INOUÉ ENRYŌ AND THE THOUGHT OF YOSHITANI KAKUJU

SATŌ Atsushi 佐藤厚

1. Introduction

This paper examines the relationship between Yoshitani Kakuju 吉谷覚寿 (1843–1914) and Inoue Enryō 井上円了 (1858–1919). The former was the latter's teacher at the University of Tokyo. I focus on the following issues: (1) The influence Yoshitani had on Enryō as his teacher. Under Yoshitani's influence, Enryō constructed his academic project. (2) Yoshitani's criticism of this academic project.

The main focus of Yoshitani's criticism was Enryō's view that Buddhism and western philosophy are in harmony with each other (below, "Buddhism-philosophy concordance theory" 仏教・哲学一致論).¹ Out of my interest in this Buddhism-philosophy concordance theory, I would like to thank everyone for the valuable opinions shared and questions asked regarding my presentation.

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SATŌ Atsushi 佐藤厚. 「井上円了『仏教活論序論』における真理の論証」 [The demonstration of truth in Inoue Enryo's 'Prolegomena to a Living Discourse on Buddhism'], Toyo University Asian Studies 『東洋学研究』 49 (2011); SATŌ Atsushi. 「井上円了における神の本体の論証とキリスト教者の批評：『哲學一夕話』第二編をめぐって」 [Enryō's demonstration of the essence of God and criticism of Christians: About 'An Evening of Philosophical Conversation,' vol. 2], Toyo University Asian Studies 49 (2012); SATŌ Atsushi. 「井上円了における真理の論証とキリスト教者の批評：『仏教活論序論』における真理の論証」 [The demonstration of truth in Inoue Enryo's 'Prolegomena to a Living Discourse on Buddhism'], Toyo University Asian Studies 『東洋学研究』 49 (2011); SATŌ Atsushi. 「井上円了における神の本体の論証とキリスト教者の批評：『哲學一夕話』第二編をめぐって」 [Enryō's demonstration of the essence of God and criticism of Christians: About 'An Evening of Philosophical Conversation,' vol. 2], Toyo University Asian Studies 49 (2012); SATŌ Atsushi. 「井上円了における真理の論証とキリスト教者の批評：『仏教活論序論』における真理の論証」 [The demonstration of truth in Inoue Enryo's 'Prolegomena to a Living Discourse on Buddhism'], Toyo University Asian Studies 『東洋学研究』 49 (2011).
cordance theory, I have been engaging in research on its background. Recently while doing so, I came to see that its premise was the thought of Yoshitani Kakuju. It could be said that Enryō developed and completed the basis of a Buddhism-philosophy concordance theory that Yoshitani prepared.

However, history is complicated. Enryō’s teacher Yoshitani proceeded to criticize the theory that Enryō had constructed by developing Yoshitani’s ideas. The goal of this paper is to elucidate why this happened. First, I will examine Yoshitani’s thought, and then consider its relationship to that of Enryō. It is my hope that in doing so we will come to newly understand part of the formation process of Enryō’s thought.

2. A Brief Biography of Yoshitani

Yoshitani was from what is now Gifu prefecture. After studying at Takakura Academy, a school of the Ōtani branch of Shin Buddhism, in 1877 he became a professor at the Ōtani branch’s Tokyo School. Then, after teaching as a lecturer at the University of Tokyo starting in 1881, he became the principle of the Tokyo School in 1885. In 1890, he became an Ōtani branch novice lecturer and Takakura Academy professor. Six years later in 1896, he became an assistant lecturer. In 1901, he became a lecturer and in 1911 became an Ōtani University professor. Yoshitani was an authoritative and influential figure at Takakura Academy. Many of his earlier works deal with Buddhism overall, such as The Gist of Buddhism, A General Overview of Buddhism, and The Essentials of Meiji Sects. On the other hand, his later works are primarily Shin Buddhism-related, such as Lectures on the Collection of Hymns in Three Volumes and Commentary on the Essentials of the Six Volumes.

