

HISTORICAL RELIGION AND FOLK RELIGION

**-SHINGON BUDDHISM AND CHRISTIANITY-
25-27 March 1985**

With one remarkable exception—the very rewarding encounter with Shinto representatives two years ago—the Nanzan Symposia have, in fact, devoted themselves to the Christian dialogue with different aspects of Japanese Buddhism. This is not the place to attempt a general evaluation of the merits and demerits of the Buddhist-Christian dialogue in Japan, but it is no secret that this dialogue has concentrated mainly on the Zen and Pure Land Schools to the relative neglect of Tendai, Nichiren, and Shingon. The present symposium may thus first of all be seen as an endeavor to broaden the base of dialogue, and thus to follow in the footsteps of a week of conferences on Christianity and Shingon organized by the Institute for Oriental Religions at Sophia University a few years ago. (See Kadowaki Kakichi, ed. *Mikkyō to Kirisutokyō* 密教とキリスト教 [Esoteric Buddhism and Christianity], Tokyo, 1977).

The special attention given this time to Shingon is hardly fortuitous. Indeed one may even speak of a "Mikkyō (esoteric Buddhism) boom" in Japan today. The world-wide surge in interest in the occult may be co-responsible for this boom, but one must also take into account the elaborate celebrations surrounding the 1150th anniversary of the death of the founder of the Shingon Sect, Kōbō Daishi or Kūkai (774–835), and perhaps also a new appreciation of the elements of folk religion so much in evidence in all schools of Japanese Buddhism but especially in the Shingon Sect.

This last element accounts for the title of the symposium and the focal topic around which Shingon and Christianity attempted to gauge one another and come to a better understanding of one another. The presupposition was that both Buddhism and Christianity possess a "pure essence or message" as historical religions but are

at the same time deeply penetrated by folk religious elements. How does one evaluate this?

From the Christian side the desire was expressed to learn *from* Shingon a new insight into the role of the non-rational in religion in general, and more specifically in Christianity itself; and to learn *about* Shingon, for example, the reasons behind and significance of the development of the esoteric trend in Buddhism, the specific role of Shingon Buddhism in Japanese religion, the strongest points of contact of Shingon with Japanese Folk Religion, and so on. The expectations on the Buddhist side were not formulated so clearly, and can only be surmised from the development of the dialogue itself, a brief report of which follows. Whether and to what extent genuine insight into one another's traditions were gained I should also prefer to leave to judgment of the reader.

PANELISTS

Representatives from the Buddhist tradition:

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| Hoshino Hideki 星野英紀 | Shingon Priest and Assistant Professor of Religious Studies at Taishō University, Tokyo. |
| Kanaoka Shūyū 金岡秀友 | Shingon Priest and Professor of Buddhist Studies at Tōyō University, Tokyo |
| Miyasaka Yūshō 宮坂宥勝 | Shingon Priest and Professor Emeritus (Indian Philosophy) of Nagoya National University |
| Oda Ryūki 織田隆弘 | Shingon Priest and Acārya at the Yotsuya Reibyō, Tokyo |
| Yamaori Tetsuo 山折哲雄 | Professor at the Museum for History and Folklore at Narita |

Representatives from the Christian tradition:

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| Inoue Yōji 井上洋治 | Priest of the Tokyo Diocese and well-known author |
| Peter Knecht | Swiss S.V.D. Priest, Lecturer in Anthropology at Nanzan University, and editor of <i>Asian Folklore Studies</i> |

Okano Moriya 岡野守也	Protestant Minister and executive of the Shunjūsha Publishing Company
Jan Van Bragt	Belgian C.I.C.M. Priest, Professor at Nanzan University and Director of the Nanzan Institute.
Yamagata Takao 山形孝夫	President of the Protestant Miyagi-gakuin Women's College

FIRST SESSION:

Yamaori Tetsuo, "Shingon Mikkyō and Folk Religion"

As the first referant on the Buddhist side, Professor Yamaori chose to examine two areas in which Shingon Buddhist practice appears to be deeply intertwined with folk religion. For Shingon's founder, Kūkai, *kaji* meant a profoundly mystical method of "realizing Buddhahood in one's present body" (*sokushin jōbutusu*) by a mutual interpenetration of Buddha and practitioner. In the everyday practice of popularized Shingon, however, *kaji* came to mean rituals (*goma* burning, recitation of spells, etc.) to obtain this-worldly benefits, especially healing. Since folk belief viewed sickness mainly as the effect of a curse of malevolent gods or vengeful spirits of the dead, *kaji* came to be considered to be the most powerful means of pacifying these spirits.

