Christian in Japanese Culture

Theological Themes in Shusaku Endo's Literary Works

by

Emi Mase-Hasegawa

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On the cover: Spirit of Christ Inculturated. Christianity is represented by the light, Shintoism by the torii gate, and Buddhism by the lotus flowers. Nishimura Eshin, July 24, 2002.

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For Junya, Gen, and Mai

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This is a revised version of my thesis for the Doctor of Theology, first published by the Centre for Theology and Religious Studies at Lund University, Sweden, in 2004. I am greatful to the publisher for making it available to the wider academic world.

It all started with a telephone call in the summer of 1997 from Prof. Aasulv Lande, whom I had met for the first time in Birmingham, England in 1994. He was about to start a project with Prof. Werner G. Jeanrond called 'The Concept of God in Global Dialogue', financed by the Swedish Research Council.[1] He was looking for a co-worker. Without having a second thought I accepted the work, following the way I thought God was opening up for me. I still remember my first impression when I set foot in Sweden: dark, windy, cold, and gloomy. After experiencing and appreciating the many cultural differences, this land has now become very dear to me.

Prof. Lande was my supervisor not only for my academic work, but also for my life in Sweden. I thank him wholeheartedly. Without him, my life would have been very different. I thank Prof. Jeanrond for his friendly and warm-hearted advice, both academically and personally, which provided me with strength when I was weary and sad. One of the main achievements of the above project was to hold an international conference in May 1999, in Lund.[2] To organize the conference, I had the privilege of working with Rev. Dr. Bo Brander.

My favorite quote from Immanuel Kant states:

> Two things fill the mind with ever new and increasing admiration and awe, the oftener and more steadily they are reflected on: the starry heavens above me and the moral law within me.[3]

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[1] Formerly known as the Swedish Council of Research in the Humanities (*HSFR*).

[2] See the book of the conference: Werner G. Jeanrond & Aasulv Lande, editors, *The Concept of God in Global Dialogue*, New York: Orbis, 2005.

[3] Kant, Immanuel *Kritik der praktischen Vernunft* 10. Aufl, Hamburg: F. Meiner, 1788/1990:186.

We seek ways to articulate our imperfect experience of wonder and awe. We search for answers to unanswerable questions: where we come from and where we are going. Moreover, we try to answer deep existential questions about how to lead our lives. I had to find answers to my existential questions related to multiple religious affiliation—namely how to live as a Japanese Christian. In this work I believe I have answered some, though not all of the questions. Throughout my work I have also learned from my husband, who is a Japanese Buddhist. A living dialogue between Buddhism and Christianity has just started in my family. I believe the starting point for mutual understanding is to 'respect others and learn, and be faithful to one's own faith'. It may sound easy, but it is not in reality. Nonetheless, it has been my stance in religious studies and I now need to prove it in my life.

I thank my previous supervisors, Prof. Ursula King and Prof. Gavin D'Costa, at the University of Bristol in England, who have broadened my view of the theology of religions. I thank Ms. Endo Junko for her warm encouragement and for offering me first-hand information not known to others. My gratitude also to Prof. Yamane Michihiro for letting me translate his biography of Endo. Special thanks to Prof. Emeritus Mase Hiromasa, at Keio University in Tokyo, and Prof. John Hick, in Birmingham, for providing me with such an important understanding of religious pluralism. If I had not met Prof. Hick and encountered his important works, this study would not have been possible. I am greatful to him for supporting my interpretation of his theology of religious pluralism. He kindly mentioned my work in the foreword of the Japanese translation of his recent book, *An Autobiography* and encouraged Japanese audiences to read my thesis.[4]

I thank my parents Mase Sonoe and Hiromasa for giving me a Christian faith, my mother-in-law Hasegawa Yayoi for accepting me into her Buddhist family, and all the people of different faiths that I have encountered for helping broaden my understanding. Special thanks to Dr. Kenneth Fleming for proofreading my text, and to Prof. Nishimura Eshin, the former president of Hanazono Zen University in Kyoto, for drawing the cover of the book.

[4] Hick, *An Autobiography*, Oxford: Oneworld, 2002. *John Hick s Autobiography*, Tokyo: Transview, 2006. (trans. Mase Hiromasa and others).

Lastly, to Jun-ya, Gen, and Mai, without whose love, encouragement, and spiritual support, I could never have finished my work—thank you very much.

Emi Mase-Hasegawa,
Kyoto, Japan

FOREWORD

This is a pioneering book that bridges several worlds, those of faith and culture, experience and imagination, styles of writing and ways of life. It offers a highly original synthesis of Japanese and western perspectives arising from an exceptionally close reading of the large *oeuvre* of Shusaku Endo, one of Japan's most celebrated twentieth century writers. Its author, Dr Emi Mase-Hasegawa, is a Japanese woman theologian who received most of her academic training in Europe, but now works in Japan. I have met her on several occasions in her home country and in different parts of Europe, and during our collaboration I have come to value her greatly as a researcher, colleague, and most helpful friend.

As a Japanese Christian she is uniquely placed to comment on Endo's complex thought. After many years of studying Endo, she suggests some refreshingly new perspectives that challenge both Japanese and western misreadings of his work. Her careful analysis reveals the theological and human depth of Endo in ways unknown before, and sheds new light on questions of religious pluralism, interfaith dialogue, and the encounter of civilizations.

Shusaku Endo (1923–1996) is mainly known in the West through the translations of his early novel *Silence* (1966) that created a sensation on publication, and also through his late work, *Deep River* (1990), published at the end of his life. These two novels, truly outstanding among his numerous writings in different genres, are existentially so interwoven with his own life that he asked his wife during his terminal illness to bury a copy of these books with him in his coffin.

Western commentators have mainly looked at Endo as a literary figure. They have examined his main motifs and themes, the tension in his attitude to East and West, and his controversial interpretations of missionary Christianity and the religious landscape of Japan. He describes the latter as a muddy swamp where no roots can grow and all things are indiscriminately swallowed up. Emi Mase-Hasegawa has pursued a different path, probably a unique one, by using the searchlights of theology and literature to illuminate Endo's rich descriptions and make visible the contours and content of his implicit theology.

Through doing this, she has achieved the impressive scholarly task of providing a new interpretation of Endo's significance. She has given him all the loving attention he deserves, and feels herself challenged by the questions his works raise. These are the pressing issues of different faiths and cultures, of religious pluralism and ethnic diversity, and the existential question of multiple religious belonging so characteristic of Japan, but increasingly also an experience many western people come across. Dr Mase-Hasegawa shows how Endo's work can be read at many different levels—that of story-telling, yet also as a narrative of many complex theological strands relating primarily to the understanding of Christ and Christianity in Japanese history and culture.

For western readers who are new to these themes, the author has also taken much trouble to explain Japanese religious history which forms the background of Endo's work. Especially important is the significance of basic Shinto which permeates the entire culture, providing the fertile soil in which Endo's imagination is grounded, and from where it was nurtured while wrestling with western philosophical and religious questions. His own experience of the West as a student, and of a western belief system in the form of Christianity, to which he had converted in his youth, made Endo acutely feel the tension between East and West, and the difficult problem of the inculturation of Christianity in Japan. Thus his novel *Silence* is a vivid account of the most intense persecution of Japanese Christian converts during the first half of the seventeenth century. It focuses on the depth and strength of their faith, and bears powerful witness to the agonising experience of the martyrdom of the so called 'Hidden Christians'—*Kakure Kirishitan*—but also to the seductive force of apostasy.

All these themes are explored in great detail in this book, but its real heart consists in the retracing of Endo's loving, intimate image of Christ, and in the way it was transformed over time. It shows that Endo saw Jesus in solidarity with the poor, as moved by maternal compassion, and as ever-present companion to his followers on their pilgrimage through life. This is a kenotic Christ, a pneumatic, immanent Christ, the Christ Endo considered most suitable for Japan.

Readers will come across many familiar themes in this book, but presented in a new light. There is, for example, the encounter of the religious worlds of Asia and the West. Until now, discussions about this in interfaith dialogue and religious pluralism have often privileged Indian religions rather than Japan, a country which is much less well known in the West. It is thus refreshing to look at dialogue and pluralism

issues differently, through Japanese eyes, and discover new challenges and responses.

Another new perspective is provided by Endo's late work *Deep River* which opens up an unsettling encounter with the spiritual vision of India, described through the experience of Japanese visitors to the Indian subcontinent rather than the customary western lens. This is novel, too, for it dwells on the meeting of Indian and Japanese spiritual universes, filtered in part through Christian hopes, desires and expectations.

Other themes that have a strong appeal in this book include the discussion of the feminine dimensions in Endo's religious thought, especially the Buddhist Christian figure of Maria Kannon, but also the maternal aspects of Jesus. Of widespread interest to many in the West will be the inspiration which Endo received from western debates about religious pluralism, as mediated through the reading of Professor John Hick's work in its Japanese translation by Professor Mase.

This fascinating book provides an absorbing read. It opens up stirring questions that call for a rethinking of religious pluralism and interreligious dialogue that will give more space to Asian experiences and to perspectives that seek harmony in diversity. Dr Mase-Hasegawa has given us a finely honed synthesis of theological and literary approaches that reveal the integral unity of Endo's life experience and his formative Christian faith. Both are related to two different cultures but are held in creative tension. His life-long spiritual journey shows that the seeds of the Spirit can grow and blossom in the 'mud swamp' of Japan, leading to a genuine inculturation of Christianity.

These comparative perspectives are of great significance since they possess both a particular and a universal appeal. They address Japanese and western experiences in a world searching for a new dialogue of civilizations, and in need of an integral spirituality that speaks to people around the globe. The author is to be congratulated on undertaking this excellent study. I hope it will find numerous readers who will feel as inspired by Endo's spiritual universe, his witness and vision, as I have been through reading Dr Mase-Hasegawa's book.

Ursula King,
University of Bristol and London, England

PREFACE

In this preface I provide some details of my personal background and the motivation for writing a book about the Japanese Christian writer, Endo Shusaku.

The religion of Japan is, in origin, Shinto. Buddhism was introduced in the 6th century A.D. Christianity was first introduced into Japan a little over 450 years ago,[1] but despite the length of its history, statistics show that there are less than one percent of Christians in Japan today.[2] This indicates that Christianity is considered an alien religion, not yet rooted in the land of Japan. This situation is a personal concern for many Japanese Christians. I myself felt uncertain as to whether or not I really was a Christian. With regard to this, I was inspired by reading Shusaku Endo. Since then the issues and questions related to religious belonging have been a very important concern for me.

Converts to Christianity in Japan often convert in a way that radically changes there relationship to their culture. They appear to turn their backs on their culture, on their earlier religious faith, on their sacred spirituality, or on beliefs that derive from what the Japanese call their 'sacred land'. For these 'radical converts', the 'sacred' becomes what is sacred for westerners. In an important sense, such converts can be considered to be a colonised people—colonised by western religious thought and practices. I am also deeply disturbed by the thought that I myself might be considered one of the colonised.

Since my own personal life has much in common with that of Shusaku Endo, my research into his life and work has been all the more meaningful. As it was for Endo, Christianity was for me a religion received from my parents; the Christian God and Jesus were realities in my life from birth onwards. At first I harboured no doubts about my faith, but when I realized that it was not the same for my relatives and friends, I began to have questions. Suddenly, I saw myself as different

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[1] Christianity was introduced to Japan in 1549 by a Jesuit missionary, St. Francis Xavier. He mentioned that even though Japanese religion was then in a state of decline, the Zen temples were still the center of a very spiritual life. See Chapter 2: *Koshinto*.

[2] The survey in the Christian Almanac 2007 states the Christian population in Japan is 739,111 (Believers: 726,123 and Clergy: 12,988). This is 0.578% of the total Japanese population. Cf. chapter 2: fn. 70.

from others and, since then, I encountered difficulties in accepting Christianity in the depths of my heart. Endo put it like this: "Christianity had a foreign scent for me".[3] This feeling of uneasiness grew stronger when I spent time abroad in the U.S.A. at the age of twelve. There, in the school, in the Sunday School, and in the choir, I became friends with many people who were Christians. Yet, in these circumstances I felt myself still 'different' or 'foreign' not only as Japanese but also as a Christian. I was often asked, "Why are you a Christian?" and I would answer, "Because my parents are". With this the conversation ended and they would not care to find out the deeper concerns within me.

I continued to wonder, "Am I truly a Christian?" This question quietly persisted within me. When I declared that I was Christian, I imagined that westerners might assume that I was converted from an inferior religion/culture. The idea of this was unbearable because I knew, through my experience, that Japanese culture and my Buddhist relatives were not inferior to westerners or to me in any sense. I respect both the Buddhist faith and the Shinto way of celebrating nature and the ancestors. My commitment to 'western' Christianity has been a major issue throughout my life. As Christianity has had a long history of forceful, arrogant, and imperialistic missions, how could a Japanese person from a totally different culture become a Christian with good cause and self respect?

Engulfed by such self criticism, I encountered Endo's novel *Silence* (1966). In the novel I heard the constant cry: 'what does it mean to be a Christian?' Endo sought to reinterpret Christianity so that it could be rooted in the Japanese culture, traditions, and way of life. He was my senior with a similar personal experience of struggling to accept his inherited religion, Christianity, within the Japanese religio-cultural context. It may not have been his deliberate intention to work out a cultural hermeneutics of the Gospel or to form a contextualized theology. However, through his novel, I became aware of the challenge to transcend the traditional western framework of Christianity. He was seeking, with all his effort, to shape a new image of Jesus Christ derived from Japanese culture. It is my aim, in this book, to identify and articulate what Endo was struggling with in his literature as he sought to inculturate Christianity. I see Endo as a missionary working out a reinterpretation of the Christian faith: it is religion in the making.

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[3] Endo 1983(b):11.

This book seeks to provide a theological analysis of the work of Endo Shusaku and his struggles to inculturate Christian faith. To help with this I introduce the concept of *koshinto*, a traditional Japanese ethos, as fundamental to Endo's thought on inculturation. *Koshinto* stands for the indigenous beliefs/spirituality of the Japanese people. I argue that any successful process of missiological inculturation demands a serious antholopological consideration of indigenous faith and spirituality. Also, I challenge the inculturation model of Stephan B. Bevans and Takeda Cho Chiyoko, holding that Shusaku Endo does not fit into any one of their particular models. In contrast with their models I have identified a Japanese type of religious pluralism, which may also provide a significant Japanese Christian contribution to current theological debate.

In Endo's works I have found an implicit living theology for people. I hear Endo's cry as mine and interpret his longing as my longing. With regard to this implicit theology, I am tempted to challenge the misreading of Endo on which the dominant Japanese and western interpretations are based. Endo not only writes about the suffering Jesus, he also deconstructs the religiosity of Jesus and stresses his human nature. Weaving his image of Jesus within a theologically pluralist interpretation, Endo sees God as transcendent love at work in the entire world. As one of the recipients of that love and as my contribution to the intellectual world, I wish to point out the theological importance of Endo's enterprise. I see his works as an expression of Japanese Christian theology, and his life as a process of inculturating Christianity–seeking a way for Japanese Christians to reformulate a sense of Christian self-understanding through the love of God's Spirit incarnated here and now. Moreover, starting from his local cultural context, Endo conveys God's universal love not only to modern Japanese people living in secular times, but also to people everywhere and in every culture. Thus, Endo's implicit theology has a universal significance.

For the title of my theisis I used the word 'inculturation' rather than 'incarnation'. Incarnation is translated as *Juniku-ka* 受肉化 in Japanese and it literally means to 'perceive the flesh'. This translation carries a western religious sensibility that Japanese people find offensive and feel uneasy about. The incarnation, the Word which "became flesh", can be understood as inculturation because it "dwelt among us" (John 1.14).[4] I prefer to interpret the incarnation or inculturation as the 'Spirit of

[4] Koyama 1979/1980: 65.

Christ blooming in the culture', which is a translation of *Mishou-ka* 実生化.[5] People and culture are always in a process of encountering new things. This involves interaction, adaptation, assimilation, integration and disintegration. Through this process, Christianity became 'incultrated' in Endo's literature.

This book seeks to speak to Japanese and western audiences. I hope my findings will influence Christian theologies of religion and missiology. Also, that it will impact on an understanding of civic religion, and help to open up a new religious perspective in the study of literature.

[5] Shusaku Endo s life long friend, Fr. Youji Inoue, rejects the traditional translation of incarnation and prefers a new term of inculturation. He translates inculturation as *Bunka nai kaika* 文化内開花 (blossom in the culture). Cf. Inoue 1989. Though I respect his translation, I suggest *Mishou-ka* 実生化, which expresses the notion of the Spirit of Christ being sown and sprouting in the culture.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations for Endo's work—

CSEL	Complete Series of Endo Shusaku's Literature

Abbreviations for documents—

IRCC	Institute for Research of Christian Culture
JATJ	Journal of the Association of Teachers of Japanese
JCQ	Japan Christian Quarterly
JJRS	Japanese Journal of Religious Studies
JSLR	Japanese Society for Literature and Religion

Other abbreviations—

CICM	Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary
JELC	Japan Evangelical Lutheran Church
NCC-J	National Christian Council in Japan
WCC	World Council of Churches
WCRP	World Conference on Religion and Peace

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Inculturation in Mission History

The relationship between religion and culture is a central issue for missionary movements of all religions. It has been a primary concern for Christian missions since the early beginnings, when Christianity spread to cultures in the Middle East, Africa, Asia, Europe, and later to the Americas. In Eastern Asia, for example, the fascinating religio-cultural encounter that took place when Roman Catholicism was brought to China and Japan through early Jesuit missions is often referred to. The Jesuits were leading missionary agents at that time, promoting the expansion of Christianity to new cultures.[1]

The words 'adaptation', or 'accommodation' (used mostly in Catholicism), or 'indigenization' (used mostly in Protestantism) have described the missionary approach to culture. Whatever term is used it generally involved three core elements:[2]

1. The translation of Christian terms into the local language (such as love, God, and salvation).
2. A strategic presentation of Christianity, whereby some elements are emphasized and others marginalized. For example, the theology of the cross was not preached widely in Japan during the early Jesuit mission, rather an emphasis was placed upon the resurrection of Jesus and the powerful, almighty God.
3. An understanding of Christianity in the light of indigenous spirituality, culture, and faith. For example, the Jesuit Francisco Xavier (1506–1552) first translated the word 'God' as *Dainichi*, the Buddhist concept of the supreme.[3]

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[1] Neil 1964/90: 120–150.

[2] Cf. Elison 1991/98: Chapter 3 for the methods of the Jesuit missionaries, Matteo Ricci, Roberto Nobili, and Francis Xavier. Also, Neil 1964/90: 129, 151–167.

[3] After 1859 the religiosity of Honen and Shinran also influenced Protestant leaders in a similar way. In modern Japan, Christian leaders have also engaged with religious

In Protestant circles the term 'indigenization' is frequently used.[4] It often appears in modern missiological thought but presupposes a static or stable indigenous culture.[5] Later the term was replaced by words such as 'inculturation', a concept which allows for a Christian encounter with a culture undergoing change.[6] The need for a more dynamic concept became particularly important as modernization began to impact on indigenous cultures and religions. There is, however, a new concept currently used to express the relation between Christianity and culture: 'contextualization'. This implies that Christianity needs to be understood in relation to the 'context', a word which widens and transcends the concept of culture.[7]

This question of terminology is a very sensitive issue. I prefer the term 'inculturation' for two reasons. First, the term focuses on culture. This is particularly relevant to Endo's work, where he analyzed the cultural features in which the gospel took form. Second, while 'accommodation', 'adaptation', and 'indigenization' emphasize the perspective of those who are the 'givers' in the process, 'inculturation' highlights the perspective of the 'receiver'. Here the Japanese people and culture are the 'receivers' of Christian teachings. However, to receive should not be understood as representing a passive attitude but as an active part of the missionary process; it is a creative reception, a dynamic reinterpretation of the transmitted faith. Therefore, I believe that the term inculturation, although narrower than contexualization, carries a wider meaning and dimension to it than 'adaptation', 'accommodation', or 'indigenization'. Inculturation implies reinterpretation, and it presupposes active participation by persons within the culture itself. In

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elements such as *Bushido, Samurai* spirit, and ancestral veneration. Ref. Nitobe 1938/97 and Uemura 1979: 189–194.

[4] Bosch 1991: 294, 448.

[5] Takeda 1967.

[6] J. Masson first coined the phrase *Catholicisme inculturè*, 'inculturated Catholicism', in 1962. It soon gained currency among Jesuits, in the form of 'inculturation'. In 1977 the Jesuit superior-general, Pedro Arrupe, introduced the term to the Synod of Bishops; the Apostolic Exhortation, *Catechesi Tradendae* (*CT*), which flowed from this synod, took it up and gave it universal currency (cf. Muller 1986: 134; 1987: 178). It was soon accepted in Protestant circles and is today one of the most widely used concepts in missiological circles." Bosch 1991: 447.

[7] The concept of contextualization is debated and clarified particularly by American missiologists. Bevans 2000.

this sense, I interpret Endo's life and his literary works as presenting a significant model of Christian inculturation in Japan.[8]

Christianity and Japanese Culture

Much research has been devoted to the relationship of Christianity and culture in Japan. Japanese words for this relationship vary, expressing such meanings as 'acceptance', 'reception', or 'perception'.[9] A frequently used word is *dochaku*, which literally means 'to take root in the soil'. Questions about the acceptance of Christianity in Japan were discussed in the 1960's following the publication of the book by Richard H. Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture*.[10] Niebuhr developed several paradigms to illustrate different ways of interpreting Christ in culture: 1) Christ against Culture, 2) Christ of Culture, 3) Christ above Culture, 4) Christ in paradox with Culture, and 5) Christ the transformer of Culture.[11] Several scholars have taken up the issue of the Japanese inculturation of Christianity.[12] Dohi Akio (1927–), using the term *Juyô*, looks at the historical process of how Christianity was received in Japan. Takenaka Masao (1926–2006) is one of a group of Japanese theologians who seek "to be a Japanese Christian in a Japanese cultural context".[13] He goes

[8] Regarding my usage of the term 'inculturation' cf. Kuschel: "The inculturation of Christianity is understood as a process of the acceptance and transformation of the various cultures of peoples and nations which cannot be concluded in history—as a counter-concept to the way in which, over the centuries, missions have made Christianity with an exclusively western stamp a foreign body within non-western cultures. The accommodation, indigenization and contextualization of the gospel are parallel concepts. This kind of inculturation is deliberately focused on the development of new types of Christianity. An authentically African, Asian, Latin American Christianity is called for in which the Christian message is expressed and lived anew in the language of the particular cultures. This kind of inculturation is indispensable, and the intercultural, contextual theology which has meanwhile come into being in Asia, Latin America and Africa is of the utmost significance for the capacity of Christianity to survive spiritually in the third millennium." Kuschel 1997/99: 21.

[9] The Japanese translations are: *tekiô* (適応) adaptation, j*uyô* (受容) reception, *bunkanai kaika* (文化内開化) inculturation, and *bunmyakuka* (文脈化) contextualization. However, I have not encountered any Japanese essays or theses analyzing the terms.

[10] Niebuhr 1951.

[11] Bevans articulates that "Niebuhr himself claimed to have been influenced in developing his famous five types by works as diverse as Augustine's *City of God*, Troeltsch's *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, and C.G. Jung's *Psychological Types*." Bevans 2000: 24.

[12] Dohi 1980, Phillips 1981, Kitagawa 1987, Gonoi 1990.

[13] Takenaka 1986: 6.

further than Dohi and seeks to identify an ideal type of inculturation for Christianity in Japan.

Takeda Kiyoko (1917–) has focused in her books upon various attempts at harmonizing Christianity with Japanese culture. Though Takeda claims that her analysis is not directly comparable to the scheme of Niebuhr, she has largely applied his paradigmatic approach to Japanese culture.[14] She does not use the term 'culture' when she classifies Japanese approaches to Christianity. Yet it seems she regards Japan and its culture as a dynamic entity. Moreover, she emphasizes the individual's reception in the process of inculturation. The approach, although drawing on Niebuhr's model, offers some original perspectives for an understanding of inculturation. She identifies five types of inculturation (she uses the term indigenization):

1. Absorbed type: Christianity is compromised by Japanese culture, and it loses its original function, identity and uniqueness.
2. Isolating type: Christianity places too much emphasis on its uniqueness, and it becomes isolated from Japanese culture.
3. Confronting type: Christianity confronts Japanese culture and remains isolated.
4. Grafting type: Christianity is implanted in Japanese culture as a supplement.
5. Apostatizing type: Christianity is abandoned after some time.[15]

Thus she describes several ways in which Christianity has tried to take root in her culture and society, resulting in a wide range of understanding Christian identity. She argues that several problems in transplanting Christian faith stem from a missionary reluctance to incorporate Japanese cultural features into Christianity. In order to preserve their identity, the missionaries kept themselves at a distance from Japanese

[14] Takeda 1967: 56–58.

[15] In Japanese, 1. *maibotsu-gata* 埋没型 2. *koritsu-gata* 孤立型 3. *tairitsu-gata* 対立型 4. *tsugiki-gata* 接ぎ木型 5. *haikyo-gata* 背教型. Cf. Kaneko 1996: 27–33.

Takeda states 1. *maibotsu-gata* can be related to Niebuhr's (2) Christ of Culture, 2. *koritsu-gata* can be related to Niebuhr's (1) Christ against Culture 3. *tairitsu-gata* can be related to both Niebuhr's (1) Christ against Culture and (4) Christ in paradox with Culture, 4. *tsugiki-gata* can be related to Niebuhr's (5) Christ the transformer of Culture. Niebuhr's (3) Christ above Culture can be related to both 1. *maibotsu-gata* and 4. *tsugiki-gata*. Takeda 1976: 56.

culture.[16] It is particularly worth noticing that Takeda added an apostatizing type—a temporary mode of inculturation, where the religion is renounced or abandoned after a period of time—which is common among Japanese Christians.

In spite of the positive reception of Christianity in many Asian countries,[17] it has not been the case in Japan. Takeda concludes that a combination of the 'confronting' and 'grafting' types should be employed for the inculturation process in Japan.[18] The result, she states, should not be like a new wine that has changed its taste in an old leather bag.[19] The new wine needs new wineskins, and through the models of confronting and grafting, Christianity would retain its uniqueness within Japanese culture. Japanese theologians might then go on to create their own cultural and religious heritage.

About thirty years after Niebuhr and Takeda's model of inculturation, Stephan B. Bevans (1944–) published *Models of Contextual Theology*.[20] The book is helpful in discussing Endo's thought in relation to inculturation. Bevans develops five models to illustrate different categories of contextualization: 1) Translation model, 2) Anthropological model, 3) Praxis model, 4) Synthetic model, and 5) Transcendental model. Although Endo's way of inculturation might not fit one particular category, the models contribute towards understanding how he develops his ideas of inculturation.

There have been a series of studies of Endo's literature, yet most of these are written by literary critics and they focus on his style and the influence upon his work of western novelists. French Catholic novelists such as Francois Mauriac (1885–1970) and Georges Bernanos (1888–1948) are often mentioned.[21] Since Endo's death studies of him have intensified, but they are predominantly in the field of literary criticism. Nonetheless, a few books and articles by theologians do exist.[22] They focus on readings of Endo's novels, discussions of Japaneseness

[16] Takeda 1967: 7–8.

[17] In the 1960s the East Asia Christian Conference (EACC) studied the issue of inculturation in Asia and pointed to a positive reception of Christianity in Asia. Ref. Chung 1990/94: Chapter 1.

[18] Takeda 1967: 76 and Takeda 1976: 102.

[19] In the New Testament, Jesus says that a new patch cannot be put on an old garment, and new wine cannot be put into old wineskins. (Mk. 2:21–22) Cf. Takeda 1967: 40–54.

[20] Bevans 1992/2000.

[21] Takeda, T 1988: 202–217.

[22] Ref. JELC (ed.) 1998. Also, Johnston 1994: 18–20.

and Christianity, or on Christian perspectives on one or a few of his works. However, none of them yet offers any comprehensive theological analysis of the overall Christian perception of Endo Shusaku. To my knowledge, no in-depth theological study of Endo's works exists either in English or Japanese.[23] I plan to investigate the theology implicit in his novels and contribute a more comprehensive interpretation of his Christian understanding.

Endo Shusaku writes about his inner religious conflict, struggling to find his identity as a Japanese Christian. In particular, the Confronting and Grafting types in Takeda's paradigm are taken up, elaborated, and deepened in his literature. Furthermore, Endo engages with Takeda's category of apostasy. He investigates the lives of apostates, to see if they contain important factors of Christian inculturation in Japan. The fact that some apostates suffer an inner struggle and eventually regain their faith in Christianity after many psychological conflicts provides valuable insights. Endo's novels illustrate the inner conflict of Japanese Christians and exemplify types of Christian inculturation in Japan.

It is my understanding that Endo's literary career illustrates an inculturating process of Christianity in Japan that is also relevant to other world cultures. If one asks, "Is there a special concern for inculturation in his writings, and what does inculturation mean to him?" one might not easily find a clear cut answer. I intend, however, to tackle this question and provide some answers.

Stating the Task

The task that I have set out to accomplish in this book is an examination of Endo Shusaku's interpretation of Christianity, as found in his life and writings. In particular, I will focus on Endo's view of Jesus Christ and the ways in which he distinguishes between Jesus and the Christ.[24] In the second stage of his literary development, Jesus the human person, who became a savior, is the central point of faith in his Christian experience. The Christocentric perspective remains in his third stage, but the focus increasingly turns towards the life-giving spirit of Christ.

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[23] Nothing found in the data-base from 1991–1999 at the Keio University library, 1999.

[24] Endo 1973(a) and (b).

Endo's interpretation of Christianity will be considered in relation to western theological movements, especially liberation theology and negative theology. I will also consider his thinking in relation to the Eastern background, in particular clarifying his image of Japanese religions and thought, and look at his understanding of the interaction between East and West. Furthermore, I will critically assess his attempts at inculturation from two central perspectives. First, I will analyze his manner of inculturation in relation to the categorizations of Takeda and Bevans. Second, as a basis for discussion, I will focus on the role of *koshinto*, a religious tradition that underpins much of Japanese culture. Shinto deeply influences the Japanese at the subconscious level of their lives, even when they refuse to take it seriously at the conscious level. It is my hypothesis that contemporary Japanese spirituality is largely based on *koshinto*, that this implies a pluralist approach to religions, and that it unconsciously underlies Endo's understanding of Christianity. I shall also investigate how Endo's thoughts and perspectives turn to a *pneumatological* understanding of religion. In order to carry out this analysis I will use a contemporary understanding of *koshinto* as my analytical tool, and explore how Endo's image of Christ as well as his Christ-centered *pneumatology* is based on *koshinto*.

Methodological Notes

The Modern Concept of Koshinto

The ancient Japanese worshipped the divine force of spirits (*kami*) that were understood to create, produce, and harmonize. Later, around 300 B.C.–300 A.D., the various religious beliefs and elements were systematized and formed into Shinto, the way of the *kami*. *Koshinto* is sometimes translated as Old Shinto or Primitive Shinto, however I prefer to call it Basic Shinto. *Koshinto* is a modern analytical concept applied to the basic beliefs that were the core element of Japanese culture prior to 300 B.C.[25] In a sense, *koshinto* can be understood as a Japanese form of *animism* that reveres all forms of life and spirituality (*anima*). Still today, in the everyday lives of the Japanese—through concrete rituals, personal behaviour, customs, and activities—a *koshinto*-influenced religious sensibility exists. I understand and use *koshinto* as

[25] Kadowaki 1997: 2–36. Also Ueda in Carter (ed.) 1999: 65–72.

a modern critical concept that describes the spirituality experienced in the Japanese religio-cultural context today. *Koshinto* represents the relatively formless spirituality of early Japan, which seeks the ultimate meaning of life in the relationship between humankind and the divine spirits. Suzuki Daisetsu, T. (1890–1966) understands spirituality as the deep consciousness of religion, and to be awakened to spirituality is to understand the core of religion.[26] Carter states:

> Religion is to be found at the subconscious level, rather than at the conscious level of verbal affirmation or theological distinction making.[27]

Spirituality is universal to every religion,[28] and *koshinto* is a spirituality that lies at the core of the common Japanese religious history transmitted down in its culture. Though I use *koshinto* as an analytical tool for interpreting the work of Endo, it is worth noting that Buddhists do not like to use the word and it was suggested to me to use other words like 'Japanese spirituality' or 'truth-ness'.[29] I have however stuck with *koshinto*, which is a concept that relates well to the various indigenous beliefs and spiritualities found throughout the world.

A Historical Perspective

There are indications that Endo changed his foci of interpretation during the span of his productive life. I will seek to identify as well as interpret these changes. The study will follow a chronological sequence, with Endo's theological development divided into three periods of his literary life.

1. 1947–1965: First stage. These years can be regarded as a preparatory stage and includes his first published essay, "*Kami*gami to *kami* to" (Gods and God) in 1947. He was unable to understand western Christian sensibilities during this time and almost despaired of trying to fit western Christianity into Japanese culture. His works

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[26] Suzuki 1944/2002: 11–21. He locates Japanese spirituality, however, in Buddhism.
[27] Carter 2001: 38.
[28] Suzuki 1944/2002: 20. Kadowaki 1997: 2–36. This point was highlighted for me when I attended, as an interpreter, a WCC conference in February 1998 in Karasjok, Norway, entitled 'Land and Spirituality'. Indigenous peoples from Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America, and North America gathered to share their views on spirituality.
[29] Fukushima Keido Roushi (1833–) pointed that Japanese Spirituality can be understand as a Biddha-nature in every living things, and in that sense it should be translated as true-nature, or true-ness. Visit Fukushima Keido (1).

reflected a psychological subjugation and he expressed that he felt a strong dichotomy between Japan and the West. He believed that there existed a wide and unseen chasm between the Japanese and westerners, and that they could never truly understand each other. The Japanese, he thought, could not understand the concept of God in western terms. He stated: "We (Japanese) are sons of many gods (pantheism)." Here it is important to note that Endo's use of 'pantheism' does not comply with standard usage.[30] It is the stage when Endo became aware of the need for inculturation, to interpret the Divine in a way fitting Japanese sensitivities.

2. 1966–1980: Second stage. In these years spanning the publication of *Chinmoku*『沈黙』(*Silence*) to *Samurai*『侍』(*The Samurai*), Endo focuses on the image of Christ. In *Silence* Endo exposed his inner conception of the dichotomy between Japan and the West. Afterwards his central theme gradually moved to reconciliation and mutual understanding between East and West; toward finding ways of shaping Christianity so as to better fit Japanese culture. During these years Endo tended to focus on human weakness, but in *The Samurai* he also looks at the pain of those considered strong. He explained that a human being could be weak or strong, but that spiritual strength is found in accepting one's weakness.
3. 1981–1993: Third stage. During this period Endo focused on the human subconscious. In 1993 he published his last novel, *Fukai Kawa*『深い河』(*Deep River*), where his religious concern shifted from a focus on the person of Christ to the spirit of Christ. His theological development in this stage can be viewed as a set of responses to the challenge of making Christianity more acceptable to himself as well as to the Japanese people. In this last stage he interprets the Spirit in a way consonant with a pluralist theology of religions.

As Endo's thought and literature develops, I will focus on his understanding of Christ. I will attempt to unpack the significance of his implicit theology in his concern for Christian inculturation.

[30] Endo 1947: 11–17. I shall discuss Endo's use of pantheism in Chapter 3.

Theology and Literature

As a theological researcher, it is challenging that Endo Shusaku writes literature and not theology! Literature is a tool that can weave together many different perspectives and the reader is therefore afforded more freedom in interpreting texts. Endo's literature contains a rich array of images and metaphors that provide readers with a world of imagination. It is important, therefore, not to restrict the interpretation of his symbols and metaphors in order that they accord with some predefined religious and doctrinal concepts. One must be careful not to fall into literalism.[31] His literature was originally written for his compatriots, who are mostly non-Christian Japanese. The literary images he employs are open to a wide range of meanings, and the reader has substantial freedom to interpret these. His theology, thus, must be interpreted in accordance with the context he was writing in and for.

Nonetheless, Christian readers will recognise that Endo often takes up themes from Christianity and it is the backdrop to many of his writings. Accordingly, it is possible to enter into a critical theological conversation with the events and characters of his literature. Even though Japan can be regarded as a non-Christian country, Endo was witnessing to his faith in this context as a Japanese.

Let me here clarify who is constructing a theology and for whom.[32] The theologian of hermeneutics, Werner G. Jeanrond, presents two theological reading genres: primary theological text-genres and secondary theological text-genres.[33] The first refers to biblical writings. The latter are interpretations of the biblical writings and interpretations of other texts with the help of biblical writings. In this book, I treat Endo's literature as an example of the secondary theological text-genre. I seek to unpack and explain his theological views; building a picture of their shape and development for readers. Endo does not explicitly intend to construct a new theology. He claims that he does not write theology but literature.[34] However, his writings contain an implicit theology which I interpret as the deeper intention of his litrature. Endo's writings thus encompass two levels: a level of storytelling and a level of implicit theology.

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[31] Ref. Wright 1988: 14.
[32] Cf. Schreiter 1985/96: 36.
[33] Jeanrond 1988: 118–119.
[34] Endo 1960 (Eng. tr. 1969/80: Translator's preface xiv).

His implicit theology is frequently embedded in stories with the following characteristics:

1. They are based on personal experiences, which turn out to have universal significance.
2. Their literary style is open-ended. Although the constructed stories are brought to a closure, they leave many issues unresolved.
3. They pose questions that remain unanswered.
4. The reader is left to draw their own spiritual conclusions.

As a basis for my work, I draw on hermeneutics from various Asian theologies that seek to discern Jesus within the Asian context.[35] I will not rely on hermeneutics based upon western philosophical and critical assumptions, even though Asian writers are often criticized as unsystematic or methodologically unsophisticated. I will examine Endo's implicit theology of religions from my own perspective as an Asian feminist woman who has studied in the West. As stated earlier, I have a two-fold relationship to Endo. He is the object of my academic study of Christian inculturation. We are also both Japanese Christians whose faith has been handed down from their parents and who have had to struggle with issues of Christian identity whilst living abroad.[36] In addition, my engagement with Endo's thought has been inspired by family and friends. Endo, before publishing *Deep River*, invited my father, Mase Hiromasa (1938–), who was his junior at Keio University, to talk about John Hick's religious pluralism.[37] In this light, I have greatly valued my own contact and theological discussions with John Hick.

Finally, it is not my intention to criticize Endo's interpretation of Christianity. I seek to bring up the moral and religious implications of his literature in an academic context. In particular, I focus on his view of Christianity.[38] Some of the best religious fiction of Endo blends

[35] England and Lee (ed.) 1993: 132. Cf. Koyama 1979/80, Chung 1990, Song 1990/94.

[36] Kuschel claims: "The reader is a constitutive element in the interpretation of texts. This necessarily presupposes that a literary text will be understood in different ways by different readers and will show variant meanings. The reader gains some freedom." Kuschel, 1997/1999: 3. Cf. "Naively, I believe, we must hang on to our 'subjectivity'". Jasper 1993: 2.

[37] More in Chapter 5.

[38] I proceed to develop my theology of inculturation in agreement with the understanding that theology is "thoroughly hermeneutical, and it works toward the most

motifs and materials, placing the past alongside the present. Some of his stories and essays are set totally in the present situation, and some superimpose the past upon the present. Although Endo is a novelist, it is meaningful to explore his interpretations of Christianity. I participate as an observer of his theological striving and respond to the open questions he raises. This study will describe Endo's theological thoughts. I shall work towards bridging the gap between text and reader, theology and literature, in order to spell out Endo's theology of inculturation. He explicitly stated his theological views, understanding and positions in some interviews and articles. He also sometimes included an author's comment at the end of an original book. Such information is most helpful in identifying his implicit theology.

Sources

I draw from Endo's approximately 230 works, which include reviews, short stories, plays, scripts, essays, dramas, and novels.[39] In *Silence* and *Deep River* his thoughts are concisely expressed and these books are of particular relevance to my study.[40] In addition, essays where he describes his life and views are among my foremost sources.[41] As for secondary sources, I have used articles written about him in Japanese and in English, including published interviews. I have also considered available English writings and articles about Endo published in journals since 1966. Other books from different disciplines are used to cover history, philosophy, and the religious thoughts of Japan.

Most sources are in Japanese, including my personal interviews with Endo Junko, the wife of Endo Shusaku, and Endo's friends, which include Father Inoue Youji who has supported many of Endo's theological perspectives. In Endo's novels Bible verses are quoted in Japanese. The Bible verses in this book are quoted from the *New Revised Standard Version.*[42]

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adequate interpretation theory by participating in a worldwide interdisciplinary conversation on human understanding," Jeanrond, in Jasper (ed.) 1993: 145.

[39] See Appendix.

[40] Endo himself asked his wife to bury *Silence* and *Deep River* with him in his coffin. Interviews with Endo Junko (1) It is also mentioned by Kato in Endo 1997(a): 235. This evidently shows how much these books were dear to him and reveals the importance of these novels for the last part of his life.

[41] CSEL Vol. 12 and Vol. 13.

[42] Oxford University Press, 1995.

Structure of the Study

In Chapter 1 the basic concept and approach of this study is introduced. I outline the nature of Christianity and culture in Japan, and clarify my position with regard to the use of particular terms such as the 'West' and 'inculturation'.

In Chapter 2 I examine the Japanese religio-cultural context. The first section focuses upon the Japanese indigenous faith of Shinto, and how the concept of the divine *kami* went through a process of amalgamation in encountering Buddhism and Christianity. Information on womanhood in Japanese cultural traditions in the second section will illustrate the religious perspective on the role of woman. This section highlights Endo's concept of the divine in contrast to a western feminist critique of his image of Christ as maternal love. In a third section, in order to facilitate an understanding of Endo's type of inculturation in his later stage, I introduce Nishida Kitaro and Takizawa Katsumi as exemplars of negative theology.[43] The chapter identifies important factors in the historical context of Endo's work. It also serves a pedagogical purpose: it is important to appreciate Japanese religio-culture and traditions in order to understand Endo's struggle to inculturate Christianity.

In addition to presenting his approach to Christianity I discuss, in Chapter 3, Endo's dilemmas as a Japanese Christian author. I consider his inner struggle between the influence of the West and his Japaneseness. I conclude that he gradually overcame the hostility between these factors, reconciling and accepting both sides. Through this he came to terms with his identity as a Japanese Christian. Investigating this process, my overarching aim is to present Endo's mode of inculturating Christianity.

In Chapter 4 I explore how Endo in his second stage (1966–1980) established a Christocentric theology that challenged Japanese culture. I show that Endo employs the image of Jesus Christ to express solidarity with the poor, to display maternal love and ever-present companionship. In the last section, I analyze Endo's way of de-mythologizing Jesus and identify his mode of inculturation.

[43] Takizawa was a follower of Nishida who founded the Kyoto School of Philosophy. Takizawa made an effort to understand the essence of Christianity in the context of the Japanese Buddhist concept of Emptiness.

In Chapter 5 I focus on theological perspectives in Endo's last novel *Deep River*, published in 1993. Endo passed away three years after this novel was published and had not the time to develop the ideas about the inculturation of Christianity in Japan that were implied in it. However, I will follow his intentions and inductively develop his attempt at Christian inculturation in relation to a pluralist theology of religions. I identify, at this point in his work, a turn towards a pneumatological interpretation of Christianity. He develops a pluralist theology as a means of inculturation.

Summarizing my findings in Chapter 6, I look at the prominent role which *koshinto* plays in the inculturation process. In this context, I will clarify Endo's three stages of inculturation: (1) A preparatory stage for inculturation when experiencing the need for inculturation, (2) a Christ-centered inculturation, and (3) an increasingly pneumatological mode of inculturation.

A biography of Endo can be found in the Appendix, as well as a list of his literature and translated works. This information, much of it hitherto unavailable in English, should provide a useful reference resource.

Terminology

There are different types of Christianity in the West, and many western theologians have an open and wide understanding about Christianity. However, Endo's usage of 'the West' and 'western Christianity' carries at times negative connotations. The terms are understood to represent an authoritarian type of Christianity and Christian culture which came to Japan in connection with western imperialism. The postcolumbian *conquista*, when the Kings of Spain and Portugal extended their power to establish political control overseas, povides a particular illustration of this. The expansion of western power and prestige, which the missionary enterprise accompanied, caused a negative reaction in Japan. Many Japanese still feel today that Christianity is a foreign religion and are reluctant to accept it.[44] While Endo was studying in Lyon, France, he saw himself in opposition to the West, although he was himself

[44] The well known Japanese Christian artist Watanabe Sadao (1913–1996) felt that "Christianity had 'the smell of butter', so foreign to the ordinary Japanese!" Takenaka 1986: 6.

a Roman Catholic Christian. He sensed the existence of a wide gap between Japan and the West. Endo's usage of 'the West' and 'western Christianity' derives from his experience of this cultural conflict, and thus a marked personal dimension is added to the historical one.

