

## The 21st Century Is a Century of Women —Buddhism and Women

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**I**N the 21st century, we stand to learn much from the Buddhist view of women. Today, at this symposium cosponsored by the Daisaku Ikeda Research Society of Beijing University, I will discuss SGI (Soka Gakkai International) President Ikeda's view of women from the viewpoint of Buddhism.

SGI President Ikeda released a peace proposal titled "Creating and Sustaining a Century of Life: Challenges for a New Era" in January, 2001, the very opening of a new century. He argued that the 21st century must be a "century of life." He made plain his great hope for the emergence of women in converting civilization, saying "a century of life must also be a century of women."<sup>1</sup>

SGI President Ikeda has long cherished hope for women to be able to use their latent abilities to help solve the problems afflicting the world: Moreover, he has worked to create conditions where women can play active roles in the Soka Gakkai and in society, even in Japanese society where women tend to be despised and oppressed. Dr. Zheng Ishu, the vice president of Fuchien Instructor University, once remarked: "The 21st century is called a century of women. Yet SGI President Ikeda has already recognized the critical importance of women in the world and had the foresight to support the women's movement some forty years ago, when he was inaugurated as the third president of the Soka Gakkai."<sup>2</sup>

SGI President Ikeda's view of humanity and women are both based on Buddhist thought—the Buddha, the Lotus Sutra, and Nichiren. He uses his understanding of the Buddhism originally based on the concept of gender equality and interprets it for use in the current age and our contemporary society.

On the other hand, Buddhism has been the object of criticism for its long-term discrimination of women. Especially in recent years, with the emergence of the feminist movement, many religions, including Buddhism, are being re-examined from 'a feminist viewpoint,' and are being impeached for having functioned as 'tools that oppressed women.' From

the historical perspective, social, economical, political, and cultural factors worked together to turn women into the so-called 'second sex': and it would be true to say that the religious factor had done so as well. There still remain many unresolved problems.

In the new century, when gender equality is becoming the ethos of the age, it is important to consider a new relationship between Buddhism and women, by paying careful attention to the concept of gender equality originally embraced by Buddhism and demonstrating appreciation of women. Prof. Kyoko Nakamura once remarked "It is a historical fact that religion in both the Eastern and the Western worlds has repressed and discriminated against women. Yet, although such repression is by no means a thing of the past, it is also true that religion has served to liberate women."<sup>3</sup>

SGI President Ikeda has studied the genealogy of women's emancipative thought in Buddhism. Considering the social position of women in Indian society at the time Buddhism was being founded, and in subsequent propagation areas, it is surprising that transcendental gender equality thought was advocated in such conditions and locales. Today, I will survey how women are viewed by the Buddha; in the Lotus Sutra; and by Nichiren. I will also introduce you SGI President Ikeda's view of women which is based on all three sources.

## 1 Buddha's View of Women

India at the time of the founding of Buddhism had a demonstrated tendency to discriminate against and belittle women. Women were not treated as respectable human beings, and their rights and activities were rigidly restrained. However, it is thought that the Buddha's view of women recognized the religious equality of both sexes. Although women might be restricted for being obstacles to the practice of monks,<sup>4</sup> the female religious nature or the female capacity itself were not necessarily denied. For example, the Buddha once explained his dharma, comparing it to a cart, and said, "be it woman, be it man for whom/Such chariot doth wait, by that same car/Into Nibbāna's presence shall they come."<sup>5</sup> Moreover, the Buddha described the Brahman as follows: "Not by birth does one become an outcaste, not by birth does one become a brahman. By (one's) action one becomes an outcaste, by (one's) action one becomes a brahman."<sup>6</sup> For the Buddha, one's preciousness was based on deed rather than attribute, and neither status nor gender was of importance.

Furthermore, having allowed the ordination of women into the priest-

hood symbolizes the Buddha's attitude toward women. Although a nun's practice was circumscribed with special rules (Hakkyoho)—there once were more precepts for nuns (348) than for monks (250)—the ordination of women was still an epoch-making fact. The motives of women ordained into the priesthood varied from deliverance from worldly troubles to protecting their life. Every woman had her drama—one woman had lost her child, another woman had struggled under her husband's physical abuse and became mentally incompetent, another had been widowed and had no relatives, while there was even one who had been a courtesan.

