

## SUMMARY

**Über die Anschauung vom religiöse verstandenen  
„Tod und Leben“ und „das Wissen der Unwissenheit“  
—das Wissen und das Wissen der Unwissenheit,  
Buddhismus und Christentum,  
Hônen (1133-1212) und Nicolai de Cusa(1401-64)—**

FUJIMOTO, Kiyohiko

Gliederung

Vorwort —eine hypothetische Gliederung des Problems—

- § I. Über die Anschauung von Tod und Leben im Buddhismus und Christentum —die Aussagen Buddhas und Jesu Christi—
  - § II. Die Welt des „Wissens der Unwissenheit“ —Hônen(1133-1212) und Nicolai de Cusa(1401-64)—
  - § III. Probleme vom religiös verstandenen „Tod und Leben“ und „das Wissen der Unwissenheit“
- Schluß

Abriß der Abhandlung

Da es im Gebiet des Wissens keine eigentümliche Anschauung von „Tod und Leben“ gibt, sondern wir in dem Wissen, welches in der Unwissenheit entsteht, betrachten wir dieses Problem als Verneinung des Wissens. Wir richten darum unseren Blick auf „das Wissen der Unwissenheit.“ Durch Nachziehung in der Erörterung präzisiere ich die Tendenz von der religiösen Anschauung. Dann reflektiere ich die Aufgaben der religiösen Anschauung in Buddhismus und Christentum, schließlich erfasse ich die beiden Religionen gemeinsamen Probleme bei Hônen und Nicolai de Cusa.

Zunächst denke ich über das sophistische Wissen und das sokratische „Wissen der Unwissenheit“ nach. Bereits hier kann ich auf dem Unterschied zwischen das Erfahrungswissen, das auf dem Humanismus basiert, und den Wissen, das für die Seele sorgt, hinweisen. So können wir sagen, daß sich diese zwei Ströme in der Eigentümlichkeit des modernen Wissens verbergen.

In Mittelalter fallen dann diese zwei Ströme im Christentum zusammen und sie machen dessen Eigentümlichkeit. Aber wenn sie als die konkreten Wirklichkeiten in der neuen Zeit wieder erscheinen, bilden sie die Epoche des Wissens in zwei Richtungen, nämlich in der Religion und der Wissenschaft. Die Epoche des Wissens bedeutet das wissenschaftliche Wissen, das das menschliche Wissen und

das Erfahrungswissen voll zur Geltung bringt, und das religiöse Wissen, das von „das Wissen der Unwissenheit“ auf dem Glauben basiert.

Von einem anderen Gesichtspunkt aus kann man sagen, daß Buddha manchmal über „das Wissen der Unwissenheit“ predigt. So vergleichen wir die Aussage Buddhas und Jesu Christi. „Das Wissen der Unwissenheit“ stellt die gläubige Wirklichkeit in klarer Weise dar.

Wir konzentriere uns auf Hōnen, der einer Reformers des japanischen Buddhismus 12. Jahrhundert war, und Nicolai de Cusa, der die christliche Denkweise in der Umstellungszeit von dem Mittelalter nach die neuen Zeit 15. Jahrhundert vorwegnimmt. Hōnen und Nicolai de Cusa haben zwei gemeinsame Punkte. Sie beide lebten in einer Zeit von tiefen Umstellungen, und beide betonten „das Wissen der Unwissenheit.“

Hōnen als Amida-Buddhist predigte „Es sollte sich nicht wie ein Gelehrter benehmen, sondern nur von ganzem Herzen das Nembutsu praktizieren“(Ichimai kishōmon). Der Amida-buddhistische Glaube als die Verwirklichung der Korrelation zwischen Amida-Buddha und die sündigen Altagmenschen realisiert die Welt der Barmherzigkeit Amidas, welche durch die Anrufung Namu-amida-butsu, die die sündigen Altagmenschen praktizieren, eröffnet wird.

Nicolai de Cusa betonte die Seele, den Geist und Intellekt als die Möglichkeit der Beziehung zu Gott. Nach Cusa kann man der Intellekt von der Unwissenheit zum „Wissen der Unwissenheit“ werden, und dann Gott ergreifen(De Docta Ignorantia). Auf diese Weise verwirklicht „das Wissen der Unwissenheit“ die Welt der Erkenntnis Gottes. Dadurch, daß die Menschen, die von dem absoluten Gott erschaffen wurden, sind, muß das Selbst, das mit Gott eine Korrelation realisieren will, in dem von dem menschlichen Wissen transzendierten Wissen sein, mit anderen Worten, in „dem Wissen der Unwissenheit.“

Wir können den Schluß ziehen, daß „das Wissen der Unwissenheit“ auf die Eigentümlichkeit der Anschauung vom religiös verstandenen „Tod und Leben“ hinweist. Wenn wir Hōnen und Cusa vergleichen, meine ich, verwirklichen wir die Wahrheit von „dem Wissen der Unwissenheit“ und wir verstehe die konkrete Wirklichkeit seiner Bedeutung.

## Der Tod und die Unsterblichkeit

ISHII, Seishi

In der gegenwärtigen Welt ist der Tod ein großes Thema geworden. Sind wir aber, in so einer seltsamen Gesellschaft, in der so alltäglich von Tod geredet und

so viel von sanftem Sterben interessiert und diskutiert wird, in Wirklichkeit denn nicht grundsätzlich viel weit von der Realität des Todes entfernt? Stecken denn eben hinter der Behauptung der Pluralität von der Ethnologie und der Postoderne von heute Unernst und Keime der Symptome von den modernen Menschen?

Philosophisch müssen wir fragen: Warum der Mensch stirbt und ihm der Tod ein Problem wird, und wie wir ihn überhaupt in Frage stellen sollen.

Nach den Ergebnissen der psychologischen Studien von Kübler-Ross ist für die Sterbenskranken der Tod selbst kein Problem, aber das Sterben mit Verzweiflung, Hilfslosigkeit und Isolation furchtbar. Ist aber denn der Tod zu fürchten? Ein Sokrates oder ein Mozart dachte: Der Tod sei nicht schrecklich. Eigentlich sind der Tod und das Sterben nicht zu trennen. Und für den Menschen wird doch der Tod selbst zu einem totalen Problem.

In der Vorrede seiner "Zarathustra" sah Nietzsche den Tod als ein Moment, an dem wir zu unserem eigentlichen schöpferischen Leben erwachen. Der Mensch geht über sich selbst hinüber, indem er untergeht. Die Furcht vor dem Tod beruht auf nichts anderes als der Furcht vor unserem Leben durch Sterben. Einen sterbenden Seiltänzer besorgte und bestattete nur Zarathustra. Sterbenden besorgen bedeutet für Nietzsche nicht das Mitleiden, das eine Art der Selbstliebe ist, sondern ein schöpferischer Akt der großen Liebe, die das Geliebte schafft.

Der Tod ist des Lebens Ernst. Wir werden mit dem Leben, mit uns selbst, erst ernst, indem der Tod dieses und uns selbst in Frage stellt.

Wir können mit uns selbst nicht ernst, wenn wir es auch als endlich, oder im Gegensatz als unendlich ansehen. Wir erfahren vielmehr das Ewige mitten in der Zeit, im Augenblick.

