Kiyozawa Manshi and the Path to the Revitalization of Buddhism

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Introduction

IN THIS PAPER WE PROPOSE to survey the life and teachings of Kiyozawa Manshi for the role he played as a resource and inspiration for the modern revitalization of Buddhism. Observing this year the centennial of his death in 1903, we take particular note of his significance for our own time as we look for ways in which Buddhism may be relevant to contemporary society which is also marked by rapid change, and conflicting and competing religious ideologies. Kiyozawa was a foremost scholar, educator, priest, and reformer. His influence has endured to the present time, particularly within the Ōtani sect of Shin Buddhism. However, though he is not as well known outside that sect, his personal struggles, his understanding of Buddhism, and his efforts to reform Buddhism deserve wider recognition.

I. Meiji Japan: Buddhism's Encounter with the West and Modernity

The background for our study of Kiyozawa Manshi (1863–1903) is the Meiji period (1868–1912), a time of great upheaval and change as Japanese society confronted and adapted to Western culture. Japanese society in attempting to catch up to Western powers experienced a confusing mélange of change with a samurai rebellion, abolition of the traditional class system, political parties, the importation of Western ideologies and religion, industrialization and the emergence of capitalism, and finally a series of wars. The relentless pressure of modernization called for resourceful leaders in all areas to respond to its inevitable repercussions throughout the society and culture.

Japanese Buddhism was strikingly affected by the many changes, social, political, economic, and religious, brought about by the encounter with the West. Consequently, there were numerous calls for reform and renewal as Buddhists attempted to respond especially to the challenge of

Christian missions and their educational institutions. Christianity was a significant element in the encounter between Japan and Western culture, since Western governments pressed the Japanese for toleration and religious freedom, demanding the abolition of the designation of Christianity as an evil religion and the policy of prohibiting its practice.[1] Toleration of Christianity became a major stipulation in granting Japan equal treaty recognition.[2] Nevertheless, despite persistent restrictions on the spread of Christianity among the Japanese populace, it gradually penetrated Japanese society through the freedom of religious practice granted to foreigners.[3]

Together with the various external challenges Buddhism was also faced internally with decadent conditions, resulting from government support under the Tokugawa and the policy of enforced membership in temples. Through the *danka* or parish system, priests virtually became government representatives. Scholarship was formalized and confined within sectarian boundaries because the Tokugawa regime prohibited religious conflict.

Attacks on Buddhism came from several angles. In addition to Christian disparagement, there were Confucian and Shintō criticisms. The Shintō National Learning (*kokugaku*) school stressed the foreignness of Buddhism and its otherworldliness as incompatible with Japanese culture. The Confucians pointed to its economic drain and its contribution to the decline of the nation in the encounter with the West.

The Meiji government promoted the disestablishment of Buddhism which had been a virtual state religion under the Tokugawas. They endeavored to separate it from Shintō, in order to employ Shintō as the basis of nationalism.[4] The hostile attitude of the government inspired destructive violence against temples resulting in the loss of priceless treasures of Japan's Buddhist heritage through the indiscriminant destruction of temples, texts, and images. The slogan *haibutsu kishaku* (排佛毀釈 Destroy Buddha, cut down Śākyamuni) and the numerous destructive incidents reflect the intensity of the pent-up hostility toward Buddhism that attended the restoration of Emperor Meiji in 1868.

In order to demonstrate their loyalty Buddhist sects and priests at first supported the government-sponsored Daikyōin (大教院 Academy of Great Teaching) which aimed to make Shintō the state religion. The Shin Buddhist denominations later withdrew in opposition to the Shintō domination, followed by other sects.[5]

Increasing Westernization led eventually to a nationalistic reaction which benefited Buddhism. Outstanding Buddhist exponents such as Inoue Enryō (1858–1919) and Murakami Senshō (1851–1929), both members of the Ōtani sect, defended Buddhism. They were dedicated to countering the growing strength of Christianity.

