specific territory at a particular time, and are certainly not universal, eternal, or inevitable.

The future evolution of humanity should follow the recently emerging science, [which is] becoming more developed each day, and rectify all the human-made laws to make them as effective as the laws of nature, so that the universe and human lives would really be in harmony. Is this not the grandest and the ultimate goal of us humans? Some people say the mystery of the universe and human lives is not something science can explain, and that the resolution of doubts [concerning these mysteries] and consolation of distress can only be reached through religion.

I instead think that the way ahead for scientific progress is long. We humans cannot, based on the contemporary self-boundaries of science, say that it will not resolve doubts eventually. Conversely, as to the opinion that religion can liberate human beings, I believe that (religious) people must first deceive themselves [about reality], and only then can they liberate themselves, but this is not real liberation. Only science can really resolve doubts. Therefore, I propose substituting science for religion, to open up a belief in the truth for us humans – though slowly, we will ultimately arrive. If one seeks liberation via superstition and religion, it would be a case of “haste brings no success in arriving!”

Secondly, let's talk about the “Confucian religion” (*Kongjiao* 孔教).^I Alas, the two words, Confucius (*Kong*) and religion (*jiao*), do not form a proper noun. Among all the old Chinese theories, only the theory of the School of Yin-Yang belongs to religion (*zongjiao* 宗教). Mohism is explicit about ghosts, and is thus also close [to religion]. The *ru* 儒 (literati specialised in rituals)^{II} won over the people through the *Dao* (Way), and had the six arts [i.e. rites, music, archery, chariotry, calligraphy, and mathematics] as their teaching (*jiao* 教). Confucius was a *ru*.

Confucius was the most important of the *ru*, both until that point and since. His teachings were about “culture, moral conduct, doing one's best, [p. 1/2] and being trustworthy in what one says,”^{III} but he did not discuss life and death, nor talk about ghosts

I YLEL: Where there is ambiguity, we have included the *pinyin* of the Chinese concepts used by Chen Duxiu in this article. The concept of *jiao* is particularly ambiguous, as it refers both to the classical meaning as “teaching” and as an abbreviation of the neologism “*zongjiao*” 宗教 – a term coined in Japan using a traditional Chinese Buddhist terminology, which had become a standardised translation of “religion” by the 1910s.

II YLEL: In Western publications, *ru* is often rendered as “Confucian” or “Confucianist.”

III YLEL: Here “*wen xing zhong xin*” 文行忠信 is a direct quote from chapter “*Shuer*” 述而 of *Lunyu* 論語 (*The Analects of Confucius*) 7:25. The translation here refers to D.C. Lau, trans., *The Analects* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2012), 62–63.

and gods. When he lectured about the conduct of the *ru* (literati)^{IV} in front of the ruler of Lu, it was all about establishing oneself and restricting one's actions, but there was not a single teaching that was close to what today is called religion. The proper noun "Confucian teaching" (*Kongjiao*) originated from the confrontations between the Three Teachings^V during the Northern and Southern dynasties [420–589 CE]. In fact, neither Laozi of the Daoist school nor Confucius of the school of the literati were religious leaders. The essence of their theories is by no means the teachings of a religious school. Since the proper noun "Confucian religion" (*Kongjiao*) does not make sense, are those who insist on making Confucianism a state religion not presumptuous and ignorant?

There is a story about two myopic people who argued about the correctness of the calligraphy on a plaque and even got into a fight. Someone with clear sight standing beside them laughed because there was no plaque at all. Those who advocate "Confucian religion" today are no different [from the myopic people].

Even if we follow the social habit of recognising either "Confucian religion" (*Kongjiao*) or "religion of the literati" (*Rujiao*)^{VI} as a proper noun, it still should not be linked to politics, or be added to the constitution. The separation of politics and religion is already a public rule. The constitution is of a legal nature, and the whole country indiscriminately follows it, [hence] it must not involve religion and morality, which would give people room for deviation and violation. This is what Mr Cai Jiemin^{VII} meant by "Confucius is Confucius, religion is religion, the state is the state. Their meanings and principles are different, and should not be forcefully mixed up." Mr Cai is definitely not against Confucius, let alone against religion; in this regard, I do not agree with him. However, I share his view that Confucius, religion, and the state are of three fundamentally different natures, have clear boundaries, and cannot be forcefully joined.

If Confucianism is established as the state religion and added to the constitution, and if this should then have practical consequences, what about the equal rights of the adherents of Buddhism, Daoism, Christianity, or Islam? Conversely, if it should

IV YLEL: *Ruxing* 儒行 "conduct of the *ru*" is also a chapter title in the *Book of Rites* (*Liji* 禮記) that allegedly recorded the audience of Confucius with the Duke Ai of Lu 魯哀公 (r. 494–468 BCE).

V YLEL: The Three Teachings in China are Buddhism, Confucianism, and Daoism. This is an emic differentiation of doctrinal traditions, before the emergence of the concept of 'world religions'; it is also comparable to the notion of the "People of the Book" in Islamic societies, see Gudrun Krämer, "Religion, Culture, and the Secular: The Case of Islam." Working Paper Series of the CASHSS 'Multiple Secularities – Beyond the West, Beyond Modernities' 23 (Leipzig: KFG 'Multiple Secularities – Beyond the West, Beyond Modernities, 2021). Also, see note 6 below on the emic terms for Confucianism.

VI YLEL: *Kongjiao* literally means the teaching/religion of Confucius, and *rujiao* the teaching/religion of the Confucian literati.

VII YLEL: Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868–1940), aka Cai Jiemin 蔡子民 was an influential intellectual and an acquaintance of Chen Duxiu, who, at the time of Chen Duxiu's writing his article, was rector of Peking University, and later became the first president of Academia Sinica.

not have practical consequences, will the national law not then be a joke? The intermingling of politics and religion will open up endless disputes in the country. If the way of Confucius was a grand source of self-cultivation, and was written into the constitution, then why aren't the ways of those preceding Confucius, like Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen, Wu, and Zhou Gong,^{VIII} and those of figures after Confucius, like Yang,^{IX} Mo,^X Meng,^{XI} Xun,^{XII} Cheng, Zhu, Lu, and Wang,^{XIII} included as grand sources of self-cultivation? How could this be determined by one single claimant? Moreover, can't such disputes lead to a cataclysm caused by conflicting teachings?

Some would say a state religion is indeed impossible, and Confucius was also not a religious thinker, but the Confucian way of self-cultivation has nevertheless been the source of our country's moral education. It has been linked to people's morality for thousands of years. Once abolished, they claim, it would become a severe problem for the customs and morale of the people; thus, it has to be written into the constitution as the general principle of education. Concerning this position, there are three open questions I would like to address:

- (1) Is the Confucian ethical theory of self-cultivation compatible with a Republican constitution? Are Confucian teachings about rituals applicable to contemporary citizens' daily lives? [p. 2/3]
- (2) Is it permissible for the constitution to address questions of education and morality?
- (3) Does the constitution of any other nation contain the names of individuals?

If these three questions cannot be answered, it would be even more absurd to add the doctrine of self-cultivation of Confucius to the constitution than it would be to make Confucianism the state religion! Although [having] a state religion is not a sound system, there are at least still precedents for it.

As to [the opinion] that education should take someone's theory as the foundation of self-cultivation and that this should be stipulated in a constitutional article, this can be regarded as an internationally unprecedented big joke. Since many members of the National Assembly actually maintain such an ignorant view, it is not surprising that voices calling for a dissolution of the National Assembly are heard everywhere.

VIII YLEL: These were the ancient sages (kings) according to the Confucians.

IX YLEL: Yang Zhu (440–c.360 BCE) was a post-Confucian philosopher, who promoted a form of ethical egoism.

X YLEL: Mozi (c.470–c.391 BCE) was the founder of Mohism.

XI YLEL: Mengzi or Mencius (372–289 BCE) is usually referred to as the 'second sage' of Confucianism, after Confucius.

XII YLEL: Xunzi (c.310–c.238 BCE) a post-Confucius Confucian philosopher, who systematically revised Confucian philosophy, laying the foundation for the development of the Legalist philosophy, which provided the political philosophy adopted by the Qin empire.

XIII YLEL: The Cheng brothers – Cheng Hao (1032–1085 CE) and Cheng Yi (1033–1107), Zhu Xi (1130–1200), Lu Jiuyuan (1139–1192), and Wang Yangming (1472–1529) – were all important figures of neo-Confucianism.

Our generation's belief in science, which is the right track that will definitely lead humankind to enlightenment and the enjoyment of happiness, is what our nation urgently needs. In promoting and respecting it, science should be placed above the Confucian teaching (*Kongjiao*), the [self-cultivating] way of Confucius (*Kongdao*), or any other religion or philosophy. While promoting and respecting them is permissible, stipulating them in the constitution to force people to promote and respect them is hugely impermissible. A constitution is purely within the category of law. It cannot involve questions of education, just as it cannot involve questions of industry – which does not mean that education and industry are unimportant. The law cannot stipulate respect for the way of Confucius, just as it cannot stipulate respect for any form of science, which does not mean that the way of Confucius and science are unimportant. Whether the way of Confucius cannot be the grand source of the self-cultivation of the Republic's citizens is a different question. The constitution cannot prescribe anyone's theory as the grand source of self-cultivation, and need not choose between Confucius and Rousseau. It is not just the anti-civil rights, anti-republic stance of the way of Confucius that cannot be written into the constitution as the grand source of self-cultivation. Even the schools that promote civil rights and republicanism cannot be written into the constitution as the grand source of self-cultivation. As the law, on the one hand, and religion and education, on the other, have their field of meaning, they should not be confused.

Today, those who are against [the establishment of] a state religion, without exception, arm themselves with the article on religious freedom in the Provisional Constitution. And recently, some people in the capital have established the Association for Freedom of Religious Belief^{XIV} to stir public opinion. I firmly believe that these people's actions are reasonable, but somewhat incomplete, when regarding the reality [on the ground]. Why do I say so?

Chinese Confucian temples are spread across all prefectures and counties. Government offices and schools have long participated in the Spring and Autumn Rites. This is just like a state religion. For those who believe in other religions, the government has never attempted to oppress or banish them. Even if Confucianism was set as the state religion and instated in the constitution, I predict that other [religious] practices would continue in parallel, and would be unlikely to be completely suppressed. Thus, I think what religious adherents of each religion should demand from the government is not the people's right to freedom of religious belief, [p. 3/4] but the right to equal treatment by the state. The state taxes all citizens, not merely the followers of Confucianism. To support the establishment of temples for the worship of Confucius with state expenses means one must also use state expenses to build temples and monasteries for Buddhist and Daoist worship, and churches and mosques for Christian and Muslim worship. The

XIV YLEL: The Association for Freedom in Religious Belief (Xinjiao Ziyou Hui 信教自由會) was established in November 1916 in Beijing, primarily by Chinese Protestants and Catholics.

alternative is that no place of worship will be built, and no sacrifice will be made [using state expenses]. Hence, the state's treatment of every religion will not commit the outrageous crime of partiality. Believers of each religion are taxed equally, so they should enjoy the same rights. Only by doing this can we avoid religious cataclysms brewing in our country. From this standpoint, not only can Confucianism not be the state religion or be incorporated into the future constitution, but it is also imperative that the existing [state-supported] Confucius temples across the country be destroyed, and their offerings abandoned!

19 Mao Zedong: *Overthrowing Religious Authority* (1927)

Introduced by Hubert Seiwert

Introduction

The text presented below, authored by Mao Zedong (1893–1976), is a segment of his report on the peasant movement in Hunan province. This movement, which had been gathering momentum since 1925, sought to instigate revolutionary transformations in the countryside.^I At its core, it aimed to ameliorate the economic and political plight of landless and impoverished peasants, by disempowering landlords and local authorities. In his report, Mao analyses the peasant movement's prevailing conditions and notable accomplishments. The section selected here focuses on changes in the consciousness of the peasants, and the liberation from the belief in authorities – including the belief in the power of ancestors and gods.

This text exemplifies the perspective on religion of revolutionarily minded intellectuals during the Republic era. In the process of radically transforming Chinese society, their primary objective was, indeed, the alteration of political and economic structures. However, from the outset, it was intrinsically linked to a revolution in thought. Both the Communists and substantial segments of the ruling Kuomintang opposed the worldview of pre-revolutionary China, and propagated an ideology predicated on scientific principles. In this paradigm, science and religion were viewed as diametrically opposed, with faith in the power of deities and spirits criticised as mere superstition.

Within Mao Zedong's report, the struggle against superstition is framed as an emancipation from 'religious authority.' 'Religious authority' is a translation^{II} of the term '*shen quan*' (神权), literally meaning 'the power of the gods.' Mao seamlessly intertwines the struggle against religious authority – i.e. belief in the power of gods and ancestors – with the battle against the authority of large landowners, powerful familial clans, and male patriarchal control. Notably, Mao refrains from utilising the term 'religion' (*zongjiao* 宗教). For him, religion does not represent an independent source of power; instead, he regards belief in supernatural forces as an auxiliary

I For the history of this movement, see Yokoyama Suguru, "The Peasant Movement in Hunan," *Modern China* 1, no. 2 (1975): 204–38.

II The translation reprinted below is a 'quasi-official' translation, published by Beijing Foreign Language Press. It has been reproduced here without any changes.

Hubert Seiwert, Leipzig University, Research Centre Global Dynamics, KFG 2344 "Multiple Secularities – Beyond the West, Beyond Modernities"; Leipzig University, Faculty of History, Art and Area Studies, Institute for the Study of Religion

component of societal conditions obstructing the peasants' emancipation from oppression. The belief in the potency of gods and spirits is therefore labelled superstition (*mixin* 迷信), hindering the peasantry from recognising and confronting the genuine origins of their miserable conditions.

A distinction between religious and secular structures is not contemplated in this context. The root causes of social inequity and oppression are not traced to religious beliefs or institutions, but instead to the prevailing political and economic power structures. The liberation from "religious authority" is primarily viewed as an inevitable consequence of the overarching political and economic revolution. This aligns with Mao's Marxist interpretation of religion as an epiphenomenon of class society.

Mao's report, penned in March 1927, accentuates the strides achieved by the Hunan peasant movement up to that juncture. As he notes, many peasants had abandoned belief in supernatural forces, following their liberation from the tyranny of local authorities and landlords. However, the triumphs of the peasant movement proved ephemeral. Following the dissolution of the United Front between the Kuomintang and the Communists in April 1927, the reactionary faction within the ruling Kuomintang – closely aligned with economic elites and landowners – ascended to power, and ruthlessly suppressed the peasant movement.

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Mao Zedong. "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan." In *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, vol. 1, 23–59. Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1965; 44–47.

Footnotes are explanations added by the editors of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*.

Translation Reproduced from *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*

Overthrowing the Clan Authority of the Ancestral Temples and Clan Elders, the Religious Authority of Town and Village Gods, and the Masculine Authority of Husbands (Tuifan citang zuzhang de zuquan he chenghuang tudi pusa de shenquan yizhi zhangfu de nanquan 推翻祠堂族长的族权和城隍土地菩萨的神权以至丈夫的男权)

A man in China is usually subjected to the domination of three systems of authority: (1) the state system (political authority), ranging from the national, provincial and county government down to that of the township; (2) the clan system (clan authority), ranging from the central ancestral temple and its branch temples down to the head of the household; and (3) the supernatural system (religious authority), ranging from the King of Hell down to the town and village gods belonging to the nether world, and from the Emperor of Heaven down to all the various gods and spirits belonging to the celestial world. As for women, in addition to being dominated by these three systems of authority, they are also dominated by the men (the authority of the husband). These four authorities—political, clan, religious and masculine—are the embodiment of the whole feudal-patriarchal system and ideology, and are the four thick ropes binding the Chinese people, particularly the peasants. How the peasants have overthrown the political authority of the landlords in the countryside has been described above. The political authority of the landlords is the backbone of all the other systems of authority. With that overturned, the clan authority, the religious authority and the authority of the husband all begin to totter. Where the peasant association is powerful, the clan elders and administrators of temple funds no longer dare oppress those lower in the clan hierarchy or embezzle clan funds. The worst clan elders and administrators, being local tyrants, have been thrown out. No one any longer dares to practice the cruel corporal and capital punishments that used to be inflicted in the ancestral temples, such as flogging, drowning and burying alive. The old rule barring women and poor people from the banquets in the ancestral temples has also been broken. The women of Paikuo in Hengshan County gathered in force and swarmed into their ancestral temple, firmly planted their backsides in the seats and joined in the eating and drinking, while the venerable clan bigwigs had willy-nilly to let them do as they pleased. [p. 31/32] At another place, where poor peasants had been excluded from temple banquets, a group of them flocked in and ate and drank their fill, while the local tyrants and evil gentry and other long-gowned gentlemen all took to their heels in fright. Everywhere religious authority totters as the peasant movement develops. In many places the peasant associations have taken over the temples of the gods as their offices. Everywhere they advocate the appropriation of temple property

in order to start peasant schools and to defray the expenses of the associations, calling it "public revenue from superstition". In Liling County, prohibiting superstitious practices and smashing idols have become quite the vogue. In its northern districts the peasants have prohibited the incense-burning processions to propitiate the god of pestilence. There were many idols in the Taoist temple at Fupoling in Lukou, but when extra room was needed for the district headquarters of the Kuomintang, they were all piled up in a corner, big and small together, and no peasant raised any objection. Since then, sacrifices to the gods, the performance of religious rites and the offering of sacred lamps have rarely been practised when a death occurs in a family. Because the initiative in this matter was taken by the chairman of the peasant association, Sun Hsiao-shan, he is hated by the local Taoist priests. In the Lungfeng Nunnery in the North Third District, the peasants and primary school teachers chopped up the wooden idols and actually used the wood to cook meat. More than thirty idols in the Tungfu Monastery in the Southern District were burned by the students and peasants together, and only two small images of Lord Pao¹ were snatched up by an old peasant who said, "Don't commit a sin!" In places where the power of the peasants is predominant, only the older peasants and the women still believe in the gods, the younger peasants no longer doing so. Since the latter control the associations, the overthrow of religious authority and the eradication of superstition are going on everywhere. As to the authority of the husband, this has always been weaker among the poor peasants because, out of economic necessity, their womenfolk have to do more manual labour than the women of the richer classes and therefore have more say and greater power of decision in family matters. With the increasing bankruptcy of the rural economy in recent years, the basis for men's domination over women has already been weakened. With the rise of the peasant movement, the women in many places have now begun to organize rural women's associations; the opportunity has come for them to lift up their heads, and the authority of the husband is getting shakier every day. In a word, the whole feudal-patriarchal system and ideology is tottering with the growth of the peasants' power. At the present time, however, the peasants are concentrating on destroying the landlords' political authority. Wherever it has been wholly destroyed, they are beginning to press their attack in the three other spheres of the clan, the gods and male domination. [p. 32/33] But such attacks have only just begun, and there can be no thorough overthrow of all three until the peasants have won complete victory in the economic struggle. Therefore, our present task is to lead the peasants to put their greatest efforts into the political struggle, so that the landlords' authority is entirely overthrown. The economic struggle should follow immediately, so that the land problem and the other economic problems of the poor peasants may be funda-

1 [editorial note 21 in the original] Lord Pao (Pao Cheng) was prefect of Kaifeng, capital of the Northern Sung Dynasty (A.D. 960–1127). He was famous in popular legend as an upright official and a fearless, impartial judge with a knack of passing true verdicts in all the cases he tried.

mentally solved. As for the clan system, superstition, and inequality between men and women, their abolition will follow as a natural consequence of victory in the political and economic struggles. If too much of an effort is made, arbitrarily and prematurely, to abolish these things, the local tyrants and evil gentry will seize the pretext to put about such counter-revolutionary propaganda as “the peasant association has no piety towards ancestors”, “the peasant association is blasphemous and is destroying religion” and “the peasant association stands for the communization of wives”, all for the purpose of undermining the peasant movement. A case in point is the recent events at Hsianghsiang in Hunan and Yanghsin in Hupeh, where the landlords exploited the opposition of some peasants to smashing idols. It is the peasants who made the idols, and when the time comes they will cast the idols aside with their own hands; there is no need for anyone else to do it for them prematurely. The Communist Party’s propaganda policy in such matters should be, “Draw the bow without shooting, just indicate the motions.”² It is for the peasants themselves to cast aside the idols, pull down the temples to the martyred virgins and the arches to the chaste and faithful widows; it is wrong for anybody else to do it for them.

While I was in the countryside, I did some propaganda against superstition among the peasants. I said:

“If you believe in the Eight Characters,³ you hope for good luck; if you believe in geomancy,⁴ you hope to benefit from the location of your ancestral graves. This year within the space of a few months the local tyrants, evil gentry and corrupt officials have all toppled from their pedestals. Is it possible that until a few months ago they all had good luck and enjoyed the benefit of well-sited ancestral graves, while suddenly in the last few months their luck has turned and their ancestral graves have ceased to exert a beneficial influence? The local tyrants and evil gentry jeer at your peasant association and say, ‘How odd! Today, the world is a world of committeemen. Look, you can’t even go to pass water without bumping into a committeeman!’ Quite true, the towns and the villages, the trade unions and the peasant associations, the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, all without exception have their executive committee members—it is indeed a world of committeemen. But is this due to the Eight Characters and the location of the ancestral graves? How strange! The Eight

2 [editorial note 22 in the original] This reference to archery is taken from *Mencius*. It describes how the expert teacher of archery draws his bow with a histrionic gesture but does not release the arrow. The point is that while Communists should guide the peasants in attaining a full measure of political consciousness, they should leave it to the peasants’ own initiative to abolish superstitious and other bad practices, and should not give them orders or do it for them.

3 [editorial note 23 in the original] The Eight Characters were a method of fortune-telling in China based on the examination of the two cyclic characters each for the year, month, day and hour of a person’s birth respectively.

4 [editorial note 24 in the original] Geomancy refers to the superstition that the location of one’s ancestors’ graves influences one’s fortune. The geomancers claim to be able to tell whether a particular site and its surroundings are auspicious.

Characters of all the poor wretches in the countryside have suddenly turned auspicious! And their ancestral graves have suddenly started exerting beneficial influences! The gods? Worship them by all means. But if you had only Lord Kuan⁵ [33/34] and the Goddess of Mercy and no peasant association, could you have overthrown the local tyrants and evil gentry? The gods and goddesses are indeed miserable objects. You have worshipped them for centuries, and they have not overthrown a single one of the local tyrants or evil gentry for you! Now you want to have your rent reduced. Let me ask, how will you go about it? Will you believe in the gods or in the peasant association?"

My words made the peasants roar with laughter.

⁵ [editorial note 25 in the original] Lord Kuan (Kuan Yu, A.D. 160–219), a warrior in the epoch of the Three Kingdoms, was widely worshipped by the Chinese as the God of Loyalty and War.

20 *The Chinese Communist Party's View on Religion (1982)*

Introduction by Hubert Seiwert

Introduction

The text reproduced below in excerpt was officially disseminated by the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee on 31 March 1982. It elucidates the party's view of religion and the principles of its religious policy. The preparation of the document took place in the early phase of the 'reform and opening up' policy that initiated a profound transformation of the Chinese economy, following the conclusion of the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). Within this historical context, the CCP embarked on an ideological reassessment of religion, to include religious adherents in building a modern socialist society.

The ideological foundation of this directive is Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought (*Mao Zedong sixiang* 毛泽东思想). Within this ideological framework, religion occupies a secondary role. It is contextualised within the theory of economic and political oppositions, which manifest in class conflicts, and in conflicts between socialist and feudalist or capitalist social orders. In line with Marxist theory, the CCP posits that the realisation of socialism and communism will eradicate the social causes of religious belief, and religion will disappear. On the other hand, the party did not ignore the fact that, in contemporary China, religions continued to be part of the lives of large parts of the population, especially among ethnic minorities.

The "religious question" (*zongjiao wenti* 宗教问题) is the question of the party's correct policy regarding religion within the present socialist society. To elucidate this matter, the document draws upon experiences dating back to the inception of the People's Republic. On the one hand, the party has achieved the severance of various religious organisations from counter-revolutionary and imperialist forces; on the other hand, there have been leftist errors, wherein attempts were made to suppress religion by force. The prescribed approach for addressing the religious question involves fostering a patriotic coalition among all segments of the populace, encompassing diverse ethnic and religious groups. A prerequisite for this alliance is the guaranteeing of religious freedom. Only by affording religious freedom can the party unite the entire population, comprising both religious believers and non-believers, to construct a modern socialist state.

Hubert Seiwert, Leipzig University, Research Centre Global Dynamics, KFG 2344 "Multiple Secularities – Beyond the West, Beyond Modernities"; Leipzig University, Faculty of History, Art and Area Studies, Institute for the Study of Religion

However, religious freedom should not be misconstrued as religious organisations being exempt from state regulation. They are subservient to the party and the state apparatus. Religious personnel must be indoctrinated to support the party's leadership and the socialist system. Like other mass organisations, religious organisations are subject to the party's oversight, and do not constitute an autonomous domain within the socialist society.

The solution to the "religious question" thus involves the integration of religious adherents into the fabric of socialist society, and the commitment of religious organisations to recognise the political and ideological leadership of the Communist Party. This policy is not devoid of inherent contradictions. While the imperative of religious freedom of all citizens is emphasised, the document simultaneously underscores that this freedom does not extend to party members. It is asserted that a fundamental dichotomy exists between Marxist ideology and religious faith, between atheism and theism. Consequently, one cannot simultaneously embrace Marxism and theism. All educational institutions, including those responsible for training religious professionals, are mandated to propagate the party's ideology; this implies the state endorsement of atheism. This, however, contradicts the directive to abstain from anti-religious propaganda in implementing religious freedom.

The document articulates the tension between the exigencies of pragmatic politics and adherence to ideological tenets. The overarching political objective of economic development and modernisation necessitates including the multitude of religious adherents and religious organisations within the socialist society. As a societal phenomenon, religion is acknowledged and harnessed for the advancement of socialist endeavours. On the other hand, the document accentuates the fundamental incongruence between religious belief and the Marxist worldview. At the ideological level, religion and socialism are deemed incompatible; yet, in practice, religion constitutes an integral component of the socialist society. The authors of the text are convinced that this tension between ideology and practice will only be eliminated in the distant future, when all citizens can adopt a scientific viewpoint, and no longer need recourse to an illusory world of gods to seek spiritual solace.

This extensive document is presented here in selected excerpts, as translated by Janice Wickeri, with minimal alterations.

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The translator’s subheadings, absent in the Chinese original, have been retained.

Translation Adopted from Janice Wickeri

The Basic Viewpoint and Policy on the Religious Question during Our Country’s Socialist Period

I. Religion as a Historical Phenomenon

Religion is a historical phenomenon pertaining to a definite period in the development of human society. It has its own cycle of emergence, development, and demise. Religious faith and religious sentiment, along with religious ceremonies and organizations consonant with this faith and sentiment, are all products of the history of society. The earliest emergence of the religious mentality reflected the low level of production and the sense of awe toward natural phenomena of primitive peoples. With the evolution of class society, the most profound social roots of the existence and development of religion lay in the following factors: the helplessness of the people in the face of the blind forces alienating and controlling them in this kind of society; the fear and despair of the workers in the face of the enormous misery generated by the oppressive social system; and in the need of the oppressor classes to use religion as an opiate and as an important and vital means in its control of the masses. In Socialist society, the class root of the existence of

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religion was virtually lost following the elimination of the oppressive system and its oppressor class. However, because the people's consciousness lags behind social realities, old thinking and habits cannot be thoroughly wiped out in a short period. A long process of struggle is required to achieve great increases in production strength, great abundance in material wealth, and a high level of Socialist democracy, along with high levels of development in education, culture, science, and technology. Since we cannot free ourselves from various hardships brought on by serious natural and man-made disasters within a short period of time; since class struggle continues to exist within certain limits; and given the complex international environment, the long-term influence of religion among a part of the people in a Socialist society cannot be avoided. Religion will eventually disappear from human history. But it will disappear naturally only through the long-term development of Socialism and Communism, when all objective requirements are met. All Party members must have a sober-minded recognition of the protracted nature of the religious question under Socialist conditions. Those who think that with the establishment of the Socialist system and with a certain degree of economic and cultural progress, religion will die out within a short period, are not being realistic. Those who expect to rely on administrative decrees or other coercive measures to wipe out religious thinking and practices with one blow are even further from the basic viewpoint Marxism takes toward the religious question. They are entirely wrong and will do no small harm.

II. The Religions of China

Our country is a multireligious state. Buddhism has a history of nearly 2,000 years in China, Daoism one of over 1,700 years, and Islam over 1,300 years, while Roman Catholicism and Protestantism achieved most of their development following the Opium Wars. As for the numbers of religious adherents, at Liberation there were about 8,000,000 Muslims, while today there are about 10,000,000 (the chief reason for this is growth in population among the ten Islamic minorities). At Liberation there were 2,700,000 Catholics; today there are over 3,000,000. Protestants numbered 700,000 in 1949 and are now at 3,000,000. Buddhism (including Lamaism) numbers almost the entire populations of the ethnic minorities of Tibet, Mongolia, and Liao Ning among its adherents. Among the Han race, Buddhism and Daoism still exercise considerable influence at present. Naturally, out of the total population of our country, and especially among the Han race, which accounts for the largest number of people, there are a considerable number who believe in spirits, but the number of those who actually adhere to a religion is not great. If we compare the number of religious believers at the time of Liberation with the present number overall, we will see that overall there has been somewhat of an increase in absolute numbers, but when compared with the growth of the population there has been a decline. But in our appraisal of the religious question, we must reckon fully with its definite complex nature. Generally speaking, we may say that in old China, during

the long feudal period and the more than one hundred years of semicolonial, semifeudal society, all religions were manipulated and controlled by the ruling classes, with extremely negative results. Within China, the Buddhist, Daoist, and Islamic leaderships were mainly controlled by the feudal landowners, feudal lords, and reactionary warlords, as well as the bureaucratic capitalistic class. The later foreign colonialist and imperialist forces mainly controlled the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches. After Liberation there was a thorough transformation of the socioeconomic system and a major reform of the religious system, and so the status of religion in China has already undergone a fundamental change. The contradictions of the religious question now belong primarily to the category of contradictions among the people. The religious question, however, will continue to exist over a long period within certain limits, will continue to have a definite mass nature, to be entangled in many areas with the ethnic question, and to be affected by some class-struggle and complex international factors. This question, therefore, continues to be one of great significance which we cannot ignore. The question is this: can we handle this religious question properly as we work toward national stability and ethnic unity, as we develop our international relations while resisting the infiltration of hostile forces from abroad, and as we go on constructing a Socialist civilization with both material and spiritual values? This, then, demands that the Party committees on each level must adopt toward the religious question an attitude in accord with what Lenin said, "Be especially alert," "Be very strict," "Think things through thoroughly." To overestimate the seriousness or complexity of the question and so panic, or to ignore the existence and complexity of the actual question and so let matters drift, would be equally wrong.

III. The Party's Handling of the Religious Question since Liberation

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, there have been many twists and turns in our Party's work with regard to religion. In general, although there were some major errors, after the founding of New China, and for the seventeen years up to the "cultural revolution," the Party's religious work achieved great results under the direction of the correct guiding principles and policies of the Party Central Committee. We did away with imperialist forces within the churches and promoted the correct policy of independent, self-governed, and autonomous churches, as well as the "Three-Self Movement" (self-propagation, self-administration, and self-support). The Catholic and Protestant churches ceased to be tools of the imperialist aggressors and became independent and autonomous religious enterprises of Chinese believers. We abolished the special privileges and oppressive exploitative system of feudal religion, attacked and exposed those reactionaries and bad elements who hid behind the cloak of religion, and made Buddhists, Daoists, and Muslims break away from the control and manipulation of the reactionary classes. We proclaimed and carried out a policy of freedom of religious belief, enabling the broad masses of religious believers not only to achieve a complete political

and economic emancipation alongside each ethnic minority but also enabling them to begin to enjoy the right of freedom of religious belief. We carried out a policy of winning over, uniting with, and educating religious personages, and thus united the broad masses of the patriotic religious personages. We also assisted and supported religious people to seek international friendship and this has had good, positive effects. Since 1957, however, leftist errors gradually grew up in our religious work and progressed even further in the mid-sixties. During the “cultural revolution” especially, the antirevolutionary Lin Biao-Jiang Qing clique^I had ulterior motives in making use of these leftist errors, and wantonly trampled upon the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought concerning the religious question. They totally repudiated the Party’s correct policy toward religion, in effect since the founding of the People’s Republic. They basically did away with the work the Party had done on the religious question. They forcibly forbade normal religious activities by the mass of religious believers. They treated patriotic religious personages, as well as the mass of ordinary religious believers, as “targets for dictatorship,” and fabricated a host of wrongs and injustices which they pinned upon these religious personages. They even misinterpreted some customs and practices of the ethnic minorities as religious superstition, which they then forcibly prohibited. In some places, they even repressed the mass of religious believers, and destroyed ethnic unity. They used violent measures against religion which forced religious movements underground, with the result that they made some headway because of the disorganized state of affairs. A minority of antirevolutionaries and bad elements made use of this situation and, under cover of religious activities, boldly carried out illegal criminal activities, as well as destructive antirevolutionary movements.

After the smashing of Jiang Qing’s antirevolutionary clique, and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee,^{II} the correct guiding principle and policy toward the religious question of our Party was restored step by step. In implementing and carrying out our religious policy, we have opened both Buddhist and Daoist temples, as well as churches and religious sites. We have restored the activities of the patriotic religious associations. We have won over, unified, and educated religious personages. We have strengthened the unity between believers and nonbelievers in each ethnic group. We have righted wrongs and have launched a movement for friendly relations internationally among religious believers as well as resisting infiltration and like

I HS: Lin Biao (1907–1971) was a Chinese military leader, who, in 1959, became minister of defence, and, with the beginning of the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), was treated as the future successor of Mao Zedong. However, in 1971 he allegedly plotted a (failed) coup, and died in an airplane crash. Jiang Qing (1914–1991) was Mao Zedong’s wife. At the height of the Cultural Revolution, she was a leading figure of the radical faction. After Mao’s death (1976), she was purged and sentenced to death, which later was commuted to a life sentence. In the history of the CCP, Lin Biao and Jiang Qing are considered the main representatives of the leftist deviations during the Cultural Revolution.

II HS: The meeting took place in December 1978. It inaugurated the ‘reform and opening up’ policy, under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping.

doings from hostile religious forces from abroad. In all this, we have undertaken a large number of tasks and have obtained remarkable results. In this new historical period, the Party's and government's basic task in its religious work will be to firmly implement and carry out its policy of freedom of religious belief; to consolidate and expand the patriotic political alliance in each ethnic religious group (民族宗教界); to strengthen education in patriotism and Socialism among them, and to bring into play positive elements among them in order to build a modern and powerful Socialist state and complete the great task of unifying the country; and to oppose the hegemonism and strive together to protect and preserve world peace. In order to implement and carry out the Party's religious policy correctly and comprehensively, the main task now at hand is to oppose "leftist" erroneous tendencies. At the same time, we must be on our guard to forestall and overcome the erroneous tendency to just let things slide along. All Party members, Party committees on all levels, especially those responsible for religious work, must conscientiously sum up and assimilate the historical experience, positive and negative, of the Party in religious work since the founding of the People's Republic. They must make further progress in their understanding and mastery of the objective law governing the emergence, development, and demise of religion. They should overcome every obstacle and difficulty and resolutely keep the religious policy of the Party on the scientific course laid out for it by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

IV. The Party's Present Policy toward Religion

The basic policy the Party has adopted toward the religious question is that of respect for and protection of the freedom of religious belief. This is a long-term policy, one which must be continually carried out until that future time when religion will itself disappear. What do we mean by freedom of religious belief? We mean that every citizen has the freedom to believe in religion and also the freedom not to believe in religion. S/he has also the freedom to believe in this religion or that religion. Within a particular religion, s/he has the freedom to believe in this sect or that sect. A person who was previously a nonbeliever has the freedom to become a religious believer, and one who has been a religious believer has the freedom to become a nonbeliever. We Communists are atheists and must unremittingly propagate atheism. Yet at the same time we must understand that it will be fruitless and extremely harmful to use simple coercion in dealing with the people's ideological and spiritual questions—and this includes religious questions. We must further understand that at the present historical stage the difference that exists between the mass of believers and nonbelievers in matters of ideology and belief is relatively secondary. If we then one-sidedly emphasize this difference, even to the point of giving it primary importance—for example, by discriminating against and attacking the mass of religious believers, while neglecting and denying that the basic political and economic welfare of the mass of both religious believers and nonbelievers is the same—then we forget that the Party's basic task is to unite all the

people (and this includes the broad mass of believers and nonbelievers alike) in order that all may strive to construct a modern, powerful Socialist state. To behave otherwise would only exacerbate the estrangement between the mass of believers and nonbelievers as well as incite and aggravate religious fanaticism, resulting in serious consequences for our Socialist enterprise. Our Party, therefore, bases its policy of freedom of religious belief on the theory formulated by Marxism-Leninism, and it is the only correct policy genuinely consonant with the people's welfare.

Naturally, in the process of implementing and carrying out this policy which emphasizes and guarantees the people's freedom to believe in religion, we must, at the same time, emphasize and guarantee the people's freedom not to believe in religion. These are two indispensable aspects of the same question. Any action which forces a nonbeliever to believe in religion is an infringement of freedom of religious belief, just as is any action which forces a believer not to believe. Both are grave errors and not to be tolerated. The guarantee of freedom of religious belief, far from being a hindrance, is a means of strengthening the Party's efforts to disseminate scientific education as well as to strengthen its propaganda against superstition. Furthermore, it should be emphasized that the crux of the policy of freedom of religious belief is to make the question of religious belief a private matter, one of individual free choice for citizens.

The political power in a Socialist state can in no way be used to promote any one religion, nor can it be used to forbid any one religion, as long as it is only a question of normal religious beliefs and practices. At the same time, religion will not be permitted to meddle in the administrative or juridical affairs of state, nor to intervene in the schools or public education. It will be absolutely forbidden to force anyone, particularly people under eighteen years of age, to become a member of a church, to become a Buddhist monk or nun, or to go to temples or monasteries to study Buddhist scripture. Religion will not be permitted to recover in any way those special feudal privileges which have been abolished or to return to an exploitative and oppressive religious system. Nor will religion be permitted to make use in any way of religious pretexts to oppose the Party's leadership or the Socialist system, or to destroy national or ethnic unity.

To sum up, the basic starting point and firm foundation for our handling of the religious question and for the implementation of our policy and freedom of religious belief lies in our desire to unite the mass of believers and nonbelievers and enable them to center all their will and strength on the common goal of building a modernized, powerful Socialist state. Any action or speech that deviates in the least from this basic line is completely erroneous, and must be firmly resisted and opposed by both Party and people.

[. . .]^{III}

III HS: Sections V to VII, dealing with the Party's work with religious professionals, the restoration and administration of churches, temples and other religious buildings, and the patriotic religious organizations, have been omitted.

VIII. Educating a New Generation of Clergy

The training and education of the younger generation of patriotic religious personnel in a planned way will have decisive significance for the future image of our country's religious organizations. We should not only continue to win over, unite with, and educate the present generation of persons in religious circles, but we should also help each religious organization set up seminaries to train well new religious personnel. The task of these seminaries is to create a contingent of young religious personnel who, in terms of politics, fervently love their homeland and support the Party's leadership and the Socialist system and who possess sufficient religious knowledge. [. . .]

All these young professional religious should continually heighten their patriotic and Socialist consciousness and make efforts to improve their cultural level and their religious knowledge. They should loyally implement the Party's religious policy. [. . .]

IX. Communist Party Members and Religion; Relations with Religious Ethnic Minorities

The fact that our Party proclaims and implements a policy of freedom of religious belief does not, of course, mean that Communist Party members can freely believe in religion. The policy of freedom of religious belief is directed toward the citizens of our country; it is not applicable to Party members. Unlike the average citizen, the Party member belongs to a Marxist political party, and there can be no doubt at all that s/he must be an atheist and not a theist. Our Party has clearly stated on many previous occasions: A Communist Party member cannot be a religious believer; s/he cannot take part in religious activities. Any member who persists in going against this proscription should be told to leave the Party. This proscription is altogether correct, and, as far as the Party as a whole is concerned, its implementation should be insisted on in the future. The present question concerns the implementation of this proscription among those ethnic minorities whose people are basically all religious believers. Here, implementation must follow the actual circumstances, and so make use of proper measures, not oversimplifying matters.

We must realize that although a considerable number of Communist Party members among these ethnic minorities loyally implement the Party line, do positive work for the Party, and obey its discipline, they cannot completely shake off all religious influence. Party organizations should in no way simply cast these Party members aside, but should patiently and meticulously carry out ideological work while taking measures to develop more fully their positive political activism, helping them gradually to acquire a dialectical and historical materialist worldview and to gradually shake off the fetters of a religious ideology. Obviously, as we go about expanding our membership, we must take great care not to be rushed into recruiting devout religious believers or those with strong religious sentiments. [. . .] Even though those

Party members who live at the grass-roots level among those ethnic minorities where the majority believe in religion have already freed themselves from religious belief, yet if they were to refuse to take part in any of those traditional marriage or funeral ceremonies or mass festivals which have some religious significance, then they would find themselves cut off and isolated from the masses. Therefore, in applying those precepts which forbid Party members who live among these ethnic minorities from joining in religious activities, we must act according to concrete circumstances, according to the principle of differentiation in order to allow Party members to continue to maintain close links with the masses. Although many of the traditional marriage and funeral ceremonies and mass festivals among these ethnic minorities have a religious tradition and significance, they have already essentially become merely a part of ethnic custom and tradition. So long as our comrades, especially those living at the grass-roots level, mark clearly the line between ideology and religious belief, then they can show appropriate respect to and compliance with these ethnic customs and traditions in their daily lives. [. . .]

There are some ethnic minorities in which nearly all the people believe in one particular religion, Islam or Lamaism, for example. Among these peoples, the question of religion and ethnicity is frequently intertwined. But within the Han race, there is basically no relationship between ethnic background and Buddhism, Daoism, Catholicism, or Protestantism. Therefore, we must become adept in distinguishing very concretely the particular situation of each ethnic group and of each religion, and in sizing up the differences and relationships between ethnicity and religion, that we may proceed correctly in our handling of them. We must certainly be vigilant and oppose any use of religious fanaticism to divide our people and any words or actions which damage the unity among our ethnic groups. If our Party cannot with clear mind and firm step master this particular question in the present great struggle as we strive to lead such a great nation of so many ethnic groups as ours forward to become a modern Socialist state, then we shall not be able with any success to unite our peoples to advance together toward this goal.

[Sections X and XI, dealing with criminal and counter-revolutionary activities under the cover of religion and international relations of China's religions, have been omitted.]

XII. The Role of the Party and State Organs in Handling the Religious Question

The basic guarantee for the successful handling of the religious question is the strengthening of the Party's leadership. The Party's religious work is an important constituent of the Party's united front and of its work among the masses since it touches upon various aspects of social life. This demands that Party committees on each level must vigorously direct and organize all relevant departments, which include the United Front Department, the Bureau of Religious Affairs, the Bureau of National Minorities, the

Department for Politics and Law, the Departments of Propaganda, Culture, Education, Science and Technology, and Health, as well as the Labor Unions, the Youth League, the Women's Federation, and all other mass organizations, in order to unify ideology, knowledge, and policy. The Departments must each take responsibility for their own work, but act in close coordination and take a realistic grasp of this important task in order to conscientiously and unrelentingly carry it through to a successful conclusion.

We must strengthen the government organs responsible for religious affairs, to enable all cadres who give themselves to this particular work to study the Marxist theory of religion in a systematic way, to thoroughly understand the Party's fundamental viewpoint and policy on the religious question, to maintain close relationships with the mass of religious believers, and to consult on equal terms with persons in religious circles in order to cooperate and work together.

An important constituent of the Party's theoretical work on religion is the use of the Marxist viewpoint and method to carry out scientific research on the religious question. An important task for the Party on the propaganda front is the use of Marxist philosophy to criticize idealism (which includes theism), and to educate the masses, especially the broad mass of young people, in a dialectical and historical materialist and scientific worldview (which includes atheism). To do this, we must strengthen our propaganda in scientific and cultural knowledge as these relate to an understanding of natural phenomena, the evolution of society, and of human life, with its old age, sickness, death, and ill and good fortune. An indispensable aspect of the Party's theoretical foundation is the establishment of theoretical research teams armed with Marxist ideology for the study of religious theory which would strive to set up organizations for religious research and make use of related university disciplines. [. . .]

The central authorities of Party and State emphasize once again that all Party members must clearly understand that the Party's religious policy is not just a temporary expedient, but a decisive strategy based on the scientific theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, which takes as its goal the national unification of the people for the common task of building a powerful, modernized Socialist state. Under Socialism, the only correct fundamental way to solve the religious question lies precisely in safeguarding the freedom of religious belief. Only after the gradual development of the Socialist, economic, cultural, scientific, and technological enterprise and of a Socialist civilization with its own material and spiritual values, will the type of society and level of awareness that gave rise to the existence of religion gradually disappear. Such a great enterprise naturally cannot be accomplished within a short period of time, nor even within one, two, or three generations. Only after a long period of history, after many generations have passed, and after the combined struggle of the broad masses of both believers and nonbelievers will this come about. At that time, the Chinese people, on Chinese soil, will have thoroughly rid themselves of all impoverishment, ignorance, and spiritual emptiness, and will have become a highly developed civilization of material and spiritual values, able to take its place in the front ranks of mankind in the glorious world. At that time, the vast majority of our citizens will be

able to deal with the world and our fellowmen from a conscious scientific viewpoint, and no longer have any need for recourse to an illusory world of gods to seek spiritual solace. This is precisely what Marx and Engels have predicted—that there will be an age when people will have freed themselves from all alienating forces controlling the world and will have come to the stage when they will consciously plan and control the whole of social life. This is also what Comrade Mao Zedong meant when he said that the people, relying on themselves alone, will create a new age both for themselves and for the world. Only when we enter this new age will all that shows a religious face in the present world finally disappear. Therefore, each of us Party members, from generation to generation, must put forth all our best efforts in the struggle to bring about this brilliant future.

Vietnam

21 Lê Quý Đôn: *Categorised Discourse from the Palace Library* (1773)

Introduced and translated by Yasmin Koppen

Introduction

Lê Quý Đôn 黎貴惇 (1726–1784) was a statesman, a polymath, and the most outstanding Confucian scholar of the late Later Lê dynasty 後黎朝 (1428–1788), an era that saw the Vietnamese realm divided between the Trịnh and Nguyễn lords.

Born to a scholarly family in Thái Bình Province 太平省, Lê Quý Đôn passed the imperial examination at the age of 27. From 1760 to 1762, he served as the ruler's envoy to Qing China; on his return, he became the director of the Privy Council (Xu Mật viện 樞密院). There, he tried to fight corruption, but found no favour with his lord. Consequently, he opted to retire, until the next ruler summoned him back to serve as prime minister. When he was himself accused of corruption, Lê Quý Đôn was forced to once again retire, this time in disgrace. He continued to write poetry, organised multiple encyclopaedias, and authored an enormous number of works on ancient scriptures and the Confucian classics (including translations). As a result, he is thought of as the key synthesiser of cultural and scientific knowledge in the Later Lê era. Aside from this text – the *Văn Đài Loại Ngữ* – his most famous works are the thirty-volume history of the Later Lê dynasty – the *Đại Việt Thông Sử* 大越通史 – and the *Phủ Biên Tạp Lục* 撫邊雜錄, a geography of the frontier territories of the southern realm (Đàng Trong 塘中) after the Trịnh invasion of the area in 1774. In 1784, his death at the age of 58 caused a short armistice in the then ongoing struggle between the Trịnh lords and the Tây Sơn rebels, and he was granted posthumous titles (*shihao* 諡號) to restore his honour.

The proponents of Later Lê Neo-Confucianism viewed themselves as rational and humane; they were confident that the entire universe could be known through reason. The scholars of the northern realm (Đàng Ngoài 唐外), which directly bordered China, successfully convinced the rulers of the limitations of Buddhism and Daoism and – in accordance with their own worldview – that these competing traditions propagated superstitions. The Later Lê dynasty's adoption of Chinese institutional (Neo-)Confucianism led to a golden age for this tradition. Neo-Confucian scholars emphasised metaphysics with the intention of generating a logical ethical philosophy that would replace religious cultivation.

The *Văn Đài Loại Ngữ* is considered the masterpiece of Lê Quý Đôn's philosophical writing. It is a set of encyclopaedias in which he collects, comments on, and criticises

Yasmin Koppen, Leipzig University, Faculty of History, Art and Area Studies, Institute for the Study of Religion

Chinese and older Vietnamese texts on philosophy, science, literature, and naturalism, grouped together under nine headings. Of these, the first two pertain to theoretical and material cosmology.

Here, it is often claimed that Lê Quý Đôn strongly adhered to the thinking of the Neo-Confucian master Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200). However, his views are actually closer to that of the Yan-Li School (*Yan-Li xuepai* 顏李學派) founded by Yan Yuan 顏元 (1635–1704). Yan famously criticised Zhu Xi's views on the relationship between *Li* (VN: *Ly*) 理 “principle” and *Qi* (VN: *Khi*) 氣 “essence”, and Zhu's premise that Heaven had existed before anything else. Instead, Yan stated that the heavenly principle (that is, nature) could not exist without essence (that is, its substance). In the same way, Lê Quý Đôn's chapter “On *Ly* and *Khi*” introduces this dualist concept, reiterating Neo-Confucian metaphysics, and asserts that all existence is filled with essence in the sense of a material force. Thus, the principle *Ly* also has to be within the essence *Khi*, instead of being opposed to it.

This chapter addresses observations from natural science – mostly basic physics – presented in the guise of metaphysics, to explain environmental realities, such as the stillness of earth as a moving object, while the ‘moving’ sky is actually the motionless space within which earth exists). These were ideas he would have been familiar with, given his education and his diplomatic mission to the Chinese Qing court, which was the latest likely point that he came into contact with the writings of Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) and Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1688), whom he explicitly references. Lê Quý Đôn describes scientific truths in terms¹ that his contemporaries were familiar with, and in accordance with what was considered true in his era (e.g., that illness was caused by vapours) to make them easier to understand. This can be seen in the deeply contradictory nature of the last paragraphs translated here, which rapidly switch between asserting and rejecting the existence of the spiritual – a reflection of the epistemological constrictions of his time.

Lê Quý Đôn relates Western learning (that is, the scientific method) to Confucian principles and meaning making. He ascribes humans with the ability to imagine and comprehend all that is “above” (not visible, not touchable), and to observe all that is “below” (visible, touchable). When he makes an argument about people who doubt anything they have not previously perceived and includes a quote stating that such behavior stems from ignorance, he does not argue in favour of gods and spirits, but rather in favour of observation and experientiality. Even as he cites religious figures like Muhammad, he does not refer to the content of their belief, but to their human feats. He is aware that no human can know everything, hence he suggests to rely on the expertise of others. Although his reliance on the expertise of former worthies occasionally led to questionable conclusions (like in regard to Buddhist transmigration), he firmly places everything in existence within the realm of human understanding.

I For example, *khi* transformation and the Five Phases (*wuxing* 五行).

Changes in the environment are conditioned by (natural) laws, humans are able to understand such changeability – and adapt to it. Changeability and adaption became core principles associated with secularism by contemporary religious studies scholars like Trương Văn Chung (b. 1948).

Lê Quý Đôn focused on a rationalist and empirical approach to the understanding of the natural world. And although collecting empirical knowledge through careful observation and its systematic classification certainly resembles materialist methods of inquiry, his worldview was still shaped by the Confucian framework of thought, in which some metaphysical concepts, such as Qi or the Mandate of Heaven, cannot be reduced to purely materialist explanations. Unlike many of his predecessors, however, he eschewed reducing the needs of the people to the moral guidance of the emperor. Instead, Lê Quý Đôn concentrated in his publications on a realpolitik approach that emphasized the material needs of the people for the further development of the state. Thus, Lê Quý Đôn was not the paragon of Vietnamese enlightenment: he put too much trust in the effects of man on the universe, taking the Confucian concept of *gan-ying* 感應 (that is, the correlative resonance between heaven and earth) to an extreme, and he had too strong an interest in balancing the values and contributions that Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism (the Three Teachings) had made to society. The great feat of Lê Quý Đôn was to wrest agency away from the gods, ancestors, and Heaven, and transfer it to humanity: “Fate is controlled by humans. It cannot control humans. The principle of the unity between Heaven and humanity is nothing more than this . . .” With this statement, he made man and Heaven equals and freed humanity from their subjection to transcendental plans and meddling. In Vietnam’s Later Lê era, when common life was so immersed in spirituality, this was a true innovation.

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The translation given here is based on the edition in:

Huang Junjie 黃俊傑 and Nguyễn Kim Sơn 阮金山, ed. *Văn Đài Loại Ngữ* 芸臺類語. Research on East Asian Civilizations – East Asian Confucianism Materials Series 叢書系列東亞文明研究—東亞儒學資料叢書 7. Taipei: National Taiwan University Publishing Center, 2011; 1.8b–28a.

Page numbers given in square brackets refer to this edition.

It is based on the original text in Classical Chinese in the National Library of Vietnam (Thư viện Quốc gia Việt Nam):

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The most authentic and complete edition is found at the Hán Nôm Institute, register A.141. There are two mostly complete facsimiles VHv.1169/1–4; VHv.1807/1–2; and three additional fragments. In Japan, there is one complete edition dated to 1777.

There are multiple translations into Vietnamese, for example:

Trần Danh Lâm and Phạm Trọng Huyền. *Văn Đài Loại Ngữ*. Translated by Phạm Vũ và Lê Hiền. Hồ Chí Minh City: Huệ Quang, 1972.

An excerpt in English can be found in:

Liam C. Kelley, trans. *Sources of Vietnamese Tradition*, edited by George Dutton, Jayne S. Werner and John K. Whitmore. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012; 170–74.

Translation by Yasmin Koppen

Everything between Heaven and Earth is Essence (*khi*). Principle (*ly*) is that which is said to actually exist, it is not that which does not exist. Principles do not take on [p. 8a/8b] specific shapes, instead they manifest in the Essence. This means that they are *within* the Essence. Regarding Yin and Yang (*âm* 陰 and *dương* 陽), odd and even numbers, knowledge and conduct, form and function – these may be called pairs, but that does not apply to Principle and Essence.

The Great Ultimate (*taiji*, VN: *thái cực* 太極) is the whole. Primordial Vitality (*hunyuan*, VN: *hỗn nguyên* 混元) is the whole Essence.^I The whole spawned the two, the two spawned the four^{II} and from that spawned the ten thousand things, this is the wholeness of the Great Ultimate. The number of Đại Diên 大衍 is fifty,^{III} but one [stalk] is not used because it represents the Great Ultimate. If it did not exist, then why do so? Its opening and closing designates change, its endless coming and going designates passage. When it closes, there is nothing, when it opens, there is existence. When it leaves, there is nothing, when it comes, there is existence. Existence and non-existence alternately comply with the wholeness of humans and things. From ancient times to the present, it has never been different. From this it is clear that within the void, emptiness and nothingness, Vitality has such Principle.

Can existence be spawned from nothingness?

Heaven belongs to *Yang* and Earth belongs to *Yin*. *Yang* takes charge of movement, *Yin* takes charge of quiescence, this is called division. The function of Heaven [p. 8b/9a] is always movement, but its Substance (*ti*, VN: *thể* 體) is also never not still. The Substance of earth is always still, but its function is never not moving.^{IV} If heaven was not still, why would the four directions be stable and the sun, moon and the stars

^I YK: These are metaphysical concepts relating to the abstraction of three stages of natural creation from the void, over emptiness, to nothingness, from which all that exists has come.

^{II} YK: This is a reference to Yin and Yang and the Four (Cardinal) Directions, so an abstraction of the principles of life and the creation of space as a condition for the existence of lifeforms.

^{III} YK: This refers to the ancient Chinese yarrowstalk divination.

^{IV} YK: This sentence refers to the Neo-Confucian philosophical pair of Substance and Function (*dụng* 用). The Function describes the activity or stimulus response of the associated Substance and is commonly used to describe the two truths of a non-dual process: the Substance being the abstract poten-

stay attached to it? If earth was motionless, it would just be a lump-like object and life would practically cease! Heaven's form [thus] moves but its Essence is motionless, while the earth's form is still, but its Essence is moving . . .

[. . . p. 9b/10a]

Under the heaven and on top of the earth are all the winds and vapours. If in the vicinity of a person there appears to be no wind, it may actually be obstructed by all kinds of objects, or vital energies may actually be dispersing it. In somewhat high places, there are strong winds. In the highest heights, the wind will be the strongest, as well as hard and dry. Furthermore, if one digs up the ground at the foot of a mountain, going down about ten feet, initially the earth dug out of the ground will be soft and moist, but afterwards it will become [hard as] stone. Is it not the case that it hardens due to being exposed to the wind? When a child is still in the mother's belly, it is merely a lump of blood and placenta, once it is born, it becomes firm – this is the same Principle.

The Essence of Heaven descends and the Essence of earth ascends continuously. The Essences of Heaven and earth are the vital energy of everything, wind and vapours circulate among them at any time and there is no time of movement where it is like that or a time of stillness where it is not like that. [. . . p. 10a/10b]^V

[. . . p. 14a . . .]

These things can prove that heaven and humans are the same thing.^{VI}

[. . . p. 16b/17a]

When someone is asleep and you call out to them, they will wake up – this is the Essence summoning their spirit (shen, VN: *thần* 神). While asleep and dreaming, one can talk, move, become happy or angry, and after waking up, one might remember all of that, this is the spirit stirring its Essence. The spirit essence of humans is commonly like this, but the spirit essences of heaven and earth, extending all the way from the past to the present, circulating unceasingly, are unfathomable! Since antiquity the virtuous have said: Heaven knows, earth knows.

tial and the Function its manifestation. The abstract potential of the Substance is impermanent, but the Function is momentarily real.

V YK: The following pages 11a–15a treat natural phenomena like storms and the climate, but also astrology. Pages 12a–13b treat the influences that climate and geography have on the development of people or how the weather affects moods, although integrated into the system of Yin and Yang.

VI YK: Pages 14b–15a contain long quotations of mostly Chinese authors about the natural creation and expansion of the earth as they imagined it in their time. For example, there is a mathematical approximation of what the growth of the mythical first human Pangu 盤古 could have meant for the formation of land mass. Pages 15a–16a refer to ancient Chinese medical material like the *Huangdi Neijing Suwen* 黃帝內經素問 (~3rd century CE), treat the influence of the weather on the symptoms of diseases, and the author questions if disease is unfathomable or directed by Yin and Yang, the five phases of circulation and the six climatic influences. On page 16a–b, he returns to astronomy and meteorology.

The human mind is immense. Above, it can measure heaven and earth; in between, it can speculate on spirits and deities; below, it can examine the ten thousand things. The marvel of signs and numbers is dispersed among the form and essence. It comes into being from where it was not, and from where it is, it enters into where it is not.