In Japanese the family name precedes the personal name. I follow this rule for Japanese names. In transcribing Japanese words into English I follow the Modified Hepburn romanisation system. As for western names, to avoid misunderstanding I follow the western order of family name after personal name.

Notes and Registers

For Japanese terms I have included references, explanations, and comments. In the appendix at the end of the book, a list of writings, index of person's names, and glossary for Japanese terms are included. For the English references I use the Chicago system. For Japanese references I use the chronological order in accordance with the standard system, including the Japanese original title of the book.

CHAPTER TWO

THE JAPANESE RELIGIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT

Introduction

This chapter introduces three factors that provide essential background information for my investigation into Endo's theology of inculturation. First, I give a historical sketch of Japanese religion. Secondly, I look at different types of Shinto and clarify aspects of *koshinto* that inform contemporary Japanese culture. This is important as *koshinto* with its modern, psychological, and spiritual meanings is the type of Shinto that I observe in Endo's attempts at inculturation. In connection with this I introduce the Japanese concept of the 'divine', and its role in the history of Shinto-Buddhist-Christian relationships. I also go on to propose that *koshinto* plays a fundamental role in shaping both different types of womanhood in Japan and the negative theology that forms a background to Endo's type of inculturation.

Outline of Features in Japanese Religious History

Japan's indigenous faith is Shinto, which has its roots in the age prior to 300 B.C. The animistic beliefs of this primal religion developed into a community religion with local shrines for household and guardian gods, where people worshipped the divine spirits. Gradually people began to worship ideal *kami*, personal *kami* and ancestorial *kami*.[1] This form of Shinto is frequently called 'proto-shinto'. Confucianism was introduced to Japan near the beginning of the 5th century as a code of moral precepts rather than a religion.[2] Buddhism came to Japan from India

[1] The Japanese word *kami* is usually translated into English by the term deity, deities, spirits, or gods. *Kami* in Japanese can be singular and/or plural. In this book I use the term with the same ambiguous meaning.

[2] *Nihon-Shoki* (Chronicles of Japan 720) contains the Confucian view of state and emperor. Confucianism had a great impact on Japanese thought and behaviour, and its teaching achieved prominence in Japan in the Kamakura period. After World War II, however, its influence declined. Ref. Wei-Ming (ed.) 1996: 113–185 and Kitagawa 1987: 52–53.

via China and Korea around the middle of the 6th century. Gaining imperial patronage, it went on to exercise great influence throughout the country and was able to develop and transform itself in relation to the surrounding Japanese culture. In the early 9th century Buddhism promoted the institutional synthesis of Shinto and Buddhism. In the Kamakura period (1192–1333), an age of great political unrest and social confusion, many new Buddhist sects emerged that offered hope of salvation to warriors and peasants alike. In the 16th century Christianity was brought to Japan by Jesuit missionaries and began to spread rapidly. However, Christianity was strictly proscribed during the period of national isolation from 1639–1853.[3] In 1858 Christian missionaries were again allowed to enter the country, resulting in the second introduction of Christianity. A third period of Christian mission followed after Japan's defeat in World War II in 1945. Freedom of religion was guaranteed to all under the Constitution in 1947.[4] Several new religious movements appeared, some of them based on Shinto, some related to Buddhist sects, and others of mixed religious orientation. Christianity is very much a minority religion but actively involved in various social and cultural activities.

Shinto before the Introduction of Buddhism

Shinto 神道 (the way of the *kami*)[5] is the name given to the Japanese indigenous faith. In Japan prior to 300 B.C. there was a proto-shinto religion, frequently named *koshinto*.[6] The objects of worship at this stage of *koshinto* were neither gods nor goddesses, but rather the power of spirits. According to the Shinto perspective, the pure Japanese religious experience in ancient times can be found in their conceptualization of *kami* as spirits: a dynamic force. Divine spirits were believed to be present in all natural objects and phenomena, as well as in human beings.[7] The ancient Japanese did not have a name for their indigenous beliefs, but they have existed continuously from before the founding of the

[3] The prohibition of Christianity started already in 1614 for the Japanese *Kirishitans*.

[4] Article 20 of the Constitution. 'Freedom of religion is guaranteed to all. No religious organization shall receive any privileges from the State, nor exercise any political authority. No person shall be compelled to take part in any religious acts, celebration, rite or practice. The State and its organs shall refrain from religious education or any other religious activity.'

[5] *Kannagara no Michi* (神随らの道) in Japanese.

[6] Ref. Kobayashi 1998/2000, Koyama 1979/80: 86.

[7] C.f. Ueda in Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture (ed.) 1994: 57–59.

Japanese nation until the present.[8] Shinto was formed around the Yayoi period (300 B.C.–300 A.D.), and named as a separate identity in the 6th century following the introduction of Buddhism 仏道 (the way of the Buddha) to Japan in 538.[9] Some claim that it was in conjunction with political reforms at the beginning of the 9th century that Shinto fully emerged as an independent indigenous religion.[10]

The diagram that follows on page 20 provides a brief history of Shinto and describes its different types. Each type has grown out of different historical and social circumstances, and contains its own ritual and theological agenda.[11]

The next issue is to examine how Shinto was influenced by other religions, especially through the interaction of Buddhism and Christianity.

Buddhism and Shinto (538–1333)

It is generally held that the teaching of Shakyamuni Buddha (Gautama Siddhartha) was introduced into Japan from China through Korea in 538. Sutras along with various images of buddhas and bodhisattvas were introduced, as were techniques for making such images and methods for constructing temples. The new skills and images attracted and influenced the Japanese people. Prince Shôtoku (Shôtoku-Taishi 聖徳太子: 573–621) studied the teachings of this imported religion and tried to make it a state religion.[12] His policy of administration was based on the concept of *wa* (harmony).[13] He asked the people to

[8] One representative pre-war scholar of Shinto, Kôno Seizo (1882–1963), defined Shinto as "the principle of the life of the Japanese people, as inherited from time immemorial… Shinto is the traditional creed and sentiment of the Japanese people". Encyclopedia of Religion Vol. 13: s.v. 'Shinto'.

[9] The first literary usage of the word Shinto is found in the *Nihon-Shoki* (720).

Joseph Mitsuo Kitagawa (1915–1992) explains Shinto as a religion which managed to "indigenize" Confucianism and Taoism as well as Buddhism. Ref. Kitagawa 1987: 72–73.

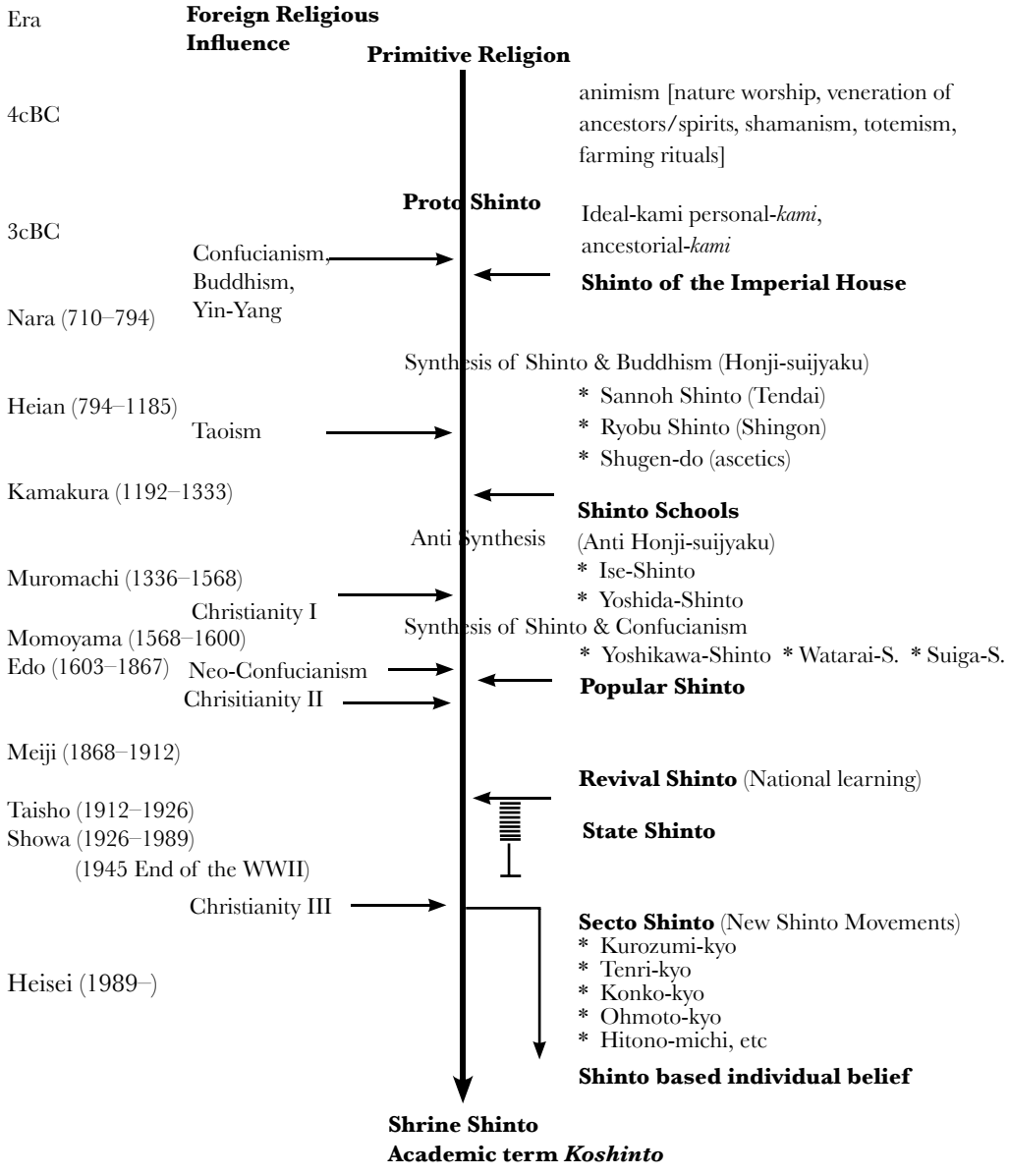
[10] Kuroda in Mullins, Shimazono, and Swanson (ed.), 1993: 14. Cf. Takatori 1979.

[11] Cf. Murakami 1970: 17.

[12] Minamoto 1996: 35, Koyama 1984: 151–158. The *Lotus Sutra* was translated into Chinese by Kumarajiva 鳩摩羅什 (344–413 Alternative dates: 350–409). He translated many important Mahayana Buddhist texts into Chinese, which had a widespread influence in Buddhist lands.

[13] Prince Shôtoku, the son of the emperor Yômei (–587), was responsible for creating Japan's first age of Buddhism. He made his disciples translate the *Lotus Sutra* into Japanese (the first translation was made in 615) and he wrote the country's first

Development of Shinto



respect three treasures: Shinto, Buddhism, and Confucianism.[14] The adoption of Buddhism did not mean the rejection of Shinto. Shinto remained strong as Buddhism rooted itself in the Japanese soil.[15] The respect for this foreign religion led in time to the co-existence of Shinto and Buddhism.

In the Nara (710–794) and Heian (794–1192) periods Buddhism exercised a central influence on the cultural achievements of the time. In 752 the great Buddhist monasteries of Todaiji and Toshodaiji were constructed in the capital Nara. The latter was founded in 759 by Ganjin / Jianzhen (鑑真: 688–763), a Chinese priest invited to Japan to reform Japanese Buddhism. During the early Heian period, two schools continued to play a prominent role in Japanese religious, cultural and political life: the *Tendai* School, founded by Saichô (最澄: 767–822) and the *Shingon* School, founded by Kûkai (空海: 774–835).[16] From the beginning of the 9th century, the Buddhist clergy of *Tendai* and *Shingon* promoted *Shin Butsu Shûgô*—the synthesis of Shinto and Buddhism. *Tendai* was centered on Mount Hiei where they built the Enryaku-ji temple. The main Shinto deity of the mountain became the deity of the temple and was considered an incarnation of Shakyamuni. *Shingon* was centered on Mount Koya and taught that *Dainichi* (Mahavairocana: symbolized by the sun) was the central manifestation of the Buddha.[17] In the Kamakura period (1192–1333) there was a flowering of Buddhism with the development of more indigenous forms. During this period, three Buddhist sects were founded by monks who studied at the *Tendai* monastic center on Mount Hiei: Hônen (法然: 1133–1212), Eisai (栄西: 1141–1215), and Nichiren (日蓮: 1222–1282). Honen founded Pure Land Buddhism in 1175. Honen's teaching was modified by Shinran (親鸞: 1173–1262), whose followers founded the True Pure Land sect. Eisai formed the Rinzai-Zen school in 1191, which lay stress on

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constitution, *Jyu-nana jo no kenpo* 十七条の憲法 (The Seventeen Article Constitution). The first article states "*Wa wo motte Toutoshi to nasu*" 和をもって尊しとなす (Harmony is the most precious thing) and this became a principle of the country. Cf. Niwano 1989: 26, Kobayashi 1998/2000: 107.

He also claimed "*Seken kyoshi, Yui butsu ze shin*" 世間虚仮、唯仏是真, "the world is temporary, only to become Buddha is truth".

[14] Kitagawa 1987: 51. Within Buddhism itself the Three Treasures are the Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha. Cf. Kobayashi 1998/2000: 46.

[15] Tachibana 1989: 55.

[16] For further development of the *Tendai* sect, see Chapter 2: Syncretizing Attitude.

[17] For more detailed discussion on *Dainichi*, see Chapter 2: Syncretizing Attitude.

the *Koan* and daily work. In 1227 Dôgen (道元: 1200–1253) developed the Soto-Zen school, which emphasized 'sitting meditation'.[18] Nichiren formed Nichiren-shu in 1253, putting special emphasis on the teaching of the Lotus Sutra.[19]

There was also a Shinto school that emphasized the autonomy of Shinto. Ise Shinto (centred on the Ise Grand Shrine) was established at the beginning of the Kamakura period. It established a Shinto theology that ranked purity and honesty as the highest virtues and taught that these could be acquired through religious experience. It distinguished between outer purity and inner purity, and placed an emphasis on sincerity. The imperial ancestress Amaterasu (the sun goddess) is enshrined in the Grand Shrine of Ise. It is patronized by the imperial family.

After 1333 the tendency to exalt one particular *kami* as a supreme divinity was continued by various Shinto schools such as Yoshida, Watarai, Yoshikawa, and Suiga.[20]

Shinto and Christianity (1333–1868)

Christianity was introduced to Japan with the arrival of the Jesuit missionary priest, Francisco Xavier (1506–1552), in 1549 on the southern island of Japan, Kyushu.[21] He traveled eastward to the main island of

[18] In the 12th century, Neo-Confucian doctrines were introduced to Japan and were taught in Zen monasteries. Here such Neo-Confucian practices as maintaining reverence and sitting quietly were regarded as intellectually stimulating variations of what Zen practitioners already knew as za-zen. The Zen sects derived from Dogen claim that the truth of Buddhism is applicable to everyone regardless of sex, intelligence, or social status. The practice of za-zen sitting meditation leads one to achieve enlightenment.

[19] The new movements Soka Gakkai (1930–) and Rissho Kosei Kai (1938–) follow the Nichiren tradition.

[20] They were influenced by other foreign thoughts (ie. Taoism, Confucianism, Neo-Confucianism) and developed a strong moral and political character. As well as Buddhism, Confucianism has greatly influenced Japanese culture and society. Confucian ethical notions about respect and obedience, as displayed in the piety shown by children to parents, wifes to husbands, and younger members to elder members, has greatly influenced Japanese behavioural patterns. New Confucian texts were introduced to Japan in the 1590s. The Tokunaga shogunate granted Neo-Confucianism an important status and invited Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583–1647) to join the government. He sought to abolish the synthesis of Shinto and Buddhism and advocated a new Shinto policy, an alliance of Confucian ethics and Shinto devotion. Ref. Kitagawa 1987: 162–164.

Yoshida Shinto was founded by Urabe Kanetomo (1435–1511), Yoshikawa Shinto was founded by Yoshikawa Koretaru (1616–1694), and Suiga Shinto was founded by Yamazaki Anzai (1618–1683).

[21] There is speculation that Nestorian Christianity in China influenced some of the early leaders of Buddhism in Japan such as Kûkai, the founder of the *Shingon* sect. Some knowledge of Christian faith and practice may have been imported; however,

Honshu and went as far as Kyoto, the capital of Japan at the time. Though he stayed in Japan for only three years, his contribution to the introduction of Christianity was substantial.[22] His two companions, Fr. Cosme de Torres and Bro. Juan Fernandez, and other followers continued the work of evangelism. The idea of *kami* now took on new shades of meaning. In 1576 the first church, *Namban-ji* (Temple of the Southern Barbarians), was built in the capital Kyoto in the vicinity of many Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines. Between 1579 and 1582 the early missionary work was revised under the Jesuit supervisor Father Alessandro Valignano,[23] one of the few who understood that Christianity had to give up its European flavor in order to become acceptable to the Japanese. However, tensions between Christianity and Japanese culture developed; some Buddhist temples and images were destroyed by Christians.[24]

The Roman Catholic Church grew after Valignano's arrival and the 16th century is often characterized as the 'Christian Century' by western scholars.[25] However, even at that time, Christianity was still a minor religion. I would prefer, thus, to talk of 'Emerging Christianity'. In 1587, Toyotomi Hideyoshi issued the first edict expelling the missionaries from Japan.[26] Nevertheless, for the following ten years, Christian missionaries were tolerated. In 1603, Tokugawa Ieyasu received the *Shogun* title after the battle of Sekigahara in 1600. This battle was crucial in

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little is known about the activity or influence of the Nestorian Church in early Japan. Drummond 1971: 30.

[22] Drummond 1971: 29–73. Cf. Fujita 1991.

[23] Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606) was the principal architect of the Jesuit mission in Japan. His missionary period was 1579–1603 and he made three visits to Japan (1579–1582, 1590–1592, 1598–1603). Fujita 1991: 78.

[24] Christian lords such as Yoshishige Ôtomo, Ukon Takayama and others, with the padre's encouragement, ordered the systematic demolition of Buddhist temples and monasteries and Shinto shrines in their fiefs, exiled the clergy associated with those religious institutions, and confiscated their properties for use as Christian facilities. Fujita 1991: 263. Also Livesey 1995: 6.

Ôtomo Sorin was a devoted Zen follower who became a fanatical Christian *daimyo* at the age of forty eight. Ôtomo "killed many Buddhist monks and nuns, destroyed many Buddhist temples, seminaries, monasteries and shrines." Burger 2000: 164.

[25] Boxer 1951/93, Phillips 1981, Kitagawa 1987, and others. The inappropriate use of the term 'Christian Century' is noted by Prof. Takenaka Masao. Interview with Takenaka (1).

[26] Toyotomi Hideyoshi claimed: "Japan is a country of *Kami* and for the padres to come hither and preach a devilish law is a most reprehensible and evil thing.… Since such a thing is intolerable, I am resolved that the padres should not stay on Japanese soil. I therefore order that having settled their affairs within twenty days, they must return to their own country.": Fujita 1964/90: 135.

forming Japan into a single nation. Tokugawa issued even more strict edicts banning Christianity and ensured their implementation. In 1614, a decree was issued expelling the missionaries and general persecutions began.[27] Churches were destroyed, foreign missionaries expelled, and Japanese Christians ruthlessly tortured and killed.[28] From this time on, Christians went into hiding: hence the term *Kakure Kirishitans* かくれ切支丹 (Hidden Christians).[29] When they were discovered during the time of persecution (1639–1858), the *Kakure Kirishitans* were severely punished. Some were nailed to crosses at the waterfront and drowned as the tide rose, some were captured and isolated without food, some were hanged upside down in a pit and slashed behind the ears or on the forehead in order to let the blood drip out and prolong their suffering. Since people were deprived of priests to conduct confession and preside at the Eucharist, each community ended up having different variations of idiosyncratic religious prayers and practice. In the face of such challenges the bond of the people in the community became very strong. It is ironic that the *Kakure Kirshitans* ended up practicing a syncretistic form of Christianity, mixed with elements Buddhism and Shinto, although their original aim was to maintain their Christian identity and authentic Christian faith. It was perhaps unavoidable that certain changes in doctrines and rituals would take place. Each village of *Kakure Kirishitans* became isolated and their small communities were wary of being discovered; they did not even trust what was said by other *Kakure Kirishitan* villages.

The second introduction of Christianity took place in 1859, when both Protestant and Catholic missionaries came to Japan.[30] In 1858,

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[27] The official statement was called *Bateren-Tsuihô Bun* and notice boards were put up around the country. It stated the ban on Christianity and offered rewards to those who detected Christians in hiding. The amounts paid were: for Padres 500 silvers, for monks 300 silvers, for converts 300 silvers, and for *Dôjuku* (Japanese students of Christianity) 100 silvers.

[28] At the beginning of the 17th century, before the persecution of Christianity started, the number of Christians in Japan was around 300–400,000. What these converts actually believed in remains an open question. Drummond 1971: 58, Gonoi 1983/90: 11.

[29] *Kakure Kirishitans* in Japanese is written differently by scholars, e.g. かくれキリシタン、 隠れキリシタン、 潜伏キリシタン etc. Cf. Miyazaki 1996: 30–34. In this book I adopt the term かくれ切支丹 which Endo Shusaku uses. *Kakure Kirishitans* is translated either as 'underground Christians', 'secret Christian community', 'Crypto-Christian', or 'Hidden Christians'.

[30] Endo divides the early history of Christianity (1549–1873) into four stages: 1549– From the first introduction of Christianity by Jesuit priests.

Prudence Seraphin Girard, the superior of the first Roman Catholic mission, was able to obtain a permit to reside at Yokohama.[31] A few years later, Fr. Bernard Thadee Petitjean (1829–1884) and several other French priests arrived and opened their residences in three port cities: Yokohama, Hakodate, and Nagasaki. The responsibility for the Japan Mission had been formally granted to the *Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris* (M.E.P.) by Pope Gregory XVI.[32]

Religions in Japan (1868–1945)

During the late 18th to 19th century, scholars advocating *Kokugaku* (national learning) arose as an intellectually compelling alternative to Neo-Confucianism. It sought to recover and clarify the ethos of ancient Japan by studies of Japanese classic literature. Related to this movement, Kada no Azumamaro (荷田春満: 1669–1736), Kamo no Mabuchi (賀茂真渕: 1697–1769), and Motoori Norinaga (本居宣長: 1730–1801) inspired the beginning of *Fukkoshinto* (Revival-shinto). The movement aimed at returning to antiquity. Among Motoori's disciples, Hirata Atsutane (平田篤胤: 1776–1843) was a very important successor who formulated important doctrines.[33] He claimed that politics were fundamentally religious by nature, an idea that was utilized by the Meiji government (1867–1912).[34]

Gradually the doctrines of Christianity spread among zealous bands of inquirers and among the remnants of *Kakure Kirishitans.* After 1878

1587– From the banishing of Christians by Toyotomi Hideyoshi.
1605– From the strict order prohibiting Christianity by Tokugawa Hidetada.
1637– From the violent Christian peasant rebellion (Shimabara rebellion)
Endo and Takeda 1987: 59.

[31] Cieslik and Ota (ed.) 1999: 280. Drummond 1971: 301. Accompanying the first Consul General of France as interpreter and chaplain, Girard arrived in Edo on 6 September 1859. Girard stayed in Japan until 1867. Ref. Fujita 1991: 348.

[32] Drummond states that the period from 1875 to1890 was "the finest years of their (missionaries) apostolic life, the golden age of the expansion of the Church in Japan." Drummond 1971: 309.

[33] Influenced by Christian notions of God's creation, the Hirata school of Shinto (followers of Hirata Atsutane) constructed a Shinto cosmology and theology. He claimed the universality of their faith by saying that the Goddo (Japanese way of pronouncing God) of Christianity, or 天帝 (Tentei) of Confucianism, are all the same *kami* in the center of the universe. Different traditions just call it by different names. The Hirata school of Shinto tried to syncretize Shinto and Confucianism. Cf. Koyama 1984: 186.

[34] In pre-war Japan the emperor was officially regarded as a living *kami.*

and even after the Second World War in 1945,[35] it looked as if Christianity was accepted and allowed a place in Japanese life, but it did not become a part of the indigenous culture. At times it seemed it was merely like a protocol for dealing with foreigners. Can the Japanese be truly Christian? This has been a recurring problem in the history of Japanese Christianity.

In 1868 the Meiji government issued an order for the separation of Buddhism and Shinto.[36] The government moved to make Shinto a state religion by restoring the 'unity of rites and government' and 'separating Shinto and Buddhism'. The capital was transferred from Kyoto to Tokyo in 1869 and three imperial shrines were erected inside the Imperial Palace. In 1870 the Meiji government implemented the *Taikyô Senpu* (Great Promulgation Movement) to make Revival-shinto the spiritual foundation of the emerging Japanese nation. The campaign asserted that the spiritual foundation was organically connected with the imperial system. The state ideology of Japan as the country of *kami* was deeply ingrained, and anything that opposed it was attacked as heresy.[37] The emperor was declared a living *kami*, an idea which reflected an ultranationalist image of Japanese society and culture. Moreover, in 1871, in the midst of the challenges from Buddhism and Christianity, the government promulgated the view that Shinto was the national religion. A limited number of 'government shrines' became state institutions. Japan embarked on an imperialistic policy and the role of the emperor grew increasingly stronger.

In April 1900, Shrine-shinto was defined as non-religious. The home ministry split the offices of *shaji-kyoku* (Office of Temples and Shrines) into a *jinja-kyoku* (Office of Shrines) and *shûkyô-kyoku* (Office of Religions). The former was to take responsibilities for State-shinto and the latter for Christianity, Buddhism, and the various sects of Shinto. Shrine worship was declared non-religious and the patriotic reverence of the emperor and imperial ancestors was demanded, becoming obligatory

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[35] Christianity gained more freedom, but this was set in motion from outside by an occupation army after the nation's first defeat ever in its long history. Ref. Phillips 1981: 114. He divides the period into three, those of the Allied Occupation (1945–52), of Rapid Economic Growth (1952–68) and of Change and Reappraisal (from 1968). Ibid.: 1–16.

[36] Sonoda in Breen and Teeuwen (ed.) 2000: 41. The edict separating Shinto and Buddhism in 1868 is called *Shin Butsu Bunri* 神仏分離.

[37] The first time *Kami no Kuni* (the country of *kami*) was raised as a state ideology was in the early 17th century under Tokugawa.

for all Japanese. At the end of the Meiji period and the beginning of Taisho (around 1912) a significant transition towards a national identity as *Shinkoku* (the country of *kami*) took place. From 1931 until the end of the Pacific War in 1945, pressure to accept State-shinto and emperor worship intensified. The myth of the divine origin of the country was used to justify the military throughout the war. During the period from 1868–1945, Shrine-shinto and Shinto of the Imperial House were merged to make a peculiar form of national religion called *Kokka*-shinto (State-shinto). This became the national faith of Japan by government regulation at the beginning of the 20th century. This national faith was used to justify attacks on other countries in order to subjugate them.[38] After Japan's defeat in 1945, Shrine-shinto was restored and State-shinto dissolved.

Shinto after 1945

Contemporary Shinto can be classified into four main forms: *Minzoku*-shinto (Folk-shinto), *Jinja*-shinto (Shrine-shinto), *Shûha*-shinto (Sect-shinto)[39] and *Kôshitsu*-shinto (Shinto of the Imperial House).[40] Folk-shinto, associated with the life of the peasants and villagers, includes many superstitions which are never incorporated into the main festivals of Shrine-shinto. Shrine-shinto has been in existence from the prehistoric ages to the present and constitutes a main current of the Shinto tradition. Sect-shinto refers to thirteen Shinto groups that were officially authorized between 1876–1901 in the Meiji period.[41] Shinto of the Imperial House carries the mythology that the emperor is a descendant of *kami*. Shinto was separated from the state and established its own organization, *Jinja-Honcho* (the Shrine association), and most of the important Shinto shrines in Japan today belong to it.[42] Shinto no longer

[38] The Japanese appointed themselves to be the righteous nation that possesed the fullness of morality. Koyama interprets the situation as an illustration of how religion can be misled by human greed. Cf. Koyama 1984: 148.

[39] Hirai in Carter (ed.) 1999: 45.

[40] One of the main responsibilities of the Imperial House is to take part in Shinto rites and ceremonies. Today the major ceremonies are *Sokui no rei* (Enthronement Ceremony) and *Daijo sai* (Great Festival of the First Harvest).

[41] *Kurozumi-kyô, Shinto Shuseiha, Izumo Oyashiro-kyô, Shinshu-kyô, Shinto Taisei-kyô, Jikko-kyô, Fuso-kyô, Shinto Tai-kyô, Ontake-kyô, Misogi-kyô, Shinri-kyô, Konko-kyô, and Tenri-kyô.* Ref. Kitagawa 1987: 168–171. However, Yuki Hideo suggested to me that they should rather be called new-shinto movements.

[42] Some 75% of the nation's shrines and priests belong to Jinja-Honcho, and the state no longer financially supports Shrine Shinto. Ref. Breen and Teeuwen (ed.) 2000: 1.

receives any official encouragement or privileges, though it still plays an important ceremonial role in many aspects of Japanese life.

Shrine-shinto has a number of characteristics, among which the following four are commonly mentioned: 1) it has no founder or dogma, no established scriptural authority, and does not contain the idea of an absolute God, 2) the *kami* of Shinto are merciful as well as revengeful, 3) it has a strong connection to *Matsuri* (festivals); it is a community religion, and 4) it is centered on attaining worldly benefits and providing human satisfaction.[43] Faith is not transmitted through words and doctrines, but through concrete rituals, personal behaviour, customs, and activities in the everyday lives of the Japanese. Still today a Shinto influenced religious sense exists implicitly in the Japanese people. This leads us to the modern academic concept of *koshinto*. It represents the relatively formless original tradition of Japan, which seeks the ultimate meaning of life based on the relationship between humankind and *kami*.

Koshinto (Basic Shinto)

Koshinto (Basic Shinto) is a spirituality that lies at the core of Japanese sensibility and which has continually influenced the country's religious history. It has informed the Japanese traditional life-style, and underlies the nation's ethos and religious heritage.[44] One of its elements is a non-rational approach to religion. This becomes a major obstacle for the western scholarly enterprise when questions about the concept of the divine are raised. The western Christian concept of God defined as the creator, redeemer, ruler, Almighty Father, and as revealed through the historical figure of Jesus Christ, differs greatly from the vague concept of *kami* based on *koshinto* that is prevalent in Japanese religiosity. The Japanese approach to *kami* is through feelings, not through seeking a rational truth. I interpret *koshinto* as historically rooted in proto-shinto,

[43] Sonoda 1998(b).

[44] Interview with Yotsuya Mikio from Jinja Honcho (1). There are good reasons to hold that *koshinto* developed from proto-shinto and constitutes a fundamental part of the Japanese mentality. Cf. Robert N. Bellah in Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture (ed.) 1994: 114. "While Shinto does not express the whole of Japan's cultural identity, there is obviously a deep connection between Shinto, using this word in the broadest sense, and the most fundamental level of the native Japanese tradition". Dale 1996: 5. "The thought and feeling of the great majority of citizens, either consciously or unconsciously, is colored by Shintoism." Also, Dale states that Shinto is the "civil religion" of Japan and "is referred to as the national faith of Japan": Ibid. 40.

but as having adapted itself to modern times. I shall first present the concept of the divine and its harmonising nature in *koshinto*. I shall then show how the emotional aspect of *koshinto* is based on a loyalty to nature, which also helps in explaining Japanese people's over-dependence on divine mercy. Finally, I shall present the female dimension of *kami* in *koshinto.* It is my hypothesis that *koshinto* is the living spiritual root of the Japanese people and that it continues to play an important role in Japanese self understanding.[45]

Koshinto and Kami

As stated earlier, before Shinto was formed the object of worship was neither gods nor goddesses but rather the power of spirits, and people believed that there were uncountable numbers of *kami* existing everywhere in nature. This reverence of nature was the basis of the historical period of *koshinto*. According to the analytical modern concept of *koshinto, kami* was not considered as one absolute Supreme Being. People thought of *kami* as functual in character, capable of renewing culture, society, and nature. *Kami* were believed to be spiritual driving forces, *ke* (spirit), which fulfilled human desires as well as their own. It is not until the early 8th century, with the first appearance of Shinto texts, that we can see clearly the concept of *kami* in Shinto.[46] Since the late 18th century, different etymological studies have been made in order to clarify the term. The most authoritative account of *kami* suggests that it has meaning of 'upper' or 'above' and thus the connotation of 'sacred'.[47] However, according to recent research on the concept of *kami* by Ôno Susumu (大野晋: 1919–), none of the etymological theories

[45] Ref. Kobayashi 1998/2000, Kadowaki 1997: 2–36, Koyama 1979/80: 86. "Taking into consideration the relationship between rice crops and Shinto, the beginning of Shinto can be dated to the Yayoi period (300 B.C.–300 A.D.) when rice agriculture became widespread in Japan. It is also noted by anthropologists that this period witnessed the formulation of Japanese views and thought processes." Asoya in Carter (ed.) 1999: 60.

[46] *Kojiki* (Record of Ancient Matters 712) and *Nihon-Shoki* (Chronicles of Japan 720). These contain the traditions of ancient Shinto and they are sources for the history, topography, and literature of ancient Japan.

[47] Motoori Norinaga, a scholar of National Learning, did a careful study of *Kojiki* and he defined Shinto *kami* as "*Yonotsune narazu suguretaru Koto no arite Kashikoki mono*" 「尋常ならずすぐれたる徳のありて、可畏きもの」"that which has extraordinary virtue and graciousness". Sonoda 1998: 24. Ref. Koyama 1979/80: 101.

about *kami* are satisfactory.[48] Instead of searching for the origin of the word, he searches for the meaning of *kami* in the word's usage. He presents six characteristics:

1. *kami* are not monotheistic, but polytheistic beings
2. *kami* do not have a concrete form or shape
3. *kami* float, move, wander, and sometimes cling to people
4. *kami* dictate and rule each place and substance
5. *kami* are fearful natural deities
6. *kami* are anthropomorphic deities[49]

Kami is not regarded as a transcendent, omnipotent being that unifies the whole. *Kami* are of wind, fire, earth, water, and various other elements: there are numerous *kami*. As *kami* do not have concrete form or shape, people are not able to see them, thus they are regarded as spirits or *anima* that manifest themselves in different forms.[50] Celestial bodies such as the sun, the moon, and the stars are often worshipped as *kami*. Natural phenomena, such as thunder or wind, are considered to be the working force of *kami*. Forests, mountains, seas, rivers, lakes, and stones are considered as natural phenomena where *kami* enshrine themselves. Animals, especially snakes, wolves, bears, foxes and crows are also worshipped as manifestations of *kami*. Humanity is not created by these deities but is descended from them. Shrines are built for *kami* that guard families and local areas, such as ancestral deities.[51] *Kami* are found in all of nature and are respected with awe.

Ono Sokyô (小野祖教: 1904–1990), a major Shinto scholar, states:

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[48] Ônо Susumu is a professor emeritus at Gakushuin University in Tokyo. He is a scholar of ancient Japanese literature and his research is methodically based on Shinto Texts.

[49] Of the numerous *kami* worshipped in Shinto, some are the spirits of human beings worshipped as *kami*. For example, the spirit of Sugawara Michizane (845–903) is worshipped as *Tenjin*, the spirit of Tokugawa Ieyasu (1541–1616) is worshipped as *Toshogu*, and the spirits of the war dead are worshipped as *kami* at Yasukuni Shrine.

[50] Animism is a belief that anima (the spirit) is in every living thing. An English anthropologist EB Tylor (1832–1917) was the first person who explained the system of animism. My understanding of anima is that it represents a spirit of love towards nature and sympathy towards life in nature. In the Japanese context, animism means that invisible spirits are enshrined in objects, thus it is better to name it anima-ism.

[51] Shinto is seen to include natural deities and at the same time includes character for an ancestral worship. See Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture (ed.) 1984: 22. Also, Kitagawa 1987: xii.

> From time immemorial the Japanese people have believed in and worshipped *kami* (an honorific term for the sacred and the sacred spirits that permeate everything in the universe) as an expression of their native racial faith which arose in the mystic days of remote antiquity. To be sure, foreign influences are evident. This *kami* faith cannot be fully understood without some reference to them. Yet it is as indigenous as the people that brought the Japanese nation into existence and ushered in its new civilization and like that civilization, the *kami*-faith has progressively developed throughout the centuries and still continues to do so in modern times.[52]

A well-known expression in contemporary Japanese is *Yaoyorozu no kami*, literally meaning 'eight million *kami*'.[53] This expression illustrates the modern Japanese concept of *koshinto*, that never reqires faith in One God/*Kami*. *Kami* is originally a Shinto concept used to define the concept of the divine, where a myriad of deities constitutes a single whole, united in peace and harmony. To illustrate the religious sensitivity of Japanese people derived from their faith, I refer to a contemporary Shinto scholar, Ueda Kenji (上田賢治: 1927–2003), who criticizes the western intellectual way of approaching God. He claims that *kami* is "an existence that cannot be understood by human reason (as westerners tend to do)".[54] Instead, from the Shinto perspective, Japanese *kami* are considered as a life force within all beings. Every being has an individual *kami* nature deeply hidden inside.[55] *Kami* is not regarded as a particular being but as a force. It is "the force of life that constitutes beings as such".[56] In the Japanese tradition, people are not particularly concerned about the concept of *kami*; they regard the experience of *kami* as more important than doctrines.

Syncretizing Attitude

The term Shinto can be approached in two different ways. The first sees Shinto as a cultural inheritance, without any founder, which has existed since the country was formed and developed under various social and cultural circumstances. This then became the foundation of

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[52] Kitagawa 1987: xviii.

[53] Cf. Sekine 1986. This expression appears in *Kojiki* 712: 223–224, s.v. *Ameno Iwato* in Kurano 1963/96: 36–38.

[54] Ueda in Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture (ed.) 1984: 52. Ueda Kenji is a president of Kokugakuin University (Shinto Univ.) in Tokyo.

[55] For further argument, see Ueda in Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture (ed.) 1984: 42.

[56] Ueda in Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture (ed.) 1984: 41.

a cultural religious consciousness still prevalent today in Japan. It carries an animistic/pantheistic/naturalistic flavor and this in turn can be called *koshinto*—the essential beliefs. The primitive naturalistic elements of *koshinto* were carried down mainly to new religious movements (Sect-shinto) and remained in society even by the time that Shrine-shinto had developed into an advanced religious structure.[57]

The second approach involves the conscious academic attempt of an individual or groups to explain Shinto and the concept of Japanese *kami* systematically. This emerged in the late 8th century in opposition to the synthesis of Shinto and Buddhism.[58] When Buddhism was first introduced to Japan the Buddha was initially thought of as "the *kami* of the neighboring country (China)" and was not rigorously distinguished from the *kami* of Japan. In this way, with the support of the imperial household, the Buddha attained an independent status politically and socially equal to that of *kami*. The influence of Buddhist icons and statues transformed the idea of *kami* and, as a result, the worship of images of *kami* spread among ordinary people.[59]

During the Heian and Nara periods, Buddhist leaders emphasized the theory of *Honji-suijaku*, where buddhas appeared in the world (*honji*) in the shape of *kami* for the purpose of saving people (*suijaku*).[60] *Honji-suijaku* was used to support a syncretic approach.[61] Gradually, both Buddha and *kami* came to be regarded as one, and the unity of all was named *Dainichi* (the Cosmic Buddha).[62] Kûkai asserted that *Dainichi* is the appearance of the Cosmic Buddha. Both *Tendai* and *Shingon* hold the

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[57] Cf. Kobayashi 1998/2000: 217–219.

[58] The second approach emphasized the authority of Shinto and was carried down to Ise-shinto. Ref. Ôno 1997: 66.

[59] Ono states that *Jinja* (神社), Shinto shrines, are influenced by Buddhist temples. Ono 1997: 16.

[60] *Honji-suijyaku* was originally used in the *Tendai*-sect (*Tendai* shu 天台宗) in order to distinguish between the eternal Buddha who transcends history and Gautama Siddhartha, the historical Buddha born in India. Ryobu-shinto 両部神道 and Sannoh-shinto 山王神道 were also formed by Buddhist monks who lived close to big shrines.

[61] Most leaders of Shinto during these periods accepted the redefinition of three *kami*, 1. *Kunitokotachino-mikoto* 国常立尊 (Eternal Spirit of the Land), 2. *Kunisatsuchino-mikoto* 国狭槌尊 (Eternal Spirit of the Soil), and 3. *Toyokumununo-mikoto* 豊斟渟尊 (Eternal Spirit of the Swamp), as 1. *Dharma-kaya*, the Cosmic Buddha, 2. *Sambhoga-kaya*, the Archetypal manifestation of the Buddha, and 3. *Nirmana-kaya*, the living Buddha. In Japanese, 1. 法身 (*Hosshin*), 2. 報身 (*Hôjin*), and 3. 応身 (*Ôjin*). These three *kami* are discribed in the very beginning of *Kojiki* and *Nihon-Shoki*.

[62] Murakami 1970: 46.

same view of *Dainichi*.[63] By such interpretations, Buddha was incarnated in Japan and took the form of *kami* in the Japanese indigenous faith. Buddhism was adopted into Japanese society in a transformed way. In adjusting to the cultural ideas of salvation in this world, Buddhism came to emphasize a worldly orientation and the merits of individual engagement therein.[64] Ise-shinto, however, proposed an opposing theory: Shinto gods were the *honji* and the Buddha the *suijaku*. This theory was called *han-honji suijaku setsu* (anti *honji suijaku*).

On the Christian side there was some confusion over the Japanese term to be used for God. Francisco Xavier followed the suggestion of his interpreter, Yajiro, by translating God firstly as *Dainichi*.[65] However, the local people understood *Dainichi* as the supreme Buddha and said that they had already been faithful to this God. Xavier concluded that the translation was misleading and replaced it by the word *Deus*.[66] The Japanese delegation that was sent to Europe in 1582 used the word *Tenshu* (the Lord of heaven). *Tenshin* (*kami* of heaven) and *Tentei* (Emperor of heaven) can also be found in a dictionary published in 1595. The 1614 decree expelling missionaries,[67] the general persecutions that followed, and the national edict closing the country in 1639, meant that these words used for God did not spread among the Japanese. However, when the Protestant missionaries arrived in 1859, one of the Presbyterian fathers from America, J.C. Hepburn(1815–1911), used the word *Shin* (the Japanese word can also be pronounced as *kami*).[68]

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[63] Cf. Katoh 1999: 91.

[64] Nakamura Hajime (1912–), professor of Indian and Buddhist philosophy, points out that the uniqueness of Japanese Buddhism lies in its "tendency to put more weight on human ethics". This is a theory of Nakamura, which he calls *Jin rin jushi teki keiko* 人倫重視的傾向.

[65] Yajiro (1506–1552) was baptized in 1548 and received the religious name of Paulo de Santa Fe (Paul of the Holy faith). Even though it may not have been his intention to confuse Japanese people, his lack of any extensive and accurate understanding with regard to Japanese religions (Buddhism, Shintoism, and Confucianism) produced serious and bizarre distortions. Fujita 1991: 16. Also see Neill 1964/90: 132–138.

[66] However, some Japanese heard it as '*Daiuso*', meaning 'a big lie', and laughed. Shiba and Keen 1972: 38. Concerning the translation of God there is an article by Suzuki Norihisa translated into English. Cf. Suzuki 2001: 131–146.

[67] The official statement is called *Bateren-Tsuihou Bun* 伴天連追放文 and notice boards were put up around the country. It stated a ban on Christianity and offered rewards to those who detected Christians in hiding. For Padres 500 silvers, for monks 300 silvers, for converts 300 silvers, for *dôjuku* (Japanese Christian believers) 100 silvers were paid.