Inoue Enryō (1858–1919) established the Philosophical Institute in 1887, later called Tōyō University, to promote Buddhism, initiate reform, and refute Christianity. As an intellectual leader he attempted to integrate Western psychology and Buddhism. Considered the forerunner of modern humanistic and transpersonal psychologies, Inoue and others stressed the role of intuition, viewing the Buddha nature as one's true self.[6]

Murakami Senshō studied with Kiyozawa as a student while teaching at the Sōtō Zen University in the late 1880s. He was also influenced by Inoue Enryō. According to Kathleen M. Staggs, Murakami's "greatest concern was with sect disunity and rivalry that needlessly prevented Buddhism from fulfilling its potential." He spelled out his view in his noted book *Bukkyō ikkan ron* (仏教一貫論 *The Consistency of Buddhism)* which held that no sect of Buddhism possessed the final truth.[7] In a later work, *Bukkyō tōitsu ron* (仏教統一論 *On the Unification of Buddhism*), he advocated the unification of Buddhism beyond sectarianism as a means to oppose Christianity. Buddhist scholars maintained strongly that Buddhism had benefited Japanese society and culture through many centuries. They also argued that Christianity was unsuitable for Japan, employing resources drawn from modern, Western critics.

Yet others such as Nanjō Bunyū (1849–1927), influenced by Western critical methods in the study of religion, engaged in scientific research on language, texts, translation, and the history of ideas. Another approach can be seen in Kiyozawa Manshi, who sought to revitalize Buddhism as a living, personal faith by integrating it with modern knowledge.

II. Life of Kiyozawa Manshi: The Search for Religious Authenticity

Kiyozawa was born in a low-ranking samurai family as Tokunaga Manshi. The family was rooted in Confucianism, Zen, and Shin Buddhism. His mother was a devout Shin Buddhist. Though he was not from a priestly family, Manshi decided for the priesthood in 1878 when he was just fourteen years of age. Because of his low status he had little hope for advancement in Meiji society. However, the priesthood, supported by the temple, offered an opportunity to study unburdened by financial considerations. He was always conscious of his mixed motivations for pursuing a career in religion which, in turn, stimulated him to be a good priest and ardent student. However, he was different from ordinary priests and has been described as a person with a "defensive and aggressive attitude based upon his inferiority complex."[8] His complex personality, derived from his low status, non-priestly family, led him to desire to be a true priest and expand Shin Buddhism. He was constantly aware of his debt to the sect, stating

> One should not forget feeling obligation (恩 *on*). Many people say that we have four important on, but few really understand the true meaning of on and return the obligation…. I feel on not only to the nation, to the parents, but also to the Head Temple for I owe what I am to the Temple entirely; I was born in a lay family and chosen by the Temple to enter clerical life.[9]

Recognizing his potential, the Higashi Hongwanji sect sent him to Tokyo for study in 1882. At the Imperial University he studied Western philosophy intensively, graduating in philosophy as a student of the noted Ernest Fenollosa (1853–1908).[10] Here Kiyozawa studied the dialectical philosophy of G. W. Hegel, while also being greatly influenced by numerous Western philosophers such as Spinoza, Fichte, Schelling, Leibniz, Spencer, and Lotze. He graduated in 1887.

While he advanced intellectually, fast becoming an influential leader, Kiyozawa was summoned by the sect to return to Kyoto in 1888 to become principal of the Kyoto Prefectural Middle School, administered by the Higashi Hongwanji sect. Responding to their request, Kiyozawa was always mindful of his obligation to the sect for its support, so that despite his sense of insincerity, he was quite sincere.

As a Shinshū priest, over the years he loyally served the Ōtani branch of Hongwanji in various educational roles, beginning with his tenure as principal of the Kyoto Prefectural Middle School. Soon after assuming this position he married into the priestly Kiyozawa family, which served the Saihōji temple in Ōhama in Aichi-ken. He also lectured on Western history of philosophy at the Takakura Daigakuryō, the seminary for training priests, in Kyoto. As the product of these lectures he authored the famous *The Skeleton of a Philosophy of Religion* in 1892, which was then translated into English and distributed at the World Parliament of Religion in Chicago in 1893.