In the *THERĪGĀTHĀ* (*The Elders' Verses*), nun's situations and their practices are described vividly. In this book, Buddha was speaking to them as follows. To Dhīrā, he said "Dhīrā, attain cessation, the stilling of the (evil) notions, happiness; gain quenching, unsurpassed rest-from-exertion."<sup>7</sup> And to Mittā, "Mittā, having gone forth in faith, be one who delights in friends (*mitta*); develop good mental states for the attainment of rest-from-exertion."<sup>8</sup> These passages show that Buddha considered it natural that nuns could reach the state of Nirvana.

Nuns proclaimed that they attained Buddhahood in a dignified manner. For example, the nun Vimalā, who once was a courtesan, is reputed to have said, "All ties, those which are divine and those which are human, have been cut out. Having annihilated all the āsavas, I have become cool, quenched."<sup>9</sup> Moreover, the nun Somā proclaims, "What (harm) could the woman's state do to us, when the mind is well-concentrated, when knowledge exists for someone rightly having insight into the doctrine?"<sup>10</sup>

During the lifetime of the Buddha, monks and nuns practiced equally, and there was no discrimination in religious qualification between men and women. However, after the Buddha's death, Buddhist groups and movements were mainly led by monks, and the status of nuns was gradually diminished. Then the theory that women are subject to the five obstacles appeared. This theory purports that women cannot become a Brahma heavenly king, a King Shakra, a devil king, a wheel-turning sage king, or a Buddha. This is not a mere evasion of the female capacity, but a denial of female essential religious qualification.

The following are purposed to be the Buddha's words stated on the occasion of an ordination into the priesthood of a group of women. But in fact, they were supposed to have originated with monks who did not value the activities of nun after the Buddha's death. "If women did not become priests, ascetic practices would be kept forever, and this true dharma would circulate around the world for 1,000 years. But if the

ordination of women is allowed, this dharma would circulate for only 500 years.”<sup>11</sup> Thus, the Buddhist religious groups overlooked the gradual deterioration of the concept of gender equality.

## 2 Women in the Lotus Sutra

The Mahayana Buddhist movement, which emerged around 1 BCE, was strongly influenced by the social institutions of the day, because of the large role the laity played in the movement. Its view of women was also influenced by the socially accepted ideas of that time as incorporated in the “Code of Manu.” In this code, it is written “woman always has not been independent,” “woman being a malignancy originally,” and “women can not read the Veda.” As Mahayana Buddhism absorbed the socially accepted ideas of those early days, the attainment of Buddhahood by women was denied strongly: Moreover, women’s sinfulness was emphasized.

However, even under these circumstances, some Buddhist scriptures were going to overcome the tendency to hold women in contempt and exclude them from ordination. For the Mahayana Buddhist movement, which explains that ‘all living beings have the Buddha nature’ and ‘everyone is a Bodhisattva,’ it became a serious problem how a deep-rooted view of women is treated according to the Buddhist dharma of its movement. For example, in the Muryoju Sutra and Dai Amida Sutra, women are said to attain Buddhahood after they change into men, by the Original Vow of Amida Buddha. And in the Vimalakirti Sutra and the Shrimārā Sutra, it was explained that it was illusion to be caught by the distinction of man and woman from the viewpoint of ‘emptiness (ku).’

Furthermore, an epoch-making thing is that the attainment of Buddhahood of the dragon girl was declared in the 12th chapter, Devadatta Chapter, of the Lotus Sutra. In this chapter, a dragon girl, the 8-year-old daughter of Ryuo who lived in a marine bottom, obtained spiritual enlightenment. But Shariputra inserted doubt into it. He was caught by Theravada Buddhist thinking and the theory of the five obstacles.

“At that time Shariputra said to the dragon girl, ‘You suppose that in this short time you have been able to attain the unsurpassed way. But this is difficult to believe. Why? Because a woman’s body is soiled and defiled, not a vessel for the Law. How could you attain the unsurpassed bodhi? The road to Buddhahood is long and far-stretching. Only after one has spent immeasurable kalpas pursuing austerities, accumulating deeds, practicing all kinds of paramitas, can one finally achieve success. Moreover, a woman is subject to the five obstacles. First, she cannot

become a Brahma heavenly king. Second, she cannot become the king Shakra. Third, she cannot become a devil king. Fourth, she cannot become a wheel-turning sage king. Fifth, she cannot become a Buddha. How then could a woman like you be able to attain Buddhahood so quickly?"<sup>12</sup>

Then, the dragon girl handed the Buddha a precious jewel, changed into a man in front of the assembly. And she carried out all the practices of a bodhisattva, immediately proceeded to the Spotless World of the south, took a seat on a jeweled lotus, and attained an enlightenment. By this, every member including Shariputra was convinced.