[68] Hepburn edited the Japanese-English dictionary, together with S.R. Brown (1810–1880). Also, Hepburn completed the translation of the New Testament into Japanese in

The Japanese read *Shin* as *kami*, the designation of the Shinto deity, and a certain ambiguity was introduced into the concept of God. The advantage of this translation was, however, that it fitted the Japanese experience; for more than a thousand years *kami* and Buddha had been syncretised and most people were not aware of any distinction.[69] The concept of God now influenced the understanding of *kami* and inspired totally new understandings, such as *kami* as the creator of the universe. Reflecting the concept of *honji suijaku*, the word *Shin-Butsu* (a joint word for the polytheism of *kami* and the pantheism of the buddhas) was officially used until 1868, and the word still lives on in popular usage. Since the term *kami* was synthesized without any clear differentiation to the Buddha or to the Christian concept of God, the Japanese expression for the divine raises problems of definition that touch on popular and traditional religious sensitivities. The *Kami* of Shinto, Buddha of Buddhism, and *Kami* of Christianity are all regarded as sacred and divine.

The dynamic process of hybridizing and synthesizing religious concepts and practices, lasting over 1300 years in Japan, is of great significance for contemporary Japanese spirituality. In the encounter of different religions, the concept of the divine—*kami* has been identified with the Buddha and the Christian God.

> Japanese religiosity is characterized by a syncretistic view of all religion. Most Japanese are both Buddhist and Shinto at the same time. According to the *Yearbook of Religions* compliled by the Ministry of Education for 1993 (numbers under one hundred thousand deleted): Shinto-116,900,000; Buddhist-89,900,000; Christian-1,500,000; other-11,300,000; total-219,700,000. The surprise comes when this total is put along-side the total population of Japan…about 125,000,000! One of the reasons for this syncretistic phenomenon is that many strata of religious traditions exist. As new strata were added, they did not replace the old, but were simply an addition. So today there is still the primitive strata of Shintoism, plus the strata of Buddhism, plus the strata of Confucian ethics, plus the Christian influence, etc.[70]

1880. He translated God as 神 (Shin), and the Japanese read it as *Kami*. His Japanese co-workers did not question the term, indicating that the Japanese did not see any essential difference between God and Japanese *kami*.

[69] Ôno 1997: 121–123. Cf. Suzuki 1991: 131–146.

[70] Dale 1996: 3 and 34. The data quoted from the *Yearbook of Religions* by the Ministry of Education December 2005 states: Shinto 107,247,522; Buddhist 91,260,273; Christian 2,595,393; other 9,917,555; total 211,020,747. Cf. the data by Christian Almanac in 2007, Preface fn. 2.

I consider this syncretizing capacity to be an important element of *koshinto*. It shapes the distinctive religious atmosphere of contemporary Japanese society and serves as the background to Endo Shusaku's inculturating efforts.

Harmony in Diversity

Historically and today many different religions co-exist as '*Ta no Wa*' (harmony in diversity). This concept of harmony has been grounded in Japanese culture since Prince Shôtoku, who made 'harmony' a fundamental spiritual base of the country. He called for unity in harmony and tried to avoid religious conflict.[71]

The present religious situation of Japan can be described in an image: it is as though the Japanese walked silently up Mt. Fuji from different directions and, when they reached the top, they remained silent and paid no attention to each other, looking out in different directions. This is an image employed by the Catholic priest and scholar, Jan Van Bragt (1928–2007), who further commented:

> In reality, the relationship between various religions in Japan is a peaceful coexistence but each religion has an absolute lack of interest in the other religions.[72]

Another Roman Catholic western scholar, Jan Swyngedouw (1935–), questions the nature of this religious harmony and raises a related issue:

> If the harmony of plurality' means only 'co-existence', then questions still remain. There has to be a 'common responsibility' among this plurality. Thus, the most important question is to ask: What is the aim of this common responsibility?[73]

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[71] For Shotoku, see Chapter 2: Buddhism and Shinto (538–1333). This can also be supported by Fr. Inoue Youji's comments in a symposium that the Japanese ethic is one of "harmony". Quoted from Toda 1982: 209–212.

[72] Van Bragt, in Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture (ed.) 1994: 51. Jan Van Bragt was a priest of the Congregation of the Immaculate Mary (CICM), and was professor emeritus of Nanzan University in Nagoya, specializing in the philosophy of religion and Buddhism.

[73] Swyngedouw in Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture (ed.) 1984: 74.

However, there are criticisms from Ueda Kenji (Japanese Shinto perspective) that to aim for a common target is a very Catholic or Christian idea. They do not regard co-existence as a hindrance: 91. Swyngedouw is a professor emeritus of Nanzan University in Nagoya, specializing in the sociology of religion. Also he was a great contributor to the Nanzan Institute for the study of Japanese Religions.

In response to to these observations I want to ask: What is this harmony in diversity? Does it mean that each religion recognises and approves the others? Is it to accept the god/gods of other religions as real? I shall attempt to answer these questions by pointing to an important fundamental presupposition conditioning the inculturation of Christianity in Japan: the specificity of Japanese religiosity based on *koshinto*.

A Shinto scholar, Ueda Kenji, states that Shinto is not pantheism but polytheism. He describes the core of Shinto as follows:

> It is necessary to call attention to the fact that Shinto is polytheistic in order to understand the concept of *Kami*. At the same time, it might be useful to shift the question of the concept of *Kami* to the question of the Japanese value system, so that we can avoid unnecessary misunderstanding. In the case of Monotheism, which worships one absolute god, it seems that the concept of the absolute truth dominates. If there are any conflicts between two people or groups, one of them is considered to be right and the other is wrong and untrue. On the other hand, polytheism, which is based on pluralism, does not consider the existence of an absolute truth, and accordingly there is a distinctive difference between the two. If there are two things which contradict each other or cause a conflict between the two, both of them are wrong and right at the same time. Any quarrels or disputes are not judged by the one value-orientation. As a result, both sides will be punished equally. Also it can be said that people who believe the absolute truth tend to think that coexistence is possible only among those who share the same values. People who stand on pluralism, on the other hand, consider that coexistence is possible even among those who have different opinions or ideas because each individual has a truth in its individuality, so they have to give tribute to each other. *It is coexistence by harmony.* Shinto based on pluralism takes up the plural-value orientation. It can be said that Shinto—in this case, the Japanese—has accepted foreign religions such as Buddhism, Confucianism and Yin-Yang thoughts as the Japanese have always followed this pluralistic value orientation.[74]

Both Van Bragt and Swyngedouw interpret Japanese religious harmony differently. The former sees this harmony as characterised by indifference and the latter states that the harmony leads to a lack of responsibility. I would argue that their criticisms come from a particular western viewpoint, based on a monistic theism, which values the idea of 'One Truth' above all others. Van Bragt offers a remarkable analysis: as long as Japanese people are religious, their specific faith does not matter. Each can pursue religion in his/her own way, without any need to dialogue.

[74] Ueda 1999. Author's translation and emphasis added.

At the final stage of the pilgrimage up Mt. Fuji, on the summit, people have not reached a mutual understanding; they just ignore each other and through this fail to grasp a wider vision. However, in Van Bragt's analysis, there is a hidden presupposition that people ought to seek the one Truth for mutual understanding. It is the same with Swyngedouw, who invites people to aim at a common responsibility.

My critique of Van Bragt and Swyngedouw, that their views are conditioned by a monistic view of the truth, can also serve to criticise the dual value system of the West based on the Platonic-Judeo-Christian tradition of thinking, which disinguishes the phenomenal world and noumenal world.[75] One might suggest that we may find one truth for mutual understanding at the top of the mountain. But who can be so sure that we may find only one truth or one common responsibility? There might be many truths, or we may find nothing at all. There may be one common responsibility, but there might be many. In reality, we are all on a spiritual pilgrimage and we might not find a common goal, understanding, or responsibility. The experience of a radical plurality in Japanese religiosity opens up the possibility of seeing a plurality of responsibilities as well.

Seen from the *koshinto* perspective, the Japanese search for that which brings the 'harmony in diversity' results in a plural value orientation. Religious pluralism in Japan exists not only in theory but is exercised daily in the respect shown towards other religions. Many Japanese attend both Shinto and Buddhist ceremonies, and they see no conflict in belonging to two or more religions. Most Japanese people respect an individual's religiosity and regard religions as dynamic entities that should be transformed by different cultures. This is an illustration of the Japanese religious sensibility based on 'the harmony in diversity' of *koshinto*.[76]

[75] Some western scholars criticize John Hick's religious pluralism with the claim that he develops a dualistic model based on a Kantian-type epistemology. I have defended his position from these misinterpretations. See Mase E. 1994: 13–23. Cf. D'Costa 2000: 24–30.

[76] Cf. the following quotation "Japan has never experienced the existence of an absolute religion as many countries in the Middle East or Europe have… the claims of Christianity tend to be absolute. But any claim to the truth and the way of salvation are clearly not "in sync" with this (Japanese) religious climate." Dale 1996: 36.

Emotional Element in Koshinto

The concept of God is, in general, more familiar to people in the West than in the East. Western people are inclined to ask ontological questions such as: Does God exist? What is God? What kind of person is he/she? Is God good? The Church may answer that God is the creator of heaven and earth, and is a personal, omnipotent and transcendent being. However, such questions and answers are not found in all cultures. In some cultures the concept of a personal and omnipotent God is absent, and to ask about it is meaningless. In the Eastern world, as in Japan, most people do not in general try to conceptualize God or formulate doctrines about God. Questions and doctrines about God can be useful in intellectual debates, but to many ordinary Asians they are irrelevant. The emphasis in Asia is on religious experience rather than on critical statements.[77] Nitobe Inazo (新戸辺稲造: 1862–1933) noted:

> The faith of Japanese is not intellectual assent. It begins in instinct, gains volume by sentiment, and grows in strength by emotion.[78]

As described earlier, the western concept of a God with personal attributes was introduced to Japan when Christianity came to the country in the 16th century. However, the western missionaries confronted many difficulties in their attempts to make the concept of God understandable to the Japanese. This was partly due to a conflict between an understanding of 'God from above' and the experience of 'God from below'. Western ideas of a God who demands absolute loyalty could

[77] "The Japanese are willing to accept the phenomenal world as absolute because of their disposition to lay a greater emphasis upon intuitive sensible concrete events, rather than upon universals," Nakamura 1969/71: 350. Also, because of an emphasis on the phenomenal world, the Japanese have a distinctively this-worldly orientation. Fujita 1991: 268.

[78] Quoted in Dale 1996: 50. Nitobe Inazo (1862–1933) was a Japanese Christian educator, writer, and statesman and served as under-secretary general of the League of Nations. He was much influenced by American Quakers. He wanted to make Christianity understandable for the Japanese people and tried to harmonize Christianity with Eastern thinking. He was not attached to orthodox teachings, such as the doctrine of the Atonement, the idea of penal substitution. However, he put more weight on seeing the inner light in every human being. His book *Bushi-do* (1899) is widely read among Japanese people. The term is given to the spirit of samurai (warriors) of Japan. Some of their chief virtues are: justice, courage, politeness, benevolence, honour, loyalty, and self-control.

not easily find a place in the land of Japan, where the concept of a transcendent, absolute God is lacking.[79]

Shinto contains the fundamental religious spirituality of the Japanese. The foundation of Shinto is intuition and emotion rather than doctrine and theology—the Japanese actually 'feel' *kami*, the divine.[80] An encounter with sacred spirits has commanded the loyalty of the people; experience has taken priority over doctrines. Shinto is doctrinally and ethically amorphous, without absolutes, and sees no contradiction between primitive animism and modern science. Salvation in Shinto lies in a happy, healthy life.[81] Whilst the concept of *kami* is extremely ambiguous in Japanese, the more theoretical it becomes the less attractive it appears. This is proved by the attitude of the Japanese towards other religions. The Japanese accepted and adapted foreign religions according to their religious sensibility. They chose and applied what suited their religiosity.[82] They accepted and synthesized new religious insights without systematizing them.[83] The concept of *kami* in Shinto was knowledge on an emotional level and this has greatly influenced Japanese religiosity. This emotional configuration has attracted the 'loyalty' of the Japanese. *Kami*, Buddha, God, as well as human beings, are all part of a huge life force that can be absorbed into nature and the universe.[84] Kenneth Dale (1926–), who was a missionary in Japan for 45 years, claims:

> Perhaps more important than the Japanese religions themselves is the nature of Japanese religiosity, or the manner of perceiving religion. The

[79] Kubota 1997: 195. I am thus critical of attempts to translate God by the term *kami*. Ref. Suzuki N 2001: 132.

[80] Kubota 1997: 23–32.

[81] Holtom 1965: 6. Quoted from Dale 1996: 40.

[82] Shiba and Keen 192: 159.

[83] The Japanese way of deconstructing everything and reducing everything to a *tabula rasa* is well known as the theory *Hakushi Kangen Nouryoku* 白紙還元能力 by Ueyama Shunpei (上山春平 1921–). Ueyama 1965.

Cf. Kadowaki 1997:8 and Kitagawa 1987. Kitagawa points out: "It is to be noted that each time a new religion or culture reached Japan, a threefold response followed. At first, the new religion or culture was eagerly welcomed; then there was a second period of integration or assimilation; and finally, in the third stage the new religion or culture was either rejected or transformed as the Japanese reasserted their old spiritual heritage." Kitagawa 1987: 275.

[84] Japanese Buddhism also displays this desire to be absorbed into the wholeness, reflecting a Japanese religiosity based on *koshinto*. A well known religious term that expresses the Japanese point of view on spiritual religiosity is "*Soumoku kokudo shikkai jôbutsu*" 草木国土悉皆成仏 Grass, trees, land, and everything will become Buddha and will be redeemed.

> common Japanese approach is to perceive religion as being non-rational. It is not a matter of truth but a matter of feeling. Doctrine and theology are secondary to intuition and emotion. One should choose a religion on the basis of what appeals to emotional inclinations.[85]

Loyalty to Nature

In order to understand Japanese religious sensitivities, one must additionally bear in mind the climate's effect on the people's lifestyle and culture.[86] Geographically, Japan is 60% mountainous and surrounded by sea.[87] People have always had to live facing various dangers—damage from drought, floods, tsunami, earthquakes, volcano eruptions, etc. These were considered to be acts of revenge by the *kami*. Historically, the people lived together and supported each other in small tight-knit village communities.[88] There was nothing people could do about natural disasters but to go to where the divine was enshrined, to ask for support and peace, for rain and sunshine, or for whatever was needed. Basically, people did not care to what or to whom they were directing their requests, but they addressed *kami* when they gathered, since *kami* dwell where people gather. Eventually, *Matsuri* (festivals) came to be held at certain times of the year to formalize these requests.[89] Another saying that is popular among Japanese people represents the unique Japanese concept of God: *Kurushii toki no kamidanomi* (*kami* in human need are *kami* indeed). For many people it does not matter how much you pray or to which *kami* you pray.[90] Praying to different *kami*, one after another, can even be regarded as meritorious behaviour and not in any way stupid. An important feature of the attitude of Japanese people toward the

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[85] Dale 1996: 2.

[86] Ref. Watsuji 1935. Terada 1935: 260–295. Also, Kubota 1997: 72. Japan is located in the Monsoon Temperature Zone and profits from a fertile environment.

[87] This notion of the 'sea' that surrounds Japan and the Japanese people is an important image when we look at the metaphor that Endo uses in his literature. See Chapter 3: Form of Endo's Novel.

[88] This is called *Mura-shakai* 村社会, village solidarity, and this term is still used to represent a small closely tied community.

[89] It is the origin of Matsuri 祭 (festivals). Shinto values "rituals and festivals" or matsuri highly. Matsuri are observed at the turning points in the life of individuals, and at the changes between the four seasons of the year. Matsuri raise people's spirits and revitalize human nature. Shinto shrines form the location of these Matsuri. Cf. Sonoda 1998(b): 16.

[90] For an example, even today a young man or woman who wants to succeed in entering a high ranking university goes to many different temples and shrines and gets charms from each place.

kami is their faithfulness and loyalty to the incomprehensible power of harmony and creation.[91] As a reward people would receive the seasonal blessings of a fertile natural environment: nuts, mushrooms, edible wild plants, animals, fish, and delicacies from land and sea. Being loyal or considerate to the natural world also brought the protection of the *kami* that dwell in nature.

An Inclination towards Amae *(Dependence)*

Just as the basis of Japanese religious spirituality lies in the indigenous faith, *koshinto*, so do the Japanese in general, not only Buddhists but even Christians, share a basic Shinto worldview consciously or unconsciously. So when the Japanese speak about God, the concept contains distinct Japanese characteristics. It is my aim to clarify these in later chapters, but concluding this section, I will consider the Japanese response to the western notion of God.

It is perhaps relevant here to refer to Doi Takeo (土居健郎: 1920–), a Japanese psychologist and psychiatrist who propounded *Amae no kozo* (the theory of *amae*, the anatomy of dependence). He discusses the fundamental way that people relate to others and detects a dependency in the social structure of Japan. This dependency is based on a feeling which is unique and originally refers to an infant's desire to be passively sheltered in its mother's love. Doi argues that the Japanese presume upon the good will of others and take it as a matter of course. This tends to produce a loss of individual identity, self-confidence, and self-determination. As a result it causes them to rely on others' kindness, which leads to a passive dependency syndrome, a desire to be loved. At the same time it results in self-indulgence and indifference to the other person as a separate individual. It leads to assimilation and avoids confrontation. Doi claims that this psychological condition is deeply rooted in the Japanese mentality and that *amae* permeates almost every aspect of Japanese culture and society. His theory should perhaps not be pushed too far but Japan, as Doi describes it, is a country structured by *amae*, displaying an inclination towards dependency in many aspects.[92]

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[91] Matsuyama Takayoshi (1845–1935) has written books on Shinto. He explains that Shinto is the indigenous faith of the Japanese and shapes their values. "This (Shinto) is a peculiar religion that hightly values 'loyalty', 'respect', 'justice', and 'humanity'. In Sekine 1986: 203.

[92] Doi 1971. That the Japanese have this attitude towards others is universally accepted. I find much support from my own experience, as I have lived in other countries (United States, England and Sweden). I believe that Japan is an unusual

The theory of *amae* can also explain Japanese people's religious loyalty to the *kami* whom they depend upon for transcendent mercy. In old Shinto myths, the *kami* appear in nature taking human form. The highest *kami* of all, Amaterasu, is described as helpful to humans and even humane herself. According to Shinto mythology, Amaterasu was born from Izanagi and Izanami and became the sun goddess, the ruler of the universe. Her brothers were Tsukino-mino-mikoto, who ruled the moon world, and Susano-ô-no-mikoto, who ruled the nether regions. When Susano-ô-no-Mikoto acted violently and did not heed Amaterasu's reproach, she hid herself in a cave for weeks. The other eight million *kami* were at a loss, because the world was filled with darkness. After discussing how to bring her out again, they decided to hold a *Matsuri*. When she heard the sound of the drum, flute, singing, and dancing, she became curious and slid the rock slightly aside to peek out. Quickly, the other *kami* slid the rock further back and succeeded in getting her out.[93] This Shinto myth is partly interpreted as an explanation of a solar eclipse by historians of religion. It has also been seen as a social struggle between the Ise clan (in eastern Japan) which worshipped Amaterasu and the Izumo clan (in western Japan) which worshipped Susano-ô.[94] Whatever the background, the theme of the myth incorporates features of the unconscious Japanese religious sensitivity. Myths are stories "sacred to and shared by a group of people who find their most important meanings in them".[95] In this particular story *kami* are presented in a familiar way, showing the whole range of human emotions. The *kami* assume human form; they are not only 'out there', but reveal themselves on earth. Most *kami* are shown to exist within and under the pressure of time, just like people. The story demonstrates that *kami* were not perfect, as they were unable to do some things. In this way, *kami* were understood to share human features.

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country where people are 'passive optimists'. They avoid discussion that might lead to confusion. Such features illustrate *Amae*. Cf. Benedict 1967. Also, Doi was critical of Endo's book *Silence*, and told his pupils not to read it. Kaneko 1996: 30.

[93] *Kojiki* 712: 223–224. Also see Kurano 1963/96: 36–38.

[94] Ref. Sekine 1986: 3–4 and 49.

[95] O'Flaherty 1988: 27 quoted in MacWilliams 1999: 74.

Doi's theory of *amae*, as the fundamental way of relating to others, can naturally be seen as an extension of the human relation with *kami*.[96] In *koshinto*, people were protected and embraced by nature; it was the place where the spirit of *kami* was enshrined. The *kami* fulfilled human needs. The concept of love here does not occur. Without the concept of love, the concept of sin is void. In this way, Japanese people lack responsibility to reflect on their sin and passively ask for empathy. For many, both Japanese Buddhists and Christians, there is a sense of *amae* when they pray. In Japanese religiosity, loyalty, deep trust, and a willingness to be embraced are unconsciously present. There is no strict commandment given, nor fear of a Last Judgment. Rather, religiosity is based on the traditional value system of *wa* (harmony).[97] An emphasis upon *amae* may lead to passive dependency, because *amae* tends to produce a loss of individual identity, self-confidence and self-determination.

The Feminine Dimension of the Divine

The emotional element of *koshinto* is in accord with animism, the veneration to the spirits enshrined in natural objects. The essence of the divine spirits is called *musubi*, meaning literally the spirits of birth and becoming. *Musubi* is the foundational force of nature, made up of two opposing forces, the masculine and feminine, which unite and become creative. Everything is created, nothing just exists. Creation is not existence, but existence is created in every moment.

All *kami* thus evolve from the creative power of a life-producing spirit, and this work of *musubi* has a fundamental significance in the Shinto world view.[98] *Musubi* is an evolutionary power that creates,

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[96] Doi was critical at first of connecting *amae* with religious faith when he published *Amae no Kōzo* in 1971. However, he later developed his theory on *Amae* in a religious perspective, and this shift justifies my argument. Ref. Doi 1992: Chapter 3.

[97] This spirit of social solidarity and harmony is the fundamental psycho-sociological mentality of the Japanese even today. This spirit of harmony tends to take precedence over individual autonomy, and self-reliance is recognized as a virtue only insofar as it aids in the creation of social harmony. Dale 1996: 29.

[98] This was first argued by Motoori Norinaga of Kokugaku, and since then it is viewed as an important element of Shinto. Ref. Ueda in Carter (ed.) 1999: 69. Cf. There are numerous deities connected with *Musubi* (産霊), such as *Takami-Musubi no kami* (Exalted Musubi Deity), *Kami-Musubi no kami* (Sacred Musubi Deity), *Ho-Musubi no kami* (Fire Musubi Deity), *Waka-Musubi* (Young Musubi), *IkuMusubi* (Life Musubi), and *TaruMusub*i (Plentiful Musubi). *TakamiMusubi no kami* is related to the gods of heaven, while *KamiMusubi no kami* is related to the gods of earth. These two gods, together with

harmonizes, and accomplishes. The divine spirit embraces creation within a harmonizing cycle of growth, fertility, and creativity, that leads to liberating and sustaining life in its most concrete and substantial forms. People respect things as they are rather than as they should be: natural ties rather than forceful division, an inclusive community rather than autonomous individuals. This protptype is deeply rooted in Japanese culture, and it is more maternal than paternal. The maternal worldview is to acknowledge everything as it is, forgive and accept. It is an embracing principle. It represents the divine power of embracement, synthesis, and fertilization. The feminine dimension of the divine spiritual force of creation and harmony in *koshinto* cannot be separated from the spirituality of the Japanese people.

Womanhood in the Japanese Religious Context

In this section I want to examine the concept of womanhood in the Japanese religio-cultural tradition and how women's revitalized self-expression in recent times is related to the religious heritage. It is my aim to re-establish Endo's image of the maternal Christ, giving it a positive interpretation.

Shinto Tradition

It is important to understand the status of women in the Japanese cultural context in relation to Shinto mythology. As stated earlier, the Japanese are the children of the sun goddess, Amaterasu. People were not made by God, but were born from *kami*.[99]

In Japanese history, ever since the Jômon period (10,000 B.C.–300 B.C.), shamans have played an important role in society, both in the religious and political sphere.[100] Queen Himiko 卑弥呼 was the first

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Amenominakanushi no kami (God Ruling the center of Heaven), are the three gods (*zoka no sanshin*) mentioned in the Japanese myth of creation. In the movement to organize Shinto at the beginning of the Meiji period, these three deities, together with Amaterasu Ômikami, were considered to be the highest gods; many Shinto sects maintain this view. Basic Terms of Shinto, 1985, s.v. "*Musubi*": 40. Cf. Kobayashi1998/2000: 254–262.

[99] Eventually, the Emperor claimed himself to be a child of *kami* and through this gained authority. Ever since, Amaterasu has been regarded as the ancestral *kami* of the imperial lineage.

[100] Evidence of Shamanistic practices is found in archaeological objects such as shamanistic drums, masks, and shells.

ruler of the country called *Yamatai*, in the period toward the end of the 3rd century.[101] The society was matriarchal, the economy was based on agriculture, and fertility rites were honoured. Himiko was respected as a sun-daughter by the *Wa* 倭 people, and she was admired as a shaman called *miko* who was the mediator for the *kami*.[102] This shamanistic tradition has remained a vital element in Japanese popular religion up to the present. Many female shamans called *yuta* (*miko* of Okinawa) and *itako* (*miko* of Tohoku) stand between humans and the *kami* in the spiritual world. They save local people in many ways. Female shamans were engaged in important rituals both at court and in villages, and their dedication to *kami* led to woman in general being considered as gifted with a sacredness close to the *kami*. The founders of *Tenri-kyô* and *Ômoto-kyô* of Sect-shinto were women, and also the new religious movement of *Tenshô kôtaijingu-kyô* was founded by a woman.[103] In some regions, a woman's power of enchantment and the supernatural is still respected. The legacy of feminine power based on shamanism, therefore, remains evident in present-day Japan.[104]

Shinto priests today hold the essence of *kami* to be *musubi*, which combines both positive masculine energy and fertilizing feminine energy. Thus, *kami* is a manifestation of the power of synthesis that embraces both male and female within a harmonizing cycle of growth, fertility, and creativity. Since people are born from *kami*, the relationship is one of parents and children, and there is no clear division between male and female. Men and women are regarded equally as children of *kami* in *koshinto*, and the faith in *musubi* reflects a religio-cultural appreciation of woman's fertility.

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[101] *Yamataikoku* and its subordinate communities represented a major stage in the development of the Japanese nation, yet the location of the country is still argued. There are two theories about the location of Yamatai: one is Kinai (east of Japan) and the other Kyushu (south of Japan).

[102] *Miko* is a priestess serving as an assistant at a shrine. *Miko* goes into trances and conveys the words of *kami*. Today this tradition still lives on among the people.

[103] Religions founded by women in modern Japan: *Tenri-kyô* by Nakayama Miki (1838), Ô*moto-kyô* by Deguchi Nao (1892), *Kannagara-kyô* by Mizuno Fusa (1911), *Enno-kyô* by Fukata Chiyoko (1919), *Risshô Kôsei-kai* by Naganuma Myoko (1939), *Tenshô kôtaijingu-kyô* by Kitamura Sayo (1944), *Myôchi kai* by Miyamoto Mitsu (1932), *Reiyu-kai* by Kotani Kimi (1929), and *Taiwa Kyôdan* by Hozumi Hisako (1933). The year given is when the founder had their first religious experience.

[104] Ref. Kubota 1997: 80-82. Additionally, it is my understanding that the transformation of Japanese Buddhism under the influence of Shinto was partly due to women, who first became nuns in the sixth century: Zeshin-ni 善信尼, Zenzô-ni 禅蔵尼, and Ezen-ni 恵善尼.

When religious rituals took on a more important role in society, men took on responsibility in leading them, and the women's role as wife and mother of the *kami* became ever more significant. Since then, the sacred image of motherhood has been emphasized.

Development of Japanese Buddhism

The form of Buddhism which was introduced to Japan in the 6th century was predominantly based on Mahayana, the Great Vehicle.[105] Throughout the Heian period (794–1185), Buddhism continued to be promoted as a religion that would ensure the safety of the state. The two new schools, *Tendai* and *Shingon*, focused on study of the sutras, and stressed the importance of learning, meditation, and esoteric practice. During the Heian period, Buddhist teachings were transformed into an authentically Japanese religion. It was during this period that the Buddhist view of women indicated that woman would be reborn again and again until she was reborn as a man in order to become a buddha or bodhisattva.[106]

A more positive view of women was fostered in the early 12th century within Kamakura Buddhism. The monks of Kamakura Buddhism understood that a fundamental teaching of Mahayana Buddhism is that everyone, regardless of status or sex, has a Buddha-nature and so

[105] Buddhism was based on the social structure in India, where women were regarded as inferior to men by nature. Early Buddhism claims women are subject to three obediences: when young she must be obedient to her parents, when married to her husband, and when old to her children (Cf. Oogoshi 1997: 107). A woman's body was considered soiled and defiled, and thus it could not be a vessel for the Law. Moreover, they claimed that a woman could not become a buddha or bodhisattva, because women are subject to five obstacles: 1) she cannot become a Brahma heavenly king, 2) she cannot become the king Shakra, 3) she cannot become a devil king, 4) she cannot become a wheel-turning sage king, and 5) she cannot become a buddha. (*Bonten-ô* 梵天王 Brahma heavenly king, *Taishaku-ten* 帝釈天 King Shakra, *Ma ô* 魔王 Devil king, *Tenrin-sei-ô* 転輪聖王 Wheel-turning sage king, *Busshin* 仏身 Buddha). These are five buddhas and bodhisattvas that woman cannot become. A text to support discrimination against women can also be found in the *Lotus Sutra*, "Chidoron". Cf. Tachibana 1989: 12–16.

[106] *Hensei danji* 変成男子 (to be reborn as men). For women, the road to Buddhahood is long and difficult. Only after one has spent immeasurable kalpas pursuing austerities, accumulating deeds, and practicing all kinds of paramitas, can one finally achieve success. It is written in the *Lotus Sutra* Chapter 12 'Devadatta:' 935C. This chapter of the Lotus Sutra is often cited by feminist scholars as showing that Buddhism discriminates against women, and that this teaching promoted the segregation of Japanese women from society. See Oogoshi 1997: Chapter 2. Minamoto 1996: 41. Also Kubo 1995: 118–124.

there should be no discrimination against women. They reconsidered a well-known passage in the Lotus Sutra, an important Mahayana sutra, which was used to support discrimination against woman. They argued that the text had to be understood in light of the Indian historical context, which discriminated against women, and had nothing to do with the essence of Buddhism. The truth of Buddhism is *Kû* (Emptiness), they stated, and there is no distinction between men and women. This reformation of Japanese Buddhism was the beginning of an authentically Japanese type of Buddhism.

When Japan's gender issue is discussed, Nichiren and Shinran are most often cited.[107] Nichiren was a Buddhist priest who was born among the common people. He practiced asceticism at Mt. Hiei, following the *Tendai* tradition. At the age of thirty-two he began to teach and to spread his conviction that the *Hokke-kyô* (Lotus Sutra) was the very essence of Buddhist truth. The very title of the Lotus Sutra, he said, reveals the purpose for which Shakyamuni appeared in this world. Reciting "*Namu Myohô Renge-kyô*" (I take refuge in the Lotus Sutra) leads everyone to attain enlightenment. It is claimed that:

> The *Lotus Sutra*, unlike most other Sutras, is for all people, including women, assuring them of Buddhahood. Nichiren was not satisfied with those who denied Buddhahood for women. When he thought of his own mother, and all the female followers of Buddhism he saw around him, he was convinced that a sutra which did not try to bring all people to salvation, regardless of their gender, was not true teaching.[108]

Shinran was the son of a fisherman. He studied at Mt. Hiei for ten years. At the age of 28 he met Hônen. After studying under Hônen for six years, Shinran developed his own notion of *Amida* Buddha's salvatory power which went far beyond that of his master.[109] In 1224 Shinran wrote his magnum opus, *On Teaching, Practice, Faith, and Proof* and started to teach the essence of pure land teaching: a comprehensive system of salvation that came to be known as *Jôdo Shin-shû* (True Pure Land Buddhism).[110] The doctrine and practices of Pure Land Buddhism

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[107] Tachibana 1989: 121–131a.

[108] Kadowaki 1999: 15.

[109] The origin of the Japanese name *Amida* comes from the Sanskrit of *Amitabha* (infinite light) and *Amitayus (infinite life)*.

[110] *Kyô-gyô Shin-shô*『教行信証』 *On Teaching, Practice, Faith, and Proof* is the basic doctrinal text of Pure Land Buddhism. It consists of six treatises: 1. *Dai Muryôjyu Kyô*『大無量寿経』 *Sutra of the Buddha of Infinite Life*, is the ultimate teaching of the Buddha. 2. The *Nembutsu* 念仏 to meditate on Buddha and invoke his name is the proper religious

center on *Amida* Buddha. In the *Tai Muryôju kyô* (Sutra of the Buddha of Infinite Life)[111] one can read that *Amida* Buddha, at that time called Hôzô-*Bosatsu* 法蔵菩薩 (*Dharmakara*: Store of Dharma or Truth), made 48 vows in order to bring all sentient beings to his Buddha Land, the Perfect Bliss. The 18th vow, where it is stated that he would not become the Buddha until all people were saved, is well known for revealing his great mercy and compassion.[112]

Shinran clearly states that the central teaching of the sutra expresses the vow of *Amida*. *Amida* saves everyone who has sincere faith in him. Shinran said, "Even a good person can attain birth in the Pure Land, so it goes without saying that a wicked person will be saved by chanting '*Namu Amida Butsu*'" (I take refuge in *Amida* Buddha).[113] Consequently, recitation of the sacred name of *Amida* is the essential practice for attaining birth in the Pure Land.[114] *Amida* embraces everyone who devotes themself in his Light and invites all to his Pure Land. The essential requirement is to become a believer and thereby entrust everything to *Amida* Buddha. It is not humans who choose to have faith in *Amida*, but it is *Amida*'s Original Vow that chooses all beings to be saved. Shinran reduced the traditional teaching of refuge in the Three Treasures (i.e., Buddha, *Dharma*, and *Sangha*) to refuge in *Amida*'s Original Vow. He rejected the accepted methods of spiritual exercises and meditation as paths to enlightenment. In addition, *Amida*'s saving activity was seen to be assisted by bodhisattvas, headed by *Kannon* (*Avalokiteshvara*) and *Seishi* (*Mahasthamaprapta*). The figure *Amida Sanzon* (the three *Amida* divinities)

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exercise for unenlightened men of this period. 3. Faith in the vows of *Amida* is the essential cause of rebirth. 4. Enlightenment will be realized by all who enter the Pure Land. 5. The True Pure Land is established by the twelfth and thirteenth vows of *Amida* Buddha. 6. The Buddha and Pure Land described in the *Kanmuryôju-kyô*『観無量寿経』*Sutra of Meditation on the Buddha of Infinite Life* are only provisional.

[111] Together with the *Amida-kyô*『阿弥陀経』*Sutra of Amida Buddha* and *Kanmuryôju-kyô*『観無量寿経』*Sutra of Meditation on the Buddha of Infinite Life*, it is one of the three basic scriptures of the Pure Land Buddhism.

[112] The 35th vow is especially written for the salvation of women and for women to become buddhas.

[113] Shinran's doctrine of *Akunin Shoki-setsu* 悪人生機説, in *Tannishô* 歎異抄 (*Notes Lamenting the Difference*), Chapter 3. "*Zennin naomote Ojyo wo togu, iwanya Akunin wo ya*."「善人なをもて往生をとぐ、いはんや悪人をや」.

[114] This practice is *Nembutsu* 念仏 in Japanese. The Nembutsu is exclusively recommended in the the *Amida-kyô*『阿弥陀経』*Sutra of Amida Buddha.* Hônen, Shinran's master who founded Pure Land Sect is based on the exclusive practice of the *Nembutsu* alone, and Shinran was focused more on the faith in Amidha's Vow.

are widely seen at many temples in Japan; with *Amida* Buddha in the middle, *Kannon* to his left side, and *Seishi* on the right.

Even though Nichiren and Shinran interpreted Buddhism differently, they both stressed the equality of man and woman as spiritual beings. They taught that Buddhism perceives the ultimate reality of life equally within all human beings; the Buddha-nature is in every human being, regardless of gender. All are thus worthy of respect.

The stories of Shinran and Mokuren that follow illustrate the role of motherhood in Japanese religious traditions.

Shinran is known as the first Japanese monk to have had a wife and children.[115] Through his marriage, he showed that *Amida* could save not only monks but ordinary men and women. His way of life opened up a new perspective in Pure Land Buddhism. He claimed: "Like the mother protecting her child in her deep love, so do a thousand *Nyorai* remember the living in their deep love and compassion."[116] In relation to the role of womanhood in Buddhism, Shinran's 'dream of raping a woman'was very important for him and became popular among the people. In this dreadful dream Shinran raped a woman. The woman then revealed herself as an incarnation of *Kannon* and he was saved. My understanding is that the dream immediately made him repent of the unconscious male desire to dominate and oppress women. Women must not be looked upon simply as sexual objects, but should be respected. Furthermore, they should be dignified in a deep sense because of their role in fertility and motherhood. When he perceived the mercy of *Kannon* in the dream, Shinran must have felt the deep compassion of *Amida* and was awakened.

The story of Mokuren came to Japan in medieval times around the 12th century and underwent a transformation of meaning.[117] In the Chinese version, Mokuren (Maudgalyana) went on a journey to hell in

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[115] He married Eshin-ni, a nun, in 1203. Although Shinran never formally established an independent sect, his daughter began to build a True Pure Land sectarian organization. This was the first time in the history of Buddhism in Japan that the continuity of a school was based on family inheritance. *Encyclopedia of Religion*, s.v. 'Buddhism.'

[116] 『愚禿少』 *Gutoku-shô*: 462. "十方の如来、衆生を臆牟したまうこと、母の子を憶えるが如し" Ref. Minamoto 1996: 95. *Nyorai* is the Japanese word for *Tathagata* (Sanskrit). It is one of the titles used to describe a buddha, and was often used by the historical Buddha. Its meaning is uncertain but often translated as 'one who has thus gone/come'.

[117] Ishiwa claims that this story, Mokuren Etsuwa 目連説話, came from China in the Heian-Kamakura period and spread widely in Japan. Ishiwa, "Picture of hell and literature" 1992, in Oogoshi 1997: 105.

order to save his mother from her sinful *karma*. In the text, his mother's evil nature due to being a woman is emphasized. Mokuren asks to be his mother's substitute, and thus his sacrificial piety is admired. However, when the story was introduced to Japan it was changed so that the mother was sent to hell because of her excessive love toward her son, not because of her *karma*. Her maternal love was so deep that she did not hesitate to go to hell. The deep love of mothers was thus applauded.[118]

These stories demonstrate a unique Japanese religious feature: an admiration of maternal love leads to the feminization of Buddhism. Mothers love their children equally, regardless of gender. When the boy gets older and finds the woman that he loves, he finds the same maternal love in her towards their children. In this way womanhood has come to represent a spiritual quality.

Kakure Kirishitan

Nowadays the *Kakure Kirishitans* (Hidden Christians) are known as the descendants of communities who maintained the Christian faith in Japan during the time of persecution (1614–1873), and who then chose not to rejoin the Catholic Church.[119]

During the religious persecution, Japanese officials controlled people by forcing them annually to walk on a *fumie*,[120] as a visible sign of unbelief or of renunciation of faith. The *Kakure Kirishitans* declared themselves openly as Buddhists, and denied Christ every year, or whenever they were questioned by the authorities. They did whatever they could in order to escape suspicion. They had to live a double life of being Shinto/Buddhists socially and Christians personally. In such a time of cruel persecution, the *Kakure Kirishitans* managed to survive in rural areas

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[118] Cf. Takakusu and Wataname (ed.) 1924/1963: 852. and the Tripitaka in Chinese 佛說聖佛母般若波羅蜜多経.

[119] Tarnbull 1993: 59. Neill 1964/90: 348 footnotes. However, more careful consideration has to be given to terminology. The rituals and practices of *Kakure Kirishitans* before the persecution (1549–1614), during the persecution (1614 –1644), during the public concealing of their faith (1644–1873), and after 1873 when the Meiji government abandoned a law prohibiting Christianity in Japan, was not consistent.

[120] 19 *fumie*s out of 20 which were carved by Hagiwara Yuusa are still kept at the Tokyo National Museum. Gonoi 1983/90: 235–236. *Fumie* were not only done for the Japanese but also forced upon foreigners who were about to enter Japan. The record tells that American, British, Chinese, and Danish stepped on the *fumie* in the 17th century. Ref. Shimada 1994.

under the protection of a Shinto shrine and Buddhist temple. Deprived of missionaries, these communities preserved their faith by secretly transmitting their tradition of prayers and rituals. They also concealed or disguised religious objects. Both Christian and Shinto/Buddhist images were kept together (or sometimes combined) and offered on the Buddhist altar. They created an indigenous Christian folk art in which Shinto/Buddhist images were adapted to represent Christian figures or symbols, such as tiny crucifixes, statues of the Christian God under the guise of Shinto deities, and Buddhist statues like *Maria Kannon*.[121] *Kannon* is capable of manifesting thirty-three forms of incarnation to save people in different states of existence, and is popularly worshipped as a female deity in Japan.[122] *Kakure Kirishitans* kept a *Kannon* statue, which had a cross on the back or inside, on a Buddhist altar and called it the Virgin Mary, *Maria Kannon*. *Maria Kannon* was understood as the Goddess of Mercy and worshipped secretly by *Kakure Kirishitans*.

Even after the opening of the country in 1853, Christianity was still prohibited for some time. Western diplomats pressed the Japanese government for religious tolerance but, under such conditions, western priests seldom had any chance of contact with local people. In 1865, Fr. Petitjean built a church in Ôura close to Nagasaki. The priests were quite anxious to find any remaining Christians in Japan, but the task was not easy. The most moving and joyous event came at last on 17 March when a small group of *Kakure Kirishitans* revealed themselves in the church in Ôura.[123] An old woman, who had been with some other sightseers standing outside the church, approached Fr. Petitjean and whispered to him that "the hearts of all of us here are the same as yours". She asked to be shown the image of Mary saying, "Where is the holy Mary?"[124] The first *Kakure Kirishitans* had been found. They were from Urakami, north of Nagasaki. Little by little, other groups of *Kakure Kirishitans* came out to confess their faith.[125]

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[121] Tokunaga Michio explains that *Kannon* was personified as an image of motherhood in Chinese Buddhism and that this influenced the Japanese understanding of *Amida* Buddhism. See Tokunaga 1989: 51.

[122] Out of profound compassion, *Kanzeon Bosatsu Fumon* (*Kanon* bodhisattva), assumes 33 different forms and manifests himself anywhere in the world to save people from danger or suffering. Ref. *Lotus Sutra* Chapter 25.

[123] Fujita, 1991: 244 and Neill 1964/1990: 348.

[124] The old woman's name was Yuri Isabelina Sugimoto. She lived in the village of Uragami near Nagasaki. Fujita, 1991: 244

[125] With the discovery of the *Kirishitans* communities, pastoral care began, and the number of *Kirishitans* Catholics grew throughout the country. However, a final and severe

I regard it as very important that the first thing the *Kakure Kirishitans* asked for was the image of Mary. For two and a half centuries they were deprived of religious freedom. They prayed for forgiveness because of their weakness of faith. They could survive because they were apostates, living a double life. In this situation, they longed for a mediator that would help them to approach a judgemental God. For them it was *Maria Kannon* who acted in this role, a maternal figure who embraces, forgives, and loves her children. The historical event of asking the priest for the image of Mary suggests that the Japanese *Kakure Kirishitans* needed a maternal figure of forgiveness to confirm their faith.

Modern Japanese Context

I have considered the significant role of womanhood in the Japanese religio-cultural context in Shinto, Buddhism, and early Christianity. However, the influence of Confucianism on Japanese education in the 19th century is sometimes too easily dismissed. In 1889 the constitution of the Great Empire of Japan was ratified.[126] Article 28 included a formal guarantee of freedom of religion, 'within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects'. In February the same year, a bill was passed in the National Diet to the effect that religious instruction—the teaching of the truths of Buddhism, Christianity and other religions—would no longer be a required subject in schools. With the proclamation of *Kyôiku Chokugo* (the Imperial prescript on Education) in 1890, the new national education system turned particularly conservative. The prescript advocated a Confucian loyalty to the nation. It reaffirmed an educational enterprise combining elements from Confucian ethics regarding the five virtues: benevolence, respect, sincerity, loyalty, and filial piety. These virtues took on a patriarchal quality, especially in regard to one's loyalty to the Imperial House. Furthermore, the status of women as daughters, sisters, and wives was viewed as subordinate.

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wave of persecution swept over the *Kirishitans* from 1868–1873. It was not until 1878 that Christians in Japan gained religious freedom. Yet, the faith of the *Kakure Kirishitans* was regarded as syncretistic and a deviation from normative Christianity.

