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Drodzy Czytelnicy,

Oto ostatni zeszyt *Silva Iaponicarum* 日林 w Roku Koguta, zawierający zestawienie tekstów z dziedziny literatury oraz filozofii buddyzmu. Bardzo cieszymy się, że możemy gościć na naszych łamach Profesora Mikołaja Melanowicza reprezentującego Uniwersytet Warszawski oraz Uniwersytet Jagielloński.

Za Ekai Kawaguchi, którego tekst ukazał się w naszym jesiennym zeszycie, możemy powiedzieć, że „życie układa się różnie”. Niezmiennie staramy się nadrobić opóźnienie i ulepszać szatę graficzną periodyku. W międzyczasie zmienił się także skład naszego kolegium redakcyjnego.

Rok Koguta kończy się jednak optymistycznymi akcentami. Pracujemy intensywnie nad powołaniem rady naukowej *Silvy*, co powinno przyczynić się do podniesienia rangi czasopisma. Trwają także starania w sprawie uzyskania stałego wsparcia ze strony Instytutu Orientalistycznego Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, z którego budżetu są obecnie finansowane na bieżąco druk oraz dystrybucja pisma.

Obecnie ustalamy zawartość zeszytów *Silvy* na kolejny rok. W zeszycie wiosennym przedstawimy czytelnikom teksty odczytów wygłoszonych w trakcie zorganizowanego w Poznaniu w grudniu 2005, w setną rocznicę wydania pierwszej powieści Natsume Sōseki *Jestem kotem*, sympozjum poświęconego temu pisarzowi. Krótka relacja z sympozjum dostępna jest już teraz w naszym serwisie internetowym, <http://www.silvajp.amu.edu.pl>.

Życzymy wszystkim naszym czytelnikom pomyślnego wejścia z *Silwą* w następną rok.

Kolegium redakcyjne

E-mail: silvajp@amu.edu.pl

Poznań-Warszawa, grudzień 2005

Dear Readers,

This is the last fascicle of *Silva Iaponicarum* 日林 in the Year of the Rooster. It includes a set of texts on literature and buddhist philosophy. We are pleased to publish on our pages the article by Professor Mikołaj Melanowicz who represents Warsaw University and Jagiellonian University.

After Eikai Kawaguchi, whose text was published in the previous fascicle, we can say that 'life is variable'. We are constantly trying to make up for the delay in our publication cycle and to improve the design of *Silva*. In the meantime, the make-up of our editorial board has also changed.

The Year of The Rooster, however, ends in an air of optimism. We are intensively working to create a *Silva* research council in order to raise its status. We are also applying for the permanent support from the Oriental Institute of Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. At the moment, the Institute generously finances *Silva*'s printing and distribution expenses.

We are currently in the process of finalizing *Silva*'s contents for the following year. In the spring fascicle we will present the transcripts of lectures given during an event organized in Poznań in December 2005. The symposium on Natsume Sōseki was held to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of his first novel, *I am a Cat*. A short update on this can already be found on our WWW site, <http://www.silvajp.amu.edu.pl>.

We wish our readers a happy beginning of the new year with *Silva*.

The editorial board

E-mail: silvajp@amu.edu.pl

Poznań- Warsaw, December 2005

読者のみなさまへ

文学と仏教哲学に関するテキストを載せた、*Silva laponicarum* 日林の酉年最終号です。私たちの季刊誌にワルシャワ大学とヤギエウォ大学を代表するミコワイ・メラノヴィチ教授をお迎えするのは、何よりの光栄です。

秋号の *Silva* に掲載された河口慧海の文章を借りるならば、「世はさまざま」です。私たちは、小誌の刊行遅延を取戻し、装丁を改良すべく、絶えざる努力を図っております。この間に、編集委員会の構成員も変わりました。

とは言え、酉年は明るい出来事で締めくくられようとしています。私たちは、*Silva* 研究顧問委員会設立のための作業を集中的に進めていますが、これによって小誌の水準向上がもたらされるはずです。ポズナニのアダム・ミツケヴィチ大学の東洋学研究所の支援を申請しています。現在も、その予算から、*Silva* の印刷・郵送費がその都度支払われているのです。

現在、*Silva* 来年度分の内容について議論が行われています。春号では、読者のみなさまに、夏目漱石シンポジウム——その処女長篇小説『吾輩は猫である』刊行百周年に当たる 2005 年 12 月上旬に、ポズナニで開催されました——で発表された講演のテキストをお届けいたします。シンポジウムの簡略な紹介は、すでに私たちのインターネット HP (<http://www.silvajp.amu.edu.pl>) でお読みになることができます。

読者のみなさま、*Silva* とともに幸多き新年をお迎え下さい。

編集委員会

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2005年12月 ポズナニ・ワルシャワ

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Mikołaj Melanowicz

Winds over Ryukyu.

A Narrative on the 17th Century Ryukyu Kingdom

Introduction

A historical drama (*taiga dorama* 大河ドラマ), broadcast by Japanese public television NHK about the Ryukyu Kingdom – the present Okinawa prefecture – was an important event which brought back to life things that many Japanese would prefer to remain concealed. The story concerns the history of the Ryukyu Kingdom's subjugation by the Japanese in the seventeenth century. Before that time, the Ryukyu Kingdom had maintained trade relations with China, the Philippines, Japan and even South-East Asia. It was a period of prosperity stretching over the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the time when the kingdom was united and strengthened. The TV series was based on the novel *Ryūkyū no kaze* (Winds over Ryukyu, 1992), by Chin Shunshin, a well-known writer of Chinese origin. The novel is 900 pages long and divided into three volumes: *Dotō no maki* (怒涛の巻: 'the book of angry waves'), *Shippū no maki* (疾風の巻: 'the book of the violent wind'), and *Raiu no maki* (雷雨の巻: 'the book of the thunderstorm')¹. These titles reflect the increasing danger faced by the heroes of the novel and the 100,000 inhabitants of the archipelago. The danger comes from the north, from the Japanese island of Kyushu, the south-eastern part of which was governed by a clan from Satsuma (薩摩, present Kagoshima 鹿児島).

The Characters of *Winds over Ryukyu*

The heroes of the novel are two fictional brothers: Keitai, who pursues a political career, and Keizan, who devotes himself to the art of dance in its native form; and their girlfriends, future wives, Aki and Ugi. The four characters stand for the younger generation. The older generation is represented by the brothers' parents, who were presumed dead at the hands of Japanese pirates (*wakō* 倭寇) but actually survived and lived in Japan, without knowing about each other.

Other important characters are a *kenpō* expert and his *karate* students, who are preparing themselves to fight the Japanese (*Yamatonchū* ヤマトンチュウ in the Ryukyu dialect), and the elders of the royal court under King Shō

¹ Shunshin, 1992.

Nei VII (尚寧 1587–1620). The story includes many famous Japanese historical figures: Tokugawa Ieyasu (徳川家康), Shimazu Yoshihisa (島津義久) and Chaya Shirōjirō (茶屋四郎次郎). The stories of the two main heroes, Keitai and Keizan, unfold amidst the growing danger to their hitherto independent – or so its inhabitants thought – country, posed by its northern neighbour. Relations between Ryukyu and Japan deteriorate when the latter demands a levy in support of their invasion of Korea. Subsequent demands by the Satsuma clan lead to growing resistance by the proud Ryukyuan, especially Jana (謝名), who holds the title of *Oyakata* (親方, *Uekata* ウエーカタ in the Ryukyu Shuri dialect) as a member of the State Council (*Sanshikan* 三司官). The drama reaches its climax in 1609 with the Satsuma's invasion and lasts until about 1660.

The two brothers and their milieu

Most of the events in the novel are seen through the eyes of the two brothers, Keitai and Keizan. Their family originated in the village of Kumemura (久米村) – a community of diplomats and scholars apparently of Chinese descent – where young men used to spend their time learning Chinese subjects in preparation for studies in Fujian (jap. Fukuken 福建), China². The brothers lost their mother and father (known later as Yō Hōgi) in China, where they lived for several years. The children were taken back to Ryukyu with other orphans and raised by merchant Shintenpū, a master of martial arts and famous *kenpō* teacher.

The plot of the novel and majority of events in the *taiga dorama* deal with the political intrigue surrounding the Ryukyuan Kingdom two years before it was invaded (1609) by the Satsuma samurais. To make the historical narrative more interesting, the author introduces two female orphans: Aki and Ugi. Elder brother Keitai, with the affection and support of Aki, becomes a politician, and following the Satsuma's annexation of Ryukyu's northern territory, tries to build a Ryukyuan trade network. His half-brother Keizan, as we learn mid way through the novel that his natural father was in fact his mother's lover, the Ryukyuan dancer – creates a new form of Ryukyuan dance combining elements of Japanese *onna kabuki* and local Ryukyuan tradition.