In this early period Kiyozawa has been described as maintaining good social relations, and while severe in manner, he had few friends who were mostly intellectuals.[11] In his bearing he was reported to be "young and modern…a very up-to-date, fashionable and smart person with a scent of French perfume."[12]

However, while mourning the death of his mother, he also realized that he had not attained a living faith within himself. Thereupon in 1890 he resigned from his position as principal and began a life of severe asceticism, though he continued to lecture at the Middle School and the Hongwanji seminary. He transformed himself from a modern, intellectual gentleman to a monk-like individual with stubble hair, coarse robes, *geta*, and by eating only meager food. Following a Self Power (*jiriki*) path of "the minimum possible" life, he tried to experience the spirit of Buddhism.

After four years he ended the experiment when he learned the meaning of Other Power. He contracted tuberculosis and reached the end of his physical and spiritual resources through the failure of his health and the tragic deaths of his wife and two sons, together with the failure of his reform movement. In his extremity he had to rely on the Buddha, which he termed the Infinite, and on the support and care of his friends for the outcome of his life.

With the deepening intensity of his religious life, Kiyozawa became disillusioned with the spiritual state of the sect and determined that he would struggle for reform. His intense quest for religious authenticity led Kiyozawa to recognize the need for change in the sect if it were to realize its spiritual meaning in modern society. He believed that the feudal character of the sect limited its capacity to guide people in tumultuous times.

For a period of three years he pursued strenuously the reform of the sect, ending in failure and excommunication. Kiyozawa together with some six highly educated friends formed the Shirakawa Party, or Faction. The name derived from the neighborhood in east Kyoto neighboring the Shirakawa River. The group published the *Kyōkai jigen* (教界時言 *Timely Words for the Religious World*). They made numerous demands on the sect of which the most contentious was the call for democratic elections of deacons. Ultimately the effort failed because of the strength of the conservative members of the administration. Kiyozawa and his cohorts were banished from the sect.[13]

Despite Kiyozawa's disagreement and conflict with the sect authorities, he was still held in high esteem for his seriousness and capabilities. In 1899 at the age of thirty-seven he was commissioned by the sect to re-establish the Shinshū College in Tokyo as a modern university compliant with the educational reforms instituted by the Meiji government under the influence of Western precedents. Opening in 1901, it was the precursor of the present Ōtani University.

Kiyozawa's ideal of education was to enrich human life and build self-confidence and self-reliance through the study of Buddhism.[14] In his speech at the opening of the school, he noted that this school was different from others in being a religious school based on Shin Buddhism, particularly faith in the Other Power of the Primal Vow. He advocated the spirit of *jishin kyōninshin* (自信教人信), Shinran's motto which means to share one's faith with others. The school was to nurture individuals who can propagate their faith. The students would study not only their own sect doctrine but also the teachings of other traditions, while they would work together with the faculty to fulfill the purpose of the school. For Kiyozawa education had the purpose to prepare students to participate effectively in the modern world.[15] He desired the school to be the number one Buddhist university.[16]

However, while Kiyozawa had the opportunity to fulfill his goals in education, he was confronted with tragic misfortune. First his eldest son became ill and passed away, which was followed by the death of his wife. He was still in mourning when students struck the university calling for the resignation of the superintendent. Kiyozawa resigned also, declaring that whatever the official had done was also his action. The students recognized their error and pleaded for him to remain, but he refused.[17] During this time Kiyozawa was also the tutor for the young abbot-to-be (Kubutsu Shōnin) who was then studying in Tokyo.[18]

During this time, Kiyozawa attracted a number of students who studied with him. He acquired a house which they named Kōkōdō, which means roughly "Den of Expanding Freedom." Among the notable disciples who became leaders in the Ōtani sect were Nanjō Bunyū, Sasaki Gesshō, Tada Kanae, Akegarasu Haya, Soga Ryōjin, and Kaneko Daiei. This association became one of the best known religious movements of the time, publishing the periodical *Seishinkai* (精神界 *The World of Spirituality*) which was read well beyond the boundaries of the Ōtani sect during the Meiji and Taisho periods.