Amid darkness declining into profound clarity, there is nothing but the Way. Only with the proper mind can one become aware of it. After becoming aware of the Way, one can recognise subtleties, after recognising subtleties, one can completely fathom the functions, after completely fathoming the functions, it is possible to attain authority. Consequently, fate is controlled by humans, [p. 17a/17b] it cannot control humans. The principle of the unity between Heaven and humanity is nothing more than this.^{VII}

[. . . p. 20a/20b . . .]

They did not know that all of this had simply been written by a fortune teller from the capital who had bought people's birth dates and profiles. By collecting them in advance, people could look themselves up to marvel at the results. The only thing true is that such vulgar literature has never been able to fully predict a person's wealth or poverty, longevity or premature death.^{VIII}

[. . . p. 23a/23b . . .]

[If] everyone's appearance, behaviour, actions and also everything one will possess and all career prospects are all predetermined, then there is nobody who achieves anything of their own accord.^{IX}

[. . . p. 23b/24a . . .]

Knowledgeable persons were aware of the past, they understood what events were to come and wrote it all down in books. To let later generations know about this, there must have been many unexpectedly accurate guesses among them. However, when speaking of the rulers of people, then one ought to maintain common sense, be cautious with common norms, and just not speak of auspicious signs and number divination, because that would feed into deceiving customs! Therefore, the Marquess Li

VII YK: Lê Quý Đôn quotes extensively from the *Classic of Changes* [the *Yijing* 易經], an ancient Chinese oracle book relevant for both Confucian and Daoist thinking. He also quotes Zhu Xi on the oneness of *Khi* between Heaven and humans. On page 19a–20b, he evaluates the traditions of fortune telling and ancestor worship and severely criticises the practice of using (fake) secret prediction books. He continues on a specific prediction book.

VIII YK: On pages 21a–22b, Lê Quý Đôn continues to investigate the history of predestination. Although he is not sure whether destiny exists or not, he claims that the knowledgeable people speak of destiny with laughter, while ordinary people are constantly seeking benefits and if they suffer in their pursuit, they blame fate because they do not sufficiently reflect upon themselves. He also points out how predictions of fate in history have been manipulated and contradicted. Up until page 23b, he gives several examples for tales about omens from Chinese and Vietnamese history. This leads him to the impression that if everything is predetermined, people are not free.

IX YK: He continues to quote the *Doctrine of the Mean* (*Zhongyong* 中庸) on how important destinies could be predictable through omens in nature. However, that leads him to conclude that this is actually due to the intelligence of mankind.

of Ye^X said: “Other people can all talk about the Mandate of Heaven,^{XI} but rulers and ministers should not talk about it,” this is the reason for that.

Within the realm, there is only one principle: people believe what they have often seen, and consequently doubt what they have not seen. Dai Kaizhi 戴凱之 of the Jin dynasty 晉朝 [265–420 CE] stated in his *Bamboo Manual* (*Zhupu* 竹譜) that “Heaven and earth are limitless and the number of the common people is immeasurable. What the people see and hear is the basis for the norms they can fathom, this is what they know, but how could this be sufficient? If the eyes and ears do not know of something, then it is said to not exist – would not that be ignorant?”

Yan Zhitui 顏之推 [531–591 CE] of the Qi dynasty 齊朝 [550–577 CE] stated in his *Family Instructions* (*Yanshi Jiaxun* 顏氏家訓): “Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty did not [. . . p. 24a/24b] believe that there was a glue for bow strings, Emperor Wencheng of the Wei dynasty did not believe in fire-resistant clothing, and when the Hu^{XII} people saw silk, they did not believe it was produced by insects that eat tree leaves and spit out silk. In former times in Jiangnan, they did not believe that there were tents that could hold one thousand people, and as for Hebei, they did not believe there were boats that could hold twenty thousand bushels (of commodities), all of this has been verified.” From this we can go on to say that from seeing alone one cannot know everything!

In my opinion, the sky above and the domains below have shapes and forms that may initially be bewildering and innumerable. If one ponders about them, this will just waste a lot of mental energy. If one tries to handle [them all] with words, it will be of no avail and just exhaust the lips and tongue. So, what to do if we generally hit the wall in our current attainment in learning, because the learning of the exemplary persons^{XIII} merely adheres to norms?

In former times, people said that sages came from the southern, northern, eastern and western seas whose mindsets were the same and whose principle was the same. The Muslim Mac Duc Na [that is, Muhammad] established his realm as a king during the first year of the Sui dynasty’s Kaihuang era [589–600 CE]. He created a calendar system and [p. 24b/25a] compiled a book about his investigations of astronomical phenomena. During the Ming Wanli era [1573–1619], Loi Ma Dan [Matteo Ricci], Nam Hoai

X YK: This is Li Bi 李泌 (722–789), a Daoist and gifted politician from the Tang dynasty (618–907 CE) who gained fame through his immense influence as a personal advisor to four emperors and calming dangerous political turmoil multiple times.

XI YK: The Mandate of Heaven has been the main legitimizing instrument of the Chinese Empire since the Zhou dynasty (1045–711/256 BCE). It styles the emperor as the Son of Heaven, the only one able to speak Heaven’s will. If an emperor loses the Mandate of Heaven, wars and disasters ensue, giving a new man with the Mandate of Heaven the opportunity to ascend the throne.

XII YK: An old pejorative term referring to people from Central Asia or even South Asia.

XIII YK: *quán tǐ* 君子 is a Confucian term, describing someone with a high level of self-cultivation and not necessarily a nobleman, since Confucian learning was theoretically open to everyone.

Nhan [Ferdinand Verbiest], Ngai Nho Luoc [Giulio Aleni],^{XIV} and others from the Western Ocean Kingdom of Europe, entered China to talk endlessly about the boundless obscurity of heaven and earth, the establishment of calendar systems, and about many more things that the earlier Confucian scholars had not yet discovered. Although their language and script were different, they thoroughly understood [Confucian] means and principles^{XV} with their heart and minds. How was the ability and insight of their learning different from that within the Middle Kingdom?

The immortals [that is, Daoists, 仙家] talk about cultivating the body, Buddhists talk about cultivating the spirit. This is done by providing both the body and spirit with Essence. If Essence is gathered then the Way is achieved, if Essence is scattered, the Way cannot be achieved! Take the sun and moon as an example, the Daoists are like their body, the Buddhists are like their image. The body that moves in the sky may not necessarily be non-existent – the image that dissolves in the water is not necessarily non-existent. . . .^{XVI}

[. . . p. 25a/25b . . .] Buddhists works speak about saṃsāra [that is, the cycle of birth and death], but Confucian scholars usually do not believe in this. Be that as it may, people from the past to the present have indeed heard and seen so much [about this], which they published in records, that the sheer number is hard to contradict. Hence, it cannot be that this Principle does not exist.

Confucius said: “How abundantly do spiritual beings display the virtue they hold! If we look for them, we cannot see them, if we listen for them, we cannot hear them. In their vast abundance, they seem to be [. . . p. 25b/26a . . .] over the heads, and to all sides [of their worshippers].”^{XVII} But to talk about such officials of the underworld is preposterous – in short, it is nature that is profoundly mysterious and hard to describe. There is nothing more to this than the division of Yin and Yang that makes people unable to see and hear certain things. When it is time to make sacrifices to the gods and ancestors, spiritual beings arrive. Their bodies and souls may have been separated, but their spirits’ consciousness is still gathering. When Buddhist texts speak

XIV YK: Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1688), and Giulio Aleni (1582–1649) were Jesuit missionaries who played key roles in facilitating scientific and cultural exchange between Europe and China.

XV YK: *ngĩa lí* 義理 refers to the concepts of righteousness and principle from Confucian metaphysics. Since both concepts are so important, after the thirteenth century, this pair of words became synonymous with Confucian learning itself.

XVI YK: Lê Quý Đôn goes on to quote ancient Chinese texts to ‘prove’ that the idea of transmigration was not invented by the Buddhists, but ultimately prefers to leave it at that and not discuss this further.

XVII YK: This is a referential quote of a somewhat longer passage in the *Doctrine of the Mean*. The author expects his audience to be very familiar with it and leaves out (allegedly) Confucius’ affirmation of the spirits’ existence and how they cause people to fast, dress up and engage in sacrifices, before the ‘vast abundance’ of them occurs locally.

about forming the body to be reborn, they are also just referring to this spirit consciousness.^{XVIII} The quintessence of the sun and the moon descends to become water and fire, the essence of water and fire ascends to become wind and thunder. How could the past and future wonders of the transformations between heaven and earth be fathomed, let alone those of men.^{XIX}

XVIII YK: In the Buddhist teaching, there is no soul to be reincarnated but there is something hard to grasp that affects the next life by karma, and this undescribed cause of effect is what Lê Quý Đôn identifies with his idea of spirit.

XIX YK: On pages 26b–28a, the author considers further ideas of the underworld and strange things. He criticises that these topics are not commonly discussed (among Confucians), since Confucius did not want to confuse scholars and therefore avoided to talk about spirits. In consequence, Confucians fail to guide the people in this regard. He rhetorically asks if there really are no strange things (that is, supernatural phenomena) and continues to explain that things in themselves are not strange, only the way people talk about them can make them strange. “Strangeness is in us, not in the strange thing,” and strangeness comes from the people being accustomed to the familiar and unnerved by what is unfamiliar. He concludes on page 28a that Confucius started to teach the people to resolve doubts and hesitations for exactly this reason.

Korea

22 Ch'oe Han'gi: *Rectification of the Teachings and Doctrines of the World According to Heaven and Man* (1833)

Introduced and translated by Marion Eggert

Introduction

From about the beginning of the nineteenth century onwards, Christianity was fiercely (though only intermittently) persecuted in Korea, but nonetheless spread clandestinely within the lower echelons of society. The first undercover Catholic missionaries, members of the Missions Etrangères de Paris, arrived in Seoul in 1837; that they managed to remain in the country and proselytise for two years, before being discovered and executed in 1839, demonstrates how much of a basis the new creed must already have had in the populace at large. Among the politically active literati elites, however, even mentioning Jesuit writings – which had created quite an intellectual stir earlier in the eighteenth century – could be dangerous.

In this situation, rife with religious (or worldview)^I conflict, Ch'oe Han'gi (1803–1877)^{II} published the book-length philosophical work from which the present text is taken. Ch'oe Han'gi hailed from a very wealthy family of, however, only semi-elite status (his father was a military official); this both forced and enabled him to remain outside the vortex of political life, and thus under the radar of the defenders of official orthodoxy. He was an avid reader, and had the means – at least until they ran out – to acquire the latest publications from Beijing. By the time he authored this text (1836), he was certainly well versed in Jesuit writings. Later, he adapted a number of scientific Chinese-language writings by Protestant missionaries into books of his own.^{III} But, even from this early work, it is obvious how information about and from the West helped to form his philosophical outlook, the foundations of which had already been laid by this time.

I Speaking of “religious conflict” begs the eternal question of how far Confucianism can be subsumed under “religion.” As can be seen from the text translated below, for Ch'oe Han'gi (just as for his compatriots), Confucianism fell into the same category as Christianity and Buddhism.

II Dates given for the time of his death vary. Here, I give the dates stated in the introduction to the latest edition of his complete works, Im Hyōngt'aek, ed., *Chūngbo Myōngnamnu ch'ongsō*, vol. 1 (Seoul: Taedong munhwa yōn'guwōn, 2002), 14.

III For more detail, see Marion Eggert, Eun-Jeung Lee, and Vladimir Tikhonov, *Intellectuals In Between: Koreans in a Changing World, 1850–1945* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2022), 17–20.

Marion Eggert, Ruhr University Bochum, Section of Korean Language and Culture, Department of East Asian Studies; Ruhr University Bochum, SFB 1475 “Metaphors of Religion”

Building on earlier Confucian philosophy of vital energy (*qi*, kor. *ki* 氣), such as that by Zhang Zai (1020–1077), Ch'oe Han'gi developed a vision of *kihwa* 氣化, the transformations of *qi*, as a globally relevant, evolutionary process, encompassing both the material and the spiritual world – a process which, by historical necessity, must result in a unified transcultural episteme, since it consisted of a self-revelation of pre-given and universally valid truth. For this unified “teaching” – conceived of as academic knowledge, but more importantly also as ethical doctrine – to be universally valid, all supernatural beliefs had to be eliminated. Ch'oe Han'gi thus can be said to have envisioned history as a process of secularisation, a veritable disenchantment of the world. This vision allowed for only one dimension of transcendence: that of the ‘transformations of *qi*,’ regarded as a continuous self-revelation of both the intrinsic patterns of the cosmos and the rational capacities of humankind.

In Ch'oe Han'gi's eyes, those parts of local traditions that are unconnected to truth claims – that is, the parts that might be termed sheer *customs* – can and will remain outside the pull of the unifying force of self-elucidating truth. Embedded in his conception of universal rationality and the eventually inescapable prevalence of evidence and convincing arguments is, therefore, a recognition of the emotional comfort and sense of belonging (possibly) provided by tradition. And yet, his vision of the future *consensus gentium* has its blind spot precisely in the unquestioned place he accords to his own tradition, as the source of an ethics that would naturally be accepted by all humankind, with Buddhism being allowed to contribute to the “unified teaching” only in theory, and the West only its natural science. However, to the extent that he became a post-Confucian in later years of his life, he explicitly distanced himself from Neo-Confucian legacies, and started to search for a more naturalistic grounding of his ethics as well.^{IV}

Two terms used in the text translated here need further explanation, since the translation terms may now sound less secular than was intended by Ch'oe Han'gi. First, “Heaven” in the term “Heaven and Man,” appearing in the title and the body of the text, should be understood as referring to nature at large. I have chosen the literal translation of this term to keep the reference to heaven, which also appears in Ch'oe's term for Christianity, intact. However, the compound “Heaven and Man” is frequently understood (and translated) as “nature and man,” and Ch'oe Han'gi is explicit about intending this meaning. For example, the very first piece of the book from which the present text is taken carries the title “The *Qi* of *ch'ön* and *in*” (天人之氣); the body of the text, however, expands “the *qi* of heaven” into the “*qi* of heaven and earth” and juxtaposes this against the “*qi* of man,” leaving no doubt about the naturalistic conception of “heaven.”

IV See the very well-argued article by Pek Unsok, “The Empiricist's Progress: Ch'oe Han'gi's Journey away from Confucianism,” *Journal of Confucian Philosophy and Culture* 8 (2007): 231–61.

The term *sin'gi* 神氣, translated here as “spirit,” poses more difficulties. *Sin* is used here as a modifier for *qi* – that is, as an adjective – which easily induces a reading as “spiritual, numinous,” though it can also mean “intelligent.” As a noun, *sin* oscillates between “gods/spirits” and “mind.” Here, *sin'gi* or “intelligent *qi*” is to be understood as the expression of the epistemological, rather than purely ontological, quality that Ch'oe Han'gi affords to *qi*, as not just the material foundation, but also the self-revelatory impulse, of the world process. It has thus been translated with terminology as diverse as “spiritual configurative energy”^V and “cognitive systems.”^{VI} My choice of “spirit” is an attempt to grasp the cognitive aspect, while still pointing to the transhuman framework in which this cognition is understood to unravel itself. This should not distract from the secularist orientation of Ch'oe Han'gi's thought. Indeed, his own philosophical “journey away from Confucianism” followed the path of secularisation, as a result of increasing knowledge about other parts of the world, which he had outlined in this early text.

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Page numbers given in square brackets refer to this edition.

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Translation by Marion Eggert

That which communicates itself without interpreters, even in remote countries, is the spirit (*sin'gi* 神氣); that which uses words and script to refine the various local customs are the teachings. The spirit needs to be expressed in teachings, so as to have a far-reaching impact^I and bring about great virtue. If the teachings are not based on

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V Chang Wonsuk, “Ch'oe Han'gi's Philosophy of Experience: New Names for Old Ways of Thinking,” *Philosophy East and West* 6272 (2012): 186–96.

VI Pek Unsok, “The Empiricist's Progress,” 240–41.

I ME: Literally: “to carry heavy burdens and travel far,” a phrase appearing in e.g. Mozi 1, “Befriending the Learned.”

the spirit, then one can talk oneself blue in the face without moving [p. 14b/15a] one's interlocutor. The degree to which [or: the way in which] the spirit penetrates can be large or small, all around or one-sided, and the teachings derived from the spirit are accordingly large or small in scale, all-encompassing or one-sided. That the world is in communication all around the globe started with Columbus, from the country of Portugal in the western corner of Europe, who in the years of the Hongzhi reign period (1488–1506) first circled the globe;^{II} this was an opening up of heaven and earth (*ch'ŏnji chi kaebyŏk* 天地之開闢).^{III} Ever since that time, trading ships travel everywhere; envoys and middlemen transmit [information]; precious and rare products, and comfortable and useful techniques are being disseminated far and wide. Those who transmit the information attach and further embellish their teachings and scriptures, whether of classical or of folk origin, so [the various teachings] all become well known to us [or: to each other]. Buddhism, with its upholding of emptiness, is not worth discussing. The teaching of reverence for heaven [i.e. Christianity] is good in name, but, in actuality, it wades into the strange and absurd. I do not know whether those who first propagated this teaching took [these absurdities] as their starting point, or whether the believers have arbitrarily expanded and exaggerated [the original teaching]. When, in full reverence and concentration, I try to fathom the affairs of the human world, I see that the situations of all the countries on the globe are now fully exposed; and when I summarise the whole story of the various teachings' inner depth or shallowness, and their degree of division into different schools, I see that the teachings changed under the influence of the customs of the various countries, and that they were again altered in the course of being interpreted by later generations. In the course of these [ongoing] transformations, [p. 15a/15b] there are ways to remove the empty and move towards the substantial, to shed the chaff and preserve the grain. If we chose from the various teachings that which conforms to the real needs of Heaven and Man (*ch'ŏn in* 天人) and eliminate all the mixed-in empty and weird elements, we will arrive at a teaching that can serve all people and all future generations. Rather than allowing customs to alter [such a] teaching, the teaching should transform the customs. This is not something that can forcibly be brought about by

II ME: Of course, the first to sail around the earth was Magellan, and Columbus was not Portuguese. I could not ascertain the source from which Ch'oe Han'gi took his information. According to Zhang Zhishan, "Columbus and China," *Monumenta Serica* 41 (1993): 177–87, the first mention of Columbus in a Chinese-language source was in the *Zhifang waiji* written by Giulio Aleni in 1623, who transliterated the name as Gelong (Zhang, 184–5). Zhang lists no further Chinese sources mentioning Columbus, prior to Lin Zexu's *Sizhou zhi* (1840), which – just like the later geographies – uses variants of Kelun(bo) for Columbus' name. Ch'oe Han'gi transliterates the name as Jianu 嘉奴 (kor. Kanu, which could represent the sound Ga-lu). He may have taken this from a Japanese source. While his writing of Columbus' name is consistent throughout the text, he uses a different name for Portugal in other instances (here: Bu-lu-ya, otherwise: Pu-tao-ya).

III ME: The term used here, *kaebyŏk*, derives from Chinese mythology, where it denotes the parting of heaven and earth effected by Pangu – i.e. the beginning of the world. Its meaning came to extend to less radical beginnings, incorporating the ideas of "developing," "breaking new ground."

human power. The process has to be such that boundaries are set according to those things in the spirit of Heaven and Man which cannot be opposed or transgressed, and that their logic is clearly spelled out, such that I just formulate in words what is in fact the guiding principle of all times, naturally followed by Heaven and Man. From Confucianism, the ethics of human relationships, humaneness, and propriety should be taken over, while [towards the Confucian views on] ghosts and spirits, and on bad and good omens, a discriminating attitude should be assumed. From the Western methods (*sōbōp* 西法), calendrical science, mathematics and physics should be taken over, while the weird elements and the [threat and promise of] suffering and bliss should be eliminated. Within Buddhism, emptiness and nothingness should be turned into substantiality and being. Thus, the three teachings will be turned into one, innovation will be achieved along the lines of tradition, resulting in a teaching that can truly be practised all over the world. Beyond that, [things like] clothing, food, or daily utensils can [continue to] conform to what is appropriate for each place. Language and etiquette belong to the realm of local institutions and cultural adornment; they need not be unified.

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Japan

23 Jōkei: *The Kōfukuji Petition* (1205)

Introduced and translated by Christoph Kleine

Introduction

The *Kōfukuji sōjō* was written in 1205, by the highly respected and learned monk Gedatsu-bō Jōkei 解脱房貞慶 (1155–1213), on behalf of the powerful clergy of the Kōfukuji temple in Nara. It was the first in a series of petitions submitted to the governmental authorities in the thirteenth century that aimed to obtain a ban on the immensely popular Buddhist movement of “single-minded and exclusive Buddha-recollection” (*ikkō senju nenbutsu* 一向専修念佛).^I This movement is based on the teachings of Hōnen-bō Genkū 法然房源空 (1133–1212), a Tendai monk who maintained that, to attain salvation from the cycle of birth and death, one needed only to recite the name of the Buddha Amitāyus (Jap. Amida), using the formula “Homage to the Buddha Amida” (*namu amida butsu* 南無阿彌陀佛). He firmly believed that doing so would ensure a rebirth after death in his “Pure Land” Sukhāvātī – the Buddha-land of supreme bliss (*gokuraku* 極樂), located in the west. Sentient beings living in the “latter days of the Dharma,” he argued, had virtually no other option for gaining liberation.

Representatives of the established eight doctrinal traditions of Buddhism, officially recognised by the imperial court, viewed Hōnen’s teachings as a significant threat to both the preservation of traditional Buddhist practice, and public morality. If salvation did not require the cultivation of traditional Buddhist practices, or morally good behaviour – i.e. if the “sanctity of works” was to be rejected – then the door was wide open to sloth and immorality.

While the imperial house and its institutions were nominally tasked with recognising or banning Buddhist orders and sects, the authorities generally refrained from intervening in doctrinal matters. State authorities only took action when a Buddhist community actually posed a genuine threat to public order. Consequently, critics of the “heretical” movements advanced the “interdependence of ruler’s law and Buddha Dharma” (*ōbō buppō sōi* 王法佛法相依) paradigm, to persuade the authorities to act.^{II} According to this powerful paradigm – which retained its validity up until the nine-

I These petitions were to have some (limited) short-term success, with Hōnen himself being exiled in 1207. Ultimately, however, the movement prevailed, and is today the most widely practised branch of Buddhism in Japan.

II See Kuroda Toshio, “The Imperial Law and the Buddhist Law,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 23, no. 3–4 (1996): 271–85; Christoph Kleine, “Religion and the Secular in Premodern Japan from the Viewpoint of Systems Theory,” *Journal of Religion in Japan* 2, no. 1 (2013): 1–34; Christoph Kleine, “Rethinking

Christoph Kleine, Leipzig University, Research Centre Global Dynamics, KFG 2344, “Multiple Secularities – Beyond the West, Beyond Modernities”; Leipzig University, Faculty of History, Art and Area Studies, Institute for the Study of Religion

teenth century, and will be discussed in several texts in this volume – the two nomospheres of the ruler and the Buddha were, though distinct, nonetheless mutually complementary and interdependent. In essence, the thriving or decline of one nomosphere brings about the thriving or decline of the other. Any harm incurred upon Buddhism has a correspondingly negative impact upon the prosperity of the state, and vice versa.

In all likelihood, the distinction of two discrete yet interdependent nomospheres – one being concerned mainly with extra-mundane (*shusseken* 出世間) salvation, the other being in charge of intra-mundane (*seken* 世間) affairs – provided a powerful conceptual resource for the culture-specific appropriation of secularity – i.e. the institutionalisation of the religious-secular divide in Japan under the global condition.

The quoted final section of the *Kōfukuji petition* emphasises the interdependence of the Buddha Dharma and the ruler's law, to make a case for the prohibition of the movement of “single-minded and exclusive Buddha-recollection.”

Bibliographical Information

The translation given here is based on the edition in:

Jōkei 貞慶. “Kōfukuji sōjō” 興福寺奏状 [The Kōfukuji Petition]. In *Kamakura kyūbukkyō* 鎌倉旧仏教, edited by Kamata Shigeo 鎌田茂雄, and Tanaka Hisao 田中久夫. *Nihon shisō taikai shinsōban* 日本思想大系新装版, section: Zoku Nihon bukkyō no shisō 続・日本仏教の思想, vol. 3. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1995 [1971]; 315 (*kanbun*), 41–42 (*bungo*).

There is an excellent English translation of the text by Robert E. Morrell (*Early Kamakura Buddhism: A Minority Report*. Berkeley, CA: Asian Humanities Press, 1987) – first published under the title “Jōkei and the Kōfukuji Petition,” in the *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 10 (1983): 6–38. However, due to minor terminological ambiguities and inconsistencies, which might lead to problems of understanding regarding the question of distinctions between the ‘secular’ and the ‘religious,’ a new translation is presented here.

Translation by Christoph Kleine

Art. 9: The Error of Bringing Disorder to the Nation

The Buddha's Law (*buppō* 佛法) and the ruler's law (*ōbō* 王法) are like body and mind (*shinjin* 身心)¹: they should mutually ensure their [joint] well-being, and they should

the Interdependence of Buddhism and the State in Late Edo and Meiji Japan,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 49, no. 1 (2022): 89–113.

I CK: Note that in classical Japanese writing, the relationship of two analogous pairs of terms is, in a sense, crosswise – i.e. in this case, the Buddha Dharma represents the mind, and the ruler's law represents the body.

be well aware of [their mutual responsibility for] the rise and fall [of both]. In these times, the Pure Land doctrine (*jōdo hōmon* 淨土法門) has begun to flourish, and the activities of the exclusive cultivation of the essential practice (*senju yōgyō* 專修要行) [of calling upon the name of the Buddha Amida] prospers more than anything. But can we say that these are times in which the ruler's power (*ōka* 王化) has also been revived? Moreover, the three elements of [Buddhist] training (*sangaku* 三學) [morality, wisdom, meditation] have already been forsaken, and the eight doctrinal traditions (*hasshū* 八宗)^{II} are about to perish. Time and again, the ordering principle of the world is being disturbed! Our wish is for the [practice of] Buddha-recollection (*nenbutsu* 念佛) [as propagated by the Pure Land school as the one and only means to gain liberation] and the other schools to be as water and milk; and that the Buddha's Law and the ruler's ways (*ōdō* 王道) would harmonise heaven and earth indefinitely. But whereas the various [established] schools all trust in [the practice of] Buddha-recollection, and do not entertain malicious intentions [against the movement of the single-minded and exclusive practice of Buddha-recollection], the [adherents of the] exclusive practice [of Buddha-recollection] deeply loathe the other sects, and will not even share the same seat with them. They take their behaviour to such extremes that it is as difficult to get along with them as it is with fire and water. If things went in accord with the intentions of the [adherents of the] exclusive practice [of Buddha-recollection], then all other Buddhist activities (*butsuji* 佛事) and Dharma services (*hōji* 法事) in the world would soon be stopped. That high and low have not yet all taken refuge in this doctrine, and the life of the Dharma (*hōmyō* 法命) has not yet ended, is not for want of external endeavours (*tariki* 他力).^{III} The only reason is our sovereign's august prudence, and the imperturbable clarity of his understanding. Having arrived at the latter days (*kōdai* 後代) [of the Dharma],^{IV} if the [adherents of the] exclusive practice get their chance, then the attitude of the sovereign and his

II CK: A common term for the eight officially recognised doctrinal traditions of medieval Buddhism in Japan, and thus for Buddhist orthodoxy in general. The eight traditions are: Kushashū 俱舍宗, Jōjisushū 成實宗, Ritsushū 律宗, Hossōshū 法相宗, Sanronshū 三論宗, Kegonshū 華嚴宗, Tendaishū 天台宗, and Shingonshū 真言宗.

III CK: This is an interesting wording. In the Pure Land tradition, the concept of "other power" (*tariki*) plays a central role. It refers to the salvific power of the Buddha Amida, who transfers his outstanding merits – i.e. his good karma, which he had accumulated as Bodhisattva Dharmākara, before becoming the fully awakened Buddha of Immeasurable Life (Amitāyus) or Immeasurable Light (Amitābha) – to the believers who reverently pronounce his name while firmly believing that they will thereby be saved. It can be assumed that Jōkei, the author of the text, deliberately uses this technical term from the vocabulary of those he is criticising, and turns it against them.

IV CK: It was widely believed that a ten-thousand-year period of gradual decline of the Buddhist teaching had begun in 1052, two thousand years after the then-accepted date of Buddha Siddhartha Gautama's death. During this period, people would lose the ability to understand the Dharma, let alone put it into practice. In the end, people would become completely savage. Only the descent of the next Buddha Maitreya from Tūṣita Heaven in the distant future would reopen a path to liberation from the cycle of birth and death.

ministers will be to regard [all] other [Buddhist schools] as rubbish. But even if it does not come to the point of their being abandoned, wouldn't it be just as if the eight doctrinal traditions had indeed perished? We should reflect on historical instances like King Puṣyamitra's^V great destruction of monasteries, on account of his compliance with the admonitions of foolish ministers; or the Huizhang emperor's^{VI} elimination of monks and nuns, following the advice and the jealousy of the Daoists (*dōshi* 道士). As for the causes and conditions for the extinction of the Dharma (*hōmetu* 法滅), it is hard to fathom what the future will bring.

In order that he may deign to consider this matter, we bring this to the emperor's august attention. If an admonition is not issued now, then how shall future generations be prevented from confusion? True, the Buddha's community (*butsumon* 佛門) has had considerable problems since antiquity; but this joint appeal by the eight doctrinal traditions is unprecedented. With utmost respect, we defer to your wise judgment in determining the significance of this matter. Our earnest hope and request are that your imperial decree will proclaim your wishes across the seven circuits and all the provinces, calling for the correction of *śrāmaṇa* Genkū's doctrine of the exclusive practice of Buddha-recollection. The wish of those who entrust themselves to the World-honoured One [i.e. the Buddha] is that the waters of the Dharma may evermore harmonise with the waves of the sea of *sūn[ya]* [i.e. emptiness],^{VII} and that the glorious and mighty virtues of the Wisdom Kings (*myō'ō* 明王) may forever clear away the demonic clouds in the winds of the high mountains (*gyōzan* 堯山).^{VIII}

This sincere statement is presented to the court with awe and respect. [. . .]

[Signed on the] [. . .] day of the second month [in the year] Genkyū 2 [i.e. 1205]

^V CK: c. 185 BCE – c. 149 BCE; founder of Śuṅga Empire. Buddhist tradition has it that Puṣyamitra Śuṅga cruelly persecuted the Buddhists in his empire.

^{VI} CK: Eshō Tenshi 會昌天子; i.e. the Tang emperor Wuzong 武宗 (814–846; r. 840–846), who had initiated one of the most brutal persecutions of Buddhism in Chinese history during the *huaizhang* era (841–847) – hence the designation “Huizhang emperor.”

^{VII} CK: The term used here is *shunkai* 舜海. Possibly, Jōkei chose this unusual combination of characters – a phonetic transliteration of the Sanskrit term *sūn-* of *sūnyatā*, meaning “emptiness,” and *kai*, for “sea” – in order to avoid using the more obvious term *kūkai* 空海 (sea of emptiness), which is also the name of the founder of the Shingon School of Japanese Buddhism, Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師 (774–835). More importantly, however, the character *shun* 舜 also alludes to one of the five mythological emperors of China. This is probably the main reason why Jōkei favoured the character *shun* 舜 over *kū* 空, considering that he alludes to another of the five mythical emperors, Yao 堯, in the same sentence.

^{VIII} CK: Gyōzan can be read as both “high mountain” or “mountain of [the mythical emperor] Yao.” In the light of Jōkei's use of the term “Shunkai,” it is safe to assume that this is a play on words. In another version of the text, the character for “sun” (*hi* 日) is given instead of “mountain.” Cf. Gedatsu-bō Jōkei 解脱房貞慶, “Kōfukuji Sōjō 興福寺奏状,” in *Jōdo Shinshū Seiten* 浄土真宗聖典, ed. Arikuni Tomomitsu 有国智光 (Shūnan, 2005), accessed June 17, 2021, <http://www.yamadera.info/seiten/c4/kobukujisojo.htm>.

24 Ji'en: Notes on Foolish Views (ca. 1220)

Introduced and translated by Christoph Kleine

Introduction

The author of the text reproduced in translated excerpts below, Ji'en 慈圓 (1155–1225), was a famous poet and priest of the Tendai school of Buddhism, who was given the posthumous name Jichen. His father was the regent Fujiwara Tadamichi, and his older brother was the powerful Kujō no Kanezane 藤原兼實 (1149–1207), who had been appointed *sesshō* (regent for a minor sovereign) in 1186, and five years later became *kanpaku* ("chancellor" who executes political power on behalf of the emperor). At the age of eleven, Ji'en entered Enryakuji, the main temple of the Tendai school on Mt Hiei, located north-east of the capital Kyōto. He was ordained at the age of fourteen, and received the Buddhist name Dōkai, which he changed to Ji'en in 1181. In 1192, at the age of 37, he became head (*zasu* 座主) of the Tendai school, and the emperor Go-Toba's 後鳥羽 (1180–1239; r. 1183–98) personal chaplain. Although deeply devoted to Go-Toba, who had in 1198 abdicated in favour of his son, Emperor Tsuchimikado, Ji'en opposed his ambitions to overthrow the military government of Kamakura and reinstall imperial power. Consequently, Ji'en turned his back on the imperial court in 1219. From then until his death, he held the position of head administrator (*bettō* 別當) of Shiten'ōji Temple. On 15 September 1225, he died of illness at Sakamoto, at the foot of Mt Hiei.

Ji'en wrote several books on doctrinal matters, as well as poems; around 1220, having a keen interest in politics, he also wrote the seven-volume historiography *Gukanshō*, in which he critically reflects upon the political history of Japan from the reign of the first emperor Jinmu (third century BC?) to 1219. Ji'en adopted the prevailing pessimistic Buddhist outlook on history, according to which he was living in the latter days of the Dharma (*mappō* 末法), generally believed to be a period that had started in 1052 CE, and which would last 10,000 years. During these 10,000 years, Buddhism would gradually decline, and finally disappear. Moreover, his perspective on history was based on the idea that historical processes are governed by ordering principles (*dōri* 道理), and that, conversely, these principles have manifested themselves in historical events. One of these principles, which are of utmost importance in the history of Japan, is "the *dōri* by which Buddhism protects the state."¹ This is none other than the paradigm of the

¹ Charles H. Hambrick, "The Gukanshō: A Religious View of Japanese History," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 5, no. 1 (1978): 37–58.

Christoph Kleine, Leipzig University, Research Centre Global Dynamics, KFG 2344, "Multiple Secularities – Beyond the West, Beyond Modernities"; Leipzig University, Faculty of History, Art and Area Studies, Institute for the Study of Religion

interdependence of the Buddha's Law or Dharma and the ruler's law, which we encountered in Jōkei's *Kōfukuji Petition*, a text written only fifteen years earlier.

Bibliographical Information

The translation given here is based on the edition in:

Ji'en 慈圓. "Gukanshō 愚管抄" [Notes on Foolish Views]. In *Kokushi Taikei* 国史大系. Edited by Keizai Zasshisha 経済雑誌社. Vol. 14, *Hyakurenshō, Gukanshō, Genkō Shakusho* 百鍊抄 愚管抄 元亨釈書. Tokyo: Keizai Zasshisha 経済雑誌社, 1901; 417–23, 428, 579.

Page numbers given in square brackets refer to this edition.

An edition consulted here can be found in:

Maruyama Jirō 丸山二郎. *Gukanshō* 愚管抄. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1949, which was digitalised by Satō Hiroya (http://www.st.rim.or.jp/~success/gukansyo_index.html)

A translation consulted here can be found in:

Delmer M. Brown and Ishida Ichiro. *The Future and the Past: A Translation and Study of the Gukanshō, an Interpretative History of Japan Written 1219*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1979.

Translation by Christoph Kleine

During the reign of Emperor Kinmei [r. 539–571], the Buddha's Law (*buppō* 佛法) was first introduced to this country. Prince Shōtoku [574–622], a grandson of Kinmei, was born towards the end [of Kinmei's rule]. It is evident that this country has been protected and preserved by the Buddha's Law ever since. [. . . p. 417/418 . . .]

From the very beginning of the age of man, and through to Emperor Seimu's reign [r. 131? – 190?; i.e. the first 13 reigns], emperors were invariably succeeded by their sons – a form of succession known as the True Law (*shōbō* 正法). Chūai [r. 192? – 200?; the 14th ruler] was the first to ascend the throne as an imperial grandson, while Empress Jingū [r. 201? – 269] – the great great-granddaughter of Emperor Kaika [r. 158? – 98? BCE] – became the first reigning empress. When Ōjin [r. 270? – 310?] ascended the throne, he thought that “as our country is now lacking the spirit of the age of Kami (*shindai no kibun* 神代ノ氣分), the situation is bound to deteriorate swiftly, with people harbouring only negative thoughts and feelings. Therefore, I will safeguard the country until the introduction of the Buddha's Law.”

The reigns of all his successors proved to be brief. The line of descent from Ingyō and Yūryaku [r. 456? – 479?] was not continued, necessitating the search for descendants of an earlier emperor. Subsequently, the Buddha's Law was introduced, along with other [cultural elements from the continent]. During that period, it was difficult for the country's ruler to reign on their own. While Shōtoku [574–622] was Crown

Prince of the Eastern Palace [and, as such, executed real political power], Suiko [554–628] reigned as empress for thirty-six years. Despite the assassination of Emperor Sushun [r. 587–592] in 592, the land was well governed [under Suiko]. [Sixteen-year-old]^I Prince Shōtoku and Great Imperial Chieftain Soga [no Umako; ?–626] reached an agreement to attack and kill [Mononobe no] Moriya [? – 587], who opposed the introduction of the Buddha's Law. Subsequently, Prince Shōtoku and Soga [no Umako] commenced the promotion of the Buddha's Law, which has flourished ever since. [. . . p. 418/419 . . .]

Upon careful contemplation of these examples, I think the essential point is that the ruler's law (*ōbō* 王法 / *kōhō* 皇法)^{II} was hereafter to be protected by the Buddha's Law. Those events unfolded to manifest the principle (*ri* 理) that, following the introduction of the Buddha's Law to Japan, the preservation of the ruler's law could no longer be sustained without the support of the Buddha's Law. And yet another principle is that some principles (*dōri* 道理 = 道理) are more important and others less important, and that an important principle shall be well considered and a less important one discarded. Who was tasked with unveiling these principles for that era? Evidently, it was Prince Shōtoku, a bodily manifestation (*keshin* 化身) of the bodhisattva Kannon [Skt. Avalokiteśvara]. These occurrences were a direct result of his conscious awareness [of his role as a saviour figure]. [p. 419/420] What leads me to draw such a conclusion? Because, after the prince's passing, people gradually realised that he was actually a provisional manifestation (*gonja* 權者) of Kannon. While he was alive, they perceived him merely as an ordinary human being, but, after his demise, they came to realise that he had in fact been very extraordinary. When he was still a child, he sure enough acted like a child, but at the young age of sixteen, he was able to vanquish Moriya, who was about to destroy the Buddha's Law. This achievement was mainly due to his close alliance with Great Imperial Chieftain (*daijin* 大臣) Soga no Umako, an adult with mundane power and prestige. This Umako was undoubtedly a model minister, who had taken his refuge in the Buddha's Law. When it appeared that the chief of the Soga clan, Emperor Sushun – who lacked any virtue and had ascended to the throne merely because he was Kinmei's son – was about to attempt to kill Umako, the latter, empowered by his faith in the Buddha's Law, pre-emptively eliminated the emperor before he himself could be killed. This act served as his sole objective.

We cannot assert that this ruler [Sushun] was assassinated solely because he was destroying the Buddha's Law, as in Moriya's case. To claim that the Buddha's Law and the ruler's law were locked in bitter conflict [here], with the Buddha's Law emerging victorious, would be defamatory to the Buddha's Law. [Likewise,] the act of killing Moriya was not carried out by the Buddha's Law; rather, it was the ruler's law dealing

I CK: Shōtoku's age is only given in the Iwanami edition.

II CK: "*Kōhō* 皇法" is given in the *Kokushi Taikei* edition (p. 419), whereas the Iwanami edition has the more common "*ōbō* 王法."

with a harmful minister, because he posed a threat to the ruler's law's treasure.^{III} As I strive to illuminate the principles underlying these events, I reach the conclusion that the above-mentioned principle [of the Buddha's Law safeguarding the ruler's law] stands as a true Principle (*makoto no dōri* 誠ノ道リ).^{IV}

Let us now turn our attention to the relative importance of the [second] principle of the world (*seken no dōri* 世間ノ道リ),^V and consider [the aforementioned] Empress Suiko, who held the dual position of being both the empress and the younger sister of Emperor Bidatsu [r. 572–585], as they shared the same father, Emperor Kinmei. The question arises as to why Bidatsu married his sister [Suiko]. [p. 420/421] Probably, such marriages were not frowned upon during that time. The custom of prohibiting a brother from marrying his sister came later, after the introduction of the Buddha's Law and [other Chinese ideas and practices that were adopted in Japan]. Following the example set by Empress Jingū [r. 201–269], Suiko ought to have ascended the throne immediately after the death of Bidatsu [in 585]. However, Yōmei [r. 585–587] was enthroned instead, as he, the father of Prince Shōtoku, was considered the most suitable candidate. But Yōmei did not reign for long, because he died only two years later. Prince Shōtoku might have had a premonition about this. Subsequently, Sushun, another son of Emperor Kinmei, ascended the throne, as there was no way Prince Shōtoku could prevent it. When the prince observed Sushun's features, however, he made a prediction: "Something in your eyes indicates that you will not live long, and that you will face military disaster." Not heeding the prince's prophecy, Sushun had a boar killed, and uttered a curse: "I want the person I hate to be killed just like this boar has been killed."

However, the significance of the principle that the Buddha's Law and the ruler's law should be protected by Suiko's assumption of the throne after the ruler [Sushun] was killed [by Umako, as outlined above], with Prince Shōtoku administering state affairs, was so immense that its power could not be resisted at that time. Thus, the people may have regarded Sushun's assassination as "a commendable act by the Great Imperial Chieftain of the Soga clan." Although I do not know with certainty, it may have been a requirement of principle, too, that Empress Suiko be involved. Since the Buddha's Law and the ruler's law were now firmly intertwined, the Crown Prince simply observed the events, not voicing any opposition – thereby tacitly approving what his minister had done. Considering that the principle of the Buddha's Law safeguarding the ruler's law was of utmost importance at that time, Prince Shōtoku likely concluded that the assassination of Emperor Sushun was justified.

III CK: This might refer to the Buddha's Law or *dharma* (Jap. *hō*), which is regarded as one of three treasures that constitute Buddhism as a whole, namely: (1) the Buddha (i.e. the founder), (2) the *dharma* (i.e. his teachings), and (3) the *saṅgha* (i.e. the community). On the other hand, using the neutral phrase *takara*, the *Kokushi taishi* edition rather suggests the simple meaning of "the treasure of the ruler's law."

IV CK: マコトノ道理 in the Iwanami edition.

V CK: 世間ノ道理 in the Iwanami edition.

From that point on, events followed a singular course of history, with no conflict between the Buddha's Law and the ruler's law. As such an offence [had already been committed in the past], it never occurred to anyone [thereafter] to assault the ruler of the country (*kokuō* 國王) [again]. Moreover, people have refrained from even discussing such [an attack], as it is abhorrent. Anyone contemplating such an act would come to a clear realisation of the principle that it is indeed abominable. [421/422] In summary, if Prince Shōtoku had punished Umako [for assassinating Emperor Sushun] as if it were a mere human affair, he would have responded ordinarily, failing to align with the fundamental intent (*hon'i* 本意) of the most significant principle of that time. [. . .]

Subsequently, there came a moment in time when the ministerial house [of the Fujiwara] was destined to rise and take charge of state affairs. The Great Deity of Heavenly Illumination^{VI} had made a divine agreement with the Great Illuminating Deity of Kasuga,^{VII} that these two ancestral deities would jointly protect the imperial palace. [p. 422/423] As per this agreement, the time had come for the emperor to receive assistance from the ministerial house [of the Fujiwara], and for Fujiwara Kamatari (614–669), known as the Great Woven Cap (*taishokkan* 大織冠),^{VIII} to be born and succeed Prince Shōtoku as an administrator of state affairs, in support of the Buddha's Law.

This period coincided with Empress Kōgyoku's reign [i.e., 642–645], during which [Naka no Ōe, the later] Emperor Tenchi [r. 661–672] became the Crown Prince, and worked alongside the empress to bring about improvements. After [Soga] Iruka's head had been severed by Kamatari in the garden where the imperial banquet [of 645] was being held, it became abundantly clear that the nation of Japan could no longer be sustained solely by the ruler's prestige and power. This would have only added disorder to disorder. Instead, the time had come for the power of the Buddha's Law to merge with the good governance of the ministers [of the Fujiwara clan]. [. . . p. 423–428 . . .]

Subsequently, Japan experienced various disturbances, yet the ruler's law and the Buddha's Law continued to safeguard each other. The ministerial house [of the

VI CK: Tenshō Daijin 天照大神, also read as Amaterasu Ōmikami, the sun goddess who is regarded as the progenitor of the imperial clan.

VII CK: Kasuga no Daimyōjin 春日ノ大明神, the ancestral god of the Fujiwara clan, worshiped at the Kasuga Shrine near Nara.

VIII CK: The "Great Woven Cap" or *taishokkan* 大織冠 is the highest rank, established in the Taika Reforms in 647. The term is used here as another name of Fujiwara no Kamatari, who, in 669, was the first retainer to be promoted to this rank. Originally, Kamatari was a member of the powerful Nakatomi clan, and was called Nakatomi no Kamako. Ironically, in the sixth century, the Nakatomi clan, together with the Mononobe clan, had firmly opposed the establishment of Buddhism. Kamako eventually changed his name to Kamatari, and, on his deathbed, he was granted the family name of Fujiwara, along with the court rank of the Great Woven Cap. This Kamatari is regarded as the founder of the Fujiwara clan, which dominated Japanese politics from the late ninth to the late twelfth centuries. The author of this historiography, the abbot Ji'en, was, like so many high-ranking clerics of the Heian period (794–1185), himself an offspring of this powerful clan.

Fujiwara] faithfully upheld the custom^{IX} of harmonious relations like that between fish and water, bringing blessings to the country. However, with the passage of time, deterioration gradually set in, and now it appears as though the ruler's law and the Buddha's Law have nearly vanished. [. . . p. 428–579 . . .]

As I delve into the accounts of past conditions, the process of change in the lives of rulers, ministers, and warriors of Japan gradually becomes apparent to me. Reflecting upon this process and its associated conditions, while considering the ordering principles for different periods of time, I have also come to understand and pay attention to those reigns where principle and reality do not align.

For the generations to come, it is crucial to govern the state wisely, by clearly discerning between what is wrong (*ja* 邪) and what is right (*shō* 正), what is good (*zen* 善) and what is bad (*aku* 惡), and to act in harmony with the principles for this final age [of the Dharma] (*matsudai* 末代). By becoming vessels for the blessings bestowed upon living [beings] by Buddhas and gods, they must continue to safeguard the Buddha's Law and the ruler's law, throughout the remaining sixteen reigns of the [allotted] one hundred dynastic rulers.^X Because this is the primary intent (*hon'i* 本意) of the boundless blessings for living beings, and the mysterious responses (*myōō* 冥應) of Buddhas and gods, I have emphasised it as the central point of this writing.

IX CK: *Rei* 禮; the Iwanami edition has *kokorozashi* 志 (intention, will, etc.).

X CK: As Ji'en states in the third book of his *Gukanshō*, he believed that, after the reign of Emperor Jinmu 神武 – the mythical founder of the Japanese Empire and first emperor, who is said to have lived between 711 and 585 BC, and ascended the throne in 660 BC – a hundred more emperors were to follow. By Ji'en's time, eighty-four generations of emperors had already passed, so another sixteen would surely follow. He writes: "I do not know how it was in the age of Kami, but I hear that after the beginning of the age of man and the enthronement of Emperor Jimmu, Japan is to have only one hundred reigns. Now that we are in the 84th reign not many more are left. Meanwhile, no one has written Succession Tales for the period after the outbreak of the Hogen Rebellion (*hogen no ran* 保元ノ亂) [of 1156]. I hear that there may be some, but I have not seen any. Why? I am convinced that because people prefer to write only about that which is good and everything has been disturbed since the outbreak of the Hogen Rebellion, they have shied away from events that are all bad and not written Succession Tales for this modern period." Jien 慈円, Delmer M. Brown und Ichiro Ishida, *The Future and the Past: A Translation and Study of the Gukanshō, an Interpretative History of Japan Written 1219* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1979), 20. Cf. Keizai Zasshisha 經濟雜誌社, ed., *Kokushi Taikei* 国史大系, vol. 14, *Hyakurenshō, Gukanshō, Genkō shakusho* 百鍊抄 愚管抄 元亨釋書 (Tokyo: Keizai Zasshisha, 1901), 412.

25 Clergy of the Enryakuji: *Statement by the Great Assembly [of Monks] of the Enryakuji – Notes on Stopping the [Movement of the] Single-Minded and Exclusive Practice [of Buddha-Recollection] (1224)*

Introduced and translated by Christoph Kleine

Introduction

This text, also known as “Petition of the Enryakuji” (*Enryakuji sōjō* 延暦寺奏状) or “Petition of the Mountain Gate” (*Sanmon sōjō* 山門奏状), is another petition seeking a prohibition of the nenbutsu movement founded by Hōnen; as a result, it is also called “Notes on Stopping the [Movement of the] Single-minded and Exclusive Practice [of Buddha-recollection]” (*Teishi ikkō senju ki* 停止一向専修記).

Just like the clergy of the powerful temple Kōfukuji of Nara, on whose behalf Jōkei had written his petition in 1205, the clergy of the Sanmon branch of the Tendai school, based at the Enryakuji monastic complex on Mt Hiei, was concerned by the success of the nenbutsu movement, and its consequences for both established Buddhism and the nation. The founder of this movement, Hōnen, was himself a representative of the Sanmon branch of the Tendai school, which was arguably the most powerful Buddhist institution in the early thirteenth century. Furthermore, most of Hōnen’s disciples were Tendai monks too. Accordingly, the clergy of the Enryakuji was alarmed by the growth of a movement that had developed out of its own ranks, and yet had evaded the control of the Sanmon authorities.

Like the Kōfukuji Petition, the Sanmon Petition refers to the paradigm of the interdependence of the two nomospheres – the Buddha Dharma and the ruler’s law – in order to convince the mundane authorities – i.e. the representatives of the ruler’s law – to ban the “evil sect” (*jashū* 邪宗; a designation later also used for Christianity) of the single-minded and exclusive practice. In contrast to the Kōfukuji Petition, the Sanmon Petition elaborates in more detail exactly how disturbances within the Buddha’s nomosphere affect the ruler’s nomosphere. Jōkei had simply presupposed that the decline of the Buddha’s Law results in the decline of the ruler’s law, interpreting the political turmoil of the late twelfth century, which led to a considerable loss of power on the side of the imperial house, as a clear sign of the deteriorating effects of

Christoph Kleine, Leipzig University, Research Centre Global Dynamics, KFG 2344, “Multiple Secularities – Beyond the West, Beyond Modernities”; Leipzig University, Faculty of History, Art and Area Studies, Institute for the Study of Religion

heresy – i.e. the weakening of the Buddha Dharma by heterodox movements. Twenty years later, the situation had not improved. Cloistered emperor Go-Toba's (failed) attempt to regain political power against the military rulers of Kamakura led to the so-called Jōkyū War in 1221. Traditionally, the Enryakuji monks had a close relationship with the imperial house, and were therefore particularly upset with the political situation. A main culprit was quickly identified: Hōnen's heresy of the single-minded and exclusive practice.

In the text, we also find early examples of metaphorical descriptions of the relationship between the two nomospheres – namely as resembling “the two wings of a bird” (鳥二翅) or the “two wheels of a cart” (車兩輪), which subsequently became stereotyped expressions that were reiterated time and again throughout the centuries – as we will see repeatedly in this volume. Furthermore, the ruler's nomosphere is explicitly designated as “mundane” (*seken*) and as “human laws” (*ninpō* 人法) – suggesting that the Buddha's Law is supra-mundane and super-human. The idea that the moral basis of the Buddha's nomosphere – the “five fundamental precepts” – corresponds to Confucian ethics – as expressed by the “five permanent virtues” – had already become a standard interpretation in the Chinese Tiantai tradition, and was reproduced in Japan well into modern times.

Bibliographical Information

The translation of extracts from the petition, written in classical Chinese, is based on:

Clergy of the Enryakuji. “Enryakuji daishu ge (teishi ikkō senju) 延暦寺大衆解 (停止一向專修記)”

[Statement by the Great Assembly (of Monks) of the Enryakuji: Notes On the Prohibition of the Exclusive Practice (of Buddha-Recollection)]. In *Kamakura-ibun* 鎌倉遺文, edited by Takeuchi Rizō 竹内理三. Vol 5. Tokyo: Tōkyōdō-Shuppan, 1971–1997; 275.

Translation by Christoph Kleine

The Wickedness of the [Movement of the] Single-Minded and Exclusive [Practice of Buddha-Recollection] Must be Stopped, so that the [Buddhist] Traditions That Protect the Country May Prosper

The Buddha's Law (*buppō* 佛法) and the ruler's law (*ōbō* 王法) protect and support each other. They are like the two wings of a bird, and they resemble the two wheels of a cart. The *Great Collection Sūtra*^I explains that it is through the vital energy (*seiki* 精氣) of the Buddha's Law that the vital energy of the spirits and gods (*kishin* 鬼神) grows. When the spirits and gods have vital energy, the five grains have abundant vital energy. When the five grains have vital energy, social relations are in order, and people enjoy prosperity. For this reason, one worships the Buddha's Law from the bottom of one's heart, and one does not turn away from the ruler's law. The Four Wheel Turning [Sagely Kings, *shi rinten* 四輪轉]^{II} jointly protect the land. When the Buddha's Law faces decline, the spirits and gods lack the taste of the Dharma, and instead absorb the vitality of the plants, and consume the energy of the grains. Since this is the food [necessary for stabilising] social relations, [people's] hearts [as a consequence of the shortage of food] are no longer sincere. Those who refuse to honour the Three Jewels (*sanbō* 三寶) of Buddha, Dharma [i.e. his teachings], and saṅgha [i.e. his community] are eternally lost in the three poisons (*sandoku* 三毒) of greed, hatred, and ignorance (quoted *mutatis mutandis*). At present, groups slandering the Buddha's Law are spreading in all provinces. Among them, there is not one who has formerly accumulated good [karma], or is dedicated to [Buddhist] practice, except for the invocation of the six syllables of [Amida Buddha's] name. So, whose misdemeanour is it that is bringing the country to ruin? [. . .]

According to the Buddha's Law, there are five [fundamental] precepts (*gokai* 五戒),^{III} according to mundane (*seken* 世間) [law] there are the five eternal (*gojō* 五常)^{IV}

I CK: *Daijikyō* 大集經; full title: *Daihōdō daijikyō* 大方等大集經 (T 13 no. 397), a collection of Mahāyāna sūtras in 60 volumes; Skt. *Mahāvaiṣṭya-mahāsaṃnipāta-sūtra*. I was unable to identify the passages quoted below in the collection.

II CK: The term *shi rinten* 四輪轉 suggests that this refers to the four kinds of sagely, benevolent, just, and capable “wheel-turning kings” (Skt. *cakravartī-rāja*), who – according to Buddhist mythology – rule the four continents surrounding Mount Sumeru, the axis mundi. Within the given context, however, it appears to be more likely that it is actually the Four Heavenly Gods (*shitennō* 四天王; Skt. *catur-mahā-rājakāyikāḥ*), who protect the four quarters of the universe, that are meant here.

III CK: That is, the basic commandments not to kill (不害), not to steal (不盜), not to commit adultery (不邪淫), not to speak untruthfully (不妄語), and not to drink alcohol (不飲酒). These precepts should be kept by all Buddhists, whether ordained or lay.

IV CK: That is, the cardinal virtues of Confucianism, namely benevolence (仁), righteousness (義), propriety (禮), wisdom (智) and fidelity (信). The correspondence of the five precepts and the five cardi-

[virtues of Confucianism]. The words are different, but the principle is the same. If one violates the practice of the precepts of the Buddhists, how can one comply with the [mundane] laws and ordinances of the rulers [which are based on the five permanent virtues]!

Since Genkū [1133–1212; i.e. Hōnen] has founded his wicked school (*jashū* 邪宗), the precepts and laws have already been obscured. Propriety and friendly relations have also been abandoned. The moral influence of the wise ruler's virtue-power must now be quickly exerted, to save the uneducated people from this peril. [. . .] Now, if discipline, concentration, and wisdom^V are spread in all provinces, if Buddha, Dharma, and saṅgha are revered throughout the world, if the ringleaders of the exclusive practice [of Buddha-recollection] are banished to the far distance, and if they are never allowed to return to their homes, then a time of great peace will come! This is what we convey to the authorities in the preceding articles.

But now the stupid fellows say that the times are already corrupt. People are gradually degenerating, and the Buddha's Law and the human laws (*ninpō* 人法) are difficult to save, and difficult to promote. What a sad statement! One word can indeed be the deciding factor in the death of the Way. [. . .] The prosperity and ruin of the empire do not depend on timing. Even if one lives in the Latter Days (*matsudai* 末代) [of the Dharma], and even if the world is in turmoil, as long as a clear-sighted ruler (*myōō* 明王) venerates the Buddhas and the gods, and the wise ministers love propriety and music, one can expect the state (*kokka* 國家) to flourish. How much more will the scriptures of the Thus-Come-One [Skt. *tathāgata*, i.e. the Buddha] be the imperishable jewel of the Dharma? How should those who show a believing heart not experience a corresponding effect? One should only be concerned about the strength or weakness of one's own mind. How can one doubt the existence of the Dharma?

We hope for a favourable judgement. When the single-minded and exclusive practice is banned, and the practice of the eight [orthodox] doctrinal traditions prospers, the Buddha's Law and the ruler's law will prosper for 10,000 years. The gods of heaven and the gods of earth will jointly pacify the realm. The entire body of monks cannot bear the grief of the demise of the law (*hōmetsu* 法滅).

nal virtues had already been frequently discussed in Chinese Buddhism, to demonstrate the ethical compatibility of Buddhism and Confucianism. According to Zhiyi 智顗 (538–597) – founder of the Tiantai tradition, which the authors of our petition represent in Japan – benevolence equates to not killing, righteousness equates to not stealing, propriety equates to not committing adultery, wisdom equates to not drinking alcohol, and fidelity equates to not speaking untruthfully (*Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止觀 T 46, no. 1911, p. 77b3–8). Note that Zhiyi also assigns the five cardinal virtues to the “mundane law” (*shifa*; Jap. *sehō* 世法).

V CK: That is, the three fundamental aspects of training (三學) in Buddhism: discipline (*kai* 戒) wards off bodily evil, meditative concentration (*jō* 定) calms mental disturbance, and wisdom (*e* 慧) dispels delusion and proves truth.