Keitai and Keizan are representatives of the young generation, which is divided into those who compromise with the Satsuma administration of the Ryukyu Kingdom and those who resist it. Keitai takes the positivistic,

² Smiths, 1999: 38.

practical approach, collaborating with the Satsuma, while Keizan devotes himself to the art of dance in its native Ryukyuan form, fomenting the anti-Japanese sentiments and acts of protest against Satsuma exploitation of the Ryukyu people.

Aki and Ugi, the girlfriends and future wives of the brothers, also become very capable partners in their respective professions. In the novel, the two couples live through trials until their old age. In the *taiga dorama*, Aki and Ugi provide much tension to the narrative, which ultimately shows the tragedy of their nation that lost sovereignty. Aki is an orphan with a talent for dance. After her parents die killed by pirates, she is raised by Gundari, a widow of a sailor who was also killed by the pirates. When Aki turns 15, she is adopted by Jana Ueekata and serves the Queen at the court of Shō Nei VII. Ugi is a daughter of Sai Shin, the younger brother of Keitai's and Keizan's mother. She is a close friend of Aki.

The Japanese inhabitants of Ryukyu include the descendants of *wakō* pirates (Hachirō), Satsuma spies (Nakahara Matsunosuke) and priests (Kikuin Zenji). The Chinese connected with Ryukyu include envoys of the Ming emperor, merchants, scholars, teachers and doctors. Ryukyuan religious officials play an important role, particularly the shamans (*noro* 祝女), headed by the *kikoe ōgimi* (聞得大君), the younger sister of the Queen and her subordinates, whose positions correspond to those of male government officials in the state hierarchy. The female religious hierarchy is subordinate to the King³.

The brothers' father, Yō Hōgi, a doctor, is taken captive by the Japanese and lives in Satsuma domain, where he attends old, ailing Shimazu Yoshihisa. After many years, Yō Hōgi manages to send secret messages back to his relatives in Kumemura village. One of them is Jana Ueekata, a high government official who, as a member of the Council of Three, plays a key role in the tragic events that lead to the downfall of the Kingdom of Ryukyu.

This character is loosely based on the historical Jana Ueekata Tei Dō (鄭廻 1549–1611) of Kumemura. Educated in China, Jana Ueekata did not submit to the Satsuma's demands. After the Japanese clan invaded his country, he was taken prisoner to Kagoshima, where he refused to sign a document pledging loyalty to the Satsuma, thereby choosing death over humiliation. He was decapitated by a Satsuma's samurai as the main Ryukyuan government official responsible for his country's opposition to the Satsuma. Shō Shōken (Sho Joken 向象賢 1617-1675), in his historical

³ Ibid.: 115.

study *Ryukyu Mirror of Chūzan* (*Chūzan seikan* 中山世鑑, after 1650)⁴, portrayed Jana Ueekata as an evil minister responsible for “Ryukyu's loss of its cordiality which brought on the invasion and capture of the King”⁵. “In other words, the invasion was, according to the regent Shō Shōken (known also as Haneji Chōshū 羽地朝秀), the result of rudeness on the part of Ryukyu toward Shimazu, its lord for two centuries”⁶. So Jana Ueekata – in that pro-Japanese historiography – was treated with disdain. But in *Winds over Ryukyu*, Jana Ueekata is portrayed as a proud Ryukyuan patriot.

King Shō Nei VII took a stance that was closer to that of Jana Ueekata. In the first volume of *Winds over Ryukyu*, readers meet him in chapter two (*Kumo to ryū* 雲と竜: ‘cloud and dragon’) sitting in Shuri Castle (*Shurijō* 首里城) in Seiden. He is 43 years old, and has been ruling the Ryukyu Kingdom for 17 years. We see him at a meeting with Jana Ueekata Tei Dō and Kin Ōkai (金応魁), an official of the Royal Chancellery, who has recently returned from a long voyage to China (connected with inviting the emperor’s envoys or *sappōshi*). They are discussing relations with Yamato (they do not use the name “Japan”, but rather “Yamato” or “Satsuma”)⁷. King Shō Nei last appears in Chapter 9 Vol. III, entitled *Ōtachi no shi* (王たちの死: ‘kings’ deaths’). The King, already ill, receives news from China that the Emperor Wanli (万曆) died in the year 1620. Two months later, in September that year, King Shō Nei himself passes away⁸ at the age of 57. Shimazu Yoshihiro (島津義弘), the most active Satsuma adviser during the invasion of Ryukyu⁹, died the year before. Several days after the King Shō Nei’s death, news comes from the Ming court of the death of Emperor Wan-li’s young successor. The Ming Dynasty is in decline, but so is the Ryukyu, which is further symbolized in the novel by the death of Kin Ōkai, the King’s advisor and a prospective successor of Jana Ueekata.

King Shō Nei appears in many important events throughout the novel. After the Ryukyuan defenders of Shuri Castle surrendered to the Satsuma army in 1609, a majority of the invaders left Ryukyu, taking King Shō Nei and hundreds of Ryukyuan court officials back with them to Kagoshima, where they were kept for two years and five months. During this time,

⁴ Ibid.: 98.

⁵ Ibid.: 98.

⁶ Ibid.: 59.

⁷ Shunshin 1992. Vol. I: 32-33.

⁸ Ibid.: 215.

⁹ Shunshin, 1992. Vol. III: 215.

King Shō Nei was invited to visit the retired shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu in Sumpu (駿府, present Shizuoka 静岡) and the incumbent shogun Tokugawa Hidetada (徳川秀忠) in Edo (present Tokyo). The procession of the King of Ryukyu and his officials left a strong impression on the Japanese onlookers.

Shō Nei and his officials returned to Shuri, where they were forced to sign surrender documents containing two oaths, one for the King and the second for his top officials. By signing the documents the Ryukyuans accepted the false interpretation of history, and expressed their gratitude for Shimazu's "benevolence" in permitting the King to return home¹⁰. Shō Nei and his officials swore to become humble servants of the Satsuma¹¹. Under these conditions, the king resumed his place on the throne, but lost the northern territories of his kingdom (Amami-Ōshima, Tokunoshima, Yoronjima and other islands). Japan allowed the existence of the "independent" Ryukyu Kingdom, because it intended to use it as an intermediary in trade with China. The failure of the military government (*bakufu* 幕府) in trade negotiations with Ming China in 1615 further increased Ryukyu's potential importance to Japan. But the independence was fictitious¹², designed only to make Ryukyu appear free from its northern neighbour in the eyes of the Chinese partner. King Shō Nei could pursue the Ryukyuan court ceremonies and other traditional pastimes, but his authority was highly restricted. In consequence, "he felt he had failed to maintain the royal heritage"¹³ by signing the "King's Oath" (*kishōmon* 起請文).

Other important characters include the *kenpō* expert and his karate students, who are preparing (in the first volume of the novel) to fight against the Japanese; the elders of the court, under the leadership of the King; and many famous Japanese historical figures, such as Tokugawa Ieyasu (called *ōgoshō* 大御所 who had already retired and moved to Sumpu Castle), Shimazu Yoshihisa (and Iehisa 家久), the lord (*daimyō* 大名) of the Satsuma clan, and Chaya Shirōjirō, a merchant from Kyoto, who advised Tokugawa Ieyasu on economic matters.

Ryukyu's struggle between China and Japan

The brothers Keitai and Keizan live their lives against the backdrop of the danger faced by their independent country. The Ryukyu Kingdom was

¹⁰ Smits, *ibid.*: 59.

¹¹ Kerr, 1971: 160-164.

¹² *Ibid.*: 166.

¹³ *Ibid.*: 165.

regarded by Ming China as its “barbarian province,” yet formally treated as an independent kingdom after it was crowned by China. The kingdom accepted the crown from a high-ranking Chinese envoy with all due respect in the presence of a large Chinese delegation called *sappōshi* (冊封使). The acceptance of the crown following the official request made by the Ryukyuan court gave Ryukyu the privilege of trading (*shinkō* 進貢) with China. Ryukyu had to undertake lengthy preparations to host five hundred Chinese officials and merchants for a ceremony lasting four months. Several chapters of the first volume of Chin Shunshin’s novel depict the costly ceremonies and entertainments that accompany the arrival of the Chinese delegation, their stay in Shuri and their departure. These events are clearly presented as the most important in Ryukyu Kingdom at that time. It was a very busy time for the heroes of the novel, but it was also a time of security – everybody new that the Satsuma samurais would not attack while the Chinese *sappōshi* were in Shuri.

Several chapters of the novel cover the deteriorating relations between Ryukyu and Japan. The problems began with the invasion of Korea by the army of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, when Satsuma requested the Ryukyu to send several thousand soldiers and provide other supplies in support of the war efforts (in 1592 and 1597). Ryukyu refused to send soldiers (as the King had no army) or food. Subsequent demands made by the Satsuma at the beginning of seventeenth century led to hardening of attitudes by the proud Ryukyuan, especially by the king’s advisor Jana Uekata Tei Dō, a member of the State Council. As a result of the Ryukyu’s refusal to cooperate and their “failure” to express adequate gratitude for the Japanese rescue of two Ryukyuan ships (one of which had drifted as far north as the Date domain), Tokugawa Ieyasu consented to the Satsuma’s request to invade Ōshima (*Ōshima iri* 大島入り) and all Ryukyu (*Ryukyu iri* 琉球入り) and subordinate the Ryukyu Kingdom to the Satsuma clan and, ultimately, Tokugawa.