Days before his death Kiyozawa wrote the famous essay *Waga Shinnen* (*My Faith*) and also experienced the death of his third son. This text expressed his final, complete reliance on the Buddha to carry him through his sufferings. In his final letter to Rev. Akegarasu Haya he reflects on the turbulence of his life expressed in his final adoptive pen name Hamakaze, meaning "Seacoast Wind," because it suggested Ōhama where the winds blow strong as they had in his life. Ōhama was the location of Saihōji, his wife's family temple in Mikawa. He had recuperated there also before going to Tokyo for the opening of the Shinshū University in 1899, and where he returned after his resignation. He wrote:

> It is a suitable pen name for a ghost-like person such as myself, half-dead and half alive. It is amusing to think how this pen name neatly caps all my past pen names: *Kenhō* [Rising Peak, an allusion to Mt. Fuji, which Kiyozawa saw during his university days], used in Nagoya; *Gaikotsu* [Skeleton], used in Kyoto; *Sekisui* [Stone Water], used in Maiko [i.e. Tarumi]; and *Rosen* [December Fan] used in Tokyo. Now it's time for *hyūdoro* [the ghost to disappear].[19]

Resting in his confidence in Other Power expressed in *My Faith*, Kiyozawa passed away without giving any final word. He remarked that his friends would not arrive while he was alive when told that they had been informed of his condition. He died on June 6, 1903.

III. Kiyozawa's Religious Perspective

Following Kiyozawa's death his legacy as scholar, priest, educator, and reformer endured. He left a challenge for future Shin Buddhist leaders, as well as other Buddhists generally, to take up the cause of reform by his example. His combination of spirituality and intellectuality stimulated modern interpretations of Shin Buddhism, exemplified in the work of his associates in the Seishin shugi movement mentioned above. All his close followers became major teachers in the Higashi Hongwanji sect, many of them teaching in the university. His influence transcended the boundaries of the Ōtani sect to such later notable thinkers in the Kyoto school as Nishida Kitarō and Tanabe Hajime. He has also been compared to the Danish Christian philosopher Søren Kierkegaard (1813–1855) in his efforts for reform the Church and his view of spirituality.[20] The impact of Kiyozawa's seriousness, determination, and insight have influenced generations of followers far beyond his limited lifespan, extending to our own time.

Throughout his life Kiyozawa constantly advocated high Buddhist ideals which he attempted to fulfill in his own life. Even in his asceticism, rather than becoming a cloistered monk away from society, he followed the example of Śākyamuni, combining a practical approach to Buddhism with an active life in society. Awakened to religious faith, he sought authenticity through exploring the depth of his own psyche and the field of religious experience. Not being a person given to halfway measures, he experimented with extremes of self-denial and austerity.

Kiyozawa's efforts at reform all failed to achieve their desired goal in transforming the sect. However, he was guided in his activity by the enduring principle that the awakening of personal religious consciousness or subjectivity involved a commitment to the teaching of Shinran beyond institutional forms and rituals. Such a personal faith was a requirement for Buddhism to respond adequately to contemporary, Western philosophical currents.

We can generally discern two phases in Kiyozawa's spiritual development. The first phase was the path of self-effort (Self Power) which motivated him to engage in a severe ascetic lifestyle in the pursuit of authentic religious experience. The second phase was the way of Other Power which commenced when Kiyozawa reached the limits of his own capacity to understand reality and to determine or control the course of his life.

In his spiritual evolution he regarded three texts as important for his development. They gave him a spiritual standpoint from which to approach life. As a group they were his three sutras (三部経*sanbukyō*) similar

to the pattern of the traditional three Pure Land sutras or threefold Lotus complex, providing a basis of authority for his spirituality.[21]

On the side of self-effort are the *Āgama*-s (Jpn. *Agon*) and the teachings of Epictetus (ca. 55–135 C.E.), a Greek slave in the Roman era. For Other Power Kiyozawa focused on the *Tannishō*, which is an important, though up till then obscure, text of Shin Buddhism. Kiyozawa discovered in Epictetus an attitude that fit his own. We should distinguish clearly what is undesirable from what is desirable and put our strength into realizing the desirable. The undesirable refers to external things, while the desirable is spiritual self-awareness. This is the path to spiritual freedom. Though this is a Self Power approach, Kiyozawa believed it led to Other Power.[22]