[126] *Dai Nihonkoku Kenpô* 大日本国憲法. Also translated in English as the Meiji Constitution.

In 1911, on the front page of the journal *Seitô*, Hiratsuka Raicho (平塚らいてう: 1886–1971) wrote the well known poem, 'Originally, woman was the Sun'.[127] In the poem, she claimed:

> *The Hidden Sun*
> Originally, woman was truly the Sun, an authentic person.
> But now, woman is the moon, whose face is sickly pale, depending on another and shining by reflection.
> We now have to regain our hidden sun.
> "Reveal our hidden sun, our natural gifts!"
> This is the ceaseless cry, that forces itself into our hearts;
> It is our irrepressible and unquenchable desire.
> It is our final, complete, and only instinct through which our various separate instincts are unified.

The above poem brings up once more the significant role of womanhood in Japanese society. Although various religions in Japan present different types of womanhood, they are similar in respecting the female qualities of nurturing and embracing. The traditional concept of *kami* in the *Musubi* faith, stresses that the divine includes both male and female aspects in harmony: God is father and mother.[128] The divine spirit of *kami* in *koshinto* is the harmonizing power of growth, fertility, and creativity that nurtures and embraces. In this way, womanhood is interpreted as a life-affirming spirituality. This is carried over into Japanese Buddhism, emphasizing the love of mothers who embrace all, both wicked and good people, and into early Christianity in the apostate's faith, seeking a mediator for forgiveness in the combination of the Mary and *Kannon* figures.

For the inculturation of Christianity in Japan, the concept of the divine needs to be explored in the light of a religio-cultural context, where the positive understanding of womanhood as a maternal being holds a significant role.[129]

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[127] The poem in the original: "Ganrai Jyosei wa Taiyô de atta"「元来女性は太陽であった」Cf. Chung 1994. Chung states that the title of her book, *Struggle to be the Sun Again*, comes from the poem.

[128] In fact the divine in Japanese is called *oya-sama* 親様 (*oya* means parent, and *sama* is for an honourific term) by Shinto sects (e.g. Tenri-kyô) and Buddhism (e.g. Pure Land Buddhism).

[129] King (ed.) 1994: "The need for contextuality is often emphasized in feminist theology, that is to say, attention must be paid to the wider context of events and ideas, so that they are not interpreted in isolation from one another. This need for contextuality, while being attentive to the particular and specific at the same time, is also required for the understanding of feminist theology itself." Ibid.: 2.

Significance of Negative Theology in Japan

By 'negative theology' my reference is not to negative theology in the western theological tradition. Rather, it is a double negation that leads to an affirmative form. Negation of negation is an affirmative in its logical sense. For example, 'God's presence is not unknown' means logically speaking that God's presence is known. 'No God does not exist' is logically stating that God(s) exists. No-not is the double negation that leads to affirmation theology. By negating self, one shall find his/her true self. For the ideological background to Endo Shusaku's ideas of inculturation, I want to briefly introduce Nishida Kitaro (西田幾多郎: 1870–1945, who was a founder of modern philosophy in Japan. He criticized the Japanese attitude of accepting western concepts without digesting their spirit.[130] He devoted himself to the pursuit of creating a philosophy related to the 'East/West' question. It was Nishida's conviction that:

> East and West are two separate realities…but in their ground they are linked and mutually complementary. [However,] it is not possible to conceive of a world culture in which East and West are one, without discovering that deeper ground. (14: 406)….
>
> …I think that the East has something radically different. [If we can discover that deeper ground,] will not then East and West form a human culture that is mutually complementary, and thus manifest complete humanity? (14:405)[131]

Nishida founded the Kyoto School of Philosophy and he invited his followers to understand other religions, focusing on pure experience and human intuition.[132] He stated, "By pure, I am referring to the state of experience just as it is without the least addition of deliberative discrimination".[133] In the case of intuition, he wrote that at "the base of thinking there is always a certain unifying reality that we can know only through intuition".[134] Nishida understands that essentially there is a universal cogency and naturalness to everyone's thinking, and he further

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[130] During the *Meiji Ishin* (Meiji Restoration), the policy of the Japanese government was '*wa yô secchu*' 和洋折衷 a compromise between Japanese and European styles. The Japanese mimicked many European styles—for example in dress, food, education, constitution—without really understanding the concepts behind them.

[131] Ueda, S. 1995: 35.

[132] Nishida 1950: 13–23. (1990: 3–10)

[133] Nishida 1950: 3.

[134] Ibid.: 41.

argues that there is a sole reality that is both infinite opposition and infinite unity. Pure experience is an independent, self-fulfilled, infinite activity. It is seen differently by the receiver and the distinction results from differing ways of looking at one and the same reality.[135] Nishida later developed his thoughts and claimed that the place of nothingness is the ground of being. *Mu* (nothingness) is beyond opposition or relativization, beyond subject and object; it is an "absolute nothingness".[136] The concept led towards a common theological ground, which has opened a dialogue between Buddhism and Christianity in Japan. There are a number of Japanese theological/philosophical works that should not be ignored in this respect. Japanese scholars from the Kyoto School of Philosophy continue to make efforts to find a mutual understanding between Buddhism and Christianity, and to dialogue with people of other faiths.[137]

Takizawa Katsumi (1909–1984)

The work of Takizawa Katsumi (滝沢克巳) provides insight into Endo's implicit theology of inculturation. He was a follower of Nishida Kitaro. In a letter to him, Nishida recommended that Takizawa study under Karl Barth (1886–1968) who was then in Bonn, Germany.[138] Takizawa studied under Barth from 1934–35 and developed his thoughts on God. His concern centred on the relationship between God and human beings, and he was convinced that the there are contacts initiated by God.

At the end of November 1933, Takizawa made a distinction between the primary and secondary contact with God.[139] The primary contact is from God and that cannot be separated, united, diversified, or objectified. Every human being is privileged to have a primary contact with

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[135] Nishida 1950: 79.

[136] Nishida raised the concept of "The place of nothingness" in 1949 in his article "From acting toward seeing". Cf. Nishida 1970: 208–290. He developed this concept toward "consciousness of absolute nothingness" in 1952.

[137] Tanabe Hajime (1885–1962), Nishitani Keiji (1900–1990), Ueda Shizuteru (1926–). For a recent study of the Kyoto School, refer to Heisig 2001.

[138] Takizawa 1976 in Sakaguchi (ed.) 1989: 158–182. Takizawa also influenced Barth's later theology as Barth sent Takizawa his *Church Dogmatics* IV 115–153, before publishing it.

[139] *Dai Ichi-gi no sesshoku* 第一義の接触 The primary contact, *Dai Ni-gi no sesshoku* 第二義の接触 the secondary contact. Takizawa 1964/70. Cf. Yagi 1998: 59–61. Also Yagi in Swidler and Yagi 1990: 346. Yagi (1932–) calls the secondary contact with God the divine-human oneness.

God, though people may not always be aware of it. When people realize and are awakened to this primary contact with God, they start to live a religious life within this relationship. This religious life he calls the secondary contact. We can also call the secondary contact *Satori* (enlightenment) or *Kaishin* (conversion).[140] The first contact is the unconditional fact that God is with each of us, no matter who we are or what we have done, even though we are usually ignorant of this relation lying at the very ground of the self. Despite our ignorance, by virtue of the primary contact of God with the self, we may be awakened to this fact. Then it becomes possible for the self to live in conscious accord with the will of God. This awakening is thus the secondary contact of God with the self.[141]

From his cultural background,[142] Takizawa interpreted the structure of the primary and secondary contacts from texts of True Pure Land Buddhism, *Tanni-shô*. In the texts, Shinran uses an affirmative—non-affirmative description to speak about enlightenment. Shinran says all living things have Buddha nature.[143] The idea of Buddha-nature is:

1. There is Buddha-nature in every living thing
2. There is no Buddha-nature in any living thing
3. Buddha-nature realizes itself when human beings become aware of it (enlightenment).[144]

Takizawa assiduously interpreted Shinran's principal idea to mean that the Vows of *Amida*[145] lie at the basis of *Amida*'s existence; namely, that the Buddha nature is endowed in every living thing as a primary contact. Shinran's enlightenment and insight was that *Amida*'s vow consists of

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[140] Takizawa argues that the relationship between the primary and the secondary contact is inseparable, non-identifiable, and irreversible. Also the primary contact between God and man cannot be separated, united, or diversified/objectified. In Buddhism the primary contact is *Honkaku* 本覚 and the secondary contact *Shikaku* 始覚. Yagi criticized Takizawa for saying that the relation between *Dharmakaya* 法性法身 and a man cannot be separated nor united, but did not say diversified or objectified. See Yagi 1986: 92.

[141] Yagi, in Swidler and Yagi 1990: 330.

[142] His parents were Zen Buddhists. He had never read the Bible until he studied under Barth. Takizawa 1976: in Sakaguchi (ed.) 1989: 165.

[143] "*Issai Shujyô shitsu Busshô*"「一切衆生悉有仏性」. *Tannishô* 歎異抄 "Notes Lamenting the Differences" contains Shinran's reflections. Ref. Masuyama 1980.

[144] Yagi, in Swidler and Yagi 1990: 351.

[145] In Japanese, *Mida no Hongan* (弥陀の本願).

unfathomable and generous mercy, a fundamental and unconditional grace.[146] There was a basic linkage between *Amida* and Shinran, and for Shinran there was no decision to be made—he accepted like a child saying "Yes, Yes". There was no need to choose or to decide, because *Amida*'s vow was already there. This fact is truly the unutterable, indescribable, and incomprehensible foundation of human existence. The unfathomable Vows of *Amida* Buddha invited him to faith.[147] The structure here is a call and a response. The response is from the human side but it is initiated by the call of *Amida*. In other words, the whole world is full of the work of Buddha and people who realize this fact respond to it.

This idea of unconditional grace reminds one of Martin Luther's '*sola gratia*', by grace alone.[148] The idea also appears in Martin Buber's writings: we cannot infer the divine reality from the human side only.[149] All religious activities or revelations originate from the divine reality. I am unknowingly invited and awakened to respond to its call. When this event takes place, people become aware of it because it is *a priori*, already there. In Takizawa's words, Shinran responded to the call of *Amida*, as a Christian to God. In this way, I understand that to open one's eyes, heart, and mind to the primary contact leads to a religious life.

Based on Shinran, Takizawa claims that the Way of mercy appears when humans are liberated from selfish pursuits or from religion and sects that look only for their own benefit.[150] Takizawa consistently argued for the secondary contact that appears in human beings. When he criticizes Barthian Christology, he argues that Barth did not distinguish between the primary contact of God alone and the secondary contact of God in the person of Jesus. It is neither for the sake of Jesus Christ's birth, death, or for his resurrection that God forgives our sins.[151] Jesus Christ is a man who perfectly accomplished the secondary contact on the basis of the primary contact. According to Takizawa, there is no difference in quality between Jesus Christ and any one of

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[146] Takizawa 1974: Chapter 1.

[147] "*Nyorai shoukan no chokumei*"「如来招喚の勅命」: Takizawa 1974: Chapter 2. For Shinran, faith is having the heart to believe as well as knowing the beliefs: Takizawa 1974: 75.

[148] Luther 1525/1969.

[149] Cf. Buber 1923.

[150] Takizawa 1974: 90.

[151] The actual fact of 'Immanuel' (God with you) is the original fact of human lives, so that sin is to deny this fact. Takizawa 1974: 52–53, 278.

us—we all are children of God. If there is a difference, it is not based on the quality of relationship but on the quantity of realisation in the secondary contact, because the primary contact is a fundamental fact for every human being. Therefore, Jesus Christ should be regarded as a *Kïen*—meaning literally chance and relation—or mediator for our relationship to God.[152] Through Jesus, each of us can realize the secondary contact and be awakened. He is a standard model for others. In this way of understanding, Gautama Buddha is regarded as an equal to Jesus Christ.[153]

Takizawa uses the word 'God' for the transcendent foundation in a Christian context, but it is called *Dharma* (the Truth), 'formless-Self', *Sun-yata*, and *Mu* in Buddhism. His interpretation of Christianity is based on that of 'Immanuel,' God with us.[154] What one calls the divine reality is not as important as one's relationship to it. The relationship to it goes beyond the subject-object distinction. The object of the primary contact of one's faith is beyond the dualistic model, beyond our human concept. It encloses me within itself and I enclose it within myself, but the fact of 'Immanuel' cannot be objectified. This relates to Tillich's 'the Ground of being' or Nishida's '*Zettai-Mu*' translated as 'Absolute Nothingness'. What is crucial is to realize the moment of the relationship between one's self and the divine reality. Takizawa, using a term of Nishida, calls this relationship "*Zettaimujun no Jikodouitsu*" (absolute contradictory unity of self).[155]

It is important to note that there is always a problem of translation between cultures. An advantage is that in the process one gains a wider understanding, but the disadvantage is to lose something of the original meaning. When Takizawa used Christian doctrinal terms he operated with a mind steeped in a Japanese Buddhist culture. In combining both Buddhist and Christian thought he pursued the common ground between them. Under Buddhist influence, Takizawa's theology of the primary and secondary contacts of God are explained and translated. According to Takizawa's way of understanding the relationship with the divine reality, Christianity is not the only true religion. The moment of crucial significance in religion is the recognition of the primary contact with the divine reality and one's self. Religion, then, is not based

[152] Yagi 1986: 99.
[153] Ibid.
[154] Cf. Isaiah 7: 14, 8: 8 and 10. Matthew 1: 23.
[155] Cf. Sundermeier 1986: 205.

primarily on dogma, authority, or traditions, but comes from the basis of one's relationship to the divine reality. An awareness of the primary contact leads to a religious life. I view Takizawa, therefore, as a Japanese religious pluralist, who opened up a way towards a theology of religions which overcame the Christian claim of exclusive absolutism. This is extremely important for Japanese Christians as they encounter their religious heritage. In turn, these ideas form an important backdrop to Endo's ideas of inculturation.

CHAPTER THREE

ENDO SHUSAKU'S APPROACH TO CHRISTIANITY

Stages in Endo's Development as a Writer

In this chapter I discuss Endo's theological reflection on the inculturation of Christianity. First, in order to understand the formation of his implicit theology, I trace his personal history and examine the three stages of his literary development. Then I look at his personal dilemmas relating to his identity. Finally, I examine the form of his literature in connection with his approach to Christian faith.

A Brief Introduction to the Life of Endo Shusaku (1923–1996)

Endo Shusaku was born in Tokyo in 1923, the same year as the Kanto earthquake. He spent his early childhood from the age of three in Dailen,[1] with his parents and his older brother. At the age of ten, due to his parent's divorce, Endo and his older brother were taken back to Kobe by his mother. They lived with his mother's sister who was a devout Catholic, and through her influence Endo's mother became a Catholic. At the age of eleven, and without really understanding its significance, Endo was baptized at the Shukugawa church in Hyogo. His baptismal name was Paul. He recalled that it was not easy for him to become a Christian as it was not done out of his own free will, and he had to struggle for many years to accept the religion.[2] In addition, on account of the war at the time, Christianity was seen as the enemy's religion.[3] So, during his youth, he had many struggles with his faith.

[1] Dairen 大連 old Manchuria-Dongbei.

[2] Endo writes that Catholicism was a kind of ready-made suit. Interview recorded in the magazine *Kumo* No.10, quoted in Mathy 1967: 592. For a detailed biography of Endo Shusaku, see Appendix. Also see his autobiography: Endo 1968(b) and 1989.

[3] The Pacific War (The Second World War 1940–1945).

At the University of Keio in Japan he majored in French literature.[4] After graduating, he studied abroad in Lyon, France, from 1950–1953. He was one of the first students from Japan to study abroad after World War II. There was no Japanese embassy and few Japanese people around. In Lyon he pursued studies of French Catholic novelists such as Francois Mauriac (1885–1970) and Georges Bernanos (1888–1948). During this time his concern was inevitably focused on the West, but Lyon was not a comfortable place for him. He experienced much racial discrimination and his feeling of alienation intensified. Not only did Endo experience rejection in his homeland as a Christian, he also experienced rejection in his spiritual homeland. His years in France were thus miserable and frustrating. Endo became severely ill and was hospitalised for a long period in Lyon. Eventually, it was suggested that he return to Japan.[5]

The years in Lyon, though they were tough, had a great influence on Endo's thought. He was able to gain a richer understanding of others and of himself. Tokunaga Michio, a professor at Kyoto Woman's University, says Endo must have experienced a grave crisis of faith. He states:

> It was a time when Japan was still struggling for recovery from the lost war, and it must have been such circumstances that greatly affected Endo's mind upon encountering the West. A sort of inferiority complex, which the youth of contemporary Japan may not be able to imagine, must have been formed in his mind, for when he struggles with the problems of the Japanese mentality he always uses the standard as seen in the West, the Christian West.[6]

Returning from Lyon, Endo began his career as a novelist. Though he was unhealthy and struggled with many different illnesses, he was active in writing.[7] He was extremely energetic and productive; his list

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[4] At this stage Endo had no intention of becoming a writer. He rather wanted to become an editor or an assistant at the research institute in French literature. See Endo 1968(b): 407.

[5] This painful experience of Endo is expressed in some of his books; Endo 1954, 1956, 1965 and others. Endo's experience of confronting different cultures, languages, values, historical background, lifestyle, and people can be related to common reactions associated with culture shock. The patterns of culture shock: 1. Initial Euphoria, 2. Irritation and Hostility, 3. Gradual Adjustment, 4 Adaptation or Bi-culturalism. Cf.www.whitman.edu/study_abroad/culture shock.htm.

[6] Tokunaga 1989: 46.

[7] See Appendix.

of published works is impressive.[8] They attracted a wide audience both in Japan and internationally. His works are translated into 23 different languages.[9] In 1993, when he was 70 years old, he was taken to hospital with renal failure and required dialysis treatment for three and a half years. It was during this long medical treatment that his last novel, *Deep River*, was completed and published. In 1995 he was again taken to hospital, this time with a cerebral hemorrhage, and in September 1996 pneumonia and difficulty in breathing led to his death.

The First Stage (1947–1965): Conflicts

"Gods and God", published in 1947 when Endo was 24 years old, is his earliest essay, composed before he studied abroad.[10] It is written in the form of correspondence in response to a poem that he received from his friend.[11] In it Endo portrays himself as belonging to the young generation of the 1940's. He found in the poem the world of heroism, of gods, and of God. The term 'gods' is a symbol for Japanese culture and 'God' for that of the West. At this stage, Endo understood pantheism to run deep in the blood of the Japanese; they are children of gods and believe that gods penetrate into everything. He wrote that it is not possible for the Japanese to really understand people who are brought up in the West where the peoples' psychology, language, and posture are shaped as children of God. Even Japanese Catholics must hide their nostalgia for the world of gods that is so attractive to Asians. They also are the children of gods, not the children of God. He concluded:

> In this letter I just wanted to say that the journey toward 'the world of God' cannot be started without suffering from the temptation of 'the world of gods'. [Endo 1947: 93]

After Japan's defeat in World War II the people, including Endo, experienced a strong cultural conflict. Encountering different cultures, Endo like others had to find a way to relate to them. Though Endo

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[8] Endo published 154 books during 1953–1992. See Appendix: Literature by Endo Shusaku.

[9] Translations appears in Armenian, Bulgarian, Czech, Danish, Dutch, English, Estonian, Finish, French, German, Gruziyan, Italian, Kirghiz, Lithuanian, Norwegian, Polish, Portuguese, Russian, Serbian, Slovakians, Spanish, Swedish, Uzbekian. See Appendix: Translated works of Endo Shusaku.

[10] The article first appeared in the Journal *Shiki* published by Sophia University.

[11] Endowrites "To H.N." It was a letter to Nomura Hideo (1917–1948). Cf. Endo 1955(o): 341.

had a limited understanding of the West at this stage, his insights into his own Japanese religious sensibility were clearly expressed in his first essay. His understanding of Japanese culture, which is structured by Eastern cosmology and pantheism, implies a certain view of Japanese religiosity. Even though he does not explicitly name Shinto, he stated "we (Japanese) are sons of many gods (pantheism)".[12] Here, Endo's use of 'pantheism' does not comply with standard usage. The word means that God is in everything, whereas 'polytheism' refers to belief in many gods. Endo may have misunderstood the theological implications of Shinto or he mixed Shinto and Buddhist ideas similar to the *Shin-Butsu* concept refereed to earlier.[13] His use of pantheism includes faith in many gods: *Kami*, Buddha and God. Nonetheless, he sought to differentiate Japanese religiosity from western monotheism. The Japanese think and live in the land of gods. To live as a Catholic meant, for Endo, to first of all purify oneself from the gods. This was a difficult issue for his generation compared to the previous one, which more easily accepted western ideas, technology, philosophy, and even to some extent Christianity. At this stage his metaphysical thoughts about pantheism versus monotheism and relativism versus absolutism are abstract in character. However, this becomes an existential quest after his experience of studying abroad.

In 1950 the 27 year old Endo sailed to France to study abroad. There were three other Japanese Catholic students in the same ship.[14] For Endo, France stood for the West and Christianity. Frequently he felt that his own Christian beliefs were incompatible with French Christianity. Japan does not have a Christian tradition; in France he felt choked by the Christian tradition. He discovered that the Japanese and westerners cannot really understand each other's cultures. The Japanese cannot understand Christianity in western terms. He experienced and realized that he was a stranger everywhere. Though he tried to absorb the European culture which he identified with Christianity, he found it impossible as he, being Japanese, did not share the same historical

[12] Endo 1947: 11–17. Cf. Endo 1963(a).

[13] For *Shin-Butsu*, see Chapter 2: Buddhism and Shinto (538–1333).

[14] Though studying in France for different purposes, Endo and the three students became life long friends. Inoue Youji (1927–), Mikumo Natsumi (1923–1987), Mikumo Takashi (1925–). Personal correspondence with Inoue (1) and with Yamane (2). Endo, as well as the Mikumo brother's study abroad, was sponsored by Father Georges Neyrand (1920–). Endo was unaware of this private sponsorship. Personal correspondence with Endo Junko (7), and Neyrand (1).

roots. He faced strong racial discrimination. Although westerners displayed pity and sympathy for people of colour, Endo saw feelings of superiority and arrogance in their behaviour and the same problem in Christianity. He had expected something different from the western Christian world. He was warmly welcomed but considered a convert from one of the pagan, primitive countries. The young Endo felt psychologically depressed and isolated. His health deteriorated. However, it was then that his search for faith began. He had to find a way to be at the same time Japanese, a Christian, and a writer. His thoughts in these early stages seem shaped by the apparent impossibility of mutual understanding between the heterogeneous natures of East and West. His concern was to pursue the reasons behind this wide chasm.[15]

Nevertheless, though Endo described western culture with sensitivity and understanding, he was not a philosopher, nor was he a scholar of comparative literature. His approach, therefore, in comparing western and Japanese traditions lacks an accurate philosophical and historical analysis. Rather, his work is based persistently on his personal experience. And because, like generations before him, he had an admiration for Europe and the West, he could not completely discard a feeling of inferiority to the white western world. A complex attitude must, thus, be recognised when reading Endo's early works.

In the essay, "Christianity and I" (1963), Endo wrote that he felt incapable of accepting Catholic doctrine because it was incompatible with his Japanese sensibility. He suffered unease from issues of cultural incompatibility. Yet, he also claimed that faith transcends race or land borders, and that the teaching of Catholicism must be universal. Endo's strain is apparent when he stated:

> I was born nowhere but in the land of Japan whose history, culture or tradition has nothing to do with Christianity at all. I finally realized it when I became a teenager, that the Japanese sensitivity does not go along with Christianity. Moreover, the Japanese sensibility, which had not been invaded was hidden deep in my heart. [Endo 1963(a): 306]

In the essay, Endo then analysed three elements of Japanese culture which implicitly denounce Christianity: 1) an insensitivity to God, 2) an insensitivity to sin, and 3) an insensitivity to death.[16] He points out that these are structured by eastern cosmology and pantheism. The first

[15] Endo 1954(a), 1954(b), 1955(a), 1955(b), 1956(b), 1958, 1965.
[16] Endo 1963(a): 306.

issue is discussed throughout this book and the second will be discussed in the next section. The last issue finds its natural locus in chapter 5, which treats the last period of Endo's life in which he wrote *Deep River*, a novel with the theme of death.

A Japanese Insensitivity that Defies the West-Sin

Endo firmly believed that the difference between Japan and the West lies in the absence of a transcendent God.[17] As a result, the Japanese lack a sense of sin that requires divine forgiveness from the transcendent God. This particular sensitivity does not exist in the Japanese mind. Instead of asking for God, the Japanese sensibility prefers absorbtion in nature or the universe.[18] Endo examines this issue in the novels *White Man* and *Yellow Man*, both published in 1955, two years after his return from studying abroad in Lyon.[19] In these novels, Endo attempts to describe the tension of opposites between the western and Japanese worlds.

The central issue in these novels is focused on the dark internal side of human beings: the depth of 'evil'. World War II brought evil, and this cannot be perceived without confronting the transcendent God, who judges and forgives. However, without understanding the concept of God, sin and evil remain ambiguous. In *Yellow Man*, Endo challenges the dichotomy between the white man and yellow man. Durand, a western priest who betrays the Catholic Church, confesses that while denouncing God he still cannot deny God's existence. God permeates even into the tip of the white man's fingers and it is impossible for him to revolt against God. On the other hand, Chiba, a Japanese man who is baptized, is not conscious of sin and only experiences a sense of deep fatigue.[20] A passage from Revelation 3:15–16 is quoted in the preface to the *Yellow Man*:

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[17] Endo does not mention Shinto. He only claims that Japan is a pantheistic world, without explaining the theological arguments. Thus, it is my theory that Endo's implicit theology is based on *koshinto*. See Chapter 2: *Koshinto*.

[18] See Chapter 2: Emotional Element in *Koshinto*. I have argued that the Japanese distinctive response to God is *amae*, the anatomy of dependence.

[19] With *White Man*, Endo received the 33rd Akutagawa prize, and this made him well known as a novelist.

[20] "While denouncing God, I cannot reject his existence. He has penetrated deeply into the tip of my fingers. However, those Japanese can cope well without God. They can live without any concern for the church. They have no pain of sin, they do not hope for salvation. They are unconcerned or not sensitive to things that we, white men, see as fundamental to the human condition." Endo 1955(b): 130.

> I know your works; you are neither cold nor hot. I wish that you were either cold or hot. So, because you are lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I am about to spit you out of my mouth." [Endo 1955(b): 95.]

The above mentioned concept of the 'lukewarm spiritual climate of the Japanese' continues in Endo's later works.[21] Here, the criticism which claims that Endo has little concern with God's anger at sin is erroneous.[22] As I have mentioned before, Endo's starting point was his own experience, his reflections develop from an inductive perspective. Another of his views on the Japanese attitude toward sin is described in "Theology and Literature".[23] Endo explained that "the Japanese consider sin an act against the social contract and aesthetic harmony" not, as one presumes in the West, a violation of some universal God-given or natural moral law.[24] This issue of Japanese insensitivity to sin is pursued further in another novel, *Sea and Poison* (1958).[25] Here, he exposes the dichotomy between sin and the lack of a sense of guilt in Japanese men. He employs a first-person narrative describing circumstances surrounding the vivisection of American POWs in World War II in Japan. Endo reveals how easily an unthinking individual mind helps to create a murderous situation. It is not his intention to focus on the vivisection, but to pursue the deeper issue behind it; namely, "Human weakness and salvation".[26] Suguro, a Japanese man involved in the operation, states his anguish:

> In the end, these men (attending the vivisection) are the same as I am. When the day of punishment comes, they only fear social judgment and how they appear in public. Never their own conscience.... I felt extreme fatigue that cannot be helped. [Endo 1958: 157][27]

With this statement, Endo's view of the 'yellow' society without a sin-conscience is modified. The Japanese know that human beings cannot handle the sin that thrives in their lives, but they do not know what to do,

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[21] In *Silence* (1966/97), Endo discribes this as the "mud swamp of Japan". In addition, Endo at this early stage already considered the question of the inculturation of Christianity. In the novel Father Durand uttered to the other white man, Father Brou: "Do you really think your God can set roots in this swamp, among the yellow race?" Endo 1955(a): 129.

[22] Rimer 1993: 63.

[23] Endo 1963(b): 310–317.

[24] Endo 1963(a): 307. Also, Janeira 1970: 356 quoted in Durfee 1989: 40–61.

[25] Endo 1958: 89–181.

[26] Endo 1996: 192.

[27] Cf. Endo 1958: 153.

because they do not know the transcendent God. Endo depicted their yearning for salvation. He gradually developed his own interpretation of sin in other novels in his later stages,[28] changing his understanding of sin in a Japanese context from that of a Christian context.[29] In Christianity, sin is held to be thought or behaviour opposed to God's will. It represents separation from God, who will judge everything at the end.[30] The Japanese lack the concept of a transcendent God who saves. Therefore, sin needs to transcend legalistic offences in a different context, because the Japanese appreciate aesthetics more than ethics and the consciousness of sin and evil is not easily comprehended within this reality. Endo considers there to be two kinds of sins. One relates to the despair over one's salvation. This is clearly articulated in Japanese protagonists such as Chiba in *Yellow Man* or Suguro in *The Sea and Poison.* The other sin is to hurt another person, to ignore or be unconcerned about others. Endo stated:

> Sin, he reflected, is not what it is usually thought to be; it is not to steal and tell lies. Sin is for one man to walk brutally over the life of another, and to be quite oblivious or mindless of the wounds he has left behind. [Endo 1966/97: 111 (1969: 86)]

Moreover, even for those who do not have a concept of God, evil does exist, and it is produced by humans. Evil does not presuppose the idea of a transcendent God. It occurs when people stop thinking, become mindless, distracted by pride, or even fooled by false humility. Then people forget things, forget themselves, and forget others. Such forgetfulness is the source of all human sorrow, even wars. Mindlessness creates the atmosphere in which evil thrives.

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[28] I.e. Endo 1964, 1966, 1973(b), 1980(b), 1983(a), 1986, etc.

"I wrote a book regarding the differences and the distance lying between Europe and Japan until I finished *Scandal*. . . . The theme is the differences between Japanese and Christians in their ideas about sin. But I don't feel the same way now." Endo 1993(c): 88. Endo pursued the issue of the unconscious in "Scandal". More discussion in Chapter 5.

[29] Masutani and Endo 1979: 117. Endo learns from Masutani, a Buddhist scholar, that originally in Buddhism there is no word for Sin. The closest word was *ku/gyô-ku* 苦/行苦 (*sakharadukka*, the evil of material life.) To compare the word, *zai-ku* 罪苦 in Christian understanding, sin is to be judged and the evil of material life is to be accepted.

[30] Kubo 1995: 79. Cf. "What comes out of a man is what makes him 'unclean'. For from within, out of men's hearts, come evil thoughts, sexual immortality, theft, murder, adultery, greed, malice, deceit, lewdness, envy, slander, arrogance and folly. All these evils come from inside and make a man 'unclean'." Mark 7: 20–23.

Sin will be forgiven if one acknowledges it and ask for forgiveness. But there also exists a subconscious evil. It is an inevitable violent emotion that makes one fall to an extreme unlimited depth.[31] Endo said:

> Jesus did not die for human sins. It was unnecessary for Jesus to die if it was not something more fearful than sin. Evil can be called a "black-hole" that humans cannot resist falling into, that Jesus died to save us from. [Endo 1988: 228]

The western understanding of original sin challenges the world in a different way in a different context. As I have argued in chapter 1, Japanese religiosity is firmly grounded in Shinto tradition. Shinto begins with the view that human beings and the world of nature itself are basically good. In *koshinto*, as well as in Shrine-shinto, they have a different concept of sin, *kegare* pollution, which can be purified by human acts.[32] The western church's teaching about sin, following Augustine, is therefore incompatible with the Japanese religious sensibility.[33] The concept of original sin makes little sense in Japanese religiosity. Endo had to interpret the message of sin and its meaning in a Japanese cultural context. He interpreted the message of sin as evil, and this evil is hidden in every human being. He started to pursue the meaning of this evil in his novels.

Establishing Thoughts for the Inculturation of Christianity

In this early stage Endo was almost in despair of trying to fit Christianity, based on western culture, with Japanese sensitivities. He felt psychologically oppressed and recognised a strong dichotomy between Japan (Colored race) and the West (White race). Based on his experience in Lyon, he believed that a wide unseen chasm of understanding existed between the Japanese and the West. What he experienced personally

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[31] For a detailed discussion on Evil and Sin, refer to Kano 1995: 21–32 and 1996: 11–21. Kano Takafumi is an assistant professor at Nagasaki Prefectural Girls College.

[32] "In Shinto, *kegare* 穢 is regarded as inauspicious, the source of unhappiness and evil, and as an impediment to religious ceremonies. *Kegare* is removed by avoiding participation in religious matters and social life for a certain period of time, and by performing ceremonies of exorcism or purification (*harae*). Until the Middle Ages, the death of humans and domestic animals, childbirth, menstruation, eating meat, and sickness, were all regarded as sources of *kegare*. Today emphasis is placed more on mental or spiritual pollution." Basic Terms of Shinto 1985 s.v. "*Kegare*": 29.

[33] Augustine of Hippo (354–430 AD) greatly influenced the western church's teaching on sin. Sin is regarded as any word, deed, or thought against the eternal law. Ref. Sölle 1990/96: 87, 102, and 354.

during his study abroad was discrimination, hypocrisy, and contempt for the Japanese Christian.[34] He saw western Christianity as being shaped by white-dominated thought combined with superiority, arrogance, and a feeling of pity towards other races. He wrote about his experience of studying abroad in the introduction to his autobiographical work, *Foreign Studies* (1965).[35] In the first year, he optimistically believed that he had taken the first steps towards acquiring an understanding of European culture. Yet, in about the middle of the second year, he wondered whether there was any way that a visitor from the Far East could ever truly comprehend the West. The more he came into contact with European art and culture, the more aware did he become that they derived from emotions and a sensibility which remained alien to him. After returning from his study abroad, his experience and new awareness of difference in daily life, customs, social morals and ways of thinking, between Japan and the West, caused him personal inner turmoil. He could not ignore the awareness of difference. He said:

> If we ignore this difference, we shall never be able to achieve a true dialogue between East and West, a genuine harmony between Eastern wisdom and western ideas. [Endo 1965: 6]

On the way back to Japan, Endo faced questions: What is Christianity? How can someone Japanese be Christian? What is the universal teaching of Christianity? He believed that if what he experienced was part of Christianity, then it would never root itself in Japan. This agony was well expressed in *To Aden* (1954).[36] Endo stages it in the Middle East, with the protagonist at the Red Sea. The stage of the Red Sea is intentional, because it belongs neither to Europe nor to Asia. The protagonist who represent Endo is floating between Eurpope and Asia. He is stuck in between. The novel reflects Endo's sentiment at that time: Christianity is for Europe and Europe is Christian. If he holds faith in European Christianity, he cannot return to the region of Aden. Endo is in a dilemma about whether to abondon his faith or his nationality, but he cannot abandon either. The more he denounced western Christianity, the more distant Europe became. He was in despair when

[34] Cf. Endo 1954, 1956, 1965 and others.
[35] Endo 1965.
[36] Endo 1954(a).

he wrote the novel, and it provides evidence that he returned to Japan in great distress.[37]

His personal encounter with western Christianity raised the issue of inculturation. The process by which a person is inserted into another completely new culture leads to an identity crisis. In Endo's case, this was not only a personal crisis; it was a crisis for Japanese Christianity.

After *To Aden*, Endo wrote his novels without mentioning God and he challenged the western world.[38] From living abroad, he learned that the Japanese could not imitate the literature of the Christian West. He distanced himself from methods found in western literature. He said:

> We must lay aside all methods of approach that foster the delusion that our concave world is really a convex one, a delusion that many writers even to our day have harbored. We must not think of the literature of the Christian West as being in our own cultural stream, and at the same time must we hold it off at a respectful distance, since it is this very thing, so widely separated from us, that presses down most heavily upon us.[39]

The Second Stage (1966–1980): Reconciliation

Endo's approach took a new turn after 1966 when *Silence* was published.[40] *Silence* is the beginning of Endo's faith-seeking literature. Here one sees his new interpretation of Christianity. 1966, I believe, witnesses the beginning of his theological investigations. Chapter 4 will examine how Endo describes Jesus in a way that the Japanese can accept, believe in, and identify with. This process can be viewed as a reconciliation of East and West. It sees Endo searching for ways to inculturate Christianity. He could not run away from his religio-cultural and historical background. He sought to find meaning by writing literature. In the

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[37] Endo 1955(c): 208. "Two years ago, on my way back from the West, I was on the ship crossing the Red Sea. Standing on the corner of Arabian dessert that was on the point that divides the West and Asia, I felt pain inside. This is no longer the World of White that represents clarity and extremes. I had to return from them to the World of Yellow that is the color of chaos, dim, and without clear division. Yet, my skin is yellow, never white. Thus, I thought I should start everything not from mixing but confronting this yellow world and the white world."

[38] Endo 1955(a), 1955(b), 1958, 1959, 1964, etc.

[39] Quoted in Mathy 1967: 596. From an interview recorded in the magazine *Kumo* No. 10.

[40] Gessel distinguishes the periods before 1960 and after 1963. Gessel 1979: 408. I agree with him that Endo's writings mature after his hospitalization in 1963, leading him to write *Silence* (1966). However, I regard 1966 as the opening of the second stage in his literature.

novel *Silence*, I see his thoughts moving towards reconciliation between his Catholicism and his Japanese identity. It marks the conclusion of the early stages of his interior conflict. One year after *Silence* was published, Endo claimed in an interview:

> But after all it seems to me that Catholicism is not a solo, but a symphony. It fits, of course, man's sinless side, but unless a religion can find a place for man's sinful side in the ensemble, it is a false religion. If I have trust in Catholicism, it is because I find in it much more possibility than in any other religion for presenting the full symphony of humanity. The other religions have almost no fullness; they have but solo parts. Only Catholicism can present the full symphony. And unless there is in that symphony a part that corresponds to Japan's mud swamp, it cannot be a true religion. What exactly this part is—that is what I want to find out.[41]

Silence is a story of interpretation and recognition. It may be read as an epistemology of faith, of how to interpret the Bible today. William Johnston says, in the translator's preface to *Silence*, that Endo is the first Catholic who captures the anguish of faith and the mercy of God. In the book the author presents the conclusion that Christianity must radically adapt itself if it is to take root in the 'swamp' of Japan.[42] I believe that Endo's lifelong pusuit is to challenge both western and Japanese cultures to explore their religious self-understanding. He faced vigorously the conflict between East and West, being both Japanese and Christian. He sought to bring together West and East, literature and theology. To face the incongruity between East and West became his life long task. It was with *Silence* that he began his struggle to inculturate Christianity.

The Third Stage (1981–1993): Mutual Integration

The theological issues that were raised in *Silence* were continued throughout Endo's literature in the third stage. He started by describing the conflicts between the West and Japan and tried to reconcile the differences between the two. After reconciliation came mutual understand-

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[41] Interview quoted in Mathy 1967: 609. The theme is explored in *The Samurai* (1980), which I regard as the end of Endo's second stage. Ref. Chapter 4.

[42] Endo 1966/80: vii. William Johnston is a Catholic priest who has been living in Japan for 50 years. He translated *Silence* into English while the book was banned in Catholic parishes in Japan. According to Endo Junko, Johnston is one of the few people who really understood her husband. Personal correspondence with Endo Junko (6).

ing, as Endo moved away from describing the East-West relationship as a dichotomy of weak *versus* strong. Instead, he described humanity as both weak and strong. In this way, his approach in the third stage became more global; seeking integration and harmony for humanity. His approach shifts gradually towards attempts to make Catholicism universal. This is the beginning of Endo's implicit theology where he pursues the possibility of a truly universal Christianity. It also explores the issue of inculturation: how completely can a religion be transplanted into another culture and convince people of its worth?[43]

In 1986, Endo published *Scandal* with the human subconscious as its theme. He attempted to focus on the realm of the subconscious concealed in the depth of the self. However, this novel was not appreciated much in either literary circles or the theological field. Finally in 1993, he published his last novel, *Deep River*. In this novel his religious concern is unquestionably global, staged in the Hindu world of India, with Japanese protagonists who are Christian, Buddhist, and secular. In *Deep River* he expresses his theological view through the protagonist Ootsu claiming:

> In the end, I've decided that my Onion (God) does not live only within European Christianity. He can be found in Hinduism and in Buddhism as well. This is no longer just an idea in my head, it is a way of life I've chosen for myself. [Endo 1993: 300 (1994: 184)]

The main image in the novel is the deep river Ganges that accepts all living creatures, regardless of status, sex, or religion. The symbol of the deep river stands for the harmony of all living creatures. In the depth of the stream there is no contradiction, only harmony. When a person pictures theirself as a tiny drop of water which is dissolved in the stream of the river, they might start to search for something that is common to all. I understand, in his last novel, Endo was inviting each reader to search for mutual understanding. This is discussed further in chapter 5.

[43] Cf. Durfee 1989: 46.

Religious Ambiguity

The Dual Personality of Endo Shusaku

There are incongruities in Endo's literature and personality, and readers form different images of him. His works include essays, biographical stories, humourous stories, and pure literature. I divide his novels into three different types: sociological, critical biographical, and comic novels. I find the key theme that links all Endo's writings together, however, to be his attempts to inject Christian ideas into the Japanese awareness. In addition to these three types, Endo also wrote novels of the absurd, some of them extremely ridiculous.[44] None of these are translated, but because of this aspect of his character, as well as his popular talks on TV, he is often seen as having a dual personality within Japan. He is widely known as a lazy, boastful joker, identified for his mischievousness rather than as a serious religious person. He even has a pen-name, *Korian*, reflecting his entertaining and humourous side.[45] It clearly indicates the polar differences between his life and his religious works.

Though unknown to the public, his health was not strong. He had to resign from studies in France in 1953 because of acute pneumonia, and he stayed in hospital for a further year after returning to Japan. After that he struggled with lung problems and in 1961 had three operations, spending two and a half years in hospital. He struggled with poor liver function, diabetes, maxillary cancer, peritoneal dialysis, and renal failure. He lived with illness, thus he had a deep sympathy for the weak. This is reflected in most of his works. In response to such suffering, his comic novels can be seen as an attempt to make people happy and enrich their everyday lives. He would have known that by taking on the role of a clown, a wonderful fool, he was risking his pride and reputation, but in this way he was able to make others happy. These comic stories also help people forget and cope with the strains of daily life. They

[44] Cf. Endo, 1967, 1969(b), 1973(c) etc.

[45] *Korian* 狐狸庵 literally means 'mountain lair of fox and racoon'. It originally came about when once he cried out *Ko rya ikan* "Oh, Nothing works". Fox and raccoon are cunning and jolly characters that appear in Japanese folk stories. I once attended his lecture held at Aoyama University in Tokyo, 1994. I remember that I laughed a lot during it. It was about bio-ethics, the importance of life in general. However, in order to get the audience's attention, or because of his other personality, he humourously used the example of a water flea.

display Endo's special humour and his compassion towards others.[46] With the successful execution of this clown-like technique, the resulting laughter would make Endo proud. When Endo's approach is compared with H.C. Andersen's story of *The Emperor Who Had No Clothes*, we can find some interesting parallels. When the King (Endo) was laughed at, he would smile and say, "Hey, at last you realized that I am naked!", and he would clap his belly and laugh too. People laugh at the King without knowing that they are also being laughed at.[47] This humourous technique used by Endo is sophisticated, and has brought a freshness and richness to contemporary Japanese literature.

The 'dual character' of Endo can be considered from a number of angles. First, it is important to consider the time when he started to write comic novels under a pen-name. He was then ill in hospital and it was after the publication of *Silence*. The Japanese readers who elevated *Silence* to best-seller status did not come from amongst Christian believers and sympathizers, but largely from left-wing college students, who saw in the torture and apparent apostasy of Father Rodrigues a paradigm for Japanese Marxists of the 1930's, who had been imprisoned, tortured, and forced to recant their seditious political beliefs publicly in a practice often described as 'forced intellectual conversion'.[48] Within the religious world, however, the book was hugely controversial. Both Nagasaki and Kagoshima parishes in Kyushu prohibited reading of the book.[49] Some criticized the book for being against Catholicism, and thus it was severely attacked. These criticisms and the banning of *Silence* certainly must have upset Endo, as it was a heartfelt and personal work that he regarded as the outcome of his early spiritual struggle.[50] The reaction of churches and the decision of the authorities made him look for a way out of his troubles. His way of self defense was very Japanese; he did not straightforwardly defend his belief. It reflects the Japanese tendency to conform with group opinion and group value:

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[46] Sako even stresses that there is a love of Jesus in Endo's power to communicate in his absurd stories. Sako 1974: 48–51.