Aftermath of the Satsuma invasion

In the novel we learn how the Satsuma army, consisting of 3,000 men, quickly forced the proud but defenceless leaders of the Ryukyu Kingdom to surrender. Those who resisted the Satsuma were imprisoned, and more than a hundred court officials were sent to Kagoshima. The precious treasures and collections of Shuri Palace were taken to Japan. The year 1609 (Keichō 慶長 14 in Japan, Wanli 万曆 37 in Ming China; in Ryukyu,

years were generally counted according to the Chinese system ¹⁴⁾ proved to be decisive for the history of the Kingdom.

The last part of the TV drama depicts the attempts to enforce the agreement for the King's return to Shuri Palace. In order to do that, the King had to sign an act of loyalty to Japan, known as the “the King’s Oath”. This peculiar document presents an unprecedented event in history. The proud King of Ryukyu was forced to state that the Islands of Ryukyu had been a feudal domain of Satsuma since ancient times, and that Ryukyu had observed the custom of sending its envoys and tributes to Satsuma. Furthermore, the King “confessed” to having committed a serious mistake by not fulfilling his obligations to Hideyoshi and his successors, and swore that he would henceforth abide by the commands of the Satsuma officials. Jana Ueekata, on the other hand, refused to sign the oath, in result of which he was not permitted to return home.

During over two years the King and his officials were held captives, the Shimazu clan investigated the resources of Ryukyu Kingdom and then imposed economic control over the islands, including a new system of taxation. All these historical facts are described in the novel.

When King Shō Nei finally returned to Shuri Palace, Ryukyu had to pay levies both to China and Japan. The Satsuma was aiming at safeguarding its monopoly on trade with China, and the novel meticulously covers this subject, devoting many pages to Keitai's travels all over the islands of Ryukyu, China and even Taiwan. Exotic figures such as European traders and (numerous) Japanese pirates also appear in the novel, depicting the world as it was seen by the East Asian traders in the seventeenth century.

Beauty of the islands

Much space in the novel – and even more in the TV series – is devoted to Ryukyu's natural and cultural beauty. While the doomed independence of the islands is the main theme of the drama, the author, Chin Shunshin also seems to suggest that there is hope nonetheless. Well acquainted with the history and everyday life of the islanders, he sees hope both in the natural world and the people of Ryukyu.

In the beginning of the story, the author depicts the hard life of the islanders, among other ways, in the story of sweet potatoes (*kansho* 甘薯, known later as *satsuma imo* 薩摩芋). In Japan, they ought to be called *ryūkyū imo* 琉球薯 because potatoes (*imo* 薯, 芋) were brought to Japan from Ryukyu before they were imported in 1606 from Fujian in Ming

¹⁴ Shunshin, *ibid.* Vol. I: 8.

China or before they were brought from Luzon in the Philippines. The Ryukyans imported them in strict secrecy without the knowledge of the Chinese. From that time on – according to the hero of the novel – the people of Ryukyu no longer faced starvation, because potatoes ripening in the ground are resistant to typhoon damage.

Another important “material hero” of the novel is a three-stringed musical instrument called *sanshin* (サンシン, 三線, *shamisen* 三味線). Imported from China in the fifteenth century or earlier, the *sanshin* became a very popular instrument in Ryukyu, where it was adapted to local songs and even used in royal court music, especially after the Satsuma invasion.

Keizan, who rejects the new ways and rules imposed by the foreign administration, becomes a master of music and dance, combining the best native traditions with new Yamato forms of theatre dance. He stays a long time in Sagano in Kyoto to learn *onna kabuki* and other forms of Japanese theatre music. He returns to Ryukyu together with Ugi at the end of novel and teaches many artists¹⁵. In the TV drama – which varies from the novel in this respect – Ugi is murdered by Satsuma soldiers. In her honour he puts on a dance performance that wins him great acclaim and leads him to the death penalty. These fictional episodes in the *drama-fleuve* serve to build a national Ryukyuan identity in opposition to Satsuma domination.

According to historical accounts, at the time of the novel, the seventeenth century, the court in Shuri intensified its efforts to preserve native oral tradition (a project that had begun in the fifteenth century) by recording it in the Japanese syllabary *kana* (仮名). Thus the collection known as the *Omoro sōshi* (おもろそうし ‘book of old songs’), comprising over 1200 court and regional songs (*ryūka* 琉歌) mainly from the central Okinawa, was completed and edited between 1532 and 1623. The Ryukyans used these song lyrics mainly for ritual purposes. Some *ryūka* verses are cited by the novel’s author, who describes the presentation of Ryukyuan music to Japanese Emperor Gomizunoo (後水尾天皇 1611-1629) by Shimazu Iehisa¹⁶.

The Importance of *Dragon Spirit*

Winds over Ryukyu – subtitled *Dragon Spirit* – is an absolutely fascinating TV drama, although it didn’t receive due recognition from the inhabitants of the main islands of the country. To the Yamatonchū (mainland Japanese), the problems of Ryukyu seemed too distant, unfamiliar, and provincial.

¹⁵ Shunshin, *ibid.*, Vol. III.: 297.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol III.: 245.

Moreover, the sympathy shown for the Ryukyuan patriots was arguably offensive for some literati in Kyushu and probably even for some ordinary Japanese citizens. The film was also criticised for its negative portrayal of the Satsuma clan and Tokugawa rulers while idealizing the Ryukyuan who resisted them.

Nevertheless, most Japanese do not appear to be bothered by the fact that *Winds over Ryukyu* has exposed the "official" history of Okinawa as a fiction written from the standpoint of the Satsuma clan. On the contrary: especially thanks to the NHK drama *Ryūkyū no kaze*, the viewers of the drama have an opportunity to rediscover the southern-most region of their country as a beautiful, charming and mysterious domain with unique and precious cultural treasures as well as historical roots that differ from those of the mainland Japan.

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Anna Mierzejewska

The Buddhist Inspiration of The Concept of Faith in The Philosophy of Hajime Tanabe

A significant philosopher of the Kyoto School, Tanabe Hajime (田辺元 1885-1962), reacting to the drama of World War II, experienced a deep personal conversion that transformed his philosophy entirely. The experience of war shifted Tanabe's interests from the philosophy of science and social philosophy towards the philosophy of religion. In his masterpiece *Zangedō to shite no tetsugaku*¹ (「懺悔道としての哲学」 *Philosophy as Metanoetics*²) edited in 1946, Tanabe introduced his own neologism 'metanoetics' (*zangedō* 懺悔道). The word 'metanoetics' comes from Western languages and means 'the path' (*dō* 道) of metanoia (Sanskrit *deśanā*, *zange* 懺悔,)³. The practice of repentance (metanoia) should be, according to Tanabe, the beginning of any philosophical thinking. The word 'metanoetics' carries also another meaning: meta-noetics, that is, overcoming-reasoning based on intellectual intuition (meta-noesis). Only when all philosophical methods have been negated, is philosophy-possible. Tanabe argued the "philosophy that is not a philosophy" (*tetsugaku naranu tetsugaku* 哲学ならぬ哲学).

In Tanabe's philosophy of religion come together diverse traditions of human thoughts and beliefs. Tanabe was inspired by Buddhism and Christianity, as well as by Western philosophy, with the greatest impact being that of Immanuel Kant, German idealism, Søren Kierkegaard and Martin Heidegger. Tanabe's philosophy makes use of several specific theological terms, but most original contents put Tanabe in the term 'faith'.

The concept of faith in Mahayana Buddhism

In this article I would like to show the manner in which Tanabe Hajime treated Buddhist sources while creating his own philosophical concept of

¹ Tanabe Hajime, 1963.

² Tanabe Hajime, 1986.

³ Zange (read also as *sange*) –in Buddhism: the confession of past evils before the Buddha and fellow monks. Tanabe identified the term *zange* with *metanoia* (from Greek: 'after/behind one's mind') which is rather: 'a change of heart'.

faith. The article analyzes how Tanabe used and interpreted key terms of Buddhist scriptures.

Most of the scholars consider faith to be a constitutive element of any world religion. The word ‘faith’ indicates the act of faith as well as the contents of faith. In the case of Buddhism it is difficult to find the object of faith or even to detect encouragements for the followers to believe in anything. Buddha Gautama did not require faith in himself nor in the from his own disciples. The message of Buddha focused on the way of salvation. It said hardly anything about what humans should believe in, but concentrated rather on what–man should do in order to save himself. However, if we analyze more deeply, it will become obvious that the phenomenon of ‘faith’ is indeed present in Buddhist teaching, although there are differences in the case of original Buddhism and its later forms.