26 Nichiren: *On the Four Stages of Faith and the Five Stages of Practice* (1277)

Introduced by Christoph Kleine

Introduction

The author of this text, Nichiren 日蓮, is considered the founder of one of the major doctrinal traditions of Japanese Buddhism. Formally ordained in the Tendai tradition in 1237, he took the name Zeshō-bō. Thus, like Hōnen, Nichiren was a monk of the Tendai School; he became irreparably estranged from the school, however, due to his idiosyncratic interpretation of the Dharma. Just as Hōnen had promoted the exclusive practice of invoking the Buddha Amida in the formula “Homage to the Buddha Amida” (*namu amida butsu*) as the only viable path to liberation in the latter age of the Dharma, Nichiren tried to convince the people of his time that salvation lay solely in the *Sūtra of the Lotus of the Wonderful Dharma* (*Myōhō rengekyō* 妙法蓮華經, T 9, no. 262; Skt. *Saddharma-puṇḍārika-sūtra*). As a practice, therefore, he recommended the recitation of the formula “Homage to the Sūtra of the Lotus of the Wonderful Dharma” (*nammyōhō rengekyō* 南無妙法蓮華經). Nichiren sharply criticised all other Buddhist schools of his time for not recognising, or not sufficiently emphasising, the paramount importance of the *Lotus Sutra* as the ultimate expression of Buddha Śākyamuni’s teaching.

From the state’s point of view, Nichiren’s attacks on other Buddhist schools of thought and institutions endangered social peace. What is more, it was deemed completely improper that Nichiren, a low-ranking monk, repeatedly addressed the highest authorities, urging them to ban the Pure Land Buddhism based on the teachings of Hōnen, and punish its leaders. As a result, Nichiren himself became the victim of state persecution. In 1271, he narrowly escaped being beheaded, and was instead exiled to the remote island of Sado, where he continued to write down his ideas – often in the form of letters sent to his followers.

The passages reproduced here in English translation are taken from one such letter. The text is titled “On the Four Stages of Faith and the Five Stages of Practice”; it is considered one of Nichiren’s ten major writings. It was probably written in 1277, as a reply to one of his most learned and devout disciples, Toki Jōnin 富木常忍 (1216–1299), who had asked in a letter about the correct practice.

Like so many Buddhist authors of the thirteenth century, Nichiren interprets the decline of political order – which became manifest in various calamities, natural disasters, and the threat of invasion by the Mongols – in terms of the paradigm of the interdepen-

Christoph Kleine, Leipzig University, Research Centre Global Dynamics, KFG 2344, “Multiple Secularities – Beyond the West, Beyond Modernities”; Leipzig University, Faculty of History, Art and Area Studies, Institute for the Study of Religion

dence of the Buddha's Law and the ruler's law. In his view, misinterpretations of the Buddha's teachings had caused the decline of the Buddha Dharma, and this, in turn, had led to a decline of the ruler's law. In a similar vein to the Sanmon Petition above, Nichiren claims that the decline of the Buddha Dharma causes the benevolent tutelary gods to leave the country, exposing it to the destructive forces of demons. The only remedy was complete conversion of the whole country to the *Lotus Sutra*. As suggested in the title of one of his most famous writings – *Risshō ankoku ron* 立正安國論 (Treatise on Pacifying the Country by Establishing Orthodoxy) – Nichiren insisted that the country could only be pacified by establishing the correct teaching, as contained in that sūtra.

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Nichiren 日蓮. “Shishin gohon shō 四信五品鈔.” In Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎, and Watanabe Kaikyoku 渡邊海旭. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924–1934. Vol. 84, no. 2696; 289a02–20.

Page numbers given in square brackets refer to this edition.

The translation adopted here can be found in:

The Writings of Nichiren Daishonin. Tokyo: Sōka Gakkai, 1999. Vol 1, no. 94; 789–90.

Chinese characters, some life dates, and additional notes have been added by Christoph Kleine in square brackets.

A Japanese *kakikudashibun* version is contained in:

Hori Nikkō 堀日亨, ed. *Nichiren Daishōnin gosho zenshū* 日蓮大聖人御書全集. Tokyo: Sōka Gakkai, 1984; 342–43.

Translation Adopted from *The Writings of Nichiren Daishonin*

The Buddha's Law [*buppō*] was first introduced to Japan in the reign of the thirtieth sovereign, Emperor Kinmei [r. 539–571]. During the twenty reigns, or more than two hundred years, from that time until the reign of Emperor Kanmu [r. 781–806], although the Buddha's Law of the six schools [*rokushū buppō* 六宗佛法] existed in Japan, the relative superiority of the Buddhist teachings had not yet been determined. Then, during the Enryaku era [782–806], a sage appeared in this country, a man

known as the Great Teacher Dengyō [767–822].^I He examined the teachings of the six schools, which had already been propagated, and made all the priests of the seven major temples of Nara his disciples. In time he established a temple on Mount Hiei to serve as the head temple, and won over the other temples in the country to serve as its branches. In this way the Buddha's Law of Japan came to be unified in a single school [*buppō yui ichimon* 佛法唯一門].^{II} The Ruler's Law [*ōbō*] likewise was not divided but clearly established, so that the nation was purified of evil. If we were to speak of Dengyō's accomplishments, we would have to say that they all spring from the passage [declaring the *Lotus Sūtra* to be foremost among all the sutras the Buddha] "has preached, now preaches, and will preach."¹

In the period that followed, the three great teachers Kōbō [774–835], Jikaku [794–864], and Chishō [814–891], claiming to be following Chinese authority, expressed the opinion that the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* and the others of the three major True Word^{III} sutras are superior to the *Lotus Sūtra*. Moreover, they appended the term "school" [*shū* 宗] to the True Word tradition, a term that the Great Teacher Dengyō had purposely omitted in reference to that tradition, and thus recognized the True Word as the eighth school of Buddhism. These three men each persuaded the emperor to issue an edict upholding the True Word and propagated those teachings throughout Japan, so that every temple accordingly went against the principles of the *Lotus Sūtra*. In so doing, they utterly violated the passage concerning the sutras the Buddha "has preached,

1 [editorial note 33 in the original] *Lotus Sutra*, chap. 10. [CK: The relevant passage reads: "There are immeasurable thousands of myriads of *koṭis* of sutras I have taught in the past, which I teach now, and which I will teach in the future. Among them, however, this *Lotus Sutra* is the most difficult to accept and to understand." 我所說經典無量千萬億,已說、今說、當說,而於其中,此法華經最為難信難解] (*Myōhō rengēkyō* 妙法蓮華經, T09, no. 262; 31, b16–18); English translation from Kumārajīva, and Tsugunari Kubo, *The Lotus Sutra* (Berkeley, CA: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2007, 160)]

I CK: Dengyō Daishi, or Saichō, was the founder of the Tendai school in Japan, which he had imported from China, where he had been ordained in that tradition. The year after his return to Japan in 805, he founded the Tendai school, with its headquarters on Mt Hiei, located at the 'demon gate', northeast of the imperial capital. The performance of rituals on that mountain was supposed to protect the capital from demonic powers.

II CK: Nichiren's account is by no means accurate here. Although Saichō had considerable success, he was far from being the undisputed master of all Buddhists. The six schools located in the former capital of Nara were not at all willing to accept Saichō as an authority.

III CK: "True Word" (*shingon* 眞言) is the Chinese rendering of the Sanskrit term 'mantra.' In the given context, it more specifically refers to the "esoteric teachings" (*mikkyō* 密教) of Buddhism, also known as Vajrayāna, Tantrayāna, or – due to the central position taken by the practice of reciting mantras in that tradition – as Mantrayāna. Kōbō Daishi, or Kūkai, is regarded as the founder of the respective school in Japan, the Shingonshū 眞言宗.

now preaches, and will preach,” and became archenemies of Śākyamuni,^{IV} Many Treasures,^V and the Buddhas of the ten directions.^{VI}

Thereafter, the Buddha's Law gradually declined and the Ruler's Law likewise became increasingly ineffectual. The protective deities who had dwelt here for so long, such as the Sun Goddess^{VII} and Great Bodhisattva Hachiman,^{VIII} have lost their power. Brahmā,^{IX} Śakra, and the four heavenly kings^X have deserted the country, and the country is already on the point of ruin. What thinking person could fail to be pained at and to lament such a situation?

In conclusion, the *perverted dharmas* [*jahō* 邪法] propagated by the three great teachers are disseminated from three temples: Tōji,^{XI} Sōji'in^{XII} on Mount Hiei, and Onjōji^{XIII}. If measures are not taken to prohibit the activities of these temples, then without a doubt the nation will be destroyed, and its people will fall into the evil paths. Although I have generally discerned the nature of the situation and informed the ruler, no one has ventured to make the slightest use of my advice. How truly pitiable!

IV CK: Lit. “the sage from the Śākya clan,” a very common honorific name for the so-called ‘historical Buddha’ – i.e. the founder of ‘Buddhism.’

V CK: Tahō 多寶, Skt. Prabhūtaratna, a past Buddha who appears in chapter eleven of the Lotus Sutra.

VI CK: The “ten directions” are the eight points of the compass (north, east, south, west, northeast, northwest, southeast and southwest) plus the directions of up and down (zenith and nadir). Accordingly, “ten directions” roughly means ‘everywhere.’

VII CK: Tenshō Daijin or Amaterasu Ōmikami 天照太神; i.e. the ancestral goddess of the imperial family.

VIII CK: 八幡, one of Japan's main deities, was given the Buddhist title Great Bodhisattva in 781, making him the first Japanese deity to be officially designated a bodhisattva. In the Kamakura period, the Minamoto clan, who had founded the military government in Kamakura (the *bakufu* or Shogunate), chose Hachiman as their patron deity, who thus eventually came to be regarded as the deity of warriors or the god of war.

IX CK: Bon[ten] 梵[天], the great heavenly king Brahmā, an Indian god adopted into Buddhism as one of the two major tutelary gods, the other being Tai[shakuten] 帝[釋天] – i.e. Śakra devānām indrah, or just Śakra or Indra.

X CK: The four guardian gods who protect the four quarters of the universe. They are held to be Indra's generals, each of which dwells on one side of the axis mundi, Mt Sumeru, to ward off the attacks of malicious spirits.

XI CK: 東寺, i.e. the headquarters of the Shingon school founded by Kōbō Daishi Kūkai in the southeastern corner of Kyōto.

XII CK: 總持院 or Hokke Sōji'in 法華總持院, a centre of the esoteric practice within the Sanmon branch of the Tendai school, located in the ‘Western Valley of the Eastern Pagoda’ on Mt Hiei.

XIII CK: 園城寺, i.e. the headquarters of the Jimon branch of the Tendai school, located at the foot of Mt Hiei, in Sakamoto, close to Lake Biwa.

27 Nichiren: *On the Receiving of the Three Great Secret Laws* (1281)

Introduced by Christoph Kleine

Introduction

The *San dai mitsuho shō* 三大秘法鈔 is another of Nichiren's texts, written on the eighth day of the fourth month in the fifth year of Kō'an (1282). It was written in reply to Ōta Kingo 大田金吾, also known as Ōta Jōmyō 大田乗明 (1222–1283), a follower of Nichiren, who lived in Nakayama in Shimōsa Province, and was converted to Nichiren's teachings by Toki Jōnin, the addressee of the text.

In the text, Nichiren unfolds his idea of the three great secret laws of the essential teaching (*honmon* 本門) of the *Lotus Sutra*. The three great secret laws are related to the three types of learning in Buddhism – precepts, meditation, and wisdom. The main object of devotion (*gohonzon* 御本尊), a kind of written maṇḍala that Nichiren had himself inscribed, represents meditation. The title (*daimoku* 題目) of the *Lotus Sutra* represents wisdom, and the so-called “ordination platform” (*kaidan* 戒壇) stands for the precepts. Nichiren's definition of the latter of the three secret laws was especially ambiguous and unclear. It seems that he wanted his ordination platform to be the centre of a nation, fully devoted to the *Lotus Sutra* – the sanctuary of the essential teaching. It is believed that Nichiren intended to enshrine the main object of devotion here, in front of which the title of the *Lotus Sutra* should be chanted, in the formula “*nammyōhō rengekyō*.”

The text suggests that the ordination platform also symbolises the unity of the Buddha Dharma and the ruler's law, a topic that Nichiren raises here in a completely new way. Whereas other Buddhist authors in medieval Japan interpreted the relationship between the two nomospheres (the mundane and the supra-mundane) as one of interdependence and complementarity, while stressing that they each have their own intrinsic logic and purpose – united only by their shared responsibility for social order and political stability – Nichiren propagates a mysterious fusion of the Buddha's Law and the ruler's law. This seems to amount to a ‘buddhocracy’ of sorts, in which the whole nation is united in its devotion to the *Lotus Sutra*, as interpreted by Nichiren.

Christoph Kleine, Leipzig University, Research Centre Global Dynamics, KFG 2344, “Multiple Secularities – Beyond the West, Beyond Modernities”; Leipzig University, Faculty of History, Art and Area Studies, Institute for the Study of Religions

Bibliographical Information

The translation adopted here can be found in:

Nichiren 日蓮. “San dai mitsuoh shō” 三大秘法鈔 [On the Receiving of the Three Great Secret Laws]. In *The Writings of Nichiren Daishonin*. Tokyo: Sōka Gakkai, 1999. Vol. 2, no. 353; 984–90. Chinese characters and additional notes have been added by Christoph Kleine in square brackets.

The text of the *Sandai hihō shō*, written in classical Japanese, can be found in:

Nichiren 日蓮. “Sandai hihō shō.” In *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經, edited by Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎, and Watanabe Kaikyoku 渡邊海旭. Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924–1934. Vol. 84, no. 2695, 287a02–10.

A slightly different version can be found in:

Hori Nikkō, ed. “Sandai hihō banjō no koto 三大秘法稟承事.” In *Nichiren Daishōnin gosho zenshū*. Tokyo: Sōka Gakkai, 1984; 1021–23.

Translation Adopted from *The Writings of Nichiren Daishonin*

The sanctuary, or ordination platform,¹ constitutes one of the Three Great Secret Laws [*san himitsu no hō* 三祕密ノ法] of the essential teaching [*honmon* 本門].² When the ruler’s law¹ [*ōbō*] and the Buddha’s Law³ [*buppō*] are mysteriously fused, when the Buddha’s Law and the ruler’s law in mutual accord; when both the ruler and his officials uphold the Three Great Secret Laws of the essential teaching; and when the

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I CK: “Secular law” in the Sōka Gakkai translation.

1 [editorial note 6 in the original] In Nichiren Daishonin’s teaching, “ordination platform” means the sanctuary, or place, where the object of devotion, or Gohonzon, is enshrined and the daimoku is chanted. According to the Lotus Sutra, upholding the sutra is observing the precepts. In the Daishonin’s teaching, upholding the sutra means to chant, and teach others to chant, the daimoku with faith in the object of devotion.

2 [editorial note 7 in the original] The “essential teaching” here means the essential teaching of the Latter Day of the Law, that is, the teaching of Nam-myōhō-rengē-kyō.

3 [editorial note 8 in the original] “The secular law” means the whole system of a community’s customs, practices, and rules as well as the activities there in all walks of life. “The Law of the Buddha” refers to the Law of Nam-myōhō-rengē-kyō and to the various principles based on it that underlie and support all human endeavors.

practice of King Possessor of Virtue and the monk Realization of Virtue⁴ is actualized in the future of the muddied and evil age of the Latter Day [*mappō* 末法], then imperial edicts and official proclamations will be issued,⁵ and the most fitting site will be sought out, one resembling the pure land of Eagle Peak,^{II} and the sanctuary will be established there. We have only to wait for the proper time for this. This is what is meant by the practice of the precept of the Law [*kaihō* 戒法].⁶

This will be a sanctuary not only where the people of the three countries [of India, China, and Japan], and all the inhabitants of Jambudvīpa,^{III} will come to receive the precept of the Law that enables them to repent and wipe out offenses, but also where the great heavenly kings Brahmā and Śakra will descend to take part in the ceremony.

4 [editorial note 9 in the original] According to the Nirvana Sutra, King Possessor of Virtue himself went to protect the monk Realization of Virtue, who alone was upholding the correct teaching against the violent attacks of its numerous slanderers. The king's soldiers and the people, overjoyed at his behavior, joined him willingly in the battle. The king was wounded and killed, but because of his actions, he was reborn in the land of Akshobhya Buddha. In this story the king represents the secular law, and the monk, the Law of the Buddha, and their unity is an expression of the fusion and mutual accord of the two types of law.

5 [editorial note 10 in the original] "Imperial edicts" were issued by the emperor and "official proclamations" by the Kamakura shogunate. In these references, Nichiren Daishonin follows the example of the Great Teacher Dengyō, whose plans for building an ordination platform to administer the precepts for immediate and perfect enlightenment were [p. 990] materialized by imperial edict, the political system of the day. In the Daishonin's time the virtual ruler was the regent of the Kamakura shogunate and the formal ruler was the emperor. Such "edicts" and "proclamations" would have been the official procedure for building an ordination platform in his day.

6 [editorial note 11 in the original] The Daishonin says, "Only by observing this wonderful precept have the Buddhas of the three existences become Buddhas endowed with the three bodies—the Dharma body, the reward body, and the manifested body, which are each without beginning or end" (I, pp. 481–82).

II CK: Skt. *Gr̥dhrakūṭa*, also known as Vulture Peak. Tradition has it that this hill, located in modern-day Bihar, India, was Śākyamuni Buddha's favourite retreat in *Rājagṛīha* (now *Rajgir/Rajagrih*). It was the scene of many of his sermons, not least the sermon that was transmitted under the title *Lotus Sutra* – i.e. the scripture that, according to Nichiren, represents the concluding and absolute truth.

III CK: One of four continents that surround Mount Sumeru, the axis mundi. It is shaped like the Indian subcontinent, and located in the south of Mount Sumeru. Jambudvīpa is the continent where human beings live. Accordingly, in Buddhist texts, Jambudvīpa represents the world in which we live.

28 Zonkaku: On Destroying the False and Revealing the Correct (1344)

Introduced and translated by Christoph Kleine

Introduction

Zonkaku 存覺 (1290–1373), the author of *Haja kenshō shō* 破邪顯正鈔 – the text reproduced in translated excerpts below – was the eldest son of Kakunyo 覺如 (1270–1351), the third head (*monshu* 門主) of the family mausoleum, which later became the Honganji Temple in Kyoto, and thus a great-grandson of Shinran, the founder of the True Pure Land School. In 1353, Zonkaku moved to Imakoji, north of Ōtani, in Eastern Kyōto, where he lectured on Shinran’s main work, the *Kyōgyōshinshō*. Although he did not succeed to the position of caretaker of the mausoleum, he contributed much to the doctrinal development of the community.

The selection from the *Haja kenshō shō* offered here has become a *locus classicus* within the Shinshū tradition, regarding the interpretation of the relationship between the Buddha Dharma and the ruler’s law. Compared to the way the paradigm was interpreted by representatives of the established Buddhist institutions, such as the clergy of the Kōfukuji and Enryakuji, Zonkaku’s interpretation features some significant innovations. As a representative of a marginalised and often persecuted Buddhist movement, widely stigmatised by the establishment as heterodoxy, Zonkaku’s main concern is to oblige his own followers to be loyal to the secular authorities, and to obey the laws of the ruler. The clergy of the powerful temples had, above all, emphasised the importance of a largely autonomous Buddha Dharma that they had curated for the maintenance of state order, thus persuading state institutions to protect Buddhist institutions. Zonkaku’s writings have a completely different focus, turning the relationship on its head: he wants to convince the followers of Pure Land Buddhism, some of whom were suspected to tend towards insubordination, that the Buddha Dharma can only be practised under conditions of social peace and state order. It is thus entirely in the interests of the Buddha Dharma to protect and preserve the ruler’s law – and practitioners of Buddhism should be grateful for the blessings of peace and prosperity that they receive from the rulers. The established clergy had tended to argue the other way round – that it was in the interests of the state (i.e. the ruler’s law) to protect Buddhism from internal and external enemies.

Moreover, there are other positions in Zonkaku’s text, only hinted at here, which were further elaborated into regular *topoi* within the Shinshū discourse about the in-

Christoph Kleine, Leipzig University, Research Centre Global Dynamics, KFG 2344, “Multiple Secularities – Beyond the West, Beyond Modernities”; Leipzig University, Faculty of History, Art and Area Studies, Institute for the Study of Religion

terdependence of the two nomospheres, over the following centuries. While the established clergy regarded the Buddha Dharma as a pillar of *public* order, in Zonkaku's writings we find the first approaches to making Buddhism a matter of *personal* sentiment, the basis of individual cognitive and normative orientation. A process of individualisation and privatisation is emerging here – steps towards a 'religionisation' of Buddhism. The Buddha Dharma is private and internal; the ruler's law is public and external. In the event of conflict between the two nomospheres, Shinshū believers should obey the ruler's laws, without inwardly abandoning their belief in the Buddha Dharma. This is not to say that the Buddha Dharma is thus irrelevant to public policy. As a means of domesticating the masses via moral instruction, the Buddha Dharma remains an indispensable element of social peace and political stability. At the same time, however, a certain 'disenchantment' is emerging, with regard to the concrete benefits of the Buddha Dharma to the ruler's nomosphere. Conservative representatives of the established schools, as well as reformers such as Nichiren, had primarily argued that Buddhism's impact on the state was via spiritual beings that would leave Japan's shores in the event of the Dharma's decline, leaving the country to the pernicious influence of demons; Zonkaku, by contrast, saw Buddhism as protecting the state primarily through its civilising influence on the people.

Bibliographical Information

The translation from the classical Japanese given here is based on this edition:

Shiji Senkō Sho'in 四時染香書院, ed. "Haja kenshō shō 破邪顯正鈔" [On Destroying the False and Revealing the Correct]. In *Shinshū kana shōgyō* 眞宗假名聖教. Tokyo: Shiji Senkō Sho'in, 1889; 549–50.

Page numbers given in square brackets refer to this edition.

An edition consulted for comparative purposes can be found in:

Ōtani Kōson 大谷光尊, ed. *Wago Shinshū Hōyō* 和語眞宗法要. Vol. 3. Kyoto: Bunnyo, 1878; 39–40.

Translation by Christoph Kleine

On the Fact That When the Buddha's Law is Destroyed, This Will Be the Cause for the Ruler's Law Being Disregarded

The Buddha's Law and the ruler's law are a single law with two aspects (*ichisō no hō* 一雙ノ法), like the two wings of a bird, or the two wheels of a cart. It is untenable that even one should be lacking. Therefore, one protects the ruler's law by means of the Buddha's Law, and one reveres the Buddha's Law by means of the ruler's law [. . . p. 549/550 . . .]

After being born again and again within the six realms, being now born in a human body is something we should be extremely happy about. We depend on the grace of the country's rulers, who follow each other generation after generation. The recent imperial grace has been particularly serendipitous. Whether attached to the mundane (*seken* 世間) or to the supra-mundane (*shusse* 出世), we look up to beg for grace and favours. How could we disregard the ruler's law? All the more so for practitioners of the exclusive Buddha-recollection (*senju nenbutsu no gyōja* 専修念佛ノ行者), who, wherever they may live, when they drink even a single drop or receive even a single meal, believe that, in general, it is thanks to the favour of the nobles [of the capital and the warrior leaders of] the Kantō [region], and know that, specifically, it is due to the grace of their local lords and estate stewards. [. . . p. 550/551 . . .]

What is causing trouble for the people is disregard for the ruler's law. And what obstructs Buddha-recollection is the demise of the Buddha's Law. How are prayers for the ruler's law to be offered [under such circumstances]? And on what basis [p. 551/552] can worship of the Buddha's Law be expressed?

29 Musō Soseki: *Dialogues in a Dream* (1344)

Introduced by Christoph Kleine

Introduction

The passages below are taken from a collection of questions and answers written in common and simple Japanese by Musō Soseki 夢窓疎石 (1275–1351). Soseki was the most prominent and influential figure of the state-sponsored Gozan (Five Temples) system of Zen monasteries of the Rinzaï school. He acted as the spiritual mentor to emperors and military rulers of the Muromachi period (1333–1568), including Ashikaga Tadayoshi 足利直義 (1306–1352), who, together with his elder brother Takauji 足利尊氏 (1305–1358), had founded the Muromachi shogunate in 1338. Takauji took charge of military affairs, and Tadayoshi of judicial and administrative matters.

The *Dialogues in a Dream* constitute Soseki's answers to Tadayoshi's questions on Buddhism, Zen, asceticism, and related issues. Written in the same year as Zonkaku's *Haja kenshō shō*, the text provides the most detailed and elaborate treatment of the relationship between 'religion' and 'politics' up to that point.

In contrast to Zonkaku, who wrote his text for followers of his community, Soseki addressed a prominent representative of the ruling elite – and thus of the ruler's law. He therefore faced a fundamentally different problem: the question here was how a ruler could reconcile the two nomospheres. Obviously, the two nomospheres are based on quite different ethical principles. The Buddha Dharma, for example, forbids the killing of people, while the use of violence and the imposition of the death penalty form some of the ruler's central tasks. The ruler's law is supposed to pacify the world with violence and military means (*bu* 武), the Buddha Dharma with moral instruction and spiritual cultivation (*bun* 文). How can a leading representative of state power fulfil his duties if he is a devout Buddhist? This question looms large in the passages printed here.

Another interesting feature of the text is that Soseki frequently uses the term "mundane law" (*sehō* 世法) instead of "ruler's law" (*ōbō*), although it seems obvious that both terms refer to the same concept.

Christoph Kleine, Leipzig University, Research Centre Global Dynamics, KFG 2344, "Multiple Secularities – Beyond the West, Beyond Modernities"; Leipzig University, Faculty of History, Art and Area Studies, Institute for the Study of Religion

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Musō Soseki 夢窓疎石. *Muchū mondō* 夢中間答 [Dialogues in a Dream]. Vol 1. 3 vols. 1400. <https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/2543492>; 4–6, 54–60.

Page numbers given in square brackets refer to this edition.

The translation adopted here can be found in:

Musō Soseki 夢窓疎石. *Dialogues in A Dream*. Translated by Thomas Yūhō Kirchner. Kyoto: Tenryū-ji Institute for Philosophy and Religion, 2010; 69–70; 127–32.

The headers are given by Kirchner. There are none in the original text.

Further consulted Edition:

Satō Taishun 佐藤泰舜. *Muchū mondō* 夢中間答, 21st ed. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1991; 18–19; 60–65.

Translation Adopted from Thomas Yūhō Kirchner

2. The Way of the Buddha, the Way of the World

Question [by Ashikaga Tadayoshi]: Since the pursuit of happiness [*fuku* 福] through worldly activities [*seken no waza* 世間ノワザ] results in sinful karma [*zaigō* 罪業], it is only natural that it should be prohibited. However, by praying for happiness we reverently turn to the buddhas and the gods [*busshin* 佛神], and by reciting the sutras and dhāraṇīs we deepen our karmic connections [*kechi'en* 結縁] with them. Therefore, shouldn't these activities be permitted?

Answer [by Musō Soseki]: Considering the part of establishing a karmic connection [with the Buddhas], it must be said that this is indeed superior to seeking happiness through secular activities [p. 4/5]. But then, those so foolish as to focus solely on worldly happiness [*sefuku* 世福] are hardly worthy of mention. How much more foolish are those who – having received a human body (so hard to obtain!) and encountered the Law of the Buddha [*buppō* 佛法] (so rarely encountered!) – spurn the Supreme Way in order to chant sutras and dhāraṇīs for the sake of worldly happiness. A man of old said, “To forget the passions while in the mundane nomosphere [*sehō* 世法] – this is the Law of the Buddha [*buppō* 佛法]. To arouse the passions while in the nomosphere of the Buddha [*buppō* 佛法] – this is the law of the world [*sehō* 世法].” Though one practices the Buddha's Law [*buppō* 佛法], attains awakening [*bodai* 菩提], and takes the great vow to liberate all sentient beings [*shujō* 衆生], should one then arouse feelings of attachment, one will benefit neither oneself nor others. How much less does this help to emancipate ourselves from our egos. And it does not benefit the sentient beings. How, then, could it possibly be in accord with the profound

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considerations [*myōryo* 冥慮] [of the Buddhas] to worship the buddhas and gods and recite the sutras and dhāraṇīs, merely to gain worldly fame and profit [*seken no meiri* 世間ノ名利]? Even worldly activities create good karmic roots if done in order to further the practice of the Buddha's Laws and guide other sentient beings. And if in performing these activities you come to awakening, then not only does your prior work in the world serve for the benefit of all beings and contribute to the practice of the Buddha's Laws, but it also becomes itself the mysterious functioning of ineffable liberation [*fushigi gedatsu* 不思議解脱]. This is what the *Lotus Sutra* means when it says that “earning a living and producing things never transgresses the True Law.”

[p. 6–54]

17. Buddhism and Government

Question: There have been leaders who became so involved in cultivating the roots of goodness [*zengon* 善根] that it hindered them in government [*seidō* 政道] and impeded their ability to rule the world [*se* 世]. Why was this?

Answer: In a sacred text¹ it is written, “Good fortune without wisdom [*chifuku* 癡福] is the enemy of three lifetimes.” Owing to good fortune, one ends up spending one's life performing only tainted good [*urō no zen* 有漏ノ善]^I and thus misses the opportunity to illuminate the mind-ground [*心地*].^{II} This is good fortune without wisdom as the enemy of a single lifetime. Because of the tainted good one has performed, one achieves a fortunate rebirth as a human or a god within the realm of desire [*yok-kai* 欲界].^{III} One's attachments to the world [*seken* 世間] thereby deepen and one's evil habits increase. Even if one avoids creating much evil karma, one's mind is distracted by political affairs [*seimu* 政務] and one's free time is occupied with entertainments, preventing practice of the true Dharma [*shōbō* 正法]. This is good fortune without wisdom as the enemy of two lifetimes. By the next rebirth the roots of one's tainted goodness, generated during one's earlier life, are exhausted, and there is an increase in

1 [editorial note 199 in the original] This quote is found in the *Recorded Sayings of Meditation Master Dahui Pujue* 大慧普覺禪師語錄 (T 47: 942a).

I CK: Literally “leaking good.” In Chinese Buddhism, the technical term “漏” is used to translate the Sanskrit terms “*sāsrava*” and “*āsrava*.” Whereas it literally means “to leak,” in Buddhism it denotes “being flawed,” “tainted,” or “contaminated.” Basically, this means that a person performs good, wholesome deeds, but that these are still tainted by their personal intentions, and by attitudes of like and dislike.

II CK: The true mind that all sentient beings are originally endowed with, and which is the locus of the production of the myriad phenomena.

III CK: The realm of desire (Skt. *kāma-dhātu*) is the lowest of the three realms of existence, the other two being the realm of form (*shiki kai* 色界; Skt. *rūpa-dhātu*), and the realm of formlessness (*mushiki kai* 無色界; Skt. *ārūpya-dhātu*). The realm of desire comprises the realms of hells, hungry spirits, animals, asuras, men, and the six heavens of desire. To be born as a human being or as a god within the realm of desire requires good karma.

the influence of the fundamental ignorance rooted in the beginningless past. As a result one falls into the evil realms [*akushu* 惡趣].^{IV} This is good fortune without wisdom as the enemy of three lifetimes. In texts like the *Sutra on Trapuśa and Bhallika*² the Buddha does indeed expound that one should practice tainted good such as the five precepts [*gokai* 五戒] and the ten good deeds [*jūzen* 十善]. This is known as the teachings for humans and gods. The Buddha, when guiding those whose poor karmic habits from previous lives make them unable to practice the true Dharma, would utilize their desire for rebirth in the human and celestial realms by advising them to practice the tainted good, and in this way would gradually lead them toward the true Dharma. Thus, in view of the fact that we live in the Latter Age of the Dharma [*matsudai* 末代], it is fine to practice tainted good in the belief that devotion in the present life will bring good fortune in the next [p. 54/55], and there is no need to discourage this. Nevertheless, it is the true intention of the Thus-Come-One^V [*nyorai no hon'i* 如來ノ本意] that such practice be done in such a way that it does not become “the enemy of three lifetimes.”

Whatever good acts one may do, if one has not yet awakened to the mind-ground, those acts never go beyond the level of tainted good. This is why the masters of the contemplative and doctrinal schools recommend that one first illuminate the mind-ground before engaging in good works. Tiantai Zhiyi,³ for example, in his system of six stages of practice⁴ that clarifies the process of awakening, forbids those at the second stage⁵ from preaching the Dharma for the benefit of others and from chanting sutras and dhāraṇīs for their own benefit, on the grounds that at this stage

2 [editorial note 200 in the original] The *Sutra on Trapuśa and Bhallika* 提謂波利經 is an apocryphal sutra centering on a narrative of the brothers Trapuśa and Bhallika, who became disciples of the Buddha soon after his enlightenment. The text is concerned with how sentient beings should be taught following the passing of the Buddha.

3 [editorial note 201 in the original] Tiantai Zhiyi 天台智顗 (J., Tendai Chigi; 538–597) was the third patriarch and de facto founder of the Chinese Tiantai school.

4 [editorial note 202 in the original] The six stages of practice 六即 are: (1) the stage at which one is a buddha in theory, though not yet aware of the Buddha-nature inherent within all beings (理即); (2) the stage at which one learns of this inherent Buddha-nature through hearing the name and words of the Dharma (名字即); (3) the stage at which one begins the practice of meditation (觀行即); (4) the stage at which the sense-roots are purified, illusion is to a certain extent transcended, and a semblance of the Buddha's enlightenment is attained (相意似即); (5) the stage of progressive awakening to true wisdom, in which one eliminates all illusion except fundamental ignorance and progressively advances toward full enlightenment (分眞即); and (6) the stage of full enlightenment, at which fundamental ignorance is eliminated and Buddha-nature is fully realized (究竟即).

5 [editorial note 203 in the original] The second of the six stages is regarded as the first stage of understanding, since it is at this stage that the awakening process begins (the first stage is the stage of the unawakened).

IV CK: That is, the lower spheres of birth within the realm of desire, namely the realms of hells, hungry spirits and animals.

V CK: Skt. *tathāgatā* a common epithet for a Buddha.

such activities constitute a hindrance to the Way. Only at the third stage of practice is sutra and dhāraṇī chanting permitted; at the fourth stage some preaching of the Dharma is allowed; at the fifth stage one practices the six pāramitās⁶ along with the Tendai meditations; and at the sixth stage one is able to correctly practice the six pāramitās and benefit others. In the *Essential Teachings of Meditation Master Foguo Yuanwu Zhenjue* [圓悟真覺; 1063–1135] there is an essay entitled “Awakening Nature and Encouraging Good,”⁷ in which it is stated that one should first awaken [*satori* 悟りて] to one’s true nature [*shinjō* 眞性] and only after that cultivate the roots of goodness. Virtuous deeds performed by one who has not realized the mind-ground give rise only to tainted good and thus cannot lead to liberation [*shutsuri* 出離] from the evil paths [*akudō* 惡道]. One may preach the Dharma and guide people, but since this is only great compassion based on affection it is not truly transformative guidance [*kedō* 化導]. This is why tainted good roots [*urō no zengon* 有漏ノ善根] are discouraged and practice of the true Dharma encouraged. [p. 55/56]

If those who warn against overinvolvement in the cultivation of good roots are doing so for the sort of reasons mentioned above, then this is commendable advice. However, if their true purpose is only to stress worldly affairs [*sezoku* 世俗] and demean the Buddha’s Law [*buppō* 佛法], then their intention is demonic indeed. Those who receive birth in the human realm, whether their station in life is high or low, all do so because of their practice of the five precepts and the ten good actions in former lives. People of exceptional good fortune who show unusual vitality and strength of character are those who were especially dedicated to these practices, and who also performed numerous additional meritorious acts. The fact that you are respected throughout the land as a military leader is solely because of your stores of good karma from former lives.⁸ Nevertheless, there are in the world those who oppose you, and even among those who serve you as retainers there are few who are truly selfless in following your commands. In view of this, I would suggest that your performance of meritorious acts in your earlier lives might not have fully sufficed. Could you then be said in your present life to be excessive in your practice of the virtues? Comparing the amount of evil committed since the first year of the Genkō era⁹ with the amount of good that was done, which of the two is greater? During this period, how many

6 [editorial note 204 in the original] The six pāramitās are the “six perfections” by means of which one attains liberation from the world of birth-and-death. The six pāramitās are: (1) dāna (布施), charity or giving; (2) śīla (持戒), keeping the precepts, maintaining moral conduct; (3) kṣānti (忍辱), patience and forbearance; (4) vīrya (精進), zeal and devotion; (5) dhyāna (禪定), contemplation or meditation; (6) prajñā (智慧), transcendental wisdom.

7 [editorial note 205 in the original] The “Awakening Nature and Encouraging Good” 悟性勸善文 chapter of the *Essential Teachings of Meditation Master Foguo Yuanwu Zhenjue* 佛果圓悟真覺禪師心要 can be found at x 69: 474a–c. For Yuanwu Keqin, see note 26, p. 377.

8 [editorial note 206 in the original] This sentence refers to Ashikaga Tadayoshi.

9 [editorial note 207 in the original] See Introduction, pp. 30–31, and note 57, p. 380: The Genkō era lasted from 1331 to 1334].

men have been slaughtered as foes, leaving their wives, children, and other dependents to wander about with nowhere to go? The deaths of those who have fallen in battle, enemy and ally alike, all constitute sinful karma for you. Fathers have lost their sons, and sons have lost their fathers. The number of those who have suffered in this way is beyond all reckoning [p. 56/ 57]. If they could at least receive compensation for their loyalty they would have some consolation, but those who are not daimyos or who lack influential connections have no way of gaining your ear, and thus their appeals go unanswered. Their resentment will not soon disappear. Even now I hear talk of victories, but such victories are simply the slaying of more enemies and the amassing of more evil karma. How many shrines, temples, inns, and homes in the cities and countryside have been burnt or destroyed, how many properties have been confiscated to provide supplies for the military or rewards for loyal vassals? As a result of this, shrine rituals are seldom performed and temple services have been neglected. People who possess estates but are not themselves warriors can no longer control their lands. Lodgings have been requisitioned, leaving many people with no place to dwell. Good government is not being practiced, and the sorrow of people both highborn and lowborn grows ever deeper. It is entirely because of this that the land is not at peace. Why then are you so concerned about the overcultivation of virtue? If only everyone would devote themselves to the good works that you mention then this world would truly become a Pure Land [*jōdo* 淨土].^{VI} In what way could this hinder governance?

Since ancient times many kings and ministers both in other countries and in Japan have been devout believers in the Buddha's Law [*buppō* 佛法]. Among them have been some who espoused the Buddha's Law for the sake of secular law [*sehō* 世法], while others have taken the secular law in order to promote the Buddha's Law [p. 57/58]. Although leaders who put their trust in the Buddha's Law in order to improve the quality of secular law are superior to evil kings and ministers who lack all faith in the Buddha's Law, they only care for themselves and their splendor is [just an illusion like] in a dream. Although the populace is thereby spared for a time the suffering of hunger and cold, neither the highborn nor the lowborn are spared the suffering of birth and death [*rin'e* 輪廻]. In this sense even the rule of the Three Sovereigns and Five Emperors^{VII} is not truly worthy of praise, since the Buddha's Law was not yet known in their lands. In contrast, leaders who rule for the sake of the Buddha's Law are truly lay bodhisattvas,^{VIII}

VI CK: In Buddhism there are many "pure lands", ruled over by a Buddha, into which devout Buddhists wish to be born. In most cases, however, *jōdo* specifically refers to the "Land of Utmost Bliss" (*sukhāvati*) of the Buddha Amida (Skt. Amitābha or Amitāyus).

VII CK: *Sankō gotei* 三皇五帝. This refers to the idealised rulers of the mythical Chinese past. There are some variations when it comes to the identification of the names. A common list is: Three Sovereigns: 1. Fu Xi 伏羲, 2. Nüwa 女媧, 3. Shennong 神農; Five Emperors: 1. Huangdi 黃帝, 2. Zhuanxu 顓頊, 3. Ku 嚳, 4. Yao 堯, 5. Shun 舜.

VIII CK: *Zaike bosatsu* 在家菩薩, i.e. beings who wholeheartedly strive for full awakening and Buddhahood, and who have promised to save all sentient beings from the circle of life and death without, however, becoming monks or nuns.

skillful in guiding the populace to the Buddha's Law. In Japan, Prince Shōtoku constructed temples and pagodas, enshrined Buddhist images, lectured on the sutras and treatises, and commented on the holy texts, even as he handled all of the various affairs of state. This is meant by promoting secular law for the sake of the Buddha's Law. When, at the beginning of the Seventeen Article Constitution,¹⁰ Prince Shōtoku wrote that relations between the highborn and lowborn should be harmonious and amicable and that the Three Treasures should be revered, it was in order to emphasize that government [*seidō* 政道] should be conducted for the sake of the Buddha's Law. For this reason no one in the land opposed the prince's rule while he was alive, and in the seven centuries since his death all have honored his achievements. The only one to oppose him was Mononobe-no-Moriya,¹¹ who was in the end defeated by the prince. Moriya was an important minister in the government and was an outstanding figure in politics, yet he was severely punished because of his obstruction of the prince's virtuous works. [p. 58/59] This is all stated in the records preserved at Tennō-ji, written in the prince's own hand. Elsewhere, Emperor Wu¹² of the Liang dynasty is sometimes criticized for having lost his kingdom to the general Hou Jing¹³ because of his involvement in good works and his consequent neglect of his political duties. What, then, of the Tathāgata Śākyamuni, who [in an incarnation; CK] as crown prince under King Śuddhodana was expected to succeed to the throne, but who instead left the world and se-

10 [note 208 in the original] The Seventeen Article Constitution 十七条憲法, issued in 604 CE, is a code of moral precepts attributed to the imperial regent Prince Shōtoku. The code outlined the general ethical principles by which the government and its subjects were expected to live in order to achieve a peaceful and harmonious society. It was firmly based on Confucian principles, with considerable influence from the Buddhist teachings.

11 [note 209 in the original] See note 159, p. 390[: Prince Shōtoku 聖德太子 (574–622) was the second son of Emperor Yōmei 用明 (r. 585–587). When Empress Suiko 推古 (554–628) of the Soga family ascended the throne in 593, she appointed Shōtoku as her regent, making Shōtoku the de facto ruler of Japan. Shōtoku is historically important for his promotion of Buddhism and his initiation of many major governmental reforms. After the death of Emperor Yōmei a power struggle broke out between the Soga clan, led by Soga no Umako 蘇我馬子 (d. 626), and the Mononobe clan, led by Mononobe-no-Moriya 物部守屋 (d. 587). The fifteen-year-old Shōtoku, at the time already a devout Buddhist, gave his support to the Sogas, praying to the Four Heavenly Kings for the Sogas' victory. The Sogas did prevail in battle against the Mononobes, killing Moriya and largely destroying the latter clan's political influence.].

12 [editorial note 210 in the original] Emperor Wu 武帝 (464–549), founder of the Liang 梁 dynasty (502–556) of China, is generally remembered as a wise and benevolent ruler who emphasized education and stressed ethical behavior. He ruled according to Confucian principles but was also an ardent supporter of Buddhism, building numerous temples and ordaining many monks and nuns. Known as the Bodhisattva Emperor, he lived frugally, ate only vegetarian food, and even took the bodhisattva precepts. However, his lenience toward official corruption and his lessening involvement with state affairs during his later reign are believed to have contributed to the decline of the Liang.

13 [editorial note 211 in the original] Hou Jing 侯景 was a general of the Northern Wei, Eastern Wei, and Liang dynasties who rebelled against Emperor Wu in 548, capturing the capital Jiankang and laying siege to the palace. The emperor died a year later. Hou, reviled by history for his cruelty to both soldiers and civilians, died in 552.

cluded himself in the Himalayas where he suffered hunger and cold? Would one censure him for renouncing the glory of the throne, saying that his mind was [unduly] inclined towards Buddhist matters [*butsuji* 佛事]? On several occasions Emperor Wu of the Liang also attempted to leave his position and retire from the world, but each time the imperial court would not allow it. Finally the emperor tried to ensure his retirement by selling himself to the temple as a slave. Even then his ministers refused to permit it, returning the temple's money and restoring the emperor to the throne. It is hard to imagine that the emperor felt any great regret about his position having been usurped by Hou Jing. Viewing your present circumstances, it is evident that you cannot leave the world like the Tathāgata Śākyamuni or Emperor Wu of the Liang. If, like Prince Shōtoku, you advance the secular law for the sake of the Buddha's Law, then that would be most commendable. I have heard that the army of loyal soldiers you are presently raising is solely for the purpose of advancing the Buddhadharma. Thus I am confident that this nobly motivated undertaking will not meet defeat, even if everyone in the land were to join together in opposing you. I have offered you these straightforward words in the hope that, if they cause those who criticize you to turn from their deluded views [p. 59/60], then they will have been of some benefit.

30 Anonymous: *Tale of the Heike* (ca. 1371)

Introduced by Christoph Kleine

Introduction

The *Tale of the Heike* is generally regarded as the most important of so-called *gunki monogatari* 軍記物語, or “war tales,” of the Kamakura (1185–1333) and Muromachi (1333–1568) periods. It deals with the rise and fall of the Taira clan (*heike* 平家), which defeated their former allies, the Minamoto clan, in 1160, and subsequently also ousted the Fujiwara clan from its dominant position at court. The war between the Taira and the Minamoto reignited in 1180, ending with the defeat of the Taira in 1185. The central figure in the first part of the tale is Taira no Kiyomori 平清盛 (1118–1181), who is depicted as arrogant, evil, and ruthless.

Kiyomori held military control of the capital, and dominated the court for twenty years. When he tried to enthrone a prince from his own clan, however, opposition to his dominance arose. Finally, even his patron – the retired but still powerful Emperor Go-Shirakawa 後白河天皇 (r. 1127–1192) – turned against him. The major Buddhist institutions became involved in the ensuing power struggle. In 1180, Prince Mochihito 以仁王 (1150–80), a son of Go-Shirakawa, joined forces with Minamoto no Yorimasa 源頼政 (1104–80) against Kiyomori and the Taira, also gaining the support of the warrior monks of Onjōji 園城寺 (or Miidera 三井寺) – the main temple of the Jimon branch of Tendai Buddhism. This is the historical background to the selection of letters reproduced in the *Heike monogatari*, which are presented in translation below. This revolt against Kiyomori was crushed, and Prince Mochihito sought refuge in the Onjōji. When Kiyomori’s troops advanced against the temple, the monks turned to their brothers from the rival Sanmon branch of the Tendai school for help. The letter they sent to the Enryakuji, headquarters of the Sanmon branch, is reproduced below.

Regarding the Jimon branch as secessionists, the monks of the Sanmon branch refused their request for support. So, the hard-pressed monks of Onjōji turned instead to the Kōfukuji in Nara, which had a powerful army of warrior monks. The corresponding letter is also reproduced here, as is the response of the monks of Kōfukuji.

The Jimon monks justify their opposition to Kiyomori by referring to the paradigm of the interdependence of Buddha Dharma and ruler’s law. Since Kiyomori has illegally usurped power, he does not represent the ruler’s law, but rather violates it. In light of the mutual responsibility of the two nomospheres to each other, the Buddhist institutions were virtually obliged to revolt against illegitimate usurpers, in order to restore the law of the ruler.

Christoph Kleine, Leipzig University, Research Centre Global Dynamics, KFG 2344, “Multiple Secularities – Beyond the West, Beyond Modernities”; Leipzig University, Faculty of History, Art and Area Studies, Institute for the Study of Religion

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Ichiko Teiji 市古貞次, ed. *Heike monogatari* 平家物語. Shinpen Nihon Koten Bungaku Zenshū 新編日本古典文学全集 45. Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1994; 300–307.

Page numbers given in square brackets refer to this edition.

The translation adopted here can be found in:

McCullough, Helen Craig, trans. *The Tale of the Heike*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1988; 145–49, 239.

For the sake of terminological consistency and better comprehensibility, a few minor alterations have been made, and some annotations were added by Christoph Kleine.

Translation Adopted from Helen Craig McCullough

The Letter to the Enryakuji

The Miidera^I monks blew the conch horns and tolled the temple bells to convene a general meeting. There they reached unanimous agreement:

When we consider the recent state of affairs [p. 300/301], it is clear that ours is a time when the Buddha's Law is declining and the ruler's law is being set at naught. If we do not punish the Novice Kiyomori^{II} for his tyranny now, when will there be another opportunity? Wasn't it a sign

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I CK: The Miidera 三井寺, also known as Onjōji 園城寺, located at the foot of Mount Hiei, in the city of Ōtsu in Shiga Prefecture. After the late tenth-century split of the Tendai order into the Sanmon 山門 branch (head temple Enryakuji on top of Mount Hiei) and the Jimon 寺門 branch, the Miidera became the head temple of the latter.

II CK: Kiyomori Nyūdō 清盛入道. Taira no Kiyomori is the central figure in the *Heike monogatari*. Son of Tadamori of the Ise Taira clan, he was a military commander at the end of the Heian period (794–1185). During the Heiji Rebellion, which broke out while he was on a pilgrimage to Kumano, he quickly returned to Kyoto, and defeated Yoshitomo of the rival Minamoto clan. Thereupon, Kiyomori became the first court noble from the ranks of the samurai. Later he was appointed Minister of the Grand Council of State at the third rank. However, at the age of fifty-one, he was taken ill, and left the family, taking the Buddhist name of Jōkai – this is why he was called a *nyūdō* (lit. “Entering the Path [to Awakening]”), a common term for a person who shaves their hair like a monk or nun, and devotes themselves to the practice of Buddhism. The term is not limited to those who have officially become monks, but also includes those who practice as lay people, which is the case with Kiyomori, who by no means turned his back on politics, but eagerly sought to strengthen his and his clan's position in the following years. In 1172, he made his daughter Tokuko a princess at the court of Emperor Takakura. In 1179, he staged a coup d'état, expelling the anti-Taira forces that had allied themselves with the cloistered emperor Go-Shirakawa 後白河 (r. 1155–58), whom he even imprisoned. Because the Miidera had taken sides with the Minamoto clan, Taira no Kiyomori ordered the destruction of Miidera,

of future protection by [the god] True Hachiman^{III} and the Great Luminous God of Silla^{IV} that the Prince^V should have come to us? Can there be any doubt that the gods of heaven and earth will manifest themselves and that the power of the Buddhas [*butsuriki* 佛力] and the power of the gods [*jiriki* 神力] will help encompass the enemy's surrender? Now, the Northern Peak [Hokurei 北嶺] [of Mount Hiei] is the fountain of the doctrine of the Perfect School of the One Taste [*Enshū ichimi no gaku* 圓宗一味の學; i.e. Tendai], and the southern capital [Nanto 南都] [Nara] is the place where postulants receive training and ordination [*tokudo* 得度]. They will be sure to join us if we send them letters.^{VI}

The monks proceeded to dispatch letters to Mount Hiei and Nara. The one addressed to the Enryakuji said:

From the Onjōji to the Enryakuji^{VII} Temple Affairs Office:

A Request for Assistance to Prevent the Destruction of This Temple

It has been a source of infinite distress to us that the tyranny of the Novice Jōkai^{VIII} threatens to nullify the ruler's law [*ōbō*] and destroy the Buddha's Law [*buppō*]. At this time of deep concern, the second son [Mochihito] of the first Retired Emperor [i.e., Go-Shirakawa] has come to us in secret during the night of the Fifteenth. In what they call a Retired Emperor's decree, the Taira have demanded that we expel him, but we cannot comply. If rumor is correct, their next step will be to send a military force against us. The hour of destruction approaches; our monks despair.

Although the Enryakuji and the Onjōji have established two separate branches of the faith [p. 301/302], we are identical in our adherence to the doctrine of the single taste of the perfect and immediate [*endon ichimi no kyōmon* 圓頓一味の教門] [Tendai teachings]. We may be likened to the left and right wings of a bird or to the two wheels of a cart.^{IX} would it not be cause for lament if either were missing? If you will help save our temple by lending us your strength,

and of some temples of Nara. This is the background of the exchange of letters between Miidera, Enryakuji and Kōfukuji, which is presented here. The *Heike monogatari* primarily deals with the rise and fall of the Taira clan, under the ambitious and reckless Kiyomori.

III CK: Hachiman 八幡 is one of the most famous Japanese deities. In the late eighth century, he received the Buddhist epithet Great Bodhisattva (*daibosatsu* 大菩薩). He is regarded as the ancestor god of both the Tennō house and various warrior clans. Accordingly, he was venerated as a god of war, especially by warriors who hoped for his assistance in battle.

IV CK: *Shinra daimyōjin* 新羅大明神, i.e. the guardian deity of Miidera, whose place of origin is the Korean kingdom of Silla 新羅.

V CK: That is, Mochihito 以仁 (1151–1180), the second or third prince of Emperor Go-Shirakawa. In April 1180, at the suggestion of Minamoto no Yorimasa, he decided to raise an army to defeat the Taira clan, who had imprisoned his father and enthroned Antoku 安徳 (1180–1185) as emperor. When his plans were discovered, he fled to Miidera to seek protection. Realising, however, that the soldier monks of Miidera could never defeat Kiyomori's troops he escaped in the shade of night and headed for Nara, where he was killed by a stray arrow.

VI CK: The national ordination platform, where all state-sponsored ordinations of monks took place, was located at the Tōdaiji 東大寺 in Nara.

VII CK: That is, Enryakuji, headquarter of the rival Sanmon Branch of the Tendai school, located on Mount Hiei.

VIII CK: *Nyūdō* Jōkai 入道淨海; i.e. Taira no Kiyomori.

IX CK: Note that the same metaphor is used to describe the relationship between the Buddha's Law and the ruler's law.

our long-standing differences will be forgotten; all will be as in the days when we dwelt together on Mount [Hiei]. The foregoing transmits the agreement reached by our soldier-monks [*shuto* 衆徒] in general assembly.

Eighteenth Day, Fifth Month, Fourth Year of Jishō [i.e. 1180/6/12] From All the Monks

“What’s this?” said the monks’ assembly of the Mountain Gate when they read the letter. “How dare they insult us by saying we and they resemble the left and right wings of a bird or the two wheels of a cart? They are nothing but a branch of our temple.” They sent no answer. [. . . p. 302/303 . . .]

The letter to the southern capital [Nara] said:

From the Onjōji to the Kōfukuji Temple Affairs Office: A Request for Assistance to Prevent the Destruction of This Temple

The great virtue of the Buddhist Law [*buppō*] is that it guards the ruler’s law [*ōbō*]; the ruler’s law endures because of the Buddhist Law. Now, the Former Chancellor-Novice Taira no Kiyomori, known by his Dharma name Jōkai, has tyrannically usurped the powers of state [*koku’i* 國威] [p. 303/304], thrown the imperial government into confusion, and caused resentment and sorrow both within and outside the court; and in consequence the second son of Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa has suddenly come to our temple, arriving on the night of the Fifteenth of this month, in the hope of escaping an undreamed-of calamity. In what they call a Retired Emperor’s decree, the Taira have demanded that we hand him over, but our soldier-monks [*shuto* 衆徒] are determined to keep him, and Kiyomori intends to send warriors into our temple. The Buddha’s Law and the ruler’s law are threatened with simultaneous destruction. When the Son of Heaven Huizhang [Huizhang Tianzi 會昌天子; i.e., emperor Wuzong 武宗; r. 840–6] of Tang tried to destroy the Buddha’s Law by force of arms long ago, the monks of Mount Qingliang [i.e., Wutaishan] went into battle and frustrated him. That is what Buddhist monks did in the face of imperial authority [*ōken* 王權]. We can scarcely do less against a renegade like Kiyomori! Let the southern capital remember the unprecedented exile of a guiltless Fujiwara clan chieftain.¹ When, if not now, is that insult to be avenged? It will be a matter for mutual congratulation, and a deep satisfaction to us, if your soldier-monks will save fellow Buddhists from destruction and defeat the forces of evil. The foregoing transmits the agreement reached by our soldier-monks in general assembly.

Eighteenth Day, Fifth Month, Fourth Year of Jishō [1180/6/12] From All the Monks

Upon reading the letter, the monks of the southern capital replied at once. [p. 304/305]

From the Kōfukuji to the Onjōji Temple Affairs Office:

We have received the letter informing us that the Buddha’s law [*buppō*] of your esteemed temple faces destruction at the Novice Kiyomori’s hands. Although we represent two separate doctrinal schools [i.e., Tendai and Hossō], the golden chapters and the golden paragraphs [of the Buddhist scriptures] both stem from [the same] precious fountain and [the same] precious flower [i.e., the teachings of Śākyamuni Buddha]. Whether southern capital or northern, we are all dis-

¹ [note ‡ on p. 147 in the original] The Regent Motofusa. The Kōfukuji, as the Fujiwara tutelary temple, was concerned with the clan’s welfare.

ciples of the Thus-Come-One, and our own temples and others' temples must act together to put an end to deeds as wicked as those of Devadatta.^X [. . . p. 305/306 . . .]

Flushed with success, Kiyomori took away the Retired Emperor's residence and exiled the Regent in the last Eleventh Month, two supremely treasonable deeds the like of which has never been known in the past or present. We ought to have acted then to confront the traitors and demand to know what crimes had been committed, but we were troubled by the possibility of divine displeasure [*shinryo* 神慮], and by the fact that Kiyomori had cloaked his actions in the Emperor's authority, and so we allowed time to pass, swallowing our unhappiness. Now another force mustered by Kiyomori [p. 306/307] has surrounded the house of the Retired Emperor's second son, and the three deities of Hachiman and the Great Illustrious Gods of Kasuga, in secret manifestation, have safely conveyed the Prince to your esteemed temple and left him at the Silla Shrine door—a plain indication that the ruler's law is not fated to disappear. What mortal could fail to rejoice in your resolve to protect the Prince at the risk of your lives? While we were admiring your noble spirit from afar, we received intimations of an armed attack by Kiyomori on your temple, and we began to make preparations. During the first part of the Hour of the Dragon on the Eighteenth, we rallied our forces by calling up our own monks, dispatching letters to other temples, and issuing orders to our branches. Then, just as we were about to inform you of our actions, a messenger arrived with your letter, which instantly restored our drooping spirits of the past few days.

The [monks of] Mount Qingliang drove back [Wuzong's army in] the Tang. Why should not the combined southern and northern soldier-monks of Yamato rout a traitorous subject's depraved followers? Guard the Prince well and await news of our departure. Understand the contents of this letter; have no doubts or fears.

Twenty-First Day, Fifth Month, Fourth Year of Jishō [1180/6/15] From All the Monks

X CK: Chōdatsu 調達; a cousin and brother-in-law of Gautama Siddhārtha, the Buddha Śākyamuni. Devadatta tried to bring the order under his control, and even tried to kill the Buddha. When he failed to do so, he proposed five ascetic rules that should become obligatory for all monks. The Buddha refused to accept these additional rules, but a number of monks followed Devadatta, thereby causing a schism. Accordingly, Devadatta personifies all attempts to destroy the Buddhist order.