Unser Leben zwischen Gebut und Tod ist, mit der Ewigkeit verglichen, nur augenblicklich. Die Erfahrung des Todes ist die des Augenblicks. Der Augenblick ist die Einheit des Widerspruchs von Sein und Nichts. Am Augenblick, an dem ewigen Jetzt, erwacht der Mensch zu sich selbst, hat er die Einheit des Selbsts. Der Augenblick ist Atom der Ewigkeit und die Fülle der Zeit, wie Kierkegaard dachte. Hier und jetzt sterben wir durch und durch und leben wir durch und durch. Wir leben und sterben so unsterblich.

Auch die japanischen Philosophen wie Dogen, Kitaro Nishida und Shin'ichi Hisamatsu thematisierten die Grunderfahrung des Todes und des Augenblicks als der erfüllten Zeit. Das Entsetzliche ist nicht das Sterben, sondern die Verslossenheit zum Augenblick, dem Leben durch Sterben. Das ist das Dämonische, unser ewiger Tod. Die Heilung ist eben das Absterben, nicht das leibliche oder geistige Sterben, sondern das Sterben von diesem sterbenden Leben, dem Sein zum Tod.

## Life and Death, Viewed from "Passivity"

TAHARA, Keisuke

Eastern thought states that life and death should be accepted as they are. But in thinking about the idea of life and death in Eastern thought, we find it difficult to understand this statement if we look at it objectively or ideologically, or only as eulogizing nature. This paper, therefore, will discuss the issue from a subjective point of view.

First I reconsider the basic idea of nature from its objective aspect, taking into consideration the example of Zhuangzi (莊子).

(1) The decision to follow nature is based on the profound awareness of artificiality, from which is directly generated the mind that admires and takes refuge in the functioning.

(2) Zhuangzi says that life and death are destined, and he talks of following my destination. His statements show that if we stop complaining about our finiteness ending with death and decide to live accepting the fact of finiteness, true freedom can be obtained.

(3) Next I examine the meaning of nature, taking as an example Bankei (盤珪), who kept explaining that to be unborn means to be as it is. Showing that the evidence of being unborn is derived from the fact that the sense organs completely reflect nature, Bankei warns only against grasping the unborn Buddha-mind by the discriminating mind. Namely, he urges us to leave the objective until later. This idea is same as that of Daisetsu Suzuki (鈴木大拙), who insists that intellect itself does not have freedom.

(4) The idea of life and death seems to be a very significant theme. It is caused by intellect in which the reflection is leaved out. To Bankei, life and death cannot be an important issue, because he thinks that, since everything manifests itself from itself, all we have to do is accept it. Life and death as described by us are all a fruitless subject of investigation. As we can see from what he preaches to a weeping mother who has lost her child, Bankei tries to accept facts including the sorrow of death and so on, as they are and to avoid confusion by objective treatment or discrimination, on the basis of an accurate understanding of psychology. Since his admonition to be unborn extends to the issue of remembrance, his reaction to life and death becomes a most interesting issue.

(5) From a slightly different angle, I think about passivity and elegance, giving the example of Basho (芭蕉), who was also very cautious about objective treatment. When Basho says, "With regard to a pine, be taught by a pine," he is

waiting for nature to manifest itself from itself when he composes his *haikus* (俳句). This is related to his later attitude of composing his *haikus* which is described as "lightness." Moreover, this "lightness" by passivity, accepting as they are not only landscapes, but also the feeling of loneliness regarding his own death, envelops them with elegance and expresses their meaning. Life and death, therefore, cannot be a significant issue to Basho either.

There is a big difference between Bankei and Basho in their ways of expressing passivity. Yet both, paying much attention to the circumstances of the human management of nature, accepted and eulogize the changes of nature. Life and death are included in that acceptance and eulogy.

## Das Verständnis von Tod und Leben bei Martin Luther

Martin REPP

Wenn man sich mit Luthers Gedanken befaßt, dann darf man sie nicht nur als abstrakte Gebilde betrachten, die man dann auf einer theoretischen Ebene diskutieren könnte. Luthers Theologie ist im engsten Zusammenhang mit seinem Leben wie mit seiner Zeit entstanden. Seine Schriften waren meist „Gelegenheitsschriften“, d.h. sie entstanden aus einem konkreten Anlaß heraus und sind daher in diesem jeweiligen Zusammenhang zu begreifen. Wenn wir nun von Luthers Anschauung von Leben und Tod sprechen, so müssen wir uns vergegenwärtigen, daß gerade dieser Themenbereich aufs engste mit seiner eigenen Existenz verknüpft ist. Man kann sagen, daß sein Ringen zunächst um die eigene religiöse Befreiung und dann um die Reformation für ihn ein Kampf um Leben und Tod war, und zwar sowohl im existentiellen wie im religiösen Sinne.

In diesem summary soll Luthers Verständnis von Tod und Leben anhand einer kurzen Vorstellung seiner Römerbrief-Vorlesung von 1515/16 geschehen. Im Zusammenhang seiner Auslegung von Rm.6,3, „Wisset ihr nicht, daß alle, die wir in Jesum Christ getauft sind, die sind in seinen Tod getauft“, führt Luther folgende, für ihn grundlegende Unterscheidung ein: Es gibt einerseits einen „natürlichen“, „zeitlichen Tod“, und andererseits einen „ewigen“ oder auch „geistlichen Tod“. Der natürliche Tod ist sozusagen ein „Ausgang aus dem Leben“, nachdem der Mensch einmal durch seine Geburt ins Leben eingegangen ist. Hier liegt die Struktur *Geburt-Leben-Tod* vor. Leben endet also im Tod. Den geistlichen oder ewigen Tod unterscheidet Luther wiederum in zwei Arten: Den ersten nennt er den „Tod der Sünde“ und den „Tod des Todes“, es ist der „im eigentlichsten Sinne

Tod“, d.h. ein Tod im radikalen und vollkommenen Sinne. Hier „stirbt die Sünde und der Sünder, wenn er gerechtfertigt wird“. Durch Gottes Gnade wird der Mensch mit dem lebendigen Gott so verbunden, daß er des ewigen Lebens teilhaftig wird, das keine Mischung mehr mit was für einem Tod auch immer kennt. Ja, dieser Tod hebt sich sozusagen selbst auf, „er tötet auch den ewigen Tod“. In diesem Tod stirbt der Tod „ganz dahin und vergeht in ein ewiges Nichts“. Demgegenüber ist die zweite Art des geistlichen oder ewigen Todes verderblich, denn hier stirbt der Mensch, „während die Sünde in Ewigkeit lebt und bleibt und fortbesteht“. Luther versteht den „ewigen Tod“ im negativen Sinne hier wie an anderer Stelle nicht individuell, als ewige Existenz einer Seele in einer Hölle, sondern umfassender, tiefgreifender und immanenter als Fortbestehen und Nicht-Besiegen von Sünde und Tod in unserer Welt und in unserem Leben. Das heißt, das alte Problem der Menschheit in ihrer Verfallenheit an Sünde und Tod wird nicht grundsätzlich bewältigt, sondern setzt sich immerzu fort. Das ist der ewige Tod im negativen Sinne. Von ihm und dem natürlichen Tod sagt Luther: „der Eingang ins Leben kann zu einem Ausgang aus dem Leben werden, ja, muß es notwendigerweise werden“. Aber der geistliche Tod im ersten Sinne, der Tod des Todes und der Sünde, ist ein „>Ausgang aus dem Tode<“, das bedeutet in ein Leben eingehen, das keinen Tod mehr kennt.“ Wir haben hier nach Luther sozusagen eine *gegenläufige Struktur*: einerseits ein vitales Leben, das im natürlichen bzw. geistlichen Tod endet, andererseits einen geistlichen Tod, der in ein geistliches bzw. ewiges Leben einmündet.