In early Buddhism, faith (Sanskrit *śraddha*, *shin* 信) was treated as one of fundamental virtues which should be practiced by laymen. ‘Faith’ meant the acceptance of the Three Jewels, which consisted of the act of entrustment in Buddha, in his ‘doctrine’ (Sanskrit *dharmā*, *hō* 法) and in ‘the community of believers’ (Sanskrit *samgha*, *sō* 僧)⁴. In Mahayana Buddhism faith in many Buddhas and bodhisattvas⁵ was common.

The most unique concept of faith can be found in Pure Land Buddhism. Pure Land piety demanded from its followers entrustment in Amida Buddha and his help in attaining rebirth in the Pure Land⁶.

Bodhisattva Dharmākara who later become Amida Buddha, introduced 48 vows. These vows can be divided into two categories: those related to the attributes of the Pure Land and those related to the way one can reach Amida’s Land. Almost all vows start with the phrase: “If in my land, after I have attained Buddhahood...” and end with “...then I may not attain enlightenment”⁷. The enlightenment of Amida Buddha was the theological proof for the reality of those vows.

The Pure Land faith was based on Amida’s vows. In the treatise *Mahayana-śraddhahotpada śāstra* (*Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana*),⁸

⁴ See: Mejer, 2001: 110.

⁵ Bodhisattva – a being who seeks enlightenment not only for himself but also for all sentient beings. A future Buddha.

⁶ On Pure Land Buddhism see: Watanabe, 1966: 193-204, Matsunaga and Matsunaga, 1992, vol. 2: 11-127.

⁷ Matsunaga and Matsunaga 1992, vol. 2: 23.

⁸ *Daijōkishinron* (「大乘起信論」), T 1666. *Ashvaghosa : The Awakening of Faith* trans. Richard Timothy, (Ed. Alan Hull Walton, 2005. *The Awakening of Faith in*

sometimes ascribed to Aśvaghosa (second century), Pure Land faith was described as a way for the weak and was called an [the] ‘easy path’ (*igyōdō* 易行道). The following patriarchs have developed fundamentals of Pure Land theology: Nāgārjuna (second/third centuries), Vasubandhu (fourth century), Tanluan (曇鸞 476-452), Daochuo (道綽 562-654), Shandao (善導 613-681), Genshin (源信 942-1017), Hōnen (法然 1133-1212) and Shinran (親鸞 1173-1262).

In the chapter entitled „Easy Path” in his treatise *Daśabhumika-vibhāsā śāstra*⁹ Nāgārjuna suggested entering the path of Buddha by using ‘skillful means’ (Sanskrit *upāya*, *hōben* 方便)¹⁰, which was faith. Daochuo, the fourth patriarch, distinguished the ‘Holy Path’ (*shōdōmon* 聖道門 ‘The Gate of the Holy Path’) – that is, the path for saints and sages – from the Easy Path (*jōdomon* 淨土門 ‘The Gate of the Pure Land’), which was the path for Pure Land believers. While *shōdōmon* represented the traditional means of reaching enlightenment through ‘self-power’ (*jiriki* 自力), such as intellectual studies or meditation, *jōdomon* proposed faith in ‘Other-power’ (*tariki* 他力), that is, entrustment in Amida Buddha.

The Pure Land piety appeared in Japan already in sixth century, though it wasn’t treated as a means of personal salvation yet. At first the Tendai sect introduced the practice of *nembutsu*, which was reciting the name of Amida Buddha. Later Pure Land Buddhism assumed a new shape with numerous Pure Land sects. The first one was created by Hōnen and was called the Pure Land Sect (*jōdōshū*). The doctrine of Hōnen recommended the practice of both *nembutsu* and Pure Land faith to his followers. One of the disciples of Hōnen, Shinran, founded the True Pure Land Sect (*jōdo shinshū*), which will be called Shin Buddhism in this article. The doctrine of this sect was based exclusively on faith.

‘Faith as such’ (*shinjin* 信心) played the main role in the doctrine of Shin Buddhism. *Shinjin* could not be treated as an act of will, since such act requires the assumption of the “self” — the subject of will. Shinran, however, advocated an ideal faith, which was free of any creations of ‘self-power’ (*jiriki*), ‘a faith of no-ego’ (Sanskrit *anātman*, *muga* 無我).

Mahayana, attributed to Asvaghosha, trans. Yoshito S. Hakeda, Columbia University Press 1967.

⁹ *Jūjū bibasharon* 「十住毘婆沙論」, T 1521.

¹⁰ *Upāya* (*hōben* 方便) – ‘skillful means of leading sentient beings to attain enlightenment’.

Tanabe pointed out that the Shin Buddhism doctrine served merely as consolation for the poor who could not find any solace in the old Buddhist sects. Zen became the way for samurai. Tendai and Nara Buddhism sects focused on the aristocracy and were concerned with the void rituals only¹¹. Tanabe claimed that the Zen doctrine was for saints and sages, while the Pure Land doctrine served sinners and the weak. Zen masters stated that non-enlightenment is often caused by the lack of faith in one's own Buddhahood. Tanabe confessed he suffered because he could not attain enlightenment and he believed to be unable to release himself from ignorance through 'self-power' (*ji-riki*). He understood it was only possible through Other-power and the act of 'repentance' (*zange*)¹².

The followers of the Zen sect usually practice meditation on *kōan* (公案) or 'seated meditation' (*zazen* 座禪), both of which lead them to enlightenment, the state of absolute self-negation. In *Zangedō to shite no tetsugaku* Tanabe discussed the problem of *kōan* and stated that the true meaning of *kōan* for Zen practice lies in the fact that it represents the way of 'absolute negation' (*zettai hitei* 絶対否定). According to him, it corresponds to the idea of an 'absolute criticism' (*zettai hihan* 絶対批判) in philosophy¹³.

The path of Buddha disciples requires leaving any discrimination behind, as the mind should be free from any ties¹⁴. One should avoid any logical analysis while describing the phenomenon of faith. It is impossible to think about faith from the "outside"¹⁵.

The Absolute and the self

The Mahayana doctrine, which stated that Nothingness could only exist in mediation through the participation in related being, influenced Tanabe's understanding of Nothingness. Tanabe explained:

Relative being, as relative, has to become annihilated through the mediation of Absolute Nothingness and become nothingness, too. The Absolute as a transformative nothingness (*tenkanteki mu* 轉換的無) has to become mediated by the mutual transformation between relative

¹¹ See: Tanabe, 1963: 207.

¹² Ibid.: 122.

¹³ Ibid.: 162.

¹⁴ Ibid.: 147-148.

¹⁵ Ibid.: 154.

beings. Relative being becomes the axis of that transformation¹⁶.

The Absolute demonstrates itself in the transformation of being and in relations between those beings and the causes of their transformation. Tanabe claimed that the Absolute cannot exist apart from the world of phenomena. If it could, it would become the Being, ‘the Absolute Being’ (*Zettai Yū*), which would preexist all other beings.

In Buddhist thought there is no place for the idea of creation or Creator. Tanabe stressed the fact that Buddhism is not emanationism either. Using his words, Buddhism is not pantheism. In his work entitled *Jitsuzon to ai to jissen*, Tanabe stated: „Buddhism is not pantheism, as it is often considered, because pantheism supports the ‘position of Being’ (*yū no tachiba* 有の立場), not Nothingness. Ancient pagan religions in the West are an example of pantheism, but not Buddhism. Buddhism is based on Nothingness, but that does not mean Buddhism is ‘atheism’ (*mushinron* 無神論). Rather, by reversing this formula it should be said that Buddhism is a doctrine of God-Nothingness” (*shinmuron* 神無論). It is a doctrine of Nothingness-qua-God. It is the action-faith of God-qua-Nothingness, confirmed (*shō suru* 証する) by transformation of oneself through love and mercy”¹⁷.

Tanabe stressed that Buddhism should not be treated as a form of atheism. He classified Buddhism as a religion of God-Nothingness, not as a religion of no God. This important statement was not noticed in Western studies of Tanabe, primarily because there were no translations of *Jitsuzon to ai to jissen*—into Western languages, nor was it the object of studies. Like the term ‘metanoetics’, ‘Doctrine of God-Nothingness’ is a term inspired by Mahayana teaching and created by Tanabe.

Tariki and jiriki

In Tanabe’s thinking the tension between *jiriki* Buddhism and *tariki* Buddhism was always present. Tanabe’s aim was to follow the teachings of the True Pure Land Sect (*jōdo shinshū*), which stresses faith. Although the teachings of faith by Zen masters was familiar to him, he preferred to take the path of faith indicated by Shinran. Tanabe also tried to bring together *jiriki* and *tariki* Buddhism.

As previously mentioned, Tanabe distinguished two ways of salvation: one for saints and sages, The Gate of the Holy Path (*shōdōmon*), and another

¹⁶ Ibid.: 202.