[47] This example was articulated by Endo's good friend Miura Shumon. Cf. Miura 1974: 54–55. Also Gessel 1979: 517.

[48] Gessel 1993: 69–70. Also Endo and Gessel 1994: 98.

[49] Endo and Gessel 1994: 98. Also interview with Kaga in Miyajima (ed.) 1999: 129.

[50] Endo himself stated that *Silence* was the last novel of the first stage of his literary works. Endo and Miyoshi 1973: 15. Endo asked his wife to bury *Silence* and *Deep River* with him in his coffin. Interviews (1). Also, it is mentioned by Kato 1998: 235.

Wa (harmony).[51] In Japanese society, it is wise to have two faces: one's true self and another mask for the public.[52] In my opinion, Endo consciously shows two different faces: a religious and a secular one. He was able to escape from agony and isolation and also succeeded in finding an audience of intimate fans.

Secondly, there is the paradox of being both Christian and Japanese. Endo was a youth during the war period when militarism based on the Emperor system dominated Japan.[53] The long history of the prohibition of Christianity as an evil religion had permeated perceptions throughout the country. Japanese Christians had to face discrimination; they were despised and looked at with horror. Christianity was a foreign faith for the Japanese; moreover, it was a faith of the enemy who stood against the ideal of the state emperor. It was seen as "the ideology of white neo-colonialism".[54] The youthful Endo was regarded as an anti-nationalist and was excluded in many ways. Being a Christian meant to be an outsider in Japanese culture and tradition. He had to live a dual life of being Japanese and Christian. At that time, Japanese people were forced to accept State-Shinto, and Emperor worship was compulsory. The Emperor was considered a living God. It was painful for young Endo to live openly as a Christian. He was asked malicious questions as to whom he respected more, Christ or the Emperor, and as to why he believed in the enemy's evil religion. He also asked himself how Christianity, which teaches love, can accept killing people. He confessed that he was not strong enough to face the assaults, and he often denied his faith in order to escape. He could have abandoned his faith, but did not.[55] Many times he tried to abandon his faith but could not; it had been the faith of his dear mother up until her death and he could not let it go. By deceiving others, Endo deceived himself too. From this experience, he truly felt himself to be a weak person similar to the *Kakure Kirishitans*, who were obedient on the surface but in reality non-conformists. He constantly questioned his own value and that of

[51] Ref. Chapter 2: Outline of Features in Japanese Religious History.
[52] In Japanese, *Omote no kao to ura no kao*. Ref. Endo 1968(a) and 1986, where the theme of his dual character is considered.
[53] See Chapter 2: Shinto after 1945.
[54] Matsui 1977: 207.
[55] Endo 1967(e).

the weak person before God. His dual identity developed gradually through his life experience, and he expressed this in his fiction.[56]

Thirdly, there is the influence of the subconscious. Endo was very much aware of the existence of the subconscious level in every human being. The subconscious self sometimes functions negatively in people's lives, but it can also provide a mysterious power that tends towards discipline and balance.[57] This subconscious self, at a deeper level, may be considered as a spiritual source that supports Endo's work.[58] He wrote in 1989:

> An exploration of this reality in the depth of the human soul, this phenomenon that lurked beneath the conscious, could represent a major theme for my literature in the future. In other words, I was interested in the problem of the subconscious.[59]

Due to the limited translation of his works, only the serious face of Endo is known outside Japan. This actually limits his image as a serious writer, because readers may disregard the inner conflicts which underlie his comical novels. It is not my intention to interpret his works solely as determined by his personal life or life experiences. Rather, I believe that by holding a dual character, he could freely express his faith in his literary works, and thus both sides of him should be acknowledged.

Endo in relation to Christianity

During his first stage, Endo reflected many times upon Jesus Christ and searched for the gracious God in heaven. He constantly questioned his own value before God and asked why he could not run away from Jesus

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[56] Endo himself claimed that in order to be a Christian in Japan it is unavoidable to have a double personality. In Yasuoka et al., 1996: 213.

[57] "God inhabits the inner realm of archetypes which structure the human subconscious and fulfill the person with their libidinal energy. Civilization tends to give priority to *onimus* (reason) and to suppress the inner collective powers of the archetypes (anima). This archetypical power imposes itself and by projecting itself externally takes the form of psychoses." Jung 1957: 107. Endo wrote *Scandal* (1986) in regard to this issue of *doppelganger*. He was very much influenced by Jung, and this will be discussed later in Chapter 5.

[58] Endo, therefore, modestly denied his influence on his friends' baptism. He claimed that it was not his personality nor his writings that influenced people receiving baptism. It is some greater power in the subconscious: "something which concerns them alone; indeed, it may have involved a movement of their soul which even they themselves do not understand." Endo 1977: 209.

[59] Endo 1965/89 Introduction written by Endo: 10.

Christ? In so doing, and as a lay Christian,[60] he challenged western Christianity which appeared arrogantly confident in its own strength and glory. This challenge can already be seen in the early stage when Endo wrote about the misery and uniqueness of a godless state, the helplessness of weak-willed human beings, and the suffering in Japanese Christian history.

Endo endured much personal trouble and pain as he struggled with his religious and national identity. He developed his novelistic style not, however, by measuring the gap between East and West in terms of superior or inferior; instead, he tried to appreciate the plurality of the world, historically, culturally, and religiously. This led him to "a cosmopolitan view of himself, his country and his religion."[61] This dramatic shift in his thought opened the way to his later works. He began the long journey of developing his thoughts on inculturation.

Endo's attempt at inculturation in his homeland is illustrated by his use of metaphors. Instead of abandoning the suit of western Christianity, Endo tried to reshape it to fit his Japanese body, to reform it in a Japanese style relevant for postwar Japan.

> I received baptism when I was a child. In other words, my Catholicism was a kind of ready-made suit.... I had to decide either to make this ready-made suit fit my body or get rid of it and find another suit that fits.... There were many times when I felt I wanted to get rid of my Catholicism, but I was finally unable to do so. It is not just that I did not throw it off, but that I was unable to throw it off. The reason for this must be that it had become a part of me after all. The fact that it had penetrated me so deeply in my youth was a sign, I thought, that it had, in part at least, become coextensive with me. Still, there was always that feeling in my heart that it was something borrowed, and I began to wonder what my real self was like....
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> ...Since then I have, up until now, continued to strive in every one of my works towards the day when I would see my own baptism as freely willed. [Endo 1977(a): 210][62]

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[60] It was not until Vatican II that a theological awareness of the central role of the laity in the church was rediscovered. When Christianity was introduced to Japan after the W.W.II (1945–), Protestantism stressed the role of the laity in Christian outreach—as demonstrated by the 'Spirit of Jesus Church' in the early postwar period. Also, mass-meeting evangelism became part of the Japanese Protestant scene. Ref. Phillips 1981: 112–120 and Bosch 1991: 470–472.

[61] Cf. Orpett 1993: 58 and Rimer 1993: 59.

[62] Interview quoted in Mathy 1967: 592. Also, Endo 1967(e): 395.

Here it is also important to note that he did not renounce Christianity just because he had nothing else to wear, but because Christianity was given to him by his mother. "If I cannot leave Christianity, then fifty percent of the reason would come from affection toward my mother. She died as a Christian."[63] As Endo confesses, he was baptized to make his mother happy. He could not abandon the faith to which his dear mother was devoted, without understanding it fully. His love towards his mother was a strong factor in maintaining his faith. I will explore this issue in the next chapter.

Faith and commitment to the universality of Christian teaching are vital in his literature. In one of his essays written in 1967, he claimed: "Evidently, I consider the teaching of Jesus to be the deepest and the highest truth."[64] Literature was for him a tool given to interpret and to express his faith. His own exegetical method, however, seems more Lutheran than traditional Catholic:[65] he beleived every Christian to be an equal member of the church and, in principle, to have the same spiritual authority and the same right to interpret the Scriptures. Before the Second Vatican Council (1962–65) the Catholic world was not ready to provide this freedom, but Endo continued his study of biblical texts related to Christ.[66] He wrote literature and created images of Jesus Christ to satisfy himself and the Japanese. He was strongly convinced that the essence of the Christian faith is to believe in Christ, not the Christ who lived two thousand years ago, but in the risen Christ—"Christ not as a human being, but Christ whose presence as a human being has come to an end, and who lives on another level which embraces the level of the reality in which we live".[67] Jesus is the revelation of God as Christ in the depth of human life. For Endo himself, it was not God in heaven above, but Jesus who showed us the way to live.[68]

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[63] Endo 1967(d): 393.
[64] Endo 1967(b): 378.
[65] The Catholic missionary enterprise was clearly auxiliary and firmly under the control and jurisdiction of the clergy until Vatican II. Protestant missions were, from the very beginning and to a significant extent, a lay movement. Ref. Bosch 1991: 470–474.
[66] "We create our images to fit our own needs". Hall 1979: 255.
[67] Endo 1977(a): 210. Cf. Van Bragt in Cornill (ed.), 2002: 13.
[68] Cf. Endo 1973, 1978 and others.

Endo as a Japanese—Catholic Author

Being a Christian writer in Japan leads to an inner conflict. A writer creates characters and gives them life, including their dark sides, their isolation, and sin. The writer cannot ignore these aspects. On the other hand, the writer will be concerned about how much this may affect readers in a moral sense. Writers are afraid of encouraging the readers themselves to sin through their characters. For Christian writers, it is easy to become apologetic, but this was not the case with Endo since most Japanese have no concept of an absolute God. Endo held that writers cannot save the characters from their fate, only God can do this and the writer can only hope for their salvation.[69]

Endo emphasizes that he is merely an author writing literature who happens to be a Christian.[70] Yet, in his novels he poses many theological questions and keeps searching for God's revelation. He seeks salvation for every character in relation to their own cultural context, and seeks to understand the revelation of God that transcends national barriers. Thus, despite his claim to be 'merely an author', he is a decidedly Christian author and his interpretation of the biblical message is the basis of his writings. However, as merely an author, he can write more freely about Christianity through the literary form of novels. He clearly states that his literary interest lies not in narration about God or Catholic doctrines, but in depicting godless darkness.[71]

When Endo made his debut in the literary world, his work was criticized as 'literature awaiting the master'. It was asked, "How can a person who accepts authoritarianism, the Vatican, write freely?"[72] Religious opinions and literary writing are of course not the same, but the pressure produced by the rigidity of the Catholic Church in Japan was considerable.[73] However, the Second Vatican Council (1962–65) stressed

[69] Endo 1963(b): 314.

[70] Cf. Endo 1966/69: Translator's Preface, xiv. However, even though it was not his intention to have his works read as theology, they lead many Japanese to faith in Christ and baptism in the Church.

[71] Compare Kuschel 1997/99: 232. "For writers, it is not the Christ of churches and dogmas, not the Christ of theologians and priests, Christ the Redeemer and miracle-worker, the eternal Son of God, a second person of the Trinity, but the concrete Jesus of history who is still of interest and importance—in that remarkable mixture of identification and universalization."

[72] Miura 1996: 226–228.

[73] It came to the surface when *Silence* was published in 1966. It was banned from the Catholic parishes in Kyushu. *Silence* brought confusion in the religious world in

in its Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity that not only priests but every believer should take responsibility for Christian mission.[74] This might have encouraged Endo to refute criticisms through his writings in his second stage of his development.

One of the greatest challenges for Endo was that most of his readers were ordinary Japanese and not Christian.[75] Few readers had a profound understanding of Christianity or even an interest in it. Endo spoke frankly of an inability to develop the right relationship with his readers in order to convey his message.[76] After returning from France in 1953, he realized that much of the Christian imagery and religious content he was familiar with would fall upon unprepared ears and be open to misinterpretation. For example, when Mauriac, the French writer, states that "The evening lights fell on the vineyard", western readers, most of whom have a Christian background, picture a certain image linked to Christianity or Catholicism. For them, this description means more than just scenery, for they can associate the vineyard with biblical imagery. Moreover, the evening lights may evoke the light of grace. In this way, western readers are easily drawn into the Christian atmosphere. The Japanese lack such a sense.[77] Endo's endeavor was to communicate with non-Christians using Christian symbols, and this he found was a heavy burden:

> This problem of the reconciliation of my Catholicism with my Japanese blood… has taught me one thing: that is, that the Japanese must absorb Christianity without the support of a Christian tradition or history or legacy or sensibility. It is impossible to overcome by closing one's eyes to the difficulties. No doubt this is the peculiar cross that God has given to the Japanese.[78]

With determined effort, Endo incorporated Christian themes into his novels but in an implicit manner. He weaved sentences from the Bible into his writing and various symbolic images to speak of Jesus.[79] For

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Japan which did not know whether to regard his novel as theology or to accept his novel as history.

[74] Ref. Decree on the apostolate of the laity, *apostolicam actuositatem*, by Pope Paul VI on November 18, 1965. http://www.vatican.va/archive

[75] Endo 1967(b): 379.

[76] Endo 1993: 85. Also Endo 1967(b).

[77] Endo 1967(b): 379. Cf. Endo and Miyoshi 1973: 15 and Sato 1997: 198–199.

[78] Interview quoted in Mathy 1974: 595.

[79] In *Silence*, the rooster crows when the protagonist makes a promise to an official to outwardly abandon his faith. This reminds Christians of Peter's betrayal, but most

example, he often used the figures of a dog or bird in his novels. In *Silence* their eyes are the prototype for the eyes of Christ. However, he knew that many readers, and even some critics, would see those eyes as just the eyes of dogs and birds. Endo's technical skill with images serving a double function in his novels is often ignored. Nevertheless, he remained a Japanese lay Catholic author, and finally in 1993, he claimed: "I think of myself as a Christian writer".[80]

Religious Pluralism

In Japan, religion is often considered a matter of subjective choice. Many Japanese regard themselves as belonging to both Shinto and Buddhism, or even to several religions at the same time. The Japanese deal with their multiple religious affiliation by unconsciously accepting that there are many different paths to follow. By contrast in the monotheistic West, multiple religious affiliation was regarded as heretical. Therefore, Japanese Christians like Endo have to search for the meaning of being a Christian in a culture of religious pluralism.

At first Endo tried to work out whether he was primarily a Christian or Japanese. This derived from a western view of religious understanding, which proposes a single unitary vision of religion applicable to different cultures. In Japan, however, people follow several religions within a unified national culture. In the development of his thought, Endo focused his efforts on reconciling the Japanese traditional mind with Catholicism. His works depict the seemingly contradictory practice of religion in Japan of believing at the same time in both God and gods. Through their religious experiences, the Japanese integrate these concepts on the existential level. As Yuki Hideo, a former director at the NCC Center for the Study of Japanese Religions, states: "To become a Japanese Christian is not to lose Japaneseness."[81] I understand that it is the task for Japanese Christians to make Christianity more Japanese. Endo developed a self-critical method of interpreting

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Japanese merely picture a rooster crowing. Also, when Endo describes a scene in which a dog looks at his dying master with grief and love, it symbolizes the eyes of Jesus that see people with mercy. But Japanese critics envision only the dog's eyes and question the novel's worth.

[80] Endo 1993(c): 86.

[81] Yuki 2000: 33.

Christianity, through a dialogue with his Japanese self-understanding. As noted earlier, his 'self-critical method"[82] is expressed in:

> A re-tailoring with my own hands of the western suit my mother had put on me and changing it into a Japanese garment that would fit my Japanese body. [Endo 1967(e): 395]

Moreover, Endo sought to understand the conflict between the psychological and religious heritages of Japan and the West. He frequently faced issues that seemed insurmountable, while eagerly inviting readers to respond to his literature. Even though it may not have been his intention, I was encouraged to read his works from the perspective of a Christian theologian working in an Asian culture. According to my interpretation, the deepest questions of Endo were: "How can Christianity be made accessible to the people of a totally pantheistic tradition?" and "What is the role of a Catholic writer in Japan?"

Endo's work is that of a pioneer in the Japanese setting, expressing the universal love of God through his image of Jesus Christ. His evangelical goal was to spread the love of God so that the image of Christ would permeate the hearts of people in his homeland. In this way his theological investigation into Christian identity took shape. He stated:

> If there is a God, God can be found not only in a back street of London where Greene writes, or in the scenery of France where Mauriac writes, but also in the streets of Shibuya or Shinjuku which seem to have nothing to do with God. It is my work to find it (God) in such an ordinary Japanese place, and if I could accomplish it, my 'suit' would become my cloth." [Endo 1967(b): 381.][83]

The Form of Endo's Novels

Endo published a large number of books, including pure novels, essays, interviews, etc. Even though it was not his intention, it is interesting to find that a work covering a central theological theme has been published almost every seven years.[84] In 1959 Endo published *A Wonderful Fool*,

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[82] Jeanrond in Cornille (ed.) 2002: 110.

[83] One year after the publication of *Silence*, he stated this in the essay, "My literature". However, I see his first attempt already in *Wonderful Fool* published in 1959, exactly seven years before he reached his second stage in *Silence*.

[84] Cf. Endo Tasuku in Kasai and Tamaki (ed.) 2000: 219–240.

where the image of Jesus was portrayed through the character Gaston.[85] Seven years later, *Silence* (1966) was published, and seven years after that, *A Life of Jesus* (1974), then *Samurai* (1980), *Scandal* (1986), and finally *Deep River* (1993). Through these novels he developed his understanding and image of Jesus Christ.

Literary Form of the Novel

Using the literary form of the novel, Endo developed his own way of story-telling which turned out to be a serious and powerful way of presenting his ideas.[86] The novel is a tool that weaves together different perspectives, and for Endo it was a way to express his experience and to develop his thoughts.

The Biblical parallels Endo uses in his story-telling are not easily recognized by non-Christian Japanese. As a Christian author, he pursued the authentic truth of his faith—love of God through Jesus Christ. His personal testimony never plays a major role in his story-telling, but he implicitly formed a theological framework. In investigating this theology, we should keep in mind that Endo is always very sensitive to his Japanese audience. In 1991 he claimed that "Christianity is the theme in my novels, (but) I doubt that they have been read or understood correctly in Japan".[87] It was his life-challenge to inculturate Christianity in Japanese soil. Therefore, readers who read translations in other languages need to be careful not to misunderstand the way in which his narratives

[85] *A Wonderful Fool* first ran in Asahi newspaper (March 26–August 15, 1959). Its Christian themes were not regarded highly and it was read as a light novel. However, I regard this work as one of Endo's most important. *A Wonderful Fool* was translated into English in 1974. The protagonist Gaston represents an image of Jesus, and the character reappears in other novels under different names. Cf. Mitsu in *The Girl that I Left Behind* (1964), Kichijiro in *Silence* (1966), Judas in *A Life of Jesus* (1973(b)), Nezumi in *By the Dead Sea* (1974), Yuzo in *The Samurai* (1980), Ootsu in *Deep River* (1993) etc. It is not wrong to say that the representations of Jesus in Gaston and other characters are Endo's attempt to interpret the deeper meaning of Christ and to present a demythologized figure. More discussion later in 'Jesus Demythologized'. Some literary critics have also taken *Wonderful Fool* seriously and have a high opinion of it. Cf. Kasai in Kasai and Tamaki (ed.) 2000: 88–101.

[86] Koyama states "The theory must be rooted in the historical and cultural context of the story". Koyama 1977: 100.

[87] Endo was awarded an honourary Doctor of Letters from John Carroll University on May 18, 1991. This is a Jesuit university in Cleveland, Ohio. These remarks of Endo are published in JATJ 1993: 85–88.

apply to their culture.[88] Nonetheless, I am convinced that those who read translations with a Christian background may benefit from Endo's literature by relating to what transcends the cultural context.

Historical Facts and Spiritual Truth

In his novels, Endo often makes use of fictional images based on historical facts. This technique enables him to convey his message in a moving and powerful way. It also allows his readers to place themselves in a historical situation where they can interpret the truth. Using a historical stage, Endo describes the spiritual truth behind the context.[89] In the second stage of his development, he distinguished between historical facts and spiritual truth by saying:

> Existential desire is the truth, more than reality.—the Good News might be a mere episode that was created by biblical scholars, but it is the truth as it is written in the human soul. [Endo 1969(a): 52–54][90]

His goal was to describe the dynamics of existential truth underlying the historical situation. As a lay Christian, it was more important for him to pursue spiritual truth than historical facts. The difference between believers and unbelievers is not a matter of disputed facts, but of the picture of the world held in the mind. So it is worth emphasizing that he did not intend to write biographical records or historical facts but wanted to find the meaning behind the historical situation. It was his Catholic faith that enabled him to express important theological truths.

Behind Endo's effort lay his personal experience of World War II. As for so many in his generation, he vividly remembered the effects of the war on the Japanese people. It left unerasable traces on people's hearts: the images of suffering, evil, and loss. People were thrown into confusion. For Endo, it was difficult to understand why the Japanese, which included himself, were fighting with Christian people, which also

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[88] Rimer correctly states: "The problem for western reviewers, however, comes in finding an appropriate means to dismember Endo's unique and colorful psychic portraits and landscapes so as to force them into the appropriate western-style frames; they don't always fit, and so for the careless reader, certain aspects of the author's vision risk being snipped away." Rimer 1993: 59.

[89] T.R. Wright says that the telling of stories has a power to entertain and "clearly fulfill basic human needs…involved in the way we make sense of ourselves and of the world, whether in history, myth, or fiction." Wright 1988: 11.

[90] Cf. "Christian Truth, like the truth of the novel, must be appropriate to place, time and circumstances. It cannot be subjective to the alien impositions of false historicism, church or nostalgia." Jasper 1989: 3.

included himself. The fundamental teaching of Christianity is love—to love your neighbors as yourself but Christians were fighting and killing people. Churches in Japan (with few exceptions) kept silent, and even obeyed government policy.[91] This experience must have had a great influence on young Endo's sense of values.

Jesus Demythologized

In the second stage of his literary works, Endo presented his image of Christ in order to inculturate Christianity in the Japanese context.[92] To do this he re-investigated the New Testament narratives in the light of spiritual truth rather than historical facts.[93]

In *A Life of Jesus* (1973), Endo states:

> I myself like to draw a clear distinction in meaning between *facts* and *truths* in the Gospel. I am ready to admit that the many scenes woven into the New Testament text do not necessarily represent the hard facts which they profess to depict in the passion narrative. Yet even non-factual scenes can still present truth, because they derive from the faith of people who believed in Jesus. Faith far and away transcends the trivialities of non-essential fact, and because in the depth of their hearts the believers of that generation wished them so, the scenes are therefore true. [Endo: 1973(b): 150 (1978: 105–106)]

After writing *A Life of Jesus* and *The Birth of Christ*, Endo described his role as a novelist:

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[91] Compulsion to accept Emperor worship as a part of national Shinto grew rapidly after 1941 and increased until the end of the Pacific War in August 1945. Even within churches, obedience to the Emperor was reinforced, and to support the Emperor system quotations from the Bible were used: "Every person must submit to the authorities in power" (Romans 13: 1–7) and "Submit yourselves for the sake of the Lord to every human authority, even to the Emperor as supreme" (Peter 2: 11–17). With few exceptions, Christians participated uncritically in the War. The basis for their participation was for the most part the concept of a just war. Takenaka 1957: 66. Also Koyama 1979/80: 97–99.

[92] Endo vigorously wrote fiction based on historical facts. Ref. Endo 1966, 1977, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, etc. All these novels are based on historical facts, but the theme of Christianity is underlying them. He asked what was Christianity for Japanese in each period of time, and at the same time he focuses on love of humanity. He highlighted the depth of the human heart that moves between faith and reality under historical circumstances. For more historical fiction see ref. Endo 1985, 1989(a), 1991(a), 1991/96, 1992, 1995/97. The same themes underlie every novel.

[93] The issue of demythologizing Jesus, initiated by Rudolf Bultmann (1884–1974), has been disputed by New Testament scholars for half a century. There are interesting parallel features with Bultmann, but how much Endo was influenced by him or other western scholars is not clear. Cf. Endo 1978: 217.

> I have no intention of writing down facts—if I did, the result would no longer be a novel. Rather, to write a novel is to record truths, not facts. Thus having examined those around me, I analyze them . . . and gradually the character germinates. At the same time, however, I obviously take certain traits from various people: for example, my portraits of my wife are actually an amalgam of various traits stemming from my observation of various wives. The art of creating a novel is to use "truth" to reconstruct "facts": real "facts" themselves are totally unimportant to the novelist. [Endo 1980: 15–16][94]

In this way, Endo's investigation of the Bible is to find the truth and present a new image of Christ in a literary context. In his literary works, he uses expressive language and poetic truth that cannot be verified, because they arise out of his personal commitment to his faith in Christianity. He is neither an apologetic writer nor a theologian who discovers the 'truth behind' the text. His image of Christ for Japanese readers is developed along poetic rather than historical lines. His approach was to reflect upon the importance of 'truth' in this way, appropriate to the cultural context. It is said that "Theology represents a particular approach to truth."[95] Endo focussed on a core of Christian teaching, the love of Christ in a deeper dimension, and I understand this shaped his approach to the theology of inculturation.

Structure

Endo's novels usually comprise two to three separate parts. Often, these seem to be unrelated, but there is a common theme that underlies them. The separate stories come one after another and, at the end, they come together into one harmonious narrative.[96] In the novels, Endo's faith is often projected through the characters and at times his work appears autobiographical. Though some critics regard his works as too personal and too passionate, I would claim that this reflects his style of writing.[97]

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[94] Quoted in Williams 1996: 80. Also in 1979, Endo stated "that even if the historians claim that the birth of Jesus from the virgin Mary is not fact, or his birth date is wrong, etc. these stories were "true" to people. People were comforted by the time and the story and celebrated the savior's birth once a year. The happiest time was shared and gathered with family. People believed it was true and valued it as precious." Endo 1995: 11–14.

[95] Jeanrond in Jasper (ed.): 1993: 145.

[96] Endo's well constructed works include Endo 1965, 1969/75, 1973(b), 1993.

[97] Sengoku Hideyo criticizes *Deep River*, saying that it is only the story teller who narrates their secrets, and because of that, Endo stands in a transcendent position as if he has an almighty stance and stands above and looks down into each of their lives.

It is confessional and self-critical. Endo's agony, quest and suffering appear as the agony, quest and suffering of the characters, and this attracts many readers. The reader can freely assess whether they see Endo or themself in the characters. How much one hears Endo's voice as one's own is a hermeneutical question. This is his method. Also, he utilizes the same characters in different novels. Some appear with the same names and others with different names. In this way, they never die. Father Durand in *Yellow Man* (1955), who betrays the church but cannot resist God, represents those weak persons who appear in many other novels with different names, such as Kichijiro in *Silence* (1966), Kisuke in *The Final Martyrs* (1974), and Nezumi in *Fuda-no Tsuji* (1963) and also in *By the Dead Sea* (1973).

As well as expressing the author's dual character, Endo's literature presents dualities of strong opposing figures.[98] The protagonists who appear in his works form such opposites: a good man and a bad man, a saintly man and an evil man, a hero and an ordinary man, a martyr and a renegade, a strong and a weak person. This reflects the dual pattern of Endo's Catholicism: heaven and hell, heaven and earth, angel and devil, God and human, spirit and body, freedom and restraint, light and darkness. It is not my concern here to consider whether he consciously uses this dualism, but it is worth noting that western Catholicism has deeply influenced his thoughts.

Moreover, Endo often inserts dramatic images with a double meaning. In *Silence* (1966), when Kichijiro betrays the Father he gains silver coins, just as Judas did. And when Rodrigues apostatizes (stamping his feet on a *fumie*, the sacred image of Jesus), the rooster crows three times, conveying the image of Peter. In *The Girl I Left Behind* (1964), the girl Mitsu who was abandoned is also an image of Jesus. In *Deep River* (1993), the Japanese priest Ootsu who carries the dying Hindu woman on his back and walks up the hill, also suggests Jesus carrying the cross and walking up to Golgotha. The Japanese easily overlook these biblical associations.[99] However, Endo implicitly takes up theological themes in

"Endo stands on the higher position as God and asks people about their lives." Sengoku 1993: 296. However, I do not agree with the objection. In many places, Endo projects himself in his protagonists and he himself is seeking for the meaning of life with and within them. It is Endo's structure of story telling that makes the novels dynamic.

[98] Takeda 1973: 76.

[99] Endo and Gessel 1994: 114.

his novels, and thus I believe it is important to reflect on the theological interpretation expressed in his literature.

Symbol and Metaphor

Endo often explores the metaphysical world by employing narrative, symbol, image, and metaphor from ordinary life. There are reasons to believe that this is based on his religiosity towards nature.[100] In his literature, a cicada, a bird, a dog, the Cherry tree, the sea, the darkness, the river, etc., take on a significant role. For the sake of illustration, I present a few examples. In *Silence*, the color, appearance, and waves of the sea change in accordance with Father Rodrigues' emotion and suffering. The sea is recognized as a source of life in Shinto mythology, and from its bounties the Japanese derived their traditional home. It is vividly presented when Rodrigues is caught and transferred by a little boat to a port. Endo wrote:

> The village had been burnt to the ground; and its inhabitants had been completely dispersed. The sea and the land were silent as death; only the dull sound of the waves lapping against the boat broke the silence of the night. Why have you abandoned us so completely? he prayed in a weak voice. Even the village was constructed for you; and have you abandoned it in its ashes? Even when the people are cast out of their homes have you given them courage? Have you just remained silent like the darkness that surrounds me? Why? At least tell me why. We are not strong men like Job who was afflicted with leprosy as a trial. There is a limit to our endurance. Give us no more suffering. So he prayed. But the sea remained cold, and the darkness maintained its stubborn silence. [Endo 1966/97: 124–125 (1980: 96)]

In *Deep River*, Numada, who is a writer of children's stories, joins a tour to India in order to release a mina bird in a wildlife sanctuary. Through Numada, Endo described the spiritual notion of the Japanese who plant cherry trees in places where corpses are cremated.

> The cherries at Mount Yoshino were all put there in place of grave-markers. There's a very close connection between death and vegetation. [Endo 1993: 211 (1994: 131)]

Moreover, Endo described his impression of the wildlife sanctuary as follows:

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[100] This technique of seeking the holy through symbols is used in *koshinto*. Cf. Kadowaki 1997.

> He (Numada) heard the rustle of leaves on a linden tree. The flapping of insect wings near his ear. Those sounds served to deepen the silence of the forest. Something quickly swung from one coconut tree to another, and when he turned his eyes and inhaled the sultry, unrefined aroma, like the fermented smell of sake brewing that emerged from the earth and the trees. The unadorned aroma of life. That life flowed back and forth between the trees and the chirping of the birds and the wind that slowly set the leaves fluttering. [Endo 1993: 331 (1994: 204)]

By employing narrative, symbol, image, and metaphor, Endo explores metaphysics and the meaning of faith. Through his use of symbolism, Endo leads readers to the broader meaning of the transcendent which goes beyond human speech and understanding.[101] His implicit theology of religion makes use of symbols and metaphors drawn from daily life also to articulate the image of Christ. I will explore this issue further in the next chapter. Richard Durfee comments that Endo's expression is probably:

> A result of more than just the fact that symbolism and metaphor are the media of his profession. Such a symbolic expression is one that will reach the Japanese because it is framed in their own terms, and also is one that will avoid the attention and direct criticism of the Church.[102]

Durfee's comment is supported by the nature of the implicit theology in Endo's last work, *Deep River*. There he expanded his theological thoughts beyond the border of Catholic soteriology. I shall return to this issue in chapter 5.

In this chapter, I have investigated Endo's approach to Christianity, dividing his literary development into three stages, and explained that his inculturation of Christianity is based on an existential search for his

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[101] Cf. Song 1994. A few more examples of Endo's use of symbol are that Endo often differentiates the West and Japan as the world of White and the world of Yellow. Corresponding with color, Endo implicitly announced the chasm of Monotheism vs Pantheism. Endo 1955(a), and(b); the white man represents the western world that is based on Christianity, and yellow man represents Japanese vagueness.

'Mud swamp' is used as a metaphor for the insensibility of sin. As Mathy noted, Endo was well aware that the mud swamp existed even within himself. Cf. Mathy 1967: 59–66. Endo analyzed the mud swamp in society and the mud swamp within each individual heart. Cf. Ninomiya 1990: 228.

'Sea' symbolizes the dark indescribable sense of weariness in *Sea and Poison*, a monstrous godless mass which devours the desperate efforts of the pious, and is as silent as God, despite the suffering of the righteous in *Silence*. It also symbolizes an eternal peaceful rest in *Samurai*.

[102] Durfee 1989: 50. Richard Durfee is a Juris Doctor from Arizona State University.

Christian identity. As to the context, I have explained the religious pluralism in which Endo's literature is composed. By means of metaphors and symbols, he sought to express his metaphysical thoughts. In the following chapter I will look in more depth into how Endo developed his image of Christ in the second stage.

CHAPTER FOUR

ENDO'S IMAGE OF CHRIST

Development of Endo's Image of Christ (1966–1980)

Silence, Mother, and The Samurai are chosen for this chapter as my main sources for investigating how Endo develops the image of Christ in literary form. These works exemplify Endo's images of Christ for a Japanese religio-cultural background. The chapter concludes with a three-fold analysis of a 'Christ for Japan': 1) a theological perspective, 2) a perspective from the viewpoint of the religious and cultural heritage, 3) a classification according to inculturation typologies.

Contents and Inculturation Perspectives

I begin by presenting my main material on the image of Christ in the early development of Endo's literature. Here I will focus on issues which I consider important for a further analysis of his understanding of Christ.

Silence (1966)

> You may trample. Your foot suffers in pain; it must suffer like all the feet that have stepped on my face on the plaque. But the pain alone is enough. I understand your pain and your suffering, and I shall share it. It is for that reason that I am here.... I was not silent. I suffered beside you. [Endo 1966/97: 241]

Silence was published 13 years after Endo returned from studying abroad.[1] The narrative is based on factual history, the most intense

[1] For two years from 1960–1962, after returning from studying abroad, Endo was hospitalized and had three dangerous operations. Endo faced death and feelings of fear and isolation. This was a crucial time in his career as a Catholic writer and marked the beginning of his second stage. Endo claimed: "If I had not had those years in hospital, *Silence* would not have matured in me". Miyoshi and Endo 1973: 10–29.

persecution of Christians from 1614 to 1640 in Japan.[2] A zealous Jesuit missionary smuggles himself into Japan during the period, hides with Japanese Christians, is betrayed, captured, forced to endure torture, challenged by the religio-cultural heritage of the country, and finally recants his faith. This is the story of people in endless suffering, and God's apparent silence in the face of it.[3] *Silence* contains various themes and many theological issues related to missions. Readers are exposed to different attributes of faith and become aware of many unsolvable questions. The author does not conclude by stating what is right or wrong, so readers are drawn into considerable ethical and spiritual dilemmas. They are invited to step into the historical situation and to reflect upon complex questions. We, the readers, are responsible for considering the protagonist's questions and pursuing the answers. In *Silence*, Endo poses many theological questions concerning the inculturation of Christianity, to which he develops answers in his later works. The questions he raises indicate his implicit theology. They are presented through four protagonists—Kichijiro, Ferreira, Inoue, and Rodrigues. I shall discuss the issues expressed by them in the next subsection.

Introducing the Main Protagonists in Silence

The poor in faith

Kichijiro is a Japanese man who smuggled Fr. Rodrigues into Japan during the period of isolation. He then betrays Rodrigues by informing the authorities about him. He represents a cowardly and weak human being who does not have the strength to fight for his family, friend, himself, nor for his faith. The issue of his faith, however, is anything but straightforward. He denies his faith but comes back for pardoning. His attitude is particularly illustrated by a lack of endurance; he often

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During the years of hospitalization, Endo must have had a religious conversion and this is expressed in *Silence* (1966). As preparation for *Silence*, Endo had written *Unzen*, and *Going Home.* See Endo 1967(c).

[2] See Chapter 2 for the history of *Kakure Kirishitans*. The story is set in the early years of Japan's seclusion. It is said that some 5–6000 Christians were tortured for their faith during this period. Cf. Gonoi 1990: 238–240.

[3] *Silence* can be read not only as Japanese religious history but also as a universal story of people of all times, striving in agony and pain for freedom and justice. It is worth mentioning that Endo originally entitled the novel as *The Sunny Spot*. His main concern was to dipct the companionship of God in silence, and the pain of God in silence.

has to regain his faith. Even after Fr. Rodrigues apostizises, Kichijiro comes to him for forgiveness. Kichijiro cries out:

> Father! Father!…I've kept deceiving you. Since you rebuked me I began to hate you and all the Christians. Yes, I stepped on *fumie*. Mokichi and Ichizo were strong…but I can't be strong like them.… But I have my cause to plead! One who has stepped on the *fumie* has his say too. Do you think I trampled on it willingly? My feet hurt with pain. It ached. God asks me to imitate the strong, even though he made me weak. Isn't this unreasonable? [Endo 1966/97: 146]

Similarly he says in another connection:

> I am an apostate; but if I lived decades ago, I might have gone to paradise as a good Christian, not despised as an apostate. Only because I live in a time of persecution.… I am reproachful. [Endo 1966/97: 148.]

Kichijiro represents the poor in faith, who are weak in spirit. In other words, his weakness of faith appears as apostasy. Yet Endo still wants to show that, without any heroics, this person still returns to faith, even after repeated apostacies.

Hopelessness of Christian Mission

Christovao Ferreira is the Portuguese provincial and the acknowledged leader of the Jesuit mission. He landed in Japan with a fiery passion to spread the gospel in Japan before a decree expelling the missionaries was issued.[4] After his apostasy, he collaborated with his former persecutors. He even challenged his former student Rodrigues and led him to apostasy as well. In the novel, he confesses to Rodrigues that he did not pray for himself while he was tortured, but for the Japanese who were also being tortured. Nevertheless, his prayer does nothing to alleviate the suffering of others and God does nothing either. He also becomes aware that the Japanese are tortured even after they apostatize because western missionaries like him do not surrender their faith. Moreover,

[4] Not much is known about his subsequent life and death. It is said that his grave can be found in Koudaiji temple in Nagasaki, but the record of his burial was burnt in the atomic holocaust of 1945. From the descendants of Ferreira, Endo found out that his grave was later moved to Tokai temple and then to a little graveyard in Yanaka. Ferreira's descendants were all medical doctors. With astonishment, Endo claims "I feel sorry for those apostatized fathers knowing that even after apostasy, they tried to be useful for Japanese. They came all the way to Japan for their mission to be useful, but it failed by torture. However, even after failing, there remained a zeal—a zeal of the fathers to be useful to people…" Endo: 1967(c): 391.

Ferreira claims that, though his missionary work seemed to be successful, the Japanese were not Christians like himself. Ferreira is convinced, through his experience, that the Japanese who converted to Christianity never had faith in God but in something else. He claims:

> For twenty years I labored in the mission.... The one thing I know is that our religion does not take root in this country.... This country is a swamp.—Whenever you plant a sapling in this swamp the roots begin to rot; the leaves grow yellow and wither. And we have planted the sapling of Christianity in this swamp. [Endo 1966/97: 189 (1969: 147)]

He continues:

> The Japanese were not praying to the Christian God. They twisted God of their own way of thinking in a way we can never imagine.... It is like a butterfly caught in a spider's web. At first it is certainly a butterfly, but the next day only the externals, the wings and the trunk, are those of a butterfly; it has lost its true reality and has become a skeleton. In Japan our God is just like that butterfly caught in the spider's web: only the exterior form of God remains, but it has already become a skeleton. [Endo 1966/97: 192 (1969: 149)]

Ferreira, emphasizing every word, then concludes:

> The Japanese till this day have never had the concept of God; and they never will.... The Japanese are not able to think of God completely divorced from man; the Japanese cannot think of an existence that transcends the human—The Japanese imagine a beautiful exalted man—and this they call God. They call by the name of God something which has the same kind of existence as man. But that is not the Church's God. [Endo 1966/97: 192 (1969: 149–150)]

The issue of mission is thus presented critically. The planting of a Christian sapling, a metaphor for mission, does not work. He questions the Japanese concept of the Christian God. The concept is reworked to such a degree that its content radically changes.

Inculturation

With Inoue, Endo raises the issue of the inculturation of Christianity in Japan. Inoue, the Lord of Chikugo, is a dark and hidden Japanese authority whose shadow underlies the novel from the beginning. He once became a Christian, but renounced. In the dialogue among Inoue and Rodrigues, a dialogue between Christianity and Shinto/Buddhism occurs. The dialogue is focused on the evangelical perspective of inculturation in Japan. Rodrigues stands as a 'giver' and Inoue as

'receiver' in the process of Christian transmission. In their dialogue, the receiver's stance is calmly and intensely stressed by Inoue's use of metaphor. While Rodrigues is in custody, Inoue talks with him and stresses the conflicts between Japan and Christianity:

> When I see the town (Hirado) I think of a story I heard long ago. It is about Takenobu Matsuura of Hirado who had four concubines who constantly quarreled out of jealousy. Takenobu, unable to bear it any longer, ended up by expelling all four from his castle.... Hirado, and indeed our whole Japan, is just like Matsuura.... Spain, Portugal, Holland, England and such-like women keep whispering jealous tales of slander into the ear of the man called Japan.... Father, don't you think it is better for this man called Japan to stop thinking about women from foreign countries and to be united with a woman born in the same country, a woman who has sympathy for his way of thinking? [Endo 1966/97: 155–157 (121–123)][5]

The dialogue between these two persons illustrates the Japanese rejection of Christianity. Christianity is to a Japanese man like "an ugly woman". Rodrigues argues back asking Inoue whether he sees missionary work as the forcing of love. Inoue continues with a calm voice:

> Yes, that's what it is—from our standpoint. And if you don't like the expression, let's put it this way. We call a woman who cannot bear children barren; and we think that such a woman has not the capacity to be a wife.... My reasons for opposing Christianity are different from those of the people at large. I have never thought of Christianity as an evil religion.... Father, I want you to think over two things this old man has told you. One is that the persistent affection of an ugly woman is an intolerable burden for a man; the other, that a barren woman should not become a wife. [Endo 1966/97: 158 (1969: 123)]

Christianity does not fit Japan. Again he refers to the problem of the 'swamp':

> Father, you were not defeated by me. You were defeated by this swamp of Japan. [Endo 1966/97: 236 (188)]

The apostasy of Rodrigues convinced Inoue that Japan is a 'swamp' that slowly twisted and changed the teaching of Christianity. Inoue continued:

> You probably don't know,—but in Goto and Ikitsuki, large numbers of Christian farmers still remain. But we have no desire to apprehend

[5] Hirado is a small island located in the southern part of Kyûshû.

> them.... If the root is cut, (meaning that the Christian missionaries disappear) the sapling [sic] withers and the leaves die. The proof of this is that the God whom the peasants of Goto and Ikitsuki secretly serve has gradually changed so as to be no longer like the Christian God at all. [Endo 1966/97: 236–237 (188)]

Inoue, with the above words, refers to the Christians who remained on remote islands, later called *Kakure Kirishitans*.

In the different passages related by the protagonists (Kichijiro, Ferreira, Rodrigues, and Inoue), Endo raises the issue of missionary activity in Japan, and how it was formed by the context. The crucial point is that Christianity was completely transformed by the Japanese cultural context. In the discussion with Inoue, Rodrigues illustrates the 'swamp'; the hopelessness of the Christian mission in Japan.

Love

Numerous issues in the novel are raised through the protagonists, Rodrigues and Kichijiro. A central issue is that of 'love'; the love that comes through the salvation that Jesus offers. The portrait of the Portuguese missionary, Sebastian Rodrigues, is based on the historical figure Giuseppe Chiara. Rodrigues is a stowaway, who entered Japan during its isolationist policy upon hearing that his Jesuit mentor, Ferreira, had apostatized. He hid himself and lived with Japanese *Kirishitans* but soon he was captured due to Kichijiro's betrayal.