A second point of confluence was found in the Japanese veneration of the bones (or ashes) of the deceased. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, *kōya-hijiri* (wandering religious figures of a popular and shamanistic nature informally connected with the holy mountain of the Shingon Sect, Mt. Kōya) spread a mixture of Shingon and Pure Land beliefs, and promoted the practice of burying the bones of the deceased on Mt. Kōya, "Amida's Pure Land on the Mountain." In the process, the veneration of the bones of the deceased and of their burial places—something unknown until then—became one of the main ingredients of Japanese popular religiosity. The enormous efforts of Japanese people to retrieve the bones of the fallen soldiers all over the Pacific signifies that for them the spirit of the dead dwells in the bones.

It appears that folk religion sought a tie-up with Shingon above all in its efforts to overcome the darker sides of life, and Yamaori indicated in no uncertain terms that he considered the fear of vengeful spirits to be a central element in Japanese natural

religiosity. In his response, Fr. Inoue Yōji broached two questions. Can putting the spiritual *kaji* to use for the alleviation of human suffering really be seen as a degeneration? The human kindness of that other outstanding spiritual figure, *Hōnen*, and the equally great part that healing played in Jesus' life seem to militate against such an interpretation. His second question concerned the relationship between resurrection belief and interment in the west and the exact meaning of the veneration of the bones of the martyrs and saints.

The general discussion was opened by Rev. Oda, the member of the panel most intensely engaged in Shingon practice and guidance. He took a strong stand against influx of popular elements in the *kaji* and the resultant loss of spiritual value, pleaded for a return to *Kūkai*, and referred to Shugendō as a stronghold of superstition. Yamaori remarked that *Kūkai* himself already practiced healing by means of *kaji*, which he believed capable not only of outward purification but of removing the "causal substance" of the disease. As to the question of whether the mandala appealed to the popular imagination, he intimated that the *Kōya* mandala (in the Indo-Chinese tradition) did little to attract the Japanese people, who however created their own mountain-centered mandala, especially on Mts. Kumano and Hiei.

The discussion then turned to the west. Prof. Yamagata pointed out that just as mummification in Egypt was not an act of veneration of the body but sought to enable it to await salvation, interment in the west was seen as befitting the expectation of a resurrection of the body. The Christian panelists seemed to agree that their lack of aversion to cremation implied a reinterpretation of the resurrection belief as having no direct relation to the present body. Prof. Miyasaka finally drew our attention to the fact that the veneration of the Buddha's bones played a large role in India, to the extent that *Mahāyāna* as a popular form of Buddhism found its origin in stupa worship.

SESSION TWO:

Peter Knecht: "Pilgrimage: A Body-and-Soul Experience of Faith"

Peter Knecht, who himself grew up in a European Catholic milieu rich in folklore and later devoted many years to a detailed study of Japanese religiosity at the village level, brought to the discussion one more important element of popular religion. His presentation centered on a careful analysis of the pilgrimage phenomenon in Catholic Europe, but also incorporated personal firsthand experience

of the Shingon pilgrimage *par excellence*, the tour of the 88 temples of Shikoku. From his exposé, the pilgrimage appeared as a unique fusion of the most other-worldly motifs of historical religion with the primitive desire of "touching" the sacred here on earth. While the more spiritualized forms of historical religion may reject pilgrimages, there seems to be little evidence of their existence in primitive religion. The Christian Church has seen itself traditionally as a people trekking through the "alien land" of this world towards their real homeland in heaven ("the center out there"), and pilgrimage can be seen as an existential body-and-soul experience of this fundamental Christian condition by the faithful. On the other hand, pilgrimage appears to show the desire to bring the future center down to earth in the craving for bodily contact with a place or thing where the divine is believed to have appeared "in the flesh" (an intermediary).