¹⁷ Tanabe, 1963a: 351.

one for ordinary people, where he placed himself, the Gate of the Pure Land (*jōdomon*). Ordinary people had to follow the path of metanoetics - they had to practice repentance (*zange*) and faith (*shin*).-Enlightenment, which is true cognition, was only possible from the standpoint of faith. Here Tanabe took advantage of the traditional Christian formula: *shiru tame ni shinzuru* (知るために信ずる), that is, ‘I believe in order that I may understand’¹⁸.

Other-power

Tanabe’s metanoetics is not always consistent with the Pure Land doctrine. From the standpoint of its emphasis on metanoesis (*zange*), it is actually closer to Christianity, although Shinran’s masterpiece *Kyōgyōshinshō* (教行信証 „Teaching, practice, faith, enlightenment”)¹⁹ remains the main source of inspiration for Tanabe. Metanoetics was also the fruit of Tanabe’s personal experience and religious reflection. Using his words, metanoetics is the synthesis of *nembutsu* and Zen (*nembutsu-zen*), a new path of ‘faith’ (*shin*) and ‘enlightenment’ (*shō*)²⁰.

“To believe” denotes becoming a mediator of Nothingness. The ego annihilates in faith. Absolute Nothingness raises the self, performing its „absolute affirmation”. It is impossible to believe in Nothingness while the ego is immediately affirmed. „In faith the believer must submit to what he believes in. Thus in faith he dies and is resurrected.

The special role of *tariki* Buddhism in Tanabe’s philosophy resulted not only from his personal experience, but also from his approach to the contemporary needs of mankind and the period of history he lived in. Tanabe questioned whether there was any religion in his time that could provide nations consolation after World War II. Zen and Pure Land sects in Japan were full of controversies. According to Tanabe, the interpretation of Shinran’s doctrine by Pure Land scholars was not better than his own. He claimed that only metanoetics was the true interpretation of Shinran’s heritage for modern times. Tanabe insisted that only in metanoetics could ordinary people find peace of the heart and, because it was inspired by

¹⁸ Tanabe, 1963: 42. . . Takeuchi Yoshinori, Tanabe’s disciple and translator indicated that *shiru tame ni shinzuru* was the translation of Latin formula: *credo ut intelligam*, originated from St. Augustine. The Japanese *shiru* means in this case ‘to understand’ (Latin: *intelligere*).

¹⁹ 教行信証, T 2646; *The True Teaching, Practice, and Realization of the Pure Land Way*, Honganji International Center, Kyoto 1987.

²⁰ Ibid.: 205-206.

Buddhism as well as Christianity, he assumed it should be accepted by both the East and the West²¹.

In *jiriki* Buddhism, faith precedes deeds whereas in the Other-power sects, it is the other way around. The same is true in the case of metanoetics. The practice of metanoia prepares one to receive faith. Without *zange*, there is no basis for faith in Other-power. *Zange* is necessary in order to start believing in Amida's vows.

Faith in Amida

Tanabe considered faith to lead to 'action, which was no-action' (*musa no sa* 無作の作), in other words action in which there is neither subject nor object²². Faith in an object much stronger and possessing much more potential than the human is common in every religion. In the case of Pure Land Buddhism, it is not so obvious. Although Amida Buddha resembles deities of other religions, it is not the same. Amida is the single Ruler in the area of purification (Pure Land), but he also belongs to many Buddhas in the whole cosmos. He is the creator of his land, but not of the whole cosmos. He is almighty, but is not a judge. He is immortal, but not eternal, since there was a time he was not Buddha yet. He exists outside his world, but is not a deity.

The Buddha's compassion is not strictly compassion as such. For example, it is not the same as grace in Christianity, but rather aims at fulfilling a spontaneous need, just like the sun which has to shine. Amida has to manifest itself just like the human has to answer for an aspiration of perfection. 'Merit-transference' (Sanskrit *pariṇāma*, *ekō* 回向)²³ is the soteriological manifestation of *tariki*. Merit-transference consists of 'ascending merit-transference' (*ōsō ekō* 往相回向), in which the Absolute draws sentient beings towards salvation, and returns 'merit-transference' (*gensō ekō* 還想回向), where the enlightened sentient being is helped by another in order to attain Buddhahood.

In merit-transference Amida destroys the ego. Therefore Tanabe identifies Amida with the Absolute, which is 'Absolute Negation' (*Daihi* 大否). After ego's death, self-consciousness is raised to a new life by Other-power. The self-consciousness becomes then a mediator of *gensō* for other sentient

²¹ Ibid.: 209.

²² Ibid.: 200.

²³ Merit-transference – transferring one's virtue to others for the attainment of Buddhahood.

beings. In this way the Absolute manifests itself as a ‘Great Compassion’ (*Daihi* 大悲)²⁴.

Amida’s compassion is an action of Other-power and could be called ‘naturalness’ (*jinen hōni* 自然法爾). Other-power does not work under pressure, but that does not mean that Amida gives grace to sentient beings. Other-power is not a person. Nevertheless, the essence of faith lays in ‘entrustment’ (*omakase* おまかせ) in Amida²⁵. Entrustment is the fruit of absolute mediation of Absolute Other-power.

Bodhisattva

Tanabe defined the history of Amida Buddha to be a myth. He showed the same attitude towards the figure of bodhisattva. Despite this, he constructed the ideal of bodhisattva for modern times in his masterpiece *Zangedō toshite no tetsugaku*. He claimed that the figure of bodhisattva was more concrete than the ideal of Christianity, which identifies religion and ethics. This is understood differently in Shin Buddhism. Bodhisattva does not seek his own salvation exclusively²⁶. His merits can be transferred onto other sentient beings²⁷. Bodhisattva is the ideal figure led by perfect compassion to save all sentient beings. The word *bodhisattva* (*bosatsu*) appears in early Buddhist scriptures in Sanskrit and Pali, before the second century B.C. The meaning of the Pali word *bodhisatta* is ambiguous. The Sanskrit term *bodhisattva* connotes a being whose essence is *bodhi*, or perfect enlightenment. In early Buddhism the path of bodhisattva meant attainment of Buddhahood by Gautama (*parinirvāna*)²⁸.

Tanabe evokes the figure of bodhisattva by putting his achievement of Buddhahood in the “here and now”. It coincides with awakening of the believer, identified by enlightenment of the practitioner.

Amida’s Vows belong to the category of myth as well, but, as Tanabe stresses, they are very important for religious existence and are based on faith. Amida’s Vows cannot be seen without connection to religious faith. Expressing Pure Land as a kind of Heaven used to be *hōben* for ordinary people.

In metanoetics, Amida and bodhisattvas are the objects of faith. Tanabe’s interpretation was not in line with the orthodoxy of *jōdoshū* and *jōdo*

²⁴ Ibid.: 98.

²⁵ Ibid.: 148.

²⁶ Ozaki, 1990: 114.

²⁷ Laube, 1990: 327.

²⁸ Ibid.: 322-323. Here early Buddhism covers the period from the third to first century BC.

shinshū. Professor Whalen Lai claims that Tanabe's interpretation at this point resembled the teaching of tendai²⁹. Chinese *tiantai* (*tendai* 天台), rooted in *Lotus Sutra*³⁰ and madhyamika³¹, also discusses Pure Land piety. Tanabe, unlike Shinran but similar to the tendai sect, emphasized the significance of self-power. He was also contradictory to zen, as he stressed the Other-power. The dialectic of absolute mediation is not the absolute harmony between *tariki* and *jiriki*, he claimed. A human being needs Amida much more than Amida needs a human being. The mutual mediation is asymmetrical with the Amida having a much more significant role.

Shinran's Thought

In this part I would like to show how Shinran's teaching influenced postwar works of Tanabe. I would also like to study the acceptance of *Kyōgyōshinshō* and such concepts of Shinran as *ōsō-gensō* (往相-還相), the 'Three Minds Theory' (*sanshinron* 三心論), Transformation through the 'Three Vows Theory' (*sangantennyū* 三願轉入), as well as faith and *zange*.

In the preface to *Zangedō toshite no tetsugaku*, Tanabe confessed that after his conversion he sought a similar experience in the religious literature of the East and the West. He noticed some metanoetical overtones in the Bible, Augustine, Luther, Pascal, Kierkegaard, however it was not enough to build a new system of metanoetics. It was the same in the case of Buddhist scriptures. The essence of metanoetics was finally discovered in the teaching of Shinran. In Shinran's scriptures Tanabe found the term *zange*, which he identified as his own metanoia.

In two of his masterpieces, *Kyōgyōshinshō* and *Jōdo wasan*³², Shinran expressed his regret that it was not until old age that he started to believe in Amida Buddha, and still considered himself to be a man full of 'desires' (*bonnō* 煩惱), which made him incapable of following the path of bodhisattva. According to Shinran, nobody was able to do it by self-power in the age of *mappō* (末法'Degeneration of the Dharma'). Only Amida

²⁹ Whalen Lai, 1990 : 257.

³⁰ *Saddharmapundarīka-sūtra Myōhōrengekyō* (妙法蓮華經), T 262.

The Lotus Sutra, trans. Burton Watson, Columbia University Press, 1993.