Wie geschieht nun nach Luther diese *Überwindung von Tod und Sünde*? Der Tod der Sünde und des sündigen Menschen, die Aneignung von Christi Kreuz ereignet sich in der Taufe, die für Luther einerseits ein einmaliges, grundlegendes Geschehen im Leben eines Christen ist, und andererseits sich täglich immer wieder ereignen muß: „die Taufe nämlich ist dazu verordnet, daß sie uns zu diesem Tod und durch ihn hindurch zum Leben führe“. Denn wenn „der Mensch aber noch nicht getötet und hinweggenommen [ist], dann ist es ein gänzlich eitles Beginnen, die Sünde hinwegzuräumen und zu ertöten.“ „Darum, wenn jenes Ersterben nicht zuerst geschieht, bleibt die Sünde zurück, um zu herrschen“. Von dem „geistlichen Menschen“, der durch solch einen „geistlichen Tod“ hindurchgegangenen ist, sagt Luther: „Mag er auch mit seinen Sinnen bei allem gegenwärtig sein, so ist er doch in seinem Herzen gänzlich abgekehrt und erstorben für alles. Das geschieht, wenn der Mensch aus ganzer innerster Kraft heraus alles verschmäht, was zu diesem Leben gehört, ja, wenn er angewidert von allem, was in diesem Leben eine Rolle spielt, mit Freuden beharrlich bleibt und sich dessen rühmen kann, daß er wie ein toter Leichnam ist und >als ein Kehrriech und Fegopfer dieser Welt< (1.Kor.4, 13), wie der Apostel sagt.“ Normalerweise aber behauptet niemand von sich selbst, er sei elend. Der natürliche Mensch, sagt Luther, „wünscht nicht befreit und erlöst zu werden, sondern er schaudert am allermeisten zurück vor der

Auflösung, die der Tod mit sich bringt, er kann sein Elend nicht erkennen.“

Diese Realisierung des geistlichen Todes geschieht, objektiv formuliert, in der Taufe, subjektiv ausgedrückt im Glauben. Glaube stellt für Luther nicht nur sozusagen das neue „Selbstbewußtsein“ des durch den geistlichen Tod hindurchgegangenen Menschen dar. Der Glaube ist selbst dieser Prozeß, in dem oder durch den der Mensch seinen geistlichen Tod stirbt. „Denn nicht die Größe der Werke,“ sagt Luther, „sondern den Tod des alten Menschen fordert Gott. Der wird aber nur durch den Glauben ertötet, der den eigenen Sinn demütigt und dem des anderen unterwirft.“ Solch ein Mensch „hat nichts für sich zurückbehalten, alles hat er Gott und seinen Geschöpfen überlassen. Das geschieht durch den Glauben, wo der Mensch seinen Sinn gefangen gibt unter das Wort vom Kreuz und sich verleugnet und allen Dingen entsagt, sich selbst und allem abgestorben. So lebt er Gott allein, >dem alles lebt<, auch das Tote.“ Es ist nun interessant, Luthers Verständnis solch eines Lebens im Glauben in diesem Zusammenhang zu betrachten. Er sagt: „Dieses [geistliche] Leben ist kein Gegenstand der Erfahrung, sondern des Glaubens. Denn niemand weiß, daß er lebt, oder erfährt es, daß er gerechtfertigt ist, sondern er glaubt und hofft.“ Es ist „kein Gegenstand der Erfahrung“ bedeutet, daß es ist nicht in der Subjekt-Objekt-Spaltung verhaftet ist und dass man es darum als objektivierbares Problem auch nicht zureichend diskutieren kann; der Glaube allein ist das Organ, das solch ein Leben nicht nur realisiert, sondern dessen auch gewahr wird.

### **Pure Land belief and the Belief in Easiness (*Anraku*) in both Present and Future**

SASADA, Kyosho

The development of Pure Land Buddhism in Japan can be attributed to the activities carried out in the 10th century by monks such as Kuya and Genshin. Pure Land belief by then was centered on the conceptual beliefs of avoiding the Impure Land and aspiring to the Pure Land, as they are the themes exposed in Genshin's *Ojo-yoshu* (The Collection of Teachings Essential for Rebirth). Thus, characteristic assumptions of denial of the present world were becoming visible. Although Pure Land belief has gradually been accepted among the Imperial Family and the higher nobility since the advent of these great masters, the notion of denial of the present world was actually not deeply rooted among the literate, intellectual middle-class and lower nobility. Ideals of tranquillity in the present

world and fitting well into the future-world were inherent to the belief in easiness (*anraku*) in both present and future, and the view that these were the actual concepts underlying the reality of Pure Land belief has recently been defended.

As the view of life and death is a subject by itself, the idea of life after death has become a common premise through which the present life is understood by questioning the meaning of death. Therefore, there is, on the one hand, the view that inquires positively into the meaning of life through the issue of death, while, on the other hand, there is currently the view that all ends with death, or that life is limited to the present life. The two views differ on how to weigh the meanings of death and the future that lies beyond; however, they both definitely focus upon the issue of death. From the mid-Heian Period to the Middle Ages, the issues of death and the after-life were greatly taken into consideration, and the themes of easiness and calmness in the after-life were central by then. However, nowadays, such issues are, on the contrary, rather minimized, and the concepts of easiness and calmness contained in the notion of *anraku* are actually seen as being desirable in the present world, and not necessarily in the after-life. We may affirm that the Japanese people's view of life and death was shaped and conditioned by the shifting concepts of *anraku* in the present life and *anraku* in the future life.

Honen, for example, addressing his disciple Zensho-bo, says: "Practice the *nenbutsu* while living now, and surely you will be able to be born in the Pure Land after death. There is no reason to wander in doubt about these worldly matters; therefore, one should not worry about matters of life and death." Here, he says that if one practices the *nenbutsu* recitation wholeheartedly without worries, he will be able to attain the state of *anraku* in form of *anjin*, or complete devotion, while still in this world. Therefore, we can conclude that Honen's Pure Land teachings contain the notion of *anraku* in both present and future worlds.

Although Pure Land belief is grasped as a manifestation of *anraku* belief, by the Mid-Heian Period, the very notion of *anraku* in the present world was actually influenced by esoteric Buddhism. Goals such as recovery from illness, longevity, bodily resuscitation, increase in prestige and reputation, family prosperity, and other worldly-like desires were believed to be attainable. When such ideas are compared to Honen's Pure Land thought, a qualitative gap is perceived regarding the notion of this-worldly *anraku* belief; therefore, Honen brings a new dimension to the concept of *anraku* as easiness and calmness in both present and future worlds.

The tales and literature current in the late Heian and Kamakura Periods increasingly contain themes of denial of fortune and prestige, followed by aspiration to rebirth in the Pure Land. The stories of Lady Gio in the classic "Tales of Heike," of the Great Master Genpin in "*Hosshin-shu*" and "Collection of Passages on Religious Awakening," and of the Great Master Kanshun in classics such as "*Syaseki-shu*" and "*Shiju-hyakuinnen-shu*," are some examples. While the *anraku* aspirations in the present world and the future world are idealized respectively in



the form of worldly desires and rebirth in the Pure Land, the perception begins to be accepted that momentary fame and fortune in the transitory present life are simply obstacles to attaining rebirth in the Pure Land and are, therefore, a direct path to hell. In this sense, Pure Land belief enters the Kamakura Period denying the worldly desires contained in the *anraku* belief in both present and future worlds. In other words, Pure Land belief grasped a new notion of *anraku* in the present world, thus transforming qualitatively its content.