31 Rennyo: *Letters of Saint Rennyo* (1474/75/76)

Introduced by Christoph Kleine

Introduction

Rennyo Kenju 蓮如兼壽 (1415–1499), the author of the letters printed below in English translation, was the eighth head abbot (*hosshu* 法主) of the Honganji, which, under his leadership, became the unchallenged centre of the Jōdo Shin School of Pure Land Buddhism, to this day the largest Buddhist denomination in Japan. Within the Shinshū tradition, Rennyo is regarded as the second founder of the school, and his status is almost equal to that of its founder, Shinran. Rennyo concentrated his missionary activity in the central provinces, which made him a target of the monks of Enryakuji on Mt Hiei, who considered these areas their own preserve, and thus destroyed the Honganji in 1465. Rennyo sought temporary refuge in various locations; in 1471, he moved his base to Yoshizaki (in what is now Fukui Prefecture). During the years that followed Rennyo disseminated a great number of *ofumi*, or “epistles,” in which he set forth his interpretation of Shinran’s teaching of salvation through faith in the Buddha Amida. He also used his letters to attack various heresies within Shinshū.

One of Rennyo’s central concerns was to discourage the followers of the Honganji from acting subversively. Invoking the authority of the Honganji, believers in the doctrinal tradition of Shinran – then commonly known as the “sect of the single-minded” (*ikkōshū* 一向宗) – were involved in various uprisings known to history as *ikkō ikki* 一向一揆 (Ikkō uprisings). This had earned the Shinshū a reputation for lawlessness and insubordination.

To counteract this, Rennyo exhorted his followers to observe the paradigm of the interdependence of Buddha Dharma and ruler’s law. Following Zonkaku’s interpretation of this paradigm (see above), Rennyo emphasised the distinction between public behaviour and inner faith. Inwardly, the believers should follow the teachings of Shinran, and believe in the grace of Amida; outwardly, they should obey the laws of the worldly rulers, and show gratitude for the blessings granted by the authorities. This ideal of a profoundly pious but also law-abiding, diligent, and modest person was subsequently propagated within the Shinshū until the late nineteenth century.

Christoph Kleine, Leipzig University, Research Centre Global Dynamics, KFG 2344, “Multiple Secularities – Beyond the West, Beyond Modernities”; Leipzig University, Faculty of History, Art and Area Studies, Institute for the Study of Religion

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Page numbers given in square brackets refer to this edition.

The translation adopted here can be found in:

Ann T. and Minor L. Rogers. *Tannishō; Rennyo Shōnin Ofumi: Passages Deploring Deviations of Faith; the Letters of Rennyo*. BDK English Tripiṭaka 105–II, 106–I. Berkeley, CA: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 1996; (A) 66–67; (B) 72; (C) 94–95; (D) 96–97; (E) 97–98.

I have slightly amended the translation for the sake of terminological consistency; I have added Japanese terms in square brackets.

Originally published as:

Minor Rogers and Ann Rogers, eds. *Rennyo: The Second Founder of Shin Buddhism. With a Translation of His Letters*. Nanzan Studies in Asian Religions 3 (Berkeley, CA: Asian Humanities Press, 1992).

Translation Adopted from Ann T. and Minor L. Rogers

[A] If there are any of you who have heard the meaning of our tradition's true faith in the otherpower [of the Buddha Amida] [*tariki shinjin* 他力信心] and become decisively settled, you must store the truth of that true faith in the bottom of your hearts; do not talk about it with those of other sects or others [not of our tradition]. Furthermore, you must not praise it openly [in the presence of such people] on byways and main roads and in the villages where you live. Next, do not slight the provincial military governors and local land stewards, claiming that you have attained true faith; meet your public obligations [*kōji* 公事] in full without fail. Further, do not belittle the various kami and buddhas and bodhisattvas, for they are all encompassed within the six characters “*na-mu-a-mi-da-butsu* 南無阿彌陀佛.”¹ Besides this, in particular,

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I CK: That is, the formula “Homage to the Buddha Amida,” the repetition of which is the central practice of the Japanese Pure Land school, which is commonly referred to as “Buddha recollection” (*nen-butsu* 念佛). According to Rennyo's holistic interpretation of the *nenbutsu*, Amida Buddha's name is the container of everything – so there is, on the one hand, no need to do anything else other than to faithfully recite it, and on the other, no need to cite any other buddhas, bodhisattvas, or gods, because they all partake in the inconceivable name of Amida.

take the ruler's laws [*ōbō*] as your outer aspect, store true faith in [Amida's] other-power deep in your hearts, and take [the] secular [principles of] humanity and justice [*seken no jingi* 世間ノ仁義]^{II} as essential. Bear in mind that these are the rules of conduct that have been established within our tradition.

[B] You must never slight the provincial military governors and local land stewards, saying that you are a person who reveres the Buddha's Law [*buppō*] and has attained faith [*shinjin* 信心]. Meet your public obligations in full without fail.

People who comply with the above exemplify the conduct of nenbutsu practitioners in whom faith has been awakened [*shinjin hottoku* 信心發得] and who aspire to [birth in the Pure Land in] the afterlife. They are, in other words, ones who faithfully abide by the Buddha's Law [*buppō*] and the ruler's law [*ōbō*].

[C] People who gather from this and other provinces should, therefore, first of all, be fully aware of the significance of the regulations established by the founding Master [Shinran]. He said, "Even if you are called a 'cow thief,' do not act in such a way that you are seen as a follower of the Buddha's Law or as an aspirant for [liberation in] the afterlife." Besides this, he also carefully stipulated that we should observe [the secular Confucian principles of] humanity [*jin* 仁], justice [*gi* 義], propriety [*rei* 禮], wisdom [*chi* 智], and trustworthiness [*shin* 信]; that we should honor the ruler's law [*ōbō*]; and that, deep within, we should take true faith in the other-power [of Amida Buddha], established by the [Buddha's] Primal Vow [to save all sentient beings] [*hongan tariki no shinjin* 本願他力ノ信心], as fundamental.

[D] When we consider presenting our tradition's true faith in [Amida Buddha's salvific] other-power [*tariki shinjin* 他力信心], we must first distinguish between the people who have accumulated good [karma] in the past and those who have not accumulated good [karma] in the past. For, however long ago a person may have listed his name as a participant in this [tradition], it will be difficult for one who lacks good [karma] accumulated in the past to attain true faith [*shinjin*]. Indeed, faith [*shin* 信] will of itself be decisively settled [*ketsujō* 決定] in the person for whom accumulated good [karma] has unfolded. [p. 793/794] And so, when we discuss the two [kinds of] practices – correct [*shō* 正] and sundry [*zō* 雜] – in the presence of people who have not accumulated good [karma] in the past, this may lay the foundation for slander, contrary to what one would expect. To teach extensively in the presence of worldly people [*seken no hito* 世間ノヒト] without understanding this principle [*dōri* 道理] of the presence or absence of good [karma] accumulated in the past is in total opposition to our tradition's rules of conduct. Hence the *Larger Sutra*^{III} says, "If a person lacks roots of good, he will not be able to hear this sutra"^{IV} and "To hear this sutra and to

II CK: Humanity/humaneness and justice/righteousness are regarded as the two cardinal virtues among the "five unchangeable [virtues]" (*gojō* 五常) of Confucianism, when it comes to governance and statecraft.

III CK: *Daikyō* 大經; i.e. the principle scripture of the Pure Land tradition; full title: *Bussetsu muryōju kyō* 佛說無量壽經 (T 12, no. 360).

IV CK: For the original passage see T 12, no. 360, p. 273a28.

sustain faith [*shingyō* 信樂] are the most difficult of all difficulties; nothing surpasses these difficulties.”^V Also, Shandao 善導 [613–681]^{VI} states [in his *Commentary to the Sūtra on Visualising the Buddha of Immeasurable Life*]^{VII}:

If a person has already practiced this Dharma at one time in the past and is able to hear it again now, he will immediately realize joy. [T 37, no. 1753, p. 264a07–8]

In any case, it is clear, according to the sutras and commentaries, that everything depends on good [karma] accumulated in the past. Thus we understand that we should watch over people in whom there is good from the past and transmit the Dharma of our tradition to them. We must be fully aware of the significance of this and then instruct others.

In particular, first of all, take the ruler’s law as fundamental [*ōbō wo mote hon to shi* 王法ヲモテ本トシ] and, giving priority to [the secular Confucian principles of] humanity [*jin* 仁] and justice [*gi* 義], follow the generally accepted worldly customs [*seken tsūto no gi* 世間通途ノ儀]; deep within your heart [*naishin* 内心], maintain the settled mind of our tradition [*tōryū anjin* 當流安心]; and outwardly [*gaisō* 外相] conduct yourself in such a way that the transmission of the Dharma you have received will not be evident to those of other sects and other schools. This distinguishes the person who fully knows our tradition’s right teaching, which is true and real [*tōryū shinjitsu no shōgi* 當流眞實ノ正義].

[E] Followers of our tradition [*tōryū monto* 當流門徒] – both those in whom the settled mind is already established [*anjin ketsujō* 安心決定]^{VIII} and those [whose faith is] yet to be established but who seek to attain the settled mind – must bear in mind the following points: First of all, outwardly take the ruler’s law [*ōbō* 王法] as fundamental; do not hold any of the kami, buddhas, or bodhisattvas in contempt; do not slander other sects or other teachings. Do not slight the provincial military governors [*shugo* 守護] or local landowners [*jitō* 地頭], but meet fixed yearly tributes and payments to officials in full. Besides that, take [the secular Confucian principles of] humanity and justice [*jingi* 仁義] as essential. Inwardly [*naishin* 内心], rely singleheartedly and steadfastly [*isshin ikkō* 一心一向] on Amida Tathāgata for [birth in the Pure Land in] the afterlife [*kōsei/gose* 後生] and give no thought to any of the sundry prac-

V CK: Cf. T 12, no. 360, p. 279a16–17.

VI CK: The Chinese Pure Land master Shandao was one of the most influential sources of inspiration for Hōnen 法然 (1133–1212), the founder of the Japanese Pure Land school, and his disciple Shinran, founder of the sub-branch of this tradition represented by Rennyo. Shandao was so important as a patriarch that, in the early days, the Japanese Pure Land school was often called “Shandao school” (*Zendōshū* 善導宗). Furthermore, according to tradition, Shandao appeared to Hōnen in a dream, to confirm that his understanding of the Buddhist teachings was correct, and to entitle him to propagate it in Japan.

VII CK: *Guan wuliangshoufo jing shu*, Jap. *Kan muryōjubutsu kyō sho* 觀無量壽佛經疏, a commentary by Shandao on the apocryphal, but nevertheless extremely influential, *Kan muryōjubutsu kyō* (T 12, no. 365).

VIII CK: This is a common term, mainly used within the Pure Land tradition, denoting a practitioner’s mind that is settled in the deep and sincere faith that they will be saved by Amida Buddha.

tices and miscellaneous good acts^{IX}; when we entrust ourselves without a single thought of doubt, we will be born [*ōjō subeshi* 往生スヘシ] without fail in the true and real Pure Land of utmost bliss [*shinjitsu no gokuraku jōdo* 眞實ノ極樂淨土]. With this understanding, one is to be declared a nenbutsu follower [*nenbutsu gyōja* 念佛行者] who has realized true faith through Amida Tathāgata's other-power [*Amida nyorai no tariki no shinjin* 彌陀如來ノ他力ノ信心].

Having thus attained the true faith that is expressed through the nenbutsu [*nenbutsu no shinjin* 念佛ノ信心], we should then realize that, although we are wretched beings of deep evil karma who commit evil all our lives, when we once awaken true faith with the one thought-moment of taking refuge [in Amida] [*ichinen kimyō no shinjin* 一念歸命ノ信心], we are readily saved by the working of the Buddha's Vow [*hongan* 本願]. Then, deeply recognizing the graciousness of Amida Tathāgata's inconceivable, world-surpassing Primal Vow [*chōse no hongan* 超世ノ本願] – the strong cause [of birth] – we simply say the nenbutsu, sleeping or waking, in gratitude for the Buddha's benevolence [*butsu'on* 佛恩], and repay our indebtedness to Amida Tathāgata.

Nothing we know beyond this is of any use for the [attainment of birth in the] afterlife, but these days, people talk absurdly – as if something were lacking – about unknown, eccentric teachings that have not been transmitted [within our tradition]; thus they confuse others and debase the unsurpassed transmission of the Dharma. This is indeed a deplorable situation. We must think about it very carefully.

IX CK: *Zōgyō zōzen* 雜行雜善; i.e. a common phrase in Pure Land Buddhism, referring to Buddhist practices and moral acts other than the invocation of Amida Buddha's name (*nenbutsu*). These are believed to simply distract the practitioner from calling upon the Buddha, which is the only practice that guarantees liberation from the cycle of birth and death.

32 Luís Fróis: *Of the Conversion of Dōsan* (1585)

Introduced and translated by Katja Triplett

Introduction

The abridged translated excerpt reproduced below is a Jesuit conversion narrative recorded by Luís Fróis (1532–1597). The Jesuit father Fróis wrote the text in Portuguese. It appeared in chapter 26 of his *História de Japam* (History of Japan). In the chapter titled “Of the conversion of Dōsan, one of the best scholars and the leading doctor of Japan, residing in Miyako,” Fróis depicts Christianity’s superiority over (Zen) Buddhism. He also emphasises that religion triumphs over medicine, by claiming that religion is the “true” medicine. His text illustrates that Jesuits regarded Jesuit missionaries as “preachers and professors of the divine and supernatural science and of the salvation of men.” According to the source, the conversation between the Japanese Buddhist medical doctor, Manase Dōsan (1507–1594), and the Jesuit father Belchior de Figueiredo (c. 1530–1597) took place in Miyako (Kyoto) in 1584. Manase Dōsan is a historical figure, but he most probably did not convert to Christianity. While many Japanese researchers, including historian of Christianity Ebisawa Arimichi,^I do indeed claim that Dōsan converted to Christianity, this is contested by Hattori, a scholar of medical history. Not long after the alleged conversion, military leader Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537–1598) issued an edict abolishing Christianity; Dōsan remained in high favour, however, and continued to treat Hideyoshi, as his personal doctor. Had Dōsan been as devout a Christian as Fróis states, he likely would have fallen from grace. Hattori assumes that the doctor, if the described encounter really did occur, was merely interested in European medicine, and sought out the Jesuits’ company for this reason. In 1608, Dōsan was posthumously elevated to a high rank of honour. Had Dōsan been a Christian, this would certainly not have occurred during this period of anti-Christian persecution. Moreover, Manase Dōsan’s encounter with the Jesuits is not mentioned in Japanese documents.^{II} It is reasonable to assume, then, that he sought contact with the Jesuits because he was curious about their medical knowledge, but had rather less interest in their religion.

I Ebisawa Arimichi 海老澤有道, *Kirishitan no shakai katsudō oyobi Nanban igaku* 切支丹の社會活動及南蠻醫學 (Tokyo: Fuzanbō, 1944), 264.

II Hattori Tōrō [Toshirō] 服部敏良, *Muromachi Azuchi Momoyama jidai igakushi no kenkyū* 室町安土桃山時代医学史の研究 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1971), 424–29.

Katja Triplett, Leipzig University, Faculty of History, Art and Area Studies, Institute for the Study of Religions

In Fróis' report, religion is clearly depicted as being different – and superior – to natural science. The narrative about the religious encounter, as reported from the Jesuit side, sheds light on early modern European ideas of religion and its other, in the context of the Catholic mission in Buddhist Japan.

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Page numbers given in square brackets refer to this edition.

The edition is based on the only extant manuscript copy of the part of Fróis' *Historia de Japam* that covers the year 1584:

Apparatos para a História Ecclesiástica do Bispado de Macau [Luís Fróis], 1701, COD. 11098, National Library, Lisbon, fol. 339v–343v.

Chapter 26 is a revised letter written by Fróis in Nagasaki on 17 August 1585. The letter is printed in: José Manuel Garcia, ed. *Cartas que os padres e irmãos da Companhia de Jesus escreuerão dos Reynos de Iapão & China aos da mesma Companhia da India, & Europa, des do anno de 1549 até o de 1580; Segunda parte das cartas de Iapão que escreuerão os padres, & irmãos da Companhia de Jesus*. Facsimile edition of the 1598 Évora edition. Vol. 2. Maia: Castoliva, 1997; fol. 152r–159v.

Another version can be found in:

Katja Triplett. "Buddhist Monastic Physicians' Encounters with the Jesuits in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Japan, As Told from Both Sides." In *Buddhism and Medicine: An Anthology of Modern and Contemporary Sources*, edited by C. Pierce Salguero. New York: Columbia University Press, 2019; 6–9.

Translation by Katja Triplett

Among the physicians of the sixty-six domains of Japan, the three best reside in Miyako, and the most excellent of those three is called Dōsan. This man is not only famous for his medical skills, but he has other rare skills, and, because of those, he is honoured and venerated by the kings and princes, and he is given the utmost preference everywhere. There are two [skills] that make him stand out: (1) He is the best scholar in all of the Japanese kingdoms, well versed in Chinese characters, and knowledgeable in all the arts; (2) he is the most eloquent person there is, and his parables and aphorisms are a great pleasure to the gentlemen when they converse with him. He has eight hundred disciples [. . .] in Miyako, whom he teaches the arts of medicine, letters, and rhetoric. [p. 195/196] He is famous for healing, and, for many years, he has set up his house in Miyako for lecturing publicly on medicine. He was past seventy

years of age, a man with a good complexion, and of a prudent nature, living an orderly and moral life, and being kind when conversing with others.

Last year, Father Belchior de Figueiredo,^I the rector of the college in Funai, had a grave and troublesome illness, so he went to Miyako, because he was better accommodated there, especially in terms of physicians. Once settled in Miyako, he was overwhelmed with so much pain that he wanted to visit the aforementioned doctor. But there was a difficulty: Because [the doctor] had such a great reputation, he made excuses about his age, and never left the house to see any patient.

Although other physicians were recommended to him, the father kept asking to see Dōsan, and, because the father could not stand, they carried him in a palanquin to [Dōsan's] house. The father talked about [his health], and, after Dōsan had given him some remedies, they started a conversation, discussing medicines that could prolong life – being both elderly men.^{II} Reaching the topic of religion and what we do, Dōsan said something about himself: “For the health of my body, I have lived in chastity for sixteen years, despite having an old wife [i.e. having been married for a long time].”

The father used this as an occasion to share some thoughts. The doctor was hard of hearing, so, leaning toward his ear, he said that bodily health, which lasts for only such a short time, as experience shows, forces men to toil and sweat to conserve it. Much more attention and diligence should be invested in conserving the health of the soul, which will lead to eternal life.

Dōsan replied, saying, “Is there life in men that abides?”

The father responded, “Yes, there is. Above the entire universe is a principle of immortal and glorious life; it is the Creator and absolute Lord of both heaven and earth. By his grace, souls live forever, and are saved. This principle, which is superior and has infinite wisdom and kindness, gives each creature in the universe, and humans in particular, their being, life, and abilities.”

The father knew that he [Dōsan] belonged to the Zen sect,^{III} which does not recognise the immortality of the soul. Knowing that the Zen sect believes neither in the renunciation of glory, nor in suffering torment in the future life, but rather that when the life of a man expires, all his things end up [expiring] as well – that man becomes chaos in which there is neither life nor death, and that the Zen sect calls this [p. 196/197] *fombun*^{IV} – the father said, “Such a Creator of the universe is by no means to be

I KT: Belchior de Figueiredo (c. 1530–1597) was born in Goa, India, and entered the Company of Jesus in 1554. He first worked in Goa, but came to Japan in 1564, where he worked in various places, including Funai, for several decades. He ultimately returned to Goa for health reasons, and died there.

II KT: In fact, at the point described, Father Belchior would have been around 54 years old.

III KT: Fróis called it “seita dos jensus.”

IV KT: Jp. *honbun* 本分. In his report on the conversation between Father Belchior and Dōsan, which he did not personally witness, Fróis wants to refer to a Japanese Buddhist equivalent for the primary principle – i.e. the immortal soul. In Buddhism, the term *honbun* does indicate an original state, but actually means that every human being is originally (*hon*) endowed with the Buddha nature; the beings literally “share” (*bun*) in the Buddha nature.

compared with the Zen primary principle of everything. The Zen sect believes that all humans are created and become one and the same substance. Such chaos has neither wisdom, life, nor kindness. We cannot tell the created what they do not have.”

Dōsan replied, “While I have studied the sects of Japan, I have never yielded to any of them, not even the Zen sect, because I am not at all satisfied [by any of them]. I also have my way to get by, though.”

The father said, “It is not enough for me to only consider medicine for [physical] health. Just so, being obliged and entrusted to you as a doctor and professor of [medicine], your consideration is not enough without [your also] commending us. We are preachers and professors of the divine and supernatural science and of the salvation of men, ordered to Japan, many thousand leagues [away], [. . .] for this purpose.”

Dōsan smiled, showing that he was satisfied with the comparison, but still disappointed the father by saying, “Why should old Dōsan get into new considerations now?”

“Now more than ever,” said the father, “you are aware that you are already near your last moments.”

[Dōsan] thought of another excuse, saying, “I have no physical strength anymore to go to your church, which is far away, to hear your sermons.” [. . . p. 197/198]

[In the end,] Dōsan kept his promise [to visit the church], and brought two presents, as was customary in Japan – one for father Organtino,^V who was [our] superior in these parts, and the other for Father Belchior de Figueiredo. He visited him in his cell, took his pulse, using words of much love [*amor*], and offered to cure him free of charge, out of love [*amor*] and the sense of obligation that he felt toward him. [. . . p. 198/199]

Following preparation, [Dōsan] asked for baptism. Father Organtino baptised him, and named him Belchior. Dōsan received the holy baptism with gratitude, and, after he was joined with the Lord, and the fathers and brothers had cheered, he bade them farewell. [. . . p. 199/200]

The news of Dōsan’s conversion reached the ears of the Vō,^{VI} the supreme king of all of Japan. The heathen enemies of the law of God maligned [the event] in such a way that he [the Vō] sent a message about it, saying, “It is unworthy for Dōsan to become a disciple of the law of the Christians, an enemy of the law of the *camis* [i.e. *kami* 神], whom he calls demons, a law which will certainly provoke their wrath.”

Dōsan responded prudently, saying, “Having only been a Christian for a very short time, I had not heard that the law of God calls the *camis* demons. The priests should know that the *camis* were men and princes of the past, and [belong to] the royal generation of the Vō and the nobility of Japan, but I have heard a doctrine of virtues and of righteousness.” [p. 200/201]

V KT: Gneccchi-Soldo Organtino (1530–1609), an Italian Jesuit, came to Japan in 1570.

VI KT: The Vō is Ōgimachi, the heavenly ruler (*tennō*) or emperor of Japan. He reigned from 1557 to 1586.

The message Dōsan sent was soon made known to the Church, and he sent a message to the Japanese brothers who preached. The message stated that if, by chance, they had referred to the *camis* in this manner [i.e. as demons], they should now always refer to them [differently], out of respect for the Vō and the nobility of Japan, so as not to anger the hearts of the Vō and the gentile lords with this, [and turn them] against the Christians. Instead, they should describe the *camis* as dead men, whose strengths and merits did not grant them salvation or help them in the problems of this life, and they should [say] this with moderate words, not offending the gentiles. [. . .]

33 Anonymous: Decree on Banishing Christian Missionaries (1587)

Introduced and translated by Katja Triplett

Introduction

After the military ruler Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1537–1598) defeated the Shimazu on the island of Kyushu, he issued this decree in Hakata in 1587. The short legal text, written in Japanese, is also referred to as the “Order to Expel Jesuit Missionaries” in English-language sources. The decree does not explicitly mention the Jesuits, but Franciscans and members of other orders only became active in Japan after 1587. The decree directed all daimyo (local rulers), some of them themselves baptised, to banish the *padres* (*bateren*) of the Society of Jesus from their lands. The document was the first decree to ban Christianity in Japan, but it appears not to have been enforced, and missionaries remained active in Japan for some time thereafter.

The text identifies Christian teachings as false religion, and Christianity’s means of proselytising as unacceptable, because the missionaries allegedly used (scientific and medical) knowledge. Hideyoshi forbids his vassals from bestowing land to the church. His decree also differentiates between foreign missionaries and foreign traders. Japan, as the “land protected by its own gods,” *shinkoku* 神國, is contrasted with Christian lands that are the origin of heresy (*jahō* 邪法). Buddhist law (*buppō* 佛法), or Buddha Dharma, is the correct and acceptable religion.

The text also mentions *hō* 法 in its meaning as “method” – here the method used by the *padres* of enticing the Japanese to convert, namely *chie no hō* 智恵之法, which could be translated as “witty, clever methods.” *Chie* has a rather positive connotation, so the decree points to the scientific and medical knowledge that the *padres* professed in Japan. Setting up hospitals, and treating people medically, apparently led to many conversions. The decree also mentions commercial trade as a matter separate from missionary – i.e. (false, dangerous) religious activities.

The experience of a religion with missionaries who sought to replace the local religions was new to the emerging central military administration in Japan. It led the authorities to differentiate between ‘Christianity’ as a concept or institution, and ‘Christians,’ who were of interest to the Japanese authorities when these (foreign) Christians were traders. International trade was regarded as a pursuit separate from religion – or at least one not connected to it in a harmful way. Indeed, the authorities recommend further pursuing trading contacts with Christians.

Katja Triplett, Leipzig University, Faculty of History, Art and Area Studies, Institute for the Study of Religions

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There is another translation into English that can be found in: J.S.A. Elisonas. "The Evangelic Furnace: Japan's First Encounter with the West." In *Sources of Japanese Tradition Volume Two: 1600 to 2000, Abridged, Part One: 1600 to 1868*, 2nd ed., edited by Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 143–84. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006.

Translation by Katja Triplett

Decree

Item: Japan is a country of the gods, and it is utterly outrageous that it should allow the evil law to come from a Christian country.

Item: It is unheard of for a lord to force the commoners to become believers by approaching them and destroying their shrines and temples. [Hideyoshi] has the lords of the land rule over their territories, but only temporarily. It is inexcusable that they should obey the supreme laws of the realm and do various matters accordingly, but do so embroiling the commoners.

Item: As written above, Christian missionaries are breaking Buddhist law in Japan when they, by means of their knowledge, turn people into parishioners as they please. You cannot keep Christian missionaries in Japan, so they have twenty days from today to prepare themselves, and return to their Christian country. It would be inexcusable if anyone among the commoners were to claim that someone is a Christian missionary when he is not.

Item: The *kurofune* trading ships are here to do business, and this is something else, so continue to do business with various goods.

Item: From now on, as long as they do not interfere with the Buddhist Dharma, people are always welcome to travel to and from Christian countries, even if they are not traders. Take heed of this.

End of decree.

Tenshō year 15, sixth month, nineteenth day [seal]

34 Ishin Sūden: *Statement on the Expulsion of the Missionaries* (1614)

Introduced and translated by Katja Triplett

Introduction

The text, written in classical Chinese and composed by Zen monk Ishin (Konchiin) Sūden 以心金地院崇伝 (1569–1633) in early 1614, is a notification to the daimyo (local rulers) under shogun Tokugawa Hidetada 徳川秀忠 (1579–1632, r. 1605–1623). The initiative to stop the Catholic mission in Japan ultimately came from Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康, however; the former shogun had retired from office, but nevertheless strove to firmly establish his family as the hegemonic ruling military power of Japan. The Tokugawa clan had sworn loyalty to the heir of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, young Hideyori 秀頼 (1593–1615), but they had nonetheless been trying to remove Hideyori and his allies from the political arena – if not from life itself. Ieyasu and his successor were well aware of the confessional and trade wars between England, the Dutch, and the Portuguese and Spanish. So, when the civil war between the Tokugawa and the Toyotomi factions intensified, Ieyasu and his counsellors decided to enter into a strictly regulated interaction with the Protestant powers of Europe and, as a consequence, demonstrate – particularly to the English – that they would weaken the stance of the Catholic Iberian missionaries in Japan, by taking drastic measures against the missionaries. The shogunate intended to thereby secure supplies of natural resources and fire weapons.¹ Against this background, it becomes clear why, in contrast to the short 1587 *Decree on Banishing Christian Missionaries*, the *Statement* no longer encourages free trade and commerce.

Sūden compares the incorporation of Buddhism – a foreign religion that arrived from China – into Japanese society to the arrival of Christianity, yet another religion foreign to Japan. He then contrasts true religion – i.e. Buddhism or Confucianism – and false

I I follow the argument presented by Screech and Kouamé: Timon Screech, “The English and the Control of Christianity in the Early Edo Period,” *Japan Review* 24 (2012): 3–40; Nathalie Kouamé, “Sūden’s Anti-Christian Edict (1614),” in *Encyclopédie des historiographies: Afriques, Amériques, Asies*, Vol. 1: *Sources et Genres Historiques*, ed. Nathalie Kouamé, Éric P. Meyer and Anne Viguier (open edition, 2020), 1760–79: <https://books.openedition.org/pressesinalco/31744?lang=de>, accessed 3 May 2023. Kouamé also provides a translation of the *Statement on the Expulsion of the Missionaries* into English, based on the Japanese version provided by: Ebisawa Arimichi 海老沢有道 et al., eds. *Kirishitan-sho, Haiya-sho* キリシタン書; 排耶書 (*Nihon shisō taikai* 日本思想大系 25) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1970), 491–92.

Katja Triplett, Leipzig University, Faculty of History, Art and Area Studies, Institute for the Study of Religions

doctrine – i.e. Christianity – pointing out how Christians undermine local authority, and plan to take over Japan. By citing Buddhist sūtras and Confucian classics, Sūden means to illustrate orthodox religion. He also mentions the alleged un-Japanese behaviour of Christians, such as worshipping criminals on their way to be executed – clearly alluding to the Catholic concept of martyrdom. ‘Japanese’ lawfulness is shown to be incompatible with what is taken to be ‘Christian’ lawfulness. Similarly to the arguments put forward by the 1587 *Decree*, the *Statement* points out that Christianity is to be regarded as fundamentally illegal as a religion or law. Buddhism, revering the *kami* and adhering to Confucian morality, are all that is needed in Japan, according to the *Statement*. The text propagates thus the unity of *ōbō* 王法 (secular law) and *buppō* 佛法 (Buddhism), with *buppō* including several ‘traditional’ religious systems, here seen as being in perfect accord.

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Translation by Katja Triplett

Heaven is the Father, Earth is the Mother, and the Human is born in between them. These are the Three Powers. From its origin, Japan is the land of the *kami* (gods). The unfathomable character of yin and yang is what we call the *kami*. The sacredness of the sacred, the wondrousness of the wonders: who would not wish to revere it? If one is given life, it is because yin and yang have willed it to be so. The five parts of the body and the six sense fields, as well as any action from waking up to going to rest, are never for an instant far from the *kami*. The *kami* must not be sought for elsewhere, as they are what humans are provided with, and manifest perfectly – which is, in other words, the essence of the *kami*. Moreover, [Japan] is called the land of the buddhas. This is not without good reason. For it is written that: “It is the land where the buddhas appear in the form of the *kami*; it is the original land of the Great Sun [Buddha].” In the *Lotus Sutra*, it says: “The buddhas save the world by means of their great divine capacities. They manifest limitless divine powers to give joy to all living

beings.”^I These are the wondrous words from the golden mouth [of the Buddha]. The names “kami” and “Buddha” make them seem different from each other, while their meanings are one and the same: it is as if two halves of the same document were joined. In the distant past, monastic and lay people, blessed with the assistance of the kami, crossed the ocean to faraway China, where they assiduously sought out the Buddhists’ law and the followers of the Way’s teaching of humaneness. In this manner, they managed to bring back books with outer and inner teachings [i.e. Buddhist scriptures and non-Buddhist classics]. Later scholars have passed on their teachings from master to master, transmitting the teachings from generation to generation. Here, the Buddhist law prospers, wholly surpassing other countries. How can we not see in this the progressive eastward advancement of the Buddhist law! And now this pack of Christians has all of a sudden come to Japan. They were not content sending their trading ships, and peddling their goods, they also wanted to disseminate their heretical law (*jahō* 邪法), disrupt true religion (*shōshū* 正宗), and, in this way, overturn the government of our country and take it over. These are early signs of a great disaster. So, they must be banned.

Japan is the land of kami and the land of the buddhas, where we revere the kami and venerate the buddhas; we devote ourselves to the Way of humaneness and rightness; we strive to perfect the laws regarding good and evil. Any perpetrators are subjected to the Five Punishments – tattooing, cropping the nose, cutting of the legs, mutilating the genitals, and capital punishment – in proportion to the gravity of their crimes. In *Rites*, it says that “there are many ways of mourning, but only five types of mourning dress; there are many kinds of crimes, but only five types of punishment.”^{II} Those who are suspected of having committed a crime will take an oath before the kami witnessing the act. The exact categories of the crimes and the punishments are established, and the distinction between innocence and guilt are determined, without the slightest shadow of a doubt.

Those who have committed one of the Five Heinous Crimes or Ten Unwholesome Kinds of Behaviour^{III} are loathed by the buddhas and the kami, by the Three Treasur-

I KT: *Lotus Sutra*, chapter 21: 諸佛救世者 住於大神通 / 爲悅衆生故 現無量神力, “The buddhas, the world saviours, reside in their great divine capacities / To bring joy to all living beings, they reveal their limitless divine powers” (T 09, no. 262, p. 52, a29–b01).

II KT: *Record of Rites (Liji)*, chapter 33:20: 傳曰罪多而刑五喪多而服五上附下附列也, “The Directory of Mourning says, ‘Crimes are many, but the punishments are only five. The occasions for mourning are many, but there are only five varieties of the mourning dress. The occasions must be arranged, according as they are classed in the upper grade or in the lower.’” Confucius, “The *Lǐ Kǐ*,” in *The Sacred Books of China: The Texts of Confucianism*, trans. James Legge. The Sacred Books of the East 28, ed. Friedrich Max Müller (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1885), 384.

III KT: There are several sets of “five heinous crimes” found in Buddhist writing. A common set includes matricide, patricide, the killing of a holy person, the wounding of a buddha, and the destruction

es,^{IV} and by the multitudes of humans and celestial beings. It is difficult for them to escape from the excessive ill fortune resulting from their accumulation of evil acts. Either decapitation or ordeal by fire: this is what they get as punishment for their crimes. This is the way to encourage good deeds, and discourage evil deeds. We want to suppress evil, but evil accumulates easily; we want to spread the good, but the good is preserved with difficulty. How is it wrong to give a clear warning: If the present world is like this, then what of the future world? Even the buddhas of three worlds^V will struggle to protect us from the agonies imposed on us by Enma, the king of the after-world. Not even the succeeding generations of ancestors can do anything about it: how very dreadful!

Everyone from this pack of Christian missionaries deviates from the above-mentioned government ordinances; they malign the way of the kami (*jindō* 神道), and slander the right law (*shōhō/shōbō* 正法); they destroy rightness and derange the good. When they see some people about to be executed, they are delighted and bustle after them. They give reverence and pay obeisance to them in person. They make out [the execution] to be their religion's most cherished aim (*shū no hongai* 宗之本懷). If this is not heresy, then what is? These are truly the enemies of the kami, and the enemies of the buddhas. If they are not instantly banned, the state will surely have cause to lament in the future. Above all, we need to control them with ordinances. If we do not check them, we will be subjected to divine punishment. Let us cast them out quickly! Leave them neither an inch of earth nor a yard of land in Japan where they could stretch their limbs! We will punish those who dare to disobey the orders.

Fortunately, the place illuminated by the sun [i.e. Japan] has, for some years now, been ruled by the recipient of the imperial command who secured the land. [p. 33/34] Outwardly, he manifests the cardinal virtues that are the Five Constants;^{VI} inwardly, he takes refuge in the great teachings found in the Buddhist scriptures (*zōkyō* 藏教). This is why our country is prosperous, and our people are at peace. In the [*Lotus*] *Sutra*, it says, “in this life, peace and tranquillity, and in the next, a birth in good conditions.”^{VII} And Confucius says, “our body – every hair and bit of skin – is received by us from our father and mother, and we must not presume to injure or wound it: this is the beginning of filial piety.”^{VIII} Keeping our body perfectly whole means honouring

of harmony in the sangha (Buddhist community); the “ten unwholesome kinds of behaviour” are acts committed by physical action, speaking, and thinking – such as killing, stealing, lying, and flattery.

IV KT: The three treasures are Buddha, Dharma, and sangha.

V KT: The three worlds are the three periods of past, present, and future.

VI KT: These five are humaneness, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, and trust.

VII KT: The passage 現世安穩後生善処 is found in commentaries to chapter 5 of the *Lotus Sutra*, e.g. in the *Fahua jing yiji* (Jp. *Hōkekyō giki*) 法華經義記 by Fayun 法雲 (467–529) (T 33, no. 1715, p. 649, a10–1).

VIII KT: The quote is taken verbatim from the *Xiaojing* (*Classic of Filial Piety*), chapter 1; English translation slightly revised from: “The Hsiāo King,” in *The Sacred Books of China: The Texts of Confucianism* Part 1, trans. James Legge (The Sacred Books of the East 3, ed. Friedrich Max Müller), Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1879, 466.

the kami. Rejecting this heresy without delay, our true law will flourish. Although the world has already entered an age of decline [of the Dharma], we have a good government which continues to help foster the way of the kami and the teaching of the Buddha. Let the entire world know of this! Let no one dare to make an error!

Keichō 18, constellation of the dragon, year of the water ox, twelfth lunar month, [number missing] day [by external evidence: 1 Feb. 1614]

Vermillion seal [of Hidetada]

35 Shingyō: Mountains, Seas and Villages (1825)

Introduced and translated by Christoph Kleine

Introduction

The passage presented in translation below is taken from a three-volume work by the monk Shingyō 信暁 (1774–1858). Shingyō was a cleric of the Ōtani wing of the Jōdo Shinshū, but converted to the Bukkōji 佛光寺派 wing in 1820.^I Shingyō apparently wrote the original text shortly after his conversion and the founding of the Daigyōji 大行寺 of Haseyama Kita-no-in 長谷山北ノ院 in Kyōto (1821). This text is thus from the late Edo period, and, even for that reason alone, deserves special attention. Shingyō takes up various Buddhist themes in his work, including stating the “fact that priority is to be given to the ruler’s law” (*ōbō wo moto to suru koto* 王法を本とする事) in chapter 147.^{II}

The doctrinal view that priority should be given to the ruler’s law (*ōbō ihon setsu* 王法為本説) in the Jōdo Shinshū is traditionally attributed to Rennyo 蓮如 (1415–1499) (see text no. 31). In this respect, the work still represents a completely conventional and orthodox position for a cleric of the Jōdo Shinshū. Shingyō first emphasises the inseparability – not the identical nature! – of both nomospheres. In essence, he emphasises the compatibility of Buddhism with traditional Chinese ‘socio-cosmology’ and ethics.

This connects him with authors of the early Meiji period (see texts no. 37 and 38), who address the paradigm of the interdependence of the two nomospheres. Obviously, at this time, Buddhism was under massive pressure to justify itself. It was widely regarded as a doctrinal system that dealt exclusively with supra-mundane problems and questions of the afterlife, and had nothing to contribute to the organisation of social order, economic prosperity, or political stability. Accordingly, authors such as Shingyō endeavoured to prove that the Buddha had also made decisive contributions in relation to worldly matters.

Of particular interest is Shingyō’s use of ‘astronomical’ arguments. In the early nineteenth century, the preservation of “Buddhist astronomy” (*butsureki* 佛曆) or “In-

I Satoru Ibuki, “Daigyōji Shingyō No Chosho No Hanmoto, Hakkōsha, Hanken 大行寺信暁の著書の板元: Edo Jidai Kōki Kara Meiji Jidai Chūki Ni Okeru Bussho No Shuppan 江戸時代後期から明治時代中期における仏書の出版,” *Shomotsu, shuppan to shakai henyō* 書物・出版と社会変容 22 (2019): 1.

II Shingyō 信暁, *Sankairi* 山海里, 3 vols. (Tokyo: Shudōkan, 1892), 1:320–23.

Christoph Kleine, Leipzig University, Research Centre Global Dynamics, KFG 2344, “Multiple Secularities – Beyond the West, Beyond Modernities”; Leipzig University, Faculty of History, Art and Area Studies, Institute for the Study of Religions

dian astronomy” (*bonreki* 梵曆) was a hot issue, and Shingyō was active in the so-called “Indian astronomy movement” (*bonreki undō* 梵曆運動) initiated by his teacher, the Tendai monk Entsū 圓通 (1754–1834).^{III} The movement attempted to defend the old Buddhist cosmology against the European astronomical system. First introduced by the writings of Jesuits living in China, and then by Dutch scholars, the heliocentric worldview gradually led to a fundamental rejection of Buddhist cosmology in Japan. This was a crisis for the survival of Buddhism, as it raised doubts about its very doctrinal foundations.

Bibliographical Information

The translation below is based on a printed edition of the text published in 1892:

Shingyō 信暁. “On the Primacy of the Ruler’s Law.” Chapter 147 in *Sankairi* 山海里, vol. 1. 3 vols. Tokyo: Shudōkan, 1892; 320–23.

Translation by Christoph Kleine

The ruler’s law is indeed inseparable from the Buddha’s Law; the Buddha’s Law is indeed inseparable from the ruler’s law.^I To consider the ruler’s law as the way that human beings walk in accordance with the conditions of heaven and earth (*tenchi no mama* 天地のまゝ),^{II} you must know that this is the heart of all Buddhist astronomy

III See Okada Masahiko 岡田正彦. “Wasureta ‘bukkyō tenmongaku’ – Bonreki undo to ‘kindai’ 忘れられた「仏教天文学」–梵曆運動と「近代」.” *Shūkyō to shakai* 宗教と社会 7 (2001): 71–90.

I CK: The rather Buddhistic phrase runs: *ōbō wa sunawachi buppō nari buppō wa sunawachi ōbō nari* 王法はすなはち佛法なり佛法はすなはち王法なり. Sometimes *sunawachi* 即 is misinterpreted as referring to the identical nature of two things, which is logically nonsensical, since in almost all cases the differences between the two parts connected by 即 are clearly highlighted – not only with regard to the particular designation, but in terms of their qualities. Accordingly, Mayer quite rightly argues that *sunawachi* should not be translated as “same” or “is the same”, but rather as “cannot be separated from.” Almut Mayer, “Yōmeigaku 陽明学 im Japan der frühen Meiji-Zeit: Yamada Hōkoku 山田方谷 (1805–1877)” (Doctoral Diss, Eberhard-Karls-University Tübingen, 2000), 40.

II CK: This phrase might be a reference to the scholar Kamo no Mabuchi 賀茂真淵 (1697–1769), an early protagonist of a school of thought that later became known as “National Studies” (*kokugaku* 國学). For him “*tenchi no mama*” basically meant “the way things are.” See Harry D. Harootunian, *Things Seen and Unseen: Discourse and Ideology in Tokugawa Nativism* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 47. See Heinrich Dumoulin, “Kamo Mabuchi: Kokuikō: Gedanken über den ‘Sinn des Landes,’” *Monumenta Nipponica* 2, no. 1 (1939); Heinrich Dumoulin, *Kamo Mabuchi (1697–1769): Ein Beitrag zur japanischen Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*, vol. 1, *Die Überwindung des Synkretismus* (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1943); Heinrich Dumoulin, “Kamo Mabuchi und das Manyōshū,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 9, no. 1–2 (1953); Heinrich S. J. Dumoulin, “Zwei Texte Kamo Mabuchis zur Wortkunde,” *Monumenta*

(*tenmon* 天文).^{III} The [Chinese] character for ‘ruler’ (ō 王)^{IV} contains three horizontal strokes. This triple figure symbolises the three potencies of heaven, earth, and man. Humans live within the space between heaven and earth. Thus, since mankind resides in between heaven and earth, the middle stroke was inserted [to symbolise it]. Hence, we [literally] speak of ‘the human space’ (*ningen* 人間) [when we refer to mankind].

With its vertical stroke, the character for ‘ruler’ (ō 王) [in toto] straightforwardly symbolises the quality of connecting heaven, man, and earth. Understood in this way, the state of being of heaven (*ten no mama* 天のまゝ) is received on earth, and becomes the way of man (*hito no michi* 人の道) through the bodily activities of the ruler [in his capacity] as a man. [p. 320/321] Since this teaching is a teaching of the Buddha Dharma, the Buddha’s Law and the ruler’s law are indeed inseparable. The *Humane Kings [Perfection of Wisdom] Sūtra*^V and other [sūtras] all contain this doctrinal aspect. [. . .]

It must be recognised that “harmony and order in the world” (*tenge wajun* 天下和順) and “tranquillity and peace in the world” (*tenge taihei* 天下泰平) are the main concerns of the Buddha Dharma (*buppō no hon’i* 佛法の本意). This is why it is related in the *Sūtra [on the Buddha] of Immeasurable Life*,^{VI} one of the [authoritative] *Three Sūtras of the Pure Land*, that

wherever the Buddha comes to stay, there is no state, town, or village which is not blessed by his virtues. The whole country reposes in peace and harmony. The sun and the moon shine with pure brilliance; wind rises and rain falls at the right time. There is no calamity or epidemic, and so the country becomes wealthy, and its people enjoy peace. Soldiers and weapons become useless; and people esteem virtue, practice benevolence, and diligently cultivate courteous modesty.^{VII}

^{III} *Nipponica* 11, no. 3 (1955); Kamo Mabuchi and Heinrich Dumoulin, “Kamo Mabuchi’s Erklärung des Norito Zum Toshi-Goi-No-Matsuri,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 12, no. 1–4 (1956).

^{III} CK: Evidently, Shingyō alludes here to the ‘astronomical’ Sūtra on (Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva and the Sages’ Teaching on Auspicious and Inauspicious Times, Good and Evil) Constellations and Planets ([*Monjushiri bosatsu gyū shosen shosetsu kikyō jinichi zen’aku*] *shukuyō kyō* 文殊師利菩薩及諸仙所說吉凶時日善惡宿曜經; T 21, no. 1299), from which he quotes directly further below in his text.

^{IV} CK: The subsequent interpretation of the character 王 (Chin. *wang*) can be traced back to the Confucian scholar Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (179–104 BCE) and his *Chunqiu fanlu* 春秋繁露, a Commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu* 春秋). See Anne Schmiedl, *Chinese Character Manipulation in Literature and Divination: The Zichu by Zhou Lianggong (1612–1672)*, Prognostication in History 3 (Boston: Brill, 2020), 29.

^V CK: *Nin’ō hannya haramita kyō* 仁王般若波羅蜜經 (T 8, no. 245).

^{VI} CK: *Muryōju kyō* 無量壽經 (T 12, no. 360).

^{VII} CK: Shingyō quotes this passage in Japanese. I have adopted Inagaki’s English translation of the original Chinese from Inagaki Hisao, *The Three Pure Land Sutras: A Study and Translation from Chinese* (Kyoto: Nagata Bunshōdō, 1994), 304; original: T 12, no. 360, p. 277, c13–15.

In another translation of the *Larger Sūtra on Amida*, “harmony and order in the world” is rendered as “great peace in the world” [p. 321/322]. This is why the *Larger Sūtra* is also called “Sūtra on the Way of Man” (*nindōkyō* 人道經).^{VIII}

It follows from these expositions that, when one speaks of indications as to whether or not the ordering principles of heaven (*tenri* 天理) are fulfilled, one first assumes, in the spirit of the peasants, that the ripening of the crops is a blessing from heaven (*ten no megumi* 天のめぐみ). [. . .] Now, if there be no great peace (*taihei* 太平) in the administration of the country, in what place shall the people dwell in peace? If it is said that preserving this is the blessing of the worldly authorities, the feudal lords and the estate stewards, the grace of the country (*koku'on* 國恩) nevertheless comes first. Meanwhile, if any of the [four ranks of] warriors, farmers, craftsmen, and merchants lacks the treasures of the earth, how can there be humane persons (*jīnsha* 仁者) who carry on the spirit of the way of heaven (*tendō no kokoro* 天道のこころ)? [. . . p. 322/323 . . .]

People who have perceived the fundamental principle of the Buddha Dharma (*buppō no dōri* 佛法の道理) but do not sincerely align themselves with it, do not bear in their hearts the blessing of the natural [realisation] of the virtue power of the Dharma (*hōtoku jinen* 法徳自然), and are ignorant of the benefits of the *Sūtra of Harmony and Order in the World*. They do not partake of the Buddha’s great grace (*buchi no dai’on* 佛の大恩). [. . .]

VIII CK: This term apparently goes back to the Chinese title of the version translated by Zhi Qian 支謙 at the beginning of the Wu Dynasty (222–265), which is *Amida sanya sanbutsu satsurō butsudan kado nin dō kyō* 阿彌陀三耶三佛薩樓佛檀過度人道經 (T 12, no. 362). The short title “Sūtra of the Way of Men” is highly misleading, because the preceding characters 過度, which indicate that the Sūtra is about “overcoming the way of men” (i.e. of human existence; 過度人道), are deliberately omitted.

36 Shimaji Mokurai: *The Source of Religion* (1872)

Introduced and translated by Hans Martin Krämer

Introduction

The swift rupture that Japanese society underwent since the end of the 1860s extended to religions: their social basis was radically transformed, and religious policy underwent a dramatic change. Religion's epistemic foundations, too, were deeply affected by a modernity that was intimately tied up with Western models, the challenges posed by Christianity, and the materialist modern sciences. These developments were not, however, anonymous forces to which Japanese religions were helplessly subjected; rather, religious stakeholders in Japan reacted to them, and actively contributed to them. Most conspicuous among Buddhist reformists were priests and laymen from the True Pure Land sect (Jōdo shinshū 浄土真宗), who, from the early Meiji period onwards, sought to deal proactively with the changing circumstances.

Among the most important reform activities of Japanese Buddhism in this period were two study missions that the head temples of the two largest factions within the True Pure Land sect sent to Europe in 1872 and 1873. Thanks to his prolific writings, the most prominent member of these missions was the Nishi Honganji 西本願寺 priest Shimaji Mokurai 島地黙雷 (1838–1911). Shimaji is today mainly known for having pioneered a modern understanding of “religion” in Japan, arguing even in the early 1870s that Shintō does not fit into this category, whilst Buddhism should enjoy the privileges of religious freedom; he opined that the former point held regardless of whether some elements of Shintō were to be used as a state cult. With these ideas, Shimaji prefigured the later solution of State Shintō – i.e. the constitutional protection of religions, and a state-imposed compulsion to participate in certain rites. Simultaneously, Shimaji also called for an internal reform of Buddhism, along the lines of what he perceived to be a proper modern religion, corresponding to a liberal Protestant model. Thus, Buddhism was to shed itself of practices now understood to be ‘superstitious,’ and engage in the systematic study of scriptures, along the lines of modern textual-critical historical scholarship, as practised in nineteenth-century Europe.

Although Shimaji is mainly known for his intervention in the discourse on the relationship between state (or politics) and religion, he was also the first Japanese Buddhist author to voice ideas about the relationship between Buddhism and modern

Hans Martin Krämer, Heidelberg University, Centre for Asian and Transcultural Studies, Institute of Japanese Studies

science.^I His stance was largely shaped by what he learned in Europe, as in the text translated here, which he authored while in Paris, London, and Berlin, in 1872 and 1873. Through his conversations with Orientalist scholars and Christian theologians, Shimaji picked up on the controversies between science and Christianity, and was quick to utilise these in his polemics against Christianity. In the source text given here, Shimaji focuses on the irrationality of presuming a creator god, and the illogical assumption of the immortality of a soul, which in orthodox Catholic theology is understood to have a beginning but no end. Both had already been points of contention between Christianity and Buddhism in Japan at the time of the first missionary wave around 1600.^{II}

Most interestingly for the issue of secularity, although Shimaji clearly delineates science and religion, he here forcefully argues for the compatibility of Buddhism with science (in contrast to Christianity), prefiguring a line of reasoning that can be found in Buddhist circles to this day. Explicitly referring to “the natural sciences” and “physics” – both terms for which, in the early 1870s, widely accepted equivalents in Japanese had not yet been found – Shimaji argues that Buddhism knows about atoms and the then-popular idea of a luminiferous aether^{III}; he posits the spontaneous emergence of living beings and things (contrary to Christian creation theory), and that the karmic law of cause and effect resembles the causality of scientific laws of nature. Given that this is a first attempt to come to terms with the problem of religion and science, many questions remain open. In other texts from the early 1870s, Shimaji makes clear that he accepts that certain truth claims of religion, in particular concerning cosmology, are no longer tenable, but must be ceded to science. Most interestingly, Shimaji eventually comes to the conclusion that, despite all the overlap he sees between Buddhism and science, religion (which, for him, emphatically includes Buddhism) constitutes an important sphere of its own, with insights unavailable to rational scientific inquiry – thus carving out a genuinely separate domain of religion, protected from materialistic or atheistic criticism.^{IV}

I See also Hans Martin Krämer, *Shimaji Mokurai and the Reconception of Religion and the Secular in Modern Japan* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015), 106–11.

II See the third fascicle of the 1605 *Myōtei mondō*, translated in: James Baskind and Richard Bowring, eds., *The Myōtei Dialogues: A Japanese Christian Critique of Native Traditions* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 165–94.

III A then-hypothesised medium for the propagation of light waves, experimentally called into question soon afterwards, by the 1887 Michelson–Morley experiment.

IV Hans Martin Krämer, “‘Even Three-Year-Old Children Know That the Source of Enlightenment is not Religion but Science.’ Modern Japanese Buddhism between ‘Religion’ and ‘Science,’ 1860s–1910s,” *Journal of Religion in Japan* 8 (2019): 98–122.

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Page numbers given in square brackets refer to this edition.

Translation by Hans Martin Krämer

[. . .] The source of religion (*kyōhō* 教法) certainly came about in India. This has become exceedingly clear through the research of European scholars. Moreover, it is not only religion (*kyō* 教), but also writing and language that have their foundations there. In the Indian historical writings, it is said that, in the beginning, the land brought forth the ancestors of humans after they descended from the Brahṃā Heaven (*bonten* 梵天). These humans were able to send out rays of light and to fly, they were free of all disease, and independent in their actions. Only after they tasted the sweet flavour of the savoury earth, did desires blossom in them for the first time. In the end, their light was extinguished, and their bodies became heavy, and they cultivated this sweet food and made it their staple.¹ There have, however, long been three theories about what this Brahmanic religion teaches: 1. a creator, 2. a protector, 3. a destroyer. These three types of gods, so it is said, respectively create all things, maintain their existence, and destroy them. [p. 186/187] These three types of Gods, in turn, split up into many deities. This is the origin of polytheism (*shūshinkyō* 衆神教). Moses established his teaching of a creator deity, after having learned this idea in Egypt. Yet he claimed this was divine inspiration, thus turning it into an utter absurdity. As this was a common thing to do back then, we need not castigate him unnecessarily. It was partially due to the teachings of Moses that Jesus emerged, but he improved upon their weaknesses, and reordered them here and there. Yet, that he called himself the son of God went far beyond even Moses' teachings. Those that today believe in him are the adherents of Christianity (*seikyō* 西教). Those that do not believe in him are the adherents of Judaism. Christianity itself first split in two, and later three, parts; these three are the Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Protestant confessions (*ha* 派). Furthermore, Muhammad created Islam (*kaikai* 回回), another wrong teaching (*imon* 異門). He was not a man of religion, but only used religion in order to satisfy

I HMK: Here, Shimaji is recounting fragments of the evolutionary tale from the *Aggañña Sutta* (*Digha Nikaya* no. 27), most likely known to him through one of its several Chinese versions, which are part of the classical Chinese canon of Buddhist sūtras. Shimaji adduces this example to show the genealogy of (to his mind wrong and irrational) creation myths in world religions. Ironically, the *Aggañña Sutta* is today seen by some stakeholders as a prime example of how Buddhist scripture conforms with 'Western science'. See e.g. Suwanda H. J. Sugunasiri, "Devolution and Evolution in the *Aggañña Sutta*," *Canadian Journal of Buddhist Studies* 9 (2013): 17–104.

his own desires. It is obvious that his teaching is not correct. Either way, it is not wrong to say that the source of all religions is one, such as in the case of the emergence of Zoroastrianism in Persia, which also came from India.

Well then, the “gods” (*kami* 神) are something unfathomable (*fukasoku* 不可測). When the world was still in chaos in olden times, human knowledge was shallow. Mountains, rivers, grasses, trees: all were taken to be gods. Day by day, culture opens up and human knowledge becomes clearer: for this reason, that which was previously feared has now become ordinary. This is why there were many gods in old times, but fewer later on. And finally, it has come to today’s result that there is only one creator god. Yet Christianity has, since old times, known the teaching of the trinity (father in Heaven, son of God, and Holy Ghost), and therefore Jesus is taken to be the son of God. Some, however, hold that the idea of a Holy Ghost is nothing but an unfounded tale: only the father in Heaven exists, and therefore only he is to be worshipped. Furthermore, the theory of atheism has recently become popular. As this is held by scientists (*chishitsuri gakusha* 地質理学者), it is said that it is worth thinking about. It is said that Śākyamuni lived over one thousand years before Jesus, had his great awakening, and attained a clear view (*shōken* 証見)^{II} on the principle of material being. That is to say, in his words: How can there be someone who created all things? Instead, the things take shape through the atoms’ (*gokumi* 極微)^{III} coming together spontaneously. Yet, such a thing as the human soul (*tamashii* 魂) has neither beginning nor end. At the same time, it is not just the soul that has neither beginning nor end, but this is true of the body as well. We only see how it is separated and reunited, and, in this way, we experience coming into life and demise. Although we do not know how, things separated here are reunited there; things separated there are reunited here. Neither [body nor soul] is an instant thing that came into life or dies away, that grew and shrank. And yet its outer shape already moves here and there, and changes. Its essence, however, does not change one bit. [. . . p. 187/188 . . .] In this way, the atoms of nature bring forth earth, water, fire, and wind, by coming together and clotting. Through transformation, they become humans, animals, or plants. It is due to the presence or absence of life energy that there is blossoming and withering among plants, just as it is due to the staying or leaving of the soul (*reikon* 靈魂) that there is birth and death among humans. The reason why humans differ from plants is that they have the ability to command their hundreds of body parts with thought and planning, and can use them for hundreds of goals. In this way, the difference between human and animal, regarding their intelligence, is obvious. Regarding their innate abilities, they do not yet differ greatly. We call all of them sentient beings (*yūjō* 有情), and they are subject to the cycle of transmigration (*rinne tenshō* 輪廻転生). (I asked a scientist about these things. According to

^{II} HMK: As a Buddhist technical term, this means the unobscured view on reality only available to Buddhas, in contrast to how non-awakened beings regard the world based on belief and intellect (*shinge* 信解).

^{III} HMK: Skr. *paramāṇu*, the smallest particles of matter, according to Buddhist teaching.

him, humans and animals did not differ greatly in the beginning. Slowly, however, knowledge evolved, and later there was nothing that humans could not investigate and use purposefully, nothing that they could not do. [. . .] And yet Christianity distinguishes humans and animals, and claims that, although the human soul (*reikon* 靈魂) would never vanish, the soul of animals (*kakukon* 覺魂) will perish upon their death. Therefore, they claim that animals were created by God solely for the use and nourishing of humans. This greatly contradicts reason! In enjoying life and hating death, seeking idleness and avoiding trouble, animals and humans do not greatly differ. If one must love one's next human, one must also love animals. If one must not kill other humans, one must also not be allowed to kill animals. [. . . p. 188/189 . . .)]^{IV}

The essence of religious teaching, however, only emerges when it is directed towards humans. The teaching of reincarnation and of the rise and fall aims to increase the good, and further virtues within humans.