The *Agama*-s correspond to the *Nikāya*-s of the Theravāda tradition. Originally Sanskrit texts of the Sarvastivāda tradition, they were translated to Chinese as part of the Chinese Canon. They represent the spirit of Śākyamuni in the early tradition of Buddhism generally termed Hīnayāna. Though it is not stated, Kiyozawa may have been attracted by the generally unadorned, realistic image of Śākyamuni presented in these texts in comparison to the glorified, mythic images described in Mahāyāna Buddhist sutras. According to the short biography by Tada Kanae, Kiyozawa, who did not cry on the death of his mother or son, often tearfully recalled the renunciation of Śākyamuni, seeing before him the sacred manifestation of the Buddha shining like fire.[23]

Kiyozawa was impressed by the spirit of practice in the Self Power tradition, as well as the warrior spirit he inherited from his ancestors. His attraction to the *Agama* sutras is also evidence of his desire for the renewal of Buddhism. In a letter to Inoue Hōchū, Kiyozawa, commenting on Śākyamuni's renunciation, describes Śākyamuni's calm and intense bearing when he, the Buddha, declared that though mountains move and the sea dries up his resolve will not be diverted. Reading this declaration, Kiyozawa was moved to tears. He exclaimed, "Ah! The Great Dharma of the Last Age is not prospering! I wonder whose fault that is?"[24]

Kiyozawa quoted frequently from the Stoic philosopher Epictetus in the two-volume *Rōsenki*, the *December Fan Diary*.[25] He considered Epictetus's book the best Western book. Epictetus was significant for Kiyozawa for his philosophy of endurance, contentment, and spiritual peace, freedom, and happiness. Essentially it was a philosophy that distinguished between what we can control or change and what we cannot and to know the difference. He saw everything under the control of divine Being which is the basis of order and design in the Universe and guides the destiny of all beings. Epictetus's philosophy must have appealed greatly to Kiyozawa as he tested his own fortitude while encountering numerous crises. An interpreter of Epictetus, Gordon L. Ziniewicz, states:

> God is reason or soul or principle within Nature. Human beings ought to imitate the reasonableness of God and leave external fate up to providence (acceptance or resignation). God is the detached calm of reason within ever-changing nature; the human soul should remain calm in the midst of active ethical and political involvement.[26]

Perhaps of all the Western philosophies Kiyozawa encountered Epictetus appeared the closest to the spirit of Buddhism. Epictetus's view of God corresponds to Kiyozawa's understanding of the Infinite which we will take up below.

The *Tannishō* represented the standpoint of Other Power faith, the central point of Shin Buddhism and Kiyozawa's final refuge. He spelled this out in his teaching of spirituality (精神主義 *seishin shugi*). Because of Kiyozawa's elevation of the text as an expression of Other Power faith, the *Tannishō*, long obscured in Shin history, has become world famous and influential in arousing interest and commitment to Shin Buddhism among modern people, East and West. Despite various criticisms of the text among scholars, the *Tannishō* stresses Other Power and the universality of salvation. The tenor of the text expresses Shinran's spirit which Kiyozawa strove to revive in modern times.

Kiyozawa Manshi stressed the fundamental importance of personal religious experience for the survival of a tradition. His understanding of religious faith is relevant not only for Shin Buddhist followers, but for all Buddhists who struggle to make it meaningful in modern society. His perspective offered a basis for the rediscovery of true individuality. His interpretation of the significance of individual awareness of the Infinite implied that clergy and lay are equal and one's religious life is a matter of choice. He believed that the focus of religious faith was on the development of the human spirit as a present subjective reality and not merely a matter for after death.

The basis for his thought may be found in *The Skeleton of a Philosophy of Religion* which he wrote on the occasion of the World's Parliament of Religion in 1893. His text was translated into English and disseminated at the conference. Though the impact of the text is not known, it is significant for showing Kiyozawa's concern to integrate Buddhism into the modern intellectual and spiritual environment by placing it in a universal context and interpreting it without using the traditional terminologies unfamiliar to non-Buddhists.