Yoshitani lectured in Buddhist studies at the University of Tokyo from 1881 to 1890. The then president of the University of Tokyo Katō Hiroyuki first invited the Sōtō Sect’s Hara Tanzan to teach the new Buddhist studies class based on the recommendation of Shimaji Mokurai. However, an Ōtani branch priest named Kondō suggested that another person who is a doctrinal specialist scholar be invited to teach, and made the following comment regarding Tanzan: "He is one who awakens..."
to the Way through the meditative approach; he is not a scholar of the teachings. Above all, he has not learned at all about Tendai studies and so on.” Kondō then introduced Yoshitani, who, being expected to teach doctrine, gave lectures on *Essentials of the Eight Sects* 『八宗綱要』 and *Tendai's Doctrine of the Four Teachings* 『天台四教義』. 3

Miyake Setsurei 三宅雪嶺 (1860–1945) described Yoshitani’s lectures he attended as a student in the following way: "He used *Essentials of the Eight Sects* for the textbook, and made us write down all of it in literary style [文語体]. For the test he made us do the same. I guess that's what scholar priests do." 4 Here, it can be seen that Yoshitani gave precise lectures using traditional methods. In addition to taking Yoshitani’s class in 1883, Enryō also created notes recording Yoshitani’s 1885 lectures on the *Essentials of the Eight Sects*.

3. Yoshitani’s Thought

Next, I will consider Yoshitani’s thought, particularly the systematization of Buddhism he presented in his early period. While today such endeavors are common, during the early Meiji period they were important. Buddhism during the Edo period was basically centered on sectarian learning, and had no need for a theoretical structure that runs throughout Buddhism. However, in the Meiji period, a theoretical construction that used the framework of not "sect" but "Buddhism" became necessary. In this section I will focus on three of Yoshitani’s works.

3.1 “An Explanation of the Law of Cause and Effect” (1882)

Yoshitani’s short article "An Explanation of the Law of Cause and Effect" 「因果法爾説」 was published in *Collected Buddhist Lectures* 『仏教演説集誌』 in 1882. 5 He states that while Buddhism is divided into many teachings, its goal is to "change delusion into awakening" 転迷開悟, the essence of which is the law of "cause and effect" 因果, which he explains as follows.

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3 Inoue Enryō. 「加藤老博士について」 [On the venerable Dr. Katō], 『東洋哲学』 [Eastern philosophy] 22.8 (1915).
5 Enryō’s notes only have the title *Essentials of the Eight Sects*, however to differentiate it from Gyo- nen’s notes, I have chosen to call it 『八宗綱要ノート』 [Notes regarding Essentials of the Eight Sects]. I have reprinted it in SATÔ. 「井上円了『仏教演説集誌』における真理の論証」 (see note 2).
A. Buddhist Teachings 内道
1. Cause and effect of the mundane world 世間の因果 (tainted 有漏 cause and effect in transmigration)
2. Cause and effect of the supramundane world 出世間の因果 (untainted 無漏 cause and effect in changing delusion into awakening, śrāvakas, pratyekabuddha, bodhisattvas)

B. Non-Buddhist Teachings 外道
1. Mistakenly understood cause and mistakenly understood effect 邪因邪果: non-Buddhist teachings that posit a creationist God 大自在天外道 (= Christianity)
2. Effect without a cause 無因有果: non-Buddhist teachings of spontaneous production 自然外道
3. Cause without an effect 有因無果: nihilistic non-Buddhist teachings 断見外道
4. No cause and no effect 無因無果: non-Buddhist teachings of emptiness 空見外道

It should be noted that Yoshitani sees mistakenly understood cause and mistakenly understood effect (B.1) as the same as Christianity (ibid., p. 70). Regarding this, he offers a two-point criticism. First, he states that heaven is not the cause of creation. In other words, just as people give birth to people and cattle gives birth to cattle, things give birth to things that are the same as themselves. The theory that all effects arise from a God in heaven is illogical. Second, even if there was a God in heaven that created all phenomena, plants, birds, and beasts, why are there good things like cherry blossoms and Japanese apricots, and abhorrent things like lions and wolves? Furthermore, why are there good-looking and bad-looking people, and people that have short lives and people that have long lives? Yoshitani states that these issues reflect the incomplete nature of a God in heaven. In Inquiry into the Origin of Humanity 『原人論』, a Chinese text by Zōngmì 宗密, there is a section that criticizes the idea of an empty Great Way that gives birth to everything.\(^7\) In other words, this second criticism has a long history. This criticism of Christianity can also be found in Yoshitani's later works, namely, in chapter three of The Gist of Buddhism titled "Correct Causes and Correct Effects" 「正因