This summary and reduction to an abstruse problematics fails to do justice to the closely reasoned and richly illustrated presentation by Peter Knecht but hopefully reflects its place in the general flow of the discussions. At any rate, when Knecht wound up his talk by saying that the concrete benefits which the pilgrim seeks to obtain may range from the very spiritual (confession of faith) to the rather down-to-earth (healing, etc.), but that the fundamental element common to all pilgrimages is the stepping out of one's ordinary everyday life for a special contact with the sacred, the question was left to linger whether this is an attitude common to both primitive and historical religions.

The commentator, Prof. Hoshino, began by indicating that the idea of "*homo viator*" comes natural to Buddhism whose founder led a wandering life and whose practice is essentially seen as a path or way. He then pointed out two kinds of pilgrimages in Japanese Buddhism: one that transcends the division into sects and consists in a peregrination of various "Buddhas" (Kannon-sama, for example); and another that consists in visiting various places especially connected with the founder of the sect, of which the one centering on Kōbō Daishi is the most remarkable and popular example, since on the popular level there is a very special faith in Kōbō Daishi (*Daishi shinkō*) that spreads far beyond the boundaries of the Shingon Sect. In this veneration of and reliance on "Saint Kūkai"—as well as in the cult of the saints in Catholicism—as a near-by figure that links one to the far-off Buddha (or God), Hoshino saw a fundamental deviation from the spirit of historical religion, for which every individual is directly and equally connected with the Absolute. At the same time, however, he stressed that this Kūkai faith, together with the incorporation of prayers for this-worldly benefits,

accounts for the vitality of esoteric Buddhism in Japan.

In the ensuing discussion three important points were brought to the fore. Prof. Yamagata formulated the Protestant objection to pilgrimages as follows: pilgrimages presuppose the existence of two different worlds on earth, but in Christianity there is no place that could be called the "beyond" in this world. The goal of true Christianity is eschatological, but folk religion brings the goal down to the here and now. At this point Rev. Oda again interposed a strong statement: whereas in Christianity there is instruction in the faith, Buddhism in Japan has very little of this so that one comes to a belief far removed from the core of the faith. But, while the idea of God is easy for the people to grasp, the Buddha is hard to fathom indeed. Finally, Prof. Yamaori pointed out a difference between Christian and Buddhist pilgrimages: Christian pilgrimages are by and large visits to a single site, while most Buddhist pilgrimages consist in a circumambulation of several holy places. He associated this with the difference between the monotheistic character of Christianity and the more polytheistic structure of Buddhism. The Catholic panelists, however, tended to view this as a difference in degree and to recognize certain polytheistic tendencies in their own religion.

SESSION THREE:

Kanaoka Shūryū, "Shingon Mysticism: Buddhahood in This Very Body"

As if in answer to Rev. Oda's call, Prof. Kanaoka led us to the core of the Shingon doctrine and to the scholastic disputations surrounding it. In an effort to clarify the Shingon notion of "becoming a Buddha in this very body," Kanaoka first introduced the oriental speculation on the unity of Brahman and atman, the Buddha and sentient beings, that found its Buddhist expression in a special way in theories of the Buddha-nature. Concerning the moot question—also in Shingon theology—of whether one is originally one with the Buddha (innate Buddha-nature) or must acquire Buddhahood through practice, the speaker remarked that the real Buddhist question is not whether Buddha-nature is or is not, but whether one enters the Buddha land or not; that "unity" in eastern mysticism never simply means flat unity, but a view of unity on the basis of a consciousness of duality; and that Buddhism never stops at a duality of opposites but always penetrates to a third synthesizing view (for example: not worldly, not other-worldly, but "Bodhisattva-worldly").

As a second step, Kanaoka then indicated the view of the body that underlies the Shingon theory. In Shingon, too, it is not really

the physical body that counts—so that any method of disposing of it after death is acceptable—but the dharma-body that on two occasions shone through Shakyamuni's physical body. Popular piety, however, is not satisfied with this. It attributes to Kōbō Daishi a kind of survival in a transfigured body and makes the distinction between "impermanence temples" and "petition temples."