The image of Jesus which he carries from the West (a strong and solemn faith radiating majesty and power) is his source of courage, but it eventually changes as he experiences life in Japan. After he has been captured and suffered many trials, he is questioned by his mentor as to whether he is still afraid of being considered a waste by the Church. He is told that there is something more important than the Church, more important than missionary work: to follow the love of Jesus. His understanding of love is challenged by his former mentor Ferreira who defends apostasy:

> If Christ were here... certainly Christ would have apostatized to help people for love. Even if it meant to sacrifice his life. Now... you are going to perform the most painful act of love that has ever been done. [Endo 1966/97: 216]

Finally, Rodrigues steps on the icon of Jesus and abandons his faith. The pain he suffers is not associated with the act of stepping but on stepping on what he considers to be the most pure and beautiful thing

for humans imaginable. What he sees and hears, however, come from an image of Christ that he had never seen before, a worn-out face of Christ suffering as he himself. He hears the voice of Christ penetrate deeply into his consciousness saying:

> You may trample. You may trample. I more than anyone know of the pain in your foot. You may trample. It was to be trampled on by men that I was born into this world. It was to share your pain that I carried my cross. [Endo 1966/97:224 and 240][6]

Hearing the voice of Christ speak through the *fumie*, Rodrigues grasps another, new meaning of love. Jesus' love transcends ordinary or heroic acts of goodness. He was to be despised and trampled on. After apostasy, Rodrigues was told by the authorities to live as a Japanese. He was given a dead Japanese man's name, every possession he had, and even his spouse. Rodrigues was given a life to live as a Japanese, yet not in despair; he still had faith in Christ. Rodrigues confesses:

> I bear no grudge against you (Jesus). I am only laughing at man's fate. My faith in you is different from what it was; but I love you still. [Endo 1966/97: 237–238 (1969:189)]

This new insight is indeed verified when, towards the end, the apostate Kichijiro comes to him to receive the sacrament. Rodrigues silently says:

> No doubt my fellow priest would condemn my act as sacrilege; but even if I betrayed them, I never have betrayed my Lord. I love him now in a different way from before. Everything that had taken place until now had been necessary to bring me to realize this love. Even now, I am the last priest in this land.[7] [Endo 1966/97: 240]

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[6] My translation. W. Johnston translated "*Fumu ga ii*"「踏むがいい」as "Trample!".

Even though I appreciate the English translation by William Johnston, I am opposed to "Trample!" in the imperative form. In the original Japanese text it says "*Fumu ga ii*" which shows a more passive aspect of Jesus, emphasizing his weakness. It should rather be translated in a more motherly way as "You may trample". This is important, and shows how Endo's Christology involves the feminine aspect of Jesus. Some English readers were misled and made comments such as "Rodrigues tramples because Christ commands him to. His betrayal is thus an act of submission and obedience to Christ, a real act of love as well." Startzman 1984: 62 and Cohen 1993: 111. Ref. Gessel 1993: 72. Gessel prefers to translate "Trample!" with the benevolent words of permission: "all right to trample".

[7] Ibid.: 240.

In *Silence*, Endo introduces his image of Christ by raising central theological issues. Faith is illustrated as weakness and questions concerning mission and inculturation are seen as problematic in the Japanese context. The Christian situation in Japan leads, however, to a vision of the love of Christ, identifying with the weak ones.

Mother (1969)

> The picture of the holy mother holding Jesus Christ. No, it was the picture of a farmer who is holding a sucking baby. [Endo 1969/75: 48]

Three years after the publication of *Silence*, Endo published a short novel, *Mother*. In this work he tried to establish a maternal image of Christ in tune with the Japanese religious sensibility. *Mother* comprises two different stories. The first is a personal life story concerning Endo's mother. The other is fictional, in which the author visits the southern island of Kyûshû to trace the roots of *Kakure Kirishitans*. The stories seem disjointed and of little import, but they are woven into one harmonious narrative. How theconcept of motherhood contributes to Endo's understanding of Christ is what I will focus on next.

According to the novel, Endo's mother was not a gentle and compassionate woman, but rather passionate and harsh. Her enthusiastic way of practicing the violin and her piety come together in Endo's memory.

> (Mother is) practicing the violin for many hours repeating the same melody again and again. Her face is firm like a stone. Her eyes are focusing on a point in the air, as if she is trying to grasp the note in that void. Not getting the key right, she sighs and gets irritated, but she keeps moving the strings. I knew there was a brown spot on her chin like a stain. It was because she had her violin there since she was a music student. Her fingers were hard as stones when I touched. It was because she presses the string hard to find the one right note.... The image of mother when I was in elementary school was the image of a woman abandoned by her husband. (She was) sitting down in her suffering and did not move, like a stone statue. I could not stand to see her suffering from pain like that. I pretended to finish my homework, but all my feelings went out to her. It was such a pain for me to see her suffering, with her forehead. I could not understand the precise situation, and did not know what to do.... As for the image of Mother when I was in junior high school, the memories are many, but can be focused on one point. Like old days when she was looking for the right note and kept on playing the violin, she was seeking for faith in her hard and isolated life. In the early winter morning, the icy morning before the sun rises, I often saw lights in her room. I knew what

> she was doing there. She was praying reeling the rosary. After a while, she took me to Mass. We first got on the *Hankyû* railway. On the train, which nobody else was on, I was dozing. Sometimes, when I opened my eyes, I could see her fingers reeling the rosary. [Endo 1969/75: 15–17]

From this description it is not hard to imagine his mother's spiritual desire. She was searching for spiritual enrichment and for true faith, like trying to find the very note on the string of her violin. Endo never forgot his mother's firm attitude of seeking a faith that people hardly understood. She entrusted her sons also to the love of God. In this way Endo was aware of an authority beyond this world. However, as he got older, little by little, his mother's enthusiastic passion for faith choked him. The more she tried to force him to believe, the more he rejected it. He said, "I felt like a little boy about to drown, and I was struggling to push the water back to her".[8] He turned his back on faith. He began doubting Christianity and thought it impossible to believe in. Yet on the other hand he felt for his mother, because he was very much aware of her love and how strict she was with herself. Endo started to tell lies to his mother to overcome difficult situations and he described skillfully his lack of guilt in doing so.[9]

In the novel, Endo was at his friend's house looking at pornographic cards when his mother died.[10] When he was called to come home, he thought she had had one of her recurring problems with her heart and did not take the call seriously. He walked home slowly, wondering how she knew that he was at his friend's house.

> I could see my house. A window in my room was half opened, neighbor's kids were playing, it was the same as usual. Everything was the same as usual and there was no sign to show that something had happened. The pastor was standing in front of the house. He said quietly word by word: 'Your mother…passed away a moment ago.' From his voice, even a stupid junior high school kid like me, could see that he was holding down his feeling with sarcasm.… When I entered the room, nobody turned nor spoke a word to me. From all those people's rigid backs, I was told

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[8] Endo 1969 CSEL:42 (Mothers 1969/75, translated by myself).

[9] Endo implicitly invites readers to consider the relationship between guilt and sin. Cf. Endo 1955(a)(b), 1956(b), 1958 and others.

[10] This part is fiction, but should not be overlooked. Endo says that he saw pain in the face of a woman in a pornographic picture. I understand that, without realising it, the young Endo was standing on the side of the oppressed woman and sharing her suffering.

> I was to blame. Mother's face was white like milk. The shadow of pain was still there, between her eyebrows. Indiscreetly, I recalled the face of a woman in the pornographic magazine. At this moment, I realized what I had done and began to cry. [Endo 1969/75: 24]

Many years later, Endo went through surgery for acute pneumonia. He stated that he often dreamt that someone was holding his hand during his surgery, and he knew that it was his mother.

> It is not only in those dreams. I also see her face in the wide cloud just before the sun sets when I am walking on the viaduct, or at the moment when I am talking to women in the pub. I suddenly feel her existence next to me during senseless moments in the conversation. Or, when I am working until late at night with my bent back, I suddenly become aware that she stands behind me. She is looking at the movement of my pen from behind. I never let anyone, of course not my children nor even my wife, enter my study when I work. But strangely she does not bother me. She does not irritate me at all. She is not the stern figure of the past, when she was seeking the right note on the violin or reeling the rosary in the corner of the *Hankyû*-line. She holds her hands in front of her and looks at me from behind with slightly sad eyes. Just as a pure pearl is formed little by little in a shell, I must have un-realizingly formed such an image of my mother, since a mother who looks at me with sad, tired eyes hardly exists in my memories.… Now I know how this image was made. It is merged with the face of the statue, '*Mater Dolorosa*' (Holy Mother in Grief) which she always had. [Endo 1969/75: 41]

The statue, *Mater Dolorosa* (Holy Mother in Grief), a violin, and the prayer book were Endo's mementos of his mother. He carried them with him whenever he moved. During the war in 1945 everything was burnt in an air raid, but he found the statue under the ruins. As the years went by, however, the statue lost its original appearance.

> The face of the statue looked somehow sad and I felt that she was looking at me calmly. It is totally different from the Holy Mother that I have seen in western paintings or sculpture. Her face was cracked in the air raid and her nose was chipped off in those years. When I was studying abroad in western France, I saw much art and many sculptures of *Mater Dolorosa*, but of course mother's memento had totally lost the original shape.… Probably, I had in some way merged the statue and the appearance of mother's face. Sometimes the face of 'Holy Mother in Grief' looked as mother's face when she died. I remember her last face clearly as she was lying on the *futon* with the shadow of pain left between her eyebrows. [Endo 1969/75: 42]

The writer finds a similar kind of faith retained among *Kakure Kirishitans*, namely the image of the Holy Mother. When he meets the *Kakure*

Kirishitans he sees a picture of the Virgin Mary which was secretly worshipped.

> (What *Kakure Kirishitans* worshipped was) the picture of the holy mother holding Jesus Christ. No, it was the picture of a farmer who is holding a sucking baby.… The woman's face can be found anywhere on this island. It is the face of a mother who cultivates and mends the nets with her baby at the breast.… I could not move my eyes from this mother's face. They (*Kakure Kirishitans*) prayed pardoning *Orashio* (prayers) with their hands in the praying position. I was deeply moved, convinced that they felt as I. A long time ago, missionaries came all the way to this country with the teaching of God the Father, but during that long period of time after the missionaries were expelled and the churches torn down, the 'hidden Christians' abandoned everything that could not be accepted among their religious feelings. The teaching of God the father was transformed and they maintained the most typical element of Japanese faith, the longing for 'motherness'. At that time, I thought about my mother and she was standing beside me like a gray shadow. She was not playing the violin nor reeling the rosary but standing with her hands in front of her and looking at me with slightly sad eyes. [Endo 1969/75: 48]

In these passages, Endo produces an image of Christ for the Japanese through his personal experience that doubled with the faith of *Kakure Kirishitans*: a compassionate Christ who perceives the acts of poor human beings with slightly sad eyes that are, like Endo's mother, accepting and forgiving of her children.

The Samurai (1980)

> He is always beside us. He listens to our agony and our grief. He weeps with us… [Endo 1980: 415]

After *Silence* (1966), Endo developed his image of Christ further. *The Samurai* was published in 1980 and concluded the second stage of his literary works.[11] The *Samurai* is based on actual historical events, of a journey made by a Japanese group to the West. The main character, Hasekura Tsunenaga, is typical of *Kakure Kirishitans*, as a poor and insignificant man forgotten in Japanese history. As Hasekura was a low-ranking *samurai*, and would not have much influence in history,

[11] At first, Endo called the novel "The Man who Met the King". Endo 1986: a preface. Cf. Endo 1980: 443. There is much to compare between *The Samurai* and *Silence*. The stage is set in a similar historical time period, late 16th and 17th century Japan, preceding the Christian persecutions. For an excellent summary of *The Samurai*, see Williams 1999: 130–165.

he was chosen as a scapegoat in his master's political schemes. Endo intentionally entitled the novel with the general term *samurai*, in memory of the many other Japanese Christians of little power and status who died because of political scheming.

Hasekura was one of the first Japanese to be assigned to go to the West (to Mexico, Spain, and finally to the Vatican). In following his steps, Endo gradually introduces the different images of Christ that individuals in the East and West hold on to. Again, he raises theological issues through the protagonists, such as the aim of evangelization, cultural obstacles for inculturation, and the nature of faith.

The *samurai* of the novel is in pursuit of trade agreements for Japanese merchants, although he did not understand from the beginning why he, without any status, is chosen for such an important mission.[12] Velasco, the Spanish missionary, joined the group as an interpreter. He is depicted as proud and arrogant with a worldly ambition to become the Bishop of Japan. He travels in order to bargain over Japan's suitability as a trading partner with the West, aiming for the right to head his order in Japan. Having lived in Japan for many years, Velasco was fluent in Japanese and had a deep insight into the Japanese sensibility. He assumed the power of leading the group of Japanese. As in other novels, Endo portrays Hasekura (the Japanese) and Velascos (the westerner) as opposites, passive receiver and aggressive giver in the process of Christian transmission.

On the ship, Velasco tries to convert some Japanese merchants. He knew that they would agree to learn Christianity if it benefits their business. Religion for the Japanese, he understands, is to gain profit in this life; the amassing of wealth, victory in battle, the healing of disease. They are insensitive to the universal and the eternal.[13] For Velascos, mission means conversion and he uses every possible means of achieving his goal. Through Velasco, Endo presented the hostile attitude of two rival religious orders in the missionary enterprise:[14]

> The missionary was confident of his abilities. As Provincial of Edo for the Franciscan Order, he (Velasco) had always felt that up to now the failure

[12] Endo 1980: 254 (1982: 65).
[13] Ibid.: 252, 258, 273, 344 (62, 69, 85, 163).
[14] Endo calls the two rival orders the Society of Peter and the Society of Paul in the Japanese manuscript. However, when translated in English, Endo encouraged them to be translated as the Jesuits and the Franciscans. See Endo 1982: 17 for translator's note. Ref. Endo 1980: 237, 243, 249 (44, 52, 58).

> of the missionary effort in Japan was a result of the blunders made by the Jesuits, who had continually opposed his Order in all things. [Endo 1980: 212]

Additionally, Endo introduced different theological themes through the protagonists. With Lord Matsuki, who also boards the ship, the value of evangelization in Japan is questioned. He says to Velasco:

> We…no, it isn't just us. All of Japan has lived in peace until now. Why do you want to disrupt us living in peace?…Your brand of true happiness is too intense for Japan. A strong medicine is like poison in the bodies of some. The happiness you padres preach is poison to Japan. That has been very clear to me since we arrived in Nueva Espana. This country would have lived in peace if the Spanish ships had not come. Your version of happiness has disrupted this country. [Endo 1980: 298 (1982: 112–113)]

From Mexico, Matsuki returns to Japan with the merchants, leaving the rest on the ship to set off on the long journey to Spain. On their way the *samurai* Hasekura and Lord Tanaka are unwillingly converted to Christianity, in order to meet the Pope.[15] Endo also presents self-sacrificial love in an intriguing way in *The Samurai*.[16] This involves issues of loyalty, ancestor veneration, family bonds, and death, all related to Japanese religio-cultural customs. The *samurai* had shared his life with his family and his village. Their way of life was one of harmony, for they tended the fields, planted seeds, and observed festivals all in the same manner. When someone died, everyone praised *Amida* Buddha. For the *samurai*, to become a Christian is to betray his own flesh, family bonds, ancestors, and the community.[17] However, he is loyal to his mission as an ambassador, and becomes a Christian. He considers his conversion as a self-sacrifice for his Lord, family, and those who will succeed him on the land.[18]

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[15] Endo 1980: 355, 367 (175, 188): "this is not from the heart—it is for the sake of the mission."

[16] Self-sacrificial love seems pure but powerless in this world, but paradoxically the act holds an unseen force and power of liberation which can cause betterment in the lives of people. Endo presents this idea in his novels. Ref. Endo 1973(a), 1973(b).

[17] Endo 1980: 334–335, 341, 345 (152–153, 160, 164).

[18] For the first time in 1973 in *By the Dead Sea*, Endo quoted the Bible verse John 15:13; "No one has greater love than this, to lay down one's life for one's friends". Endo 1973 Chapter XI. This verse repeatedly echoes throughout his novels. (Endo 1980: 419 (1982: 246) Cf. Endo 1978, 1979, 1982, 1993. It is evident that Maximilian Kolbe (–1941) was an inspirational figure for his works. He was a missionary in Japan from April 1930–May 1936. He stayed in Nagasaki, and he devoted himself to teaching as

Nevertheless, history betrays Velascos and the *samurai*, and the doors to open trade are shut by the Japanese *Shogun*. Faced with this, Lord Tanaka, who converted to Christianity for the sake of the commercial mission, committed *seppuku* (killing oneself by cutting the belly). In Christianity, committing suicide is a great sin, and it is no exception for Tanaka. Velasco is accused by the authorities of the death of Tanaka, but he replies:

> The Japanese consider it a virtue to choose death rather than endure shame…he could not carry out his mission as an ambassador unless he died. [Endo 1980: 390 (1982: 214)]

Velasco understands that Tanaka could not face his kindred and his land (villages) with dignity, and it was the last thing left for him to keep his dignity.

Ultimately, after four years journeying, both Velascos and the *samurai* Hasekura emerge as hapless victims of political machinations beyond their control. Hasekura returns to Japan where the authorities are pursuing an isolation policy and ruthlessly persecuting Christians. Upon returning he learns that the merchants who accompanied him on the voyage and who converted to Christianity for worldly benefit, have all signed vows of recantation. He is asked whether he had converted to Christianity. Replying that he did not have the slightest belief from the beginning, he too signs the recantation.[19] For the rest of his life he is regarded as a criminal and has to undergo tests at the authorities' decree. A year later, the council of elders called the *samurai.* He is ordered to commit suicide due to the return of Velascos. Once again, he could do nothing but follow the order. By abandoning his faith in Christianity, Hasekura realized the importance of his image of Christ. Since he first saw the crucifix, he could not forget Christ. In the suffering of the *samurai*, Jesus Christ suffered, and the suffering of Christ healed his pain. Hasekura saw Jesus Christ in his own Japanese Buddhist context as an ever-faithful retainer, who accompanied him at any time, at any place, and even to his death. At last, the *samurai* understood Jesus Christ as a savior and the eternal companion of the despised, poor, neglected, and abandoned.

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well as publishing Christian journals, *Seibo no Kīshi* 聖母の騎士 (The Knight of the Immaculate Mother). He was listed as a saint in 1982. For Endo, Kolbe was the most evident manifestation of Christ's love.

[19] Endo 1980: 405, 417, 428 (230,233, 257).

Velasco returned to Japan even though he knew that he would surely be killed. He was strongly convinced about his mission:

> I will become a single stepping stone in the swampland of Japan. Soon another missionary will stand on the stepping-stone that is me, and he will become the new stepping-stone. [Endo 1980: 423–424 (1982: 252)]

When Velasco is in prison, official religious inspections are carried out in relation to his apostasy. The official knew that he would never apostatize and, with a look of sympathy, he says that Velasco might have done some good for the Christians and other people if he did not come back to Japan. Velasco says, "But I believe now that God has made use of my *karma* to benefit Japan."[20] The official was more puzzled and asks how God made use of him to benefit Japan. Velasco answers:

> Your question itself is the answer.... You have said that what I did was ridiculous. I understand that. But why did I deliberately do something that seems so lunatic? Why did I come to Japan knowing I would die? Think about that sometime. If I can die and leave you and Japan to deal with that question, my life in this world will have had meaning.... I have lived.... Whatever else may be, I have lived. I have no regrets. [Endo 1980: 427 (1982: 255)]

Velasco was crucified. His last words illustrate the strong faith commitment of men from the West.[21] In the novel, from the beginning till the end, East and West stand on opposite poles, and Hasekura and Velasco cannot understand each other in their faith. Yet, in their images of Christ, Endo shows there are similarities between the two.

There are two side-characters who are integral to the narration of the novel. Yozo, the ever faithful retainer to the *samurai*, and the renegade Japanese priest whom Yozo encounters in the hamlet of Tecali as he journeyed across Nueva Espana towards the port of Veracruz. The *samurai* could not understand why Christians worship "that man" (Jesus) as their king, who looks so tired and worn. For the *samaurai*, only his Lordship, who was in no way a wretched looking figure like Jesus, can be called Lord.[22] Yet the Japanese Father in Tecali expressed his faith in Christ the Lord, even after rejecting Christianity:

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[20] Endo 1980: 427 (255).
[21] Ibid. 437 (267).
[22] Ibid. 272 (1982: 84).

> No matter what the padres might say, I believe in my own Jesus. I don't believe in the Christianity the padres preach . . . I believe in my own Jesus, my Jesus is not to be found in the palatial cathedrals. He lives among these miserable Indians. [Endo 1980: 305 (1982: 120)]

On the way back to Japan, after his unsuccessful mission, the *samurai* again meets the renegade Japanese priest. The *samurai* bitterly confesses that he converted to Christianity for the sake of his mission, but still does not believe in Jesus Christ. The renegade Father tells him that even if he cares nothing about Jesus, Jesus will always care about him. Moreover, he says:

> Because He was ugly and emaciated, He knew all there was to know about the sorrows of this world. He could not close His eyes to the grief and agony of mankind. That is what made Him emaciated and ugly. . . . Do you think He is to be found within those garish cathedrals? He does not dwell there. He lives . . . not within such buildings. I think He lives in the wretched home of these Indians. He sought out only the ugly, the wretched, the miserable and the sorrowful. But now even the bishops and priests here are complacent and swollen with pride. . . . Those who weep seek someone to weep with them. Those who grieve yearn for someone to lend an ear to their lamentations. No matter how much the world changes, those who weep and those who lament will always seek Him. That is His purpose in living. [Endo 1980: 395–396 (1982: 220–221)]

At the time the *samurai* failed to understand the words of the priest, yet they came back to him vividly after returning from his doomed mission. The *samurai* understands at the last moment (just then, in the moment when he was going to perform the ritual death to show his obedience and loyalty to his Lordship) that the Japanese Father in Tecali had sought a true image of "that man". He had not wanted the Christ whom the affluent priests preached in the cathedrals of Nueva Espana, but a man who would be at his side, and beside the Indians, each of them forsaken by others. "He is always beside us. He listens to our agony and our grief. He weeps with us."[23] The *samurai* recognized this:

> I suppose that somewhere in the hearts of men, there's a yearning for someone who will be with you throughout your life, someone who will never betray you, never leave you—even if that someone is just a sick

[23] Endo 1980: 415, 417 (243, 245).

> mangy dog. That man became just such a miserable dog for the sake of mankind. [Endo 1980: 417 (1982: 245)]

"That man" has finally infiltrated the defenses of the *samurai*. On the way to the place where he must perform the ritual, the *samurai* hears Yozo, who was his ever faithful, loyal and most trusted retainer since childhood saying behind him, "From now on.... He will be beside you and attend you." The *samurai* just nods, and takes his first step. Inside himself, Yozo and "that Man" become one. By the corresponding narrative identification of Yozo with the 'personal' Christ, as extolled by the renegade priest at Tecali, Endo finally and simply presented the image of Christ as an 'eternal companion'—a sympathetic and loyal partner, the figure of a man who is abandoned, forgotten, despised, and discarded by everyone like a slain dog but who stays with each person in need and takes on the burden of humanity.[24] The *samurai* is about to take his own life and at that moment he identifies his pain and suffering with Jesus. Christ becomes the God of the abandoned.

In this, the very last scene of the novel, as I read Endo's hermeneutics of the crucifixion, Endo raises a question about the Japanese ethos. Self-sacrifice for the sake of one's Lord was looked upon as a virtue in *samurai* society, and the idea still lives on today.[25] When one realizes the eternal companionship of Jesus Christ, it helps to overcome suffering and stand up to death with hope.[26] In Endo's story, the samurai dies as a helpless victim for his Lord as a Buddhist, yet at the same time he dies believing in the eternal companionship of Christ. The *samurai* became the servant of all, for the rest of his family. In the novel Endo's image of Christ as an ever-present companion provided a new aspect of his belief; the universal significance of the atonement of Jesus Christ that transcends religions.

Endo presents Jesus Christ as a *samurai*, an ever-present companion who steadily and modestly follows each person's life. At the end of the novel the crucifixion of Jesus provides Endo with a theology of suffering. Through identifying one's suffering of death with the crucifixion

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[24] "The dominant symbol of Endo's Christianity is the weak, ugly, self sacrificing and unconditionally loving Christ: the one who, more perfectly than any other, can comfort and understand mankind's suffering; the one who gives everything for the sake of love." Durfee 1989: 58.

[25] It was rarely a historical fact, and was largely projected by the modern idea of *samurai*, such as in the concept of *Bushido*. Cf. Nitobe 1938/97.

[26] Endo 1973(a), 1973(b), 1978, 1980.

of Christ, one's inner pain is emancipated. In this way, Endo presented Jesus Christ as an ever-present, reliable companion for each and every individual, in spite of different personal fates, which climaxes in a mystery of universal atonement.

I have illustrated how Endo introduces his theological concerns in three novels: *Silence*, *Mother*, and *The Samurai*. He repeatedly brings up Japanese resistance to Christianity. In *Silence* he writes of the 'swamp' of Japan which transforms European Christian concepts. Parallel to this, he describes a 'weak' faith, which differs from Christian triumphalism and which relates to the love that Jesus himself revealed: a love for the poor, despised, and unworthy. In the two stories of the novel *Mother*, Endo deepens his understanding of the image of motherhood in Christianity. In *The Samurai* he adds a new dimension to his understanding of Christ. He here illustrates how the Christ of poverty—the crucified Christ—is present among believers, in all circumstances. I call this image 'Christ as the ever-present companion'.

Understanding Endo's Image of Christ

I briefly want to comment on three dimensions of the image of Christ developed through the novels *Silence*, *Mother*, and *The Samurai*. First of all, Christ is to be understood through his weakness and solidarity with the poor. Secondly, Christ is to be understood as possessing maternal characteristics; namely, a self-sacrificial love that is strong and embracing. Thirdly, Christ is to be understood in relationship to each individual as an ever-present companion. In clarifying these images of Christ, I shall relate them to the Japanese religio-cultural heritage.

Christ in Solidarity with the Poor

> He is always besides us. He listens to our agony and our grief. He weeps with us. And He says to us, 'Blessed are they who weep in this life, for in the kingdom of heaven they shall smile.' [Endo 1980: 415 (82: 242)]

To be poor could mean financially, spiritually, or physically, but in reading the gospels Endo found the meaning of 'the poor' to be closely connected with those who are deprived, oppressed, and discriminated against. They are neglected, enslaved, and insignificant. Jesus was always among the poor, and was himself crucified as an exploited person. Endo saw the human side of Jesus in his last words: "*Eli, Eli, lema sabachthani*?"

(My God, my God, why have you forsaken me).[27] He understood that Jesus uttered these words not with anger, hatred, or hostility, but with suffering and uncertainty. Jesus showed the weakness of his faith.

With this interpretation, he questions the history of Christendom and its view of the martyrdom of Christ. Jesus Christ was poor so he could share in the pain and suffering of the poor. He had compassion and stood firmly in solidarity with the poor. The poor Jesus could understand people's pain and suffering more than anyone.[28]

Cultural Background

The image of Christ that Endo pursued in *Silence* was Christ in solidarity with the poor. The poor suffer because of their weakness. In the beginning of the second stage of his literary production Endo identified himself as a poor person who suffers because of his weak faith. His literature is based on his personal experiences of being oppressed and having suffered. One such experience is his life as a Christian in Japan at a time when State-shinto was a socio-political force. Still today, Christians in Japan who live in the multiple religious context often resign themselves to live a double life, being a Christian personally and a Buddhist/Shinto socially. Endo's existential starting point thus appealed to readers because they continue to conceal their faith like *Kakure Kirishitans*. Endo was self-critical about his weak faith, and he persistently sought to find meaning in it and other weaknesses.

When Endo visited the Ôura Cathedral in Nagasaki for the first time, he saw an actual *fumie* with the dim imprinted footmarks of Japanese *Kirishitans* who had apostatized.[29] The encounter with the *fumie* became an important motif in *Silence*. The dark foot stains on the *fumie* evoked the figures of men and women who apostatized in agony. As the dark foot stains on the *fumie* started to live through and with him, Endo

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[27] Matthew 27:46, Psalm 22:11. Followed by "Father, into your hands I commend my spirit." (Luke 23:46).

[28] Psalm 22:24: For he did not despise or abhor the affliction of the afflicted; he did not hide his face from me, but heard when I cried to him.

[29] Endo 1967(c). This is the cathedral where the first *Kakure Kirishitans* were found in 1865. See Chapter 2.

The *fumie* that Endo Shusaku saw was preserved in the *Jyu-roku ban kan* 十六番館 (No. 16 Museum) in Nagasaki. I myself had seen it and was very much impressed by it. The *fumie* is obviously more significant to people who suffer with their weakness in faith, and that inspired Endo to stand by the side of the poor and to write the novel.

developed his theological concept of a God who through Christ on the *fumie* suffers with the poor.

On another occasion he visited *Jigoku-dani*, where the recalcitrant *Kirishitans* were beaten to death.[30] At these historical sites Endo empathized with the *Kirishitans* and realized that he belonged to those poor *Kakure Kirishitans* who were weak in faith; those who could not endure physical punishment and apostatized. He was passionately concerned for *Kakure Kirishitans* because they lacked the courage to die as martyrs, they stepped on the *fumie* and went through this form of recantation, but after the cowardly act they went back to their miserable hovels and begged for forgiveness. They could not even become converts, because they found it impossible to betray God entirely. They were living distorted lives; a mix of deception, guilt, repentance and regret.[31] From this starting point, Endo began seeking the Christ for these *Kakure Kirishitans* and for himself.

Endo wrote his literature from the standpoint of the world of the sorrowful and cowardly, with no intention to glorify or heal them.[32] In *Silence*, Kichijiro apostatizes and abandons his faith because he was socially abandoned and he could not endure the physical pain. Rodrigues too can be regarded as a representative of the poor who apostatized at the end. It is the same with historical *Kakure Kirishitans*

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[30] *Jigoku-dani* 地獄谷 (the Hell valley).

[31] As I have mentioned in previous chapters, Endo honestly sympathized with *Kakure Kirishitans* and projected himself as a weak human being who lives a double life. He sees himself personally in those *Kakure Kirishitans* because he himself is living a double life, lying in public and hiding his intentions. In *Silence*, Kichijiro represents one of the most cowardly and cunning of *Kakure Kirishitans*. Kichijiro is described as a treacherous man who would be rejected and despised by others, yet Endo himself regards Kichijiro as one of the closest, most loving protagonists in his novels, and identifies much with him. (Ref. Kawai 1998: 141)

Endo wrote: "Sometimes I see myself in those *Kakure Kirishitans* who were forced to live a double life; living in public and not showing their own heart. I myself have a secret that I would never speak nor say to anyone.… Those who would not be hurt by his secret may forgive him easily, but it is the novelist himself that knows he is not yet forgiven. The reason why the novelist keeps on writing the same theme again and again, is—because of that fretfulness. The novelist can never feel the joy of rebirth that Christians can feel after confession." Endo 1967(a): 370.

[32] "As I stood facing the valley, I thought that if the *Kirishitans* were to be divided into the weak and the strong, I would be among the former. It was from this standpoint that I decided to write the novel. I would write it from the point of view of a weakling who did not have the strength to maintain his belief through fear for his body and uncertainty of death." Endo 1970: 103.

in Japan who could not discard their faith and hid themselves. They lived openly as Shinto/Buddhists and secretly as Christians.

At the very end of *Silence*, Endo presents his understanding of the image of Jesus Christ. Jesus on the *fumie* was stepped on by the poor. With this act, Endo deconstructed triumphalist, western theology, presenting Jesus not as a powerful king, but as a sufferer, abandoned by people, even by his disciples.[33] Endo emphasized the moment when Jesus on the *fumie* said to Rodrigues:

> You may step on me. Your feet suffer in pain; they might suffer like all the other feet that have stepped on my face. But the pain alone is enough. I will share your pain and suffering. It is for this reason that I am here. [Endo 1966/97:190][34]

The silence of God is revealed through the new image of Christ: Christ in solidarity with the poor. Endo underlined the poorness and weakness of Jesus in *Silence*.

Christ as Maternal

There is a natural progression from the image of Christ in solidarity with the poor and the image of Christ as maternal. After *Silence*, Endo developed the maternal image of Christ. His concept of 'mother' is the kind of motherhood I find reflected in the background of Japanese religious traditions. Historically, mothers were restricted by social conventions but loved their children. Children, likewise, loved their mothers, but they also knew that there was a higher authority over mothers. For most families this authority was the father; represented not only by individual fathers but also by strong male images in society. It is my aim here to illumine the maternal aspect of Christ in Endo's work; a Christ that liberates people from situations of oppression, abuse, and domination within highly patriarchal Asian cultures.[35]

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[33] Durfee remarked that "Stepping on the *fumie*, Endo himself also has stepped on the holy image of the Church and European culture. In doing so, Endo succeeded in making the ready made suit of Christianity fit his own Japanese body". Durfee 1989: 52.

[34] My own translation. Cf. (1969/80: 190).

[35] Western feminists have raised similar issues, but differences should not be minimized, especially due to different dynamics inherent in cultural traditions. Ref. D'Costa in J. May (ed.) 1998: 30.

Cultural Background

Endo's concept of the maternal in his literature does not come from any academic study, but from his cultural background and also from his experience of being raised by a single mother. Every living creature is born from a mother and, from that perspective, I define 'maternal' as the unconditional love with which a mother shelters and surrounds her child. The mother-child relationship is a fundamental human relationship, one of interdependence. Earlier in chapter 2, I described *amae* (dependency) as a vital aspect of Japanese religiousity. When this dependency is understood as a maternal love it takes on a positive aspect, with universal significance.

Maternal love can be inspired by the act of Christ on the cross: he gave his life for people through self-sacrifcial obedience and love. Already in *Silence*, Endo's image of Christ as the maternal is expressed through the Christ on the *fumie*, who accepted to be trodden on by people. However, there are many non-Christian Japanese who perceive Endo's image of Christ as maternal in a non-religious sense.[36] Endo's image of Christ on the *fumie* reminds Japanese readers of the face of the mother. As I have noted ealier, the maternal essence of the divine has been respected down history. It was only quite recent in the Meiji period that the patriarchal system was enforced. Thereafter women were valued negatively, and the mother was governed or dominated by her husband.[37] Yet, Endo was also aware of the reality of domestic life in Japan: although women are oppressed in society, they exercise dominance at home. As a son of a single mother, Endo came into contact with the inner power of women: a strong maternal love that accepts and forgives children just as they are. Through his personal experience of his mother's divorce, he saw her pain and understood that her life would have been much easier without him. Yet she accepted her fate and raised him by herself. Endo was aware of her life of self-sacrificial

[36] Endo himself claimed in an interview that it was not until he read the critical review of *Silence* by Eto Jun that he realized that his image of Christ had a maternal aspect. Eto stated: "I do not know anything about Endo's experience with his mother, but at least, I see the face of 'Japanese Mother' on the face of Jesus on the *fumie*". Endo responded that Eto's statement was right and furthermore said: "I have something that doubles Jesus and maternal—My image of Jesus in the New Testament is not the same as the one which is preached in the Church. It is the image of maternal. And I found that in the *fumie*". Miyoshi and Endo 1973: 24.

[37] Kawai 1998: 145. It makes the issue more complicated when one realizes that Japanese women stand on both sides; the victim as a woman, but the aggressor as a Japanese (toward Korean women during the WWII).

love. Mothers sacrifice themselves for their children. Self-sacrificial love may sound weak and subordinate, but Endo viewed it differently. Strength is the other side of the coin. Endo interpreted the meaning of the Cross through the life of his mother. The strong maternal love provides a basis for Endo's theological interpretation of Christ.

Maria Kannon

In *Mother*, Endo investigated the issue of motherhood in both personal and cultural contexts. I have already referred to his personal relationship with his mother at length. Related to the cultural context, he investigated the history of the *Kakure Kirishitans* as a people who transformed Christianity into a religion of their own through the process of indigenization. He carefully analysed the faith of *Kakure Kirishitans.* He was convinced that they had gradually and unrealizingly syncretized their faith with indigenous beliefs.[38] However, Endo did not dismiss their faith as heresy, but tried to find its core. He discovered that it could be found particularly in the figure of *Maria Kannon*.

In the essay "Father's religion, Mother's religion", Endo expresses his view that the *Kakure Kirishitans*' religion is unique—it is a faith of the oppressed in debt to a paternal God. *Kakure Kirishitans* were converts weak in faith, which they abandoned in the face of hostility. They feared God the Father, who would at the end judge them as sinners. The western missionaries did not renounce their Christian faith but often died as martyrs, and asked their Japanese followers to do the same. The *Kakure Kirishitans* might have felt that the missionaries were like a stern father who would accuse them for their cowardly acts. Yet, despite such acts of betrayal and fear of God's wrath they still continued as *Kirishitans*.[39] Why? In order to answer the question, Endo had to reflect on his personal experience of being a Christian in Japan.

Endo's personal image of Christ was shaped by tracing the roots of indigenized faith of *Kakure Kirishitans.* He implied that the proper point of departure for the construction of a Japanese Christian theology should be the religious heritage of the poor *Kakure Kirishitans*, namely their crucial experiences of agony, endurance, and oppression. For the poor, neither God the Father, omnipotent and transcendent, nor Jesus Christ, the glorious savior, could serve at the core of faith. They needed

[38] Endo 1983(c): 361.
[39] Endo 1967(a): 375.

a mediator, the Mother, the Virgin Mary. As a child asks their mother to intercede with their father, the *Kakure Kirishitans* prayed to *Maria Kannon* to intervene on their behalf.[40] Instead of the stern father, the *Kakure Kirishitans* longed for a mother who would forgive them entirely and understand their suffering. Endo wrote:

> They desired the compassionate mother, not the stern father. In Protestantism, the Holy Mother does not have an important role, but for Catholics the Holy Mother means a lot as a mediator.—The Holy Mother became the mother of those *Kakure Kirishitans* and their descendants. I believe, at this moment, the Christianity of the *Kakure Kirishitans* gradually transformed from a Father's religion to a Mother's religion. [Endo 1967(a): 375][41]

There are reasons to hold that Endo's insight is correct. The *Maria Kannon* figures of *Kakure Kirishitans*, which were later found, show a faith in Mary that emphasises a maternal aspect. Mary, more than Jesus, was their mediator with a God of judgement. Indigenous folk arts frequently show adaptations of Shinto/Buddhist images in Christian figures or symbols. With the *Kakure Kirishitans* and their practice of faith, Endo was convinced that the indigenized Christian faith was based on Japanese religious psychology, implying dependence on the mother's infinite forgiving love. When Christianity was transplanted and tried to inculturate in the Japanese soil, it was transformed from a religion of the Father to a religion of the Mother—in short, the *Kakure Kirishitans* identified Christ with Mary, the maternal compassionate love of Christ that embraces all.

In the last part of *Mother*, Endo (the writer) is finally able to see *Maria Kannon*, a sacred statue for *Kakure Kirishitans.* It depicts a peasant woman holding a baby sucking her breast in her arm. Endo was strongly convinced that the maternal aspect of Christ in suffering was innately rooted in the Japanese religio-cultural context. The statue confirmed Endo's theological understanding that the *Kakure Kirishitans* were praying to the love of the mother as a mediator. For Christians the *Kannon* could not become a mediator to God, but *Maria Kannon* could. She suffers for the poor and her maternal embrace takes in people's vulnerability. As such, it contributed to Endo's image of Christ. The Holy Mother who

[40] For *Kakure Kirishitans* and their faith in *Maria Kannon*, see Chapter 2: *Kakure Kirishitan.*

[41] Cf. Endo 1972: 142–143.

endures her agony and accepts her fate, who believes firmly in her faith, embraces her sinful children, and willingly becomes a mediator for her children, is the image of Christ that Endo presented to the Japanese people to bring Christianity closer to ordinary people.

The image of Christ as maternal was present already in *Silence* and derives in part from Endo Shusaku's own memories of his mother, through whom he experienced sacrificial love. It is furthermore underpinned by his historical studies of *Kakure Kirishitans* who developed the image of the *Maria Kannon*.

Christ as an Ever-present Companion

The weak and the maternal Christ, the double dimension of Endo's image of Christ introduced above, is also seen as a strong Christ. However, Endo described this strength in his novel *Samurai* as reliability: an unceasing companionship.

Cultural Background

Endo saw compassionate, maternal love as standing at the very centre of Japanese religiousity and based in the dominant popular Buddhism of Japan.[42] The concept of an ever-present Christ is rooted in New Testament thought.[43] Nonetheless, it can be related to cultural concepts as well. Endo's image of Christ as an ever-present companion relates to customs of pilgrimage in Japanese Buddhism.

Traditionally, and still today, there are many people who follow the steps of Kûkai[44] and visit the 88 temples in Shikoku where *Amida*'s attendant *Kannon* are placed. More than a hundred thousand Japanese each year go on the pilgrimage.[45] They walk in the mountains alone,

[42] Endo and Masutani 1979: 160.

[43] "—, and remember, I am with you always, to the end of the age". Matthew 28:20.

[44] Kûkai 空海 (774–835) is one of the most famous monks among ordinary Japanese, known as *Kô-bo-daishi*. He was one of the first Japanese Buddhist monks who went to study in China during the Tang Dynasty as an envoy. He completed learning Chinese mysticism in two years, and returned to Japan. He believed that ascetic pilgrimage is a way to become an enlightened being. He is the founder of the *Shingon*-sect of Japanese Buddhism. His hard self-training in Shikoku-island is well known and remembered. Also, he was an outstanding calligrapher.

[45] Ref. Reader 1993: 107–136. The pilgrimage is called *Shikoku Henro* (the pilgrimage in Shikoku island). NHK T.V. program "*Shikoku wo Aruku Wakaki O-henro*" Young *O-henro* on the pilgrimage in Shikoku: Broadcasted in October, 1998, and repeatedly shown. Today, the number of youth on the pilgrimage is growing.

ringing bells and chanting *nembutsu*, while dressed in white robes that symbolize the pilgrim's burial garment.[46] During the pilgrimage, they face their inner selves and recall their lives. It is a form of faith that both young and old practice. The pilgrim wears a straw hat on which *Dôgyô ni-nin* is written with Japanese calligraphy. It means 'Along the way, two of us'. On the long journey these letters become blurred by the rain and wind, but they express a conviction that brings comfort during the tiring pilgrimage. The true realisation of companionship is central to the pilgrimage. During the pilgrimage people experience they are not alone in hardship.

The concept of the 'ever-present companion' is, however, intimately connected to the title of the book where it is treated: *Samurai*. This might lead readers to an image popular in movies: the hero who serves his master loyally. However, in Japanese history most *samurai* were poor peasants. *Samurai* is the abstract noun and the origin of the word comes from the verb '*saburau*'. It means to follow and accompany someone steadily. The verb indicates the virtue of modesty.

From 1973 Endo focused on the personal features of Jesus, and the more the human aspect of Jesus was emphasized, the more he became a mere man without power who could do nothing; he could only suffer alongside the neglected and carry their pain.[47] For those who were deprived, oppressed, exploited, and who had nothing to trust, the spiritual loneliness of abandonment was the hardest suffering of all.[48] In Endo's understanding, Jesus became a friend of the poor and he never deserted others; he stayed with each person always to remove their pain. Moreover, Endo pursued further the aspect of Christ as an 'ever-present companion'; companionship in life and beyond death

[46] In Japan, white represents the colour of death, and the gown is folded in the reverse way to the *Kimono*, in the manner reserved for corpses. Ref. http://www.ohenro.com/hakui.htm.

[47] Endo 1973(a), 1973(b), 1978.

[48] Endo stated, while he was hospitalized for many years, that he could empathize with Jesus's experience as a lonely man because there was no one who could share his pain truly. Endo was convinced that the ultimate human desire is to be known and loved, to have someone who will accompany one eternally with compassion. "What is indisputable is that Christ left an indelible mark on those whose lives crossed His path…Those who despair of love seek an existence who will not betray their love, those who have abandoned all hope of being understood in their sorrow seek a true understander in the recesses of their hearts. This is not sentimentality or over-dependence: merely a necessary precondition for individuals in their interactions with others." Endo 1978: 359.

with people in suffering.[49] This aspect of solidarity is illustrated by the concept of redemption. Through Jesus' self-sacrificial love, his 'forever presence' is ultimately confirmed.

Endo's image of Christ may basically be rooted in the Christian understanding of the resurrected savior present everywhere. As to the Japanese background, the image of a *samurai*—faithfully being at his master's disposal anytime—is an important element.

A Christ for Japan

I want now to further analyze and summarize Endo's early image of Christ in the Japanese context: Christ in solidarity with the poor, as maternal, and as ever-present companion. Against the background of the postwar mission experience, I look at Endo's interpretation of Christ from a theological perspective. Then I investigate how he connects with the basic Japanese religious and cultural heritage. Finally, I consider his image of Christ in light of the inculturation typologies of Stephen B. Bevans and Takeda Kiyoko.

