Neither Monk nor Layman: Clerical Marriage in Modern Japanese Buddhism. By Richard M. Jaffe. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001. xxiii, 288 pages. Hardcover, $42.50.

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In 1872, the Meiji government promulgated an unprecedented law, the so-called *nikujiki saitai* (clerical marriage and eating meat) law, lifted the ban on clerical marriage, meat-eating, and the wearing of nonclerical garb by the Buddhist clergy. The law stated: "[F]rom now on Buddhist clerics shall be free to eat meat, marry, grow their hair, and so on. Furthermore, they are permitted to wear ordinary clothing when not engaged in religious activities" (p. 72). This law symbolized one aspect of Japan's attempts at modernization—the separation of religion from state, as influenced by the West. At the same time, this law actively contradicted renunciant, or "home-leaver" Buddhism (*shukke bukkyō*), because its doctrines made no allowance for clerical marriage and meat-eating.

This book focuses attention on an area which few scholars have researched. The author, Richard M. Jaffe, primarily describes how the issue of *nikujiki saitai* emerged and developed in a crucial period of Japan's history, from the early Meiji through the beginning of the Pacific War in the late 1930s, and what kinds of arguments evolved from the various viewpoints on the issue. This book is divided into ten chapters.

In the first chapter, Jaffe takes up the situation of clerical marriage in the Sōtō school of Zen Buddhism as an example of a Japanese Buddhist denomination, and compares this practice with that of other monks in the Buddhist world.

This comparison reveals Japanese Buddhism to be an anomaly in relation to the rest of the Buddhist world, and Jaffe attributes this to the *nikujiki saitai* law. He then goes on to summarize each chapter. In the second chapter, he describes the origin of the notion of *nikujiki saitai* in the premodern era. This origin is against the historical background of strict deportment by all the Buddhist denominations (except the Shin denomination which already engaged in clerical marriage) that was imposed by the Tokugawa shogunate in order to maintain order.

In the third chapter, Jaffe discusses how, in contrast to the other Buddhist schools which were under strict regimentation in the Edo period, the government allowed Shin ministers to marry, which drew strong criticism from other Buddhist institutions. In order to advocate the validity of their practice, Shin scholars published a number of apologetics.

Jaffe argues in the fourth chapter that transformation of the social status of the Buddhist clergy was accompanied by the abolition of the social ranking system in the Edo period. This developed from the emergence of a new concept of "religion" (*shūkyō*), which was based on the Western conception of religion. The policy that separated religion from state led to the reform of the social roles of Buddhist clergy. Furthermore, attacks from Neo-Confucianists, Shintoists, Nativists, as well as Christians, put pressure on Buddhists to modernize themselves.

The fifth chapter focuses on the activities of Buddhist clergy in accommodating to the Meiji government's efforts to modernize the state, in resisting the spread of Christianity, and attempting to revive their clerical status. This chapter describes how their work enormously contributed to the creation of new religious policies.

In the sixth chapter, Jaffe examines the confrontation between Buddhist denominational leaders who tried to resuscitate the strict precepts, and others—such as governmental leaders laity—who argued that religious matters should be an individual issue and should not be under state control.

The seventh chapter continues the discussion of the sectarian leaders' opposition to the dissemination of the *nikujiki saitai*. Jaffe also explores how those Buddhist clergy who affirmed the *nikujiki saitai* concept modernized Buddhism in accord with modern concepts such as science, individual rights, or nationalism.

The eighth chapter describes the attempt of Tanaka Chigaku, a Nichiren priest, to reconstruct Buddhism in the modern world through the formation of a lay Buddhist denomination. Tanaka produced new Buddhist rituals to fit with the new lifestyle of a conjugal family. Although in contrast to Tanaka's position most leaders disagreed with clerical marriage, they also actively reformed Buddhism in order to suit the new conceptions of the importance of the family.

In the ninth chapter, Jaffe examines how the new generation of Buddhist clergy came to favor the *nikujiki saitai* through biological and medical arguments. He also provides a statistical analysis of clergy who actually married, despite the contradiction between their practices and doctrine. This chapter also introduces the problems of temple succession, that is, who takes over the role of clergy, and the social status of the wives and children of clergy. These issues are still ambiguous even in the present day.

In the final chapter, Jaffe summarizes all the arguments above and points out that the issues concerning the *nikujiki saitai* have not yet been resolved, and underlie the foundation of modern Japanese Buddhism.

Although one of the most important purposes of this book is to explore the impact of the *nikujiki saitai* law in modern Japan (which has not previously been studied in depth), Jaffe makes all the arguments richer not

only due to his examination of the discussion among Buddhist denominations, but because he also pays great attention to the peripheral circumstances surrounding the law, doing so in a balanced manner. As the contents of this book proceed in historical sequence, despite the intricate interlacing of the numerous factors concerning the *nikujiki saitai* law, Jaffe describes them thoroughly, drawing upon source materials in a comprehensive way. Nevertheless, since this book focuses more on developing an overall grasp of the historical situation of Japanese Buddhism, it does not delineate the doctrinal arguments in detail. This may not satisfy readers who are interested in doctrinal inconsistency with the *nikujiki saitai* law.

For instance, although Jaffe compares the state of clerical life in the modern world with Shinran's concept of "neither monk nor layman," Shinran's proclamation of this notion is based on the historical fact that his priesthood was taken away as part of the suppression of the *nembutsu* teaching. A distinction needs to be made between the modern struggle over these issues on the part of clergy of other denominations, and Shin thought, for which this was not problematic. I think that Jaffe may have superimposed Shinran's situation onto Japanese Buddhism in the modern period, based on the superficial similarities of the two in relation to meat-eating and clerical marriage. While the intent of the work is an understanding of Japanese Buddhism in the modern world, the incautious reader might be led to misunderstand Shinran's views on these concepts.

But again, the magnificent research of this book is groundbreaking not only in the Western world, but also in the world of Japanese academic study of Buddhism. Jaffe succeeds in illuminating the fundamental problem that almost all denominations have turned away from since the time of the Pacific War. This issue deeply relates to their identities. This is the requisite book for us to rethink what Japanese Buddhism is in the contemporary world.