\(^7\) Zōngmì 宗密. 『原人論』 [Inquiry into the origin of humanity] (Taishō Tripiṭaka 45, 708b): "Now I will in brief point out [the problematic points of Daoism and Confucianism]. The theory that all things are born from the empty Great Way means that this Great Way is the basis of life and death, wisdom and foolishness, good luck and back luck, and fortune and misfortune. If it is the basis, it always exists and does not change. Therefore, troubles cannot be removed and benefit cannot be sought through the power of humans. [If this is so,] [w]hy is it necessary to use the teachings of Lao Zi and Zhuang Zi? Furthermore, if it is the basis of creation, this means it nurtured lions, wolves, King Jie of Xia and King Zhou of Shang, that it ended early the lives of Yan Hui and Ran Geng, and that it brought misfortune to Boyi and Shuqi. Why would one revere it?" 今略擧而詰之。所言萬物皆從虛無大道而生者。大道即是生死賢愚之本。吉凶禍福之基。基本既其常存。則禍亂災患不可除也。何用老莊之教耶。又道育虎狼胎桀紂。夭顔禍夷齊。何名尊乎。
正果」 and in chapter six of *A General Overview of Buddhism* with the same title. While "An Explanation of the Law of Cause and Effect" is short, it is an important work for understanding Yoshitani's basic thought.

3.2 "The Gist of Buddhism" (1886)

Yoshitani published in installments his *The Gist of Buddhism* in the Shimaji Mokurai-led Buddhist magazine *Journal of the Enlightenment Association* 『令知会雑誌』 from 1884 to 1885. In 1886 it was published as a separate book. Yoshitani states that since the main points of Buddhism are hard to understand because it is profound and broad, he has read the texts of the various sects and recorded their points for readers.

Furthermore, he states that while there are many people recently who criticize Buddhism, they do not really understand it. While he recognizes that ideas like the theory that Mahāyāna Buddhism was not preached by Śākyamuni are not new, he notes that some people say the following: 'while Buddhism is great because it is not like creator religions (Christianity), with regard to making nirvāṇa (absolute emptiness 畢竟空) as the essence of the teachings, I cannot follow it—in fact, society in general doesn't either.' Additionally, Yoshitani notes that some people get caught up in phrases like "real emptiness without characteristics" 真空無相 and "the principle of emptiness is tranquil" 空理寂滅, leading them to mistakenly see the "essence" 理体 of myriad existences as "nothingness" 空無. He concludes by stating that while such "deluded arguments [妄破] of superficial critics heavily intoxicated with terms and words" are frequent and out of place, Buddhists should, not seeing this as someone else's problem, make clear the essence of Buddhism, distinguish between the right and wrong of these deluded critics, and protect their religion.

The content of *The Gist of Buddhism* is divided into two sections: (A) Generally Making Clear the Essence of Buddhism (B) Widely Fielding and Answering Questions and Repeatedly Defending Buddhism.

A. In Generally Making Clear the Gist of Buddhism, he defines the essence of Buddhism as "showing the path to change delusion into awakening." Furthermore, he states that the essence of delusion and enlightenment is the "single principle of the true aspect of Suchness" 真如実相の一理. When discussing this, he states, "In recent years