³¹ Mādhyamika – Mahayana school in India founded by Nāgārjuna (second/third century). It taught that by realizing the doctrine of the interdependence of all phenomena, one may eliminate all illusion and perceive the middle way which avoids the extremes of existence and non-existence.

³² 浄土和算 (Hymns on Pure Land), *Shinshū shōgyō zensho*, vol. 2.

Buddha, who was previously bodhisattva, could transfer his merits and save a ‘stupid sinner’ (*bompu akunin* 凡夫悪人)³³.

Tanabe pointed out that his attitude towards the teaching of Shinran was free from dogmatism. It was rather based on seeking inspirations for his own philosophy. His interpretation was not an orthodox explanation of Shinran’s religious terms. Tanabe’s interpretation of *Kyōgyōshinshō* did not resemble the pious attitude of Shinran towards *Larger Sutra*³⁴, which he treated as the real teaching of Gautama Buddha³⁵. Tanabe noticed a metanoetical transformation in Shinran’s masterpieces. The way of metanoesis (*zange*) leads through ‘action-faith-enlightenment’ (*gyō-shin-shō* 行信証). These three stages are derived from the title of *Kyōgyōshinshō*. For Tanabe ‘faith’ belongs to *gyō-shin-shō*. Using his words, faith is

(...) not self-consciousness of an immediate affirmation of oneself, but a self-consciousness of the negation of oneself. Faith cannot be seen as something possessed by the self, but as ‘action-faith’ (*gyō-shin*), which means action performed with complete reliance on Other-power. In Shinran’s words, „faith is bestowed by Tathāgata ” (*Nyorai yori tamawaritaru shin* 如来より賜はりたる信). Because to have faith means to be made to have faith, self-consciousness of faith is self-consciousness of the negation of oneself, it is also the “nothingness of self-consciousness” (*jikaku no mu de aru* 自覚の無である)³⁶.

Tanabe declared in *Zangedō to shite no tetsugaku* his own weakness and the feeling of powerlessness as well as his need to rely on Other-power. He wanted to entrust himself in Amida just like Shinran had done. He also saw the need of continuous repentance (*zange*). He recommended this to his readers and all people. Moreover, he believed that continuous repentance is a mediator of salvation³⁷.

³³ Laube, 1990: 319.

³⁴ “The Larger Sutra of the Adornments of the Pure Land” (*Sukhāvati-vyūha sūtra*, *Daimuryōjūkyō* 大無量寿経, T360)

³⁵ Tanabe, 1963: 207-208.

³⁶ *Ibid.*: 85.

³⁷ *Ibid.*: 229.

Ōsō and gensō

Some of the most important terms of Tanabe's philosophy were derived from Shinran's scriptures: *ōsō-gensō* (往相-還相). *Ōsō* is the way to the Absolute, the way of sentient being to rebirth in Pure Land, while *gensō* denotes a way from the Absolute to the world to save sentient beings. Tanabe incorporated those concepts into his own philosophical system. Tanabe makes a point of *ōsō* in particular, which according to him should be the heart of every religion. Believing in the Absolute is connected with the matter of one's salvation³⁸. In Pure Land Buddhism the mediation of Amida is possible by outgoing transference (*ōsō ekō* 往相回向). The return of Amida to the world of sentient beings is possible due to 'action-faith' (*gyō shin*) of sentient beings and belongs to the 'returning transference' (*gensō ekō* 還相回向)³⁹.

Tanabe claimed that his metanoetics as a philosophy of Other-power is the true execution of *gensō*. Using his words, his own philosophy is „a return to the world” (*gensō*) in the act of gratitude, in order to become a 'mediator' (*baikai* 媒介) for spreading faith in Other-power among men⁴⁰.

Tanabe stressed the fact that *ōsō* does not precede *gensō* in temporal aspects. *Ōsō* is carried out through *gensō*, which was conducted by bodhisattva Dharmākara. *Ōsō* and *gensō* are manifested in metanoesis (*zange*); thus it could be said that Pure Land Buddhism represents the Gate of the Law of Metanoesis (*zange hōmon* 懺悔法門)⁴¹.

Bodhisattva's return to the world in order to help sentient beings, by teaching them and leading them to the enlightenment, is a perfect example of the faith and mediation of Great Compassion (*Daihi*)⁴². In his work *Jitsuzon to ai to jissen*, Tanabe emphasized faith in Buddha, who is Compassion (*Butsu wa jihi de aru to iwareru shinkō* 仏は慈悲であるといわれる信仰)⁴³.

If human action is rooted in faith and obedience to Other-power, the inner transformation of the human takes place. The transformation leads one to 'resurrection' (*fukkatsu* 復活). A resurrected human being returns to the world (*gensō*) to become a witness of enlightenment. The existence of such a being could be described 'to live like being dead', or 'to act like someone

³⁸ Ibid.: 196.

³⁹ Ibid.: 197.

⁴⁰ Ibid.: 232.

⁴¹ Ibid.: 230.

⁴² Ibid.: 151.

⁴³ Ibid.: 484.

who died while still living’. This existence becomes the manifestation of the self-consciousness of Absolute Nothingness. (*Zettai Mu no jikaku*)⁴⁴. Traditional interpretation of Shin Buddhism stated that rebirth in the Pure Land is possible only after death. Attaining Buddhahood makes it possible to return to *samsara* to save sentient beings. This is not completely consistent with Shinran’s thinking. Shinran treated rebirth in the Pure Land twofold as both awakening of faith (*shinjin*) and at the same moment attaining Buddhahood in death. Contemporary interpretations of some Shin scholars suggest that returning to the world (*gensō*) takes place in this life. Tanabe was a supporter of this theory. Moreover, he described metanoesis as the essence of *ōsō-qua-gensō* (*ōsō soku gensō* 往相即環相), which was an absolute novelty for Shin theology⁴⁵. Bodhisattva Dharmākara symbolizes absolute *gensō*. For Tanabe everyone who has conducted repentance could practice returning to the world (*gensō*) in order to lead others to salvation.

Three Minds Theory

Tanabe explained dependence of human beings on Other-power by using two Buddhist theories: Transformation through the Three Vows (*sangantennyū* 三願転入) and Three Minds as One (*sanshin isshin* 三心一心)⁴⁶. It is mentioned in *Meditation Sutra*⁴⁷ that the human mind needs to reach three forms, or dispositions, in order to enter the Pure Land. Those three dispositions of mind, or Three Minds, all result from ‘one mind’ (*isshin* 一心).

Tanabe analyzed the Three Minds Theory by using the interpretation of Buddhist thinker Soga Ryōjin (曾我量深 1875-1971)⁴⁸. The first of the Three Minds is the ‘Sincere Mind’ (*shijōshin* 至誠心), which is belief in the sincerity of one’s past deeds, words and thoughts. The second is the Deep Mind (*jinshin* 深心), which is belief in salvation achieved by Amida Buddha. The third is the ‘Mind Aspiring to Rebirth through Merit-Transference’ (*ekō hotsugan shin* 回向発願心), which is belief in the rebirth of oneself in the Pure Land in the future. All three form one mind, one faith. Tanabe described it as ‘Three Minds-*qua*-One Mind’ (*sanshin*

⁴⁴ Tanabe, 1963: 158.

⁴⁵ Taitetsu, 1990: 129.

⁴⁶ Yamashita, 1990: 207.

⁴⁷ *Kanmuryōjukyō* (觀無量壽經), T 365.

⁴⁸ Soga, 1991: 221-231.

soku isshin 三心即一心)⁴⁹. Those Three Minds result in rebirth in the Pure Land. The first mind, Sincere Mind, is the subject of action done in the past. Deep Mind is the mind of entrustment in Amida in the “here and now”. The third mind desires the attainment of rebirth in the future⁵⁰.

Tanabe claimed that the Three Mind Theory grasped the essence of faith in Pure Land thought and was parallel to the Holy Trinity in the Christian doctrine. Tanabe confessed that his faith in Pure Land thought was insufficient, but believed that by practicing repentance he would be forgiven by means of Other-power.

Shinran united three stages of faith (*shinjin*) into One Mind and stressed that true *shinjin* formed One Mind. Three Minds are impossible to attain by a human only through self-power. Shinran pointed out the absolute nature of Other-power (*tariki*).

Believing Mind

Tanabe used the term *shinjin*, taken from the teaching of Shinran. The term means ‘a believing mind’, ‘believing self’ or simply ‘faith’.

For Shinran, metanoesis and regret do not precede *shinjin*, simply because a human being is able to empty oneself only through the experience of faith (*shinjin*), in which mediation of the Absolute could perform. Self-power can be negated only by Other-power. For Tanabe true *shinjin* results from the combination of the struggles of *jiriki* and *tariki*⁵¹.