### **The Attitude toward Death of Elderly Residents in a Nursing Home**

KONISHI, Teruo

A questionnaire on the problem of death was administered in 1992 (from July to November) to 39 elderly people (24 males; 62~88 year-old, 15 females; 77~92 year-old) at the nursing home, Mizuoryo, in Kyoto.

The results of the investigation were as follows.

- 1) Most of the males wanted to die in their own homes, but the majority of the females wanted to die in the nursing home.
- 2) Nobody had prepared his will. They believed that only property owners should make wills.
- 3) Many have given up their wish for a tomb, not because of their beliefs, but for economic reasons.
- 4) Many desired a simple funeral, again not because of their beliefs but for economic reasons.
- 5) Most thought that suicide was an unacceptable act, but a few males accepted it as unavoidable.
- 6) Believers in life after death were in the minority. For most, this question was not easy to answer.

Generally speaking, the elderly residents of the nursing home did not refuse to talk about their own death. But they seem a long way from seriously accepting their own deaths.

Finally, their view of life and death is similar to that of Japanese people in general.

## Religion Seen from the Informative Existence

KISHINE, Takuro

Some people think that there is no purpose, nor information, nor will in the universe. On the contrary, each thing in the universe is governed by a definite cosmic information incredibly delicate, and the universe itself is maintained by the information. This is what I call "dual existence of information and material; the transcendental existence of information." The important thing is only having this transcendental existence of the information i.e. the cosmic will as a theoretical foundation, it is possible to explain scientifically the adequacy of nature worship or spirit worship of Orientals from the ancient times, the intuitive belief as "All things are other selves of gods" or "Gods (lives) reside in all things." At the same time, we can elucidate the difference between Oriental polytheism and Occidental monotheism. The following is a summary of this point.

The Oriental polytheism is characterized by the belief that "heaven and man are fundamentally of the same existence." That is, the Orientals have believed in the unity of gods (informative existence) and all things (nature and man i.e. materialistic existence). Since Oriental religions deify nature and man, gods and man can interpenetrate each other. This is why the Orientals have had a firm belief that "gods reside in all things." From an informative point of view, we can say that "all things are controlled by transcendental cosmic information and therefore informative existence(gods) and materialistic existence(all things) can be unified." In Oriental religions, there is a firm belief in the monism of matter and spirit. For this reason, we may conclude that "the Oriental polytheism is a god-matter monistic religion."

On the other hand, the Occidental monotheism is characterized by the belief that "God is the creator of all things and therefore transcends all things." This means the "God cannot reside in all things, so cannot be unified with them." In Occidental religions, there is a firm belief in the dualism of matter and spirit. Thus, we may conclude that "the Occidental monotheism is a god-matter dual religion."

## Il senso della morte nel Rinascimento

ABE, Shiro

In un primo momento il tema di una simile ricerca mi ha lasciato perplesso e mi ha preoccupato, poi ho deciso di sondare l'argomento nella direzione che mi sembrava più opportuna e nello stesso tempo di articolarlo nel modo che mi è sembrato più conveniente. Nel presente articolo intendo chiarire l'evoluzione del senso della morte nel Rinascimento. Rispetto a questo tema va notato come gli studiosi non siano ancora giunti a chiarirne le linee essenziali e le varie fasi di sviluppo.

L'articolo inizia con un'analisi del materiale su un piano che per semplicità si potrebbe definire storico. Senza dubbio il secolo che precede il XV va considerato come una unità a sè stante, ma non è nemmeno possibile escludere in un esame dell'Umanesimo il periodo posteriore al 1348, per la presenza di personalità significative e rappresentative quali Enrico Suso, Francesco Petrarca e Coluccio Salutati.

Inoltre la scelta dell'Italia e della Francia come oggetti paralleli della mia ricerca non è casuale, ma rinvia al dialogo profondo e all'opposizione che s'instaurano in questi due paesi fra la tendenza laico-umanistica e quella più propriamente cattolica.

I vari aspetti della mia ricerca richiedono ulteriori precisazioni.

Il presente articolo consiste di quattro parti. Nella prima, che tratta principalmente del dialogo immaginario fra Petrarca e Sant'Agostino, intendo esaminare le tendenze relativamente diverse dei due protagonisti, cioè, da una parte quella laico-cattolica, e quindi umanistica, dall'altra quella prettamente cattolica.

Nella parte successiva tratto del mito umanistico della gloria che riapparve in seno a una concezione ancora trascendente. Immanente all'Umanesimo è quel senso di trascendenza religiosa che nel Cristianesimo invece era assoluto e onnicomprensivo. La grandiosa concezione cristiana, che proietta verso un mondo ultraterreno tutto ciò che esiste sulla terra, contiene un nucleo assai ampio di aspirazioni e di sentimenti, non coincidenti o contrastanti fra di loro. Si constata così l'affermarsi di tendenze nuove, autonome, indirizzate verso altre mete.

Nella terza parte parlo della morte e della vecchiaia, viste attraverso la letteratura europea, in particolare quella dell'epoca della piccola borghesia. In quest'epoca i temi della morte e della vecchiaia sono stati poco valutati sia dalla letteratura, sia dalla coscienza collettiva, ed è solo all'inizio del XX secolo che essi

hanno riacquistato importanza.

Nella quarta parte tratto dell'apparizione della danza macabra in Francia, evidenziando il contrasto fra questo paese e l'Italia. Appena valicate le Alpi, il primo fenomeno che attira l'attenzione infatti è l'apparizione del macabro. C'è un'ampia e netta differenza tra la Francia e l'Italia nel modo di sentire la morte. Questo gusto del macabro in Francia sparirà dopo un secolo circa, cioè dopo la penetrazione dell'Umanesimo.

### His death, My death

TAYAMA, Reishi

A question has come out of our discussion, that is to say, how far science can go in dealing with the problem of our death. General scepticism about the scientific view of death is one of the common topics in the series of the discussion. The development of modern science took place solely in Europe, and calculus lies at the heart of it. The notion of infinity is essential to this mathematics. Newton who invented calculus, was aware of the difficulty in his method, namely that the notion of the infinitesimal was not well founded. Newton had tried to avoid this infinitesimal only to find no progress. In a sense, it is easy to divide a line infinitely in thought. One can make sense of geometry or the theory of real numbers, which are based upon such a division, without difficulty. At the same time, one can see the point in Newton's denial of our ability to deal with the infinite. This inability is, according to Newton, an outcome of human finiteness. I shall examine the so-called  $\epsilon$ - $\delta$  argument, which is at the basis of the contemporary calculus. This argument is meant to justify the talk of limits. I shall contend that, in this argument, the concept of infinity is bound up with that of impossibility.

Essential to a better understanding of the  $\epsilon$ - $\delta$  argument is knowledge of the background, which can be found in Greek mathematics, particularly in the method of exhaustion. This was the means frequently used to attain the area. In order to be detailed, I shall cite a part of Euclid's "Elementa," which represents Euclid method of exhaustion. The essential similarity between Euclid treatment of limits and that of  $\epsilon$ - $\delta$  argument shall be emphasized. In other words, there is fundamental insight into the nature of the infinite, which has not changed. It is here that the notion of impossibility comes in. This concept of impossibility should be alien to mathematics. Why does it come in?