Here appears the attainment of Buddhahood after changing into a man. This is the point criticized as 'unification to the male of spiritual enlightenment,' but this is also considered to be the compromise measure united with the socially accepted ideas of those days. As Hindu society made the predominance of men over women a socially accepted idea, it might be thought that to embrace the theory of gender equality in public was dangerous. Anyway, it is an epoch-making thing that women who were being denied the attainment of Buddhahood in many Buddhist sutras had the way paved for it in the Lotus Sutra.

### **3 Introduction of Buddhism into Japan**

Buddhism was introduced into China in the time of the Later-Han; many Buddhist sutras were translated into Chinese during this period. The Lotus Sutra was translated by Kumarajiva amongst others. Buddhism was introduced in the 6th century to Japan traveling from China through the Korean Peninsula.

Buddhism was deployed in Japan with its original policy of gender equality intact. The first nun in Japan was a young girl, named Shima, the daughter of Shiba Totto, a naturalized Japanese. The reason she was chosen was, firstly, because she was a virgin and seemed to have shamanistic power; secondly, she could read and write because she was a daughter of educated people who had emigrated to Japan. Thus, in the Buddhism of the introductory term, it was presupposed that a woman was not religiously inferior and she was not discriminated against based upon her gender. This tendency was extended into the Nara period. For example, the "Statute for Priests," the regulation governing temples and priests comprised of 27 articles, had many provisions about priesthood, irrespective of sex.

However, this situation changed in the Heian period. As a result of the institutionalization of Buddhism, major functions within temples began

to be carried out mainly by male priests. No longer was any importance attached to the female shamanistic nature. It was out of this climate that paternalism took over. One historic characteristic of this time was the 'elimination of women in temples and shrines.' It started in the second half of the eleventh century. This was a system in which women were prohibited from being within the sanctuary of temples, such as Todaiji temple, Enryakuji temple, Kongobuji temple.

The logic which was used to justify such a system was, firstly, women were seen as a distraction and, therefore, a hindrance to the practice of monks. Secondly, the theory of the five obstacles of women was used to justify the exclusion of women from the sacred areas. However, considering that women were not discriminated against in early Japanese Buddhism, there were some factors that were manipulated in order to establish such a discriminatory system.

One of the factors was the impurity of women. In ancient Japan, extraordinary physiological phenomena such as death, bleeding (menstruation), and childbirth were not understood as natural phenomena, but were considered impure ones. They were considered contagious like a virus and should be avoided. In order to avoid infection, people believed that they needed to isolate the cause and never touch anything to do with such phenomena. If they came in contact, they took a bath to purify themselves.

While the impurity of death is common to men and women, menstruation and childbirth are peculiar to women. Initially, women were considered impure only during the concerned periods, and they could return to their daily lives after the periods had ended. However, around the 11th century, women themselves began to be considered impure. A temporal, limited taboo had changed into a lasting, constant taboo. With such change, impure women were excluded from sacred and holy places, such as temples and some mountains. Thus, ancient Buddhism turned from its early generosity, emphasized the depth of female sin, and worked to institutionalize the discrimination of women. Such thinking was rampant in temples and aristocrat society and gradually came to permeate the lives of ordinary women.

#### **4 Nichiren's View of Women**

During the Middle Ages, Buddhism in Japan underwent a significant transformation, resulting in new schools of thought and culminating in the so-called Kamakura New Buddhism. Although the founders of these new schools of Buddhism had varied views of women, Nichiren

deserves special mention. Nichiren denied clearly the discrimination against women practiced by others, and refuted their idea that women can not attain Buddhahood, basing his view on the dragon girl's attainment of Buddhahood in the Lotus Sutra.<sup>13</sup>