In this text Kiyozawa distinguishes sharply between the Infinite and the finite. The Infinite, which is an abstract term, reflects Amida Buddha whose name also means infinite. The Infinite or Absolute is not something

separate from everything else, but as Infinite, it must include and be the essence of all things. Thus he took issue with the Western concept of God and theories of monism, such as those taught by Spinoza, as inadequate for spirituality. The relation of the individual and the Infinite was based on correlation, not identity as in monism. Further, the subject-object distinction cannot be avoided in thought but must be accounted for in relation to reality. While everything is known through a mind, knowledge is subjective or known by the mind. However, both the subjective realm and the objective exist in an organic unity within the context of the universal subjectivity of the Infinite Absolute.

In the process of religious awakening one moves from attachment to ordinary views of objectivity to awareness of the subjective, inner realm, and finally transcends both objectivity and the subjective (small self) to awareness of the Absolute (large Self) which embraces and transcends the subject-object dichotomy. This process provides a rational basis for the principle of Other Power. Thus the person cannot find true satisfaction by only pursuing things in the objective world such as money, possessions, power, etc. Rather, it is found through the discovery of the inner world and one's connection to the Infinite. But the assurance of salvation and contentment is not reached simply through restraining the self. Finally, after exhausting one's efforts to attain the goal by cultivating various practices, one becomes aware of the Infinite as the source of contentment and spiritual peace. This process mirrors Kiyozawa's own experience.

It also means that the individual is not locked into his own subjectivity, but finds his relation to the whole. This is important in our modern mass society where people are likely to feel isolated. It fits well with the contemporary ecological perspective that we are all connected and we must respect and support each other and the environment.

Kiyozawa was, in large measure, reacting to the growing dominance of the principle of scientific objectivity in the modern world which claims that only objective knowledge is true. However, he also rejected any thought which stressed subjectivity while dismissing the objective world as simply delusion. Kiyozawa believed that Buddhism could be integrated with scientific thought. Where science and religion conflicted, religious thought would have to be revised to harmonize with science. Further, he held that religious reality could not be verified by appeal to objective facts, since religious faith is a subjective reality. His effort anticipates much of modern thought in trying to harmonize faith and reason, religion and science. His solution provides a basis for a vital religious faith, while maintaining a critical scientific perspective.

With respect to religious subjectivity or religious consciousness, Kiyozawa does not mean mere subjectivism in which only what I experience is true. Rather, beyond the ordinarily understood subject-object

dichotomy, true subjectivity means the discovery of the Infinite as my True Self, thereby linking myself to all other beings. Behind his expression is the Mahāyāna Kegon philosophy which teaches that we are all one as the manifestation of the Buddha-mind. Attaining the experience or awareness of this truth becomes the basis for religious faith and commitment.

Because of his emphasis on religious subjectivity and the individual, Kiyozawa came under criticism by more pro-active Buddhist leaders. He appeared to ignore society and was too individualistic. At that time a leading Buddhist movement for social change appeared in the Neo-Buddhist Movement (*Shin Bukkyō undō*). Through its publication *Shin Bukkyō*, it advocated the liberation of religion from government interference and rejection of militaristic nationalism. It criticized Buddhism because, despite its principle of non-injury and precepts concerning killing, it did not oppose war.[27] Though not specifically socialist, it associated with socialists and supported laborers. The movement also made pronouncements on various issues of public morals, such as opposition to licensed prostitution, drinking, and smoking.