I shall contend that an awareness of man's finiteness is to be found even in

mathematics. The understanding of infinity in the  $\epsilon$ - $\delta$  argument is accompanied by the understanding of our finiteness. Or, the way in which infinity is expressed can be translated into the expression of impossibility. This notion of impossibility is based upon an awareness of our finiteness. Next, a distinction should be made between our finiteness and death. For this notion of finiteness works in mathematics, which does not deal with temporal matter. Death takes place some time. This awareness of finiteness is what makes man's death death. Animals, if they do not have the concept of infinity, and therefore, finiteness, do not learn about death from other animals' death. In other words, they do not die. It is possible to regard a part of the history of western mathematics as the expression of human finiteness.

**A Work of Educational Philosophy through the Literature  
on Wholehearted Recitation of the Name of *Amida*  
in the Final Instruction from St.Honen to St.Genchi**

TANIKAWA, Morimasa

I have chosen a subject related to the standpoint of educational philosophy for my contribution to the educational group of the Research Institute of Bukkyo University in order to take advantage of academic research to solve current educational problems. As a means to approach this theme, I have selected the Kurotani edition of the *Ichimai-kishomon* (One Sheet of Document) attributed to Honen and dated January 23, 1212.

Since Honen is only the attributed author, there has been textual criticism of this letter that can present us with a lot of problems. In order to study these problems, we must first take a close look at the textual criticism. To reconsider the basis of each point of textual criticism, we must try to find counter-evidence by investigation from the standpoint of educational philosophy and by using critical methods based upon experiments. Although further research may be able to provide us with such counter-evidence, this letter has been established as a legitimate research subject by a philosophically critical approach. In this paper, (from the standpoint of educational philosophy), I would like to interpret the context of the instruction orally transmitted from Honen to Genchi. The following are the main points of my discussions.

- 1) The *Ichimai-kishomon* (One Sheet of Document) is a letter to be left behind and is not an oath.

- 2) The statement that the seal was written by St.Honen could be interpreted that to mean that only the seal was written by Honen.
- 3) The cursive style inscription Gesho “下生” can be read by tracing the signature with the difference in ink darkness as a clue.
- 4) Holographic experiments have proven that Genchi may have written the attached letter with his left hand.
- 5) The idiosyncratic way of writing represents the stress, speed, and tone of voice of Honen’s speech. It was an incorporeal legacy to the disciple who was allowed to receive the orally transmitted instruction.
- 6) The reason why I think that this instruction is a discourse is that there seems to be a conversational relationship between Honen’s instruction and Genchi’s postscript. As the rhetoric of Genchi’s postscript indicates, while *nenbutsu* and *ojo* appear three times respectively in the shorthand record of the instruction, Genchi also used *genku*(=St.Honen) three times to express his wish of *genku nenbutsu ojo*. Honen’s signature in response to the wish corresponds to 下生.
- 7) Thus, Honen’s signature is a critical element for the oral transmission of instruction from the master to the disciple through discourse. From the correlation between Genchi’s request and the attachment accompanied to the postscript written in faint ink to indicate urgency, we can speculate on the master-disciple discourse. Honen responded to Genchi’s postscript correctly with the most benevolent attitude and in the smallest number of words necessary and brought about Genchi’s response to his words, as can be seen from Genchi’s request.
- 8) Genchi’s request supports the first half of the *Ichimai-kishomon* (One Sheet of Document), the history of the self-directed education, by revising the training method in the sacred way and concentrating on the cause and the effect of the Pure Land. It also supports the latter half, the guidance of the first half, by giving priority to the welfare of other people.
- 9) By attaching the postscript in which Genchi mentions *genku*, Genchi expresses his wish for his master to ascend to the highest level in the Pure Land. By doing so, he spontaneously participates in the instruction.
- 10) What precisely expresses Honen’s response to his disciple’s wish is his signature, in which the essence of his self-educational history is concentrated. This essence provides a foundation for a transcendental concept of life and death.
- 11) The visible presentation of Genchi’s determination detonated by his master’s signature is his oath supported by the voluminous list of those who wish to be initiated. It is Genchi’s creative response to Honen for his wish to spread the movement of saving those in pain by transforming oneself and guiding all beings. Therefore, the death of the respected master Honen, represented by the final instruction, serves as factors to improve the master-disciple relationship and to promote the spontaneous participation of the disciple. The final instruction marks the actual death of the master.

## A Reexamination of a Theory of the Birth of the Domestic Plow in Japan

KONO, Michiaki

Plows pulled by horses or oxen to cultivate fields and rice paddies made a great contribution to the promotion of agricultural production from ancient times up until the 1960's, when hand tractors became popular. There are two theories regarding the plows used in Japan. One is that they were invented in Japan, while the other is that they were brought from either the Chinese continent or from the Korean peninsula.

Since Japanese plows were called *kara-suki* (唐鋤), it seems correct to assume that they were brought from either the Chinese continent or the Korean peninsula, which were called *kara*. However, some scholars still believe that they were invented and developed in Japan.

Those who believe that plows were invented in Japan think that the trailing rodless plows or sledless plows seen in old pictures are primitive forms of plows or that spades, a type of plow with a pulling rope, developed into plows. However, it is doubtful whether mere drawings reflect the accurate forms of the plows. In this paper, I would like to review in detail the materials that have been used to support the theory that plows were invented in Japan in order to prove that it is invalid.

The term *naginata-suki* (薙刀犁) appears in the *Seikeizusetsu* (成形図説), an encyclopedic work compiled by the feudal state of Satsuma during the Edo period; the *naginata-suki* is described as a plow that was used in the Kyushu area to cultivate land. However, there is no other record that refers to a large scale cultivation of mountains and fields in Kyushu during the Edo period. In addition, if *naginata-sukis* had been such excellent tools, people would have continued to use them, but we cannot find any corresponding types of plows currently in use. Furthermore, a trailing rod is attached to stabilize the position of a plow when operating it, and therefore, a plow without a trailing rod has no practical use. Therefore, the identification of *naginata-suki* as a plow seems to have come from the hand of a scholar of agriculture who did not have much knowledge of agricultural tools but had seen its picture in an agricultural technology book from China. Thus, the explanation lacks validity.

A book written by a scholar of agriculture during the Meiji period introduces a type of trailing rodless plow called *shiritori* (尻取), which was used in Gunma prefecture. The scholar seems to have collected the information about this plow

from the pictures of agricultural tools made by Gunma prefecture in the first year of Meiji. In the original work, however, the term *shiritori* refers to the person who holds the handle of a plow, while the tool itself is called *suki* (spade). Since the plow is not equipped with a trailing rod, it could not have been pulled by a horse. However, since a plow pulled by a horse, called *onga* (大鋤), was used in Gunma prefecture, *shiritori* plows were probably used by farmers who did not own horses as they pulled them over the field on the slopes of the mountains. For this reason, we can conclude that the *shiritori* plow is a type of plow but is not the original form from which plows have developed.

Nor can the plow depicted in a drawing in *E-ingakyo* (絵因果経) of the Nara period, the *nenohi-no-tekarasuki* (子日手辛鋤), preserved in Shosoin, the *hikka* (引鋤), used in Gifu prefecture, or the *gengobe-karasuki* (源五兵衛犁), used in the Edo period, be the original forms of the plow. Therefore, the theory that plows were invented in Japan is proven invalid.