Now, after matter has come together, the soul emerges within the unformed; if it rises up, it will become that of a human, if it sinks down, it will become that of an animal. The cause of the manifold differences, such as those between poor and rich, high and low, longevity and early death, is the difference between suffering and happiness within the karmic effects (*hō* 報), based upon the good and evil of actions in one's former lives (*shukuse* 宿世). In the same way, the good and evil we perform today will result in suffering and happiness in the future. Depending, however, on whether the karma is light or heavy, shallow or deep, the karmic effects can occur immediately, later, or not until the next life. Cause and effect (*inga* 因果) are not the least bit distant from each other within the context of karma. The truth of the Dharma takes its natural course. [. . .] One cannot push aside the smallest good, let alone a great good. If one cannot ignore a small evil, how then the extreme evil? This is called the principle of all phenomena being only in the heart (*manbō yuishin* 万法唯心), also known as the principle that there are no phenomena outside of the heart (*shinge muhō* 心外無法), or the teaching that causes and effects correspond to each other (*inga ōhō* 因果応報), or that one must stop the evil and cultivate the good (*shiaku shūzen* 止惡修善). This is, roughly abbreviated, the teaching of Śākyamuni.

The teaching of a creator deity in the West is, in my opinion, basically the same teaching as that in our land, or India, etc. – there are, by and large, but little differences between these teachings. All of them speak of a beginning in ancient times, or something similar. Yet, something like a divinely revealed holy scripture like the Old Testament is nothing but an absurdity, unworthy of further discussion. This scripture claims that there was a distinction between day and night even before there were sun and moon; also, that after six days of creation the seventh day was a day of rest, after which

IV HMK: The passage marked by parentheses here, as with a similar passage below, is printed in smaller type in the original, a common device to denote information of minor importance in premodern East Asian texts, functioning somewhat equivalently to a footnote.

the devil had provided a forbidden fruit to eat, thus causing original sin; [p. 189/190] finally, there was a deluge to punish the plethora of sins and transgressions – God appears here and there to lead or to praise or to punish. Love and hate, praise and punishment, ten thousand confusing states: Even when one tries to track them in detail, no sound explanation emerges, and, indeed, the various Christian denominations argue among themselves about the interpretation. Today, one usually avoids discussing these things, and only the principle of the creator god might be worth inquiring into. For he may well be real. Let us try asking to what ends God created all things. What was God's joy in creating Heaven, erecting a hell, and imposing thousandfold pain and suffering upon humans? The holy man (*shōnin* 聖人) cherishes doing nothing (*mui* 無為), and is in no need of a hell. It is better to do without things such as reward and punishment, praise and reproach from the beginning. [. . .] How extraordinarily stupid it is to ascribe all of this to God! Furthermore, Heaven is unlimited at its margins; the celestial bodies that are close to Earth are visible to us, those that are far from us are invisible. There is an endless variation of big and small, wide and narrow. But where all phenomena are spread out, there is, besides air, also something like "aether" (*ēteru* エーテル). (We can translate aether with "dark *qi*" (*genki* 玄氣) or "pure *qi*" (*seiki* 精氣). This, however, does not quite hit the mark. This is because aether means that which naturally exists in the air and in all things, but also far away from the air that surrounds the Earth, as well as at that point where all gases and solid things are depleted. If there were not this aether, how then should the rays of the sun reach us?) If this is the case, then, if Heaven is unlimited, all immaterial and material things are also unlimited. There is then no reasonable way to reconcile the claim that these unlimited things are the result of a creation. If things have a beginning, they must necessarily have an end. If the human souls were created by God in the beginning, they must at one point meet their end. If the souls are, however, unending and immortal, then they cannot have had a beginning. Whoever still claims souls have no end, even though they had a beginning, must be called weak in physics (*butsuri* 物理). Furthermore, why are there poor and rich, high and low, life and death, strong and weak – why is the divine creation not more equal? Some people say that one could not differentiate the functions in the world properly if there were no poor and rich or high and low. If that were the case, which functions would one differentiate by the life and death of strong and weak? There are, after all, humans who are poor and lowly. And there is no greater calamity than this. It would be very odd if God had provided this, rather than its having come into life by itself. If it were so, on what basis should we reward the good and punish the evil if the grounds for reward and punishment were in such confusion? [p. 190/191] Should one, however, say that God is merely reason, or that the original creation of all things is original reason, then this would not be a God at all. There would be no-one who rewarded or punished, and there would be no lord to pay respect towards. How could one call such a thing religion (*kyōhō* 教法)?

Doubts such as these are like fishing in murky waters: there is no way to bring forth anything clear. And this is why I dare to claim: God did not create man, but man

created God. How could it not be so? Basically, it is the same as already stated above: one calls the inexplicable “God.” In recent times, science has been making progress every day, and reason, too, has been advancing daily. Religion, however, sticks to the absurdities of old times, strives to keep the simple people stupid, makes extreme ignorance its basic principle, and is therefore sometimes hated by knowledgeable people. [. . .] The teaching of Śākyamuni, that all things are created by the heart (*banbutsu shinzō* 万物心造), is different from all of this. [. . .] When constructing his teaching, Śākyamuni fervently wished to go along with reason. This is why he taught, when discussing matter (*butsu* 物),^V that it was made up of atoms, and when he discussed nature (*shō* 性),^{VI} that worldly humans and holy men shared the same Buddha nature (*bonshō ichinyō* 凡聖一如). Or, he said that the difference between illusion and awakening was solely up to whether our heart was soiled or pure, and that the difference between suffering and happiness followed our happy desire for paradise, leaving behind our soiled existence (*engon* 厭欣).^{VII} [. . . p. 191–196 . . .]

Now, there are numerous religions in the world. The stupid enjoy them, while the knowledgeable reject them. Those that enjoy them do not distinguish between the deeper meaning of a religion, and the outward means to express this; nor do they know about its advantages and disadvantages – instead focusing superstitiously on the confusing and the dark. Those that reject religion outright only deride the outward means, without pursuing its deeper meaning, and only point to the disadvantages and lacunae, without also thinking about its advantages and merits. Only the excellent and wise are equipped with great knowledge. They understand the distinction between the deeper meaning of religion and the outward means of expressing it, and with the emptiness of the formless they control the hearts and feelings of the sentient world; with the happiness or suffering in the next world, they make sure that the moral state in this world is kept in order. Regardless of the outward means, they grasp the consequences of the deeper meaning, and make good use of it, all the while avoiding its disadvantages. This is what we call truly knowing religion and making use of it.

Yes, there is but one religion in the world. Yet, at the same time, there have to be many. That of which there is only one is the deeper meaning of religion. This meaning is rewarding good, punishing evil, and making man *man*. That which is different are the outward means. This is, for example, speaking of gods, or of the awakening, or of two or three worlds. If we speak of advantages and disadvantages, we are talking about outward means, not the deeper meaning. [p. 196/197 . . .] We must order our times in such a way that spreading Buddhism becomes as easy as possible. The advantages and disadvantages, and use and harm of Buddhism are solely up to those humans making use of it.

V HMK: As a Buddhist technical term, this designates the objects of the real world.

VI HMK: “Nature” is here to be understood in the sense of essence or characteristic.

VII HMK: Abbreviation of *enriedo gongujōdo* 厭離穢土欣求淨土.

37 Fukuda Gidō: *Discussing the Primacy of the Ruler's Law in the True School [of Pure Land Buddhism]* (1877)

Translated and introduced by Christoph Kleine

Introduction

The most elaborate discussion of the *ōbō buppō* paradigm to date is found in the two-volume book *Discussing the Primacy of the Ruler's Law in the True School [of Pure Land Buddhism]*, published by Fukuda Gidō 福田義導¹ (1806–1883) in 1877. Fukuda's engagement with the paradigm is also highly innovative and instructive for an understanding of the reinterpretation of the relationship between Buddhism and the state in the early Meiji period – a reinterpretation so desperately needed in the wake of the anti-Buddhist campaigns to “eliminate the Buddhas and destroy [the teachings of] Śākya[muni]” (*haibutsu kishaku* 廢佛毀釋) that Buddhism experienced at the beginning of the Meiji period.

Like the vast majority of those interpreting the relationship between the mundane nomosphere of the ruler and the supra-mundane nomosphere of the Buddha, Fukuda belonged to the Shinshū tradition. As a Buddhist scholar and author, he had already become involved in the political discourse of his time before the Meiji Restoration. In 1866, in his capacity as head of the prestigious Takakura Gakuryō 高倉學寮, the central educational institution of the Ōtani wing of the Jōdo Shinshū in Kyōto, Fukuda had addressed the Edo government with a petition entitled *Treatise on the Speed of Expulsion of Barbarians* (*Jōi chisoku ron* 攘夷遲速論). Fukuda's anti-Christian stance is also evident in the *Shinshū ōhō ihon dan* written eleven years later, some excerpts of which will be presented here.

Here, Fukuda elaborates on the position that has been considered orthodox in the Shinshū tradition since Zonkaku (text no. 28) and, even more so, since Rennyo (text no. 31) – that pious Buddhists owe thanks and obedience to worldly authorities, with-

¹ For further information on Fukuda Gidō, see Nakashima Hōshō 中島法昭, “Fukuda Gidō no baai (kindai shinshū shisōshi bunken kenkyū) 福田義導の場合 (近代真宗思想史文献研究),” *Shinshūgaku* 真宗学, no. 43 (1970): 43–47; “Shinshū ni okeru shintō kokkyōka seisaku e no tai'ō: Fukuda Gidō no baai 真宗に於ける神道国教化政策への対応 福田義導の場合,” *Shinshū Kenkyūkai Kiyō* 真宗研究會紀要 4 (1973), 18–29. For a detailed analysis of the contents of the *Shinshū ōhō ihon dan*, see Christoph Kleine, “Rethinking the Interdependence of Buddhism and the State in Late Edo and Meiji Japan,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 49, no. 1 (2022): 89–113.

Christoph Kleine, Leipzig University, Research Centre Global Dynamics, KFG 2344, “Multiple Secularities – Beyond the West, Beyond Modernities”; Leipzig University, Faculty of History, Art and Area Studies, Institute for the Study of Religion

out thereby internally compromising their faith. He does not stop there, however; he further develops Shingyō's ideas, by emphasising the worldly benefits granted by the Buddha Dharma. Not only does he reject unqualified criticism that Buddhism is exclusively concerned with the afterlife and extra-worldly affairs; he even claims that all secular morality and the principles of secular rule are based on the Buddha's teachings. He thus propagates a form of hierarchical inclusivism that gives a whole new twist to the discussion about the relationship between the two nomospheres.

Bibliographical Information

Fukuda Gidō 福田義導. *Shinshū ōbō ihon dan* 真宗王法為本談 [Discussing the Primacy of the Ruler's Law in the True School]. Kyoto: Nihismura Kurouemon 西村九郎右衛門, 1877. Vol 1; 1–2, 13–14, 26–28, 42, 46. Vol. 2; 1, 7–8.

Page numbers given in square brackets refer to this edition.

Translation by Christoph Kleine

[vol. 1, title page] This book is a text that illustrates the interdependence of the ruler's law and the Buddha Dharma, as well as the two truths (*nitai* 二諦), the five human relations (*gorin* 五倫), and the five cardinal virtues (*gojō* 五常), in relation to the principle of cause and effect (*inga* 因果).

Chapter 1: On the Sovereign's Grace

The Candle of the Latter Dharma^I states:

^I CK: *Mappō tōmyō ki* 末法燈明記; a famous Buddhist work in one volume, traditionally – but probably falsely – attributed to Saichō 最澄 (767–822), and dated 801. Based on his awareness of the decline of Buddhism, the author insists that even those monks who do not abide by the monastic rules, and are thus only nominally monks, must be respected, because in the “Latter Days of the Dharma” (*mappō*), one cannot expect people to practise the way of the Buddha properly. Nevertheless, the monastic order is indispensable, since without it, there would be no chance for the laity to accumulate merit, and Buddhism would become extinct. Cf. Michele Marra, “The Development of Mappō Thought in Japan; I.” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 15, no. 1 (1988): 25–51; part II, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 15, no. 4 (1988): 287–305; Peter Fischer, *Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Mappō-Gedankens und zum Mappō-Tōmyō-Ki*. Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Natur- u. Völkerkunde Ostasiens 65. (Hamburg: Gesellschaft für Natur- u. Völkerkunde Ostasiens e. V., 1976).

He who conforms to the One Thusness while spreading his teaching is the Dharma king [*hōō* 法王] (i.e. the Buddha [*butsu nari* 佛也;])^{II} he whose virtues permeate the four seas and who transmits his influence among the people is the benevolent king (*nin'ō* 仁王) (ruler of the nation [*koku'ō* 國王]). This being so, the Dharma king and the benevolent king work together to reveal each other's presence and enlighten all beings; the Absolute Truth (*shintai* 真諦) (Buddha Dharma [*buppō*])^{III} and the secular (*zokutai* 俗諦) (ruler's law [*ōbō*])^{IV} truth rely on each other to spread the Buddhist teachings. It is for this reason that the profound writings of Buddhism fill the world and sage counsel overflows under heaven.^V

Jōraku Taishū^{VI} has referred to the meaning of this in terms of the doctrine of “the Buddha Dharma and the ruler's law being like the two wings of a bird or two wheels of a cart.” Shinshō'in Sōshū^{VII} says “Let the ruler's law be worn on the forehead; the Buddha Dharma be kept deep within the heart.” [. . .]

When we reflect upon ‘internal’ and ‘external,’ there should be two principles. The first is what the Dharma Head of our Main Temple [Rennyō] has put forth in his familiar doctrine (*shingyō* 親教), [promoting] taking the Buddha Dharma as the ‘internal,’ and the governance ordinances originating in the national laws of the imperial court as the ‘external.’ This is the principle that takes the distinction between ‘self’ and ‘other’^{VIII} as ‘internal’ and ‘external.’ The second [principle] is the one that mentions the ruler's law and the Buddha Dharma together with the three kinds of actions [i.e. *karma*] in terms of admonition against doing evil, and the three kinds of actions in terms of encouragement to do good. However, leaving this aside for a moment, when we distinguish between ‘internal’ and ‘external,’ we are aware of the external appearance of bodily and verbal [actions] corresponding to the ruler's law, whereas we take the internal thoughts (*naishin* 內心) of mental actions corresponding to the Buddha Dharma [p. 1/2] as the main thing. Therefore, we announce that the ruler's law is ‘external.’ [. . . p. 2–13 . . .]

II CK: Fukuda's annotation.

III CK: Fukuda's annotation.

IV CK: Fukuda's annotation.

V CK: This English translation by Robert F. Rhodes is taken from Pruden, Leo M., and Robert F. Rhodes. *The Essentials of the Eight Traditions; the Candle of the Latter Dharma*. (Berkeley, Calif.: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 1994), 5. For the original, see Tendaishū Shūten Kankōkai 天台宗宗典刊行会, ed., *Dengyō daishi zenshū* 伝教大師全集, vol. 3 (Tōkyō: Tendaishū Shūten Kankōkai 天台宗宗典刊行会, 1912), 483.

VI CK: 常樂臺主; i.e. Zonkaku 存覺 (1290–1373), see text no. 28.

VII CK: 信證院宗主; i.e. Rennyō 蓮如 (1415–1499), see text no. 31.

VIII CK: In Pure Land Buddhism, and especially in the Jōdo Shinshū, the distinction between the practitioner's (ultimately futile) attempt to be born into the paradisiacal Pure Land of the Buddha Amida by their insufficient “own power” (*jiriki* 自力), and the trust in being saved by the immeasurable “other power” (*tariki* 他力) of Amida, plays a crucial role. Fukuda is obviously alluding to this distinction here.

Chapter 3: Explaining Governance by the Ruler's Law

Ignorant people that they are, Confucian officials, with their biased minds, think that, since the Buddha Dharma is a supramundane law (*shusse hō* 出世法), it cannot contribute to the governance of the country by the ruler's law. When it comes to the contribution of the Buddha Dharma to the governance of the country in our present dynasty, however, this is extensively explained in the *Ceremonial Rules in the History of the Nation*^{IX} [. . .] and is established in the three books of the *Treatise on the Buddha Dharma in the History of the Nation*.^X I suggest, however, that there are not only [p. 13/14] Japanese [sources establishing this]. These are complemented by the Inner Teachings [of Buddhism] from India and China concerned with correct governance. [. . .] There is [for example] the [Master of the] Three Treasures [of Buddhist Scriptures] Amoghavajra's [705–774] translation, entitled *The Sūtra on the Buddha Explaining King Udayana the Theory of Governance According to the Ruler's Law*.^{XI} [p. 14–26 . . .]

Chapter 4: The Vulgar Criticism of Worthless Scholars

Those who practise the Buddha's path also need clothing, food, and housing. When the state is in turmoil, clothing, food, and housing become scarce, and it is difficult to accomplish the Buddha's path. Therefore, it was only natural [for the Buddha] to expound a Dharma for the protection of the country [p. 26/27]. The above-cited *Sūtra on the Theory of Governance According to the Ruler's Law* is one example. Beside this, there are more than a few sūtras and treatises that expound the governance of the country according to the ruler's law. Accordingly, there were many kings and ministers in India who exercised the government of the country while believing in the Buddha Dharma [. . .]. Likewise, in China and Japan, there have been numerous wise rulers and great generals who governed the world while having faith in the Buddha Dharma.

Confucius and Laozi were both advanced bodhisattvas and messengers of the Buddha. Also, the way of humanity and justice (*jingi no michi* 仁義ノ道) is originally a teaching of the Buddha. In the *Sūtra on the Factors of Enlightenment*,^{XII} he explains this in terms of the five treasures – i.e. the treasure of humaneness, the treasure of righ-

IX CK: *Kokushi shikirei* 國史式令; I was unable to identify this text.

X CK: *Kokushi buppō shō* 國史佛法抄; i.e. a text printed in 1848. A digitalised version can be found under <https://kotenseki.nijl.ac.jp/biblio/100098063/viewer/1>.

XI CK: *Uden'ō setsu ōbō seiron gyō* 優填王説王法政論經 (T 14, no. 524).

XII CK: *Dōhongyō* 道品經; perhaps the short title of *Bosatsu jūjū gyō dōhon gyō* 菩薩十住行道品經.

teousness, the treasure of propriety, the treasure of wisdom, and the treasure of fidelity.^{XIII}

Also, in the *Sūtra of Trapuṣa [and Bhallika]*,^{XIV} the five eternal [virtues of Confucianism] (*gojō* 五常) appear. This is quoted in the *Explanation of the Treatise on Mahāyāna*.^{XV} [. . . p. 27/28] Moreover, the philosophers [of the Yogācāra tradition], who explore [the unconditioned] nature [of things] and their [conditioned] characteristics (*shōsō ke* 性相家) explain, in their formulation of the five sciences (*gomyō* 五明),^{XVI} that the first, the internal science (*naimyō* 內明) truly represents the original intention of the Buddha Dharma. The second, the science of logic and epistemology (*inmyō* 因明), explains methods to defeat the outer paths [i.e. non-Buddhists]. The third, grammar and linguistics (*shōmyō* 聲明), explains the rules for writing characters, and for words and phrases. The fourth, medicine (*ihōmyō* 醫方明), explains the methods of curing illness. And the fifth, skills and crafts (*kugyōmyō* 工巧明), explains mathematics and the like. These are all teachings of the Buddha. [. . . p. 27/28 . . .]

XIII CK: Zhiyi had already asserted the similarity of the Buddha's five precepts to not only the five cardinal virtues, but also to the "five phases of transformation": "Kong from Zhou taught the five cardinal virtues, a worldly healing method for the purpose of controlling human diseases [i.e. defects]. Furthermore, the five phases of transformation resemble the five commandments. 'Do not kill' protects against wood, 'do not steal' protects against metal, 'do not fornicate' protects against water, 'do not lie' protects against earth, 'do not take intoxicating drinks' protects against fire". (*Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止觀; T 46, no. 1911, p. 77, b8–10). Usually in Japan, the Five Cardinal Virtues of Confucianism were assigned to the "worldly nomosphere" (*sehō* 世法), whereas the Five Precepts of Buddhism were assigned to the "other-worldly nomosphere" (*shussehō* 出世法) – Tokuryū 徳龍, ed., *Okite gojō giryaku ben* 掟五常義略弁 (Kyōto: Gohōkan 護法館, 1885), 1 – or, more precisely, to the "nomosphere of the ruler" and the "nomosphere of the Buddha", respectively. Shinshū authors such as Tokuryū argue, by analogy to the paradigm of interdependence, that the Five Cardinal Virtues and the Five Precepts are to be regarded as mutually consistent (*sōjun* 相順), and that the Buddha Dharma unites the Five Precepts with the Five Cardinal Virtues Tokuryū, *Okite gojō giryaku*, 2.

XIV CK: *Daii kyō* 提謂經; full title: *Daii hari kyō* 提謂波利經. The text is no longer extant.

XV CK: *Shaku makaen ron* 釋摩訶衍論; Cf. T 32, no. 1668, p. 593a16–19.

XVI CK: Skt. *pañca-vidyā*. In Buddhist texts, the Five Fields of Knowledge are usually described with attributes such as "mundane" (*seken* 世間) (cf. *Konkōmyō saishō'ō kyō* 金光明最勝王經, T 16, no. 665, p. 418, c17), "mundane truth" (*setai* 世諦) (cf. *Jinmitsu gedatsu kyō* 深密解脫經, T 16, no. 675, p. 683, b11), or "profane" (*sezoku* 世俗) (cf. *Gejinmitsu kyō* 解深密經, T 16, no. 676, p. 706, c17), although occasionally the Buddha Dharma in the narrower sense is identified with that of the "inner science" (*naimyō* 內明; *adhyātma-vidyā*), such that, for example, the *Bosatsu chiji kyō* 菩薩地持經 (T 30, no. 1581, p. 922, b19–20) gives the following list: (1) The inner science (*naimyō* 內明; *adhyātma-vidyā*), i.e. the Buddha Dharma proper (*buppō no hon'i* 佛法 / 本意); (2) logic and epistemology (*inmyō* 因明; *hetu-vidyā*), i.e. a method to defeat the external (i.e. non-Buddhist) paths (*gedō* 外道); (3) grammar and linguistics (*shōmyō* 聲明; *śabda-vidyā*); (4) medicine (*ihōmyō* 醫方明; *cikitsā-vidyā*); and (5) mundane skills and crafts, such as mathematics (*se kukōmyō* 世工巧明; *śilpakarma-sthāna-vidyā*).

According to the explanations of the *Sūtra of the Questions Asked by Ākāśagarbha*^{XVII} and the *Sūtra on the Four Castles of Mount Sumeru*^{XVIII} Fuxi 伏羲, Nüwa 女媧, Master Kong 孔子 [i.e. Confucius], Master Lao 老子 [i.e. Laozi], and Master Yan 顏子 [i.e. Yanhui 顏回] were all messengers of the Buddha. Therefore, it is clear that the path of humanity and justice is also originally a teaching of the Buddha. The ruler's law and statecraft (*ko-kusei* 國政) are also the teachings of the Buddha. The cruel laws (*kahō* 苛法) of the Qin dynasty and the like were not taught by the Buddha. Therefore, they became extinct. [. . .] Shintō is the teaching of the Buddha, too. The path of filial piety is the teaching of the Buddha.

The worthless scholars cannot fathom the broad-heartedness of the Buddha Dharma. In their bias, they merely reject the supra-mundane teachings (*shusse no kyō* 出世ノ教), and do not understand that it also expounds methods for the administration of the world (*jise no hō* 治世ノ法). The punishments received in the present, by those troublemakers who, restrained by their sympathy for this narrow view, slander the Buddha, should be recorded in the *Chapters on Miraculous Manifestations*.^{XIX} The Confucians, making the mistake of not knowing the principle of cause and effect, explain cause and effect in the present world, but they do not know that there are also causes [generated] in previous lives. They do not know that there are effects in the next life. Therefore, it is foolish of them to ignorantly slander the Dharma, when they see the misfortune of those who believe in Buddhism. Those who suffer from misfortune do so because of the karma accumulated in former lives (*jukugō* 宿業). It is not the fault of the Dharma. [. . . p. 28–42 . . .]

The fact that [the Sun Goddess, the progenitor of the imperial house] Tenshōkō 天照皇 [i.e. Amaterasu] deeply revered the Buddha can be seen in various traditions. As shown above, the Buddha is the most venerable sage (*saishōson* 最勝尊). Gods and Confucian scholars have taken their refuge in him. How can one doubt the Buddha's power? Because peace and happiness both in the present and in the future depend on

XVII CK: *Kūjaku shomon gyō* 空寂所問經; this seems to refer to the *Daishū daikujaku bosatsu shomon gyō* 大集大虛空藏菩薩所問經 (T 13, no. 404). The sūtra is mentioned in the *Guang hongming ji* 廣弘明集 (T 52, no. 2103, p. 181, a7–8), and in the *Bianzheng lun* 辯正論 (T 52, no. 2110, p. 530, a10–12). In both cases, the very passage of interest to Fukuda, that concerning the “three sages” (*sansei* 三聖), is quoted, but I have been unable to identify it in the sutra itself. In Zhiyi's 智顗 (538–597) commentary on the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra, edited by Zhanran 湛然 (711–782) (*Da banniepan jing shu* 大般涅槃經疏; T 38, no. 1767, p. 109, c15–16), there is an almost identical passage, but this is marked as a quotation from the lost *Shōjō hōgyō kyō* 清淨法行經, allegedly translated by Kumārajīva. The *Zheyi lun* 折疑論 also refers to the *Kūjaku shomon gyō* in its statement “Bodhisattva Mahākāśyapa is called Laozi [in China], Bodhisattva Akolyth Pure Light Shine is called Zhongni [i.e. Confucius], Bodhisattva Mānava is called Yanhui” (T 52, no. 2118, p. 816, c21–24).]

XVIII CK: *Shumi shijō kyō* 須彌四城經; I could not identify this text either. One suspects that Fukuda himself only uses the secondary quotations mentioned in the previous footnote.

XIX CK: *Ryōken shō* 靈驗章; I have been unable to identify this text.

the Buddha's power, Tōshō Shinkun^{XX} held deep faith in the Buddha Dharma. In particular, he took faith in the "passage on the places visited by the Buddha" in the *Sūtra [on the Buddha] of Immeasurable Life*. The passage in this sūtra reads:

The whole country reposes in peace and harmony. The sun and the moon shine with pure brilliance; wind rises and rain falls at the right time. There is no calamity or epidemic, and so the country becomes wealthy, and its people enjoy peace. Soldiers and weapons become useless; and people esteem virtue, practise benevolence, and diligently cultivate courteous modesty.^{XXI}

[. . .] If we, in our present times, truly conform with this passage in the sūtra, the state will be safe. The spread of virtue depends on the state implementing with all its might these words of the sūtra. [. . . p. 42–46 . . .]

We should realise what is explained in the sūtra – namely that we will achieve peace in this world, and be born in a good place in the next, if we have faith in the Buddha Dharma deep in our hearts, while outwardly making humaneness and justice our primary concern.

[vol 2.] Chapter 5: On Cause and Effect in the Three Times [of Past, Present, and Future]

The three ways of Shintō, Confucianism, and Buddhism jointly propagate a doctrine of encouraging good and discouraging evil. So, they are superior paths leading to sincerity, and leading to good. [. . .] Among them, the Buddha Dharma is the origin. Shintō and Confucianism have emanated out of the Buddha Dharma, and split into two different teachings. The Sage Kong [i.e. Confucius] was a manifestation (*kagen* 化現) of the bodhisattva Judō 儒童菩薩, who accomplished the way of humanity and justice before the Buddha Dharma had come to the east [i.e. to China]. The [goddess Amaterasu of the] Grand Shrine [of Ise] is a manifestation (*suijaku* 垂迹) of [the bodhisattva] Kannon, a split-off body (*bunshin* 分身) of [the Buddha] Amida. Without the Buddha Dharma, it would be difficult to fully accomplish the principles of good and evil, cause and effect. [. . . p. 1–7 . . .]

When we understand that bad causes [generated] in the past can be felt as bad results in the present life, we must, without fail, plant good causes in the present life, in order to harvest good results in the next lives. The two ways of Shintō and Confucianism [p. 7/8] are based upon this [. . .]. The Buddha Dharma is the trunk, Shintō and Confucianism are the branches. If the trunk of the Buddha Dharma is solid, then the branches of Shintō and Confucianism can be spread solidly.

XX CK: 東照神君; i.e. Tōshō Daigongen 東照大權現, the deified Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1543–1616).

XXI CK: Cf. T 12, no. 360, p. 277, c13–15. English translation in Inagaki Hisao, *The Three Pure Land Sūtras: A Study and Translation from Chinese* (Kyoto: Nagata Bunshōdō, 1994), 304.

38 Hakoya Tokuryō: *On the Doctrine of Buddha Dharma and Ruler's Law Being Like Wheels and Wings* (1887)

Introduced and translated by Christoph Kleine

Introduction

Hakoya Tokuryō 藐姑射徳令 (1803–1892) is another Buddhist author belonging to the “True School of Pure Land [Buddhism].” His teacher, Hirose Tansō 廣瀬淡窓 (1782–1856), described him as a “[Confucian] scholar anchored in Buddhism” (*butchū no ju* 佛中の儒). At the age of 32, Hakoya went to Kyōto, to study at the Takakura Gakuryō – the most important educational institution of the Higashi Honganji wing of the Jōdo Shinshū, and the predecessor of today’s Ōtani University. In 1852, Hakoya opened the Shūbunkan private academy in Yokohama, which specialised in Chinese scholarship. Unusually for a Shinshū priest, Hakoya is said to have strictly observed the monastic rules throughout his life, and had neither a wife nor children.^I

Hakoya wrote his *On the Doctrine of Buddha Dharma and Ruler's Law Being Like Wheels and Wings* around 1887. The text was included in a comprehensive collection of Buddhist writings from the Meiji period in 1935, almost 50 years after its original publication. The translation below follows this edition. The editor of this collection was Tokushige Asakichi (1893–1946), himself the author of various historical works, including titles similarly dealing with the history of the relationship between politics and religion in Japan.^{II} It seems that Tokushige was also affiliated with the Jōdo Shinshū, probably even with the Higashi Honganji wing.

In principle, Hakoya argues entirely in line with established Shinshū orthodoxy, emphasising the mutual responsibility of the two nomospheres towards each other. Unlike his predecessors, however, he substantiates the special benefits of Buddhism to the state and society in great detail. In doing so, he underlines the fundamental differences between the two nomospheres, and emphasises that a life based on the Buddha Dharma – i.e. especially as a monk or nun – conflicts with the requirements of secular ethics. Bud-

I Tokushige Asakichi 徳重浅吉, ed., *Meiji bukkyō zenshū* 明治仏教全集, vol. 8. (Tōkyō: Shunyōtō, 1935), 25–26; cf. Yamada Hōkoku no Kiseki („Kiseki”) Jikkō Iinkai 山田方谷の軌跡(奇跡)実行委員会, ed., *Dainikai Kangakusha Kinenkan Kaigi Yokōshū* 第二回 漢学者記念館会議予稿集 (Tōkyō: Nishō Gakusha Daigaku 二松學舎大学, 2018), 14.

II Tokushige Asakichi, *Ishin seiji shūkyō shi kenkyū* 維新政治宗教史研究 (Tōkyō: Meguro Shoten, 1935).

Christoph Kleine, Leipzig University, Research Centre Global Dynamics, KFG 2344, “Multiple Secularities – Beyond the West, Beyond Modernities”; Leipzig University, Faculty of History, Art and Area Studies, Institute for the Study of Religion

dhism is primarily concerned with otherworldly salvation, and not with worldly benefits. And yet, it is precisely the striving for other-worldly salvation that makes devout Buddhists moral and law-abiding citizens. There are two main reasons for this: (1) The Buddha Dharma declares that immoral behaviour will be punished even after death, and the fear of hell keeps even those people who do not have to reckon with earthly punishment from performing bad deeds; (2) the Buddhist faith immunises people against the harmful influences of Christianity, which threaten Japan.^{III}

Hakoya also suggests, albeit not as explicitly as Fukuda, that the Buddha Dharma is the original source of all ethics.

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Page numbers given in square brackets refer to this edition.

Translation by Christoph Kleine

The Buddha Dharma and the ruler’s law are a pair of normative systems (*issō no hō* 一雙ノ法). They are like the two wings of a bird; they are like the two wheels of a cart. If but one is lacking, it does not work. Therefore, the Buddha Dharma protects the ruler’s law, and the ruler’s law reveres the Buddha Dharma. [. . .]

We first distinguish three approaches [to this paradigm]. The first is to distinguish between the Buddha Dharma and the ruler’s law in general terms. The second is to discuss the mutual support of Buddha Dharma and ruler’s law. The third is to demonstrate the necessity of being protected, and to mention the benefits thereof.

With regard to the first, there are two implications – the first being general, the second specific. Generally speaking, when we refer to the essence of the Buddha Dharma and the ruler’s law respectively, the Buddha Dharma is a doctrinal system that the Venerable [Buddha] Śākya[muni] taught during his whole life, and which liberates sentient beings from [the circle of] birth and death. The ruler’s law is a normative system for cultivating the person, for holding together the family, for ruling the country, and for pacifying the world.

Now, it can be said that all of the numerous countries have their respective national governments, but the ruler’s law of our empire, to begin with, is a ruler’s law

III For further information see Christoph Kleine, “Rethinking the Interdependence of Buddhism and the State in Late Edo and Meiji Japan,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 49, no. 1 (2022): 89–113.

that has its essence (*tai* 體) in the commandments of the gods (*shinmei no okite* 神明ノ掟), which have governed the country since the age of the gods (*shindai* 神代).^I Those commandments of the gods have assisted the ruler's law of our empire, but there are also the ruler's law of India and the ruler's law of China [p. 1/2]. The ruler's law of India is situated within the Buddha Dharma. Therefore, it is associated with the teachings of the Buddha. As times passed, in India too, the ruler's law moved in the direction of the doctrine of the Saintly Wheel Turning Monarch.^{II} The ten good rules (*jūzenbō* 十善法),^{III} as well as the five eternal [virtues of Confucianism] and the five virtuous merits,^{IV} constituted the ruler's law in places before the Buddha appeared in the world. Therefore, the ruler's nomosphere and the Buddha's nomosphere are within the Buddha Dharma.

As regards the ruler's law of China, it is based on humaneness and righteousness, propriety and music, which come from the Sages, such as [the legendary emperors] Yao and Shun, and the [princes] Yu [of the Xia dynasty], Tang [of the Yin dynasty], Wen and Wu [of Zhou], and were transmitted by Zhou Gong and Master Kong [i.e. Confucius] [. . .]. The one that unites the ruler's laws of the three countries, cares for the people, and civilises (*kyōka* 教化) them, so that there be peace on earth (*an'on* 安穩), is the ruler's law of Japan. [. . .] When we speak of the ruler's law today, we take the commandments of the gods and the teachings of Confucianism as the ruler's law. The primal intention of the appearance of the Buddha in the world (*shusse* 出世) was to save [sentient beings] from birth and death.

However, it is not the case that he did not teach secular laws (*seken no hō* 世間ノ法). In fact, in the *Śrīgālāvāda-sūtra*,^V [. . .] he taught the way [of proper social relations] between parents and children, man and wife, teachers and disciples, friend and friend, ruler and subject. In the *Sūtra of Sujāta*,^{VI} he taught [. . .] methods of how to protect a wife's body, and how to protect the family. In the *Sūtra on the Correct Interpretation of the Ruler's Law*,^{VII} the issue of governing the state by means of the ruler's law is taught. This secular law is a law aimed at controlling the person and controlling the world, and, in addition, at enabling [men] to be reborn in the human sphere or in

I CK: According to the official Chronicle of Japan (*Nihon shoki* 日本書紀), which was published on imperial command in 720 CE, the "age of gods" (*shindai* 神代) comprises the time span from the creation of Japan (or the earth) to the first emperor Jinmu 神武, whose reign was traditionally believed to have lasted from 660 BC to 585 BC.

II CK: *tenrin shōō* 轉輪聖王; Skt. Cakravartin.

III CK: Not killing; not stealing; not committing adultery; not lying; not speaking harshly; not speaking divisively; not speaking idly; not being greedy; not being angry; and not having improper views.

IV CK: *Gotoku* 五德; it is not entirely clear which "five virtuous merits" are meant here, as there are numerous lists in Buddhist literature.

V CK: *Karaotsu roppōrai kyō* 迦羅越六方禮經.

VI CK: *Gyokuyanyo kyō* 玉耶女經.

VII CK: *Ōbō shōron kyō* 王法正論經; full title: *Butsu'i uten'ō setsu ōbō shōron kyō* 佛為優填王說王法政論經 (T 14, no. 524), transl. Amoghavajra (705–774).

a heaven. In particular, what is taught in numerous sūtras is filial piety, and a lack of filial piety is a great sin. In this way, the secular law is taught, but in order to liberate oneself from birth and death, one must cut off love and affection. [. . . p. 2/3]

If one correctly observes the way of the five human relations, one cannot practise the way of the Buddha. When one internalises the Buddha Dharma, it is impossible to follow the path of the five human relations, in accordance with the ruler's law. Accordingly, one distinguishes between lay life (*zaike* 在家) and monastic life (*shukke* 出家). Therefore, if one wants to practise the path of the Buddha as a layperson, this differs from [the practice of] monastics. [. . .] Now, in their outer appearance, the Buddha Dharma and the ruler's law may differ, but, when it comes to practising the Buddha Dharma, one cannot practise without the protection of the ruler's law. As a matter of fact, in the defiled world of the latter Dharma, it has come to a point that, within our Buddha Dharma, there is not even the power to control evil monks. Therefore, it is up to the ruler of the country and his ministers, and the power of the ruler's law, to transmit the Buddha Dharma. Accordingly, the Buddha Dharma that was propagated by the eight schools and nine traditions [of traditional Buddhism in Japan] was, in toto, called [Buddhism of] 'protecting the state' (*chingo kokka* 鎮護國家). And it never happens that the protection of the ruler's law [by the Buddha's Law] does not yield benefits [in return].

Moreover, from the standpoint of the ruler's law, the Buddha's Law pacifies the hearts and minds of the people, and the glory of the Buddha's teaching (*bukkyō* 佛教) makes all the gods of heaven and earth, and all the buddhas and bodhisattvas [. . .] protect the state too. Therefore, on the occasion of the new year's ceremony at our imperial court, Shintō ceremonies and Buddhist ceremonies are performed, with the help of which peace is renewed within the empire and among the people. In general terms, what deserves thorough attention is that the Buddha Dharma reveres and respects the ruler's law. And as far as the ruler's law is concerned, it reveres the Buddha Dharma.

As regards the specific [implications of distinguishing between the Buddha Dharma and the ruler's law], in the True Pure Land School, the Buddha Dharma and the ruler's law are discussed on the basis of the explanations of the *Larger Sūtra*. This [specific] Buddha Dharma is a law, according to which a layperson acts like a layperson, and is liberated from birth and death through birth in the Pure Land by saying the name of the Buddha [Amida] (*nenbutsu* 念佛), without trying to change the fundamental shape of the ordinary person, which is afflicted by all kinds of passions. As to the ruler's law, in these days, clerics and laypeople (*sōzoku* 僧俗) in unison protect the governance of the ruler's law and the national laws (*kokuhō* 國法). In their own person, they practise the way of [obedience towards] parents and elder brothers, as well as righteousness and propriety. Therefore, to protect the ruler's law means to protect oneself from becoming evil. In the *Larger Sūtra*, Śākyamuni explained this ruler's law, which is based on the cultivation of one's person, in detail. These explanations of the Buddha are completely in agreement with the teachings of Shintō and Confucianism [p. 3–5 . . .]

If Japan is the land of gods (*shinkoku* 神國), a peaceful governance of the state can only be achieved through divine protection. Therefore, the ruler's law would consist of the protection of the teachings of the gods in the first place. Now, in [the discussion of the] five grades of evil in the *Larger Sūtra*, regarding the first evil it says that “*gods keep records of offenders' acts, and make sure that they are punished. That is why some are poor and destitute, corrupt, beggarly, lonely, deaf, dumb, blind, stupid, wicked, physically handicapped, deranged, or subnormal.*” As regards the second evil, it says “*gods know and keep records of their acts.*” In connection to the third evil, we read “*the sun and moon recognise them, and gods keep records of their doings.*” As to the fourth evil, it says “*taking no heed of heaven, earth, gods, or the sun and moon . . .*” etc.

The gods figure prominently in connection with each of these evils. This being the case, whether [evil deeds are] hidden or not hidden [from the ruler's law], they are rebuked [by the gods]. This is in complete agreement with the instructions of the gods of our empire. [. . .] All the gods hate evil spirits and minds. By the way, when it is said that evil shall not develop, but it is not considered what the bad things [to be avoided] are, it is the Buddha Dharma that explains the bad things in detailed analysis. The five precepts, the tenfold good, the 250 [monastic] precepts of the *vinaya* are all alike [in listing bad deeds that are to be avoided]. [. . .]

A bad person is punished in accordance with the ruler's law in this life [p. 5/6], and in the future he will suffer immeasurable pain in the three realms [of existence – i.e. the realms of desire, form, and formlessness]. A person that practises the fivefold good receives happiness and prosperity in this life, and, in the future, they will transcend this world by ascending to heaven, or achieving the realisation of nirvāṇa. Transcending the world (*tosei* 渡世) means overcoming all worldly delusions. Ascending to heaven means being born in the Pure Land [of the Buddha Amida]; the realisation of nirvāṇa means becoming a buddha. Thus, a person who commits the five evil deeds,^{VIII} suffers in the present and in the future. A person who practises the fivefold good, benefits immensely in the present and in the future.

The place where Śākyamuni appears in the world of the five evils, and encourages us to uphold the fivefold good, is the *Sūtra on Overcoming the Way of Men*.^{IX} Accordingly, what protects the mundane ruler's law is in fact the Buddha Dharma, which teaches that we should practise [good deeds] in this world of men. After all, the Buddha Dharma is not different from the secular law (*seken hō* 世間法). When one disobeys the secular ruler's law, one also disobeys the Buddha's law. [. . . p. 6/7 . . .]

VIII CK: Killing, stealing, adultery, lying, and drinking intoxicants.

IX CK: *Kado jindō kyō* 過度人道經, T 12, no. 362; an alternative version of the *Larger Sūtra* or *Sūtra on [the Buddha of] Immeasurable Life* (T 12 no. 360).

To be born as a human being is the most difficult to achieve among the six spheres [of rebirth]^X and the four kinds of reproduction.^{XI} [. . .] Once lost, the existence as a human being will not be achieved again for countless eons. Therefore, Śākyamuni has recommended the method of saying the Buddha's name (*nenbutsu* 念佛). [. . .] This precious body has not suddenly appeared by magical transformation. It could not have been achieved if not for the blessings received from one's parents. The upbringing by the parents [in turn] depends on the contributory factor of the blessings received from the country. [. . .] If we do not preserve the bodily ruler's law,^{XII} we lose ourselves, we lose our families. And if we are rebuked by the state, in what form shall we believe in and practice the Buddha Dharma? [. . .] Even if there still is some kind of Buddha Dharma, when the appearance of the ruler's law is lost there will be nothing that can be believed or practised. Accordingly, people who are not yet firm [in their faith], but strive for peace of mind (*anjin* 安心), as well as people who are firm in their faith [in the Buddha Dharma], must abide by the ruler's law and practise the Buddha Dharma. It is in dependence on the wheel of the ruler's law that the wheel of the Buddha Dharma can turn. [. . . p. 7/8 . . .]

Body and mind cannot be separated. Without the mind, the body cannot move. [. . .] Practitioners of the *nenbutsu* hold fast to the principle that obedience to the ruler's law is based on the harmony of the Buddha Dharma, which enables the wheel of the ruler's law to turn. Accordingly, the mutual assistance of the Buddha Dharma and the ruler's law is associated with body and mind,^{XIII} and there is the aspect of [mentally] believing in and [bodily] practising the Original Vow [of the Buddha Amida]. This point is expounded in the *Larger Sūtra*, in that each of the fivefold good [deeds] are related as "one controls one's thoughts with single-mindedness and practises [good deeds] with proper bodily demeanour." "To control one's thoughts with single-mindedness" refers to the peace of mind (*anjin* 安心) [brought about] by the Buddha Dharma; "practise [good deeds] with proper bodily demeanour" refers to obedience to the commandments of the ruler's law. Thus, it should be understood that the gist of the two wheels [of Buddha Dharma and ruler's law] is something that was taught by the Tathāgata [Śākyamuni].

Let us briefly touch upon the issue of cause and effect. The Dharma gate of the *nenbutsu* teaches, with regard to the variations in the capacities of sentient beings [to achieve emancipation], that we do not have the capacity to attain awakening in accor-

X CK: *Rokudō* 六道; i.e. the six spheres in which rebirth can take place, namely (1) in hell, (2) as a hungry ghost (*preta*), (3) as an animal, (4) as a demi-god (*asura*), (5) as a human, and (6) as a god (*deva*).

XI CK: *Shishō* 四生; i.e. the four possible ways that living beings can come into existence: (1) birth from eggs; (2) birth from the womb, (3) birth from moisture, (4) birth through transformation.

XII CK: *shin no ōbō* 身ノ王法. Presumably, Hakoya associates the bodily existence of people to the ruler's nomosphere, whereas people's minds are associated with the Buddha Dharma.

XIII CK: Note that in classical Japanese, the terms associated with each other are mirrored, as it were – i.e. the mind is associated with the Buddha Dharma, the body with the ruler's law.

dance with the [teachings and practices of the] Three Vehicles.^{XIV} Furthermore, there is no hope of being reborn in the human world or a heaven of gods. One considers oneself a bad person living in a bad world full of the five evils (*go'aku* 五惡) and the five pains (*gotsū* 五痛) [that result from committing the five evil deeds]. Regardless of how much the Buddha instructs us, we do not have the capacity to know the effects that the bad causes will bring about in the future. Accordingly, the *Larger Sūtra* states:

In this world, prisons are set up by the law, and those who are unafraid of them and commit offences are sent there for punishment. [. . .] The suffering of transmigration through dark and dismal realms is comparable to the severest and most painful punishment ever enforced by [the ruler's] law.^{XV} [. . . p. 8–10 . . .]

Births and deaths follow each other, and when one hears about the eternal pains in hell, one naturally cannot help but preserve one's own person [from committing sins] in this life. Accordingly, the *Larger Sūtra* says

Thus, because of the natural workings of karma, there are three evil realms and innumerable sufferings through which evildoers must pass, life after life, for many *kalpas*, with no end in sight. It is indeed difficult for them to attain release. The pain they must undergo is indescribable.^{XVI}

Therefore, even ignorant men and ignorant women in these days, who are born in a place where the Buddha Dharma was established but do not call the Buddha's name (*nenbutsu*) and do not pray for their next lives, even they believe that they will go to hell if they do bad things. They have heard about this since childhood, and have become used to it, so that they have come to live their lives without committing audacious evil. This is to say that, by way of [expounding the law of] cause and effect with regard to future [results], the Buddha Dharma supports the present governance of the ruler's law. Therefore, the wheel of the Buddha Dharma enables the wheel of the ruler's law to turn. This is the meaning of approaching the mutual support of the two wheels from the perspective of cause and effect in the past, present, and future.

With regard to the mutual protection [of the two nomospheres], it has been emphasised since antiquity that the Buddha Dharma supports the ruler's law. Especially when Kanmu Tennō [737–806] moved the empire's capital to Heian [i.e. present-day

^{XIV} CK: That is, the vehicles by which one can reach the shore of salvation, namely (1) the vehicle of a "voice-hearer" (*śrāvaka*), or someone who just follows the instructions of the Buddha for his or her own benefit; (2) the vehicle of a *pratyekabuddha*, or a person who attains enlightenment by contemplation on dependent arising on his own; (3) the vehicle of a *bodhisattva*, or a practitioner intent on the attainment of perfect awakening, based on profoundly altruistic motivations. In this context, the three vehicles signify all traditional forms of Buddhism, which – according to the True Pure Land school founded by Shinran, and to which Hakoya belonged – cannot be successfully practised anymore, in this corrupt period of the latter dharma (*mappō* 末法), which started in 1052.

^{XV} CK: Transl. from Inagaki, *The Three Pure Land Sutras*, 292; original: T 12, no. 360, p. 276a4–8.

^{XVI} CK: Transl. from Inagaki, *The Three Pure Land Sutras*, 296–98, 301; original: T 12, no. 360, p. 276, b11–13; c1–3; c23–25; p. 277, b1–3.

Kyōto], following the examples of the Vulture Peak of India and Mount Tiantai in China, [the monastic complex of Enryakuji on] Mt Hiei was established, which guarded the demon gate, and where prayers for the protection of the state were performed. This yielded obvious results, such as the vanishing of the seven kinds of calamities, and the generation of the seven kinds of happiness, which helped to protect the ruler's law. And the ruler's law revered the masters of the various [Buddhist] schools. Temples were erected on imperial command. In that way, the mutual protection [of the Buddha Dharma and the ruler's law] became evident.

Now, the True School of the Pure Land does not specifically recite any sūtras, or perform any prayers for the protection of the state. Notwithstanding, it causes the ruler's law to be protected, and the state to be at peace, on the basis of what the Venerable Śākya[muni] has taught in the *Larger Sūtra*. Therefore, at present, the ruler's law fully supports this school, because this school in particular easily reaches the laypeople, and makes them listen to the Dharma. Nowadays, the crowds who visit the temples and [holy] mountains do sometimes pray for peace and comfort in the present life and in the next life, but many prayers these days are [only concerned with] inner-worldly (*seken* 世間) [benefits]. Again, as to the True School of the Nenbutsu Gate, all that laypeople [in this tradition] learn is concerned with the next life of each individual. [p. 10/11] The reason why the ruler's law, for which the governance in the present time is of central importance, protects this True School that only longs for [birth in the Pure Land of the Buddha Amida in] the next world, is precisely that, if the root of longing for the next life is not completely firmly planted, it cannot protect the ruler's law in the present. [. . .] The practitioners of the single-minded and exclusive *nenbutsu* make the blessings of the state known, and lead to the observance of obedience towards one's parents and elder brothers as well as humaneness and righteousness. [. . .]

The Venerable Śākya[muni] went so far as to teach that, in the end, the foundation of national prosperity, the people's safety, and peace and order of the empire lies in cultivating one's own person, and in prioritising the ruler's law. That is to say that it is in dependence on the Buddha Dharma that the wheel of the ruler's law is able to turn. [. . .]

On overcoming all obstacles [. . .]. To all good things, mundane and supra-mundane, there are obstacles. In India such obstacles were called Māra. There is the Māra of passions and evil deeds inside of people's minds. In the outside world there are the Heavenly Māra (*tenma* 天魔) and the Evil Māra (*akuma* 惡魔), who obstruct all good things, and make the sentient beings commit evil deeds. Originally, the Buddha Dharma was a practical method to overcome delusion, to cut off the five kinds of worldly desires, and to perform difficult and painful practices with the body. In the defiled world of the latter days [of the Dharma], however, our capacities are insufficient, and we cannot correctly practise the Buddha Dharma. Because we cannot practise what we ought to practise, and because we cannot perform the practices of self-cultivation, all kinds of worldly evils arise. This is the great obstacle of the Buddha Dharma. [p. 11/12]

The clerics of the Nenbutsu Gate, and especially those of the True School, are persons who eat meat and marry. And in these days, in particular they do not perform

any difficult and painful practices. But when we cultivate ourselves and follow the instructions of good advisors (*zenchishiki* 善知識), and teach them to our families too, even laypeople will not develop a mental attitude that makes them lose the path of the five human relations and the five eternal [virtues]. [. . .] Again, in this world, there are many bad people. Because the obstacles caused by the calamities afflicting the state brought about by the Evil Mara and demonic spirits are not visible to the human eye, they cannot be held back by human force. In fact, the power of Māra's people is strong; and the power of bad people is increasing, and they make the mundane and supra-mundane good vanish. [. . .] Taking on various forms, the Evil Māra causes good things to not be done and causes all sorts of bad things to be done. Thus, if it was not for the power of Buddhas and Gods, there would be no power capable of driving away [the evil forces]. When nenbutsu practitioners say "Namu Amida Butsu," the Four Great Heavenly Kings all jointly unite with the unfathomable faithful mind of the Vow Power (*ganriki fushigi no shinjin* 願力不思議ノ信心). The Evil Māra and the demonic spirits cannot approach a household in which the *nenbutsu* is practised with a truly faithful mind. [. . .] Thus, one does not need to worry about the Evil Māra, when in present times *nenbutsu* practitioners guard themselves and guard their families, thinking that only the future [existence] really matters, and thereby correcting their own minds. Therefore, the tranquillity of national prosperity and people's safety is achieved automatically. In this way, it is achieved that the wheel of the ruler's law can turn in dependence on the wheel of the Buddha Dharma.

When it comes to the issue of present-day politics, generally speaking, the Buddha Dharma and the ruler's law are like two wheels. This has been the case since olden times, but is particularly so at present. While the Divine Sovereign Who Illuminates the East (*tōshō shrinkun* 東照神君)^{XVII} ruled the empire, [p. 12/13] Christianity and other wicked sects (*jashū* 邪宗) came from foreign countries, and corrupted the ruler's law. They are enemies of the empire. For the sake of spreading this wicked sect, they resort to all sorts of magical means (*majutsu* 魔術) to cheat and impress the ignorant people, just like fox and badger spirits appearing in human form. [. . .] Once people believe in this wicked Dharma (*jahō* 邪法), it is impossible to change their minds. Because this wicked Dharma comes along with a wicked god (*jashin* 邪神), they cannot approach those who practise a true Dharma, be it the True Dharma of the Buddha, or of Shintō or Confucianism. Accordingly, the wicked Dharma and the wicked god cannot enter the households of laypeople who believe in the Buddha Dharma, and who install a Buddhist altar in their homes. Therefore, to make the whole population fully profess Buddhism, and to let Buddhist ceremonies be performed, is to rebuke this [wicked Dharma] out of the ruler's nomosphere. [. . .]

XVII CK: This refers to the rule of the Tokugawa, founded by Ieyasu, who is enshrined in the family shrine Tōshōgū 東照宮 with the name Tōshō Daigongen 東照大権現.

The clerics of the True [Pure Land] School should particularly encourage the ignorant and uneducated lay households, and in doing so, never neglecting the teachings [of that school], make them believe in the Buddha Dharma and instruct them in the august rules and prohibitions of the ruler's law. [. . .] If we do not believe in the Buddha Dharma from the bottom of our hearts, we will reach the point of believing in the wicked Dharma [of Christianity]. We will come to think that the wicked evil Dharma is correct. Therefore, when we teach the doctrine of [the interdependence of] the Buddha Dharma and the ruler's law, and make sure that we are deeply aware of the blessings received from the state, this means that the wheel of the Buddha Dharma helps the wheel of the ruler's law [to keep on turning] [. . . p. 13–31 . . .]

When we think about it thoroughly, the Buddha Dharma will naturally spread if we personally understand that we rely on both the great blessings of the Buddha Dharma and the ruler's law, and prudently abide by them. When only one person attains faith, and is thus born in the Pure Land, the benefits are vast and boundless; how much more so if it is many persons. [. . .] The founder [of our tradition], saint [Shinran; 1173–1263], says in one of his letters: "People who constantly think of their own birth [in the Pure Land], and think of the Buddha's grace, say the Buddha's name out of gratitude for this grace. Doing so, they should think that peace may prevail on earth, and that the Buddha Dharma may spread."

39 Suzuki Daisetsu Teitarō: *A New Theory of Religion* (*Shin-shūkyō ron* 新宗教論, 1896)

Introduced and translated by Christoph Kleine

Introduction

Suzuki Daisetsu Teitarō 鈴木大拙貞太郎 (1870–1966) is arguably one of the most prominent Japanese intellectuals to date. He is considered a great mediator between East and West, and a leading transmitter of Japanese Buddhism – especially Zen Buddhism – to the West.^I Interestingly, the first of his many works – the *Shin-shūkyō ron* 新宗教論 (*A New Theory of Religion*), written at the tender age of 26 – has received relatively little attention. For our topic, however, this book is of paramount interest, as it marks the transition from a praxis of making conceptual distinctions on the basis of traditional, mostly Buddhist categories such as the *ōbō buppō* paradigm, to one based on categories that reflect a globalising order of knowledge dominated by ‘Western’ discourses.

Written in 1896 – i.e. shortly after Suzuki received the confirmation of awakening (*satori* 悟) from his spiritual teacher Zen master Shaku Sō'en 釋宗演 (1860–1919), and shortly before he left for the United States, at the latter's request, to collaborate with Paul Carus (1852–1919) – the *Shin-shūkyō ron* is one of the first Japanese texts to systematically relate the newly established term '*shūkyō* 宗教' for 'religion' to philosophy (*tetsugaku* 哲學), science (*kagaku* 科學), morality (*dōtoku* 道德), education (*kyōiku* 教育), society (*shakai* 社會), state (*kokkka* 國家), and family (*katei* 家庭).

Obviously, the new discourse on religion or *shūkyō* in relation to other social spheres – as promoted by Suzuki, Shimaji Mokurai,^{II} Inoue Enryō,^{III} and others – is not simply an elaboration on the theme of the interdependence of the Buddha's nomosphere and the ruler's nomosphere (*buppō ōbō sō'i* 佛法王法相依), which we have dealt with extensively above. Although it would be inappropriate to reduce the *ōbō buppō* paradigm to an attempt to define the relationship between religion and the state

I Michael Pye, "Suzuki Daisetsu (1870–1966): Zen für den Westen," in *Kulturvermittler zwischen Japan und Deutschland: Biographische Skizzen aus vier Jahrhunderten*, ed. Japanisches Kulturinstitut Köln (Frankfurt a. M.: Campus, 1990).

II See Hans Martin Krämer, *Shimaji Mokurai and the Reconception of Religion and the Secular in Modern Japan* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015).

III See Jason Ānanda Josephson, "When Buddhism Became a 'Religion': Religion and Superstition in the Writings of Inoue Enryō," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 33, no. 1 (2006): 143–68.