Post-War Theological Thought in Japan

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries Japan experienced military victories in wars on the Asian continent: China (1895), Russia (1905), pushing further into Korea (1910), Manchuria (1932), and the Philippines (1942). The successes reinforced three aspects: imperialism, nationalism, and totalitarianism.[50] Colonizing and invading neighboring countries led to an emphasis on the myth of the superiority of the Japanese in Asia.[51] The war was also used to legitimize the patriarchal culture of power dominance under the emperor, which was linked with

[49] Cf. John 15:13. Alfred North Whitehead (1861–1947), describes God as 'the great companion—the fellow-sufferer who understands' and 'the eternal urge of desire' who interacts with the world in 'the creative advance into novelty'. Whitehead 1929: 524. However, I could find little connection between Endo's thoughts and the development of Process Theology.

[50] In the late 1880s the nationalist movement and chauvinism were reinforced. Ref. Sekioka 1985: 43–45.

[51] For the state ideology of Japan as the country of *kami*, that reinforced an ultra-nationalist image of Japanese society and culture, see Chapter 2: Religions in Japan (1868–1945).

State-shinto. The Japanese dominance of Asia failed with the loss of World War II in 1945.

Why was there a Postwar Missionary Failure?

After the defeat of Japan in 1945 there was a third introduction of Christianity. A contributing reason for western missionary activity was the fact that numerous, well trained missionaries in China had become redundant. Protestant as well as Catholic missionaries, mostly from the United States and the British Isles, turned their interest towards Japan. Decisive initiatives came from Protestant missionaries, evangelical and Bible-based, and were influenced by English Methodism, American Revivalism, and German Pietism. Under these circumstances Christianity encouraged Japan's social and moral development in education, welfare services, the women's liberation movement, social democratic movements, and literature. These movements were based on the Christian ideal of freedom and equality under God's rule in the world. This fostered Japanese utopian thinking: idealism, philanthropism, and humanitarianism.[52] For many Japanese, modernization meant westernization, so Christian ideas became influential. Many adopted the general teachings, thoughts, lifestyle, and customs of Christianity, but church Christianity remained peripheral.[53] Kumano Yoshitaka (熊野義孝: 1899–1982), a Japanese theologian claimed:

[52] However salutary the motives of the western churches in sending material help and missionaries, the sheer presence of so many ill-prepared foreign missionaries who had no understanding of the complex situation in Japan tended to emphasize the foreignness of Christianity, a trademark that the Japanese churches could ill afford. Kitagawa 1987: 283.

[53] Such ecclesiocritical ideas might be traced back to the early Protestant leader Uchimura Kanzo (1861–1930). He was strongly against foreign missionary dominance with its triumphalist motivations. Christianity for Uchimura was not concerned with church, dogma, theologies, bishops, doctors of divinities, foreign missions, but with love. (Uchimura 1922 in 1972 vol. 3: 154) Uchimura believed that this love was explicitly presented by Jesus Christ who was crucified for his despisers. Uchimura said, "I look away from churches, and look unto Jesus". (Uchimura 1915 in 1972 vol. 3: 50) His personal clash with missionaries and his split from the established church led Uchimura to establish the *Mu-kyokai* (Non-church, an indigenous churchless Protestant group) movement, which developed widely. Endo wrote a short essay "Uchimura Kanzo and Literature" in 1963. Included in CSEL vol. 12: 325–327: He states in 325, "Uchimura Kanzo is like a stern great grandfather."

> Strictly speaking, churches in Japan existed without need of doctrines, catechism, or church orders. However, this theological immaturity is not due to the lack of faith or religiosity.[54]

Four factors might be listed as contributing to the apparent failure to establish new churches:

1. From the beginning, Japanese churches aimed at being self-supporting and independent of foreign missions, thus there was no strong foundation of denominationalism.
2. Although there were deep historical relations with North American churches, historical and theological bonds with the Reformation were rather weak in Japan.
3. As a consequence of the above reasons, the Japanese church had no theological traditions in the strict sense. Only the Apostle's Creed and justification by faith are regarded as traditions.[55]
4. An additional crucial factor was the lack of contacts or understanding between lay Japanese Christians and doctrinal wester theology. The popular religious sensitivity or social structure of Japan was hardly thematized by the missionary. After the defeat in the War, many Japanese suffered a crisis of belief but Christian doctrines did not meet their spiritual need because Christianity was regarded as a religion of the conquerors by the Japanese public. Thus, the post-war Christian generation demanded the liberation of Japanese theology from western captivity. They sought to build a Japanese theology.[56]

A similar concern to the fourth factor was expressed by Ôki Hideo (大木英夫: 1928–) who studied under Reinhold Niebuhr. In 1961, five years before Endo published *Silence*, he concluded a short essay with the following words:

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[54] Furuya (ed) 1992: 9. Cf. Gonoi 1983/90: 307–308.

[55] Ibid. These three points are listed by Kumano Yoshitaka. Cf. Complete Works of Yoshitaka Kumano vol. 12: 6. Compare also Koyama Kosuke: "What I see and experience today in Asia impresses me that Christianity is neither concerned about history nor trying to understand what 'the faith rooted in history' means. Christianity has touched the history of Asia only superficially. It has not really been spat upon by the Asians as Christ was spat upon by Roman soldiers." Koyama 1977: 99.

[56] Cf. Sekine Masao (1912–), Furuya Yasuo (1926–), Inoue Youji (1927–), Koyama Kosuke (1929–), Arai Sasagu (1930-), Yagi Seiichi (1932–), Tagawa Kenzo (1935–), etc.

> To learn from Niebuhr, one would liberate the theology of Japan from futile 'Germanic captivity.' One's own theology will become independent, and will have the ability to face up to the realities of Japanese history rigorously. In particular, one will break the deadlock of Barthianism in Japan (which has existed from the pre-war through to the post-war periods), and will restore theology to a realism which is in close touch with the reality of the Church.[57]

Alternative to Failure: A Japanese Non-triumphalist Theology

There were, actually, alternatives to a western-centered Christianity. A trend of Christian thought which might be termed non-triumphalist had already been introduced on Japanese soil. Uchimura Kanzo (内村鑑三: 1861–1930) had coined the term *Mu-kyokai* (non-church) to represent an indigenous churchless Christianity of Protestant origin, that sharply confronted western ecclesiastical triumphalism. He was followed by theologians and activists such as the social reformer Kagawa Toyohiko (賀川豊彦: 1888–1960), a strong spokesman of *shokuzai-ai* (redemptive love). Of special interest is the Lutheran theologian Kitamori Kazoh (北森嘉蔵: 1916–1998). He played a crucial role in the postwar development of Japanese Protestant theology.[58] His famous book, *Theology of the Pain of God*, was written during World War II and published right after the war in 1946 (translated into English in 1965). Not only his personal experience but also the pain that the Japanese experienced led Kitamori to develop his theology that God can be found in suffering and pain. Kitamori, who was inspired by the Swedish theologian Anders Nygren, tried to overthrow the Barthian thought so dominant among Protestant theologians in Japan. He emphasized the unity between God's love and wrath.[59] The God of love suffers pain, and that pain is the unity of wrath and love.[60] This understanding of the pain of God encouraged Japanese people, deeply depressed after

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[57] Ôki 1961: 5. Ôki Hideo is a professor at Tokyo Shingaku Daigaku, (Tokyo Theological Seminary). Cf. Furuya 1982:13–15.

[58] Kitamori graduated from the Lutheran School of Theology in 1938 and from the philosophy department of Kyoto Imperial University in 1941.

[59] Ref. Kagawa 1986/95: 158–159.

[60] Kitamori based his theology of "Pain of God" on Jeremiah 31:20: "Therefore I am deeply moved for him; I will surely have mercy on him, says the Lord." and Isaiah 63:15: "Where are your zeal and your might? The yearning of your heart and your compassion? They are withheld from me." The influence of Kitamori can be seen in Dorothee Sölle, *Leiden*, 1973 and *Gott Denken*, 1990/1996 (tr. Mizutsumi Akiko). Also in J. Moltmann, *The Crucified God*, 1974.

the experience of war and defeat. The pain of God appealed to the Japanese, because they could sense and indeed experience the strength that lies behind it.[61] The non-triumphalist theology of Koyama Kosuke (小山晃佑: 1929–) was inspired by Kitamori.[62]

Another alternative Japanese theology has a poetic dimension, illustrated by Inoue Youji (井上洋治: 1927–). He was a life-long friend of Endo's. He lived as a monk in the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel in France for eight years after 1950 and was ordained as a Catholic priest in 1960.[63] Inoue severely criticised western methods of transplanting Christianity to Japan, and argued for a transformation of Christianity in the context. In *Japan and the Face of Jesus* (1976) he stated:

> In spite of many missionaries since the Meiji period, as well as the efforts of Japanese Christians, Christianity is not widely accepted in Japan. The main reason for that is the failure of the missionary method, which tried to force Japanese to plant a large tree. Like the Greek and Latin fathers who slowly accepted Christianity into their cultural stream, the most important condition for the inculturation of Christianity is patient waiting for the root to set, and the raising of the seed of the Gospel in the Japanese cultural soil.[64]

Through his encounter with European culture in the monastery in France, he realized that even though Japanese borrow Christian art, culture, and theology, there is a spiritual world in Japanese hearts that cannot be expressed. There is a world that Christians who live in the Japanese spiritual climate deeply feel that cannot be uttered.[65] Inoue pointed out that the Japanese traditionally express their spiritual and mystical experiences not through a confession of faith, but through songs and poems like *haiku* that express a world of nature such as snow, moon, or flowers. Inoue translated the word inculturation as

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[61] Ref. Tanabe Hajime (田辺元: 1885–1962) *Zange-do toshiteno Tetsugaku (Philosophy of Metanoetics)* 1946, Takeuchi Yoshinori, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1986: 296. See fn. 80.

[62] Cf. Koyama 1977.

[63] He set sail for France from Yokohama by a French ship, Marseillaise, as one of the first officially sponsored Japanese students to study abroad after World War II in 1950. Inoue and Endo were among the four students who were chosen. They met on the ship for the first time and became friends. See Chapter 3: The First Stage (1947–1965): Conflicts; fn. 14.

[64] Inoue 1976: 65.

[65] The influence of Watsuji Tetsuro can be seen, here. Watsuji claimed that people's minds are deeply influenced by climates. Watsuji 1935. Ref. Terada 1935: 260–295.

'blooming in the culture'.[66] Without understanding the religo-cultural context, Christianity would not bloom in Japan.[67] If Christianity is to be indigenous in non-Christian countries, metamorphosis through self-negation is necessary. Inoue and Endo worked in different fields, the former as a theologian and the latter as a novelist, yet they shared similar concerns for the inculturation of Christianity.

Endo's Non-triumphalist Theology

Endo understood western Christianity to be a monotheistic religion in which God is a transcendent individual existing beyond time and worldly relationships. This had to be adapted to the Japanese cultural framework based on polytheism and pantheism.[68] He searched for a consensus between the Japanese religious sensibility and the West.[69] To replace the image of the Christian God as a wrathful, fearsome, Father of justice, and Jesus Christ as the triumphant king, Endo read the Bible as a universal story where God relates to people through Christ in solidarity with the poor.[70] He emphasised a Christ without power. His idea of the inculturation of Christianity was centered in his commitment to the powerless Christ.

For Endo, the inculturation of Christianity in Japan implied emancipation from western dogmatic theology and a reinterpretation of the

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[66] See page viii, fn. 4.

[67] Inoue was a life long friend of Endo and his theology had much influence on Endo's implicit theological thoughts in his literary works. Endo claimed: "For me, *Japan and the Face of Jesus* by Rev. Inoue Youji is a great comfort, and support.... At last I can find many theological theories that justify my books, *Silence*, *By the Dead Sea*, and *Life of Jesus*. The paths that he and I walked were different paths: Theology and Literature. Nevertheless, from the first time that we met in the fourth class ship which was sailing to France twenty years ago, we somehow had similar and exchangeable feelings." Endo in the journal *Souzo* No. 1 1976 quoted in Onodera 1998: 103. Endo wrote that he shared the same view as Inoue. Endo 1983/88: 63.

[68] See discussion on Shinto Chapter 2: Outline of Features in Japanese Religious History.

[69] Cf. Onodera 1998: 111. Onodera argued that *Silence* presented the fundamental question about the different concepts of God held between East and West. He said that Endo succeeded in answering it in *By the Dead Sea, A Life of Jesus, The Birth of Christ*, and *Deep River*. I agree with him, but in addition I would mention *Samurai* as another presentation of the problem.

[70] Harnack (1851–1930) states that the essence of Christianity is the Gospel, the divine message, coming from the love of God, the Father. In the West, the feeling of fear towards God is an issue of theology. Harnack, Adolf *Das Wesen des Christentums*, Mohn: Gutersloher Verlagshaus, 1977/1999.

Also Ref. Otto 1917/79 and Robinson 1963/2001. Cf. Koyama 1979 and 1977: 12.

core of Christianity. Such reinterpretation was promoted by the minority situation of Japanese Christians and also by Japanese ecumenical movements which treated all denominations as the same.[71]

A year after he published *Silence*, Endo wrote:

> Japanese writers since Meiji who have thought about the God of Christianity ideologically have generally associated Him with an image of one who judges and punishes them for all the inner secrets that no one else knows about. Many of them seemed to view Christianity less as a religion of harmony and love than as a religion of self-recrimination. I cannot help but feel that within the vague Japanese dislike for Christianity that has persisted since the Meiji period, there is a feeling of distance from this western religion, a sense that it is essentially alien to the Japanese, and I think that the Japanese understanding of God and of the Christian teachings has been one-sided.… It is clear that Hakucho (a Japanese poet) rejected Christianity because he could not think of it as anything but a Father's religion (stern, condemning God). But Christianity is not simply the Father's religion that Hakucho mistook it to be. There is also a Mother's religion (compassionate forgiving God) that is a part of Christianity. [Endo 1967(a): 371; 376]

From Endo's point of view, a religion that would inculturate (take root in Endo's term) in Japan is not a religion that stresses the triumphant, paternal God who rules over the Japanese and rejects much of their culture and religious heritage, but one who co-exists and accepts.[72] He was convinced that the concept of God should have both paternal and maternal aspects, and that Christianity in Japan should focus on the maternal and non-triumphalist image of the divine.

Endo's Critique of the Church

Endo shares misgivings about the Church, in common with several other Japanese postwar theologians already referred to. His criticism of Christianity is evident in his distinction between the Church, identified

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[71] Ref. Kagawa Toyohiko and his ecumenical spirit: Spirit Revival Movement (精神復興運動) Save the Spirit for 1,000,000 People Movenment (キリスト者としての百万人救霊運動), Land of God Movement (神の国運動), Establish New Japan Movenment (新日本建設キリスト運動), the Missionary Movement to the World (世界各地への伝道運動) etc.

[72] In 1959, Endo wrote short stories such as "The Last Martyrs" (1959) and "Unzen" (1959), and finally concluded his spiritual dilemma about his religion in *Silence* (1966). Distinctively, Endo's religious fiction is based on those Japanese *Kakure Kirishitans* who are regarded as weak betrayers, not on the strong martyrs like other Japanese writers before him.

with power and triumphalism, and Christ, who sympathizes with and forgives the weak.

He was not in favor of the Church as an institutional organization, but searched for a universal vision of the church of Christ. Through their relationship to Christ, he believed, Christians could reconcile East and West. Moreover, in this way the categories of 'East' and 'West' would become altogether irrelevant. In 1983 he stated:

> I am not interested in the system or hierarchy of the church in Japan.... As for Japan and the Japanese, the hierarchy of the Church (a bishop or archbishop) is really none of my concern. As long as the Church or officials avoid confronting the issues and problems of Japanese, they are useless.... There are many ordained Japanese, but I have little interest in those who profess the Christian theology they learned in the West.[73]

In the last part of *The Samurai*, Endo voiced his critique of the Church as an organization through Velasco when he at last meets Cardinal Borghese, a nephew of Pope Paul V. The cardinal says to Velasco that the Vatican can no longer send missionaries to the land of persecution. The following is the conversation between the Cardinal and Velasco.

> Cardinal: "We run a massive organization. We have a responsibility to the Christian nations and their peoples. And as an organization, we have certain policies. Even if they seem cowardly and tainted to you, it is because of those policies that the organization is sustained. Order is preserved, and the faithful in the Christian nations can maintain their faith in confidence."
>
> Velasco: "But even though their numbers are few, some of the faithful are in Japan. Some have left their homes and abandoned their property, hiding in mines and in the hills so that they can maintain every particle of their faith amid the persecution.... Those believers...no longer have a Church. There are no more missionaries to encourage them, to bolster them, to set an example for them. If the Vatican is a splendid Mother who protects the faithful, don't they too have the right to be embraced in her gentle arms? Aren't they now like the one lamb separated from the flock of which the Bible speaks?"
>
> Cardinal: "If in searching for the one lamb the other sheep are exposed to danger..., the shepherd has no choice but to abandon that lamb. It

[73] Endo 1983/88: 115–117. Mathy pointed out that Endo's Catholicism is very narrow. He claimed, "In Endo's religion there is no Church, no community, no sacraments other than baptism, no Vatican Council II, no empowering Spirit. In reaction to the sin-conscious, duty-oriented, Jansenist-tinged Church that he was introduced to in his childhood, Endo has created a Christianity in no need of Church or, indeed,...of any intermediary between God and man." Quoted in McFadden 1990: 174.

> cannot be helped if one is to protect the organization."…"Those who run organizations, like Caiaphas, will always say—to protect the majority, we have no choice but to abandon the one."
>
> Velasco: "Is that what you call the justice of an organization?" [Endo 1980: 370–371 (1982: 192–193)]

Endo's critique of the church was harsh, claiming that when the Church is institutionalized the religious essence is obscured, because people tend to care more about how to maintain and preserve the institution. Velasco returned to Japan knowing for certain he would be killed. In the ending of *The Samurai*, Endo implicitly challenges authoritarian Catholicism by showing that Christians need to purify the core of Christianity from being an ego-centric self-seeking institution.[74] Yet Velasco/Endo believes that the Church can be "an organization of love which transcends the limitations of all nations and people."[75]

Endo thus fits into a postwar theological trend which is critical of the institutional western Church and emphasizes the need of taking Japanese realities seriously. Non-triumphalist ideas are strongly related to concerns expressed by personalities such as Uchimura Kanzo, Kagawa Toyohiko, Kitamori Kazoh, and Koyama Kosuke. Endo follows in the wake of these predecessors, promoting an alternative Christianity whose features differ from a western Church-centered Christianity.

The image of the powerless Christ is rooted in the failure of the postwar Christian mission in Japan. Instead a non-triumphalist theology appeared in various shapes by different theologians. Endo followed this trend, developing his own version.

Religious and Cultural Heritage: Koshinto

I earlier identified six features of *koshinto*: syncretizing attitude, harmony in diversity, emotional elements, loyalty to nature, inclination to *amae*, and maternal features of the divine. Next I will explore if and how this basic spirituality informs the image of Christ as found in the second period of Endo's literary output.

The love of Christ which is expressed in his solidarity with the poor clearly relates to *koshinto*. The concept of *amae* (dependency) is a

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[74] Ephesians 5: 27. It is a mission for each lay Christians to make the church "pure and faultless, without a spot or wrinkle or anything of the kind". With the protagonists, Endo is protesting against the public attitude of the institutional church. Cf. Kasuya 1998: 209.

[75] Endo 1980: 372 (194).

dimension of this image of Christ, from the standpoint of the believer. *Amae* tends to produce a loss of individual identity, self-confidence and self-determination.[76] Endo was seeking Christ not only for the minority who suffered historically, but for those who are today Japanese and Christian. God became poor for the sake of the weak through Jesus who suffered and was crucified. Moreover, Japanese weak people long for a God who forgives and accepts as long as there is repentence (*metanoia*).[77] The notion of repentence (*metanoia*) is not deeply considered by Endo. The words of Jesus from the *fumie* that Endo presents shows that Endo himself was deeply inbedded in the *koshinto* based religio-cultural context. Through the word of Jesus on the *fumie*, I understand that Endo was expressing the infinite embracement of the divine. To support my view, I refer to Kawai Hayao (河合隼雄: 1928–2007), a Jungian psychologist, who wrote about the 'formidable soil' in 1998.[78] He stated that once a culture or an idea steps on foreign 'soil' (meaning it is introduced to another country, namely, inculturation), its character is transformed. He quoted *Silence* as an example. Kawai asked who it was that invited Father Rodrigues to step on the *fumie*:

> If the pastor stayed in his home country, his faith was the same as before, but as he stepped on the soil of Tomogi village in Japan, spent his life and ate Japanese salty fish, those things exerted great influence on Rodrigues' heart. Has the Japanese soil changed even Jesus? We do not know. But at least, the voice of Jesus and words of Jesus that Father Rodrigues hears, have changed. At this point, there may be no one who thinks it was the voice of Buddha or Shakamuni. Nevertheless, it was not Christ who spoke from heaven above, but Christ who speaks under his

[76] See Chapter 2: Inclination to *Amae*. At this stage I cannot find Endo addressing this problematic side of *amae*, however, I see it later in *Deep River*.

[77] Ref. Tanabe 1946. Parellels to the non-triumphalist concept can be seen in the Kyoto School concept of self-awareness in the place of nothingness, particularly in the postwar work by Tanabe Hajime 田辺元 (1885–1962) in *Zange-do toshiteno Tetsugaku* (*Philosophy as Metanoetics*). In the book, Tanabe describes *zange-do* (the way of *metanoetics*) as the self negation of one's rebellious being in self-surrender to grace, and through that negation, one's being is affirmed and rediscovered. His idea is that *zange-do* originates in the Great Compassion of Other-Power and thus it is a possible model for the encounter between religions.

[78] *The Formidable Soil*, originally written in Japanese, *Tsuchi no Osoroshi sa*. In 1971, six years after the publication of *Silence*, Kawai wrote an essay speaking about "the formidable soil" to illustrate the importance of culture. He included *Silence* as an example, but he omitted the part for publishing. This part was later introduced by Kawai himself when he had an interview with Endo in 1998. Kawai 1998: 144.

Also, D.T. Suzuki claims "Japanese Spirituality is based on the Japanese soil". Ref. D.T. Suzuki 1994/2002: 43–50.

> feet which were carved on the *fumie*. Christ made of Japanese soil said: 'You may trample. I more than anyone know of the pain in your foot. You may trample. It was to be trampled on by men that I was born into this world. It was to share men's pain that I carried my cross.' It is that man carved on the *fumie* who spoke to the Father.[79]

The love of God through Jesus on the *fumie* was revealed in Japanese culture, at that time and in that context.

From Endo's concept of a Christ loving the weak, there is a link to a maternal image of Christ. Maternal love deepens understanding of Christ' love. Endo's image is of Christ forgiving and embracing weaklings and the poor. In this way, apostates and deceivers are justified, and even given approval. This maternal understanding of the divine is in turn one of the elements considered crucial in *koshinto* spirituality.[80]

As I have argued, the religious worldview of the Japanese is based on Shinto which, like most East Asian countries, has a strong shamanistic tradition wherein the gods, often female, are nurturing and forgiving.[81] Also, Shinto has a fertility tradition, that *kami* evolve from the creative power of a life producing spirit, and this work of *musubi* has a fundamental significance in the Shinto world-view. Shinto is a religion that worships *kami* as spirits that embrace creation within a harmonizing cycle of growth, fertility, and creativity. They lead to liberating and sustaining life in its most concrete and substantial forms. People respect things as they are rather than things as they should be, natural ties are more respected rather than division, an inclusive community rather than autonomous individuals. This way of thinking is deeply embedded in Japanese culture and more maternal in character than paternal. The maternal worldview acknowledges everything as it is, forgives and accepts. It is an embracing principle. Thus, it is often symbolized as a container, an egg, a belly, the sea, a fountain, or a lake, which contains and embraces, representing the archetype of the Mother.[82] I have demonstrated the motherly dimension of Endo's image

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[79] Kawai 1998: 144.

[80] Ref. Chapter 2: *Koshinto* (Basic Shinto).

[81] Traditionally, *kami* in Japan was called *musubi-kami*, that which gives birth to spirits. Nature presents the mystery of life, and it is the core of pantheism. See Chapter 2: Shinto Tradition.

[82] I am aware of the critique of the long tradition in Japan of the mother as *Naijyo no kô* (the faithful aid of her provider), where the mothers' self-sacrificial love for her husband is taken for granted in daily life. Yuasa Yûko has argued in an essay that there exists a religious ideal of the mother and it is a culturally conditioned pattern that can be seen in *Noh*, Japanese traditional art: "Religious notions of sacrifice can lead

of Christ in the discussion on his book *Mother*.[83] The maternal idea is firmly connected to the concept of *koshinto*. The notions of motherhood and fertility naturally leads on to the concept of nature in Endo's work. As the missionary Velasco say in *The Samurai*:

> Even nature, which for us (westerners) is something totally detached from man, to them (Japanese) is an entity which envelops mankind. We . . . we failed our attempts to rectify these attitudes of theirs.[84]

The Japanese live with nature, within nature, and return to nature. There is a deep trust in the ultimate embracement of nature.[85] Here, Endo's inculturation of Christ was strongly based on the maternal dimension of the divine in *koshinto*, an element of embracement.

Is Endo a Disguised Pure Land Buddhist?

The connection between *koshinto* and the idea of a maternal Christ might be further illuminated by a debate on the relation between Pure Land Buddhism and Endo's writings. The statue of *Amida* expresses an eternal compassion that has been attractive to the Japanese people's fundamental religious sense. Endo's maternal Christ suffering with the poor is considered to be taken from Pure Land Buddhism. Tokunaga says:

> In Endo, God exists always as a mother who forgives any evils people commit and who never gives them any punishment whatsoever. THIS IS *AMIDA*![86]

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to cultural pressures on women to sacrifice themselves for the good of others. . . . The decisive distinction between the two is whether the sacrifice is made by an individual by free will or not. If it is made by the inertia of a customary gender role, or by any kind of pressure, external or internal, social or self-imposed, explicit or implicit, other than one's own free voluntary will, it is against the order of creation." Yuasa in England and Lee (ed.), 1993: 112. "Likewise the image of female sacrifice demands that a woman try to offer the act of self-sacrifice, when a difficult situation arrives in daily life. It is another sort of cultural terrorism, when it justifies the suppression of women and the denial of personhood." Ibid.: 118.

[83] Endo 1969.

[84] Endo 1980: 344 (1982: 163).

[85] Endo's spiritual inclination toward nature increases in the third stage of his literary works. Cf. Endo 1989(a), 1991/96, 1993, 1995/97 etc.

[86] Tokunaga 1989: 49. Tokunaga is a professor of Buddhist Studies at Kyoto Women's university. 10 years later, however, he criticizes Endo's simple assessment of Jesus with *Amida* in his literature. Ref. Tokunaga in Carter (ed.) 1999: 133–143.

Tokunaga later criticised Endo for dressing Jesus in clothes that belonged to *Amida*, and *Amida* only.[87] Other commentators were positive about the potential inspiration of *Amida*.[88] One contemporary writer, Shiba Ryôtarô (司馬遼太郎: 1923–1996), says that in *Jôdo* teaching (including both Pure Land and True Pure Land Buddhism) *Amida*-Buddha saves us no matter what we do. This is a Japanese spiritual belief. He claimed that 'Endo Theology' is *Jôdo* (Pure Land) teaching.[89] It is possible to replace God with *Amida*.[90] Ôkubo Fusao (大久保房夫: 1921–), a Japanese literary critic who describes himself as an atheist, said that if he was going to have a faith he would become a Catholic like Endo. However, he claimed:

> I cannot help thinking that Endo's Catholicism is very close to Pure Land Buddhism. As he gets older, he emphasizes Christ or God that saves everyone.[91]

Endo himself claimed that he intended to write about "a kind of reconciliation of Catholicism and *Jôdo-shu* Buddhism".[92]

Arguments, however, that Endo's understanding of Christ as maternal is based on Pure Land Buddhism are not convincing. The claim of Tokunaga that absolute love and compassion is limited to Pure Land Buddhism alone is hard to maintain. Endo did not debate the superiority of religions, but held that the general tendency of Japanese non-Christian religiosity is to perceive love as maternal. As I have earlier argued, his image of Christ as maternal is influenced by his devoted mother and the history of oppressed Christians in Japan. His notion is in all probability culturally determined, drawing upon Buddhist concepts, but it is too simple to claim that he simply substitutes Mary for *Amida* Buddha. I prefer to see the religious idea of divine motherhood primarily

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[87] Tokunaga in Carter (ed.) 1999: 133–143.
[88] Matsumoto 1987: 29.
[89] Shiba 1997: 151.
[90] Ibid.: 144–152.
[91] Ôkubo in Yasuoka et al. 1996: 223. Ôkubo Fusao graduated two years ahead of Endo from Keiô University. They knew each other since they were students. In the conversation Ôkubo claimed that he himself was an atheist.
[92] "I wrote in a postscript to the novel (*Silence*) that Rodrigues' last words smacked of Protestantism, but to tell the truth, I feel that in these words is to be found a kind of reconciliation of Catholicism and *Jôdo-shu* Buddhism." Mathy 1967: 608. Also Endo stated: "Pure Land Buddhism is not a father's religion that demands strict ascetics, practice, or martyrdom. It is a religion of Japanese mothers that hold mother's blinded devotion, embracement, and self sacrificial love." Endo 1967(a): 376.

as part of *koshinto*, and Pure Land Buddhism as influenced by *koshinto*. It can be illustrated by the developments of popular *Kannon* belief in Japan. The concept of *Avalokitesvara* (*Kannon*) was introduced to Japan via China from India. Originally the bodhisattva was a male. However, a statue of *Kannon* introduced to Japan in the middle of the 6th century came to be seen as female. This sexual transformation illustrates the influence of popular faith in the maternal. There are many buddhas and bodhisattvas in Japan, but the most popular object of worship among Japanese is *Kannon*. The most frequently carved statue in Japan is also *Kannon*, such as the eleven-faced *Kannon* and thousand-armed *Kannon* that express her great mercy. Due to her profound compassion, *Kannon* Bodhisattva is considered to assume thirty-three different forms and to manifest herself anywhere in the world to save people from danger or suffering. For centuries *Kannon* belief has been widely practiced and is now regarded as a popular religion. By adopting this practice, which is deeply moulded by a maternal world view, Pure Land Buddhism became the most popular sect in Japan in the 14th century.

Koshinto also influenced the veneration of the motherly *Kannon* in early Christianity. As apparent in Endo's historical novels, the image of *Kannon* became the disguise of the Virgin Mary for *Kakure Kirishitans.* In the last part of *Mother*, Endo (the writer) finally was able to see a *Maria Kannon*, the sacred statue of *Kakure Kirishitans*.[93] Seeing the statue, Endo was convinced that the image of Christ that was inculturated in Japan was maternal. In actual fact they did not disguise Mary as *Amida*, but as the female figure *Kannon Bodhisattva*. They invoked *Kannon* as Mary, to mediate their weak faith. In 1983 Endo stated:

> I consider they (*Kirishitans*) believed in western Christianity without realizing that they have Japanized it. In other words, without realizing the fact, they believed their own form of Christianity. Their *subconscious absorption of Shinto and Buddhism* secretly dissolved Christianity.[94]

I can, thus, only partly accept that Endo's theology is founded on Pure Land Buddhism. I consider the idea of motherhood part of *koshinto.* Pure Land Buddhism was influenced by *koshinto*, as was early Japanese Christianity. Although Endo in *Silence* did not explicitly describe Jesus Christ in feminine terms, many Japanese readers perceived his image of Christ as maternal; especially when his face on the *fumie* cried out

[93] Endo 1969/75: 49 and Endo 1972: 142.
[94] Endo 1983(c): 361. Emphasis added.

in acceptance of people's renunciation.[95] I see in this feature an infinite embracement of the maternal, provided by *koshinto* sprituality.

Does, however, the third dimension of Endo's image of Christ during this period—Christ as the ever-present companion—reveal any underlying *koshinto* ideas? Taking *The Samurai* as an illustration, first of all the title takes the reader into the world of *Bushido*, the old samurai ethos. Shinto ideas of honesty and reliability are easily identified in this ethos. Foremost, the *samurai*'s idea of Christianity as yearning for love and harmony points to central elements in *koshinto* spirituality as identified earlier.[96]

The *koshinto* ethos to which I referred in the previous chapter appears as a living reality in Endo's wiritings. Such ideas as 'love' and 'solidarity with the poor' illustrate a link to *koshinto* where *amae* is firmly rooted. The image of Christ conceived in maternal terms and in the old *samurai* spirit (*Bushido*) suggests identifiable origins in *koshinto* spirituality.

Inculturation Typologies

Endo's Literature according to Bevans

Stephan Bevans (1944–), in his book *Models of Contextual Theology*, discusses five categories of contextualisation: 1. Translation Model, 2. Anthropological Model, 3. Praxis Model, 4. Synthetic Model, 5. Transcendental Model. He explores how Christianity can be propagated in different cultural contexts according to these models. The first model emphasizes the unchanging core of the gospel message and focuses on the truth that must be recreated as in a dynamic-equivalence translation. The second model puts weight on the primacy of culture, and the people hearing the message. In other words, the gospel message will only become clear when all cultures hear it from messengers who have understood it from their own cultural point of view and are convinced that it is of value to their specific culture. The third model reminds one of liberation theology, focusing on action with reflection. The fourth model is dialogical, conversational, or analogical in style that proceeds in an ongoing dialogue between faith and cultures. The fifth model proposes to attend to the affective and cognitive operations

[95] Endo 1966/97: 190.
[96] Endo 1980: 417 (1982: 245).

in the self-transcending subject.[97] I will focus particularly on the first three models. The discussion below will show that the synthetic and transcendental models do not have the same relevance for Endo as the first three. Also, I disagree with Bevans who lists Endo in the Transcendental Model. Endo emphasizes the receiver's perspectives throughout his literature.

Some of Endo's characters may illustrate the Translation Model, as they try to get the Christian Gospel across without caring for the cultural sensitivity of the receiver. This model aptly describes the missionary activity which Endo disfavours. Towards the end of *The Samurai*, Endo states through the western missionary's voice that the Japanese are the least receptive to western Christianity. Endo's literature of the second stage does not quite fit the Translation Model. He does not simply try to transfer the Gospel into a new culture. He emphasizes the Japanese reception of the Gospel and illustrates how Japanese sensitivity about God and the conception of womanhood colour the Gospel in a Japanese context.[98]

It is difficult to find support in Endo for the Praxis Model. It becomes particularly evident when looking at his image of Christ as an ever-present companion. Endo's Jesus can heal the individual's heart, but he does not call for change in the social structure. The need for an ever-present companion only expresses the reality of the helplessness that people feel. Jesus becomes a mere consolation.[99] Endo, thus, hardly fits the Praxis model typical of liberation theologies.[100]

His literature fits better in the Anthropological Model, as this emphasizes the receiver's spirituality and cultural presuppositions. His female images of God and his emphasis on the Japanese context for reception of the Gospel support his inclusion in the frame of this model.

Endo's Image of Christ in Takeda's Classification

Takeda Kiyoko (1917–) has focused in her books upon the various attempts at harmonizing Christianity with Japanese culture.[101] The criteria for her models are based upon the reception of Christianity by

[97] Bevans 1992/2000.
[98] Ref. Endo 1966, 1967(a), 1980, etc.
[99] Osako 1998: 199.
[100] Cf. Arai Sasagu, a Japanese Biblical scholar, highly values Endo's image of Christ as an eternal companion, but at the same time he is critical that it does not go beyond the status quo. See Kasuya, 1998: 208.
[101] Takeda 1967: 56–58.

Japanese culture. She describes five different ways by which it might take root in Japanese culture: 1. Absorbed type, 2. Isolating type, 3. Confronting type, 4. Grafting type, and 5. Apostatizing type.[102] In the Absorbed type Christianity makes many compromises with Japanese culture and loses its original function, identity, and uniqueness. In the Isolating type, Christianity places too much emphasis on its uniqueness and becomes isolated from Japanese culture. In the Confronting type, Christianity confronts Japanese culture and thereby remains isolated. The Grafting type illustrates a Christianity which is implanted in Japanese culture as a new, supplementary branch. The Apostatizing type describes the situation where Christianity is abandoned after some time.

In her book, Takeda concludes that a combination of the Confronting and Grafting types provides the best model for inculturating (indigenizing) Christianity in Japan.[103] Certain features of Endo's writings in the second stage fit into the Absorbed type. One reason is that he strongly emphasizes Japaneseness.[104] Furthermore, his image of a maternal Christ might be seen as absorption by the religio-cultural heritage of *koshinto.* He used the metaphor of the 'mud swamp' to suggest that it swallows everything up in the name of embracing love.

However, he developed a different notion of Christianity alongside that of maternal love. It combined the idea of Christ's solidarity with the poor and Christ as an ever-present companion. These point towards a crucified image of Christ that stands in opposition to the Absorbed model. Endo was, after all, trying to grasp the difference between Christianity and Japanese religion. This feature indicates that Endo cannot fully be seen as an example of the absorbing type of Christian reception.

We are led rather towards the Grafting type in Tekeda's categories.[105] Here, Christ is not 'swallowed' up but becomes a transformer of the culture, especially by means of love and solidarity.

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[102] Takeda 1976. See Chapter 1: Christianity and Culture in Japan.

[103] Takeda 1967: 76, and 1976: 102.

[104] Ref. Endo 1966, 1967(a), (e), 1969/75, 1973(a), (b), 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, etc.

[105] Takeda 1967: 29. Takeda elaborated the faith of two well-known Japanese theologians, Uchimura Kanzo and Nitobe Inazo. Uchimura centered his faith in the doctrines of the western Church; redemption, reincarnation, and resurrection. Takeda argued that Uchimura's faith is an example of the Grafting and Confronting types. On the other hand, Nitobe centered his faith in Jesus Christ in solidarity with people who are weak and in sorrow, and Takeda evaluated his faith as an example of the Graftying type. Their faith in Christianity is contrasted as the "Faith from the Front

As to the Isolating and Confronting types, I do not find that Endo's inculturation programs fit these models. He consciously wants to retain the Japanese cultural approach based on the fundamental role of *koshinto*.[106]

However, in the second stage of his literary works, Endo found a type of transformed Christianity when tracing the history of suffering of the *Kakure Kirishitans*. Finding Christ among *Kakure Kirishitans* presupposed a new interpretation of Christianity—contrary to the Roman Catholic idealization of heroic martyrdom. Here, Endo fits into Takeda's category of the Apostatized type. He elevates this particular type of humble faith to a genuine form of Japanese Christianity.

Endo's preferred form of Christian inculturation is, therefore, a combination of the Grafting and Apostatizing types in Takeda's models.

Endo's Early Image of Christ: My Findings

In the second stage of his literary works, Endo developed his image of Christ. In this chapter, I analyzed how Endo developed the image of Christ in literary form by following chronologically the main sources of his second stage: *Silence* (1966), *Mother* (1969), and *The Samurai* (1980).

In *Silence*, he presented Christ in solidarity with the poor, and at the end of the book he depicted the image of Christ on the *fumie* as it appeared to the despisers (apostates) who were weak in faith. As Endo identifies himself as one of the weaklings, his hermeneutic approach was from the side of the poor. The background of this image can be sought in the experience of *Kakure Kirishitans* who by their suffering and recantation nonetheless illustrated the love and acceptance of Christ. In *Mother*, Endo reflects on his personal memory of his mother: the regrets that he deceived his mother's expectations and how she, nonetheless, continued to accept him whole-heartedly. She accepted his weak faith, his lies, and his stubbornness. The values he took from memories of his mother fuse into his image of Christ: a strong, compassionate, and boundless love. This image of Christ is also informed by the history of the descendants of apostates, *Kakure Kirishitans*. For more than 250

Gate" (Uchimura) and the "Faith from the Side Gate" (Nitobe). I understand Endo's position is similar to Nitobe's, even though Nitobe's faith was not through the front gate, it is still the gate to reach God.

[106] Endo understands and describes these models in his depiction of western Christianity in terms of Roman Catholic missions. Ref. Endo 1966, 1980 etc.

years they sustained an indigenized faith in *Maria Kannon*, a maternal figure who became Christ for them. This image of Christ attains wider significance in the end of his second stage with *The Samurai*. Endo is convinced that in human suffering there is neither weak nor strong, and that Jesus Christ becomes an eternal companion for each individual who suffer, regardless of status, gender, or religion. Christ is present with a maternal compassion, as a reliable retainer even in death. Japanese experiences of pilgrimages, and not at least the image of the Japanese retainer, *The Samurai*, constitute the background elements of this particular image of Christ.

To sum up, Endo's early image of Christ was formulated on three perspectives: Jesus in solidarity with the poor, Jesus as mother, and Jesus as an ever-present companion. In analyzing the three perspectives, I have related Endo's thoughts to the *Kakure Kirishitans* experience, memories of his mother, and the devotion of the *Samurai.*

I locate Endo's relationship to Japanese post-war theological ideas through his emphasis on non-triumphalism. He presents a maternal image of Christ who accepts, suffers with, and accompanies one eternally. In his image of Christ I have looked for important cultural features. *Koshinto* spirituality is an aspect of Japanese culture that should be taken into consideration. *Koshinto* is inherent in Japanese Buddhism, in early Japanese Christianity, and in Endo's image of the maternal, compassionate and ever-present Christ.

Investigating the models of inculturation Endo represents, by utilizing Bevans and Takeda, I found that the former's Anthropological Model and the latter's Grafting type come close to Endo's concerns. Both models pay attention to the 'receiver's perspective', while maintaining a vital link to classical Christian identity of a faith based in Christ. Moreover, Takeda's model of Apostatizing serves to illustrate a central feature of Endo's inculturation project. By his understanding of Christ as poor, motherly and ever-present, Endo elevates the model of apostasy in Japan and thereby offers his most original concept of inculturation.

CHAPTER FIVE

ENDO'S TRANSFORMED IMAGE OF CHRIST

Development of Endo's Image of Christ (1981–1993)

In the second stage of his literary work (1966–1980), Endo himself overcame his earlier view of a conflict between East and West where he saw Japan as inferior to the West. In the third stage of his literary development, Endo's scope expands from Japan to the world. In finding a new identity as a Japanese Christian in a wider, harmonious, perspective, he became more convinced that Christianity is not the possession of the West, and that the scriptures can be interpreted from wider perspectives other than the West. He became convinced that a mutual understanding between East and West was possible. From this new framework a transformed image of Christ emerged. One of the factors behind this change is the increased internationalization of the world, but there are also links to his personal development. In addition, Carl Jung's theory of the collective unconscious played a part.[1]

In this chapter, I primarily examine Endo's last great work of pure literature, *Deep River* (1993).[2] I shall examine his christological analysis in the third literary stage against the global background, but also in

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[1] "I read many books these days (Feb.–Oct.), especially on Jung. I learned a lot. I myself think I studied a lot." Endo 2003: 83 (Oct. 9, 1981).

[2] According to his diary, Endo had been working on the novel since 1989. He started to write it in January 1992 and finished at the end of September of the same year. The title was *River* in the beginning, but he changed it to *Deep River* after listening to a Black spiritual. Endo 1997(c): 326 (Nov. 9, 1992). Cf. *Mainichi Shinbun* July 16, 1997.

> *Deep River*: "Deep river, my house is over Jordan, Deep river, Lord, I want to cross over into campground, Don't you want to go to that gospel feast, That promised land where all is peace? I want to cross over into campground. I'll go up to heaven and take my seat, And cast my crown at Jesus' feet; I want to cross over into campground."

The Black spirituals are born out of the suffering of black slaves and their longing for deliverance. Their history and the history of Christianity in Japan both share in stories of suffering. Therefore, the title of the novel suggests salvation for humanity, beyond national distinctions. The title symbolizes God's un-boundless love for everyone, regardless of race, gender, age, social status, or religion. The search for the love bestowed on human kind is the theme of the novel. Ref. Endo interview with Kaga Otohiko in Miyajima (ed.) 1999: 119.

relation to Japanese thought. Finally I shall explore his method of inculturation during the period.

Contents and Inculturation Perspectives

Here I present *Deep River* and introduce perspectives which I consider important in order to understand Endo's transformed image of Christ. I begin with a brief summary of the novel.

Deep River (1993)

> I began to think that God, like a magician, can turn any situation to the best advantage. Even our weaknesses and our sins. [Endo 1993/98: 102 (63)]

The novel describes several Japanese men and women who have different reasons and aims for going to India on a tour of Buddhist holy sites. All the characters are in deep personal need, and they hunger and thirst for the meaning of life. As Endo did in his other novels, he investigated various themes through the protagonists.