### Asia in Natsume, Soseki, Through the Aspect of his “View of Korea”

MITANI, Norimasa

Through an essay called *Mankan Tokorodokoro*, written by Soseki, one gets a clue as to his view of Asia. This essay has received two opposite evaluations. It has been evaluated negatively by Nakano Shigeharu, Pack Chungil and others. They say it shows that Soseki's ideas were imperialistic. Others, such as Yoneda Toshiaki and Izu Toshihiko, believe Soseki saw the facts realistically. It seems that these critics come to such different conclusions because of how they focus on Soseki's article. Their incomplete quotations from Soseki's work are an indication of their bias. In order to try to rectify this situation, I have studied every passage of Soseki's that refers to Korea, not only in *Mankan Tokorodokoro*, but also in other writings of his such as his diaries, letters and other books.

Before discussing what appears to be Soseki's view of Korea based on *Mankan Tokorodokoro*, we have to look into two newspaper articles of his titled *Mankan no bunmei* and *Mankan-shisatsu*. Both of these articles were published in the Tokyo Asahi Shinbun and in the Osaka Asahi Shinbun on 18th October, 1909. These two articles are not included in his collected works currently being published by Iwanami Press (as of October 1993). In these articles, Soseki describes the Japanese as hard-working, reliable, promising nationals in colonized Korea.



Judging from the above sentence, Soseki appears to hold an imperialistic point of view, just as he was criticised for by those who evaluated him negatively.

However, when I examined all of his sentences concerning Korea, a different aspect appeared. I arranged the results, and I would like to mention some points.

- 1 In his novels, Korea has a rather gloomy image as a place to which those Japanese people who cannot manage to live or work in Japan escape and to which people who want to make their names in the world go (this image is found in novels such as *Mon*, *Higansugimade*, and *Meian*).
- 2 In his letters, his talks and his essays, Soseki describes Korea optimistically as a good place where elegant and decent people live (Diary for 29 September, 1909, a letter in July, 1913, to Jiji Shinpo, etc.).
- 3 The key term that describes Soseki's emotional relationship toward Asia is, I think, "Compassion," or "sympathy" (a letter to Komiya Toyotaka dated 19 July, 1907, diary for 5 October 1909, etc.).

As a particularly good example of (3), Soseki writes "About hundred Korean people came to Japan for sightseeing. The articles about them in several newspapers were contemptuous. The writers are quite ignorant about the fact that they themselves are treated contemptuously by foreigners. ... If European sight-seeing groups came to Japan and Japanese journalist used the same degrading tone of voice to describe the Europeans, I would be very impressed by the journalist who wrote that." This comment is quite noteworthy.

Then why does Soseki in *Mankan Tokorodokoro* appear to have 'colonialistic ideas'? I think there are four reasons: (1) The purpose of his travelling to Korea was to write about 'Japanese people living abroad.' (2) As a writer, he took a humorous and buffoon-like attitude in describing his travels in order to produce the air of *Hizakurige* similar to 'Yaji-kita' in 'Hashimoto and I.' (3) He deliberately took a 'man of letters (bunjin)' point of view. (4) His travels took place comfortably among friends and relatives.

Soseki has so-called complex (cosmopolitan) eyes and is thus able to see the East and the West simultaneously, that is to say, to have relative understanding. Terms such as 'Chan (Chinese)' and 'Rosuke (Russians)' appear in his essay. However, this does not necessarily show that Soseki is an imperialist and that he has colonial ideas. I would like to emphasize that, on the whole, Soseki held Asia in very high esteem during the Meiji Era.

## 황순원과 가와바타 야스나리, 각각의 계절

— 한·일 양국의 계절관 비교연구의 서설로써 —

신 예 숙

한국과 일본은 거의 같은 기후 조건하에 있으며, 사계절이라는 공통된 계절을 공유하고 있으면서, 그 계절에 대한 이해, 수용에 있어서 상당히 다른 계절관을 소유하고 있는 것은 아닐까? 일상생활에서부터 문학작품의 계절 표현에 이르기까지 여러면에서 그 상이점을 지적할 수 있다. 이 논문에서는 한국과 일본의 저명한 작가 작품을 통해 어느 정도 다른 점이 나타나는가 시도해 보았다.

먼저, 사계절을 구분하는 시기적 문제이다. 가와바타는 3월 초부터 봄, 5월 중순부터 여름, 8월 10일경부터 가을, 11월 중순경부터 겨울로 인식하고 있는 반면, 황순원은 3월 중순부터 봄, 6월 말경부터 여름, 9월 초부터 가을, 12월 초순부터 겨울로 인식하고 있다. 이와같이 양자 사이에는 약 1개월이라는 시간적 차가 있음을 확인할 수 있다. 이 1개월의 차는 가와바타가 입춘·입하·입추·입동을 기준으로 해서 사계절을 구분하고 있는데 비해, 황순원은 어디까지나 피부적 감각으로 느낀 것을 사계절 구분의 기본으로 삼고 있는 것에서 발생한 것이다. 이 같은 양자의 계절 구분의 기본적 입장의 상이가 가장 현저하게 나타난 것이 8월을 표현한 부분이다. 가와바타는 8월을 표현하는데 있어서 현실의 실제 더위보다도 가을 기운을 감지하는 것에 민감하게 감각을 움직이고 있는 한편, 황순원은 8월이야말로 여름이라는 인식하에서 성하의 더위를 극명하게 표현하고 있다. 그것은 가와바타가 8월 8일경의 입추를 염두에 두고 있기 때문에 입추가 지나면 가을이라는 의식이 작용하고 있는 한편, 황순원의 경우 자기자신의 피부 감각으로 느낀 것을 우선시켜, 삼복더위의 한 여름으로 인식하고 있기 때문이다.

한국과 일본은 중국으로부터 전래된 24절기를 생활의 기본에 두고 있는 문화권이다. 그러면서 양자간에는 이와같은 상이점이 보인다. 이것은 중국의 24절기가 각각의 나라에 어떤 형태로 수용 되었는가라는 문제와도 관련되는 아주 흥미있는 결과이다.

다음은 하나 하나의 계절에 나타난 이미지의 상의점을 지적해 보겠다.

가와바타가 가지고 있는 봄의 이미지는 사쿠라꽃이며, 「이것이야말로 봄」이라

고 하며, 활짝 핀 사꾸라, 혹은 지기 시작하는 사꾸라 등의 아름다움을 묘사하는 것으로 봄을 표현하고 있다. 한편, 황순원은 얼음이 녹는 것이야말로 봄이라고 생각하며, 그 얼음을 녹이면서 새롭게 움터나는 자연의 생명력에 대한 감동을 가지고 봄을 표현하고 있다.

여름은 가와바타가 신록이 아름다운 초여름을 즐겨 표현하고 있는 반면, 황순원은 한여름의 「따갑게 내리쬐는 햇볕」 「혹혹 더운 기운이 올라오는 황토길」 등 성하의 더위를 표현하고 있다. 그렇기 때문에 가와바타에게는 한여름의 더위를 표현한 것이 거의 없으며, 황순원에게는 초여름을 표현한 것이 거의 없다. 또한 더위를 묘사하는 방법에 있어서도 가와바타는 청량감을 자아내는 것을 묘사하는 것에서 간접적으로 더위를 표현하고 있는데 비하여 황순원은 더위 그 자체를 직시하고, 직접적이고 사실적인 표현을 하고 있다.