Christoph Kleine, Leipzig University, Research Centre Global Dynamics, KFG 2344, "Multiple Secularities – Beyond the West, Beyond Modernities"; Leipzig University, Faculty of History, Art and Area Studies, Institute for the Study of Religion

(or politics) – in principle, all human affairs could be assigned to one nomosphere – the actual discursive context in which this paradigm was referred to was clearly determined by this very problem. The new discourse is more comprehensive and more nuanced. What was previously assigned to the ruler's nomosphere is now differentiated into various social subsystems, areas of knowledge, or fields of activity, which are thereby granted a high degree of autonomy. *Shūkyō*, on the other hand, did not just replace *buppō*. The latter concept, which was confined to Buddhist orthodoxy, is – evidently – not a generalised comparative concept like religion or *shūkyō*. However, it is not the case that, as is sometimes suggested, the Japanese did not have such comparative concepts prior to the establishment of the term *shūkyō*. Very abstract concepts such as *hō* 法 (the latter character of *buppō* and *ōbō*, roughly meaning law or nomos), *kyō* 教 (the latter character of *shūkyō*, meaning doctrine, teaching, or instruction), and *dō* 道 (meaning way or path) had been used since antiquity to denote socio-cultural formations, such as Buddhism, Confucianism, Daoism, Brahmanism, Shintō, and Christianity. The extension of these concepts was quite broad, however.

When speaking about concrete, institutionalised 'religions,' especially since early modern times, and in the wake of the Christian mission of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Japanese commentators resorted instead to terms such as *shū* 宗 (the first character of *shūkyō*, roughly meaning a genealogical tradition), *shūshi* 宗旨 (roughly meaning a religious system, emphasising the doctrinal aspect), or *shūmon* 宗門 (a religious community, thus emphasising the societal aspect of religion).^I Those terms were still widely in use in the late nineteenth century, and are treated as synonyms of *shūkyō* even in post-war dictionaries. To use the term *shūkyō* in the Meiji era thus signifies a deliberate decision to participate in a newly developing global discourse of religion, rather than to carry on the old national discourse on the relationship between the two nomospheres, or the anti-Christian discourse that denounced Christianity as an "evil religion" (*jashū* 邪宗, *jashūmon* 邪宗門, *jashūshi* 邪宗旨, *jakyō* 邪教, *jahō* 邪法, etc.) using the old terms mentioned above.

It is evident that Suzuki, who later became a member of the Theosophical Society,^{IV} which played a significant role in the globalisation of the discourse on religion,^V was eager

I CK: Cf. Christoph Kleine, "When Christianity Became a Shūshi 宗旨: Cultural Encounters and Comparisons Between Europe and Japan and the Origins of a Global History of Religion." *Interdisciplinary Journal for Religion and Transformation in Contemporary Society (JRAT)* 10, 2 (special issue) (2024): 31–55.

IV Henry Steel Olcott had visited Japan for the first time in 1889, and gave lectures in more than 30 cities. His talks were very well received by Japanese Buddhists. It is very likely that Suzuki was informed by theosophical discourses early on, at least indirectly. For more on Suzuki's relations to theosophy, see Thomas A. Tweed, "American Occultism and Japanese Buddhism: Albert J. Edmunds, D. T. Suzuki, and Translocative History," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 32, no. 2 (2005): 249–81.

V Michael Bergunder, "'Religion' and 'Science' Within a Global Religious History," *Aries – Journal for the Study of Western Esotericism* 16 (2016): 86–141; "Global Religious History in Theory and Practice," *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion* 33, no. 3–4 (2021): 441–62.

to connect to this global discourse, and modernise or ‘religionise’^{VI} Japanese Buddhism. His understanding of *shūkyō* clearly reflects the global modernist discourse on religion, which is often regarded as the prerequisite for, or the corollary of, the establishment of secularity as an ordering principle of modern societies. While the relationship between religion and politics, or ‘church and state,’ still plays a dominant role in the drawing of boundaries between the religious and the secular in the late nineteenth century, the relationship between religion and science is gradually gaining equal importance.^{VII} Based on this observation, I have selected the respective two chapters for this volume.

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Page numbers given in square brackets refer to this edition.

Passages highlighted by Suzuki’s teacher Shaku Sō’en in the original have been put in italics.

Some passages have already been translated into English:

Richard M. Jaffe. *Selected Works of D.T. Suzuki*. Volume 3, *Comparative Religion*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2016.

Larger parts of the chapter on “Religion and the State” are translated in:

Satō Kemmyō Taira. “D. T. Suzuki and the Question of War.” *The Eastern Buddhist* 39, no. 1 (2008): 61–120.

A few passages of the text in English translation can be found in:

Kirita Kiyohide. “D. T. Suzuki on Society and the State.” In *Rude Awakenings: Zen, the Kyoto School, & the Question of Nationalism*, edited by James W. Heisig, and John C. Maraldo, 52–74. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1994.

Translation by Christoph Kleine

11. The Relationship between Religion and Science

Regarding religion (*shūkyō*) and science (*kagaku* 科學), worldly people hastily ponder whether the two collide with each other or not. However, their relationship is not sim-

VI For the concept of ‘religionisation,’ see Markus Dreßler, “Modes of Religionization: A Constructivist Approach to Secularity,” Working paper series of the HCAS ‘Multiple Secularities – Beyond the West, Beyond Modernities 7, 2019; “Religionization and Secularity,” *Companion to the Study of Secularity*, no. 7 (2019).

VII See Michael Bergunder, “‘Religion’ and ‘Science’ Within a Global Religious History,” *Aries – Journal for the Study of Western Esotericism* 16 (2016): 86–141. See also Krämer’s contribution on Shimaji Mokurai in this volume.

ply an abstract one, like collision (*shōtotsu* 衝突) or non-collision (*hi-shōtotsu* 非衝突). Non-collision encompasses various types of relationships. Therefore, I would like to contemplate this matter in detail, and address the following questions. *First, is science incompatible with religion? When we determine that science is correct and religion is incorrect, or that religion is correct and science is incorrect, it means one of the two must be correct. But if both are correct, how do science and religion relate to each other? Does science provide support for religion, making it truer, and does religion offer any evidence for science?*

The standpoints of Christians and Buddhists on this problem differ, due to their distinctive characteristics. *To begin with, according to the Christians' interpretation, science and religion are completely opposed to each other, akin to ice and charcoal.* [According to their belief,] scientism leans toward atheism, and eventually leads to naturalism (*shizenkyō* 自然教). Such a stance can by no means comply with the Christian doctrine of divine revelation. Science, in their view, diminishes the divine sacredness (*shinsei* 神聖) of religion, [p. 192/193] and undermines the dignity of the men of God (*shinjin* 神人).¹¹ Scientists are [considered] sinners against Christianity. Therefore, those who uphold the path of God (*kami no michi* 神の道) must vehemently reject science with all their might. [. .]

Buddhism is a religion of the East. In the East, science has not progressed. Consequently, the problem of [the relationship between] religion and science has not been studied [in the East] [p. 193/194]. With the recent arrival of Western scholarship, the relationship between science and Buddhism has become an issue. *However, older masters who have studied Buddhism within their orders have not been exposed to the spirit of Western science, while the younger generation possessing scientific knowledge hardly have any correct understanding of Buddhism. This leads to conflicts between the explanations of the two camps. Nevertheless, Buddhism and science appear to have relatively few disagreements, primarily because Buddhism does not teach the existence of one supernatural entity (chō-shizen-teki ichibutsu 超自然の一物) as Christianity does.*

Only those who want to preserve the old customs would assert that Buddhism has no association with science. What they think is that “Science and Buddhism differ with respect to both their methods and their objectives. Upwardly, Buddhism’s purpose is to seek *bodhi* [i.e. awakening]; downwardly, to transform all sentient beings. Science merely aims at describing phenomena in the realm of nature. Religion reflects inwardly, while science drives outwardly. The laws of science cannot govern the true principles of Buddhism. Why then should Buddhism listen to science?”

On the other hand, new Buddhists are eager to apply the results of scientific research to clarifying the fundamental basics of Buddhism. Thus, the current religious

¹¹ CK: This term is a little ambiguous. It might also refer to those who serve a god or the gods, which would in this case be read *kamibito*, and mean the clerics of the Christian churches. I gravitate towards this interpretation, because it would indicate that science undermines the authority of the clerics.

sphere in our country is activated by the clash of these two big prevailing trends [p. 194/195].

Having elucidated the differing attitudes of Buddhists and Christians towards science, I now wish to present my own perspective on the relationship between what is commonly termed ‘religion’ and ‘science’, pondering whether to align with what the Buddhists teach, or with what the Christians teach. In my view, the Christian theory of conflict is severely flawed, and the Buddhist theory of unrelatedness is also biased. *I contend that science possesses the capacity to cleanse religion of its dust, thereby elevating the true splendour of religion.*

Now, allow me to elaborate on this matter. When we thoroughly scrutinise [the nature of] truth (*shinri* 真理), we come to realise that it is universal. [. . . p. 195/196 . . .]

Based on this truth, religion attains spiritual peace and enlightenment (anshin ritsumeï 安心立命); and based on this truth, science enhances its knowledge (chishiki 智識). Science contemplates the universe, which discloses the truth. Likewise, religion contemplates Heaven and Earth, in accordance with reason (dōri 道理). Without this truth, religion would be like a fish without water, and science like a dragon without clouds. It may appear as if universal truth is evident in religion, but obscured in science, or that it is evident in science, but obscured in religion. However, it must be understood that religion and science never collide with each other. Rather they are things that support each other and exist in harmony.

Ultimately, truth is truth. We should not speak of religious truth or scientific truth, as if there were two kinds of truth. If something is, in fact, regarded as true from the standpoint of religion, but not from the standpoint of science, in what place should this truth be true? [. . .] Truth must be congruent in science; and it must be congruent in religion [p. 196/197]. If it is not, it can never be truth. It must be seen as something that is no more than an embodiment of delusional superstition (mōshū meishin 妄執迷信). Hence, I hold that religious truth is not different from scientific truth, and scientific truth is likewise not different from religious truth.

What then, is science?

As I see it, what we call science is that which organises and arranges the knowledge we obtain through experience (keiken 經驗). The primary objective of science is to describe facts and classify them into similar or distinct categories, while discerning the underlying laws that connect these groups [. . . p. 197/198]

How can science cleanse the dust of religion?

Religion has developed from mythology.^{III} *In the ancient times of ignorance, people could not perceive and acknowledge the truth as it is, so every religion had to contain a residue of dust.* It is believed that the human intellect evolves from [the level of] disorder to clarity, from the concrete to the abstract; therefore, primitive people could hardly recognise abstract concepts as truth, [and could] only grasp meaning by realising it through idolatrous objects. As with the establishment of a heavenly lord (*tentei* 天帝) in Christianity, it is necessary for those whose wisdom is less developed to materialise the existence of the one great and rigid principle prevailing between heaven and earth, so that they can recognise it. Even when they are told that the mysterious workings of an original power govern people's behaviour, and that a violation of its rules would result in immediate punishment, ignorant people cannot think in abstract terms, and therefore their beliefs are not shaken. But if this great power is concretised by assigning it a certain place and form, and if someone preaches to them that, aside from the myriad things [in the world], there is a personified Heavenly Lord who watches over us, they will surely understand. [p. 198/199] The most ignorant people cannot grasp even this, and end up regarding the Heavenly Lord as resembling human beings, equipped with four limbs, five senses, and seven [kinds of] emotion. By the standards of today, this may seem extremely absurd and unfounded, but it was considered the one great truth in olden times.

For this reason, religious thinking contains a mixture of [elements that are] true and false, or right and wrong. Truth shakes hands with untruth; the real stands back to back with the unreal. This is similar to a lump of gold dug up in a mine. [The gold] must be placed in the forge of wisdom to be tempered a thousand times. In this sense, science is the forge, the tongs and the hammer to smash the delusionary [elements of] religion, and in the end only the true essence will remain.

Some may ask, "Does only religion contain a mixture of true and untrue elements, while science is thoroughly composed of only true elements? By what power can science judge religion?"

The development of religion preceded science. From times when human knowledge was still naive onwards, [the untrue elements of religion] accumulated in the human mind and seemed so natural that they could not be removed. [p. 199/200] *Religion, by its very nature, tends, in particular, to be dogmatic* (*dokudan-teki* 獨斷的), *fallacious* (*mōshin-teki* 妄信的), *and conservative* (*hoshu-teki* 保守的). *And it tends to make final judgements not on the basis of present facts, or the rationality of the human mind, but rather the basis of historical facts (this bad habit is particularly evident in Christianity).* In this way [religion], although based on facts, experience and truth, cannot be the same as science, which is always based on present facts,

^{III} CK: This is an interesting wording. Suzuki gives the Chinese characters “鬼神説,” which would normally be read “*kishinsetsu*,” meaning “theories/explanations/narrations of demons and gods,” but wants the readers to read these characters as “mythology” as indicated by the *furigana* attached to the phrase.

appeals to reason, and takes the rational but discards the irrational, in order to advance step by step. Religion is like stagnant water that stands still, while science is like a river that flows day and night. The water, however, is essentially the same. Stagnant water may reflect form on its surface in the beginning, but what remains standing tends to rot; therefore, a way must be sought to dig a trench and let the water flow. Consequently, religion should discard what is contrary to facts, in accordance with scientific explanations. This will make the light of religion shine all the more brightly.

True religion realises the truth straightforwardly [lit. “nakedly”], without being stopped by any delusion. In the past, there was no need for its cleansing by science, but today’s religions mostly rely on [p. 200/201] history, and transmit both truth and falsehood without discrimination. Therefore, the demons [of ignorance] of those who stubbornly cling to outdated traditions, and are unwilling to align with contemporary ideas, must be enlightened and shattered by the light of science.

Of course, science also contains a mixture of true and untrue, or true and false elements. [. . .] *Science, after all, is not omnipotent, and can inevitably fall into error, but the more experience we gain, the more it helps us to abandon outdated habits and accept newly discovered principles.* In this way, science is progressing day by day, and what is true becomes truer; what is right becomes more right. Therefore, it is imperative that religion is transformed and reformed, in dependence on science.

How can science elevate the true splendour of religion? [p. 201/202]

To understand this, one must realise that the nature of religion is quite different from that of science; clarification of the opposing characteristics [will] make the reason for their mutual support even more evident. [. . .] Science is based on logical analysis, whereas religion is based on the immediate apprehension of things as they are. On this point the difference between religion and science is similar to that between religion and philosophy. [. . . p. 202/203 . . .]

Religion and science contemplate the same universe; religion from within, science from without. Religion first comprehends the essence of the universe, and afterwards enters the realm of discrimination, while science thoroughly examines the realm of discrimination, and thereafter enters the sphere of equality. *Science can explain religious truth, and religion can comprehend scientific truth.* In the end, it may be that the difference between religion and science does not lie in objective facts, but in subjective interpretation.

Consequently, religion and science help each other to promote the truth. Just as the truths accepted in religion step out into the sphere of science, and are subjected to an infinite variety of [scientific] analysis to reveal that they are, in fact, to be regarded as true, the application of scientific principles to religion will ascertain that [the truths of religion] are not erroneous. The more they confront each other, the more they mutually enlighten each other. [. . . p. 203/204] In that sense, *if Christianity claims to embody the purest truth, why then must it necessarily conceive of science*

as atheism, as immorality and impropriety, let alone despise or harm scientists? And conversely, if Buddhism wants to represent truth, it should be burnt in the blazing fire of science, and struck by the tongs and hammer of experience, to cast more light – instead of avoiding any interaction with science.

In short, religion, science and philosophy are merely [different] results of the same human mind observing the same universe. In terms of their aims and methods, there are some differences, but nothing that would contradict each other. Jointly, they promote the one great truth of the universe.

In conclusion, I would like to answer the questions I asked [at the beginning of this chapter]. Even though I have sufficiently expressed my views above, and made them comprehensible, I would like to repeat the answer at the end. What we can see is that religion and science do not contradict each other, but are mutually related to each other. Religion is true, and science is also true. Both stand together, and together they let the light [of truth] shine, so that this light may shine ever brighter. [p. 204–249 . . .]

15. Religion and the State

At first glance, one might think, state and religion appear to be extremely opposed – the reason being that the state is something founded on discrimination (sabetsu 差別), whereas religion necessarily upholds a comprehensive egalitarianism (issai byōdō shugi 一切平等主義). Religion takes the realisation of a cosmic ideal as its ultimate purpose; the state takes the preservation of its own existence as its ultimate purpose. Religion wants the whole world to be one; the state wants each [country] to exist on its own. Religion teaches that [all people in] the whole world are brothers, and that all peoples are compatriots; the state says that, throughout heaven and earth, it alone should have power. Religion preaches [that mankind is but] one family united in benevolence, and that one should not cling to the distinction between oneself and others; the state takes loyalty and patriotic feelings as their doctrine, and insists on its independence. Religion never hesitates to abolish the existence of the state and its history; the state always acts on the basis of its own self-centred interests. In this way, religion and the state are hardly compatible, and we do not know whether religion is right or whether the state is right. [. . . p. 249/250]

Let us look at the actual situation among the world's nations today. Each has established a country on a piece of this tiny earth, claiming that country's territory as its territory, that country's products as its products, and that country's people as its people. If conflicts arise between the interests of the respective nations, they soon forsake peace, and, taking up arms, kill people, halt commerce, and destroy production, continuing at this until one side or the other is defeated. *However, owing perhaps to their ideals of civilised behaviour, they prefer not to admit that self-interest is behind all of this, so they always use "justice" as an excuse. "We attack them", they claim, "for the purpose of maintaining long-term peace in the East (or the West, or the World)".*

Or “they ignored our rights, and so, in the name of justice, we cannot remain silent”. Or “we desire only to help that weak and impoverished nation attain independence, and raise it to the status of a civilised state”. All this talk sounds so reasonable, as if war could not have been avoided. [. . . p. 250–252 . . .]

One could thus characterise today’s international relations as follows: They begin in self-interest, continue in abuse, and end in exhaustion. This, unfortunately, is a credible portrayal of contemporary relations between nations. It must be admitted that it departs greatly from the ideals of religion, and I cannot help but wonder whether the state and religion can coexist at all. [p. 252/253] [. . .] The formation of the state is not the purpose of human existence, but only an expedient means – nothing more than a single stage through which humanity must pass, in the course of its development. Humanity exists for the sake of humanity, not for the sake of the state [. . .]. In order that the existence of the state may not hinder the realisation of the hopes and ideals of religion – that is, of humanity – the state must, I believe, be reformed where necessary. [. . . p. 253–255 . . .]

Viewed in temporal terms, state formation necessarily occurs at a certain point in the development of society. It must indeed serve as a means (*hōben* 方便)^{IV} to help humanity realise the purpose of its existence. However, if we look at it as a phase that we must pass through, in order to reach our goal, we have no choice but to endure it – even if it seems to distance us from that goal for a while. This is because what exists as a necessary response to the demands of a particular time and place always participates in the truth of that particular time and place; this is called relative truth (*sōtai-teki shinri* 相對の真理).^V And if a relative truth appears as a response to a natural necessity, how does it differ from an absolute truth? In so far as both are equipped with the dignity of truth, we cannot but act in accordance with them. Thus, although the state is only a means, it contains an intimation of truth. [p. 255/256]. Therefore, religion must also vary in its form to some extent, according to time and place. *Indeed, religion must at first seek to support the existence of the state, and it must demand to conform to its history and the character of its people.* [. . . p. 256–258 . . .]

IV CK: This is a traditional Buddhist concept, and an important one, too. It traditionally denotes the skilful means used by the Buddha to help sentient beings to be liberated from the cycle of birth and death, in accordance with their faculties. Cf. Michael Pye, *Skilful Means: A Concept in Mahayana Buddhism* (London: Duckworth, 1978).

V CK: Interestingly, Suzuki deliberately refrains from using the Buddhist term *zokutai* 俗諦, which is traditionally associated with the ruler’s nomosphere, and would have been the natural choice for more conservative authors (see Fukuda). He instead uses a modern, academic term here. This once again underlines his effort to be perceived as a modern thinker who can connect to a global discourse. It is not certain whether Suzuki already knew at the time of writing his text that he would shortly thereafter go to the USA to collaborate with Paul Carus, but we do know that there was already written correspondence between Suzuki and Carus by 1895. Cf. Tweed, *American Occultism*.

In any case, I do not know today what direction the future progress of society will take. Some scholars predict that we are heading towards a single undifferentiated global entity. But in no way would anyone claim that the present condition of international confrontation and rivalry represents the absolute ideal.

Nevertheless, in the present, one must act in accordance with the current situation. Therefore, as can be seen from the above discussion, all undertakings that contribute to the progress of the nation should be undertaken, keeping in mind that the nation as it is today has not yet reached the ultimate goal, and that it is desirable to always strive for its improvement. This is truly the realm of religion. Religion does not seek to undermine the foundations of the state and replace them with something new; it simply seeks the progress and development of the state, in accordance with its history and constitution. [p. 258/259]

When contemplating this, the interests of religion and the state are not in conflict with each other; rather, both sides can only hope for wholeness if they help and support each other. Admittedly, the present state of ethics governing relations between nations smacks of barbarism, and is thus quite contrary to the ideals of religion, but the fact that justice (*seigi* 正義) and humanity (*jindō* 人道) are spoken of at all shows that there is at least a grain of moral sense at the core [of these ethics]. *Truly, if we do not let this seed of moral sense grow*, how should we ever germinate the seed of religion?

The problem can easily be solved when we hold that *religion exists with the state as its body* (*tai/karada* 體) *and that the state develops with religion as its spirit* (*seishin* 精神). In other words, *religion and the state form a unity*; if every action and movement of the state assumes a religious character, and if every word and action of religion assumes a state character, then everything done for the sake of the state is done for religion, and everything done for the sake of religion is done for the state. The two are one, and the one is two; discrimination (*sabetsu* 差別) is equality (*byōdō* 平等), and equality is discrimination;^{VI} perfectly blended, there is not a hair's breadth of separation between religion and state. [. . . p. 259–261 . . .]

If we summarise what has been stated above, *from one point of view, the relationship between religion and the state is a relationship between discrimination [i.e. particularism = state] [p. 261/262] and equality [i.e. universalism = religion]. From another point of view, it is a relationship between means [i.e. the state] and ends [i.e. religion].*

VI CK: This is a very Buddhist mode of reasoning, but here again, Suzuki refrains from using the traditional phrases found in Buddhist scriptures.

40 *The Treatment of ‘Religion’ in the Constitutions of Japan (1889, 1947) and Proposed Revisions to Articles 20 and 89 of the Postwar Constitution by the Liberal Democratic Party (2012)*

Introduced by Mark R. Mullins

Introduction

The selections presented here are from the legal documents that define religion, its place in society, and the ‘official’ boundary demarcations of what constitutes “religion” and the “secular,” in three distinct periods. While these documents provide the official terms for regulating the possibilities of religious belief and practice in modern Japan, it is important to recognise at the outset that there is no consensus in either scholarly or popular discourse on the meaning or use of the term “religion” (*shūkyō* 宗教), or how it might relate to the “secular” (*sezoku* 世俗) sphere.

The first text, Article 28, is from the 1889 constitution, produced within the first three decades of the Meiji period; it reflects the foreign diplomatic pressure from Western governments on Japan to include a provision for religious freedom, which would allow the Christian missionary enterprise in modern Japan. Some context is required to understand its meaning and significance, including reference to some earlier developments, as well as subsequent administrative decisions and laws, which defined and controlled religion until the Allied occupation instituted fundamental reforms in late 1945.

As early as 1871, the Council of State had issued an official notice that “rituals at shrines are fundamental rites of the state (*kokka no sōshi*) that should not be privatised by anyone nor any family.”¹ Considerable debate surrounded how Shinto would be handled in relation to the category of religion, but, in the end, it was decided that shrine Shinto and its rituals would be categorised as “non-religious,” and treated separately from other religions.

The clause in Article 28 guaranteeing Japanese subjects this freedom is defined somewhat narrowly in terms of “belief” (*shinkyō no jiyū* 信教の自由), and does not mention the institutional or ritual dimensions of religion. Such beliefs are regarded as personal and private, and distinguished from the moral values that are to define peace and order in the public sphere. This personal freedom, furthermore, is allowed

¹ Mark W. MacWilliams and Okuyama Michiaki, *Defining Shinto: A Reader* (London: Routledge, 2020), 46.

Mark R. Mullins, The University of Auckland, Faculty of Arts, Department for Theological and Religious Studies; The University of Auckland, Faculty of Arts, Department for Asian Studies

only if subjects fulfil their duties to the state. As Trent Maxey explains, “the article codified the subjectified construct of religion, placing the self-articulation of belief beneath and after the public and political demands of the state.”^{II}

In contrast to religion, which was viewed as sectarian and confined to the private sphere, Shinto shrines became sites for all subjects to participate in public rituals – understood as civic duty rather than religion – which followed a new national calendar that was overlaid upon the traditional customary festivals and practices of local shrines (*ujigamisha*). This understanding was reinforced by how the government’s administrative offices were organised. From 1900, a Bureau of Shrines (*Jinja Kyoku*) was established in the Ministry of Home Affairs, to oversee and manage Shinto shrines separately from other religious institutions. Buddhist temples, Christian churches, and new religions were all under the administration of the Bureau of Religion (*Shūkyō Kyoku*). This solidified the government’s position on, and understanding of, non-religious Shinto – or what Josephson identified as the “Shinto secular”^{III} – and their assumption that shrines would constitute the base institutions for the ritual support of public life and national morality, as defined by the Imperial Rescript on Education (1890).

Although the government’s official position remained that Shinto was non-religious, there were Japanese scholars, as well as some priests, who, in the decades that followed, considered Shinto to be a religion alongside other religions. While Shinto was never designated as the state religion by the Meiji constitution, or, indeed, any other legislation, Isomae Jun’ichi^{IV} and other scholars have noted that it functioned as a de facto state religion, through the administrative structures and policies put in place to regulate religion.

The treatment of religious minorities in the last decade of the Pacific War reveals that “religious freedom was insufficiently guaranteed by the Meiji Constitution.”^V The wartime state’s interpretation of what was required by the clause in Article 28 regarding the “duties of subjects” in relation to public “peace and order” became increasingly strict, and the Religious Organisations Law passed by the Diet in 1939 required all organised religions to ensure their teachings and practices supported the Imperial myth and cult of the emperor. The new law empowered the state to disband any organised religion in conflict with the state-defined orthodoxy, which was identified as propagating subversive thought (*kiken shisō*) inconsistent with the Imperial Way.^{VI}

II Trent Maxey, *The ‘Greatest Problem’: Religion and State Formation in Meiji Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Centre, 2014), 186.

III Jason Ānanda Josephson, *The Invention of Religion in Japan* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 19, 137–39.

IV Isomae Jun’ichi, *Religious Discourse in Modern Japan: Religion, State, and Shinto* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 272.

V Abe Yoshiya, “Religious Freedom Under the Meiji Constitution (Part 1).” *Contemporary Religions in Japan* 9, no. 4 (1968): 282.

VI Sheldon M. Garon, “State and Religion in Imperial Japan, 1912–1945,” *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 12, no. 2 (1986): 300–301.

The Japanese Special Higher Police (*Tokubetsu Kōtō Keisatsu*) actively investigated a number of new religious movements and Christian churches for violating this law, which led to arrests, imprisonments, and the closure of a number of organised religions until the end of the war.

The next official documents that concern us here are Articles 20 and 89 of the post-war constitution (1947), which was passed by the National Diet during the Allied occupation of Japan (1945–1952). This relatively brief period may be seen as a critical juncture brought on by the shock of defeat, and the foreign occupation.^{VII} It is widely acknowledged that the notions of religious freedom and religion-state separation in *The Shinto Directive* (15 December 1945; see entry no. 44) issued by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) expanded the understanding of religious freedom beyond what had been guaranteed by the Meiji constitution, but it also implemented reforms that particularly impacted shrine Shinto and its role in public life and institutions. The key policy decisions made by these foreign actors (SCAP's Religions Division) were approved by the Japanese Diet in a new constitution, in Articles 20 and 89. These articles pertaining to religion have continued to exert long-lasting influence on the courts and organised religions, and framed the recurring debates concerning the proper relationship between religions and the state throughout the post-war period. The “unity of rites and government” (*saisei itchi* 祭政一致) tradition, which had been revived and dominated religion-state relations since the Meiji period, was replaced by the strict application of the separation of religion from the state (*seikyō bunri* 政教分離).

SCAP ordered the Japanese government to end all financial support for Shinto shrines, and remove Shinto symbols and rituals from public schools and offices. These Shinto elements were redefined as “religious,” and shrines were essentially forced to embrace a religious identity or be closed. The Religious Organisations Law (*shūkyō dantai hō*, 1939), which had allowed the state to interfere with and disband organised religions deemed problematic due to their deviation from the Imperial Way, was replaced by a new Religious Corporation Ordinance (*shūkyō hōjin rei*) in 1946. Shinto shrines were required to register, along with Buddhist temples, Christian churches, and New Religions, to survive during the occupation and post-war period. There was a fair amount of disagreement between SCAP's Religions Division and the Japanese government's Religious Affairs Office (*Shūmuka*) over this redefinition of Shinto practices as “religious,” but it was eventually adopted, and shaped the interpretation of Articles 20 and 89.

In sum, the occupation authorities fundamentally reframed the boundaries demarcating religion and the secular, redefined what constituted religion in the post-war period, and, through the forced privatisation of Shinto, replaced the ‘Shinto secular’ with a secular public sphere.

VII On the utility of the theoretical concepts of critical juncture and path dependences for making sense of the earlier periods of Japanese religious history, see Christoph Kleine's “Formations of Secularity in Ancient Japan: On Cultural Encounters, Critical Junctions, and Path-Dependences,” *Journal of Religion in Japan* 8 (2019), 9–45, which I extend here to the Occupation period.

The last document considered here is the Liberal Democratic Party's 2012 draft proposal for revisions to Articles 20 and 89 of the post-war Constitution of Japan (1947). Conservative religious and political leaders have been keen to revise the constitution since the end of the foreign occupation. In fact, constitutional revision was one of the key goals mentioned in the charter of the Liberal Democratic Party when it was launched in 1955. The 1947 constitution was regarded as a "foreign imposition," which should be replaced by an autonomous one that truly reflects Japanese values. This stance was emphasised by the late Prime Minister Abe Shinzō (1954–2022), a concern and policy agenda he inherited from his maternal grandfather, Kishi Nobusuke (1896–1987).

In addition to these political leaders, both Shinto critics (see text no. 42) and Shinto Seiji Renmei, the political arm of the National Association of Shrines (Jinja Honchō), also support revision, as they regard the occupation's forced incorporation of Shinto into the category of "religion" and the exclusion of Shinto from public life to be misguided, and based on an unfairly strict interpretation of religion-state separation. In a Nagoya Higher Court testimony on 7 October 1970, the legal scholar Ōishi Yoshio pointed out that such interpretations of the constitution may have been legally binding during the occupation, but are no longer valid: "The authority to interpret the Constitution inheres in Japan's national sovereignty. No longer are we bound by the Occupation interpretation. We have now returned to the interpretation that prevailed prior to the Occupation."^{VIII} This interpretation provides the rationale for the proposed revisions.

The draft proposal by the LDP suggests an additional phrase of qualification to clause 3 in Article 20, which is also applied to Article 89. The highlighted changes and terminology in the proposed revisions add new language, applied to both articles, that would clearly allow for ritual activity to be redefined as non-religious, reintroduced to public institutions, and supported by public funds. The assumption here is that it is possible to identify some Shinto practices as "social rituals" (*shakaiteki girei* 社会的儀礼) or "customary practices" (*shūzokuteki kōi* 習俗の行為), which puts them in a category exempt from the strict application of religion-state separation. If such revisions are eventually passed by the Diet, and supported by the Japanese electorate in a national referendum, they will constitute the restoration of 'non-religious' Shinto, and its rituals will once again be a part of public life and institutions. While Article 20, in its present form, prohibits any state support, promotion, or coercion with respect to religious education or activities, some religious minorities and secular Japanese fear that the designation of some Shinto rituals as non-religious could eventually mean that they would be regarded as civic duties, and that participation of all citizens could be required, regardless of personal convictions.

^{VIII} Quoted in Yanagawa Keiichi and Abe Yoshiya, "Cross-Cultural Implications of a Behavioral Response," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, no. 10 (1983): 294.

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“Jiyū-Minshutō: Liberal Democratic Party (2012)” *Website of the Constitutional Revision in Japan Research Project*. Reischauer Institute, Harvard University. Accessed November 1, 2024, <https://www.crjapan.org/drafts/liberal-democratic-party-april-27-2012>.

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Cf. Colin P.A. Jones. “The LDP Constitution, Article by Article: A Preview of Things to Come?” *The Japan Times*, July 2, 2013. Accessed 29 May 2017. <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/community/2013/07/02/issues/the-ldp-constitution-a-preview-of-things-to-come/#.WSvu7NykjaQ>.

[Selection from] The Constitution of the Empire of Japan (1889)

Article 28. Japanese subjects shall, within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious belief.

[Selections from] The Constitution of Japan (1947)

Article 20. Freedom of religion^I is guaranteed to all. No religious organization shall receive any privileges from the State, nor exercise any political authority.

No person shall be compelled to take part in any religious act, celebration, rite or practice. The State and its organs shall refrain from religious education or any other religious activity.

Article 89. No public money or other property shall be expended or appropriated for the use, benefit or maintenance of any religious institution or association, or for any charitable, educational or benevolent enterprises not under the control of public authority.

I CK: Literally “freedom of belief in a doctrine” (*shinkyō no jiyū* 信教の自由).

[Selections from] 2012 Liberal Democratic Party's draft proposal for revisions to Articles 20 and 89 of the postwar Constitution of Japan (1947)

Article 20. Freedom of religion is guaranteed to all. The State shall not grant privileges to any religious organization (*Omitted: "No religious organization shall exercise any political authority"*).

No person shall be compelled to take part in any religious act, celebration, rite or practice.

The State, local governments and other public entities shall refrain from particular religious education and other religious activities. **However, this provision shall not apply to activities that do not exceed the scope of social rituals or customary practices.**^I [*tadashi, shakaiteki girei mata wa shūzokuteki kōi no han'i o koenai mono ni tsuite wa, kono kagiri de nai*].

Article 89. No public money or other property shall be expended or appropriated for the use, benefit or maintenance of **religious activities conducted by** any institution or association, **except for cases set forth in the proviso of the third paragraph of Article 20.**^{II}

^I MM: Emphasis mine.

^{II} MM: Emphasis mine.

41 The Liberal Democratic Party's Constitutional Reform Promotion Department: *Questions and Answers to the Draft Proposal for Revisions to the Constitution of Japan (2013)*

Introduced and translated by Christoph Kleine

Introduction

In a document entitled “Questions and Answers to the Draft Proposal for Revisions to the Constitution of Japan,” the Liberal Democratic Party's Constitutional Reform Promotion Department explains why, in their view, a revision of the constitution in general, and the religion-related articles in particular, is necessary.

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Translation by Christoph Kleine

Q1: Why must the constitution be amended now? Why did the LDP put together the “Draft Constitution of Japan”?

A: Since its foundation, our party has made the establishment of an independent constitution its party policy. In order to break away from the occupation regime, and make Japan a country fit to be a sovereign state, we have made many proposals for constitutional reform. [. . .]

The current constitution was enacted during the Allied occupation, based on a draft directed by the Allied Command, and within the limits of its understanding. We believe that the constitution, which was enacted while the sovereignty of the State of Japan was restricted, does not reflect the free will of the people. [. . . p. 2–18 . . .]

Christoph Kleine, Leipzig University, Research Centre Global Dynamics, KFG 2344, “Multiple Secularities – Beyond the West, Beyond Modernities”; Leipzig University, Faculty of History, Art and Area Studies, Institute for the Study of Religion

Commentary

Clarification of the prohibition of religious activities by the state and others (Article 20 (3))

The common interpretation of the prohibition of religious education by the state and local authorities is that it prohibits the teaching of a specific religion, and does not include religious education as a general education. In order to clarify this in the article, the wording was changed to “particular religious education” [i.e. teaching about a specific religion].

Furthermore, the second sentence was added with reference to Supreme Court precedents, excluding from the prohibition of religious activities by national and local authorities those that “do not exceed the scope of social rituals or customary acts.” Thereby, problems such as the use of public funds to pay Tamagushi¹ fees at ground-breaking ceremonies will be solved in practice.

I CK: Tamagushi 玉串 (literally “jewel skewer”) is a form of offering consisting of a sakaki tree branch decorated with strips of paper, silk or cotton. Tamagushi are ritually offered to kami (spirits or gods) by parishioners, shrine maidens, or priests at Shinto shrines, on various occasions.

42 Supreme Commander of Allied Powers (SCAP): *The Shinto Directive* 15 December 1945

Introduced by Mark R. Mullins

Introduction

The Shinto Directive, issued on 15 December 1945 by the Supreme Commander of Allied Powers (SCAP), was an important document that outlined the Allied occupiers' policy toward Shinto, and articulated the principles of religion-state separation and religious freedom. These principles would guide the treatment of all religions in post-war Japan. Although widely referred to as the “Shinto Directive,” it is actually a memorandum for the Imperial Japanese Government on the subject “Abolition of Governmental Sponsorship, Support, Perpetuation, Control, and Dissemination of State Shinto (Kokka Shinto 国家神道, Jinja Shinto 神社神道).” This document was produced by staff of the Religions Division of the Civil Information and Education Section (CIE) of the occupation administration, which was the counterpart to the Japanese government's Ministry of Education, responsible for working out the policies of the Supreme Commander regarding the media, education, and religion. Colonel Ken R. Dyke served as head of the CIE from September 1945 to May 1946, and appointed Dr William Kenneth Bunce, a Navy lieutenant, to serve as chief of the Religions Division. Although he had no specific training in the study of religion, he was, at least, an academic, who had earned his PhD in history from Ohio State University.^I

From September to December 1945, Bunce drafted the “Shinto Directive Staff Study” on the problem of State Shinto (3 December 1945), which was a much longer document, and the “Shinto Directive” (15 December 1945). This latter text outlined the steps SCAP required the Japanese government to take in the implementation of fundamental reforms and changes in the relationship between Shinto and the state.^{II} It is important to recognise the role played by Japanese scholars in educating Bunce and other Religions Division staff during these early months, which significantly shaped the resulting

I For background on the CIE, and biographical information on William K. Bunce, the key author of the “Shinto Directive Staff Study” and the “Shinto Directive,” see Takemae Eiji 竹前栄治, *Nihon no senryō: GHQ kōkan no shōgen* 日本の占領: GHQ 高官の証言 (Chūō Kōron Sha, 1988); and Takemae Eiji, “Religious Reform under the Occupation of Japan: Interview with Dr. W. K. Bunce by Prof. E. Takemae, 23 October 1984,” *Tōkyō Keizai Daigaku kaishi* 東京経済大学会誌 150 (1987): 187–219.

II The “Shinto Directive Staff Study” (3 December 1945) may be found in William P. Woodard, *The Allied Occupation of Japan 1945–1952 and Japanese Religions* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), Appendix F:1, 322–41.

Mark R. Mullins, The University of Auckland, Faculty of Arts, Department for Theological and Religious Studies; The University of Auckland, Faculty of Arts, Department for Asian Studies

documents that were to define public policy on religions in occupied Japan. The consultations with Tokyo Imperial University scholars – including Professor Miyaji Naokazu 宮地直一 (1886–1949), who occupied the Chair for Shinto Studies, Anesaki Masaharu 姉崎正治 (1873–1949), the well-known professor of comparative religion and pioneer of religious studies in Japan, and Kishimoto Hideo 岸本英夫 (1903–1964), the younger assistant professor in the same department and Anesaki's son-in-law and former student – are well-documented.^{III} In addition to seminars and consultations with these Japanese scholars, Bunce and his team also took part in guided fieldtrips to shrines and temples, which shaped their understanding of Japanese religions on the ground, and gave them a more nuanced understanding of the social forms of Shinto beyond the problematic “State Shinto,” with its connection with ultranationalism and militarism. These issues were central concerns of both documents mentioned above.

It is impossible to determine the actual extent of these scholars' influence on Bunce, but Fukuda Shigeru, who was chief of the Religions Bureau at the Ministry of Education from 1946 to 1948, argues that much of what appeared in the 3 December Staff Study and the 15 December Shinto Directive was drawn from information and material introduced in lectures by Kishimoto.^{IV} Bunce himself acknowledged that he had relied a great deal upon Kishimoto during his preparation of these documents.^V

The Shinto Directive called for a fundamental restructuring of Japanese religion and society, guaranteeing the free practice of religion. It required the Japanese government to terminate any funding of Shinto shrines, and to enforce a strict separation of religion and state. SCAP clearly rejected the notion of “non-religious” Shinto, or the “Shinto secular,”^{VI} and required that Shinto rites and symbols, including *kamidana*, be removed from public institutions such as schools and government offices. The directive also ended the forced participation in Shinto rites as civic duties. Shinto elements were to be removed from textbooks, and the moral education curriculum and forced shrine visits (*sanpai*) were eliminated for students, teachers, and government officials.

This removal of Shinto from public life and institutions represented a ‘privatisation’ of Shinto, but the directive clearly reserved the right of shrine Shinto to continue as voluntary organisations in the post-war period. Of course, this meant that shrines would be required to redefine themselves as “religious” organisations, and, in 1946, to register as religious corporations. The directive was intended to assure the Japanese

III For an account in English, see Mark R. Mullins, *Yasukuni Fundamentalism: Japanese Religions and the Politics of Restoration* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2021): 39–49; and for Japanese perspectives, see Fukuda Shigeru, “Kenshō: GHQ no shūkyō seisaku 検証: GHQの宗教政策,” in *Senryō to Nihon Shūkyō* 占領と日本宗教, ed. Ikado Fujio 井門富二夫 (Miraisha, 1993), 521–60; and Takagi Kiyoko 高木きよ子, “Kishimoto-hakushi to senryō jidai no shūkyō seisaku 岸本博士と占領時代の宗教政策,” in *Senryō to Nihon Shūkyō* 占領と日本宗教, ed. Ikado Fujio 井門富二夫 (Miraisha, 1993), 423–36.

IV Fukuda, “Kenshō,” 524–25.

V Takemae “Religious Reform under Occupation,” 199–200.

VI On the “Shinto secular,” see Jason Ananda Josephson, *The Invention of Religion in Japan* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 94.

public of their religious freedom, including the free practice of Shinto, once it was separated from state control. Notably, not one shrine was abolished as a result of the directive – though Yasukuni Shrine and other *gokoku* shrines (nation-protecting shrines) were monitored for most of the occupation period. The Religions Division staff were uncertain whether these shrines would be able to dissociate themselves from their identity as military shrines.

It is widely acknowledged that the principles of religion-state separation and religious freedom embedded in the Shinto Directive were effectively incorporated as Article 20 and 89 of the post-war constitution (1947).

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GENERAL HEADQUARTERS SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS

AG 000.3 (15 Dec 45) CIE

15 December 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR: IMPERIAL JAPANESE GOVERNMENT.

THROUGH: Central Liaison Office, Tokyo.

SUBJECT: Abolition of Governmental Sponsorship,
Support, Perpetuation, Control, and
Dissemination of State Shinto (Kokka Shinto, Jinja Shinto).

1. In order to free the Japanese people from direct or indirect compulsion to believe or profess to believe in a religion or cult officially designated by the state, and

In order to lift from the Japanese people the burden of compulsory financial support of an ideology which has contributed to their war guilt, defeat, suffering, privation, and present deplorable condition, and

In order to prevent a recurrence of the perversion of Shinto theory and beliefs into militaristic and ultra-nationalistic propaganda designed to delude the Japanese people and lead them into wars of aggression, and

In order to assist the Japanese people in a rededication of their national life to building a new Japan based upon ideals of perpetual peace and democracy,

It is hereby directed that:

- a. The sponsorship, support, perpetuation, control, and dissemination of Shinto by the Japanese national, prefectural, and local governments or by public officials, subordinates, and employees acting in their official capacity are prohibited and will cease immediately.

- b. All financial support from public funds and all official affiliation with Shinto and Shito shrines are prohibited and will cease immediately.
 - (1) While no financial support from public funds will be extended to shrines located on public reservations or parks, this prohibition will not be construed to preclude the Japanese government from continuing to support the areas on which such shrines are located.
 - (2) Private financial support of all Shinto shrines which have been previously supported in whole or in part by public funds will be permitted, provided such private support is entirely voluntary and is in no way derived from forced or involuntary contributions.
- c. All propagation and dissemination of militaristic and ultra-nationalistic ideology in Shinto doctrines, practices, rites, ceremonies, or observances, as well as in the doctrines, practices, rites, ceremonies, and observances of any other religion, faith, sect, creed, or philosophy, are prohibited and will cease immediately.
- d. The Religious Functions Order relating to the Grand Shrine of Ise and the Religious Functions Order relating to State and other Shrines will be annulled.
- e. The Shrine Board (Jingi-in) of the Ministry of Home Affairs will be abolished, and its present functions, duties, and administrative obligations will not be assumed by any other governmental or tax-supported agency.
- f. All public educational institutions whose primary function is either the investigation and dissemination of Shinto or the training of a Shinto priesthood will be abolished and their physical properties diverted to other uses. Their present functions, duties, and administrative obligations will not be assumed by any other governmental or tax-supported agency.
- g. Private educational institutions for the investigation and dissemination of Shinto and for the training of a priesthood for Shinto will be permitted and will operate with the same privileges and be subject to the same controls and restrictions as any other private educational institution having no affiliation with the government; in no case, however, will they receive support from public funds, and in no case will they propagate and disseminate militaristic and ultra-nationalistic ideology.
- h. The dissemination of Shinto doctrines in any form by any means in any educational institution supported wholly or in part by public funds is prohibited and will cease immediately.
 - (1) All teachers' manuals and textbooks now in use in any educational institution supported wholly or in part by public funds will be censored, and all Shinto doctrine will be deleted. No teachers' manual or textbook which is published in the future for use in such institutions will contain any Shinto doctrine.
 - (2) No visits to Shinto shrines and no rites, practices, or ceremonies associated with Shinto will be conducted or sponsored by any educational institution supported wholly or in part by public funds.
- i. Circulation by the government of "The Fundamental Principles of the National Structure" (Kokutai no Hongi), "The Way of the Subject" (Shinmin no michi), and

- all similar official volumes, commentaries, interpretations, or instructions on Shinto is prohibited.
- j. The use in official writings of the terms “Greater East Asia War” (Dai Tōa Sensō), “The Whole World under One Roof” (Hakkō Ichi-u), and all other terms whose connotation in Japanese is inextricably connected with State Shinto, militarism, and ultra-nationalism is prohibited and will cease immediately.
 - k. God-shelves (Kamidana) and all other physical symbols of State Shinto in any office, school, institution, organization, or structure supported wholly or in part by public funds are prohibited and will be removed immediately.
 - l. No official, subordinate, employee, student, citizen, or resident of Japan will be discriminated against because of his failure to profess and believe in or participate in any practice, rite, ceremony, or observance of State Shinto or of any other religion.
 - m. No official of the national, prefectural, or local government, acting in his public capacity, will visit any shrine to report his assumption of office, to report on conditions of government or to participate as a representative of government in any ceremony or observance.
- 2.a. The purpose of this directive is to separate religion from the state, to prevent misuse of religion for political ends, and to put all religions, faiths, and creeds upon exactly the same legal basis, entitled to precisely the same opportunities and protection. It forbids affiliation with the government and the propagation and dissemination of militaristic and ultra-nationalistic ideology not only to Shinto but to the followers of all religions, faiths, sects, creeds, or philosophies.
 - b. The provisions of this directive will apply with equal force to all rites, practices, ceremonies, observances, beliefs, teachings, mythology, legends, philosophy, shrines, and physical symbols associated with Shinto.
 - c. The term State Shinto within the meaning of this directive will refer to that branch of Shinto (Kokka Shintō or Jinja Shintō) which by official acts of the Japanese Government has been differentiated from the religion of Sect Shinto (Shūha Shintō or Kyōha Shintō) and has been classified a non-religious national cult commonly known as State Shinto, National Shinto, or Shrine Shinto.
 - d. The term Sect Shinto (Shūha Shintō or Kyōha Shintō) will refer to that branch of Shinto (composed of 13 recognized sects) which by popular belief, legal commentary, and the official acts of the Japanese Government has been recognized to be a religion.
 - e. Pursuant to the terms of Article 1 of the Basic Directive on “Removal of Restrictions on Political, Civil, and Religious Liberties” issued on 4 October 1945 by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers in which the Japanese people were assured complete religious freedom,
 - (1) Sect Shinto will enjoy the same protection as any other religion.
 - (2) Shrine Shinto, after having been divorced from the state and divested of its militaristic and ultra-nationalistic elements, will be recognized as a religion if its ad-

herents so desire and will be granted the same protection as any other religion in so far as it may in fact be the philosophy or religion of Japanese individuals.

- f. Militaristic and ultra-nationalistic ideology, as used in this directive, embraces those teachings, beliefs, and theories which advocate or justify a mission on the part of Japan to extend its rule over other nations and peoples by reason of:
 - (1) The doctrine that the Emperor of Japan is superior to the heads of other states because of ancestry, descent, or special origin.
 - (2) The doctrine that the people of Japan are superior to the people of other lands because of ancestry, descent or special origin.
 - (3) The doctrine that the islands of Japan are superior to other lands because of divine or special origin.
 - (4) Any other doctrine which tends to delude the Japanese people into embarking upon wars of aggression or to glorify the use of force as an instrument for the settlement of disputes with other peoples.
3. The Imperial Japanese Government will submit a comprehensive report to this Headquarters not later than 15 March 1946 describing in detail all action taken to comply with all provisions of this directive.
4. All officials, subordinates, and Employees of the Japanese national, prefectural, and local governments), all teachers and education officials, and all citizens and residents of Japan will be held personally accountable for compliance with the spirit as well as the letter of all provisions of this directive.

FOR THE SUPREME COMMANDER:

H.W.Allen

Colonel, A.G.D.

Asst Adjutant General

43 Yoshihiko Ashizu: *The Shinto Directive and Constitution from the Standpoint of a Shintoist* (1960)

Introduced by Mark R. Mullins

Introduction

Ashizu Yoshihiko [sic]^I 葦津珍彦 (1909–1992), was widely known as a Shinto leader and conservative intellectual in post-war Japan. He was born in Kyūshū, into a family with strong Shinto roots: his father had been a strong supporter of the Jingikan 神祇官 movement in the Meiji period, which sought to restore the ancient Office of Deities. In 1922, as a young man, Uzuhiko enrolled in the Tokyo Furitsu Dai Go Chūgakkō, where he briefly became enamoured with Marx, and even joined a study group on socialism. This was followed by a year studying commerce at the Fukushima Kōtō Shōgyō. He returned to Kyūshū in 1921, to assist his father, and take over the family business in the mining industry. His father's faith deeply influenced and strengthened his own Shinto convictions, which led to his active involvement in Shinto circles toward the end of the Second World War. He played a significant role in the reorganisation of shrine Shinto in the early years of the occupation, which led to the formation of Jinja Honchō (the National Association of Shrines) in 1946. Shortly thereafter, he helped to launch *Jinja shinpō* 神社新報, a Shinto publication that represented the concerns of this largest association of shrines. In addition to managing this publication until 1968, he was himself a prolific author, and published over sixty books in the post-war period. Ashizu maintained that shrine Shinto constituted the spiritual foundation of the Japanese people and nation of Japan, and he clearly articulated this view in public debates about the constitution, Yasukuni Shrine, the place of the emperor, and the role of Shinto rites in public life.^{II}

A recent study indicates that Ashizu has had a significant intellectual influence on the views of the conservative-nationalist Japan Conference (Nippon Kai), a political movement established in 1997. This organisation has become a part of a coalition with

I The journal mistakenly renders Ashizu's given name as Yoshihiko, but it should instead be rendered as Uzuhiko.

II For more detailed information about Ashizu's life, see Fujita Hiromasa's 藤田大誠 account in the reprint addition of Ashizu's *Kokka Shintō to wa nan datta no ka* 国家神道とは何だったのか (Jinja Shinpō, [1987], 2006), 173–82.

Mark R. Mullins, The University of Auckland, Faculty of Arts, Department for Theological and Religious Studies; The University of Auckland, Faculty of Arts, Department for Asian Studies

Jinja Honcho's Shinto Seiji Renmei (the League Promoting Ties Between Politics and Shinto), and Liberal Democratic Diet members, which work together to promote constitutional revision and support for Yasukuni Shrine, and to strengthen the position of the emperor in contemporary Japan.^{III}

The excerpts from Ashizu's article below provide a post-occupation Shinto perspective, which views some rites and ceremonies as "non-religious" or customary social rituals that should not fall under the auspices of (the strict interpretation of religion-state separation required by) the Shinto Directive (15 December 1945) issued by SCAP's Religions Division. This article appeared in *Contemporary Religions in Japan*, a journal sponsored by the International Institute for the Study of Religion – a non-sectarian institute that had been established by Kishimoto Hideo and William P. Woodard. Kishimoto was a scholar of religious studies at the University of Tokyo, and Woodard was a Protestant missionary who had served in Japan before the war, been employed as a researcher in SCAP's Religions Division during the occupation, and resumed work in Japan in 1953, following a brief break back in the United States. Kishimoto served as the Chairman of the Editorial Board of the journal, and Woodard was the chief editor.^{IV}

Bibliographical Information

Yoshihiko Ashizu. "The Shinto Directive and Constitution: From the Standpoint of a Shintoist."

Contemporary Japanese Religions 1, no. 2 (1960): 16–34; 18, 20–22.

Page numbers given in square brackets refer to this edition.

The Shinto Directive clearly states that "the *purpose of this Directive is to separate religion from the state*" and "to prevent misuse of religion for political ends . . ." In other words, the sphere of the Directive was not limited to the *separation of church and state*, that is, the *separation of religions organizations from the state*; it aimed at the *separation of religion and state*. Therefore, the Directive stated that "The provisions of this directive will apply with equal force to all rites, practices, ceremonies, observances, beliefs, teachings, mythology, legends, philosophy, shrines, and physical symbols

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III Fujiu Akira 藤生明, "Nippon Kaigi to Ashizu Uzuhiiko 日本会議と葦津珍彦," *Gendai Shūkyō* 現代宗教 (2018): 91–110.

IV See "From the Editorial Board, From the Editor" in *Contemporary Religions in Japan* 1, no. 1 (1960): 1–6; for more background on the collaboration between Kishimoto, Woodard, and other academics and religious leaders in this initiative, see Jolyon Baraka Thomas, *Faking Liberties: Religious Freedom in American-Occupied Japan* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2019), 226–29.

associated with Shinto.” Thus, the Directive was not satisfied to simply separate the state and shrines. It was intended to completely expel from all public places in Japan all Shinto usages and ceremonies which had spontaneously permeated the racial community. [. . . p. 18–20 . . .]

The people who interpret the Constitution in accordance with the Shinto Directive take the position that the Directive, which ordered the *separation of religion and state* was entirely replaced by articles 20 and 89 of the Constitution. Therefore, [p. 20/21] they persistently insist that the only ceremonies possible for the government and public entities are those that are non-religious.

Constitutional Provisions: Article 20

Our position on this point is different. The Constitution of Japan reads as follows:

Article 20: Freedom of religion is guaranteed to all. No religious organization shall receive any privileges from the State, nor exercise any political authority. No person shall be compelled to take part in any religious act, celebration, rite or practice. The State and its organs shall refrain from religious education or any other religious activity.

Those people, who insist in accordance with paragraph 2 of Article 20 that the state or its organs shall in no case perform any religious rite, understand religious rite “as naturally included in the religious activity” referred to in Paragraph 3. We think, however, that the term “religious activity” has a clear meaning and does not necessarily include all kinds of religious rites, that is, rites which originate in a religion, or ceremonies which possess a religious coloring. We do not think that the performance of religious rites, which have been naturally merged into the racial social life of the Japanese, are necessarily included in “religious activity,” which is prohibited. It is a natural and normal matter for the Japanese to perform religious rites in the case of funerals or memorial services, to perform the ceremony of purification of a building site at the beginning of construction, and to perform a religious rite at a wedding ceremony. This is also the case in using New [p. 21/22] Year’s pines or Christmas trees. We think that religious rites which have permeated the Japanese social life and customs are outside the category of the “religious activity” forbidden by the Constitution.

It goes without saying that, even though a rite has become very general and is in a social custom, if it is a rite originating in a religion, no one should be compelled to participate in it. This is clearly stated in the Constitution. The provision in the second paragraph forbidding compulsion is necessary in order to guarantee religious freedom. However, this is only intended to forbid compulsory participation, and does not prohibit the performance of religious rites. [Italics in these sections are the original author’s own]

44 ***Shinshū Ōtani-ha: Resolution Against the ‘Revision’ of the Fundamental Law of Education (2004) and Comment by the Shinshū Ōtani-ha President on the ‘Revision of the Organ Transplant Law’ (2009)***

Introduced and translated by Ugo Dessì

Introduction

This section introduces two official documents issued by the Shinshū Ōtani-ha 真宗大谷派, one of the two major branches of True Pure Land Buddhism (Jōdo Shinshū 浄土真宗), regarding the Japanese Fundamental Law of Education (Kyōiku kihonhō 教育基本法) and the Organ Transplant Law (Zōki ishokuhō 臓器移植法) respectively.

The first document is a 2004 resolution against the proposed revision of the Fundamental Law of Education that was later implemented by the Japanese government in December 2006. This revision introduced changes to the law such as the addition of references to the “sense of morality” and “love for the country and the homeland.” The Shinshū Ōtani-ha resolution is a strong reaction against this revival of elements from the ultranationalist education system of wartime Japan, and is based on the guiding idea of effective character building. This character building, according to the resolution, can only be achieved by protecting children from the intrusion of the state in education, and defending the secular values in the old draft of the Fundamental Law of Education, against the reinforcing of elements of wartime moral education in public schools.

The second document was issued in 2009, to protest the revisions to the Organ Transplant Law enforced by the Japanese Diet in July 2009, which not only removed the age limit for organ donations, but also recognised brain death as “legal death.” The Shinshū Ōtani-ha text reproduced below argues instead for the (legal codification of the) primacy of the religious sphere over the domain of medical science, based on the idea that life is not something that can be disposed of arbitrarily by human beings. This, it argues, is because life and its definitions lie in the domain of religion, while the postulated equivalence of actual death and brain death is thought to lead dangerously to the objectification or privatisation of life (the guiding idea here being respect for “the dignity of life”).

Ugo Dessì, University of Vienna, Faculty of Catholic Theology, Department of Religious Studies

These two texts exemplify different, and not necessarily consistent, ways of distinguishing between religion and societal areas related to politics, law, public education, and science, within the same Buddhist context – thus confirming the situational and flexible nature of secularity.

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Shinshū Ōtani-ha 真宗大谷派. “Kyōiku kihonhō ‘kaisei’ ni hantai suru ketsugi 教育基本法「改正」に反対する決議” [Resolution Against the ‘Revision’ of the Fundamental Law of Education]. June 8, 2004. Available at <https://www.higashihonganji.or.jp/news/declaration/0009374>.

Shinshū Ōtani-ha 真宗大谷派. *Comment by the Shinshū Ōtani-ha President on the ‘Revision of the Organ Transplant Law’* [Zōki ishokuhō kaisei’ ni kansuruugoki nit suite no shūmusōchō no komento 「臓器移植法改正」に関する動きについての宗務総長コメント]. July 6, 2009. Available at <https://www.higashihonganji.or.jp/news/declaration/1223404>.