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8 YOSHITANI Kakuju 吉谷覚寿, "仏教大旨" 『仏教大旨』 (仏書出版, 1886), 24–26. 『仏教総論』 [A general overview of Buddhism] (Kyoto, 1890), 55–57.
9 FUKUDA Gyōkai 福田行誡 wrote the title characters and the Ōtani branch figure ATSUMI Kaen 高見契縁 the introduction.
10 YOSHITANI. "仏教大旨" (see note 8), "緒言" [Opening words], 1–2.
people have been frequently engaging in western philosophy, discussing the fundamental principle [原理] of all phenomena in the universe. Therefore, Buddhists must also research the basis of dharmas." In other words, this endeavor of Yoshitani arose from his view that there should be a fundamental principle in Buddhism as there is in western philosophy. Next, he divides delusion and enlightenment into "six kinds of impurity" 六穢 (also known as the "six kinds of unenlightenment" 六凡 or the "six destinies" 六道) and "four kinds of purity" 四浄 (also known as the three vehicles and the Buddha or the "four kinds of enlightenment" 四聖). In closing, he states that the essence of Buddhism is to change the delusion of the six unenlightened destinies into the enlightenment of the four enlightened destinies.


3.3 "A General Overview of Buddhism" (1890)

Yoshitani published A General Overview of Buddhism in 1890. While it expands the 10-topic structure of The Gist of Buddhism into 15 topics, the basic logical scheme is no different. In the same year, Yoshitani published The Essentials of Meiji Sects. Modeled after Gyōnen's 凝然 Essentials of the Eight Sects, it summarizes the essentials of the Buddhist sects that existed in Japan during the mid-Meiji period. According to Yoshitani, A General Overview of Buddhism is a "general overview" 総論, while The Essentials of Meiji Sects contains "specific explanations" 別論. Therefore, he states,
people who want to know the overall gist of Buddhism and the meaning of the separately established doctrines of the various sects should read these two books.\textsuperscript{11}

Thus concludes my overview of Yoshitani's early period thought as seen in three of his works. For reference, below is a table comparing the chapter composition of The Gist of Buddhism and A General Overview of Buddhism.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Gist of Buddhism (1886)</th>
<th>A General Overview of Buddhism (1890)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The Essential Nature of Delusion and Enlightenment</td>
<td>1. The Fundamental Principle of Dharmas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The Fundamental Principle of Dharmas</td>
<td>2. Expressing Suchness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Correct Cause and Correct Result</td>
<td>3. The Two Truths of the Absolute and Conventional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Name and Meaning of Buddha Nature</td>
<td>4. Nothing but the Manifestation of the Mind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The Principle of Emptiness and Nirvāṇa</td>
<td>5. The Dependent Arising of Dharmas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. The Three Realms are Only Mind</td>
<td>6. Correct Cause and Correct Result</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. The Sects of Religion</td>
<td>7. Action and its Result are not Equal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. The Two Truths of the Absolute and Conventional</td>
<td>8. The Three Natures of Wholesomeness and So Forth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Concluding Explanation</td>
<td>10. The Sects of Buddhism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. The Results Obtained Through Faith and Practice</td>
<td>14. The Results Obtained Through Faith and Practice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Flower Retribution and Fruit Retribution</td>
<td>15. Flower Retribution and Fruit Retribution</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{11} Yoshitani, 『仏教総論』 (see note 8), 1–3.
4. Yoshitani and Enryō’s Relationship

Next, I will consider the relationship between Yoshitani and Enryō, looking at the influence of Yoshitani on Enryō’s systematization of Buddhism (4.1) and Yoshitani's critique of Enryō (4.2).

4.1 Enryō’s Systematization of Buddhism and Yoshitani

First, I will provide an overview of Enryō's systematization of Buddhism as found in his *Prolegomena to a Living Discourse on Buddhism* 『仏教活論序論』 (1887).