가을은 황순원도, 가와바타도 가을 빛으로 물들어 가는 자연을 그 대상으로 삼고 있는 면에서는 서로 유사점이 있으나, 그 가을빛을 가와바타는 빨간빛(단풍, 曼珠沙華, 감, 귀참외)으로 받아들이고 있는데 비해, 황순원은 누런빛(벼이삭, 은행잎, 시들은 들풀)으로 받아들이고 있는 점이 다르다. 또한 가와바타는 소멸해 가는 생명의 덧없음을 가을의 정취로 여기고 있는데, 황순원은 가을을 열매 맺는 수확의 계절로 이해하고 있다.

겨울은 여름과 마찬가지로 가와바타는 추위보다 따뜻함을 느끼게 하는 것에 그 시선이 집중되어 있고, 황순원은 추위 그 자체를 직시하고 있다.

이상과 같이 가와바타는 자연 풍경이 아름답게 변화해가는 것에 주안점을 두고 계절을 표현하고 있으며, 각각의 계절이 그려내는 자연 풍경을 하나의 미적 대상으로 여기고 그곳에서 아름다움을 발견하고 있다. 그런 한편, 황순원은 계절의 변화에 따라 달라지는 공기의 변화를 피부적 감각으로 감지하는 것에 주안점을 두고 계절을 표현하고 있으며, 계절의 변화에 따라 달라지는 자연 풍경을 보며, 자연의 섭리를 생각하고, 그 자연의 섭리면에서 계절을 이해하고 있다. 또한 그 표현 방법은 가와바타가 간접적이고 상징성을 중요시하는 한편 황순원은 직접적이고 사실성에 그 주안점을 두고 있다.

## 关于朝鲜开国期的称号问题

山 口 修

一八七六年二月，日本与朝鲜缔结了友好条约，从此，两国的外交关系进入了一个新的阶段。但是，这份条约书的前言与通常的条约书的形式不同。按照条约书的惯例，签约当事国的元首应署明各自所委任的全权代表的官名、爵位及姓名再由该全权代表阐明受元首之委托就以下条文达成了协议。然而，日本与朝鲜的这份友好条约的前言仅停留在署明两国国号之处，并改用了由双方的全权代表代表各自的国家在条约书上签字的形式。这样的形式虽然在一八七一年签订的日本与大清国的友好条约中有过先例，但也确实是个特别的例外。这里，最重要的原因在于，日本和大清国签订的友好条约，以及日本和朝鲜签订的这份友好条约，存在着签约国的双方如何称呼对方的元首，以及是否使用敬称的问题。签约国双方就此问题始终未能达成一致意见，从而造成了在惯例之外的前言。

日本与朝鲜，在江户时代期间两国一直处于友好邻邦的关系。朝鲜时常向江户幕府的将军即大君派遣信使。而在两国之间搭桥的则是对马的宗氏。一八六八年，日本开始了明治的新政，新政府向与日本缔约的各国宣布：今后由“日本天皇”取代德川的将军作为国家元首担当国家的外交事务。同时也通过对马的宗氏向朝鲜表明了希望缔结新的外交关系的意图。

但是朝鲜这一方，由于日本在向其提交的文件的文字里有“皇室”“奉勅”等字样，与一贯的写法不一致而拒绝接受。因为大清国与朝鲜保持着宗属关系，对于朝鲜来说，“皇”是专指大清的皇帝，现在如果对日本的元首用“皇”这个词予以承认的话，那么结果就将变成承认朝鲜的国王向日本的元首附首称臣的体制。

作为日本来说，想以“天皇”的名义对外结成外交关系。虽然与欧美诸国产生过若干的摩擦，可最终还是在天皇与欧美的皇帝、国王或者大总统之间建立了外交关系。而大清国并不承认日本“天皇”的称号，以致于达成了与惯例相异的条约。但是在国书中，对日本的元首称作“皇帝”这件事并没有提出异议，由此，日本的天皇在一八七三年以后在国际上被称作“皇帝”。

对于朝鲜来说，由日本的“皇帝”作为缔结协约的当事者是无论如何无法予以认

同的。两国的谈判就此搁浅，持续数年，毫无进展。最后日本政府下定决心发动军事武力强迫朝鲜与之缔约。日本趁一八七五年江华岛事件发生的机会，于翌年的一八七六年的二月向江华府派遣了军队，在以军事力量为背景的情况下迫使朝鲜缔结了条约。

这里，日本方面提示的条约草案中，虽然写有朝鲜是个“自主之邦”、两国有“同等之权”等字样，但将日本的元首称作“皇帝陛下”、称朝鲜为“国王殿下”。这个形式遭到朝鲜的拒绝是当然的。交涉的结果就是条约书的前言里只署上了国名。

可是，在批准书以及应该交换的国书之类的文件里，双方必须署明元首的称号。朝鲜国王署上了自称的“主上”这个称号。进而在条约缔结以后，朝鲜在一八七六年五月派遣信使向日本递交的文书里又将自己的国王称作“圣上”。虽然日本称自己为“皇帝陛下”，但是仍然有问题产生，因为在称号的使用上两个国家都绝对见不到“对等”的关系。

一八八一年一月，日本决定向朝鲜派遣常驻公使。这时的国书上写上了“大日本国皇帝”以及“大朝鲜国大王”。这样的称号朝鲜也给予了承认，两国元首的称号终于有了一个定着。

然而，到了一八八二年五月，朝鲜与美国缔结友好通商条约，在一八八三年五月双方交换批准书的时候，朝鲜的国王又被称作“大朝鲜国大君主”。接着在朝鲜与英国及德国缔结的条约上同样使用了“大君主”的称号。在欧洲的文里使用的是“His Majesty(陛下)”的敬称，而在朝鲜文里则被省略掉了。

总而言之，朝鲜将自己与大清国的宗属关系视为国家的大政，而又欲求和日本以及其它国家保持对等的关系，因此在有关国王的称号以及敬称的问题上煞费苦心，尽管如此，面对外来的压力却显得无能为力。因此在对外国的元首用“皇帝”这个称号予以承认的同时将自己国王称作“大王”或者“大君主”，以此显示在名称上接近对等的关系。

## 近代日中关系史的一个侧面

### ——关于“二十一条”

清水 稔

人们一般以为对华二十一条要求是从近代日中关系史上的决定性的转折点。的确如众所周知，一九一五年五月七日日本政府发出最后通牒，中国政府于五月九日就接受最后通牒，中国把此日定为国耻纪念日，此后每年此日，全国各地纷纷举行反日集会，反日斗争浪潮以一九一九年“五四运动”为契机日趋高涨。它告知人们，二十一条要求条条都是国家的奇耻大辱，并号召民族备发图强。因而，二十一条被看作条条都是事实本身，作为含有实体性内容的历史术语通用开来，而脱离了实际情况。透视一下二十一条的实质，就会发现，在日中交涉过程中，由于中国政府的抵抗、中国民众一致反对的声浪、列强的干涉，日本所能得以实现的条款连半数都未到，其结果仅是让中国承认了日本在中国的既得权益。拙论的目的，并不是想过低地评价二十一条给中国方面的打击，而是想客观地分析二十一条的现实真相，如实地素描一下以二十一条为中心的近代日中关系史的一个侧面。

二十一条之后的反日斗争往往引人注目而二十一条被视为日中关系恶化的起点。但现实上是在二十一条以前早已形成反日斗争浪潮。经过甲午、日俄两战后，日中关系开始恶化。具体地说，是以一九〇五年制定的“清国留学生取缔规则”、一九〇八年第二辰丸事件、一九〇九年安奉铁路改建问题、一九一三年三井洋行欺诈事件等为开端，这些事件各自导致了反日运动。二十一条后的反日斗争正是在那些反日运动的基础上发展起来的。