According to Shinran, the dynamism of Amida’s vow caused two outcomes. The first one was *ōsō ekō* or ascension to the Pure Land, which was possible due to the ‘teachings’ (*kyō* 教) explaining the ‘practice’ (*gyō* 行) of Amida and leading a man to ‘entrustment’ (*shin* 信) and thus to final ‘enlightenment’ (*shō* 証). The second outcome was returning merit-transference (*gensō ekō*), a coming back to this world from the Pure Land in regards of sentient beings, thanks to the participation of Amida Buddha⁵². Shinran was the first Buddhist master who confirmed attainment of *shinjin* (信心) in this life. The Pure Land patriarchs before him taught that it was possible only in the Pure Land. The True Pure Land sect started to interpret faith as something not so distant in the future anymore⁵³.

⁴⁹ Tanabe, 1963: 212.

⁵⁰ Ibid.: 212-213.

⁵¹ Ueda, 1990: 147.

⁵² Taitetsu, 1990 : 128.

⁵³ Ibid.: 144.

Transformation through The Three Vows

Shinran was against the entrustment in self-power (*jiriki*) common to his times. In the last chapter of *Kyōgyōshinshō* he criticized relying on *jiriki* and explained the Theory of Transformation through the Three Vows. Tanabe reflected that according to Shinran, the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth vows⁵⁴ attribute the process of conversion to true, sincere faith in Other-power. The nineteenth and twentieth vows play a secondary role. Fulfilling them merely serves as preparation for the final stage of faith described in the eighteenth vow.

Each of the Three Vows was named by Shinran. In the eighteenth vow Amida says about those who have Sincere Mind, True Faith and Aspiration of Rebirth. Therefore Shinran called this vow a ‘Vow of Sincere Mind and Serene Faith’ or a ‘Vow of Attaining Rebirth through *nembutsu*’. The nineteenth vow is a ‘Vow of Recommending Purity of Heart and Establishing an Enlightened Mind’ or a ‘Vow of Performing Virtuous Deeds’. The source of virtuous deeds and merits is *nembutsu* put into practice⁵⁵. The twentieth vow is a ‘Vow Assuring the Aspirant of Unfailing Rebirth’, the ‘Vow of Sincere Mind and Mind to Transfer’, or ‘Vow of Planting the Roots of Virtue’. The last name emphasizes the ‘roots of virtue’, which are also interpreted as the practice of *nembutsu*. In the doctrine of Shin Buddhism, *nembutsu* performed by self-power (*jiriki*) was useless in attaining enlightenment. In the age of *mappō* such practice could be performed only by saints and sages. Ordinary people had to rely on Other-power. The twentieth vow is positioned midway between the nineteenth and the eighteenth, even though it has already overcome the contradiction of seeking rebirth in the Pure Land by performing good deeds by self-power, it still falls short of authentic faith in Other-power⁵⁶. Tanabe noted that such transformation remained at the conceptual level and was rather an ‘idea of conversion’. The twentieth vow is positioned ‘in-between’ (*chūkansei* 中間性), mediating between the nineteenth and eighteenth. The twentieth vow functions as a negative⁵⁷, mediating element

⁵⁴ There are 48 Amida’s vows. In the 18th Amida promised: “All the beings of ten directions with sincere faith who seek to be born in my land and call upon my name ten times, except those who have committed the five cardinal crimes or injured the true Dharma, shall be born in my land”. He also promised in 19th vow he would appear at the moment of death to all beings of the ten directions committed to Enlightenment and the practice of good deeds and in 20th that all beings who heard his name and desired the rebirth in Pure Land would succeed.

⁵⁵ Tanabe, 1963: 203 ff.

⁵⁶ Takeuchi Yoshinori failed translating this as a ‘love of Other-power’.

⁵⁷ ‘Negative’ in the meaning of Hegelian dialectic triad.

in conversion to the authentic faith, which corresponds to the eighteenth vow⁵⁸.

Shinran considered the eighteenth vow as the final entrustment of self to Other-power. For Tanabe, the eighteenth vow is realized in action-faith-enlightenment. This is absolute Other-power at work in its ‘characteristic naturalness’ (*jinen hōni*)⁵⁹.

Aspects of past, present and future are represented in the eighteenth vow. The aspect of future is seen in the desire to be born in the Pure Land. Metanoesis is a mediator between the past and the present. In metanoesis the self feels regret for past deeds. *Zange* converts the ego to faith in the present. Faith in the present was termed ‘Sincere Mind’ by Shinran.

One cannot attain rebirth in the future without repentance for one’s past deeds. Evil could be seen as a mediator of salvation. A sin confessed and regretted is not a sin anymore, but a mediator of grace instead. In *Jitsuzon to ai to jissen* Tanabe talked about *felix culpa* (*fuku naru tsumi* 福なる罪). Shinran often said of this paradox: “For that reason it is said, “Even a good person can be born in the Pure Land. How much more so the evil person”⁶⁰.

Metanoesis

In his reflection on metanoesis Tanabe often cited Shinran. In the sixth chapter of *Kyōgyōshinshō* entitled „The Land of Transformed Buddha” (Keshindo 化身土), he stated that Shinran used the word *zange* with *zangi* (慚愧), meaning being humble and being ashamed. Those feelings were not intended to stop any achievements on the way to salvation.

Tanabe said:

Through the legacy of *Kyōgyōshinshō*, Shinran walks the path of *gensō* and incorporates the work of Great Compassion of Tathāgata, teaching me and urging me to practice repentance (*zangedō*). He inspires me to walk the path of ‘philosophy as metanoetics’ (*zangedō toshite no tetsugaku*) in the self-consciousness of metanoetical action-faith. He encourages me to transfer it in turn onto others and to communicate my faith-enlightenment (*shin-shō* 信証) to them⁶¹.

⁵⁸ Tanabe, 1963: 194.

⁵⁹ Ibid.: 196.

⁶⁰ See: Dobbings, 1998: 71.

⁶¹ Tanabe, 1963: 232.

Tanabe considered Shinran to be his master and leader. He wanted to grasp the essence of Shinran's thinking in order to deepen his own philosophy. Ueda Yoshifumi noticed that Tanabe's central philosophical idea was *zange*, which was different from Shinran's *zangi*⁶². In Buddhist literature *zange* is used for signing the elimination of evil. Shinran preferred to speak about *zangi* because it lacked the idea of leaving evil. The term *zangi* means simply 'to be ashamed'. The shame results in a spontaneous discontinuance of evil, while in the case of *zange* it is done with willful effort. „Death-and-resurrection” of the evil is completed in *zange*. There is no place for resurrection of self in Shinran's thought. Self-power is completely abandoned. Shinran analyses the negation of self-power more thoroughly than Tanabe⁶³.

According to Tanabe, the transformation from the twentieth to the eighteenth vow is mediated by performing *zange*. In Shinran's interpretation, this transformation means absolute abandonment of self-power (twentieth vow) and entering Other-power (eighteenth vow), where there is no longer *zange* but the unity of self-power and Other-power (*jiriki soku tariki*). In Shinran's thought transformation is first and *zangi* follows it. In metanoetics *zange* is the cause of transformation as it precedes the conversion.

If one is not conscious of Buddha's compassion, one knows nothing about karmic evil and lacks humility. In the concept of *zangi* can be found deep insight into human nature. By entering the ocean of Amida's vows, human desires are transformed into Great Compassion and Wisdom, which can be identified with the Mind of Faith (*shinjin*). Such Mind is also called 'equal to Tathāgata'. The Mind reflects upon the nature of karmic evil within itself, leading to *zangi*. The man 'equal to Tathāgata' is a man aware of the karmic evil. This is the awakening of *shinjin*⁶⁴.

In Shinran's scriptures one can also find the term *tenzu* (転ず), meaning 'conversion of self' performed by Other-power. It is caused by merit-transference by Amida, who offers to self-consciousness his Great Practice (*Taigyō* 大行) and Mind of Faith (*shinjin*).

Practice-faith-enlightenment

The trinity of 'practice-faith-enlightenment', which Tanabe used many times in his postwar writings, was taken from Shinran's masterpiece *Kyōgyōshinshō*.

⁶² Ueda, 1990 : 134.

⁶³ Ibid.: 135-136.

⁶⁴ Ibid.: 138.

„Although the official title of this work, *Kyōgyōshō monrui* (教行証文類 „Collection of Passages on Teaching, Practice, and Realization”), does not mention *shin*, this chapter is central to Shinran’s purpose in his own work. He felt that it should not be treated in the same manner as the three chapters of Teaching, Practice, and Realization, because true Entrustment, or *shin*, is an elaboration on the chapter on Practice. For this reason he added a separate preface to the chapter on True Entrustment, regardless of the fact that a general preface already exists at the very beginning of his work. The disciples of Shinran all understand the role of the chapter on *shin*; thus they constantly refer to his work as *Kyōgyōshō*, not *Kyōgyōshinshō*. When we understand the reason why *shin* is not a part of the official title, we will see the intimate connection between Practice (*gyō*) and True Entrustment (*shin*) and know that the practice of saying the Name arises from the Primary Vow. To suppose that the popular title, *Kyōgyōshinshō*, more adequately describes the work is to betray a shallow understanding of how the Primary Vow works in our life”.⁶⁵

For Shinran practice (*gyō*) and faith (*shin*) are both manifestations of Amida’s Vow. In the case of metanoetics, true faith is rooted in the human subject⁶⁶.