In a short commentary, Jan Van Bragt indicated a few parallel ideas in the Christian tradition: *imago Dei*, Christ's transfiguration, and Rahner's "supernatural existential." He then asked whether esoteric Buddhism could not be seen as an endeavor to bring difficult theoretical Buddhism nearer to the people by endowing the eternal Buddha with body or appearance which is not merely expedient means (*hōben*). In the same vein, he asked his Protestant co-Christian, Prof. Yamagata, whether his idea that the beyond does not appear, here and now, in this world does not preclude the possibility of incarnation and the sacraments. The other authority on Shingon "theology" present (besides Kanaoka himself), Prof. Miyasaka, opened the general discussion by remarking that esoteric Buddhism originated to show how the Buddha-nature opens up and appears, and that the Buddha's body must disappear (go through death) for the dharma-body to become permanently present and an object of worship. His further comment that *hōben* originally means guidance towards the goal, and thus becomes itself the goal, triggered a general discussion on the meaning of *hōben*. The two main questions here appeared to be: Does the concept of *hōben* suffice to explain the significance of folk religion for historical religion? And is there any criterion by which to judge the quality of individual *hōben*? To Rev. Oda's remark that the criterion in the upward movement (does it contain the Bodhisattva mind or not?), Rev. Okano remarked that, indeed, Kūkai's ten stages are seen as lower and higher stages of the development of the mind but at the same time as all belonging to the realm of the Tathāgata, and then widened the scope of the discussion by asking whether the different religions could not agree on the following criterion to judge all religions by: whether and to what extent religion promotes the togetherness of the human community.

SESSION FOUR:

Yamagata Takao, "The Dramaturgy of Jesus' Touch"

The title of this paper may surprise the reader, as indeed it did the participants in the symposium, but in retrospect it is hard to imagine a theme more suited for a meditation on the relationship of Christ-

ianity and folk religion, for it goes straight to the heart of the matter: Jesus himself. In his presentation, President Yamagata confronted us with Jesus the healer and thaumaturge, an image of Jesus so hard to stomach for us "enlightened people" that most pastors in their sermons forget about Jesus' miracle stories to concentrate on more ethically rewarding episodes. Still, it cannot be denied that the healing Jesus is very much an integral part of the Jesus of the Gospels and, on the other hand, has very much in common with the faith healer or therapeutic magician as we find them in primitive religion and folk religion.

Yamagata spoke to us of three miracle stories wherein the curing agent appears to be Jesus' *touch*: the healing of the leper (Mk. 1:40-42), of the blind man at Bethsaida (Mk. 8:22-26), and of the woman with a hemorrhage (Mk. 9:22-31). Each story has its own particulars, but the speaker saw the same fundamental drama enacted in each of them: two mutually alien worlds, separated by taboos but confronting one another, and Jesus' touch breaking through the conflict so that God's spirit or *dynamis* (power, glory, grace) takes possession of the opposing world. With the leper Jesus touches the untouchable, the blind man is taken "outside the village" into a liminal situation, and the woman with a hemorrhage (and therefore unclean) breaks all taboos by "touching Jesus from behind." There is, indeed, a strong social aspect or drama in most of the miracle stories—Jesus commits social crimes by crossing over to the side of outcasts and untouchables—but also the deeper layer of the struggle of cosmic forces. As a counterpart Yamagata also introduced the post-resurrection episode in which Mary Magdalene is told: "Do not touch me" (John 20:17). In Acts, the apostles work healings "in the name of Jesus," showing that it is now through the name that the Spirit breaks through. Paul, however, does not speak of Jesus' miracles and does not seem to practice healing himself. Did he recognize the danger of abuse? He expects the breakthrough of the Spirit from the (institutional) sacraments. At any rate, in the well-ordered house of Jewish monotheism, Jesus' behavior may have appeared as Judaeo-paganism, every bit as much as some phenomena in Latin-American Catholicism appear to us as Christo-paganism.

Not surprisingly, Rev. Oda, himself a practicing faith healer in the Shingon line, showed a deep and respectful understanding for Jesus the thaumaturge. We have here a world beyond human common sense, he told us, which is thematized in the "six great elements" of Shingon. It is hard to express what is at work in these healings but *pneuma* is certainly a good word for it. In a candid reflection on his own healing experience, he confided to us that no healing happens if

he himself is not convinced that he can do it, that the easiest to heal are often those most far-off and the hardest to heal are ecclesiastical dignitaries. In the *kaji* view of Shingon miracles are not unnatural. In harmony with Shakyamuni Buddha, who saw illness as one of the four fundamental ills to be overcome, Shingon sees healing as part of the realization of Buddhahood and may be very near to Jesus on this point.