4.1.1 Enryō's Systematization of Buddhism

Enryō uses the doctrinal classification from Pure Land teachings that posits the "teachings of the path of the sages" 聖道門 and the "teachings of the Pure Land" 清土門. After first defining the former as "difficult practices based on self power" 自力難行 and the latter as "easy practices based on other power" 他力易行, he then states that the former contains teachings for intellectuals and scholars, and the latter contains teachings for ordinary people, and explains that the Kusha 儘舍 (Abhidharma), Hossō 法相, Tendai 天台, and Kegon 華厳 sects are teachings of the path of the sages, while the Jōdo 清土 and Jōdo shin 清土真 sects correspond to the teachings of the Pure Land (Table 2). He then proceeds by stating that humans' minds have an intellectual function and emotional function, and that while Buddhism responds to both, Christianity only does to the former. Enryō makes it clear that this is the reason only Buddhism is fit to be the religion of contemporary civilized society and the world of reason.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teaching :</th>
<th>Teachings of the path of the sages</th>
<th>Pure Land teachings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Object :</td>
<td>Intellectuals and scholars</td>
<td>Foolish people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sects :</td>
<td>Kusha, Hossō, Tendai, Kegon</td>
<td>Jōdo, Jōdo shin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scholarship :</td>
<td>Philosophy</td>
<td>Religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mind Function :</td>
<td>Intellect</td>
<td>Emotion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Included in Christianity?</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Next, while explaining the teachings of the path of sages—in other words, Buddhism's philosophical aspect—he details the correspondence between Buddhism and western philosophy in the following way:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Buddhist Sects</th>
<th>Western Philosophy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kusha (Abhidharma) sect</td>
<td>Materialism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jōjitsu (Satyasiddhi) sect</td>
<td>The stage from materialism to idealism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hossō sect</td>
<td>Idealism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanron (Sanron) sect</td>
<td>The stage of entering the Middle Way from idealism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kegon sect</td>
<td>Rationalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tendai sect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the correspondences Enryō presents here, the Kusha sect is materialism, the Sōjitsu sect is the stage of reaching the limit of materialism and entering idealism, the Hosshū sect is idealism, and the Sanron sect is the stage of reaching the limit of idealism and entering the Middle Way. Finally, he says that the Kegon sect and Tendai sect are the Middle Way, or rationalism.

4.1.2 Yoshitani's Influence

I believe that Yoshitani's thought lies in the background of the Buddhism-philosophy concordance theory shown in <Table 3>. In the "The Fundamental Principle of Dharma" section of The Gist of Buddhism, Yoshitani says that in Confucianism there is the Great Polarity 太極, in Taoism there is the Great Way 大道, and in Christianity there is Yahweh. He continues by noting that there are many positions in western philosophy as well, but in recent years it is discovering the One Principle 一理. On the other hand, in Buddhism, the fundamental principle of dharmas is Suchness 真如. However, there are differences between the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna. He explains that the latter (the

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12 YOSHITANI Kakuju. 『仏教大旨』 (see note 8), 12–13.
Kusha sect) preaches that "the three times [of the past, present, and future] are real as are the essence of dharmas " 三世実有法体恒有. On the other hand, the Mahāyāna Hossō sect teaches "dependent arising from the store consciousness" 頼耶縁起，and the Mahāyāna Tendai and Kegon sects preach "dependent arising from Suchness" 真如縁起.

These three ways of thinking originally appeared in the "study of nature and characteristics" 性相学 framework (a traditional Edo period Buddhist system) as the Hīnayāna (the Kusha sect), the Provisional Mahāyāna (the Hossō sect), and the True Mahāyāna (the Tendai and Kegon sects). While the doctrinal differences expressed in this framework are the same as those found in Yoshitani's explanation, his comparison of them with other religions and Western philosophy as well as presentation of them as being about the "fundamental principle from which the world arises" 世界発生の原理 was an important step that allowed this system to become a Buddhism-philosophy concordance theory. While the content is the same, the changed perspective stimulated Enryō, leading him to attach to this framework the western philosophical names of materialism, idealism, and rationalism, and thereby come up with his Buddhism-philosophy concordance theory.

The appearance of the Jōjitsu and Sanron sects in addition to the Kusha, Hossō, Kegon, and Tendai sects in Prolegomena to a Living Discourse on Buddhism was also probably due to the influence of Yoshitani's Essentials of the Eight Sects lectures. Furthermore, his explanation of dependent arising from Suchness also heavily relies upon Tendai doctrinal studies, and I believe that it was also influenced by Yoshitani, who was well versed in Tendai teachings.