Shinran treats practice as given by Amida, that is why it is also called Great Practice.. In Pure Land Buddhism, Great Practice is reciting the name of Amida. Human struggles, as well as noble and virtuous thoughts, are insufficient in reaching enlightenment.⁶⁷

Enlightenment is possible because of the work of *zange*. In Shinran’s teachings, the term *shō* (正) means the final enlightenment at the moment of death. In metanoetics it takes place in this life. That is why in metanoetics it has a broader meaning than in Shinran’s teachings. For Tanabe it is not only enlightenment, but also an affirmation of the self after one has gone through ‘death-and-resurrection’; it is an absolute affirmation⁶⁸.

Conclusion

One can find Buddhist inspiration in many of Tanabe’s postwar writings. There are many references to Shinran in *Zangedō toshite no tetsugaku* and also in *Jitsuzon to ai to jissen*. There are numerous quotations not only

⁶⁵ Cf: Dobbings, 1989: 31.

⁶⁶ Ueda, 1990 : 142-143.

⁶⁷ Ibid.: 140.

⁶⁸ Ibid.: 140.

from works of Pure Land masters, but also from works of Dōgen and Zen masters. Tanabe revealed a knowledge of the *Lotus Sutra* and *Larger Sutra*. In the act of faith the impure human mind meets the perfect Buddha Mind. This causes an absolute transformation and simultaneous awakening of the believing mind (*shinjin*). Faith is the path for sinners and the weak, as well as for ordinary people, among whom Tanabe placed himself. Tanabe's description of the phenomenon of faith was rooted in his personal experiences from the time of World War II.

Faith is a condition necessary for true wisdom and inner transformation of the self. It leads to the annihilation of self but also restores the self to a new life.

In metanoetics the object of faith is defined as Absolute Nothingness, one of the main attributes of which is Buddhist Nothingness. The object of faith is present in Buddhism because, as Tanabe notes, Buddhism could not be treated as atheism (*mushinron*), but rather as a religion of God-Nothingness (*shinmuron*).

Faith is a gift from Other-power, a grace which works through 'naturalness' (*jinen hōni*), and is considered as an entrustment of the subject (*omakase*) at the same time. The subject of faith is self-consciousness, which is emphasized more strongly by Tanabe than Shinran. Tanabe uses key terms developed by Shinran in describing the phenomenon of faith: self-power, Other-power, *gensō*, *ōsō*, *zange*, action-faith-enlightenment, Transformation through the Three Vows and the Three Minds Theory. Faith in Other-power does not mean believing in the Buddhist truth but rather gaining an insight into one's evil nature and Buddha's compassion at the same time. *Ōsō* is the path to the Absolute through faith, while *gensō*, or return to this world, is possible exclusively through the faith of the subject who aspires to awaken. The Theory of the Three Minds and Transformation through the Three Vows Theory deepen Tanabe's understanding of faith. Tanabe claimed that faith is a combination of the struggles of *jiriki* and *tarik*. He did not always adhere to the orthodoxy in the official teachings of the Pure Land sect. Tanabe's attitude toward the Shin Buddhism doctrine was quite innovative.

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Mikołaj Melanowicz

Winds over Ryukyu.

A Narrative on the 17th Century Ryukyu Kingdom

Chin Shunshin, a writer awarded with numerous prizes and an expert on Chinese history, was born in Kobe in 1924. He graduated from Indology Department of Osaka University of Foreign Studies.

The article presents a Chin Shunshin novel *Ryūkyū no kaze* and includes many references to the historical drama (*taiga dorama*) *Dragon Spirit*, based on the novel and broadcast by NHK in 1993.

The narration of the novel focuses on the political intrigues of the Ryukyu Kingdom in the beginning of the 17th century, the period of rising threat from the Satsuma clan, two years before the 1609 invasion of the Kyushu samurai. The novel describes the preparations to receive a delegation from Ming China: the envoy of Chinese emperor crowns Sho Nei VII the king of Ryukyu.

After the invasion the king's Castle in Shuri is occupied by the Satsuma soldiers and the King of Ryukyu is taken away to Kagoshima. He is allowed to return after signing "the King's Oath", a document in which he admits that Satsuma has historical sovereignty over the Ryukyu Islands and apologizes for "serious mistakes committed against Japan".

Both the Satsuma and the shogunate in Edo have an interest in keeping Ryukyu's independence, since it is through Ryukyu they can maintain trade relations with China. As a consequence, the kingdom is forced to pay tributes to both. A considerable part of the narration is on Ryukyu trade relations with Taiwan and China and the numerous travels of Keitai, one of the characters in the novel.

The article serves to demonstrate that Chin Shunshin and the authors of the drama managed to uncover the mechanisms of history creation. They have shown that the official history of Okinawa is in fact a fiction devised to support the Satsuma point of view. Thanks to the novel and the drama the readers and the TV spectators had an opportunity to learn the history of Ryukyu Kingdom as seen from the point of view of the archipelago inhabitants.

Anna Mierzejewska

The Buddhist Inspiration of The Concept of Faith in The Philosophy of Hajime Tanabe

The article focuses on the Buddhist inspiration of the concept of faith, created by Tanabe Hajime (1885-1962) in the postwar period of his philosophy.

Tanabe's description of the phenomenon of faith was rooted in his personal experiences from World War II. It was also influenced by Buddhism, Christianity and Western philosophical thought. The philosophical system of Tanabe, the so-called metanoetics, adopted much of the heritage of Pure Land Buddhism, especially from the treatises of Shinran (1173-1262). Tanabe used key terms developed by Shinran such as self-power and Other-power, 'ascent to the Absolute' (*ōsō* 往相) and 'return to the world' (*gensō* 還想), 'repentance' (*zange* 懺悔), 'action-faith-enlightenment' (*gyō-shin-shō* 行信証), 'Transformation through the Three Vows' (*sangantennyū* 三願轉入) and the 'Three Minds Theory' (*sanshinron* 三心論). In metanoetics the object of faith is defined as Absolute Nothingness which has many of the attributes of Buddhist Emptiness. The concept of metanoetical faith resembles the Pure Land faith but is not identical.

ミコワイ・メラノヴィチ

琉球の風——十七世紀の琉球国王物語

小論は、陳舜臣の小説『琉球の風』(1992)と大河ドラマ『琉球の風 Dragon Spirit』(1993)を紹介しながら 琉球の歴史の描き方に関して考察する。歴史の皮肉の問題にも言及する。権力者の希望によって沖縄の歴史が造りかえられ、権力の手段となる。前期小説の冒頭に琉球史の概要の中から薩摩の侵略前後に起こった出来事に関する描写や分析が含まれている。明国を親とし、薩摩を兄とすると琉球ではよく言われた。琉球は独立国家であるとも信じられた。だから薩摩の要求に対して主人公たちは統一した態度を取れなかったが、薩摩兵が攻めてきたとき琉球王国は敗北し、国王が首里城を明渡し、和睦になった。薩摩は、国王をはじめ貴族や役人たちを百人ぐらい鹿兒島へ連れて捕虜とした。それから物語は、薩摩の島津家が琉球王に王座の復位を許すという展開になる。すなわち薩摩が慈悲を見せ掛けた訳である。実際は徳川家康が琉球国を中国との貿易の手段として存在させたのだったが。琉球経由の中国交易から利益を得たのは徳川より薩摩のほうが多かったようである。主人公の一人啓泰は国を救うために実証主義的な道を選び、南海王国を作ろうとして交易に力を注いだ。かれの弟の啓山はロマンチックな道を選び、妥協することなく琉球踊りによって愛国心や抵抗精神を煽動し、ついには死の道を歩む。ドラマは啓山とその恋人、羽儀を真の英雄として描き出し、視聴者たちを感動させた。長篇小説は、薩摩の琉球入りの後、琉球を中心に、歴史を交えた空想人物の運命の余波を半世紀に渡って描いている。

アンナ・ミエジェイエフスカ

田辺元の哲学における信仰の概念にと仏教が与えた靈感

本論は、田辺元の戦後の哲学における信仰の概念、またその仏教の靈感に注目する。田辺による信仰という現象の記述は、自らの第二次世界大戦経験に基づいていた。また、仏教とキリスト教と西洋哲

学も影響を与えている。懺悔道と呼ばれる田辺の哲学体系は、浄土仏教の伝統、特に親鸞の論説に多くを負っている。自力、他力、往相、還相、懺悔、行信証、三願転入、三心論など、親鸞の鍵概念を利用した。懺悔道において信仰の対象は絶対無と規定され、それは仏教における空の特質を多く備えている。田辺の信仰の概念は浄土信仰によく似ているが、同一ではない。

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2004年、ワルシャワ大学日本学科、博士課程終了（博士論文：田辺元の戦後の哲学における信仰の概念）。
専門分野：仏教の思想、日本の哲学。

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