In the ensuing discussion, a skeptical voice, to the effect that the miracle stories of the Gospel could all be read in a psychiatric pattern, was tersely rebuffed by Rev. Oda with the remark that mentally sick people are not the ones to seek help. Fr. Inoue then confessed (for all of us?) that he did not have the confidence to tell a dying person: "Believe and you shall be cured," but could only guide towards acceptance of the Will of God. When it was mentioned how the only remedy left for the patient who has been given up by the doctors is the touch of his dearest, Yamagata conceded that this provides a good perspective to "sense" the importance of Jesus' touch. His next observation about the great role Mary plays in healings in Catholicism then triggered a discussion on the significance of Our Lady in Catholic religiosity, and provoked the remark that the role of our Lady is the greater, the sterner the image of God or Jesus becomes.

SESSION FIVE:

Miyasaka Yūshō, "Mikkyō and Symbolism"

The relationship of magic and religion is undoubtedly a central concern for whoever faces the problem of folk religion. While most historical religions take a negative stand towards magic, esoteric Buddhism appears to "assume" (and purify) magic as an integral part of its own religious path, especially in the *sanmitsu*, the "three mystic practices of body, mouth, and mind." Since this may be the greatest stumbling block on the way to mutual understanding, Prof. Miyasaka's valliant effort to lay bare the religio-mystical core of these apparently magical practices is worth our attention. As to the *mantra*, these "spells" of the Vedas taken over and "purified" by esoteric Buddhism, the speaker stated that Shingon rejects both nominalism and radical realism of the word, and is to be understood from the standpoint of words as symbols. Even so, the central mantra, the sound "A"—the *Ur-form* of all words, is *śabda-brahman*: word as the origin of everything. The western concept of Logos can be evoked here as a parallel idea, but scarcely the general theory of

language of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Theoretically the *mantra* is strictly distinguished from magic spells, but in the everyday practice of the faithful this distinction loses much of its stringency.

The *mudra* or "manual signs" (originally used for Indian dances) take their significance as symbolic mediators of religious experience, and thus become ciphers of the inner world; and the *mandala*, already called by C.G.Jung "the symbol of symbols," endeavors to give form to a sacred world wherein everything emanates from the sacred center. Although ideally the universal should be formless, the religious subject needs a concrete object, and indeed in Buddhism the highest truth possesses a body: the *dharma-kāya*, which in Shingon is further analyzed into a fourfold "truth-body."

Rev. Okano's commentary picked up only two of Miyasaka's ideas. One, the generally low standard of the practice of historical religions, over against the few admirable figures who live the higher meaning of the religion. This prompted him to remark that real historical religion did not exist as yet but had to be expected from the cultural evolution of humankind in the future. Second, the creation idea is deemed to militate against the emanation idea, but the fact that we are called children of God could prompt us to revise this so-called opposition. Returning then to his already preferred idea of a criterion of all religion, he deplored the fact that Protestantism (his own tradition) does not possess the power to found the solidarity of the entire human community since it stands or falls with the idea that there is salvation only in Jesus Christ. He finally asked Prof. Miyasaka—to the considerable embarrassment of the latter—what exactly he meant by locating, in one of his books, Christianity's confidence in God in the third (and still rather primitive) of the ten stages of the mind proposed by Kūkai. To which Miyasaka replied that the nine previous stages are not only preliminary stages on the way to the last esoteric one, but also form integral parts of the highest Shingon truth.

In the general discussion, Rev. Oda stated that he could believe in Christ but not in the earlier parts of the Bible with their ideas of creation and a special revelation to one people— notions which he could not but consider quaint from a theoretical point of view. He softened his pronouncement, however, by adding that religion is not, after all, theory. Fr. Inoue took up the problem of the form and the formless asking whether in the "appearance of the divine" we could not be helped by the distinction of essence and phenomena. Prof. Yamaori then pleaded for a functional, rather than symbolic, understanding of the elements of different religions. The symbolism of a religion can only be understood *via* its specific doctrine, but the

functions of religious elements can be understood from general human behavior and may have parallels in other religions. The question is what kind of religious experience the *mudra*, for instance, can lead us to. If we can consider them as a stage-setting for meditative concentration, we could say that Shingon, in contradistinction to Zen, mobilizes all human sensations in order to enter into meditation. Miyasaka seemed to agree in his comment that the Catholic Mass, which he attended in the morning, had evoked in him distinctly "Mikkō feelings." Prof. Yamagata finally remarked that we cannot simply base ourselves on the written words of the Bible, and that an understanding of the role certain things play in esoteric Buddhism can help us better to appreciate our own Christianity.