4.2 Yoshitani's Critique of Enryō

While Enryō in this way was influenced by Yoshitani and proceeded to construct his own Buddhism-philosophy concordance system, Yoshitani actually came to critique this thought of Enryō. The focus of his critique was whether to explain Buddhism only with Buddhism, or to try to give birth to something new by combining Buddhism, philosophy, and science. Here, I will specifically consider two of his criticisms.

4.2.1 Criticism of Classifying Buddhism as Intellectual or Emotional

The central point of Enryō's systematization of Buddhism is that it is divided into the teachings of the path of sages and the Pure Land teachings, which respectively correspond to the heart-mind's intellectual and emotional functions (Table 2). Yoshitani criti-
cizes this in a May 1888 article entitled "Arguing that There is no Reason to Add the Labels Intellect and Emotion to Buddhism" (Journal of the Enlightenment Association 50). He states that recently amidst a group who has studied western philosophy, there are people who attach the labels of intellect and emotion to the content of Buddhism, seeing the teachings of the path of the sages as a religion of the intellect, the Pure Land teachings as a religion of emotion, and so on. While Yoshitani states that this is something philosophers from outside of Buddhism are saying arbitrarily and therefore is no problem, he continues with the following anger-filled words:

However, there is a priest in our Buddhism responsible for protecting the Dharma and upholding its tenets that frequently goes along with them, happily promoting these labels. Ah, what is this? (ibid.)

Yoshitani is undoubtedly referring to Enryō. What did Yoshitani feel was problematic about Enryō? Regarding intellect and emotion, Yoshitani thought that when people think about psychology in philosophy, they do not establish what is true and what is false in the intellect and emotion—in other words, they do not differentiate between delusion and enlightenment. They simply call the discriminative ability intellect and the ability to be moved emotion, seeing both as related to each other in that intellectual ability increases with emotion and emotion develops through knowledge. Therefore, they say, one must not emphasize one over the other. In contrast, in Buddhism, there is the distinction in knowledge and emotion between delusion and enlightenment as well as truth and falsehood. In other words, emotion is that which arises from the illusory discriminations of deluded people, and the intellect is the ability of enlightened people to make determinations regarding phenomena and principle. Yoshitani quotes the Discourse on the Theory of Consciousness-only 『成唯識論』, the Flower Ornament Sutra 『華厳経』, the Great Sutra of Immeasurable Life 『大無量寿経』, and so on to make his point. He says that therefore when distinguishing between the teachings of the path of the sages and Pure Land teachings, the labels difficult practice vs. easy practice and
"entering sagehood in this land" vs. "attaining realization in the other land." 他土得証 are adequate, and there is no need use the confusing words "intellect" and "emotion."

Thus was Yoshitani’s understanding. Behind this issue was a gap in meaning between the Chinese character words that Buddhism used and the translations newly created in the Meiji period that made use of them. Specifically, the meaning of the Chinese character 智 in traditional Buddhism is close to that of "wisdom" in English. However, in the Meiji period it was given the meaning of "intellect." Yoshitani adopted a standpoint that was faithful to the meaning of the Chinese characters that comprised Buddhist terminology, and could not approve of using words like Enryō did.

4.2.2 Criticism of the Comparison between Buddhism and Philosophy

Next let us consider Yoshitani’s criticism of Enryō’s Buddhism-philosophy concordance theory. In April 1887, Yoshitani published the article "Don't See Buddhism as Crude and Incomplete" 仏教を疎視すること勿れ in Journal of the Enlightenment Association (vol. 37). He first presents the opinions of two people regarding Buddhism. One person, a "certain university graduate," says that Christianity is comprised of shallow teachings and is non-academic, unlike Buddhism, which should be treated as philosophy. "A certain critic" compares Buddhism and other gates of learning, stating that gravity, bodies, and motion in "universal learning" 万有学 as well as the "three mind functions" 三靈性 of "subjective, objective, and complete" 主観客観純全 in mind function studies are more detailed than Buddhism's (Tendai learning's) elucidations of "ten expression of Suchness" 十如是, "three insights in one thought" 一心三観, and "principle induced phenomenal activity" 理具事造. The person also says that awakening to the Flower Ornament Sutra’s statement "there is no distinction between the mind, the Buddha, and all living things" 心仏及衆生是三無差別 does not mean that one will know the universal working of thought, and that Herbert Spencer’s philosophical and biological fundamental principles are clearer than the idea of dependent arising from Suchness. With regard to these opinions, Yoshitani critically laments, "Alas, what is this?" Furthermore, he states that while these people say Buddhism is crude, this is because they do not know Buddhism itself. According to him, they should pass judgment on Buddhist doctrine after thoroughly learning the truth of Buddhism based on books that ex-