Translation by Ugo Dessì

Resolution Against the ‘Revision’ of the Fundamental Law of Education

On 20 March 2003, the Central Council for Education submitted a report to the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, stating that “from a perspective aimed at a spiritually rich and robust cultivation of the Japanese people for the new century . . . there is the need to amend the Fundamental Law of Education.”¹

In the same report, there is no sufficient discernment of whether “the decline of self-confidence and public morality, atrocious crimes by juveniles, bullying, nonattendance and dropout at school, classroom breakdown, and the like” are caused by school education or society. Instead, the current Fundamental Law of Education is arbitrarily deemed responsible for these problems, and a ‘revision’ is required that would promote and approve the state’s excessive intervention in the hearts of children and families. In this text, one not only finds the importance of “cultivating patriotism,” “strengthening old-time moral education,” and “revering and dedicating oneself to the country” being emphasised in the name of the “respect for Japanese

¹ UD: Reference is made here to the report “The Fundamental Law of Education and the Basic Promotional Plan for Education in a New Era” (Atarashii jidai ni fusawashii kyōiku kihonhō to kyōiku shinkō kihonkeikaku no arikata ni tsuite 新しい時代にふさわしい教育基本法と教育振興基本計画の在り方について), issued in March 2003 by the Central Council for Education (Chūō Kyōiku Shingikai 中央教育審議会), an advisory panel to the ministry. See http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/shingi/chukyo/chukyo0/toushin/030301.htm.

tradition and culture,” but one also finds a call to rebuild education through meritocracy, competition, and the logic of the strong.

Based on our deep reflection on the horrors of the Asia-Pacific War, which cost more than 20 million victims their lives, we have obtained the Japanese Constitution revolving around the three main principles of “democracy,” “pacifism,” and “respect for basic human rights.” The preamble to the Fundamental Law of Education, which was enacted at around the same time, states: “Having established the Constitution of Japan, we have shown our resolution to contribute to the peace of the world and welfare of humanity by building a democratic and cultural state. The realisation of this ideal shall depend fundamentally on the power of education.” The preamble continues by affirming that “we shall esteem individual dignity and endeavor to bring up people who love truth and peace,” and that “education aimed at the creation of culture general and rich in individuality shall be spread far and wide,” thus showing itself as the embodiment of the principles enshrined in the Japanese constitution.^{II}

In recent years, however, we have seen changes such as the enactment of the National Flag and Anthem Law,^{III} the official approval of school textbooks based on nationalistic and utterly distorted views of history, and new educational guidelines and sixth-year elementary school social studies aimed at “nurturing love for the country.” As a result, the government’s excessive intervention in the classroom proceeds at an accelerated speed. We must admit that all these developments point in the same direction – that of constitutional ‘revision.’

Education is an activity that promotes and supports the self-formation of human beings as individuals, and cannot be reduced to the planning and the imposition by the state of a definite image of human beings. Beyond that, children can by no means be considered as something existing for the sake of the state.

The Shinshū Ōtani-ha has deeply repented for its own past war responsibilities, when it forgot its duties as a community of Buddhist practitioners, twisted the words of founder Shinran Shōnin,^{IV} and uncritically and actively cooperated with the [wartime] national policy. In 1995, the Shinshū Ōtani-ha Diet adopted an *Anti-war Resolution* (*Fusen ketsugi* 不戦決議) vowing “to investigate the crimes committed by our religious community, and to spare no effort in preventing these tragedies in the future.”^V

As a community of Shin Buddhist practitioners, here we pass our firm resolution against opening the path to ‘amend’ the Peace Constitution, which would lead to the

II UD: For a comparison of the revised (2006) and original (1947) versions of the Fundamental Law of Education, see the dedicated web page of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology. https://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/kihon/data/07080117.htm.

III UD: *Kokki oyobi kokka ni kansuru hōritsu* 国旗及び国歌に関する法律 (1999).

IV UD: Shinran 親鸞 (1173–1262) is acknowledged as the founder by all branches of True Pure Land Buddhism.

V UD: Cf. the website of the Shinshū Ōtani-ha, at <https://jodo-shinshu.info/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/58d8789816dd3ef658f763beb9cf4d6.pdf>.

cultivation of citizens who can support a country willing to go to war as a means of settling international disputes, and against a ‘revision’ of the Fundamental Law of Education, pursuing the division of human beings through a meritocracy based on the logic of the strong.

8 June 2004

Comment by the Shinshū Ōtani-ha President on the ‘Revision of the Organ Transplant Law’

With regard to the Organ Transplant Law, in 1997 the Shinshū Ōtani-ha expressed its regret through a “Statement on the Approval of the ‘Organ Transplant Law’ Bill at the House of Representatives”; on the occasion of the [enactment of the law on] ‘Brain Death and Organ Transplantation’ (1999), we expressed our view that this issue once again poses to all of us as individuals the question of the meaning of life and death. As such, the issue should be widely discussed, and it would be desirable to reconsider it in light of the rich meaning of the “dignity of life” (*inochi no songen* いのちの尊厳) and “life and death” (*seishi* 生死) ideas. Our present statement confirms this position.

The issues of ‘brain death’ and ‘organ transplant’ basically revolve around the claim to assessing, in intellectual terms, the way in which human beings are born, live, and die. In this, there is the danger that we end up conceptualising different ‘categories’ of death, and see human organs as ‘parts.’

We have snootily turned ‘death,’ which was originally ‘something to be accepted,’ into ‘something to be decided’ and ‘something that can be decided.’

The True Pure Land Buddhism taught by Shinran Shōnin remains a path considering all individuals as human beings living in sadness and pain, while disclosing true liberation to them. According to this teaching, ‘brain death’ and ‘organ transplant’ are not simply related to the lives and deaths of others, but should rather be understood as something that raises questions of our own individual ways of life, being actually related to the fact that ‘I am here, born as a person.’

Finally, against such expression of the dark side of the human intellect leading to the revision of the Organ Transplant Law, we express our strong wish that a discussion based on the acceptance of human existence might be started, in line with what was suggested by the words of Kiyozawa Manshi:^{VI} “For us there is not only life but also death, we are the combination of the two sides.”

6 July 2009

VI UD: Kiyozawa Manshi 清沢満之 (1863–1903) is a celebrated thinker and reformer within the Shinshū Ōtani-ha branch, and in True Pure Land Buddhism in general.

Inner Asia and the Himalayas

Tibet

45 The Fifth Dalai Lama: *The Pearl Rosary: Advice on Combining the Two Traditions* (undated, ca. 1645)

Translated and introduced by Matthew W. King

Introduction

The Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngakwang Lozang Gyatso (Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, 1617–1682), was one of the most influential leaders of seventeenth-century Asia.¹ By means of political, economic, military, and religious networks spanning Inner and East Asia, the “Great Fifth” (Tib. *lga pa chen po*), as he became known, was the first Dalai Lama to hold transregional political power. Prior to the conclusion of the Tsang-Mongol War in 1642, the Dalai Lama incarnation lineage had been just one of hundreds of such lineages populating monastic networks, in uneasy and ever-shifting political relationships with non-monastic authorities. However, in military and political partnership with the Khoshot Mongol forces of Güüši Qan and the newly established Qing Empire (after 1644), the Fifth Dalai Lama and his associates – including such figures as his famous layman regent, or “*dési*” (Tib. *sde srid*), Sanggyé Gyatso (Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, 1653–c. 1705) – embarked on a trans-Inner Asian campaign to centralise and systematise religious and political life, all resting upon the Central Tibetan institution of the Dalai Lama.

This centralisation campaign took many forms, including the violent erasure of rival religious and secular powers (such as the king of Béri in Kham, and the Jonang Buddhist lineage), an Indophilic literary and scholastic revitalisation campaign, vast visual and literary projects to synthesise South, Inner, and East Asian history into a moral narrative culminating in the ascension of the Dalai Lamas, and the political consolidation of local and transregional patrons (including the Manchu Shunzhi emperor and a great many Mongolian aristocrats). Though the Great Fifth shared power with secular Mongolian leaders, and brokered longstanding patronage networks with the Qing emperors themselves, one of his (and Sanggyé Gyatso’s) major legacies was

¹ For accessible surveys of the Great Fifth’s life and influence, see Samten G. Karmay, *The Arrow and the Spindle: Studies in History, Myths, Rituals, and Beliefs in Tibet* (Kathmandu: Mandala Book Point, 1998); Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (1617–1682) Dalai Lama 05, *The Illusive Play: The Autobiography of the Fifth Dalai Lama*, trans. Samten G. Karmay (Chicago: Serindia Publications, 2014); Françoise Pommaret, ed., *Lhasa in the 17th Century: The Capital of the Dalai Lamas* (Brill: Leiden, Netherlands, 2003); Zahiruddin Ahmad and Sangs-rGyas rGya-mTsho, *Life of the Fifth Dalai Lama* (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture & Aditya Prakashan, 1999); Kurtis Schaeffer, “The Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngawang Lobzang Gyatso,” in *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History*, ed. Martin Brauen (London: Serindia, 2005), 65–91.

Matthew W. King, University of California, Riverside, Department for the Study of Religions

synthesising the territories of Dharmic and temporal power, knowledge, ethics, and soteriological possibility into the institution of the Dalai Lama.

In the centuries following the Great Fifth's death in 1682, the impact of his efforts continued, in the expansion of what has been called the 'religious empire' of his Géluk school across eastern Tibet, north China, all Mongolian societies, the Manchu courts, and Siberia. By the collapse of the Qing Empire in 1911, this vast network of polyethnic Géluk monasteries – housing tens of thousands of monks, and great reserves of wealth, labour, and livestock – was a major institutional base for education, medicine, printing, and religion in Asia's heartland. In the ruins of empire, and at the dawn of the secular nationalist movements and revolutionary politics that grew into Asia's earliest experiments with socialist state building, Géluk monastic cultures represented complex administrative bureaucracies that both facilitated and challenged revolutionary modernity (and revolutionary erasure). Across much of Inner Asia, it is impossible to understand local mediations of secularism, or local incorporations of secular institutions and social forms, without understanding the models of history, moral and political authority, or trans-regional institutionalism rooted in Buddhist monasticism. In all of this, the shadow of the Great Fifth usually looms large.

At the core of the Great Fifth's state-building project – which impacted not only Tibetans, but also Mongols, Han Chinese, Manchus, Buryats, Kalmyks, Nepalese, and other Himalayan societies – were models of knowledge, authority, ethics, and social harmony embodied in two related, and complementary, concepts: the "Two Systems" model of sovereignty (Tib. *lugs gnyis*; Mo. *qoyar yosu*) and the "Two Dharmas" model of human and supra-human ethics and knowledge (Tib. *mi chos* and *lha chos*). The Fifth Dalai Lama did not invent these categories – they had Indian precedents in the Buddha's recorded teachings (fifth century BCE), in the record of King Aśoka's Mauryan Empire (third century BCE), then in the Tibetan Yarlung Empire (seventh to ninth centuries CE), and especially the great thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Mongol Empire of Činggis Qan and his descendants. By strategically organising Eurasian history as culminating in his own seventeenth-century institution-building efforts, the Great Fifth Dalai Lama relied upon these concepts to organise the appropriate territories of the Dharma (Tib. *chos*) and mundane affairs (Tib. *srid pa*). Though generally prioritising the Dharmic over the mundane, he always recognised the combination and co-dependence of both spheres, as required for the kind of political stability, social harmony, material abundance, and emancipatory possibility he prioritised in his state-building project.

The Fifth Dalai Lama's letter translated below – entitled *The Pearl Rosary* – reflects these concerns, which came to shape trans-Eurasian diplomacy, monastic historiography, aesthetic culture, and ritual traditions for centuries thereafter. Though the letter is undated, it seems that it was written in or soon after January 1645, which, according to the Great Fifth's autobiography, is when he had a personal audience with the powerful Qalqa Mongolian leader Tüšiyetü Qan Gombodorji (r. 1636–1655), who requested its composition. Given their power, and their Činggisid blood, Gombodorji and his fellow

Qalqa noblemen were vital partners in the Dalai Lama's project. They patronised and helped direct the extension of the Géluk school into Mongolian territory. They also helped fund and sustain Géluk institutionalism across Central and Eastern Tibet. Indeed, Tüšiyetü Qan's son had already been identified as the incarnation of a great Tibetan religious leader in 1639, an embodied form of synthetic Inner Asian power, combining Činggisid nobility with Tibetan monastic authority.^{II}

Though the Dalai Lama made heavy use of ornate instructional letters in his trans-Asian statecraft, the present work is remarkable. It distils the Two Systems and the Two Dharmas into pragmatic advice for managing complimentary spheres of interest and authority between the Dharma and non-Dharma, between Buddhist aspiration and the grimmer requirements of realpolitik, and between an individual's interests in the goals of this life and in those of future lives.

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Page numbers given in square brackets refer to this edition.

Translation by Matthew W. King

[. . .]

Nowadays, in India, China, Mongolia, Tibet, and so forth,
The ancient tradition of the two systems of noble behaviour
Has mostly disappeared, and bad conduct is lauded as good.

[. . .]

If even the success of the human Dharma (*mi chos*) is dependent upon merit,
What need is there to mention that the same is true of the supramundane Dharma (*lha chos*)?
It is important to gather a great accumulation of merit from good kinds of conduct,
Such as by making offerings to the Triple Gem, practising giving to the poor, and so forth.
Because we do not have clairvoyance, it is very difficult
For discussions and decisions to come to fruition.
As such, we need to carefully investigate the time, conditions,
And enemies, friends, and strangers.
Based on this situation, we may pursue some appropriate course of action.
This is the best way forward (*pho tshod yang rtse yin*).

^{II} Tüšiyetü Qan's son became known in Qalqa as Öndör Gegeen Zanabazar, the first of the Jebtsundamba Qutuytu. For an illuminating study on the evolving investment of both religious and secular power in the Jebtsundambas, see: Tsultermin Uranchimeg, *A Monastery on the Move: Art and Politics in Later Buddhist Mongolia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2021).

[I. Human Dharma]

Though the arising of mental fantasies is endless,
 Not acting upon them in speech and action: such a one is wise.
 Not hurrying to speak against our most bitter enemy,
 But warmly welcoming them instead with a fake smile: such a one is intelligent.
 Whatsoever speech or appearances arises for us that we dislike,
 Hiding [p. 3/4] our feelings in our heart: such a one is profound.
 Although one desires food and clothes, using slick language and deceitful methods
 To indirectly acquire what you like, without appearing to do so: such a one is smart.
 Do not be too spiteful against bad people; it is possible that in the future they will change.
 Do not praise good people too much; it is difficult to know whether they will change in the
 future.
 We have no idea what the future may hold.
 And so, it is unsuitable for you to pass judgement simply by following what others say.
 We will always be uncertain whether a course of action will be successful.
 And so, before it has been successful, we should not speak about it or broadcast it to others.
 Being overly protective (*byams skyong*) of your relatives, such as of your son, brings about bad
 habits in them.
 Being too hateful of your enemies will cause them to hate you in equal measure.
 If you are too close to your relatives, in the future you will be malicious to each other.
 If you use too many threatening words with your servants, it will be very rare that anyone will
 draw near to you.
 If you are too harsh with your retinue, this will invite a tumour into your heart.
 If you are too disdainful in the company of friends, they will become vindictive.
 If you set a bad example for your companions, it will come back to haunt you.
 Do not make an enemy with your words; hold your malice in your mind.
 Do not overly praise your relatives, but hold them with loving kindness in your mind.
 Though [p. 4/5] you may have an angry mind, keep a calm exterior and use sweet words.
 Since it is difficult to tame your enemies through face-to-face conflict,
 Instead try and destroy their future (*'dun ma*) using a variety of other methods.
 Open with a welcoming smile, and continue your conversation to the end at a leisurely pace.
 Get to your point using concise words appropriate for your audience.
 Since by stinginess alone, it is impossible to collect food and wealth,
 You must generate an open and loving intellect,
 Willing to destroy the hundred to summon the thousand.
 If you explain crime and punishment (*nyes skyon*) to your son, it will benefit him later.
 If you abandon praising yourself, in the future people will value you.
 Keep your own interests hidden and display concern for others, people will respect you.
 Do not give the power to make decisions to a woman; decide for yourself.
 Do not hold discussions with the foolish, and do not give power to the ignoble.
 Involve others in discussion, but do not let them make decisions on your behalf.
 Do not involve provocative instigators in group discussions.
 Instead, invite knowledgeable elders with experience, who truly care about you.
 Do not immediately share news about a decision; it is possible you will change your mind.
 Dwell upon your decision for a while and you will make fewer mistakes.
 Put yourself in another's shoes. and investigate carefully.
 You will ruin your future by making decisions based upon a trivial [p. 5/6] reward (*phran
 bu'i khe*)

Or by not considering a bad reputation, and desiring only the possessions of others.
 During auspicious occasions (*ya rabs du bstus*), you shouldn't put others down.
 When among people engaged in negative behaviour, you should treat others as your equal.
 It is very rare for a scholar to be knowledgeable in every field.
 Do not turn the public (*mi mang*) into your enemy, make them instead into your friend.
 Do not promise to undertake something you cannot complete.
 Do not even start, if you know you cannot complete the task.
 Do not reveal your riches to those with strong desires;
 Keep it a secret, and do not even discuss it with those who are untrustworthy and evil-minded.
 Keep your most personal affairs (*snying gtam*) secret from those who are chatty.
 Do not fool around with those who have a short temper, and who cannot take a joke.
 Do not believe that falsities are true.
 Do not give the order "Fetch this for me!" to those who are not listening,
 Or to those with whom you have not made plans.
 Do not anger others by charging them with a task they cannot carry out.
 If you are too kind to someone, then they will lose joy [when you are good to them].
 If you take too much advantage of them (*gyong chen*), even your relatives will be revolted
 by you!
 When others are suffering, do not be gladdened by it; it will come back to bite you.
 Do not be flashy with your own happiness; others will respond in kind.
 Do not regret unsuccessful decisions; in the future, simply learn from your mistake.
 While in general it is unnecessary, [p. 6/7] tame enemies by using hurtful language (*phog
 tu gtam*).
 Think for a long time to understand the intentions of others.
 It is wise to accomplish one's aims using various methods.
 When you achieve status, you should avoid pride and arrogance.
 When everyone honours you, you should take a humble position.
 Do not do everything within your power; carefully consider what would or would not be advan-
 tageous.
 When you become a leader, be content and think about the public interest.
 Offer protection discreetly to those who rely upon you in your inner circle.
 Do not act upon whatever comes to your mind.
 After you have acted, whether it is peaceful or wrathful, be sure to see it through.
 Do not take whatever people say to be true; instead, investigate carefully for yourself.
 Give delicious food to others, keep prosperous wealth (*nor bzang*) for yourself.
 Hold language that can cut at the heart of others at the tip of your tongue.
 Do not consider the wealth of your bitter enemies; remember who they are instead.
 Do not become greedy for what only smells pleasant but is not delicious.
 Avoid immediately curling your lips or rolling your eyes when you are displeased.
 Putting strong effort into meaningless pursuits only makes you tired.
 When it is necessary [p. 7/8] to kill or beat someone, be fearless (*snying ma chung*).
 Do not reduce what is necessary to extract as tax and repayment.
 Do not do something unnecessary that will bring suffering upon your subjects.
 It is childish to consider someone a friend after just meeting them,
 Or to trust someone you have only just come to know,
 Or to show a happy smile as soon as you feel some nice emotion,
 Or to make an angry face as soon as some negative feeling arises in you.
 Violent people lacking knowledge of how to be violent will ruin their future.
 Friends lacking knowledge of how to maintain friendship will, in the future, become malicious.

Scholars lacking knowledge of how to maintain knowledge will, in the future, become foolish.
Noble monastics lacking knowledge of how to maintain their discipline will, in the future, lose control.

A person with a high position lacking knowledge of how to maintain their status will, in the future, fall from grace.

Because their speech may be reasonable, consider (*myul*) [what] others [say].

You can fool (*bri*) the minds of others by using relaxed and smooth words,

And then you can bring about their downfall by unearthing their faults.

If it is not explained, even a father will not understand – so speak gently!

If you are not stern, even a son will not listen – so argue suitably!

If you do not study, no one [p. 8/9] will understand you – so study well!

If you are stingy, even close relatives will not draw near to you – so give just a little!

By always returning again and again to the place of giving, generosity will be exhausted.

Do not annoy those who show you kindness; this is strategic (*mdzangs*).

Do not allow an enemy who is standing over you to become unyielding (*rengs*)!

Not knowing who will help you, do not look down upon the humble (*nyams chung*s).

Those who can accomplish whatever is asked of them are the best servants.

Their not recognising [your] lying and deceit will, in the end, be profitable [to you].

Speaking less and keeping your hands clean¹ are supremely good qualities.

Others will not appreciate your accomplishments if you brag about them too much.

You will be ruined if you become associated with those who always complain and are stingy.

Do not expose the faults of those who are very powerful and arrogant.

Do not enter into discussion with those of evil mind that are short-sighted.

Beware those with anger and a sweet tongue.

Do not repeat meaningless speech again and again.

The rich who know how to use their wealth will, in the future, become even richer.

Even if we are not hungry now, if we eat a little, we will not suffer later.

Though you may be poor, accept your difficulties like a man.

If you are rich, do not pretend you are poor; everyone will know.

Do not go on [p. 9/10] about how bad something is, since others will ridicule you.

It is better to make requests of enemies with shame

Than of relatives who are shameless!

Intelligent and trustworthy friends and neighbours are better

Than one's untrustworthy relatives and partners.

Being an intelligent monk and student is more fulfilling

Than a group of leaders who are not knowledgeable.

A noble, well-behaved servant is more joyful

Than a leader ruling over those who don't listen and argue.

A habitual thief (*lang shor rkun po*) is soon excluded from the community of humans.

It is possible to mistake befuddlement (*mgo 'thoms*) for profound intelligence.

It is possible to mistake a thoughtful man for a coward.

It is possible to mistake a powerless, good nun for a big liar.

It is possible to mistake a bad memory for a silly and brief misunderstanding (*do thung nor sa*).

It is possible to mistake one who is emotionless (*'do med*) for one who is naturally kind.

It is possible to mistake the honest for the stupid.

It is possible to mistake the refined (*btsun pa*) for the pretentious (*tshul 'chos*).

I MWK: That is, by not stealing.

It is possible to mistake renunciants for phonies (*zog po*).
 It is possible to mistake a scholar for a liar.
 In this way, to accomplish one's goals [p. 10/11] in this life,
 One must understand the good qualities of what is to be accepted
 And the bad qualities of what is to be rejected.
 Then, combining courage and skill, as well as cunning,
 It is vital to ensure the means to victory.
 All this, however, has been advice for only this life.

[II. Divine Dharma]

Indra, Brahmā, and the cakravartin kings enjoy all the wealth of gods and humans,
 Yet is there any question that their situation is unstable?
 They could become firewood on the ground of burning iron in the Burning Hell!
 When the throwing karma accumulated in their previous lives is exhausted,
 Even the sun and the moon gods^{II} that illuminate the world
 Will find themselves in such darkness that they will be unable to tell even whether their arm is
 extended.
 How heartbreakingly sad (*nyal 'byung mchi ma dku*)!
 Though we were once draped in clothing as smooth as the petals of a lotus flower,
 In the end we will be immolated in the cremation house (*sreg Khang*)
 And experience unendurable feelings in our body.
 Who can bear to be burnt in this way?
 Even a merchant who has visited the Island of Jewels,
 Whose goods rival those of the son Vaiśravaṇa,
 Is eventually reborn in the realm of hungry ghosts, [p. 11/12] and suffers from hunger and thirst:
 How sad a situation is this?
 Taming one's enemy, protecting one's relatives, and acquiring power, wealth, and so forth,
 Increasing one's affluence more and more, one becomes courageous and intelligent,
 But this life is like a lightning flash in the sky, and like enjoyment in a dream:
 What use is any of it?
 Thinking in this way, our teacher [the Buddha] Gautama, who never told a lie,
 Has said that, as long as one is in *samsāra*,^{III} one will suffer.
 Contemplating this, my terror-filled heart falls to pieces!
 The method for never returning to suffering, so difficult to bear,
 And for entering the house of liberation, is to consider black and white karma,
 And then to accept or reject whatever is appropriate, and to practice the Three Trainings.^{IV}
 This is the activity of the intelligent!
 It is difficult to perceive the actual Buddha and his spiritual sons.
 Still, one should present [p. 12/13] clouds of offerings: flowers, incense, butter lamps,
 Torma (*gtor ma*), music, banners, umbrellas, offering cloths, fragrant powder (*phyé phur*), etc.

II MWK: According to the Indian Abhidharma corpus, the world is said to have once been dark. The sun and moon, considered here to be sentient beings, later appeared to illuminate the world, because of their great virtuous karma.

III MWK: The suffering-filled rounds of cyclical existence, propelled by delusions and karma.

IV MWK: May refer to either "renunciation, altruism (*bodhicitta*), and the wisdom realising the emptiness of all phenomena", or to "hearing, contemplation, and meditation."

To the three supports of their body, speech, and mind.^V
 One should also pay homage to the *saṅgha*, who is endowed with the Three Trainings.
 One should ask them to recite the [scriptures of] the Buddha's speech,
 Increase the ten virtuous activities, engage in the three spheres of activities,^{VI}
 And, importantly, increase the two accumulations of merit and wisdom.
 Practise generosity towards the impoverished,
 Protect the vulnerable and sick with clothing, food, and medicine.
 Protect by means of material generosity, to save the lives
 Of those who, if we did nothing, would surely die,
 As well as those destined to be killed, such as criminals.
 In this way, you should practise the generosity of giving fearlessness.
 The eight-limbed *nyén-né* (*bsnyen gnas*) practice^{VII} is the principal cause
 For obtaining the support of a wonderful godly or human body, and is easy to practice.
 Take these precepts on the eighth, fifteenth, and thirtieth of each month, and correctly keep
 your vows.
 If one wears the armour of refraining from wielding the weapon of harsh words,
 You will not agitate your mind,
 By this, you will not sever yourself from a virtuous life.
 Put effort into this method, which increases the merit you have accumulated!
 If one is overpowered by discouragement and laziness,
 It is difficult to obtain any good qualities.
 Therefore, if one expends great effort, and truly strives,
 One will easily succeed in even a very difficult endeavour.
 Continually focus single-pointedly upon a visualisation support,
 Such as a statue of a Tathāgata [i.e. a Buddha] [p. 13/14], without allowing your mind to wander.
 Then one will be able to outshine any superficial afflictive emotions,
 Acquire a pliancy of body and mind, and gain meditative insight.^{VIII}
 All phenomena are produced by the mind labelling the object of designation.
 Other than that, in reality, they cannot be found.
 Wisdom is the weapon which cuts the root of *samsāra*: this is the path of the middle way.
 Vajrapāṇi, who completely destroys the demon of an agitated mind;
 The inseparable Lama and Protector, who acts swiftly with six arms [ie. Mahākāla]:
 These are the protectors of this life, the *bardo*, and the next life: Rely upon them!
 Just recalling the buddhas of long life destroys the hordes of the Lord of Death.
 Furthermore, all powerful cakravartin kings, with sovereignty over the sky and the whole earth,
 Who perform rituals for sentient beings and for the teachings of the Buddha,
 Are praised more highly than those who do so just for their own benefit.
 Build trusting and strong connections with rulers neighbouring you below the sun.
 With a kind mind, and understanding the needs of your followers,
 Establish peace among them, so that they become contented.
 [p. 14/15] The Buddha compassionately reaches out to all beings in every direction,

V MWK: That is, to statues and paintings, to Dharma texts, and to *stūpas*.

VI MWK: "Renunciation, study, and work," or, alternatively, "hearing, contemplating, and meditating," as above.

VII MWK: These precepts are to refrain from killing, stealing, lying, intoxicants, sexual activity, sitting on high thrones, eating at the wrong times, wearing adornments, or enjoying frivolous activities.

VIII MWK: This describes the training in *śamatha* meditation.

And, so, the good Dharma is non-sectarian.
 Still, it is important to practice the tenet system of your forefathers from long ago.
 The Dalai Lama holding the name “Sonam”
 Went to the Ti shi ri of Altan Dharmarāja,
 In the great northerly kingdom of Hor.^{IX}
 Up until now, that place has been pervaded by the Yellow Hat tradition.
 For that reason, if you show respect to the jewel-like teachings
 Of Mañjughoṣa Tsongkhapa and Six-Armed Mahākāla,
 And other Dharma Protectors like Yama, and Dōkham (*’Dod kham ma*), and so forth,
 They will always protect you, and your wealth, power, and happiness will forever increase.
 Praise the throne of your forefather kings who unified the Two Systems.
 In this way, protect the whole world peacefully, as if wrapped in a piece of soft silk.
 Practicing the Six Perfections will help you accomplish the goals of this life and the next.

In this I am simply like a parrot, advising on what should be accepted or rejected
 In the spheres of the Dharma and politics; as such, it is quite possible that scholars ridicule me.
 But my caring motivation is clear, like an autumn moon, and so there are no faults from my side.
 Because of this, and by the example of its virtue,
 May the sky-appointed [p. 15/16] lord of humans, his wife, son, and ministers
 Have stable, long lives!
 May their power and wealth become like that of Vaiśravaṇa!

IX MWK: Referring to the sixteenth-century meeting between the Third Dalai Lama and Altan Khan of the Tümed Mongols.

46 Doring Tenzin Penjor: *The Biography of Doring Paṇḍita* (ca. 1806)

Translated and introduced by Franz Xaver Erhard

Introduction

The *Biography of Doring Paṇḍita* comprises the voluminous discussion of the famous Doring family, from its beginning in the early eighteenth century, up to the early nineteenth century. It is an elaborate example of the genre of secular biographical writing, which emerged in the eighteenth century, and gives an intimate description of the life and dealings of a Tibetan noble family. The eighteenth century was a crucial period in Tibetan history, as it witnessed the demise of Mongol (that is, Dzungar and Kho-shot) influence, and the gradual integration of the Tibetan Ganden Phodrang state into the expanding Qing empire. At the same time, it was the formative period in the establishment of the Tibetan state, as it remained up until 1959, with its characteristic administrative and social system that comprised a double structure balancing clerical and secular spheres of influence (Tib. *chos srid zung 'brel*).

Doring Tenzin Penjor (Rdo ring Bstan 'dzin dpal 'byor) was born in 1760, as the only heir to the influential estate of Doring Paṇḍita (1730–1792). In 1780, Tenzin Penjor, after a rapid rise in the Ganden Phodrang administration, was appointed minister of the council (Tib. *bka' shag*), replacing his grandfather Doring Paṇḍita. His minister-ship coincided with the conflict with the Gorkha kingdom of Nepal, which, in 1788, had invaded the Tibetan border regions. Tenzin Penjor was appointed as minister and general to lead the joint Tibetan and Qing troops to settle the dispute. A truce was negotiated in 1789, and Tibet was to pay yearly tribute to the Gorkha kingdom. This agreement was not well received in either Lhasa or the Qing court, and, consequently, the Tibetans failed to pay the second tribute. As a result, the Gorkha armies invaded Tibet for a second time. In 1791, Tenzin Penjor met with Gorkha representatives to renegotiate and offer tribute payment, but his party was raided by Gorkha troops, and taken to Kathmandu as hostages. Only a year later, he was freed by the Manchu general Fuk'anggan (1753–1796), who was sent by Emperor Qianlong (1711–1799) with two armies to bring the conflict to an end, at the request of the Ganden Phodrang.

However, the Qing court was suspicious of Tenzin Penjor's involvement in the conflict, due to his complicated yet close family relations with the involved parties.¹

¹ For a description of these family relations, see Franz Xaver Erhard, “Illustrious Ancestry, Marriage Alliances, Incarnation, and Family Cohesion: The Making of the Tibetan Noble House of Rdo ring,” in

Accordingly, the Grand Secretariat in Beijing tried Tenzin Penjor, and found him guilty of cowardice – that is, of not having sacrificed his life in battle, but instead having given himself up to the enemy – though he was acquitted of the far more severe charge of treason. The fact that the family had offered five estates to the government in compensation for the Gorkhas' war expenses certainly influenced the decision. He lost all his titles and positions, and returned to Lhasa as an ordinary but free aristocrat. Back in Lhasa, he returned to work as a low-ranking government official. However, his far-reaching social network still enabled him to pull some strings in Lhasa politics. In 1805, he managed to install his son, Migyur Sönam (Mi 'gyur bsod nams dpal 'byor, 1784–1834), as minister of the council, though this caused a public outcry, and anonymous posters were found all over Lhasa denouncing Tenzin Penjor for corruption. This was an explosive scandal, and the emperor was forced to intervene, sending a special envoy to investigate the accusations. This envoy turned out to be an old acquaintance of Tenzin Penjor, allowing him to calm the scandal and settle affairs in the desired way. Once his son had finally received the position of council minister, Tenzin Penjor was fully content with his career, as he expresses in the last pages of his autobiography.^{II}

In Tibetan literature, biographical writing (Tib. *rnam thar*, *rtogs brjod*) is a popular genre, but is usually limited to religious subjects, and usually adheres to a very schematic presentation, often bordering on the hagiographical. The blueprint for this is the Buddha's life, as presented in a set of usually twelve deeds, and the declared objective is to produce a model life story that can inspire the reader to further pursue the path to liberation.^{III} Religious biography also constructs the religious authority and legitimisation of its subject, by listing accomplishments such as received religious teachings and empowerments, meditative visions, and monastic positions.

In the first passage below, which introduces the *Biography of Doring Paṇḍita*, Tenzin Penjor presents his life in reference to the Buddhist hagiographical genre, refer-

Crossing Boundaries: Tibetan Studies Unlimited, ed. Diana Lange, Jarmila Ptáčková, M. Wettstein, and Mareike Wulf (Prague: Academia, 2021), 137–66.

II For a brief account of Tenzin Penjor's life, see Franz Xaver Erhard, "Doring Tenzin Peljor," *Treasury of Lives*, 2020, accessed October 25, 2024, <https://treasuryoflives.org/biographies/view/Doring-Tenzin-Peljor/5306>; for a detailed study of the political significance of the Doring family, see Li Ruohong, *A Tibetan Aristocratic Family in Eighteenth-century Tibet: A Study of Qing-Tibetan Contact* (PhD Diss., Harvard University, 2002).

III For detailed discussions of the structural and functional outline of Tibetan religious life writing, see, for example, Lucia Galli and Franz Xaver Erhard, "The Selfless Ego I: Memory and Imagination in Tibetan Hagiographical Writing," *Life Writing* 17, no. 2 (2020): 153–59; Ulrike Roesler, "Between Self-Expression and Convention: Tibetan Reflections on Autobiographical Writing," *Life Writing* 17, no. 2 (2020): 163–86; Ulrike Roesler, "Operas, Novels, and Religious Instructions: Life-stories of Tibetan Buddhist Masters between Genre Classifications," in *Narrative Pattern and Genre in Hagiographic Life Writing: Comparative Perspectives from Asia to Europe*, ed. Stephan Conermann, and Jim Rheingans (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2014), 113–40.

ring to the various qualities of an accomplished person that he claims to be lacking. Consequently, he modestly compares the value of his life story to the autobiography of a dog. The second passage—the closing section of the life writing—then presents the conceptual framework within which Tenzin Penjor envisions his life as a secular yet devout donor (*sbyin bdag*) of the Buddhist doctrine, and a dedicated and successful servant of the Tibetan government. Since aristocratic status, social prestige, and economic wealth ultimately derive from the spiritual authority of the Dalai Lama, government service and religious activities are ultimately subsumed under the concept of the donor who supports the religious domain and the combined spiritual worldly government of the Ganden Phodrang. Interestingly, Tenzin Penjor, without considering a theoretical exposition of the secular, outlines the primary sources of secular authority in the Tibetan world, in which legitimation and authority derive from legal titles and contracts, as well as from performance as a donor.

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Page numbers given in square brackets refer to this edition.

Translation by Franz Xaver Erhard

[*Rdo ring paṇḍi ta'i rnam thar*, Vol. 1]

What I, [Doring Tenzin Penjor], want to tell you now: That is to say, how could a man like me, bound with all his fetters, compose a life narrative based on his learning, discipline and nobility; his explanation, debate, and composition; his knowledge, reflection, and meditation; his wisdom, love, and strength, that would further the spiritual and temporal well-being of the teachings and all beings? If one writes about one's history of wandering in the *saṃsāra*, no doubt the lives of dogs and pigs, too, will likewise deserve a *namthar* volume; thus, this effort invested in a useless task is your own fatigue; as the Fifth Dalai Lama has explained, there is no recognisable necessity (*dgos tshogs yod par*) [to write such an autobiography], but, on the other hand, if you look at it another way, it is just as Tagtsang Lotsawa¹ wrote:

I FXE: Although the ultimate source certainly is the fifteenth-century Stag tshang lo tsā ba Shes rab rin chen (1405–1477), the verses here are a verbatim quote from the Fifth Dalai Lama's autobiography (Dalai Lama 05, Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, "Za hor gyi ban de ngag dbang blo bzang rgya

*Although a roar of self-supremacy
praising oneself and disparaging others is not the way of the noble,
[p. 7/8] One's own story, without embellishment and discredit,
Being told to your company, is the way of the enlightened.^{II}
[. . .]*

Accordingly, I will recount how my ancestors, from early times on, served the emperors and the Dalai Lamas as an aristocratic lineage and as a line of servants, and how the supreme lords, in their loving care, therefore awarded successive generations of my ancestors titles, land and property rights, and so forth. Where I could not recall some details, I collected them truthfully and as well as I can remember, from faultless sources, such as the words of my benevolent grandfather, the accomplished mind Gung Paṇḍita, and others. Finally, according to my supreme son, the Taiji's^{III} wish, I added my own story, whether excellent or wicked. The supreme jewel bears witness; I will genuinely narrate without exaggeration or concealment, so the noble learned shall not worry about it. However, in particular, I hope the line of my sons and grandsons, and other intelligent beings who run their eyes over this matter, will emulate my ancestors' good deeds. Moreover, I thought that carefully writing a work that distinguishes between good and evil qualities would alleviate the hopes and fears of becoming a person like me, who is neither religious nor spiritual. It is presently not without difficulty to tell and even put to writing such a story, so I shall narrate it briefly.

[*Rdo ring paṇḍi ta'i rnam thar*, Vol. 2]

. . . The main reason for composing the *History of the Gazhi* (Dga' bzhi) *Family, Music of Candid Speech*^{IV} in such great detail and in prosimetry was to record how, in the past, our noble (*bzang po*) ancestors had rendered self-sacrificing, praiseworthy service to the emperor and the Dalai Lama. How they thus, in recognition of these deeds, were awarded titles, land, and property by successive emperors and Dalai Lamas. And to show that the Doring house possesses significant orders and contracts, issued by Chinese and Tibetan officials and lamas.

mtsho'i 'di snang 'khrul pa'i rol rtseḍ rtogs brjod kyi tshul du bkod pa du kū la'i gos bzang las glegs bam dang po," in *Rgyal dbang lnga pa ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i gsung 'bum*. Vol. 5. Gangs can khyad nor dpe tshogs [Pe cin: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2009], 171–98, 12). The collected works of Stag tshang lo tsā ba differ slightly in wording, see Stag tshang lo tsā ba: 1.

II FXE: Samten Karmay renders this passage as "To roar praising oneself and criticizing others/ Is not the way of a holy man./ To tell about one's life to others without disparagement/ Is the way of the Buddha." (Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (1617–1682) Dalai Lama 05, *The Illusive Play: The Autobiography of the Fifth Dalai Lama*, trans. Samten G. Karmay [Chicago: Serindia Publications, 2014], 19).

III FXE: This is Rdo ring Mi 'gyur bsod nams dpal 'byor (1784–1834), who was appointed Kalön in 1805.

IV FXE: This is the full title of Tenzin Penjor's autobiography; the name Gazhi is frequently found as the family's name, as an alternative to Doring.

Similarly, I recorded how they, in the first place, offered prayers for the emperor's and the Dalai Lama's longevity, and the well-being of the Buddhists of Tibet. In addition, I recounted how they, as donors, for the accumulation of merit and the purification of defilements, had built many receptacles of the victorious Buddha's body, speech, and mind, in the districts of Ü and Tsang. Moreover, how they offered service to the noble people of the place of refuge of the impartial doctrine headed by the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama, [p. 1297/1298] and how they received profound teachings in return. I described how they respectfully offered tea and monetary distributions to the precious assemblies, foremost at the Lhasa Mönlam, and at Sera, Drepung, and Ganden in the near surroundings, and at some distant local monasteries. Moreover, I recorded how they renovated and made offerings to important religious sites.

Moreover, I reported how, until the composition of this narrative, I had not left any traces – neither in the religious nor the worldly sphere – and roamed the distant regions of Nepal and China like chaff chased by the wind, only to erase the traces of my ancestors' hands with my own feet.

Finally, I didn't include in this biography how two scions of my family, the two cleric incarnations who, like the two ascetics – the widely famed Indian champions Asaṅga and Nāgārjuna – after graduating in the diligent studies of hearing and contemplating from Sera and Drepung, became objects of refuge. I also put to writing how my two lay sons – like opposing lions and tigers, one helping the other – stumbled and got up again, and, by crushing their enemies and cherishing their friends, emerged in this life as leaders. I wrote down all this, minor or significant, good or bad, without embellishment by praising the good, or concealment by erasing the faults. Furthermore, my elder son, the Kalön Taiji's good and virtuous deeds [p. 1298/1299] have become, and are still becoming, evident to everyone. Supporting him, there is my younger son Döndrub Tsewang (Don grub tshe dbang, b. ca. 1791/1792), who, of course, is still young now. In his person, the incomparably benevolent Kalön Darkhan Gung Pandita Lord Gönpo Ngödrup Raptan (mGon po dngos grub rab brtan, 1721–1792) certainly took birth again in our house, considering us his own line. I am not saying so out of blind loyalty and selfishness, but because it became evident in the prophecies of some lamas and mediums, and made itself apparent in his early childhood, as karmic impressions of his past lives. To my greatest hope, not letting the water dry out in a hot place, he these days makes a great effort to study the Buddhist fields of knowledge (Skt. *vidyā-sthāna*) and arts (Skt. *kalā*).

Moreover, gradually, while growing up, he gave his older brother, the Kalön Taiji, a helping hand. My two sons supported both the left and the right leg of the new incarnation of [the Eighth Dalai Lama], the Supreme Protector Jampel Gyatso ('Jam dpal rgya mtsho, 1785–1804),^V served the Dalai Lama and the emperor, and cared for their

^V FXE: This is the Ninth Dalai Lama Lung rtogs rgya mtsho (1805–1815), enthroned in 1808. On the Ninth Dalai Lama, see Samten Chhoshpel, "The Ninth Dalai Lama, Lungtok Gyatso," *Treasury of Lives*,

subjects – striving to meet the people's expectations, and finding personal fulfilment in doing so. Hence, their awards and positions, such as the hereditary title of Gung, became ever higher and grander, and they maintained a worldly household. Moreover, I also did not include in this biography how my two incarnate sons successively furthered the well-being of the dharma and all beings, by their wisdom, compassion and ability, their learning, discipline, and nobility, their study, contemplation and meditation, and their explanation, debate, and composition.

[p. 1299/1300] Alas, when I was young, because I was the only child, I did not have the freedom to engage in religious practice. Now, even pretending to keep vows in old age is just as is written in the sūtras and tantras: “The people of Uttarakuru will never adhere to the monastic regulations and vows” – that is, though the words are disguised as dharma, no meaning becomes evident. Therefore, even though I have not obtained the fortune to enjoy the taste of Chinese tea, the *pratimokṣa* vows of individual liberation in this life, I did my best not to violate the Bodhisattva vow (*praṇidhāna*) and the tantric Samaya vows, while I drank the pure *chang*,^{VI} the ambrosia of the tantric Ḍākinīs. I sometimes stayed with my two sons, who are government officials, enjoying the momentary happiness of this life. Moreover, again occasionally, I visited my two incarnate sons' monastic seats, to achieve ultimate happiness in my next life. In this way, neither monk nor layman, I shall spend the rest of my life! As detailed above, I did not become a monk, and neither did I mentally practise religion.

Consequently, when I part to witness the next life, those who have not died should watch closely; because the best Yogins will take pleasure in death, and intermediate practitioners will not be afraid, and because the inferior will not regret, when I die, clinging to my earthly mother, explanations for my death will appear in various forms. Even when writing these down in the end, since *saṃsāra* is otherwise limitless, it is also difficult to restrain the content of a biography (*rnam thar*). [p. 1300/1301] Therefore, there is no meaning in penning down all this babble in one volume. The reason why this volume grew a bit longer is to show how I offered rituals to the field of refuge; more significantly, I put together this biography of my own ancestors to prevent those significant facts needed as proof of the family's legal status from getting lost among useless writing.

2011, accessed October 25, 2024, <http://treasuryoflives.org/biographies/view/Ninth-Dalai-Lama-Lungtok-Gyatso/4469>; Derek F. Maher, “The Ninth Dalai Lama, Lungtok Gyatso,” in *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History*, ed. Martin Brauen (London: Serindia Publications, 2005), 129–31.

VI FxE: *Chang* is the traditional Tibetan home-made barley beer. It represents the lower, worldly or lay spheres, and stands in opposition to the higher, monastic spheres signified by Chinese or perhaps Indian (*rgya*) tea.

47 Gendun Chopel: *Grains of Gold: Tales of a Cosmopolitan Traveler* (1940/1941)

Introduced by Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz

Introduction

The Tibetan intellectual Gendun Chopel (dGe 'dun chos 'phel) (1903–1951) is today regarded in Tibet and in Tibetan exile society as a kind of intellectual hero, having sharply criticised the government, the monastic system, and the conservative Tibetan society of his time. Originally destined for a monastic career, he spent his teenage years in various monasteries in his native region of Amdo, and later in Lhasa. In Lhasa, he met the Indian Sanskrit scholar Rahul Sankrityayan (1893–1963), with whom he travelled to northern India in 1934. Over the following twelve years, he travelled the Indian subcontinent and Sri Lanka. His many contacts in the Indian intellectual milieu allowed him to become acquainted with new scientific findings and political ideas. His writings reflect the great influence that the late colonial milieu of British India had on his thinking. Gendun Chopel's literary output includes an extensive oeuvre of historical works and philosophical treatises, as well as a travel guide for Buddhist pilgrims in India, and an erotic manual based on the Indian *Kāmasūtra*. The text passages translated here by Thupten Jinpa and Donald S. Lopez Junior are from the final chapter of his most extensive work, *Grains of Gold: Tales of a Cosmopolitan Traveler*, which he completed in Sri Lanka between 1940 and 1941. *Grains of Gold* comprises a total of seventeen chapters, in which he dwells on such diverse topics as the history of India, the Aśoka inscriptions, linguistic issues such as the development of the Indian and Tibetan scripts, the flora of the Indian subcontinent, and Hinduism. In his final chapter, he deals with the India of his time. After a scathing review of European colonialism, he addresses contemporary European scholars and theosophists' positive reception of Buddhism as a 'religion of reason.' In this context, he also comments at length on the European natural sciences, and their relationship to Buddhism. Gendun Chopel uses two terms to render the European natural sciences: *rigs pa gsar pa*, which Jinpa and Lopez translate as "new reasoning," and *sa yan si*, a phonetic transcription of the English term *science*. The "new reasoning" relies on direct perception and empirical observation. Gendun Chopel stresses the compatibility of Buddhist epistemology and European science in this regard. He follows the well-known tropes of the Buddhism and science discourse of the early twentieth century, but, at the same time, puts their compatibility into perspective, by pointing out discrepancies between Buddhism and science. In doing so, he proves to be an indepen-

Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz, University of Bern, Faculty of Humanities, Departement Sozialanthropologie und Kulturwissenschaftliche Studien, Institute for the Science of Religion

dent thinker who does not unconditionally follow Buddhist doctrines. On the whole, Gendun Chopel oscillates between claiming that the Buddha already foresaw all scientific developments, and recognising that new scientific developments challenge traditional Buddhist knowledge.

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Gendun Chopel. *mkhas dbang dge 'dun chos 'phel gyi gsung 'bum bzugs so*, Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang 2009; 463–69.

Page numbers given in square brackets refer to this edition.

The translation adopted here can be found in:

Gendun Chopel. “rGyal khams rig pas bskor ba'i gtam rgyud gser gyi thang ma zhes bya ba bzugs so, 1934–1941.” In *Grains of Gold. Tales of a Cosmopolitan Traveler*. Translated by Thupten Jinpa, and Donald S. Lopez Jr., 403–7. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2014.

Thupten Jinpa's and Donald S. Lopez Jr.'s translation is annotated by Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz.

Translation Adopted from Thupten Jinpa, and Donald S. Lopez Jr

Now I shall offer a sincere discussion for those honest and far-sighted dharma friends who are members of my religion. The system of the new reasoning “science”¹ is spreading and increasing in all directions. In the great countries, after baseless accusations by so many, both learned and foolish, who say, “It is not true,” they all have become exhausted and had to keep silent. In the end, even the Indian brahmins, who value the defense of their scriptures more than their lives, have had to powerlessly accept it.

These assertions of the new reasoning are not established just through one person arguing with another. For example, a telescope constructed by new machines sees something thousands of miles away as if it were in the palm of one's hand, and similarly, [p. 463/464] a glass instrument that perceives what is close by makes even the smallest particles appear the size of a mountain; it is like being able to analyze its many parts, actually seeing everything. Thus, apart from closing their eyes they [the opponents of science] have found no other way to persist. [. . .]

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I KKP: Gendun Chopel quotes the English word “science,” rendering it *sa yan si*.

Even so, when we Tibetans hear the mere mention of the new system, we look wide-eyed and say: “Oh! He is a heretic!” Acting in this way, some, like those Mongolians from the Uрга^{II} region [i.e., Communists], eventually come to impulsively believe in the new reasoning, and lose all faith in the Buddha, becoming non-Buddhists. Thus, whether one either stubbornly says, “no!” to the new reasoning or believes in it and utterly rejects the teaching of Buddhism, both are prejudice; because it is simply recalcitrance, this will not take you far.

No matter what aspect is set forth in this religion taught by our Teacher [the Buddha], whether it be the nature of reality, how to progress on the path, or the good qualities of the fruition, there is absolutely no need to feel embarrassed in the face of the system of science.^{III} Furthermore, for any essential point [in Buddhism], science can serve as foundation. Among the Westerners, many scholars of science have acquired a faith in the Buddha and become Buddhists; some have even become monks.

One of them said: “First, I followed the system of the ancient religion of Jesus. Later, I learned science well and a new understanding was born. [p. 464/465] Then I thought that all the religions in this world are just assertions rooted in a lie, requiring that one rely only on the letter. One day, I saw a stanza of the *Dhammapada*^{IV} translated into a European language and thought, ‘Oh! The only one who follows the path of reason is the Buddha. Not only did he climb the ladder of science, but having left that [ladder] behind, he travelled even further beyond,’ and conviction was born.”

[. . . p. 465/466] More than ten years have passed since they^V made a viewing apparatus that is not obstructed [in seeing] things behind a wall or inside of a body. All of this is certain. They have also made a machine by which what is said in India can be heard in China in the following moment. Because they are able to show in China a film of something that exists in India, all people can be convinced. The final proof that all things run on waves of electricity is seeing it with one’s own eyes.

Many great scholars of science made limitless praises of the Buddha, saying that two thousand years ago, when there were no such machines, the Buddha explained that all compounded things disintegrate in each moment and he taught that things do not remain even for a brief instant, and now we have actually seen this using machines. The statement by Dharmakīrti^{VI} that “continuity and collection do not exist ultimately” can be understood in various ways, but in the end one can put one’s finger on the main point. Similarly, because white exists, black can appear to the eye; there is no single truly white thing that can exist separately in the world. Some people say that this was

II KKP: The pre-revolutionary Russian name for Ulaanbaatar, the capital of Mongolia.

III KKP: Tib. *sa yan si'i rigs pa*.

IV KKP: An important Buddhist text, the second book of the Khuddaka Nikāya of the Pāli Canon.

V KKP: The followers of the new reasoning.

VI KKP: A Buddhist scholar living in the seventh century CE. He is famous for his writings on Buddhist logic.

first understood fifty years ago. However, our Nāgārjuna^{VII} and others understood precisely that in ancient times. They also say that all these external appearances are projections of the mind; they do not appear outside. Whatever we see, it is merely seeing those aspects or reflections that the senses can handle; it is impossible to see the thing nakedly. Because these things are not even mentioned in other [religions] like Christianity, scientific reasoning is considered to be something that did not exist previously. However, for us, [p. 466/467] these [ideas] are familiar from long ago. [. . .]

Yet, to be excessively proud and continually assert that even the smallest details of all the explanations in our scriptures are unmistaken seems attractive only temporarily; it is pointless stubbornness.

[. . . p. 467/468 . . .] Having become an open-minded person who sees what is central and what is marginal, you should strive to ensure the survival of the teaching [Buddhism] so that it remains together with the ways of the new reasoning. [. . .] Please pray that the two, this modern reasoning of science and the ancient teaching of the Buddha, [p. 468/469] may abide together for ten thousand years.”

VII KKP: A Buddhist scholar probably living in the second century CE. He is considered to be the founder of the *Madhyamaka* system of Buddhist philosophy.

Bhutan

48 Zhapdrung Ngawang Namgyel: *Sixteen I's* (ca. first half 17th Century)

Introduced and translated by Dagmar Schwerk

Introduction

Zhapdrung Ngawang Namgyel (Zhabs drung ngag dbang rnam rgyal, 1594–ca. 1651; hereafter Zhapdrung) was a charismatic Tibetan Buddhist master, who officially institutionalised the “Joint Twofold System of Governance” (Tib. *chos srid gnyis ldan/chos srid zung ’jug/chos kyi rgyal srid*) in Bhutan in 1625/26. Zhapdrung had found refuge in Bhutan, following an unresolved – and sometimes violent – dispute with the ruler of central Tibet, the Desi Tsangpa PhüntsoK Namgyel (Phun tshogs rnam rgyal, 1597–1619/1632).^I The Desi had refused to recognise him as the rightful incarnation of the head of the Drukpa Kagyü school, the fourth *Drukchen* Pema Karpo (Padma dkar po, 1527–92).^{II} As was common in the Tibetan cultural area generally, the Joint Twofold System of Governance in Bhutan combined a twofold religious and political structure under a Buddhist ruler as a unifying figure. In the following decades, Zhapdrung united large regions of what nowadays constitutes the nation state of Bhutan, establishing centralised rule and civil and military administration; he is revered as the founding father of Bhutan.

Zhapdrung wrote the proclamation of the *Sixteen I's* (*Nga bcu drug ma*) after the death of the Desi Tsangpa PhüntsoK Namgyel and his family, for which he was suspected of having been responsible, through use of the supernatural powers of a tantric Buddhist master. This marks Zhapdrung's victory in the incarnation dispute and ongoing wars with the Tibetan Desi. Consequently, Zhapdrung widely gained the epithet of a “great magician” (Tib. *mtshu chen*), who was able to defeat his enemies through both conventional and tantric magical warfare – as pointed out directly in the *Sixteen I's*. From then on, the *Sixteen I's* were communicated throughout Bhutan, in the form of a personal seal proclaiming Zhapdrung as an ideal and universal Buddhist ruler – a *cakravartin* – within the newly institutionalised Joint Twofold System

I For the different dates of Desi Tsangpa PhüntsoK Namgyel's death in Bhutanese and Tibetan historical sources, see for example Michael V. Aris, *Bhutan: The Early History of a Himalayan Kingdom* (Warminster, Wiltshire: Aris & Phillips Ltd, 1979), 324n17.

II In the Tibetan cultural area, different forms of legitimisation and succession of Buddhist political and religious rule have, to this day, continued to exist in parallel – for example: incarnational, abbatial, hereditary, and meritocratic.

Dagmar Schwerk, Leipzig University, History, Art and Area Studies, Institute for South and Central Asian Studies

of Governance. Zhapdrung thereby claimed the new territories by sealing, a common practice in the Tibetan cultural area.^{III}

In the *Sixteen I's*, Zhapdrung proclaimed and assertively expounded his own qualities that legitimised him as a rightful Buddhist ruler of the new territories of Bhutan, as a tantric Buddhist master, and as the rightful incarnation of the fourth Drukchen, Pema Karpo. In his *Sixteen I's*, he alluded – albeit with significant modifications in content and style – to the “Sixteen pure rules of human conduct” (Tib. *mi chos gtsang ma bcu drug*), a traditionally well-known set of Buddhist rules of conduct from earlier Tibetan law, ascribed to the Tibetan king Songtsen Gampo (d. 650).^{IV} Zhapdrung wrote the *Sixteen I's* in traditional Tibetan seven-syllable metric structure, and arranged the sixteen lines of the seal in eight pairs of two lines, each positioned diagonally. In the first line of each pair, he claimed the specific legitimising quality he possessed for ruling the religious or political societal spheres, and then provided an explanation or rhetorical question in the following verse line – emphasising his claim.

Emic religious and political terminologies, such as the “Sixteen pure rules of human conduct,” embodied moral epistemic structures in the Buddhist cosmological framework that strongly resonated within Tibetan Buddhist cultures, and determined how the societal spheres of religion, politics, and law were not only theoretically conceptualised, but also enacted in reality. Throughout Tibetan history, conceptual pairs such as the “Sixteen pure rules of human conduct” and the “Ten virtuous laws of gods” (Tib. *lha chos dge ba bcu*) were employed to explain the relationship between Buddhist rulers and actors in different societal areas, laid out in literary genres such as legal documents and codes and advisory literature for rulers. Consequently, by acting in agreement with those sets of conduct, a Buddhist ruler was considered capable of ensuring the material and spiritual well-being, as well as the security, of his subjects and the country. In Bhutan, those moral epistemic structures were, for example, laid out in detail in the first part of the *Bhutanese Legal Code from 1729*,^V and are still part of today’s understanding of ‘good governance’ as one of the four pillars of Gross National Happiness (GNH) in Bhutan.

III For more details about the historical context of the *Sixteen I's*, see Aris, *Bhutan: The Early History*, 212–17, see also Karma Phuntsho, *History of Bhutan* (Noida: Random House, India, 2013), 217–24.

IV See also Per K. Sørensen, *Tibetan Buddhist Historiography: The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies. An Annotated Translation of the XIVth Century Chronicle rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994), 182–83; Janet Gyatso, *Being Human in a Buddhist World: An Intellectual History of Medicine in Early Modern Tibet* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), 347–49; and Ulrike Roesler, “16 Human Norms (*mi chos bcu drug*) – Indian, Chinese, and Tibetan,” in *The Illuminating Mirror: Tibetan Studies in Honor of Per K. Sørensen on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. Olaf Czaja and Guntram Hazod (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2015). For a list of the “Sixteen pure rules of human conduct,” see, for example, Śrīghoṣa’s *Sārasaṃgrahalekha*.

V For the translation of selected passages of the *Bhutanese Legal Code from 1729* (*Dpal 'brug pa rin po che mthu chen ngag gi dbang po'i bka' khrims phyogs thams cad las mnam par rgyal ba'i gnam*), see text no. 49.