SESSION SIX: GENERAL DISCUSSION

The sixth and final session was devoted to a general discussion that sought to gather up the loose ends left over from the previous sessions. Prof. Yamaori, who had been asked to introduce the discussions, reformulated our question as that of "the positive role of folk religion in historical religion." He asked the us to consider which ideology or religion is in fact really determinative in the Japanese ethos, repeating Toynbee's inquiry: "What made the Meiji Restoration a bloodless revolution?" He intimated that, rather than Confucianism or Buddhism as such, it was the way Japan's native religiosity combines with historical religions from abroad. Herein would lie special importance of Shingon in Japan, since Shingon succeeded best in incorporating Japanese religiosity. The speaker then broached the question of the indigenization of historical religions and the degree of difference this effects between, for example, western and Japanese Christianity, Indian and Japanese Buddhism.

Prof. Yamagata, who chaired the session, asked the two non-Japanese panelists (Peter Knecht and Jan Van Bragt) to voice their views on Japanese Christianity and its indigenization. They both deplored the lack of a "Japanese face"—the cut-flower character—of the Japanese Church. Christianity appears in Japan as a religion directly from God, without much relation to the human (Japanese) situation. As Peter Knecht put it: "I want to see a Christianity in which the Japanese can live their Japaneseness," and added that the undercurrent of Japanese life (especially religious life) does not really change, but that many Japanese love, at the same time, to carry around something different and exotic "in their rucksacks." The Japanese priest present, Fr. Inoue, then asked himself aloud how he

felt himself different from his western colleagues and also from the majority of the Japanese Christians who are rather of a special type and often mesmerized by things western. Although often told that he himself did not fit the "Christian type," he professed to be deeply committed to Christianity for the simple reason that Christ had "thoroughly grasped him." He thought to find the difference in his "animistic" feeling of unity with nature: "I want to pray as if nature is praying in me."

Prof. Miyasaka pointed to a fundamental difference between original Indian Buddhism and Japanese Buddhism. Original Buddhism does not recognize any appearance of the Buddha in nature, but esoteric Buddhism accepted the *avatāra* idea from Hinduism: Mahāvairocana appears in all kinds of forms. Japanese Buddhism goes further in that direction so that one can speak of "an animistic view of nature in Japanese Shingon."

Two voices were then raised against the prevalent positive evaluation of native and folk religion. Prof. Hoshino, stressing that he spoke as the priest of a temple where the pure core of Shingon is all but drowned in a mire of folk religious practices, ventured the opinion that Christianity in Japan since the Meiji era did well to keep its "purity," as a result its adherents may be few in number but they are of a high quality with considerable influence on Japanese society. Rev. Okano contested the idea that the Japanese do not change deep down. Man is not nature but culture, and culture can arrive at an adult stage wherein pure historical religion becomes possible. In folk religion the ego of the individual may be curbed, but group egoism remained very strong.

The discussion was then opened to the floor. Jan Swyngedouw stressed that it is not historical religion that is universal—since it is abstract—but folk religion, which is based in human nature itself. He also offered the opinion that European Christianity has become folk religion and that Christianity would have spread more in Japan if its propagation had shown that character. Challenged by a Jōdo priest to state which kind of Buddhism he felt most attracted to, Fr. Inoue replied that he loved Hōnen Shōnin dearly for his goodness but that the Shingon idea of the Great Life of the Universe was alive in him. The same Jōdo priest then asked the Shingon panelists how they viewed the later Kamakura Buddhist reform. To this, Prof. Miyasaka answered that he had never directly pondered the question that Hōnen's reform constitutes, but that the Kamakura Sects divided the three mysteries of Shingon among themselves: Hōnen took the word (*nembutsu*), Dōgen the deed (*zazen*), and Shinran the mind (*shinjin*).

I shall add nothing to this dry report, that it may the better speak for itself, except to add my own conviction that this Fifth Nanzan Symposium represents a serious effort at authentic dialogue between Christianity and Shingon Buddhism, and that occasionally it brought a spark of understanding and rapprochement. But it is clear enough that the pilgrimage has only just begun.

Jan Van Bragt