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14 At the annual conference some asked about the meaning of this term. I do not know the answer. Considering that Enryō states, "the three mind functions of subjective, objective, and complete," it is possible that it refers to Hegel’s philosophy of spirit.
plain the highest Buddhist doctrine of dependent arising from Suchness, as well as the Tendai sect's notion of the "principle according with conditions in the specialized teaching" and the "principle according with conditions in the perfect teaching". Yoshitani admonishes them for learning crudely and then looking down on Buddhism as being crude.

These examples of the ways of thinking that Yoshitani criticizes are comparisons of Buddhism and philosophy that place an emphasis on the latter. While Enryō's viewpoints do not appear in this text, I think that he was included in the group Yoshitani was criticizing. This article was published in April 1887, two months after Enryō's Prolegomena to a Living Discourse on Buddhism was published. While it was positively received in the Buddhist world, it is not strange that Yoshitani secretly was indignant with regard to a way of thinking that saw Buddhism and western philosophy as being consonant.

In his 1890 The Essentials of Meiji Sects, Yoshitani also laments in the introduction that there are many people who "compare Buddhism and other fields [学] in vain to temporarily obtain the satisfaction of youth,"15 and gives the following as an example.

For example, with regard to materialism we have the Kusha teaching that the three times and the essences of dharmas are real; they have idealism, we have the teaching that all phenomena are nothing but the transformations of the mind [森羅万有唯心所変]; they have philosophical discussions of the relationship between the existence of all phenomena's subtle luminosity [万有虚霊の存在] and awareness [自覚], we have the Kegon school teaching that there is no distinction between the mind, the Buddha, and all living things [心仏衆生是三無差別]; they have mind function studies' three mind functions of subjective, objective, and complete, we have the Tendai school's discussion of the perfect interfusion of the three views of emptiness, nominal designation, and the mean [空仮中三観円融]; they have the study [学術] of the fundamental principles of philosophy and the fundamental principles of biology, we have the theories of dependent arising from Suchness and dependent arising from the Dharma-realm [法界縁起]. Why would we be inferior? It is as though the two households are fighting over who has more property. Alas, what is this? (ibid.)

This passage's discussion of materialism and the Kusha sect, idealism and consciousness-only, and so on appears to have been written with Enryō's Buddhism-philosophy concordance theory in mind.

15 YOSHITANI, 『仏教総論』 (see note 8), 「序論」 [Introduction], 1–2.
Yoshitani himself thought that even if Buddhism and the academic fields of the mundane world might have some parts that match, this is simply a coincidence; the original natures of the two are completely different. He says that Buddhism having areas not covered by the academic fields of the mundane world is the very thing that gives it value.16 Furthermore, he states, "Is it not possible to when speaking about measures for upholding Buddhism actually do things such as harming it oneself?" This also appears to have been written with Enryō's statements in mind, such as "Upholding the Great Dharma [Buddhism]," "Upholding these teachings until the very end for Truth," and "This is because we must uphold Buddhism for our nation," which can be found in Prolegomena to a Living Discourse on Buddhism and other texts.

Then, what is Yoshitani's position and attitude? It appears in the passage that follows:

This time when writing about the essentials of the Meiji sects, I will describe only the core content of Buddhism that has been passed down since ancient times—without being swept away by the times, being ostentatious, or, seeking the new and liking the strange, rewriting the texts and their meaning—and try to pass on the seeds of the religion [教法] by writing down the doctrines of the various sects. (ibid.)