He states as follows, "In the various Hinayana sutras that were preached before the Lotus Sutra, it is denied that women can ever attain Buddhahood. In the Mahayana sutras other than the Lotus Sutra, it would appear that women can attain Buddhahood or be reborn in the pure land. But they may do so only after they have changed into some other form. It is not the kind of immediate attainment of Buddhahood that is based on the doctrine of three thousand realms in a single moment of life. Thus it is an attainment of Buddhahood or rebirth in the pure land in name only and not in reality. The dragon king's daughter represents 'one example that stands for all the rest.'"<sup>14</sup>

A major point he emphasizes is that women have the capacity for the attainment of Buddhahood in their present form. This belief is based on the doctrine of three thousand realms in a single moment of life (Ichinen Sanzen), which holds that all life possesses infinite possibilities that can be manifested from moment to moment. Therefore, he clearly denies the theory of the five obstacles. "The ropes that bind you to the three obediences will be severed in this lifetime, and the five obstacles have already disappeared. The moon in your mind shines through unclouded, and the impurities of your body have been completely eradicated. You are a Buddha in your present form. How deserving of veneration!"<sup>15</sup>

Moreover, he also denies the impurity of women. For example, when the wife of Hiki Yoshimoto asked Nichiren in a letter about what is the proper practice during menstruation, he answered, "This is a matter that concerns all women and about which they always inquire. In past time, too, we find many persons addressing themselves to this question concerning women. But because the sacred teachings put forward by the Buddha in the course of his lifetime do not touch upon this point, no one has been able to offer any clear scriptural proof upon which to base an answer," and "I would say that menstruation does not represent any kind of impurity coming from an external source. It is simply a characteristic of the female sex, a phenomenon related to the perpetuation of the seed of birth and death. Or in another sense, it might be regarded as a kind of chronically recurring illness. In the case of feces and urine, though these are substances produced by the body, so long as one observes cleanly habits, there are no special prohibitions to be observed concerning them. Surely the same must be true of menstruation."<sup>16</sup> Nichiren's answer provides a glimpse into the empirical and practical sensibilities he adopts

regarding everyday issues, a remarkably progressive approach in an age of universal gender discrimination based on impurity of women.

For Nichiren, faith, not gender, is the primary determinant for the attainment of Buddhahood. The accuracy and depth of one's faith is important. He declares, "There should be no discrimination among those who propagate the five characters of Myoho-enge-kyo in the Latter Day of the Law, be they men or women. Were they not Bodhisattvas of the Earth, they could not chant the daimoku."<sup>17</sup> Moreover, "the Buddha surely considers anyone in this world who embraces the Lotus Sutra, whether lay man or woman, monk or nun, to be the lord of all living beings."<sup>18</sup>

Nichiren, who stands on such a view of women, is encouraging the many female believers to live courageous lives. For example, he encouraged a wife whose husband shook his faith. "You two wives should have no regrets even if your husbands do you harm because of your faith in this teaching. If both of you unite in encouraging your husbands' faith, you will follow the path of the dragon king's daughter and become a model for women attaining Buddhahood in the evil latter age."<sup>19</sup>

Anyway, Nichiren who puts the Lotus Sutra at the core of his teachings declares that gender is unrelated in religious qualification. He understands that as the original view of Buddhism. In those days when women's attainment of Buddhahood was denied and women were prohibited from the sacred places, it was a revolutionary proclamation. It is natural that Nichiren is distinguished by the remark "the posture about a woman and Buddhism is the most progressive in the founders of the 'Kamakura Buddhism.'"<sup>20</sup>

## 5 SGI President Ikeda's View of Women

The genealogy of women's emancipation in Buddhist thought has been presented above. The Soka Gakkai, born in modern Japan, is connected with the Buddha, the Lotus Sutra, and Nichiren in this genealogy. I would like to introduce SGI President Ikeda's view of women's attainment of Buddhahood as revealed in the Lotus Sutra, and provide you with some insight to his view of women.

First, SGI President Ikeda points out that the attainment of Buddhahood of a dragon girl is "also a grand declaration of human rights that refutes, by means of actual proof, ideas and beliefs that discriminate against women."<sup>21</sup> And added, "Everyone, men and women alike, possesses the 'attainments that were inherent in her nature.' It is a jewel that exists in the lives of all living beings. This is the meaning of the mutual

possession of the Ten Worlds and three thousand realms in a single moment of life; this is the Lotus Sutra's fundamental revelation. The Ten Worlds include the realm of Animals. The dragon girl has the form of an animal, and naturally, the world of Buddhahood is also inherent in the realm of Animals. Her Buddhahood is invisible, however, to an eye that is tainted by prejudice. The Lotus Sutra teaches that all living beings possess the world of Buddhahood. There is not even a hint of discrimination toward women. If it were true that women could not become Buddhas, then the doctrine of three thousand realms in a single moment of life would fall apart."<sup>22</sup> Here, the thought is that discrimination by attributes including sex is said to be reprehensible.