However, in contrast to the Neo-Buddhist Movement, rather than addressing specific social issues, Kiyozawa was concerned with the general morality and the welfare of society, and focused primarily on bringing about reforms in the Higashi Hongwanji. From Kiyozawa's perspective, if the Hongwanji or Buddhism was truly religious, there would be a beneficial effect in society. In his essay on why Buddhist priests lack self-esteem, he stresses that the clergy have become subservient to the state, much in line with Shinran's criticism in his time that they were lackeys of the powerful in society.[28] Kiyozawa laments:

> What about clergymen today? They curry favor before governors and local functionaries, constables, village officials, wealthy merchants—anyone wealthy or slightly important in this world. Unfortunately their intent is not simply to be courteous to everyone alike, they are in fact, fawning and obsequious.[29]

Despite his severe criticism, Kiyozawa remained hopeful that with renewed interest in the practice of Buddhism, the clergy would "reflect on their great responsibility, get out of their servile frame of mind, and earnestly put Buddhist teachings into practice."[30]

In his "Discourse on Religious Morality and Common Morality," written during the last year of his life, Kiyozawa rejected the then current interpretation of the distinction of transcendental truth (真諦 *shintai*) and mundane truth (俗諦 *zokutai*).[31] The transcendental truth is the truth of reality expressed in Shin Buddhism as the realm of salvation based in the Eighteenth Vow and Amida Buddha or the Infinite and the secular truth of

society which is the sphere of morality defined by society for the sake of good citizenship and social tranquility. This distinction was employed by Buddhist sects to justify their role in society in support of the government.

According to Professor Ama Toshimaro, Kiyozawa is significant because "he succeeded in going beyond the doctrine of Two Truths" in proclaiming the absoluteness of religious values.[32] Ama shows that Kiyozawa interpreted the distinction in a totally religious way, maintaining that the two dimensions of truth are equal or like two sides of the same coin. That is, the mundane truth was a means to make people aware of the transcendent truth of Other Power. The morality expressed in the mundane sphere had the purpose of realizing the truth of salvation through Other Power by revealing our inability to achieve moral perfection required for realization of enlightenment in traditional Buddhism. It was a completely religious understanding. The nurture of religious subjectivity, that is, religious experience within the religious community, provides a standpoint for the individual to deal with the issues of the time. Kiyozawa did not advocate monastic existence but remaining in the world, embodying, however imperfectly, the values inherently expressed through relation to the Infinite.

The significance of this shift in Kiyozawa's interpretation of the Two Truths lies in its denial of the subservience of the sect or Buddhism to the state and support for the autonomy of religious institutions in society. The purpose of religious faith was not to create the basis for good citizenship or acquiescence to the state, but to bring its members to a fuller understanding of their true selves which would have social implications. Through the transformation of its members society would be renewed by their spiritual influence.

Unfortunately, Kiyozawa did not live long enough to test his views in the context of developing Japanese society. His approach suggests that society changes as each individual changes. He does not deal with the structural evils in modern society that require more direct opposition. Generally, his thought does not question the existence of the given order of things. Things are as they are either through the operation of karma or the manifestation of the Infinite. Emphasis is placed on achieving contentment within oneself, though our interconnection with all beings in the Infinite offers a starting point for socially relevant morality in seeking the welfare of all beings. Nevertheless, he established the foundation of true individuality in modern Japanese society.

It is not a mark against Kiyozawa that his thought did not foresee every problem that might arise. What is important is that he offers a basis for further thinking which can address those questions. In our modern times we have seen the destruction and degradation brought about by social

ideologies lacking in fundamental respect for human life and the equality of all people as embodiments of the Infinite Spirit. Kiyozawa's stress on the Other Power spiritual foundation of all life and reality offers a more positive Buddhist alternative for striving not only for personal spiritual fulfillment but also for social justice and peace. His thought can contribute to the revitalization of Buddhism by broadening its spiritual, social, and cultural engagement with contemporary issues.

NOTES

1. Notto R. Thelle, *Buddhism and Christianity in Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987), p. 13.

2. Ibid., p. 14.

3. Ibid., p. 16.

4. Ibid., pp. 19–22.

5. Ibid., p. 22.

6. Muramoto Shoji, "Historical Reflections for the International Development of Japanese Humanistic Psychology," paper presented at the Old Saybrook 2 Conference: Coming Home to the Third Millennium, State University of West Georgia, May 11–14, 2000. Available online at http://www.sonoma.edu/psychology/os2db/muramoto1.html.