那么，二十一条的现实真相是如何呢？仅以原案和成立案进行比较研究，可归纳成如下几点。原案的中心内容，是承认日本继承德国在山东的一切权益，承认日本在南满和内蒙古东部的既得权益的安定及扩大，确保和扩大日本在汉治萍公司、福建省等的既得权益，准许日本扩大对长江流域的权益。原案的重点在前二项。同时日本政府趁此机会，对凡可要求的权益，都提了出来。可以说这，就是拟定第五号希望条款的动机。但其结果，日本只不过获得了延长迫切所需的南满铁路使用期限和辽东半岛租借期限，以及在南满、福建省、汉治萍公司的既得权益也勉强地得到了保证而已。可以说，除此之外，几乎没再获得什么新的权益。这就是二十一条的现实和真相。

## 明治初期东本愿寺的对华传教

北 西 弘

明治佛教对华传教，始于一八七六年东本愿寺的上海别院开设。小栗栖香顶以及东本愿寺的宗主严如、寺务所的石川舜台等，为开设别院，倾注了心血。他们欲以佛教为轴心，把印度、中国、日本团结起来，对抗西欧各国在亚洲的扩张势力。

一八七二年，石川舜台在去欧洲途中，目睹了西洋人扬着鞭子奴役东方民族的情景，深深地认识到，亚洲的团结是当务之急的。这一认识以后成了他不可动摇的信念。小栗栖香顶也持有同样观点，在“北京护法论”中说道：“三国僧侣同心协力，护法护国，可以全亚洲之体面也。”当时，在他们中间尚未有国家分等级、民族分优劣的歧视思想。明治初期，日本的国家大计是“国际交往”。他们满腔热血真心实意地为此理念，而努力奋斗着。小栗栖香顶在盛冈的演讲中说：“有国必有史。日本有日本的历史；支那有支那的历史；印度有印度的历史。（中略）各国都应各自墨守自己的历史。以自己的历史，来抹杀他人的历史，这是非理也。”从这段话中可以看出当时他们的豪情壮志。

拙稿先研讨，日本人的这种此理想是在何种情况下产生的。上海别院创设后，仅过数年的一八八三年九月，东本愿寺发出停止在中国传教的命令。与其说在中国传教，莫如先重建总寺院的两堂。但其真正的原因在于石川舜台和渥美契缘的政治上的对立。在教团内部分裂成二派。一派固执要在中国传教。另一派是反对派，认为在中国传教是着迷海外，忽视国内。可是其归根结底，是由于政治观点不同而引起的，并不是来自于坚定的信念。

北方蒙(心泉)在石川舜台的援助下，挺身去中国传教过。他向本愿寺诉说愿自费继续在中国传教。但渥美契缘拒绝了他的申请。北方蒙等亲眼目睹，基督教以政治为后盾，在中国顺利地进行传教。他们对日本政府及本愿寺的态度，一定是万分遗憾的。

第二，就其原委结合历史资料，进行分析。

东本愿寺在中国传教，虽曾一度挫折，但后又重振旗鼓。可是，那以后的传教已失去明治初期的理念与精神。传教的对象是居住在中国的日本侨民。故已谈不上真正

的传教。东本愿寺居然还抛出这样的理论。说什么，感化道德败坏的日本侨民是两国友好的头等大事。这仅仅是在自我辩解。日本的这种重视体面的思想意识，成了滋生日本人优越感和国粹主义的温床。东本愿寺的对华传教，有了质的变化，成为日本政府对华政策的得力助手。

第三，通过这种性质的变化，研讨它对中国人的日本观产生了什么影响。

## 日清战争史料的若干问题

原 田 敬 一

有关日清战争的研究，虽然从战前就有积累，而值得提出的问题是，日清战争给亚洲的民众带来了什么结果、通过那场战争，民众想些什么、有了什么变化。探讨这些问题才是研究社会史上的战争的姿态。

基本史料是陆军的正式战史《明治27，8年有关战史》。我们首先需对此进行分析。这篇战史中，除了记载有中国及朝鲜民众对战争的态度以外，还含有大量的有关日本军夫的记述。通过分析，首先可以清楚地看到军方是如何看待日清战争的。

其次，第一次作为面向民众而诞生的日清战争报导《有关战争实记》50篇，也是研究的对象。该杂志以照片为插图，不仅描述了日军的美德和动向，同时还综述了中国、朝鲜的军队和民众，以及欧美各列强的动向。可以说是一种综合性的日清战争论。

第三，还必须探讨行政资料、报刊、参加记，从军记等史料。行政机关不仅动员了民众充当战斗力，而且还在募捐、献物、弘扬国家主义等各方面都起到了动员民众的角色。而在各地，将这些问题调查清楚的工作，与日俄战争的研究相比就显得还很落后。

第四，有关“战争文学”。“战争文学”一般以描写日俄战争较多。而有关日清战争的也是值得重新研究的。泉镜花、国木田独步都发表过日清战争时所采访的内容。文学家中也有若干的研究。但是，还需要从社会学的角度进行研究。

综上所述，现在所需要的是，从重新研究日清战争着手，广泛地探讨民众与战争这一问题。



**Observations of Comparative Folklore in Japan and Korea:  
On the “*Ie*” and Ancestor Worship,  
A Preparatory Study of the Visual Point and the Problem**

YAGI, Toru

In this paper, I shall discuss, from the perspective of comparative ethnology, the household, relatives and the associated issue of ancestor worship in both Japan and South Korea, while making reference to previous studies. My aim is to discuss future issues while reassessing the existing perspectives in this field. What I mean by ‘the perspective of comparative ethnology’ is a research perspective that attempts to analyse the structure and functions of the household, family, relatives and ancestor worship, emphasizing the actual customs and manners of society in each area: that is to say, its folklore — in other words, the way people actually live. In so doing, I shall attempt to find a new method of comparative research for the ethnology of the countries of the Far East.

For a basic approach to the study of household and ancestor worship, we should analyse the structure of the household and the groups of relatives, and the conditions of their existence in each area. We can divide them into two groups. One is the Chinese Han society, which has a strong paternal principle, and the other is Japanese society, which also has a paternal principle, but one which is much more lenient. Japanese society attaches importance to the household, its succession and unification. Between these two groups, there is South Korean society, which is more similar to the former, and Okinawa-Amami society, which is more similar to the latter. However, I shall not analyse the Chinese Han society in this paper. I would like to focus on a comparison between South Korean society and Japanese society.

In relation to the problems of the above issues, I shall analyse precisely the rank and the role of men and women in each society. It is a natural phenomenon that the areas that have strong paternal principles tend to be more male-oriented, and that there is a general tendency for the women’s role in such societies to be quite limited or reduced. In most cases in Eastern Asia, the paternal principal and male-oriented society have been influenced by Confucianism. In that sense, there could be a cultural gap between so-called “*Tatema*” in society and the way people actually live, that is to say their actual customs and manners. Therefore, with regard to this issue, I will deal with what women’s roles are and what part women play not only in ancestor worship, but also in daily rituals.

As I have shown in the sub-title of my essay, this paper is merely a preparatory study. Concerning the various problems that I have mentioned here, I intend to complete intensive research in the future and later extend it into a definitive study.