And he discusses, "the dragon girl's enlightenment indicates the principle of attaining Buddhahood in one's present form. The crucial point is that she had already become a Buddha in her female form. The dragon girl's changing into a man is nothing more than an expedient means that she employs to drive home the fact of her Buddhahood to Shariputra and the others, who were convinced only men could attain Buddhahood. It does not mean that a woman can only attain Buddhahood by first turning into a man." And "fundamentally, Buddhism views all living beings as individual manifestations of a single great golden life. This is the truth to which Shakyamuni had become enlightened. This is what is illustrated by the principles of dependent origination and nonsubstantiality. This, in essence, is the Mystic Law. From this enlightened standpoint, it would be ludicrous to assert that one sex is superior to the other."<sup>23</sup>

Yet, the problem which might also be called 'concession of thought' is mentioned as a trap into which thought tends to fall. That is, "to cause the Law to spread and take root in society, however, the Buddha had to consider how to explain it in terms people would accept. Under certain circumstances, Shakyamuni, while fundamentally determined to teach the Law 'in accord with the Buddha's own mind,' had to employ wisdom and adapt his teaching to the capacities of his listeners simply to get a hearing; he had to draw others gradually toward his own enlightened state of life. When explanations are tailored to the biases of society in this fashion, however, there is a danger that even people of sincere faith will become attached to those biases, leading to a distorted interpretation of the teaching. The effect often is that when a distorted teaching gets handed down it does nothing but exacerbate and harden the discriminatory attitudes of society. If we were to trace the historical view of women in Buddhism, we would probably find many such instances."<sup>24</sup> This is an important point, and when considering the change of original

thought, it is the problem that one cannot avoid dealing with.

SGI President Ikeda has explored the source of gender equality in Buddhist thought, and has been urging women to contribute to society and to their areas with a sense of independence and self-actualization. For example, he said, "...before being a woman and being a mother, just create a truly happy life unfettered by pain. It is the extreme of women's emancipation," "I hope you are victorious. I think it is single-minded determinedness and philosophical depth that brings about victory to human beings."<sup>25</sup>

Moreover, he is especially emphasizing the role of women in creating peace. He has stated, "...throughout the long history of humanity, women have suffered the most whenever society has been wracked by war, violence, oppression, abuse of human rights, disease and famine. It has been women, in spite of this, who have persevered in turning society in the direction of good, in the direction of hope and in the direction of peace. Women hold the key to opening a future filled with hope."<sup>26</sup> It is well known that the women who are emboldened to challenge discrimination to overcome unfair circumstances are following the way of self-actualization and philanthropy as calmly as men.

Furthermore, SGI President Ikeda has engaged in dialogues and exchanges with many female leaders around the world. A person whom he resonated with deeply and held in high esteem is Ms. Deng Yingchao of your country. This year is the centennial of her birth. He participated in a total of eight interviews with her, which made deep impressions on the lives of the SGI women. He talked about her optimism, power, and belief with which she encouraged the women who surrounded her. For example, in a message to a Soka Gakkai female student convention, he said, "nothing is stronger than a young woman's solidarity which does not fear anything, either, but progresses bravely and dies," and the revolutionary action in 1919 is introduced as "the big power which opened the dawn of modern China was the scrum of female students including Ms. Deng Yingchao," and the "'wise action' and 'voice of women' will dispel the darkness of time. It is indicated that this is a historical equation."<sup>27</sup>

Thus, SGI President Ikeda admires the activity of independent women and praises their role in society and history.

## Conclusion

As mentioned above, despite the fact that Buddhist thought and Buddhist systems have oppressed women in many scenarios, it turns out that

the genealogy of earnest women's emancipative thought has flowed continuously, as seen in the thoughts of the Buddha, in the Lotus Sutra, and in the view of Nichiren. And this genealogy is connected to the present-day SGI. Practicing Buddhism does not mean only being attached to the exegetics of the faith, but to interpret or re-interpret it according to one's generation, to revive it freshly and employ it efficiently. SGI President Ikeda is doing so in the present age, appealing to people and society, and applying the teaching himself.