Later, the *Sixteen I's* seal was used in the official foreign correspondence of the regents of Bhutan (Tib. *sde srid*), as a letter head or seal.^{VI} In 1907, when the absolute monarchy under the Buddhist Wangchuck dynasty was institutionalised, the *Sixteen I's* were used to symbolically seal the document of allegiance (Tib. *gan rgya*) at the coronation of the first king of Bhutan, Ugyen Wangchuck (1862–1926; r. 1907–26). This legitimised the transformation of the Joint Twofold System of Governance under the new rule of a Buddhist king.^{VII} In 2008, the Joint Twofold System of Governance was then further transformed into a constitutional monarchy, with the fifth king, Jigme Khesar Namgyel Wangchuck (b. 1980, r. 2006–present), as head of state.

Finally, to document one curious result of Bhutan's encounters with colonial civil servants of the British Raj in the nineteenth century, Zhapdrung's *Sixteen I's* were also featured as the frontispiece in the journals of the British botanist Joseph D. Hooker, published in 1854 – not surprisingly, they were completely taken out of their original context here.^{VIII}

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The translation follows the Tibetan text as documented in 69th Chief Abbot of Bhutan Gendün Rinchen's biography of Zhapdrung Ngawang Namgyel. The *Nga bcu drug ma* is commonly depicted as a seal in slightly varying versions.

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VI For depictions of the seal, see fig. 5; see also Phuntsho, *History of Bhutan*, 221; Aris, *Bhutan: The Early History*, 213; and Tib Shelf, *Sixteen Self-Assertions*. 2021. <https://www.tibshelf.org/sixteen-self-assertions/>. A description of the Buddhist symbolism of the seal is found in the *Bhutanese Legal Code from 1729*, see Michael V. Aris, *Sources for the History of Bhutan* (Vienna: Arbeitskreis für tibetische und buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien, 1986), 139.

VII See Phuntsho, *History of Bhutan*, 520–22; and Aris, *Bhutan: The Early History*, 325n18. For a facsimile, see John Claude White. *Sikkim and Bhutan – Twenty-one Years on the North-East Frontier 1887–1908* (London: Edward Arnold, 1909), 226. In addition, Shirin Barakzai has recently pointed out to me that the *Sixteen I's* are found as a brass attached to the ceiling of the Marme Lhakang in Swayambhu, Kathmandu; for photographs of the seal, see Shirin Barakzai, *Buddhist Heritage Conservation Case Study: Reconstruction of Marme Lhakhang, Swayambhu WHS* (unpublished master's thesis, Lumbini College of Buddhism and Himalayan Studies, 2023). I thank her for this reference.

VIII Joseph D. Hooker, *Himalayan Journals; Or, Notes of a Naturalist in Bengal, The Sikkim and Nepal Himalayas, The Khasia Mountains, &c.* (London: John Murray, 1854, 2 vol.).



Figure 5: Zhapdrung's *Sixteen I's* as letter seal in Bhutanese foreign correspondence. Courtesy of The British Library, Bowring Collection, Mss Eur G38/1, Item 33(i).

Translation by Dagmar Schwerk

The *cakravartin* of the twofold system [of political and religious governance] – I am;
 I am the wholesome refuge for everyone.
 The upholder of the teachings of the glorious Drukpa [Kagyü school] – I am;
 I am the destroyer of all those who disguise themselves as Drukpa.
 One accomplished in Sarasvatī's¹ composition – I am;
 I am the pure source [p. 80/81] of eloquent elucidation.
 The master of a view beyond [the four] extremes – I am;
 I am the one who refutes those with incorrect views.
 The powerful one in debates – I am;
 Who is the opponent not trembling in my presence?
 The hero who subdues the armies of demonic forces – I am;

¹ DS: Sarasvatī is considered to be the Hindu and Buddhist goddess of music, learning, and the arts.

Who is the great magician overturning my power?
 The lord of speech in [Dharma] exposition – I am;
 I am the one who is learned in all fields of knowledge.
 The incarnation predicted by the Supreme Ones^{II} – I am;
 I am the destroyer of various [false] incarnations.

II DS: In this context, the ‘Supreme Ones’ are earlier important heads of the Drukpa Kagyü school and past Buddhist masters and kings, whose prophecies are referenced as proof of Zhapdrung’s claim to being the rightful incarnation of the fourth Drukchen Pema Karpo (in contrast to the alternative and ‘wrong’ candidate Paksam Wangpo, who was recognised by the Desi Tsangpa Phüntsock Namgyel). The ‘Supreme Ones’ are listed in detail in the *Bhutanese Legal Code from 1729*, see Aris, *Sources of Bhutan*, 123–31.

49 *Bhutanese Legal Code from 1729*

Introduced by Dagmar Schwerk

Introduction

The *Bhutanese Legal Code from 1729* was composed by the tenth Chief Abbot of Bhutan Tendzin Chögyel (bsTan 'dzin chos rgyal, 1701–66/67), on behalf of the tenth Regent of Bhutan, Mipham Wangpo (Mi pham dbang po, 1709–38). The work is embedded in Bhutan's 'first' religious and political history, the *Lho'i chos 'byung bstan pa rin po che'i 'phro mthud 'jam mgon smon mtha'i 'phreng ba*. The *Bhutanese Legal Code from 1729* is the first formalised and standardised legal code in Bhutan, but is closely related to earlier Bhutanese sources dealing with monastic or civil laws. Those are: (1) Zhapdrung Ngawang Namgyel's (1594–ca. 1651; hereafter Zhapdrung) personal seal, the *Sixteen I's*;^I (2) Zhapdrung's earlier monastic code (Tib. *rtsa yig chen mo*), dated to 1629; and (3) the 'first' legal code from 1652, written on black slates at the walls of Punakha Dzong. Substantial parts of those slates are now illegible; fortunately, their content is preserved in later textual sources.^{II}

The *Bhutanese Legal Code from 1729* belongs to the Tibetan text genre of legal codes (Tib. *bka' khrims*). It includes a variety of quotations from other textual genres, such as Buddhist canonical and extra-canonical works, advice literature (Tib. *lugs kyi bstan chos*), proverbs and sayings (Tib. *legs bshad*), and former-birth stories of the Buddha (Tib. *skyes rabs*).

After the institutionalisation of the "Joint Twofold System of Governance" (Tib. *chos srid gnyis ldan/chos srid zung 'jug/chos kyi rgyal srid*) by Zhapdrung in Bhutan in 1625/26, the *Bhutanese Legal Code from 1729* was essential for identity policies and nation-building processes in Bhutan in the eighteenth century. It lays out the institutional differentiations between the societal spheres of religion, politics, and economics, including their respective actors and functions – that is to say, it outlines Bhutanese 'securities.' Furthermore, contrary to other, earlier legal codes in the Tibetan cultural area, which were rather formalistic codes of law, Tendzin Chögyel emphasised the underlying 'epistemic structures' that are expressed mostly in the form

I For a translation of, and introduction to, Zhapdrung's *Sixteen I's*, see text no. 48.

II For an annotated English translation and reconstruction of the 'first' legal code, see Michaela Windischgraetz and Rinzin Wangdi, *The Black-Slate Edict of Punakha Dzong* (Thimphu: JSW Law Publishing Series 2019).

Dagmar Schwerk, Leipzig University, History, Art and Area Studies, Institute for South and Central Asian Studies

of conceptual pairs, emic terminologies, and religious and political metaphors.^{III} These structures had served to organise, establish, and legitimise Buddhist rule, not only in Bhutan, but also in earlier forms of dual governance in Tibet, going back to the Tibetan Empire (seventh to ninth centuries) and India.^{IV} Covering areas such as the happiness, well-being, and security of the populace, good governance, Buddhist morality and ethical codes of conduct, and tantric Buddhist cosmology, territory and state rituals, Tendzin Chögyel's legal code plays a crucial role in the collective memory and socio-cultural identity of those societies.

The *Bhutanese Legal Code from 1729* consists of three parts: (1) the genealogy and principles of the Joint Twofold System of Governance; (2) the duties of the Buddhist ruler and ministers; and (3) the duties of government officials. One excerpt from each of the three parts is presented here, illustrating the intricate interplay between the institutional differentiations into the spheres of religion, politics, and economics, and their underlying epistemic structures.

The conceptual pairs, emic terminologies, and religious and political metaphors found in the *Bhutanese Legal Code from 1729* have been abundantly appropriated in modernity, to institutionalise, legitimise, and transform the Joint Twofold System of Governance within the legal framework of the *Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan from 2008*, and Bhutan's policies of Gross National Happiness (GNH). In the country's ongoing democratisation since 2008, their importance is now also visible in academic and public discourses about the optimal relationship between the spheres of religion and politics, the role of the Buddhist king, and Bhutan's future development path; they are central to understanding 'secularities' in Bhutan today.

Lastly, two earlier translations of the *Bhutanese Legal Code from 1729* into English, commissioned by John Claude White and Sir Charles Bell, showcase its historical importance to the former British colonial administration in India, and its foreign relations with Bhutan. In the context of the 'Great Game' of nineteenth-century imperial

III On 'social and epidemic structures,' see Christoph Kleine and Monika Wohlrab-Sahr, "Preliminary Findings and Outlook of the CASHSS 'Multiple Secularities – Beyond the West, Beyond Modernities.'" *Working Paper Series of the CASHSS "Multiple Secularities – Beyond the West, Beyond Modernities"* 22, Leipzig, 2020, https://www.multiple-secularities.de/media/wp_22_kleinewohlrabsahr_preliminaryfindingsandoutlook.pdf; see also Christoph Kleine and Monika Wohlrab-Sahr, "Comparative Secularities: Tracing Social and Epistemic Structures Beyond the Modern West," *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion* 32, no. 4 (2020): 1–30.

IV Christoph Cüppers compared the *Bhutanese Legal Code from 1729* with the Tibetan legal code (1681) by the Tibetan regent Sangye Gyatso (1653–1705), and observed that, while the Bhutanese had copied quite significant portions from the Tibetan text, the emphasis on legitimisation and justification of Buddhist rule, Buddhist morality, and codes of conduct is not found in this Tibetan counterpart; see Christoph Cüppers, "Bstan 'dzin chos rgyal's Bhutan Legal Code of 1729 in comparison with Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho's Guidelines for Government Officials," in *Bhutan: Tradition and Changes. PIATS 2003: Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the Tenth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Oxford, 2003*, ed. John A. Ardussi and Françoise Pommaret (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 45; 47–50.

powers, diplomatic relations with Bhutan were crucial for gaining access to the broader Tibetan cultural area north of Bhutan.^V

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Pagination in the translation excerpt follows the original Tibetan block print foliation.

The translation adopted here can be found in:

Michael V. Aris, trans. *Sources for the History of Bhutan*. Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde 14. Vienna: Arbeitskreis für tibetische und buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien, 1986. 121–168 (plus corrigendum). Michael V. Aris' translation was adopted and annotated for this publication by Dagmar Schwerk.

The translation has been standardised in relation to punctuation and to transliteration of Tibetan and Sanskrit names and terms.

Due to their philological depth, footnotes from Michael V. Aris' translation are not included (fns 31–41; 42–49; 86–91). If relevant, information from them has been summarised and referred to.

Translation Adopted from Michael V. Aris

[DS: Part I: Legitimation and Principles of the Joint Twofold System of Governance]

Having defeated the four atrocious demons together with their disorderly battle lines and having gained control of the upholding, guarding and diffusing of the stainless theocracy of the dual system [of religious and secular government], he^I began the laying out of vast numbers of 'triple supports'^{II} and temples, and subjected to his authority all the districts of the South^{III}. Having introduced laws where there had been no southern laws and fixed handles where there had been no handles on pots, he con-

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V See Michael V. Aris, *Sources for the History of Bhutan* (Vienna: Arbeitskreis für tibetische und buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien, 1986), 7.

I DS: i.e. Zhapdrung.

II DS: i.e. images of the Buddha, Stūpas, and Buddhist scriptures.

III DS: i.e. Bhutan.

strained by means of religious laws [fol. 103r/103v] like a silken knot and pressed down with state laws as with the weight of a golden yoke. Beginning [from the time of] the introduction of the great law of the dual system, the successive rulers also preserved intact the observance of state laws in accordance with religion and it is due to this that the possibility has arisen for all subjects of the Realm of Four Approaches^{IV} to enjoy themselves in the glory of happiness and contentment. This being so, there is a need for maintaining unimpaired the practices of the early royal lineage.

Now, foremost in the legal code of the great *Dharmarāja*^V [there occurs] the law of not taking life, manslaughter-fines for the dead and the living; the law of not taking without being given – the hundredfold restitution for stealing religious goods, the eightyfold restitution for the king's goods, with the eightfold restitution for the goods of subjects; the law of not committing adultery with married women, with fines for fornication and penalties for adultery or rape; the law of abstaining from falsehood, the law of calling the guardian deities to witness when swearing oaths etc., and in general, in addition to abstaining from the Ten Unvirtuous Actions, showing filial respect for one's father and mother and due respect to *Śramaṇas* and *Brahmins*, honouring the elders of the family, returning kindness done to oneself by others, abstaining from false cheating with regard to weights and measures – he^{VI} performed this enactment by law of the Sixteen Pure Rules of Human Conduct.

In that manner the so-called “regulation of [public] order”^{VII} of Zhapdrung Rinpoche acted in previous times throughout the whole of this land of the South as a most sacred example of a legal code pertaining to the dual system; [fol. 103v/104r] however, in the meantime this regulation of [public] order has been largely treated with indifference and if such things are left to continue in that manner, laws relating to what should and should not be done are not practicable. If there is no law, happiness will not come to beings. If beings do not have happiness there is no point in the Hierarchs of the Drukpa upholding the doctrine of the dual system. Therefore, holding the precious doctrine in one's heart, it is necessary to enact legal observances like those of the *Dharmarāja* Songtsen Gampo which establish a justice devoid of bias or partiality.

Furthermore:

The happiness of beings depends on the doctrine
And the doctrine on beings who uphold it.

Thus it happened, and so for beings who uphold the doctrine there is cause for desiring an establishment of happiness in the doctrine and among beings by setting up

IV DS: i.e. one of the pre-seventeenth-century names for Bhutan.

V DS: This refers to the law codes of Songtsen Gampo, the first ‘Dharma’ king of the Tibetan Empire (seventh to ninth centuries), who is accredited with having established laws for the first time.

VI DS: i.e. Songtsen Gampo.

VII DS: Tendzin Chögyel refers to the above-mentioned earlier Bhutanese writings regarding religious and secular law, initiated by Zhapdrung's rule – but points out the importance of now having, for the first time, a formally standardised and detailed legal code that everyone must follow without question.

whatever is fundamental to a dual system [of legal administration] under which all beings are looked upon as an only child.^{VIII}

Yet nowadays, due to sheer obstinate wickedness on the part of various persons [characterised by] bad, confused thoughts and lack of due measure, the bodeful laws have been repudiated. Without thinking for a moment about discrimination between good and evil, or between cause and effect, penalties and summary confiscations have been meted out for the sake of [acquiring] wealth by making false accusations against the innocent, beating and tying them with ropes and throwing them into dungeons, and all the ‘patrons’^{IX} have really become ghosts in the land of humans. The beneficial, enchanted lake of the state laws has been stirred into turbidity by many evil deeds not consonant with the doctrines, such as plain trickery, including bribery, on the part of a few wealthy and important people who include among them [village] counsellors and messengers [who do this] while speaking sweet sounding deceits [fol. 104r/104v] in pretence of respecting officialdom; also uprisings of subjects pushed towards the capital by some of them [with] all sorts of truths and untruths. Therefore, having investigated in detail what is what, the chief master of the laws should turn towards good legal usages that distinguish religion from irreligion. As it is said:

The *jina*^X skillful in all things
Should consider well his servitors.
With application to truth and religion
He should always protect the provinces.

Since it is necessary therefore to preserve the state laws in accordance with religion, acts of evil that transgress religion are to be suppressed; the pursuit of terminating all such things as selfishness, anger, fecklessness, wild behaviour, fierce oaths, contempt, the ‘Seven Defects’ and the ‘Ten Realms’ is the intention of the *Sūtras* and *Tantras*.

According to the word of the *Buddha* himself:

By cutting to pieces these things,
The sojourn in hell will become short,
There will be no obstacles to achieving *yoga*,
The power of the Mahāyana [DS: sic] will expand
And the Buddhist doctrines will extend.

VIII DS: Today, the preceding paragraphs are often quoted and referenced in public and academic discourses in Bhutan to point out the uniqueness of Bhutan’s legal system and definition of good governance.

IX DS: Throughout the legal code, “patrons” (Tib. *sbyin bdag*) refers mostly to the relationship between lay donors from different societal strata, and religious institutions/persons. However, the term also is part of the important emic conceptual pair of the more elitist patron-priest/preceptor-donor relationship (Tib. *yon mchod/mchod yon*) between Tibetan tantric Buddhist masters and rulers in the Tibetan cultural area. In Bhutan, unlike other parts of the Tibetan cultural area, those two roles were conjoined in the person of Zhapdrung.

X DS: i.e. Buddha Śākyamuni.

Thus it was said, and in the Northern Medicine Land of Sāla^{XI} the *Dharmarājas* who came forth in early times were certainly nothing other than Bodhisattvas and abodes of grace. But later one section of [Tibetan] rulers, as a result of their severe favouritism [characterised by] frenzy and evil temperaments, oppressed both the Kar[mapa] School and the Druk[pa] School as much as possible and even achieved their will [by promulgating] ordinances to the effect that since the order of these schools was evil they were to be annihilated.^{XII}

For example [fol. 104v/105r]:

Even though the jackal howls with arrogance,
The lion bears [him] compassion.
Or again:
The great being examines his own faults;
The bad man looks for faults in others.

It was as said in these words. Similarly, even in this state of the Southern Land^{XIII} a few have fallen into selfishness and so the time draws near when the hundred white petals of the doctrine of religious and secular government will close. Exhorting, therefore, from one's innermost heart the sense of duty that cannot bear [to see] the doctrine repudiated before one, it is necessary to take after the wisdom and courage of the Bodhisattva Pañcaśikha, Tri Songdetsen^{XIV}, for the sake of protecting and of upholding, guarding and diffusing this white parasol of the action of religious and secular law.

[Here ends] the preliminary introduction to the general fundamentals of the theocratic rule of the Glorious Drukpa Rinpoche, the Mighty Ngagi Wangpo^{XV}. May the first virtuous blessing contained herein fill the whole world.

[DS: Part II: The Principles of Good Governance of Rulers and Ministers and the Relationship Between the Spheres of Religion and Politics]

Those who hold the authority of royal measures taken
In this happy and prosperous world,

^{XI} DS: i.e. Tibet.

^{XII} DS: This refers to the central Tibetan government (Ganden Phodrang Government) that was institutionalised as a form of the Joint Twofold System of Governance in Tibet in 1642. Tendzin Chögyel alludes here to the religious and political persecution of the Kagyü school, amongst others, in Tibet.

^{XIII} DS: i.e. Bhutan.

^{XIV} DS: The second 'Dharma' king during the Tibetan Empire, Trisong Detsen (d. 797).

^{XV} DS: i.e. Zhapdrung.

May these great beings diffuse from here
The fragrance of their deeds on the Mālaya winds.

Now, as to the chief actions befitting a Desi Chagdzo^{XVI}, who is the illuminator of the doctrine of the joint system [of religious and state law] and master of the practice of legal observances, the Bhagavat has said in the *Sūtras*:

If the king becomes enamoured of religion,
It is the path to happiness both in this and future lives
Subjects will also act as the king acts;
Therefore he must learn how to live in accord with religion.
Also [fol. 105r/105v] the Second Buddha [Padmasambhava]^{XVII} has said:
A pure parental lineage, many supporting subjects,
Noble behaviour, heed to promises made in an oath-list,
Ability to guard one's dominion and possession of an army to overcome one's enemies,
These are the requisites of an excellent king, a great man.

In accordance with these words, since this southern range^{XVIII} is itself the unequalled and glorious Drukpa Rinpoche's^{XIX} field of conversion^{XX}, there is a definite need for not inferior designs to further the happiness of beings and of the doctrine by honouring on high the lotus feet of the Mighty Ngagi Wangpo, the *Jina's* ruler^{XXI}.

Since the *Sangha* [DS: sic] is the basis of the Buddhist doctrine, measures should be taken to do it honour as the occasion arises, giving pure exhortations towards [the cultivation of] the meditational procedures of the *utpatti[-krama]* and *saṃpanna[-krama]*^{XXII} including the Ten Religious Practices and the study of sacred dance, *Maṇḍalas* and chanting. Textual examinations on studies completed by the students of grammar and poetry and by the College of Logic should be held at frequent intervals

XVI DS: This refers to the regent in charge of the political/administrative branch within the Joint Twofold System of Governance in Bhutan. The explanation demonstrates how the regent was, later on, supposed to also take over the symbolic role of the Buddhist ruler/king, therefore blending together those roles that are theoretically separate in the conceptualisation of the Bhutanese Joint Twofold System of Governance. Naturally, after Zhapdrung's passing, and with the subsequent enduring struggles over his succession, the regent indeed often did take over the role of the Buddhist ruler/king as well. This overlap in function is visible throughout the second part of the legal code.

XVII DS: This refers to Padmasambhava/Guru Rinpoche, who, in the Tibetan Buddhist tradition, is considered to be the 'Second Buddha', accredited with the introduction of Buddhism to the Tibetan cultural area.

XVIII DS: i.e. Bhutan.

XIX DS: i.e. Zhapdrung's.

XX DS: Zhapdrung's conquest and unification of the territory of Bhutan is expressed in terms such as the "subjugation of a spiritual field/field of conversion" (Tib. *gdul zhing/dul zhing/gdul bya'i zhing*) or the "heavenly field/Buddhafield" (Tib. *zhing khams/dkar rgyud zhing khams*) of a raven-faced form of Mahākāla (Tib. *las mgon bya rog gdong can*), a protector deity.

XXI DS: i.e. Zhapdrung.

XXII DS: i.e. the two stages of tantric meditation of the *Niruttaratantrayoga*.

and rewards should be given in accordance with the works [on which they are examined]. An annual proclamation should be issued to the effect that instead of otherwise squandering whatever material objects there are in all the residences, they are to be used as offerings to the [Triple] Gem^{XXIII}, including the body, speech and mind-supports of the *Jina*, and for the upkeep of the *Sangha* [DS: sic].

In the College of Crafts and also among the bodyguards and household servitors, examinations are to be held in accordance with their respective work in which emphasis should be placed on the Ten Religious Practices consisting of writing, making offerings, giving alms and so forth; and they should be employed in whatever works of service are undertaken for the doctrine.

When, in carrying out a daily investigation into the general welfare of the subjects, [it becomes evident that it is] favourable or unfavourable, they should be brought exclusively to states of happiness. Enquiries should be entered into concerning how in time gone by the wisdom of good counsel caused subjects to adhere to the laws of the Ten Rules of Virtuous Conduct [and how this could also be done] in the future [such as was done in the past by] the enactment of prohibitions against hunting and fishing and so on, whereby killing and thieving were abstained from in the various districts [fol. 105v/106r].

Since the victory or defeat of worldly welfare depends chiefly on judgements passed on litigation and on [matters concerning] taxation, corvée and the [compulsory] transportation of [government] loads, strict measures should be taken continuously in order to enquire into and root out any prejudiced relations that have been formed with an eye to [the acquisition of] food and wealth, whoever it may be [who indulges in this], great or small. The ability to call the state laws to witness must be given prime importance, without being influenced solely by what is said by [the incumbents to the offices of] Dzongpön, Drönnyer, Chila^{XXIV} and others who are wealthy and important, and [without being influenced] by the selfishness of personal servants in [one's own] retinue.

In this regard, as to the officials on the frontiers of the four borders, just as the happiness of the centre depends on the outer limits, if the terms of a treaty should be violated, one's own laws being treated laxly and acts of brigandage by one's own people occurring on the other side, not only will we meet with reprisals for these things but also it will turn into a serious transgression against the doctrine and beings in general. Lest this should happen, orders are to be issued repeatedly concerning the need for peaceful conduct.

Furthermore, if there should be any 'patrons' in any of the districts under the administration of a fort who are particularly oppressed by [the need to render] grass-

XXIII DS: i.e. *Buddha*, *Dharma*, and *Saṅgha*.

XXIV DS: Those were the most important political and administrative offices in pre-modern Bhutan, under the Zhapdrug; see Karma Phuntsho, *History of Bhutan* (Noida: Random House, India, 2013), 258.

tax and wood-tax, such persons must be allowed to take charge of [government] horses and supply grass-tax at rates of liability fixed according to the custom which prevailed in previous times.

In brief, one must know the mechanism which illuminates the mastery of controlling at one time the play of the Four Actions [of pacifying, multiplying, ruling and subduing in order to fulfil], externally, the means by which the subjects are brought to happiness; internally, the commission of all officials; and in truth, the good deeds which diffuse the Three Refuges [and] the monastic community [fol. 106r/106v]. In *The Mighty Lion's Roar* it is said:

In the centre a peaceful circle, on the outside a square,
Prospering with the works of the four conch-shells,
The lion's roar which subjugates the three realms,
Turning the wheel of the magic-working sword.^{XXV}

And in *The Razor which Defeats the Enemies of the Doctrine* it is said:

Any malignant being
Will be overtaken by magic power like a debt.
Bring down like a meteorite
Powerful works of destructive magic upon him.

As it is thus commanded, the custom of heaping good on good is instituted. If the heaping of evil on evil is not brought to an end, the state laws will not be able to spread in accordance with religion and so the principal requirement of a king is the fair discharge of state law. Moreover, just as one speaks of 'the law beloved of the king', so if a single king administers the law fairly he can bring his subjects to happiness in a single day. Now, the fact that the succession of ancestral *Dharmarājas* in previous times sustained the beings of the Cool Land^{XXVI} by means of the simultaneous discharge of religious and secular authority and the fact that Zhapdrung Rinpoche was able to tame this wild area of the South is due to the power [they obtained through] administering state laws in accordance with religion.

In general the reason for instituting state laws is for the very sake of the happiness of subjects in the various districts. In particular it is for the purpose of upholding, guarding and diffusing the *Sangha* [DS: sic] which [abides to] the *Vinaya* rules of the Buddha and [forms] the basis of the doctrine. However, in the meantime it has declined in some of its aspects and monks have broken their vows, taken life, taken that which is not given, and so forth. Although acting as the cause of the doctrine's decay [such persons] are not rooted out. Not only is this a bad example but it will also

XXV DS: Michael V. Aris notes that the form and symbolism of Zhapdrung's seal, the *Sixteen I's*, is directly derived from this Buddhist canonical verse, see fn 18 in original. See also text no. 48.

XXVI DS: i.e. Tibet.

cause the good path of the doctrine and of beings to decline as prophesied [fol. 106v/107r]:

When the *Vinaya* rules decline the land is
filled with oath-breakers.
This causes the happiness of beings to diminish.

And:

When religious law is discarded the main protector departs to heaven.
It is broken to pieces by the exhalations of the demon brothers.
When the religious customs of humans are discarded the gods decline.
The classes of black devils laugh ‘Ha ha!’

Moreover, the *Tathāgata* himself has said in the *Sūryagarbhasūtra* that the laws of monks during the final age of decline will accord with the laws of the state. Accordingly, from this time on when things have become intolerable for us, punishments are to be meted out in conformity with the customs of the *Vinaya* in right measure [for each] fault against the monastic precepts and it is certain that [such monks] must be deprived of their tokens of office and their robes.

[DS: Part III: Laws Regarding Funeral Rites, Inheritance, Hermitages, and Monastics and Other Religious Practitioners]

With regard to deaths, if much killing [of animals for funerary feasts] takes place, this is not good either for the dead or for the living. Therefore, in entertaining the Lama^{XXVII} who performs the cremation, it is sufficient to offer him a ‘white meal’^{XXVIII}. If this is done, then the government share is to be reckoned to the value of half a [*ma*]-*tam*^{XXIX} in lieu of the head and quarter of an animal and the Lama’s share to the value of one roll of cotton. If, however, besides simply the ‘blessed food’ [fol. 112v/113r] offered to the deceased himself, ‘white meals’ cannot be provided, the shares for the government and for the Lama are to be reckoned as above and the monks assisting in the ritual are to be given four *phul* measures^{XXX} of rice or a piece of cloth in lieu of their shares of meat.

XXVII DS: i.e. the tantric teacher.

XXVIII DS: i.e. vegetarian food.

XXIX DS: This refers to the Bhutanese name of a silver coin, the Narayani half-rupee, that was widely used in Cooch Behar and Bhutan from the sixteenth century onwards. Bhutanese silver was minted into this coinage in Cooch Behar, and later in Bhutan (with lower silver content). In Bhutan, it was only used for specific purposes, such as donations or foreign trade. For a depiction of the coinage and more information about its usage, see Dorji Penjore, *Zhidar Matters: The Rise and Fall of a Controversial 18th Century Bhutanese Rule* (Thimphu: Centre for Bhutan & GNH Studies, 2021), 76–77.

XXX DS: i.e. four “handfuls.”

If, however, it happens that there is nothing for it but to kill an animal, then a single animal may be butchered and used in a manner sufficient for providing the government [share] and for the entertainment of the monks assisting in the ritual and all the kinsmen assembled there. It is not permitted to butcher more than that. [The distribution of] meat to the relatives as a feast and [a similar distribution made] when the pall is placed [on the corpse] is prohibited. Acts of merit [for the deceased] should be performed in his own village and not elsewhere. As for the materials used in acts of service 'reckoned to the thousandfold', these may accord with the desire of the 'patron' himself and consist of whatever 'dry' [cash] or 'wet' [food] he has at hand.

Lamas of monastic communities [acting] in their private capacity must cremate the corpses of the deceased before one day has elapsed in summer and two in winter; the number of monks assisting in the ritual and the material necessities are equal to [those prescribed for funerals performed by] the government. In cases when the Lama cannot come in person or is delayed, the 'patrons' must take to the monastery whatever provisions they have at hand, and of good quality, as the food required for the Lama and the government when introducing the ritual of 'The Root of Virtue'; apart from doing this, it is not permitted to introduce [such rituals under these circumstances] in the home [of the deceased]. It is not permitted to set aside part of one's land and fields [in order to raise] the food shares of the religious persons [conducting a funeral]. Lay persons are not to reduce the provisions offered to religious persons. The personal property left by a deceased religious person who was himself the possessor of a tax estate should be disposed of by his loving patrons and attendant disciples in whatever meritorious works they can accomplish. After the death of a retired orderly who has devoted himself to the religious life, his religious objects and ritual implements are to be offered to the ruler for his funerary memorials. If there are more things besides these, they should be disposed of in whatever meritorious works can be accomplished.

As to the requirements governing the building of hermitages for religious persons, these should be built only within range of a monastic community and not above villages or in any random side valley [fol. 113r/113v]. If men and women who cohabit in monastic communities should bear children, [they] should be forced to settle in district communities where substitute taxpayers are required [in order to replace previous tax-payers who had died there without issue] since the village is where worldly actions should be performed. If monks spend more than half a month in heedless loitering, except in the case of their going on begging tours, pursuing their own [legitimate] affairs or their Lama's business, then just as householders engage themselves in agricultural work, [so also should] the government representative in the district where such monks make their halt put them to work in the transportation of loads and in *corvée*. Similarly, the Lamas of monastic communities are to reside solely in

states of seclusion, except when they are engaged in the annual and seasonal initiations, teachings, *Tsechu* rituals and *Maṇi* recitations^{XXXI}.

Besides [propounding] in the district communities those spiritual precepts which are well-founded in learning, the diviners, astrologers, spell-binders, false monks and doctors who deceive others by singing whatever comes to mind are to be prohibited. Apart from devotional offerings, it is not permitted to render any kind of tax to the various sorts of *Maṇiwa*^{XXXII}, for instance to the licensed *Maṇiwa* attached to the districts under the administration of a Dzong^{XXXIII}.

XXXI DS: i.e. important (often public) religious rituals and festivals of the Bhutanese Buddhist calendar.

XXXII DS: A *Maṇiwa*/ *Maṇiba* (Dzo. Manip) is a (usually lay and male) religious practitioner and storyteller in the Tibetan cultural area, who, for example, performs Buddhist songs and life-stories of famous Buddhist figures, such as of Drukpa Künlé and Zhapdrung in Bhutan, and excessively recites the Mantra of the Bodhisattva of Compassion, Avalokiteśvara. It is important to note that this class of religious practitioner is, in itself, diverse. *Maṇiwas* usually carry with them either a portable *stūpa* (Tib. *bkra shis sgo mang mchod rten*) or scroll paintings depicting different important Buddhist teachings. Today, this tradition is unfortunately in decline in Bhutan, see Tsering Tashi, “The Lam Manip,” *Kuensel online*, 25 September 2016, accessed October 31, 2024, <https://kuenselononline.com/the-lam-manip/>; see also footnote 91 in the original. Moreover, the term is used to refer to Buddhist practitioners who accumulate a very high number (at least a million) of the Avalokiteśvara Mantra. This paragraph shows the high level of granularity of the legal code in determining functions and positions of diverse religious practitioners, beyond a simple lay-monastic and religious-secular divide in the Joint Twofold System of Governance.

XXXIII DS: i.e. a district governmental seat of secular and religious rule and fortress.



Mongolia

50 Qutuytai Sečen Qung Tayiji, comp.: *The White History of the Ten Meritorious Doctrines* (16th Century)

Translated and introduced by Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz

Introduction

The *White History of the Ten Meritorious Doctrines*^I is probably a work of the sixteenth century. It was compiled by the Mongol nobleman Qutuytai Sečen Qung Tayiji (1540–1586), the nephew of the powerful Mongol ruler Altan Khan (1507–1582), on the basis of much older textual materials from the thirteenth century. The *White History* consists of three independent parts. The first part deals with the regulations for the cult of Chinggis Khan, which still lives on in today's cult site of Ejen Qoro in Inner Mongolia. The second part explains the history and application of the two orders (Mo. *qoyar yosun*) of 'religion' and 'secular' government; the third part describes how Qubilai Khan (r. 1260–1294), the first ruler of the Mongol Yuan dynasty (1260–1368), implemented an ideal rule based on these two orders. Although according to indigenous Mongolian classification the text is considered a work of history (Mo. *teüke*), its true character is closer to a manual for rulers. The Mongols imported the system of the "two orders" of the 'religious' and the 'secular' from the Tibetan "Joint Twofold System of Governance" (Tib. *chos srid zung 'brel*), and adapted it to their own socio-cultural and political contexts. The *White History* presents an ideal Buddhist society, in which the religious and worldly spheres are two separate yet interrelated realms. It provides a Buddhist ruler with governmental instructions on how a good life – in the Buddhist sense – can be realised in a Buddhist society, describing in detail the institutions of the religious and worldly domains, their interplay, and the actors involved. In the *White History*, societal reality is evaluated similarly to the secular/religious divide advanced in Western European thought. Yet, in the Mongolian case, the 'religious' and the 'secular' are framed and discussed as two separate sovereign spheres that are not conceived as mutually exclusive, but rather as complementary to each other. The binary distinction, on which Mongolian society should ideally be modelled, is a religious distinction, however. Good worldly governance is based on Bud-

I For a general introduction to the text, see Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz, "The 'White History': Religion and Secular Rule in Buddhist Mongolia," in *Companion to the Study of Secularity*, ed. HCAS "Multiple Secularities – Beyond the West, Beyond Modernities" (Leipzig: Leipzig University, 2021), https://www.multiple-secularities.de/media/css_kollmar-paulenz_whitehistory.pdf.

Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz, University of Bern, Faculty of Humanities, Departement Sozialanthropologie und Kulturwissenschaftliche Studien, Institute for the Science of Religion

dhist ethical rules, which should be implemented at all levels of society. A good government is one that provides its subjects with the best conditions for attaining the Buddhist goal of liberation. This includes internal order, material prosperity, and rule of law. The conception of society developed in the *White History* therefore claims authoritative interpretive power even over those societal spheres that are formally excluded from the religious sphere, and are therefore designated as non-religious. In this sense, it is a Buddhist – or religiously defined – secularity that unfolds in the *White History*.

Throughout the last four centuries, the *White History* has been widely read by Mongolians. Today, the deep traces left by the work in the collective memory of Mongolians can be found even in the modern Mongolian Constitution of 1992, which still uses the same terminology as the *White History* in its regulation of the relationship between religion and the state.

The passages translated here are from the second and third parts of the *White History*. They illustrate which parts of society the Mongols considered ‘secular,’ and what ideas they had of an exemplary ‘secular’ ruler and his duties, and of a prosperous worldly rule. The just ruler is a *cakravartin*, a “wheel-turner,” who is considered the worldly counterpart to the Buddha. He brings peace and stability to his subjects, but must also not shy away from armed force in defending the Buddhist realm. In sum, he represents the Buddhist ideal of political authority.

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The translation given here is based in two manuscripts:

Arban buyantu nom-un čayan teüke. In, *Die Familien- und Kirchengeschichtsschreibung der Mongolen*, by Walther Heissig. Vol. 1, 16.–18. Jahrhundert. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1959. Facsimilia I, 1–25. [Microfilm collection of Raghu Vira, New Delhi]. [MS A]

Erte boydasun yabudal-un yamun-u čayan teüke kemekü yeke erketü köligen sudur ene bolai. In *Čayan teüke – “Belaja istorija” mongol’skij istoriko-pravovoj pamjatnik XIII–XVI vv.* [Čayan teüke – “White History”: A Mongolian historical-legal monument of the XIII–XVI centuries]. Translation by P.B. Baldanzhapov, edited by Tsymzhit P. Vanchikova. Ulan-Ude: Izdatel'stvo Burjatskogo nauchnogo tsentra SO RAN, 2001. Facsimile of the text; 149–98. [MS B]

Page numbers in square brackets refer to the original pagination in the facsimiles, respectively.

Translation by Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz

[MS A fol. 3v3–9] The root of the sublime teaching, the lord of the *dharmā*,^I is the Lama;^{II}

the head of the state, the mighty one of the world, is the ruler.

The law (Mo. *jasay*) of the true *dharmā* is indissoluble like a silken knot.

The law of the strict ruler is indestructible like a golden yoke.^{III}

The following brief guide is intended to give equal and flawless effect to these two true orders.

[MS A fol. 6v2–4] First of all, what is meant by the two orders? They are the order of the *dharmā*, *dhāraṇīs*,^{IV} and *sūtras*,^V and the order of the world, peace, and stability.

[MS B fol. 6v26–7v12] He who is responsible for and carries out the order of the world turns the golden wheel of a thousand teachings in the midst of the living beings who have lost their way in the dark night. He who enforces the law of the *dharmā*, the *dhāraṇīs*, and *sūtras*, each in its own right, is called “True, sublime *cakravartin* king.” He who puts on a hat made of *sal* [wood], a belt, clothes, and boots – he who, after being able to stand on a glass throne, without slipping and without support, rules the whole great nation continuously and majestically; and he who is able to put into practice the rule of the world, peace and stability, each in its own right, is called “king endowed with a true, sublime, strict rule.” [. . .] At the time when foreign enemies from outside set in motion their power, and a hostile rebellion easily arises, then he who collects his weapons with bow and arrow – and, after having defeated the alien enemy unhindered, is able to catch an arrow flying at him in flight – is called “lord-king of the mighty sublime gathering.”

[MS A fol. 11r8–11v1] In general, if you do not follow the two laws, you do not know the difference between meritorious and non-meritorious actions, white and black, heavy and light, truth and falsehood, good and bad, joy and suffering. Therefore, the two orders of the law of the true *dharmā*, which is indestructible like a silken knot, and the governance of the strict ruler, which is indestructible like a golden yoke, should be established without mixing, each separately.

[MS A fol. 13r7–13v6] Accordingly, if there is no law of the *dharmā*, living beings will fall into the hells. If there is no law of the ruler, the realms will decline. [. . .] If

I KKP: The Buddhist teaching.

II KKP: The personal spiritual teacher in Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhism.

III KKP: In this conventional Tibetan comparison, the law of Buddhist doctrine is likened to a silken knot, and that of the worldly ruler to a heavy golden yoke. The yoke refers to one of the seven great mountains of Buddhist cosmology, which surround the world mountain Sumeru in concentric circles.

IV KKP: Ritual formulas, designed to store Buddhist teachings in one's memory.

V KKP: A text attributed to the Buddha.

one commits oneself to one's lama teacher, one will attain the bodhisattva path. If one commits oneself to the ruler, the peoples of the world will become suitably peaceful.

[MS A fol. 14v3–15r3 . . .] A compassionless ruler should be avoided. A ruthless official should be abandoned. [. . .] A monk without vows blows the true *dharma* to the wind. Ruling princes who do not know the law are harder than mountains [to climb]. [. . .] Therefore, the two orders should be established by bringing them into line with the rules of government. Those who put the law into practice in deviation from the rules are incapable of being the head of the state.

[MS A . . . fol. 17v7–18r1] If someone walks the path of the *dharma*, let him enter the path. If someone acts according to the true worldly rule, let him do great works. Accordingly, the essence of the true *dharma* is [like] the heart inside, and the rule of the strict ruler is like a black sword outside. Again, at each change of generation of heavenly rulers, those who were previously thrown into prisons should be released, and those who later reoffend should be thrown back into prison. Be that as it may, do not set them free. [. . .] By finding and employing sincere and wise people, the ruler's thoughts will be realised, and the people will be pacified. The rulers themselves become honoured great jewels. However, if bad people are appointed to high ranks, they will make the people suffer, and will destroy the ruler's works. They themselves will become shameless good-for-nothings. Therefore, you should think carefully, and bestow titles with deep understanding.

51 Zava Damdin Lubsangdamdin: *Annotations that Clarify the Meaning of Some of the Holy Emperors' Secret Prophecies* (1924)

Translated and introduced by Matthew W. King

Introduction

Zava Damdin Lubsangdamdin (Tib. Blo bzang rta mgrin, *alias* Blo bzang rta dbyangs, 1867–1937) was a Qalqa Mongolian Buddhist abbot, philosopher, historian, tantric master, and pilgrim.¹ He completed his education in the great monastic colleges (Tib. *grwa tshang*; Mo. *datsan*) of Yeke-yin Küriy-e (present day Ulaanbaatar), and, in the early years of the twentieth century, undertook wide-ranging travels to eastern Tibet, Wutaishan, and Beijing. He returned to Qalqa just before the Qing Empire collapsed and an autonomous Mongolian theocratic nation-state was declared in 1911. In the ruins of the Qing, Zava Damdin assumed leadership positions in the monastic institutions of Küriy-e and in his central Gobi Desert homeland, then part of the Tüshiyetü Qan region. For the next quarter of a century – during which White Russians and Chinese warlords ended Qalqa Mongolia's short-lived autonomy in 1919, and then Soviet-backed Buryat and Mongolian revolutionaries founded the Mongolian People's Republic in 1921 – Zava Damdin was a sought-after interlocutor for many of the architects of pan-Mongolian nationalism and secular socialist state building. These included the framers of Mongolia's socialist manifesto, the founders of the forerunner to the Mongolian Academy of Sciences, reformers intent on secularising Buddhist monastic education, and a host of Russian Orientalists, including a member of the Bakhtin Circle.

Despite this, until the dramatic escalation of state violence against Buddhist institutionalism in the late 1930s, led by General Choibalsan (at Stalin's infamous behest), Zava Damdin remained a staunch critic of secularist revolutionary programmes. Indeed, until his death by natural causes in 1937, just weeks before the mass execution, imprisonment, and forced disrobing of monks in the urban and desert monasteries he had sought desperately to protect, Zava Damdin remained an ardent ideologue for enduring models of place, time, and community formations deeply embedded in the Qing Empire and outside of emergent nationalism. Zava Damdin interpreted his revolutionary present using Qing-derived models of place and community, history and power, past and future, decades after the Qing Empire's political endings. These ideas exceeded and erased the newly state-favoured discourses of secular modernism. According to his wide-ranging study of

¹ On Zava Damdin, see Matthew W. King, *Ocean of Milk, Ocean of Blood: A Mongolian Monk in the Ruins of the Qing* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019).

Matthew W. King, University of California, Riverside, Department for the Study of Religions

the Indian, Tibetan, Mongolian, Chinese, and European historical records available to him in revolutionary Qalqa, human affairs had clearly been governed by enlightened buddhas manifesting as saffron-robed monks and silk-garbed qans, emperors, and kings. For the duration of recorded history, “contact” (Tib. *mjal*) between the enlightened and the human had always ushered in eras of security, material prosperity, social harmony, and soteriological possibility. The social reorganisation of Buddhist societies in these models was interpreted as individual relations between “patronised” monks and “patron” political rulers (Tib. *mchod gnas dang yon bdag*). Often-cited historical examples included Ásoka’s Mauryan Empire (third century BCE), the Tibetan Empire (seventh to ninth centuries CE), the Mongol Empire (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries CE), and the Qing Empire (1644–1911). Činggis Qan had been an enlightened buddha, playing the part of world conqueror, in order to bring about abundances in social security and the possibility of salvation. So, too, had leaders of ancient societies such as the Xiongnu, the Turks, and the Uighur; most recently culminating in the Qing Empire and its partnership with the trans-Inner Asian Géluk Buddhist tradition.

Zava Damdin’s understanding of these periods of abundance followed a long tradition of Tibetan, Mongolian, and Siberian thought, focused upon relational spheres of Dharmic and temporal sovereignty, knowledge, and ethics summarised as “the union of Dharma and politics” (Tib. *chos srid zung ’brel*), or simply “the Two Systems” (Tib. *lugs gnyis*; Mo. *qoyar yosun*). The Two Systems had been the protagonist of much of the trans-Inner Asian monastic historiography of Zava Damdin’s Gélukpa (Tib. *dGe lugs pa*) tradition for centuries, indebted in untold ways to the Fifth Dalai Lama in seventeenth-century Central Tibet (explored in text no. 45).

In the ruins of the Qing in the early twentieth century, Zava Damdin spent Mongolia’s imperial-socialist transition trying to interpret his revolutionary present through the rubric of the Two Systems, a pre-nationalist model of separate but complementary spheres of Dharmic and temporal affairs. He was temporarily drafted by the autonomous theocratic government to research the union of the Dharma and politics – and then again by the Mongolian Academy of Sciences, on behalf of the Mongolian nation-state; despite this, by the early 1930s, Zava Damdin had determined that conditions would no longer allow for their combination or flourishing. History itself had ended, as such. Temporal security, social harmony, legal structures, and benevolent political power lay in the decades’ old rubble of the Qing. The institutional and ethical basis of self and community cultivation, according to Géluk tradition, had long ago been severed. The halls of temporal and monastic power were now occupied by scoundrels and frauds; the enlightened had left the human stage. Such was Zava Damdin’s pessimistic assessment by the early 1930s. This was especially clear in the pages of his historical magnum opus, the 1931 *Golden Book* (Tib. *Gser gyi deb ther*; Mo. *Altan debter*), and his 1936 autobiography.

However, Zava Damdin’s dismal diagnosis of Inner Asia’s post-imperium had not yet taken hold in the early 1920s, then only a few years into Mongolia’s socialist period. In the short text translated below, we read an account of the “Spiritual Friend

Who Pleases Mañjughoṣa,” an epithet for Zava Damdin, who, in 1924, publicly addressed an assembly of monks, laymen, and gods gathered in a monastic courtyard in the Qalqa capital. Often speaking about the Qing Empire in the present tense – despite its then being more than a decade after the empire’s political collapse – Zava Damdin unravels a vast view of the world historical order that was both *at odds* with prevailing Marxist-Leninist historical materialism and programmes for social emancipation, and *representative* of the dominant intellectual and institutional context for Asia’s first experiment in socialist state building. All this was couched in a commentary on “the secret prophecies” of the (by then deposed) holy Manchu emperors, long considered to be emanations of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī (*alias* Mañjughoṣa). Herein, Zava Damdin concisely surveys models of historical time, imperial-era law and sovereignty, moral authority, and socio-religious organisation between complimentary spheres of Dharmic and temporal affairs. As he spoke these words, revolutionary cadres and reformist monks alike were working to dismantle and redirect imperial frameworks towards state building and socialist social engineering; a project that would, just thirteen years later, end in mass state violence and erasure.

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Page numbers given in square brackets refer to this edition.

Translation by Matthew W. King

Namo Guru [Prostrations to the Lama!]

I bow to the *gandharva-rāja*

[Exalted Mañjughoṣa] [with youthful body],

[Orange in color] like the peak of a saffron mountain,

Who [since long ago] has acted

For the benefit of the sentient beings of China and Mongolia

In the direction of the rising sun, to the east of the land of Tibet.

[India's *vajrāsana*] Magadha is the centre of

[All] the lands of [this] continent, which are named after the Jambu tree.

In the borderlands to the northeast

Are the [emanated] mountains Wutaishan,

And the very beautiful, great city called Beijing (*ba yāi kying*).

This great place, obviously possessing many¹ marks of virtue,

Is Mañjuśrī's emanated pure land in the form of cities and monasteries.

¹ MWK : lit. “tens;” *bcu phrag*.

Therein, the protector of fortunate beings, Mañjughoṣa, appears in saffron,
 And plays the role of the Supreme Refuge and Protector,
 As if a second Brahmā^{II} had transferred to this earth.
 From China and Mongolia, patronised and patron [emanations of] Mañjuśrī met.
 At that time, the abundance and fortune from
 Unifying the Two Systems of the [Buddhist] teachings and politics
 Swelled like a summer lake.
 The holy body of that great Chief of the Gods, the Mañjuśrī [Manchu] Emperor,
 Appeared like a full moon atop the crowns of the sentient beings of China, Tibet, and Mongolia.
 The jewel at the pinnacle of the diadem (*cod pan*) [i.e. his advice and prophecy]
 Of that great emperor in the centre of the world in China
 Is beautiful [p. 360/361] like a jewel.
 He gathers like a cloud in the sky of fortunate sentient beings,
 And rains very white virtue and goodness uninterruptedly.
 His command-prophecy (*bka' lung*) was that
 Sky-Iron Vajras (*gnam lcag rdo rje*) will rain like lightning
 Upon the heads of the haughty.
 The sound of the thunder of
 The praiseworthy who sustain the Dharma and politics will roar in the ten directions.
E ma ho!
 From now on, there should be no doubting
 That directly seeing the excellent tradition of Dharma and politics
 Of the patrons and patronised,
 [Or] even just hearing about it
 In dependence upon that field of merit,
 Will produce the seed of a very white collection of virtues,
 And, especially, it will quickly ripen the great fruit of the three buddha bodies!
 After that, the stainless Yellow Hat Dharma tradition [i.e. the Gélukpa]
 Joined together with the mighty dominion (*chab srid*) of the Manchu emperor.
 For a long period of many centuries [this unified system] was sustained
 And remained in the lands of China, Tibet, and Mongolia.
 At that time, intelligent scholars from China and Mongolia
 Increased the teaching and practice of
 The Buddha's sūtra and tantra teachings everywhere.
 Many supreme beings arose
 From among those diligent Dharma captains:
 Some travelled [with] hundreds of hardships
 To Ārya Avalokiteśvara's snowy land of [p. 361/362] an ocean of Dharma [i.e. Tibet].
 Having arrived, they became scholars and adepts, and,
 By means of the goods of the vast and profound
 Teaching and practice of the holy Dharma of sūtra and tantra,
 They removed the poverty of the ignorance obscuring
 Ultimate reality and cause and effect amongst sentient beings
 Living in the lands of China and Mongolia.
 Also, many scholars wearing the three Dharma robes, the banner of the sages,
 Travelled to Mongolia from the cool land of Tibet,

II MWK: lit. "worldly forefather;" *'jig rten mes po*.

Pretending to collect donations from China and Mongolian areas,
 In order to elevate many beings into higher realms and liberation.
 For example, just as the varieties of colour and shape
 Are clearly reflected in a crystal mirror,
 So too does the great emperor
 Directly perceive all phenomena associated with the Two Systems,
 As these clearly appear in the mirror of his heart-mind.
 Oxen, for example, will imitate the behaviour of the bull at the head of their herd.
 Similarly, all the sentient beings of China, Tibet, and Mongolia,
 As well as the Manchus and the barbarians (*kla klo*)
 Follow any and all [of the emperor's] edicts,
 And also follow exactly the decrees (*bkas bcad*)
 Which are in accordance with the Dharma system (*chos kyi tshul*) [p. 362/363]
 [. . .]
 For example, it is natural that the wind from Mt. Malaya smells of sandalwood.
 Similarly, it is natural for all those higher lamas and leaders
 Endowed with the good quality of knowledge about the Two Systems
 To also follow the consecutive manifestations of Mañjuśrī as holy lama and ruler.
 Nevertheless, by means of [the emperor's] strict commandments (*bka' khri*ms),
 [We] are protected from those officials
 Who are ignorant about what to adopt and what to discard,
 And who have come under the power of non-virtuous behaviour.
 A rain of activity banishes them from our land, to the far side of an endless ocean!
 If I were to express this in a conclusion:
 When the Manchu political authority (*man ju'i rgyal srid*)
 Was unified with the teachings of the Yellow Hats
 All the five human races (*mi rigs rnam lnga*)
 Were satisfied in a period of emanated (*'phrul yun*) well-being and happiness.
 From this, they avoided all stains of unfavourable, demonic activity [p. 363/364].
 From this, all the fruits on the branches
 Of a pleasure grove of white lotuses,
 Which are the accumulated merits
 Of the virtuous causes and conditions of purification and liberation,
 Increased and extended.
 By whatever signs of the collection of merit that has arisen,
 By means of a garland of great wish-granting trees –
 Which are the amazing and wondrous powerful worldly palace (*srid mkhar btsan po*) –
 And by the pure Dharma teachings (*chos sde gtsang ma*),
 Chinese, Tibetan, and Mongol lands were beautified accordingly and in every way,
 As a support for the prayers of the nine types of beings.

Buryatia

52 Wangdan Yum čüng: *History of the Qori Buryats* (1875)

Translated and introduced by Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz

Introduction

Wangdan Yum čüng (Russianised name: Vandan Yumsunov) was born in 1823, in Aga province, Buryatia.^I He attended a school founded by Anglican missionaries, where he was introduced to arithmetic, algebra, geometry, and a variety of languages: Latin and English, as well as Tibetan and classical Mongolian. In later years, he served in the Siberian colonial administration as an official of the Qori steppe дума.^{II} He wrote various historical works, such as the *Memorandum about the stay of the Tsarevich Aleksej, the third son of the late emperor Aleksandr II, in the Transbaikalian Area*, and a travelogue, *Journey to St. Petersburg in 1876 of the esteemed taisha of Qori, Tsedeb Badmyn, and Tsenden-Dorjo Ayushin of the Quasai clan*. Furthermore, he translated Aleksej M. Pozdnev's learned study *The Khutukhtus of Urga* from Russian into classical Mongolian. The excerpt translated here is part of his most famous work, the historical chronicle *History of the origins of the eleven fathers of the Qori-Buryats*, which he wrote in 1875. The work is divided into twelve chapters, dealing with a wide variety of topics, including Buddhism and the "religion of the shamans," secular administration, political leadership, land allotments and rights, economics, and health care. Yum čüng's chronicle is strongly influenced by the Mongolian historiographical tradition, which writes history mainly as genealogy. But he also draws on Russian ethnographic literature about the Mongols, on documents of the steppe dumas, on Buryat legends and folktales, and on oral testimony of witnesses. Thus, his chronicle is a complex amalgam of different epistemic cultures – Russian, Mongolian, and Tibetan. The chronicle mirrors the historical situation of the Buryats, who belonged to two competing cultural-political and religious spheres simultaneously: the Russian Empire and the Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhist world. The mutual interaction and influence of these cultures, as well as their complex entanglement, is exemplified in his work.

Chapter eight, which is presented here in translation, deals with the educational system of the Buryats. The text excerpt exemplifies Yum čüng's general methodological approach: He reconciles the two diverging realities of late nineteenth-century Bur-

^I For more information on his biography, see Sh.B. Chimitdorjiev, "Buryatskie letopisy – pervye istoriki Buriatii," in *Buryaty*, ed. L.L. Abaeva and N.L. Iukovskaia (Moskva: Nauka, 2004), 258–62.

^{II} The indigenous administration of the Siberian regions.

Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz, University of Bern, Faculty of Humanities, Departement Sozialanthropologie und Kulturwissenschaftliche Studien, Institute for the Science of Religion

yat society – the religio-cultural and the political – in an ultimately Buddhist narrative. Here, Buddhism proves to be the civilising force that turns the warlike and brutal Buryats into gentler contemporaries who are able to distinguish between good and evil. According to Yum čüng, only the newly acquired Buddhist ethics opened the way for the Buryats to integrate into the Russian Empire, of which they became subjects. In his account, the religious and secular domains of Buryat society are clearly separated. While the Buddhist clergy ruled the religious domain, the imperial authorities provided a secular education, which not only included language education but also provided a route into the Russian higher education system. The author is very much in favour of secular education, and expects an improvement of social conditions to result from its continuous implementation. Yum čüng's text is a prominent example of the interplay between the Mongolian-Buddhist and Russian taxonomies that built the background of the intellectual profile of the Buryat intelligentsia in the early twentieth century. This milieu brought forth such eminent personalities as Agvan Dorjiev (1853–1938) and Tsyben Jamtsarano (1880–1942), both of whom were highly influential in shaping the religious and secular landscapes of Buryatia and Mongolia in the twentieth century.

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Page numbers given in square brackets refer to this edition.

Translation by Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz

About the customs

1. In earlier times, the Buddhist religion was not widespread, and there were few lama^I teachers. Some professed shamanistic beliefs, and did not know the difference between virtue and non-virtue and the properties of the teaching. The customs were cruel. Life seemed long, the body and bones were large, and everyone behaved as he wished and as he thought right. Among themselves, they were united in clans (Mo. *oboy*), bones (Mo. *yasun*),^{II} or groups of yurts. They plundered and took by force various cattle and property from other people in the vicinity,

^I KKP: The personal spiritual teacher in Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhism.

^{II} KKP: The “bone” denotes the patrilineage. A clan generally shares a common “bone.”

and, showing zeal as they could for bows, arrows, quivers, armour, helmets and other things, prepared troops and weapons. The latter they raised and plundered amongst themselves, and murdered each other.

2. Thereafter the religion of the Buddha spread more and more. There were many lamas and monks. The great works of the Buddha were translated and became known. Through them, people gradually learnt the difference between meritorious and non-meritorious deeds. Thereupon they entered the emperor's territory, and were integrated as subjects. They got to know the various hard and soft laws of the emperor. Their harsh customs were softened, and they relinquished some of their former false customs.
3. [p. 141/142] Later on, schools for the Mongolian and Tibetan religious teachings were opened. Into these, they sent their sons, and had them taught. While [only] some of them became lamas and monks, they [all] became well versed in the laws of the Buddha's teaching. The lamas introduced them to the differences between virtue and non-virtue, and, meanwhile, even our secular authorities began to explain the emperor's laws, and it became quite as it should be.
4. After 1773, monasteries were established in all regions. In all of them, there were different religious departments. In the secular sphere, many Mongolian and Russian language schools were opened. Young people, being encouraged to join in considerable numbers, studied there together. Some went on to Russian institutions of higher learning. Nowadays the customs of the people have become like those in the interior regions, and are continuing to improve.

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