Here, Yoshitani's pride in being part of Buddhist studies' conservative mainstream can be seen. Here, we have seen that (somewhat ironically) although Yoshitani's lectures were the basis of Enryō's Buddhism-philosophy concordance theory, Yoshitani criticized him.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, I considered the relationship between Yoshitani Kakuju's thought and Inoue Enryō. I first provided an overview of Yoshitani's early period thought, namely, his systematization of Buddhism. He presented its basis in his 1882 "An Explanation of Cause and Effect" and fleshed it out in his 1886 The Gist of Buddhism and 1890 A General Overview of Buddhism by expanding upon the various parts of theories of

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16 Ibid. "Of course while in Buddhism there are parts that just happen to match the theories of the mundane world, this is just coincidental resemblance, and it goes without saying that their natures are different. If Buddhism completely matched the theories of the mundane world, it would certainly not be the essential Dharma of transcendental liberation. Therefore, the very reason that Buddhism has its value as Buddhism is that it has unique parts which are not covered by discriminative thinking that deviate from the theories of the mundane world."
cause and effect, for example, the fundamental principle of dharmas (the basis of causes) and nirvāṇa (the effect). Issues from his era, such as critiques of Christianity, also appear.

I then focused on the relationship between Yoshitani and Enryō. Yoshitani taught at the University of Tokyo from 1881 until 1890 on subjects such as *Essentials of the Eight Sects* and Tendai’s *Doctrine of the Four Teachings*. In addition to attending Yoshitani’s lectures in 1883, Enryō created notes based on Yoshitani’s 1885 lectures. It appears that in doing so Enryō conceived of his Buddhism-philosophy concordance theory based on the “The Fundamental Principle of Dharmas” section of Yoshitani’s systematization of Buddhism that discusses the differences between the understandings of the fundamental principle found in the Kusha, Hossō, Tendai, and Kegon sects. Furthermore, when systematizing his Buddhism-philosophy concordance theory, Enryō was influenced by Yoshitani’s Tendai studies-based Buddhism lectures. I believe that in this way the influence of Yoshitani on Enryō was considerable.

However, Yoshitani was critical of Enryō’s style of Buddhist research. For Yoshitani, Buddhism had a value separate from the academic fields of the mundane world, and should not be lightly compared or equated with them. From his conservative mainstream Buddhist studies perspective, Enryō—his Ōtani branch junior by over 15 years and former student at the sect’s educational institution for sectarian school teachers—may have been someone hard to approve of. Despite studying at Takakura Academy, he did not return to his sect, and was combining Buddhism and secular academics (philosophy). However, conversely, this kind of reaction also shows Enryō’s innovative nature that was free from—one could also say deviated from—tradition.

After educating Enryō and others at the University of Tokyo, in 1890, Yoshitani returned to Kyoto to become an authority in Ōtani sectarian studies at Takakura Academy. It is said that Yoshitani was the person who sought to punish Murakami Senshō 村上専精 for his theory that Śākyamuni did not preach the Mahāyāna, first proposed in his *On the Unification of Buddhism* 『仏教統一論』. The aforementioned Miyake Setsurei, who had studied at the University of Tokyo, described this older Yoshitani in the following way:

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17 “I heard that at the venerable Yoshitani Kakuju and Tatsuyama Jiei [福山慈影], representing Takakura Academy, went to Higashi Hongan Temple’s office with my *On the Unification of Buddhism* and applied to meet with the revered Ishikawa [石川], seeking the main temple’s swift punishment.” *MURAKAMI Senshō 村上専精*, 『六十一年：一名・赤裸裸』 [60 years: or, bared] (Tokyo: 丙午出版社, 1914), 373–374.
Afterwards Yoshitani became a lecturer at Higashi Hongan Temple and an ortho-
dox authority. Lecturer is the highest academic position in the Otani branch;
they have the final judgment when it comes to doctrine. For this reason people
from the University of Tokyo suffered and various problems arose. Yoshitani
was probably faithful to the Shin sect, however in the end was this really ben-
eficial? Yoshitani was someone who should have benefited from the knowledge
he obtained at the University of Tokyo. However, he did not, and gradually be-
came obstinate. He went through all the effort to become a scholar-priest, but
he appeared just like an uneducated priest.  

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