The gathering of women of the SGI are courageous believers who have answered President Ikeda's clarion call for women globally to stand up. They are acting to make the 21st century 'the century of a life,' in which both men and women are treated with great care, share responsibility, realize self-actualization and contribute to society. The manifestation of 'living Buddhism' will take place like this. Here is one of the prime viewpoints which considers 'Buddhism and woman' in the present age.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> *The Seikyo Shimbun*, Jan. 26, 2001.

<sup>2</sup> *The Seikyo Shimbun*, May 3, 2002.

<sup>3</sup> Kyoko Nakamura, Religious Consciousness and Practices of contemporary Japanese Women, in Haruko Wakita, Anne Bouchy *et al* (eds.), *Gender and Japanese History*, vol. 1, Osaka University Press, 1999, p. 145.

<sup>4</sup> For the priests, women were considered as the first intruders who inhibit practice. In original Buddhism, the precept not to commit illicit sexual intercourse was especially strict. The instruction the Buddha gave monks practicing asceticism was the evil of woman was sexual desire. For example, "Passionately attached to the form of woman, the sound of woman, and the touch of woman too, (and) the scents of woman, one finds various sorts of pain." *Elders Verses I*, 738) etc.

<sup>5</sup> *The Books of the Kindred Sayings (SANYUTTA-NIKĀYA)*, Part 1, Pali Text Society, 1971, London, p. 45, *Budda Kamigami tono Taiwa* translated by Hajime Nakamura (Iwanami bunko, 1986), p. 74.

<sup>6</sup> *The Group of Discourses (SUTTA-NIPĀTA)*, vol. II, Pali Text Society, 1995, Oxford, p. 16, *Budda no Kotoba* translated by Hajime Nakamura (Iwanami bunko, 1984), p. 35.

<sup>7</sup> *The Elders' Verses II (THERĪGĀTHĀ)*, Pali Text Society, 1995, Oxford, p. 1, *Butsudeshi no Uta* translated by Kyosho Hayashima (Kōdansha, 1985), p. 192.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>11</sup> *Taisho Shinshu Daizokyo*, vol. 22, p. 186a.

<sup>12</sup> *The Lotus Sutra*, tr. by Burton Watson, Columbia Univ. Press, New York, 1993, p. 188.

<sup>13</sup> I already discussed Nichiren's view of women. "Women's Issues in Buddhist History: Nichiren's Theory of Women's Attainment of Buddhahood," in *The Journal of Ori-*

*ental Studies*, vol. 41, no. 1, 2002.

<sup>14</sup> The Opening of the Eyes, *The Writings of Nichiren Daishonin (WND)*, Soka Gakkai, 1999, p. 269.

<sup>15</sup> Konichi-ama gohenji (Reply to Lay Nun Konichi), *Nichiren Daishonin Gosho Zenshu (GZ)*, Soka Gakkai, 1952, p. 934.

<sup>16</sup> The Recitation of the “Expedient Means” and “Life Span” Chapters, *WND*, pp. 71–2.

<sup>17</sup> The True Aspect of All Phenomena, *WND*, p. 385.

<sup>18</sup> The Unity of Husband and Wife, *WND*, p. 463.

<sup>19</sup> Letter to the Brothers, *WND*, p. 502.

<sup>20</sup> Junko Oguri, *Nyonin ojo: Nihon-shi ni miru onna no sukui* (Women’s Capacity to Be Reborn in the Pure Land: Women’s Salvation in Japanese History), Jimbun Shoin, 1987, p. 122.

<sup>21</sup> Daisaku Ikeda (et al.), *The Wisdom of the Lotus Sutra: A Discussion*, vol. III, World Tribune Press, 2001, p. 93.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 102–4.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 104–5.

<sup>25</sup> Soka Gakkai Shidoshu Hensan Iinkai (ed.), *Soka Gakkai Shidoshu*, Seikyo Press, 1976.

<sup>26</sup> *The Seikyo Shimbun*, Jan. 26, 2000.

<sup>27</sup> *The Seikyo Shimbun*, Sep. 22, 1997.