7. Kathleen M. Skaggs, "In Defense of Buddhism: Essays from the Meiji Period by Inoue Enryō and Murakami Senshō" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1979), p. 287.

8. Wakimoto Tsuneya, "Manshi Kiyozawa and the Otani Sect of Shinshu Buddhism: A Study of His Early Life," *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 3 (1968): p. 80.

9. Ibid., p. 77.

10. "American Orientalist, educator, and poet, b. Salem, Mass., grad. Harvard, 1874. A pioneer in the study of Asian art, he lived much of his life in Japan. Besides teaching at Tokyo Univ., the Tokyo Academy of Fine Arts, and the Imperial Normal School, he was manager of the fine arts department of the Imperial Museum in Tokyo. His works include *East and West: The Discovery of America and Other Poems* (1893); *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art* (2nd ed., 1912), compiled by his widow, Mary McNeil Fenollosa; and two works on Japanese drama (ed. by Ezra Pound, 1916)." See http://www.encyclopedia.com/html/F/Fenollos.asp.

11. Wakimoto, "Manshi Kiyozawa and the Otani Sect of Shinshu Buddhism," p. 76.

12. Ibid., p. 78.

13. Skaggs, "In Defense of Buddhism," pp. 288–291.

14. See http://www.otani.ac.jp/en/history.html.

15. Otani University Editorial Committee, *Ōtani daigaku hyakunen shi: Shiryō hen* (Kyoto: Otani University, 2001), p. 469.

16. Nishimura Kengyō, "Kiyozawa Manshi," in *Gendai Bukkyō kōza*, vol. 5 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1955), p. 190.

17. Ibid., p. 191.

18. Ibid., p. 190.

19. Haneda Nobuo, trans., *December Fan* (Kyoto: Higashi Honganji Publication Dept., 1984), p. 90.

20. Bruno Van Parij, http://www.akshin.net

21. Hashimoto Mineo, "Seishin to reisei: Bukkyō no kindaika no nitenkei," in *Kiyozawa Manshi, Suzuki Daisetz*, Hashimoto Mineo, ed., Nihon no meicho vol. 43 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1970), p. 28.

22. Nishimura, "Kiyozawa Manshi," pp. 189–190.

23. Tada Kanae, "Kiyozawa sensei shōden," in *Kiyozawa Manshi zenshū*, vol. 6 (Tokyo: Yūkōsha, 1935), p. 132.

24. Nishimura, "Kiyozawa Manshi," pp. 188–189. We should note that in this version the term for "fault" is given as 遇 (*gū*, or *tamatama*) which means to meet or opportunity. However in *Kiyozawa Manshi zenshū*, vol. 5 (pp. 180–181) published in 1935 it is given as 過 (*ka*, or *ayamachi*) which means "error" or "fault."

25. See partial translations in Tajima Kunji and Frank Shacklock, *Selected Essays of Kiyozawa Manshi* (Kyoto: The Bukkyo Bunka Society, 1936) and Haneda, *December Fan*.

26. Gordon L. Ziniewicz, http://www.fred.net/tzaka/stoics.html.

27. Ienaga Saburō, Akamatsu Toshihide, and Tamamuro Taijō, eds., *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, vol. 3, *Kinsei kindai hen* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1967), p. 360.

28. *Collected Works of Shinran* (Kyoto: Jodo Shinshu Hongwanji-ha, 1997), pp. 421–424.

29. Haneda, *December Fan*, p. 62.

30. Ibid., p. 73.

31. Mark Blum, trans., "Discourse on Religious Morality and Common Morality," in *An Anthology of Modern Shin Buddhist Writings* (Kyoto: Otani University, 2001), pp. 19–34. For discussion of the traditional concept of the Two Truths and its role in Japanese history see Michio Tokunaga and Alfred Bloom, "Toward a Pro-active Engaged Shin Buddhism: A Reconsideration of the Teaching of the Two Truths (*shinzoku-nitai*)," *Pacific World*, Third Series, no. 2 (2000): pp. 191–206.

32. Ama Toshimaro, "Towards A Shin Buddhist Social Ethics," *Eastern Buddhist* 33-2 (2001): p. 43.