Isobe is an ordinary Japanese man who has lost his wife. In order to find his wife, who might be reborn in the world, he decides to join the tour. Mitsuko is a girl who led a Japanese Christian man, Ootsu, to abandon his faith because he believed in a God that she did not care about. Years later, through rumor, Mitsuko found out that he had returned to God and was living in India. She joins the tour to find Ootsu and the God that she was subconsciously attached to. Numada is a writer of children's books. He joins the tour in order to find and release a black hornbill, because he cannot help thinking that he owes his life to the bird while he was hospitalized. Kiguchi belongs to the war generation. After returning from the war and living a peaceful life with his wife, he finds that his friend Tsukada who once saved him during the war has been suffering ever since with a guilty conscience—he had eaten the flesh of a dead comrade in order to survive. Tsukada's feeling of guilt over this act took over the rest of his life. However, on his death-bed Tsukada met a foreign volunteer worker, Gaston, to whom he is able to confess his sin. Kiguchi joins the tour to India in order to make a personal memorial service for all his war comrades. Sanjo is an aspiring cameraman who joins the tour on his honeymoon. He only thinks about taking good pictures to further his career. He tries

to profit from every situation and, when problems arise, is willing to pay money to resolve them. He judges things from his own viewpoint, with no respect for the other and no openness to learning. Ootsu, after being snubbed by Mitsuko, returned to Christ and decided to become a priest. He was, however, not approved by Rome and went to initiate his own work in India. He stayed at a Hindu Ashram and every day he carried on his back the poor, weak, and dying Hindus in the street to the crematory pyres by the River Ganges. He considered this work a genuine act of love, an imitation of Christ.

The journey ends at the awesome, unnerving shores of the mighty Ganges. Each protagonist grasps something of the holy world of Hinduism by the banks of the great river. The main theme of the novel is salvation and the story addresses a universal hope, as yet unseen.

Selected Perspectives: Death, Sin, God

Deep River was published three years before Endo's death in 1996. Fighting with pain, his diary indicates that Endo knew that it was going to be his last novel.[3] From the day he began kidney dialysis, he anticipated having only two more years to finish the novel. This novel, published when he was seventy years old, can be read as a conclusion of Endo's theological journey.[4] However, he stated in the diary:

> I am concerned that even if I let Fukatsu (Ootsu) talk a kind of dogmatics, readers would not be interested.[5]

Following Endo's own considerations, I have looked for an implicit theology in the novel. I have already mentioned Endo's early struggle as a Japanese person with Christianity's threefold sensitivity to death, sin, and God.[6] In *Deep River*, Endo approaches all three theological issues. I, however, will focus on the three perspectives of death, the River Ganges, and God. The disputed question of sin is included in the novel but is covered by the metaphor of the River Ganges. Finding a natural position between the other two, it plays an important part in his last great book, as mirrored in the book title.

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[3] Endo 1997(c): 319 (July 30, 1992).
[4] Ibid.: 321 (Aug. 18, 1992).
[5] Ibid.: 311 (April 23, 1992).
[6] See Chapter 3. Ref. Endo 1963(a): 306. 1973 (b), 1979: 1–2. To Endo the theme of sin is closely related to death in his early literature. In the third stage of his literary works, however, sin no longer retains a close connection with death. Death is now seen as part of life-a transition to rebirth.

Death

In *Deep River*, Endo's understands faith from a more global perspective, approving other religious faiths and reconsidering Christian uniqueness. It is worth mentioning here that the theme of death was not faced before by Endo. He was reluctant to talk or write about it. The main reason might be the reluctance of the Japanese to listen, talk, or even think about death in public. Finally, however, he came to express eschatological ideas in the Japanese cultural context. The issues of the eschaton and life after death are raised implicitly through the protagonist Isobe at the very beginning of *Deep River*. The novel begins with the ordinary scenery of autumn, and the sound of piping hot roasted sweet potatoes. It leads readers to situate themselves in the world of old sweet memories. One realizes that the man, Isobe, is alone and at a loss because he has just been told of his wife's cancer by her doctor. He could not imagine that his wife, Keiko, could leave him so soon. However, at the very beginning of the novel, Isobe's wife, who talked to flowers, grass, and trees when she was healthy, and talks to the trees from the hospital, awakens in him the spirit of animism.[7] Keiko tells him that the giant ginkgo tree, which can be seen from her bed in the hospital, spoke to her and told her that life never ends.[8] She passes away saying the last words: "I…surely…reborn…somewhere in this world. Find…find me…promise…promise".[9] Isobe who had no faith in any religion started to see life differently as he faced his wife's death and her last words. These evidently touched his subconscience and his spiritual journey began.[10]

For the Japanese reader the opening scenes (the sound of piping hot sweet potatoes, the ordinary Japanese elderly couple's life, the ginkgo tree seen from the window, the hospital and its quietness, etc.) are such common features that they hardly pay any attention to them. Endo thus introduces the issue of death in the context of Asian animism, ethics, and views of the afterlife. It is an important issue of contemporary Japanese religious sensitivity. It leads over to the wider questions of

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[7] See Chapter 2: *Koshinto* and *Kami*, fn.50. In Shinto, *kami* are regarded as spirits or anima that manifest in different forms. As I have argued, Shinto is a Japanese religious sentiment and anima-ism is a part of Japanese inheritance. Endo, I believe, uses pantheism in this context.

[8] Endo 1993/98: 12 (9).

[9] Ibid.: 26.

[10] It is four years after the death of his wife that Isobe joint the tour to India. During these years he had been searching for her, remembering her last words.

salvation, life and death. When Numada is told that Hindus plant trees where corpses are cremated, he responds;

> That is true with the cherry trees in Japan. The cherries at Mt. Yoshino were all planted as grave-marks. There is a very deep connection between death and nature.—The Hindus believe that trees bear within them the life force that produces rebirth, don't they? [Endo 1993/98: 211 (131)]

In this conversation between Ootsu and Numada, the question is raised as to whether Asian animism/pantheism is opposed to the concept of God in western Christianity. This becomes one of the important theological issues in *Deep River*. Does salvation imply rebirth?

Ganges

By exploring such ideas as those referred to above about the intricate connection between life and death, the Ganges becomes a meaningful symbol for Endo. His impression of India as a country that unifies diverse religious traditions comes from his personal experience. His admiration for the country was heightened when he encountered cremation scenes along the banks of the Ganges. Crematoriums were located along the sacred river, and nearby, Hindus immersed themselves in the water, gargling and clasping their hands in prayer. A newlywed couple received the blessing of a priest not far from where the body of an old woman lay burning on a pile of logs. The ashes of the old woman were cast into the Ganges two hours later. The river swallowed the ashes and carried them slowly away toward the horizon. The place of death and the start of a new stage of life co-existed. Such contrasting events are rarely seen existing side-by-side in secularized countries. In Japan, death or parting is regarded as taboo on a joyful occasion. Endo said:

> Death on the banks of the Ganges takes on an inexpressible dignity. Though I am a Christian and I refuse the sense of the transmigration of the soul, I am moved by the profound dignity of Hindu mourning and funeral rites. And I look forward to visiting India again, where life and death, the sacred and profane, the ugly and the beautiful coexist.[11]

[11] Endo 1997(b): 82. It is worth noting that Julius Lipner says: "Whilst many look on *moksha* (spiritual liberation) in one form or another as a a desirable goal, nevertheless a great many Hindus do not actively expect or even seek post-mortem salvation or liberation. If at all, this is a distant ideal. Religiously, they are more concerned just to stay afloat as they continue life's journey over the hazardous waters of *samsara*. Health, recovery from illness, contentment, economic security, consolations in distress, offspring, success in various ventures, protection from various dangers, possibly a happy

Endo observed the real life of people in India. He saw that people were part of nature, embraced in mother earth. People live and die in nature. In India, he appears to have found a setting where a Japanese Christian pantheistic view functions naturally and harmoniously. It seems that in the Indian context, he finds that humanity may share a comprehensive view of nature. In this way the Japanese religious sensitivity is harmoniously integrated with another world cultures.

Endo's religious understanding was broadened and deepened by the banks of the Ganges. The small individual can leave their worries over sin and the good to the river and be embraced by its huge life force.

The protagonists in the novel all carry sinful baggage when they join the tour. The words of Kiguchi at the end of the novel represent Endo's findings on human sin:

> Good and Evil are as one, as it is said in Buddhism. There is nothing a human being does that can be called absolutely right. To put it the opposite way, the seeds of salvation are buried in every act of evil. In all things, good and evil are back to back with each other, and they cannot be separated the way you can cut things with a knife.—you can find the love of God even in the midst of an awful hell. [Endo 1993/98: 324(200)]

God

The issue of faith in one absolute God who transcends the universe has been Endo's life-long theme.[12] In the second stage of his literary works, he attempted to inculturate Christianity by integrating the image of Christ in the Japanese context. In *Deep River*, however, Endo changed his focus from the image of Christ to the image of God. The image of Christ remains central—but elements of a wider divine image appear. Jesus is, however, by no means completely replaced by God. The image of God and Jesus rather merge in Endo's writing. In his third literary stage, the terms are frequently interchangeable. God, though, emerges as the chief image in his portrayal of Mitsuko.

Mitsuko tempted Ootsu for fun because he believes in a God that she does not even care about. She challenged Ootsu to abandon his faith and she succeeds. However, without realizing it, she was actually

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rebirth-these are the things that occupy their religious attention." Lipner 1994 *Hindus*: 324, quoted in Hick 1999: 58.

[12] Since Endo's first essay published in 1947, "*Kamigami to kami to*" (Gods and God), he felt that the Japanese cannot understand the concept of God in western terms. Endo's challenge to understand western Christian sensibilities started from the First stage of his literary works.

interested in this God. Despite her pride and strong opposition, Ootsu and God always remained in some part of her mind. By chance, she had come to God through Ootsu. Without realizing it, she was searching for love, for a meaning of life, actually for God.

When he was dumped by Mitsuko, at a loss Ootsu visited a chapel and heard the voice of Jesus saying, "Come. I was rejected as you have been, but I will never abandon you."[13] Ootsu returned to Jesus, now with a better understanding of Christ's own pain of being abandoned by people. Ootsu decided to become a priest and went abroad to study in France. He was, however, criticized and rejected by his superiors at the seminary and the novitiate for holding a pantheistic religious view in conflict with established western orthodoxy.[14] Ootsu was led to work in India as a failed priest in western Christianity.[15] In India, he stayed at a Hindu Ashram, dressed as an outcast. Everyday he carried the poor, weakened, and dying Hindus from the street, on his back to the crematory pyres by the River Ganges. This did not mean that Ootsu had abandoned Christianity and converted to Hinduism. He imitated the acts of Jesus, who carried the cross, took the sorrows of all people on his back, and climbed the hill of Golgotha.

Ootsu genuinely believes that were Jesus to be here, he would also take the dead on the street to the crematory, as an act of Love. Exhausted, Ootsu worships alone at the ashram in the Hindu language. He loves Jesus and follows him by sharing others' suffering. In the end Ootsu is life-threateningly injuried while carrying out his altruistic lifestyle.

God is mediated by the poor, suffering Jesus, but not exclusively so. God might also be mediated by nature. Endo challenges a traditional, western concept of God by describing him/her with the help of metaphors taken from the world of nature. He states:

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[13] Endo 1993/98: 101 (62).

[14] I agree with Endo that theology in the West is often over dogmatic, and focussed too much in academia and the professional training of priests and church leaders. A rigidly dogmatic understanding of Christianity often becomes the enemy of freedom. It can lead to authoritarianism and demand an unhealthy attitude of submission.

[15] Not all but some part of Ootsu's experiences and thoughts are modeled after Fr. Inoue Youji (1927–), who boarded the same ship as Endo to study abroad when they were young. See Chapter 3. Fr. Inoue returned to Japan in 1957 (four years after Endo's return) and became a priest in 1960. Inoue searched for an inculturation of Christianity in Japan, both as a priest in the field of theology, and in practice through meeting Japanese Christians. Inoue and Endo had the same concern, and Inoue became a lifelong friend and the spiritual support for Endo until his last moments.

> God speaks to human being through his/her mouth but sometimes God might speak to human beings through creatures such as birds or dogs that men love as a pet.[16]

Numada is one of the minor protagonists joining the tour, but his story includes many parts of Endo's personal history.[17] When he was young, the only companion who could understand his sorrow was a dog called Kuro. When he was hospitalized, the hornbill died as if it died for him. He cannot help thinking that he owes his life to the bird.[18] Here, I find that Endo's repeated theme of 'Christ as an ever-present companion' is projected in the dog and the bird. Although God is found in the figure of Christ, for Numada/Endo, he is also found in the mediation of living creatures. God's presence is mediated by nature.

The first of my three theological perspectives, death, is taboo in Japanese society. In the Indian multireligious context, however, it coexists with life. The concern with Christ, so central in Endo's second literary period, now opens up towards an interest in multiple religious traditions. An image of interreligious integration is furthermore found in the River Ganges. This river, often called the Mother Ganges, provides another important motif that underlies the novel. By this symbol the maternal image of Christ as an underlying spiritual force is emphasized. It is also an image of misery, so far from an ideal of the holy mother Virgin Mary in the West or *Kannon* in Japan that offers a new, symbolic way of seeing Christ. Together with the focus on death, the increased emphasis on God in terms of Mother Ganges broadens and extends the image of Christ. The image merges with a multireligious, all-embracing life force that flows like a 'deep river' through nature and multicultural humanity.

However, the transformed image of Christ is accompanied also by a transformation of the framework for inculturation. By staging the novel in India, Endo's scope of Christian inculturation is now extended from a focus on Japan in isolation to Japan within world cultures. The image of Christ not only transforms the culture—it becomes related to a transformed, cultural context.

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[16] Endo 1997(c): 303 (Feb. 9, 1992).
[17] Endo 1993/98: 113–133 (70–83).
[18] Ibid.: 290 (178).

Understanding Endo's Transformed Image of Christ

In the third stage, Endo's theological interpretation of the image of Christ is somewhat transformed. I will now attempt to describe aspects of this transformed image of Christ, chiefly based on materials from *Deep River*. In order to better understand the patterns of transformation, I relate to the images brought out earlier in chapter 4.

The Transformed Kenotic Christ

Following on from the image of Christ in solidarity with the poor, Endo in his third stage developed the image of the *kenotic* Christ. There are two elements to this image: the 'Weak and despised Christ', and the '*Kenotic* Christ in a pluralist context'.

The Weak Christ Remains

> 'He had no form or majesty that we should look at him, nothing in his appearance that we should look at him. He was despised and rejected by others; a man of suffering, and acquainted with infirmity; and as one from whom others hide their faces he was despised, and we held him of no account.' Without a shred of doubt, this Bible verse is the theme of my thesis.[19]

From the beginning of the novel, Christ is represented in the figure of a Pierrot. Ootsu is called Pierrot by Mitsuko, the black bird tamed by Numada is often called Pierrot and compared to the foolish Pierrot that Rouault had drawn, and the foreign volunteer worker Gaston is also similarly called. Endo finds the image of Christ in those who are simple and honest, those being laughed at by others but who, nonetheless, truly understand the pain and sufferings of others.[20]

After being rejected and ostracized by the Holy Church in Rome, Ootsu went on to India. Endo challenges western dogmatic Christianity by leading Ootsu into a personal relationship with Christ through social work in India, in a Hindu context as a Japanese Christian.[21] Devoting

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[19] Endo 1997(c): 322 (Aug. 26, 1992). Isaiah 53:2–3 is quoted three times in *Deep River*. Endo 1993/98: 71 (44), 285–286 (175), and 339 (208).

[20] Endo 1993/98: 51, 286, 121, 122, 124, 126, 127, 160, 317.

[21] Endo held that academic excellence should not appear in isolation, but be demonstrated by its human and social value in the world. Cf. Matthew 16:24. "Jesus told his disciples, if any want to become my followers, let them deny themselves and take up their cross and follow me."

himself to social work in the Hindu world and calling Christ by the name 'Onion', Ootsu was convinced that:

> If the Onion came to this city, he of all people would carry the fallen on his back and take them to the cremation grounds. Just as he bore the cross on his back while he was alive… But, in the end, I've decided that my Onion doesn't live only within European Christianity. He can be found in Hinduism and in Buddhism as well. This is no longer just an idea in my head, it's a way of life I've chosen for myself. [Endo 1993/98: 300–301 (184)][22]

In this way Ootsu retains a strong conviction of faith in Christ. The weak and despised Christ remains the focus of Endo's Christology. Ootsu might be weak, he is, however, strong in holding the universality of Christ Jesus as the center of his faith. The image of Christ from Isaiah 53:2–3 is applied to Ootsu and then to the Hindu goddess Chamunda.

As is the case in the second literary period, Christ is seen as the one who has mercy on the renegades. Ootsu returned to Christ when he heard a voice saying:

> Come to me. Come. I was rejected as you have been. So I will never abandon you. [Endo 1993/98: 101 (62)]

Jesus remains the unique savior in the sense that he is an unconditionally loving and self-emptying Son of God. At one point the concept of Christ takes on a new shape: Christ loses his identity and abnegates his divinity, even the name of Jesus Christ. He becomes the 'Onion'. This 'anonymous Christ', however, appears as God's love incarnated, awakening human spirituality in a new and different religious context.[23] That very feature leads on to the new pluralistic view of the figure of Christ in *Deep River*. Presenting Ootsu as a weak and despised Christian,

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[22] Ref. Endo 1993/98:314 (193). Endo stated in *Deep River* that if the name of God or Jesus irritates non-Christians, they might as well be called "Tomato", or "Onion". Endo 1993/98: 103 (63). Further, Endo explained that Onion is a metaphor for love. Endo 1993/98: 200 (124). Ref. "If Japanese do not prefer using the term Christ, it can be called "Onion", or "X". However, the "X" took the form as Christ for me. For others, it may appear as Buddha." Endo 1983/88: 35.

[23] Ueda Kenji, president of Kokugakuin (Shinto) University states "Therefore, when one is raised in the Japanese culture, where an abundance of spiritual traditions exist, people are naturally led to the idea of religious pluralism." Cf. Ueda K. in Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture (ed.) 1994: 57–59 and 61. In this sense, Endo himself can be regarded as a pluralistic oriented Catholic, because his insights come from a background of Japanese pluralism.

the image of a weak, *kenotic* Christ is confirmed. It appears, however, in a new context, in the broad multireligious Asian situation.[24]

The Kenotic Christ in a Pluralist Context

Christ is above all transformed by means of the new context with which he communicates. In the last scene of *Deep River*, Endo presents the contemporary situation through Mitsuko's thought. It is indeed a world of antagonism:

> Antagonism and hatred characterized not just the relationship between one nation and another; they persisted between one religion and another as well. A difference in religion had yesterday resulted in the death of the woman who had been prime minister of India. People were linked together more by enmity than by love. It was not love but the formation of mutual enemies that made a bonding between human beings possible. [Endo 1993/98: 316 (195)]

> Hatred was spreading everywhere, blood was being spilled everywhere, wars were breaking out everywhere.—It was not just in India that hatred smouldered and blood flowed—Iran and Iraq were bogged down in war, and fighting continued in Afghanistan. In such a world, the love of the Onion that Ootsu worshipped was impotent and pathetic. Even if that Onion were alive today, Mitsuko thought, he was of no use in this world of enmity. [Endo 1993/98: 338 (208)]

Against this background Mitsuko recalls the Biblical text of Isaiah 53:2–3, the image of a *kenotic* God, of silly Ootsu, and of the goddess Chamunda.[25] This image of the suffering servant confirms Endo's previous image of Christ—and of Christian existence.

When Mitsuko learns that Ootsu received life-threatening injuries from an altruistic act—stopping Sanjo, a camera man, from taking photos of the dead—the view of Christian life as suffering with the crucified Jesus is further strengthened.[26] Instead of thinking about his own situation, Ootsu thought of the feelings of the Hindu people. It is not difficult for readers to imagine Ootsu's death as a redemptive act for a selfish man. He dies a martyr. He followed Jesus even to death; he loved his enemies and turned the other cheek rather than retaliated.

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[24] "Christ lives in both bad and good persons. Thus, when I think I am meeting with Christ in an other person, I am able to become easy going." Endo 1983/88: 138.

[25] Endo 1993/98: 339 (208).

[26] When Hindu people saw Sanjo taking a photo of the dead, people became angry and mad. People ran after Sanjo to kill him. Ootsu tried to stop them but unfortunately people mistook him for Sanjo. Ootsu became a scapegoat for Sanjo.

The framework of this act of redemption is, however, altered. Waiting to depart from India, Mitsuko saw a dying woman in front of her. Two young nuns in gray frocks from the Mission of Charity approached the old lady, and then wiped her face with wet gauze. They were going to take her to their home to care for her until she dies. Mitsuko sees Ootsu's life of sacrifice in these nuns too. Ootsu imitated Jesus Christ. He was poor and powerless, carrying the dying Hindus to the Ganges. His real intention was not understood by others, because he died. The life of Ootsu and the act of the nuns following Christ in his *kenosis* seem futile and stupid in the real world. Mitsuko runs toward the nuns and bluntly asks why they are doing such acts. It is a question that many would ask. With a look of surprise, one of them slowly replies, "Because except for this… there is nothing in this world that we can believe in".[27] Her words for "this" do not describe clearly what she exactly means. If the nun had said "Only Him", then she means Ootsu's Onion, Jesus Christ. But she does not signify whether "this" is personal or impersonal. It might mean that "this" is the Onion, the other name for Christ, but enclosed in an infinite embracement of *kenotic* love.

The image of the two nuns that Endo presents here is essential. They represent two ethnic groups; one of the nuns is white, and the other is dark. In Endo's early stages, he was deeply concerned about the gap between white and coloured people.[28] As his thoughts became more concerned with spiritual matters, his ideas develop toward mutual understanding beyond races. Jesus Christ as love incarnate is reborn in every one, in the yellow man Ootsu, in the white nun, and in the dark nun. In this specific part of the novel, Endo's theological concerns thus have opened up towards a much wider, deeper, and global conception. In portraying a Christ-like selfless-love, Endo apparently shows that one can lead a religious life anonymously, abandoning status and fame. This might also be understood as a dimension of *kenosis*, disclosed in the Bible, appearing as a love to be inculturated in world cultures.[29]

Christ here retains the character of being weak and despised, as underlined in the previous period of Endo's literary production. The new element is above all the pluralistic framework. Christ is no longer

[27] Endo 1993/1998: 350 (215).
[28] Ref. Endo 1947, 1954(a), 1955(a), 1955(b), 1965, etc.
[29] Phillippians 2:5–11. Ref. Eto N. 1998: 165.

seen only in a Christian context, but as a figure of love and self sacrifice incarnated in a plurality of religious and ethnic contexts.

The Transformed Maternal Christ

In the previous chapter I maintained that the maternal aspect of Christ was prominent in the second stage of Endo's literary work. In the third stage of his literary work, the images of the Hindu goddess Chamunda and the River Ganges add new religious and ethnic dimensions to the maternal image of Christ.

Chamunda and Ganges

Chamunda

In *Deep River*, Endo presents 'the mother of Asia', a metaphor of love at work in Hindu culture. The tour guide, who has a personal attachment to Hindu goddesses, takes the protagonists of the novel to the underground chamber of a *Nakshar Bhagaviti* temple, (meaning 'a woman who showers mercy') to see some goddesses. He explains:

> Many of the Indian goddesses take on not only gentle forms, but also frightening visages. I suppose that's because they symbolize all the activities of life, both birth and, simultaneously, death. (They are very different from the Holy Mary…) Mary is a representation of the Mother, but the goddesses of India are at the same time symbols of the forces of nature that exalt passionately in death and blood. [Endo 1993/98: 223]

The explanation did not catch the men's enthusiasm. From the word 'goddess' they expected something tender and maternal which gently embraces humankind.[30] The tour guide, though, asks them to look at his favorite goddess, Chamunda. He explains:

> Chamunda lives in graveyards. At her feet you can see human corpses that have been pecked by birds and devoured by jackals.… Her breasts droop like those of an old woman. And yet she offers milk from her withered breasts to the children who line up before her. Can you see how her right leg has festered as though afflicted with leprosy? Her belly has carved in from hunger, and scorpions have stung her there. Enduring all these ills and pains, she offers milk from her sagging breasts to human kind. [Endo 1993/98: 225 (139–140)]

[30] Endo 1993/98: 224 (139).

Chamunda is a motherly goddess of India, a special form of self-sacrificial love. She is a mother of grief, who suffers with Indians and endures every kind of agony. She is old, skinny, ugly and deteriorated. Yet, she offered her dried up breasts to hungry children. Though her image was carved in the 12th century, it illustrates the unchanging suffering of India. She is a maternal image in India, a symbol of power and strength in her self-sacrificial love for people in great crises. Her love is for the most miserable, the most abandoned, who have nowhere to turn.

The Mother Ganges

After showing the group the Hindu goddess, the tour guide took them to the river that he calls "the great mother Ganges". The 'great mother' reminded the visitors of Chamunda, the mother of Asia; an old woman reduced to skin and bones and gasping for breath, who "groans beneath the weight of the torments of this life".[31]

When the tour reaches Varanasi, they see hundreds of thousands of people gathered on the banks of the river. Bathing in the Ganges is, the guide explains, like an act of purification in Shinto but at the same time, it is "an act of supplication for release from the cycle of transmigration and reincarnation".[32]

> With the golden light of the sun splitting the darkness as their signal, pilgrims who have gathered in the city assemble at the many ghàts. They vie with one another to plunge into the great mother river. The maternal river accepts both the living and the dead. That's what is meant by holy. [Endo 1993/98: 229]

Endo describes the mother river as the life force that embraces and nurtures every creature, accepting all.[33] The metaphor of the river can thus be understood as a symbol for this huge life force.[34] The river is

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[31] Endo 1993/98: 285 (175).

[32] Ibid.: 174 (107).

[33] Ref. Endo 1993/98: 232 (143–144), 302 (185), and 317 (195).

[34] In 1991, Endo published a historical novel, *Man's Life*, in which he presented the Kiso river as an important symbol underlying the novel. A Buddhist *samurai*, Maeda (the main protagonist of the novel), was born and raised near the Kiso and his life was spent by the river. When he was invited to become a Christian, he claimed, "For us (his wife and a daughter who have passed away)…our spiritual home is…the Kiso." (Endo 1991/96: 106 and 92.) The novel is concluded as Endo, the storyteller, sitting by the Kiso says: "It is dawn. I sit by the river folding my knees and staring at the water that silently flows like an eternal life." (Endo 1991/96: 108.) *Deep River* continues the motif of *Man's Life*, and the Ganges can be read as an extended line of the novel.

people's spiritual home, and Endo was seeking a 'life' beyond culture, tradition, nationality, races, or religious differences. Through Mitsuko, Endo wants to say that every individual carries his or her own burdens, and the river embraces these people and carries them away.[35] Each individual is a tiny water drop that comes into the stream of life, and the vast river flows downstream naturally. The water flows gracefully for hundreds of years, not opposing the natural law, and settles 'as it is' into the ocean. The huge life force of the river keeps the water flowing toward the one stream of life. This image points towards a new dimension of the maternal Christ. Endo's image of Christ takes on a new impersonal spiritual dimension. Whether conscious of it or not, humankind lives in this great stream of life as illustrated by the Ganges.

Rebirth

The resurrection of Christ after his death is of great importance for Endo's faith. The Hindu goddess Chamunda and the mother river Ganges symbolize the energy of life, death and rebirth in nature and culture, in personal and communal life.

In *Deep River*, Endo raises the issue of life after death through the protagonist Isobe at the very beginning of the novel. However, he used neither the Christian term *fukkatsu* nor the Buddhist term *tensho*.[36] In choosing the term *umare-kawari*, he abstains from Catholic terminology, and develops his own view on life after death as someone Japanese in a global context.

> The sunlight had shed, but the River Ganges alone continued to flow softly, indifferent to everything. Numada felt that the river is a next world reserved for the dead. He remembered a children's story which he had written many years ago. . . .
>
> . . . Shinkichi's grandfather and grandmother had lived in a village by the Yashiro-Sea in Kyushu. His grandfather died eight years ago, and he is well remembered as a great master of squid-catcher in the village.—Shinkichi lived in Tokyo, and he hardly visited his grandfather's house. Three years ago in the summer, he returned to the village for *bon*

[35] Endo 1993/98: 342 (210–211).

[36] These translate as *fukkatsu* (resurrection), *tensho* (*samsara*/reincarnation), *umare-kawari* (reborn). In the diary, Endo stated, "I do not distinguish between reincarnation and resurrection" Endo 1997(c): 318 (July 27, 1992). Fr. Inoue claims, "(for Endo) 'reborn' is a symbolic term which has a wider meaning than reincarnation or resurrection". Inoue 1993: 163.

> festival for the dead. During the day, an elder cousin taught him how to swim in the glimmering Yashiro-Sea, and at night they took him out fishing. He enjoyed himself everyday. At night from the beach, he could see the torches from the squid-catching boats stretched out like a bridge of fire. On the night of the *bon* festival, his grandmother and relatives lit lantern from their boats and set them afloat into the sea. There were many candle-lit lanterns floated in the water. 'Your grandpa has become a fish and lives in this sea', his grandmother told Shinkichi with a serious face. 'This sea is the world where we live after we die. When your grandma dies oneday, I will have my ashes cast into this sea, and I will become a fish and be able to see your grandpa again'. His grandmother seemed to believe everything she told him. When Shinkichi asked his cousin, 'Is that true?' The elder boy with a sober look answered, 'Of course it's true. That is what everyone in the village believes. My sister died when she was in the elementary school, but she is a fish now, and swimming around at the bottom of this sea'. [Endo 1993/98:236–237 (146–147)]

The issue of the eschaton and life after death is one of the key issues underlying the novel. The last words of Isobe's wife play a very important role in inviting readers to take a spiritual journey to India with Isobe to discover the meaning of salvation. She told her husband that the tree she talked with had said "life never ends"[37] and she asked him to find her after she dies. At her funeral, a Japanese Buddhist monk says that a person will be reborn by the forty-ninth day and that people attain new life by being reborn as someone's child.[38] At the same time, Isobe hears Keiko's last word again. Listening in dismay, his investigation began. Four years later he is in Varanasi on the banks of the mother Ganges:

> Isobe sensed that he had at last entered into the land of rebirth. He didn't really believe in anything like rebirth himself. But in the very deepest parts of his ears he could hear his wife's final delirious ravings: 'I…know for sure…I'll be reborn somewhere in this world. Look for me…find me…promise…promise!' [Endo 1993/98: 175 (108)]

Failing to find a girl reborn in India, Isobe finally discovered worldly salvation by accepting that his wife is 'reborn' within himself. In the Japanese Shinto/Buddhist cultural context, salvation is not found in heaven. In *Deep River* the Japanese group, who joined the tour to visit the birthplace of Buddha, stayed by the Ganges. It implies that the ultimate importance for Endo was not religion, but a stage where reli-

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[37] Endo 1993/98: 12 (9).
[38] Ibid.: 28.

gious diversities were accepted. This was found by the banks of the Mother Ganges where the spiritual journey of the protagonists ended. Ootsu lived by the river with the conviction that Jesus is 'reborn' inside himself. Numada, after releasing the bird, realized that animals are 'reborn' in his children's stories. For Kiguchi the figure of Gaston, who had once saved him, appears in a delirious nightmare, and heals and saves him.[39] Gaston is 'reborn' not only in his friend, but also within Kiguchi. Here, by the river Ganges, each of them found their own meaning of salvation in this world.

Maternal Compassion

The metaphor of the Ganges and the image of Chamunda emphasise that maternal compassion/love is powerless in this world but powerful in spirituality. With Chamunda, Endo's maternal image of Christ shows a dynamic development.

The concept of maternal compassion can be comprehended as *Jihi* in Buddhist terms. The Bodhisattva *Amida* made a vow that she would not become the Buddha until all people were saved.[40] *Amida*'s desire was to save all sentient beings from suffering, and her compassion is appreciated as *jihi*. *Jihi* (*metta-karuna*, friendliness-mercy) is something like friendship between persons, and sympathy toward others on an existential level. *Metta* originally means to give comfort, and *karuna* is the voice of pain for friends that comes out naturally from one's mouth. It is the highest form of friendship.[41] The following statement of the Buddha displays the significance of *jihi*:

> Like the mother protecting her child, even sacrificing her own life, you must have infinite compassion towards every living thing.[42]

The religious concept of love for the Japanese took human form in mothers; the mother's infinite compassion towards every living thing. In the novel, through the tour guide, Endo was recalling his own mother. While the tour guide was explaining about the Hindu goddess Chamunda, Endo was recalling his mother who had raised him, enduring

[39] Gaston is a character's name Endo often uses in his novels. He represents the image of Jesus. See Chapter 3: Literary Form of the Novel.

[40] See Chapter 2: Development of Japanese Buddhism, for *Amida*'s vow.

[41] Cf. *Jihi-kisha* 慈悲喜捨: give comfort, take away suffering, joy seeing others comforted, and then the arising of great equanimity. *Nehan-kyo* vol. 12: 435.

[42] *Suttanipata* 149. Quoted from Minamoto 1996: 93.

many trials and tribulations of her own after she was abandoned by her husband.[43]

The dimension of maternal compassion provides, in other words, an extension of Endo's previously expressed motherly concept of Christ, which had been so influenced by the *Maria Kannon* and the faith of *Kakure Kirishitans*. By means of Chamunda, and not least the all-embrancing metaphor of the Ganges, the concept of the maternal Christ now takes on a broader, multireligious character.

The Divine Transformation of Christ

In this last part of the chapter I discuss how Endo's image of Christ as the ever-present companion was developed. In three brief sections the different features of spirituality in Endo's third stage are considered.

Searching for God

An important theme of *Deep River* is spirituality. It is illustrated in a variety of ways, such as in the search for God or in prayer. These are present in Ootsu and Mitsuko from the very beginning. We have already seen how Ootsu searched for God. This was also the case with Mitsuko. She represents a post-war generation of people who are materially fulfilled. Living an ordinary life like others, she knows that she lacks something deep inside. From the first time she met Ootsu at university, she could not ignore him because he was a Christian who believed in a god that she did not understand or even care about. To amuse herself she challenged God saying that she will take Ootsu away from him.

> The whole thing had started from the rather childish desire to make fun not of Ootsu, but of the God in whom he believed. [Endo 1993/98: 58 (37)]

Mitsuko initiated a conversation with the God in whom she had no faith, like a child talking to an imaginary friend. She says:

> Well, God, what would you think if I stole this fellow away from you? [Endo 1993/98: 70 (48)]

She succeeded in the game, getting Ootsu to abandon his faith and also abandoning him herself. Years later, she heard that Ootsu was living in Lyon in order to become a priest; he had returned to God. On her

[43] Endo 1993/98: 226 (140).

honeymoon in France, Mitsuko visited Lyon by herself to see Ootsu. She divorced her husband some years later, and joined the tour to India to find Ootsu. She did not know why she was searching for him:

> She had no truly firm understanding of why she had decided to come to India. Sometimes she even felt as though her life played itself out not in line with her intentions, but at the whim of some other invisible power. [Endo 1993/98: 182 (113)]

The way to Varanasi seemed to Mitsuko like walking down into a realm of spiritual darkness.[44] Unknowingly, Mitsuko was searching for spiritual fulfilment; through Ootsu a relationship between Mitsuko and God had started.[45]

When Mitsuko found Ootsu in Varanasi he was dressed and acted like a Brahmin. Mitsuko criticized his behaviour because he was not a Hindu but a Christian. Yet she felt Ootsu was filled with spirituality. She tried to rationalize and deny the world in which he lived.

There is no immediate answer given to Mitsuko's search. She searches for the God that she challenged in her youth. Feeling a sense of desolation, her search is finally fulfilled in the spirituality of prayer towards the end of the journey. She suddenly decides to buy a *sari* in order to bathe in the Ganges River with Hindu men and women. In the flow of the river, where life and death coexist in harmony, her spirituality is awakened. At last, she finds what she was thirsting for all her life. In the Mother Ganges, prayer arises and takes place by itself automatically. She tries to rationalize that she was just pretending to pray. However, the words are transmuted into a prayer:

> What I can believe in now is the sight of all these people, each carrying his or her own individual burdens, praying at this deep river.... I believe that the river embraces these people and carries them away. A river of humanity. The sorrows of this deep river of humanity. And I am a part of it. [Endo 1993/98: 342 (210–211)]

Through the process of encountering Ootsu, Mitsuko embarked on a spiritual journey through her own personal darkness. Through her

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[44] Endo 1993/98: 176.

[45] "It seemed as though she had unconsciously been following in Ootsu's wake, chasing after something she could not define. This fellow they had nicknamed Pierrot, who had 'no form nor majesty', whom she had 'despised and rejected'. Though she had made him a plaything of her pride, he had deeply wounded that same pride." Endo 1993/98: 286 (1994: 175).

action in the Mother Ganges, Endo communicates that she has risen to a true awareness of being in the presence of the Divine. "The Mother Ganges embraces everything of humankind".[46]

Through Mitsuko, Endo looks for God, who is transcendent and immanent, in and behind Christ. In the words of Ootsu, he states:

> I don't think God is someone to be looked up to as a being separated from man, the way you regard him. I think it is within human being, and that it is a great life force that embraces man, embraces trees, flowers, and grasses. [Endo 1993/98: 191]

To Endo, Christ now appears in the search of a divine spirituality—the search for and communication with God, the great life force.

God has Different Faces

In *Deep River*, Endo embraced the Japanese religious situation, where a diversity of religions co-exist and where people do not hesitate to synthesize religions. They go to shrines, temples, and churches, and worship in different traditions without hesitation. There is harmony in religious diversity. Reflecting his own religious experience, Endo promotes a universal vision of Christ through the protagonist Ootsu: Christ is present in this world not only in European churches, but can be found in Hinduism and Buddhism, as well as in other religions. Ootsu states:

> God has many different faces. I don't think God exists exclusively in the churches and chapels of Europe. I think he is also among the Jews and the Buddhists and the Hindus. [Endo 1993/98: 196 (121)]

God is reshaped as a divine spirituality to be found in different religions. Though this idea was criticized as a delusion by others, Endo claimed it is not necessary to hold onto the institutional church doctrines of western theology, or even onto the names of God, Jesus Christ, *kami*, or Buddha.

Thus, true religious experience is not limited to any one heritage. The common factor between humans is that they are all cultural beings by nature. Our religious nature is expressed in various ways because faith is essentially a person in relationship to the divine. It is openly stressed by Ootsu that "if one is unfamiliar with or gets irritated with the terms, God, Jesus, or Christ, it can be called 'Love', 'warmth of

[46] Endo 1993/98: 323.

life', 'x', 'tomato' or 'onion'."[47] Endo explained, "Onion exists everywhere…Onion is Love, a life force, that enables us to live."[48] Clearly Endo thought that people can find a true religious identity through their own practice, with the diversity of cultural orientations pointing towards a variety of names for the divine.[49]

God as Pneumatic and the Immanent Christ

God—Ever-present as Love

Endo tells people that Christ is the ever-present companion of a universal God. In *Deep River*, the image of Christ is also refocused in *pneumatic* terms; an all-embracing spirit of love is empahasised, which Christ embodies. The letter of Ootsu to Mitsuko testifies to the steadfastness of love:[50]

> Just as my Onion is always beside me, he is always within you and beside you, too. He is the only one who can understand your pain and your loneliness. [Endo 1993/98: 195 (120)]

Endo firmly believed that the love of God reaches each individual and awakens his/her spirituality. It is God's universal action, the spirit of love.[51] The core of Christianity that was inculturated in Endo's novels was the infinite love of God as a life affirming spirituality.[52]

As I mentioned earlier, the issue of soteriology in connection to rebirth is not only presented through Isobe and his wife, but also through other protagonists: Ootsu, Numada, Kiguchi, and Mitsuko.

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[47] Endo 1993/98: 103 (63), 200 (124). The English text translated "x" as "something". Cf 294 (180).

[48] "God is not so much an existence as a force. This Onion is an entity that performs the labors of love." Endo 1993/98: 104 (1994: 64).

[49] Ref. Endo 1993/98: 195–196 (121) and 1983/88: 23.

[50] Endo stated in the diary that: "(Today I) rewrite the section of letter of Ootsu. It is a very important part of the novel, yet Japanese literary world would ignore it…" Endo 1997(c): 325 (October 17, 1992).

[51] Once he said with humor, "Keep peeling the onion, and you find nothing but love." Moreover, he wrote: "No other man but 'x' can truly understand the inner pain that one carries." "x certainly lives, like something that makes human beings live a higher level—I myself call it Jesus."

[52] Also in 1991, Endo stated in *Men's Life*: God does not exist outside men nor the heaven above we praise. God—covertly and hiddenly acts in depth of men's heart. Yes, God is the act in men's heart. It cannot be seen but there must have been hidden acts that led you to your happiness. Did you not feel it? [Endo 1991/1996: 109].

Through them, Endo emphasised that love is powerless in this world, but powerful in spirit as an ever-present companion.

Kiguchi became ill during the trip, and in delirious utterances he calls out the name of Gaston. By the river Ganges, Kiguchi confesses to Mitsuko about Gaston, a foreign volunteer who played the role of a Pierrot in the hospital.

> I understand that after my friend died, (Gaston) came there to help my friend, and after my friend died, he left. When my friend was about to die in his despair, having done a thing no human should ever do, that fellow came to be with him. Gaston…for my friend, at least, he was an Ohenro-san who walked with him along the same paths. [Endo 1993/98: 323–324][53]

Kiguchi understands that Gaston told his friend that one can find the love of God even in the midst of an awful hell. In a dream Gaston was embracing his friend saying that he ate human flesh in order to save Kiguchi. It is an unhuman act, but he has done it out of compassion. Thus, he will be saved. Kiguchi understands that this is the meaning of rebirth. Here, Gaston, a Christian foreign volunteer worker, becomes alive in the Japanese Buddhist men, Tsukada and Kiguchi.

Mitsuko realizes the love of Jesus was 'reborn' in Ootsu, as well as in the two nuns helping the dying, and now in Mitsuko's own heart through the dying Ootsu. The divine Spirit of Christ is incarnated within Ootsu, and, by extension, in others who follow the way Jesus Christ showed. Finally and suddenly she is awakened to the spirit of love. She is reborn in her new self.

In presenting the possibility of salvation in this world, Endo clearly stated:

> I understand 'resurrection' in the Bible, is to return to the huge life-force that makes us live. This has nothing to do with new life or revival.[54]

Endo's faith in Christianity, in Jesus' resurrection/incarnation, had been pivotal in his spirituality. Finally, in *Deep River*, he expressed his views on life beyond death that transcend the official positions of institutional

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[53] Cf. Chapter 4: Christ as an Ever-present Companion. Ohenro-san is a pilgrim who follows the steps of Kûkai, a Buddhist monk. Here, I find that English translation does not carry out Endo's intension.

[54] Endo 1993(a): 27.

churches and even religious boundaries.[55] Human beings are not extinguished by death, but they are reborn in other's hearts. It does not mean reborn as a transmigration of the soul or mere memory, but the spirits arrive inside, live, move, and have their being. This is explained to Mitsuko, an atheist Japanese, as a counterpart of the dialogue with Ootsu. Ootsu explains Jesus with the word "Onion" as she (representing most Japanese who are non-Christians) easily becomes irritated when he uses theological terms.

> When the Onion was killed… the disciples who survived finally understood his love and what it meant. Every one of them survived by abandoning him and running away. The Onion continued to love them even though they had betrayed him. As a result, Onion remained in each of their guilty hearts, and they could never forget him. The disciples set out for distant lands to tell others the story of Onion's life.… After that, Onion continued to live in the hearts of his disciples. He died but he incarnated in their hearts. [Endo 1993/98: 301–302]

Ootsu explains that the 'Onion' (Jesus) is love, and that he is risen (incarnated) in his disciples and even in himself. Ootsu says to Mitsuko, "Look at me… he's alive even inside a man like me."[56] With this claim, Endo emphasizes that Jesus is resurrected as Christ in the heart of the human being. It is not that of physical revival, but of restoration to life in human hearts. Onion (Jesus) lived within his disciples' hearts. The Onion died, but he was reborn within them to bring love and salvation to those who are left in this world. For Endo, the religious terms resurrection in Christianity, *samsara* in Hinduism, and *karma* in Buddhism, have the same meanings as reincarnation. In order for the readers to be familiar with the concept, however, he chose to use the word 'reborn', a common everyday word in Japan. In this way,

[55] Endo's theological concern about Jesus' resurrection is raised early in *A Life of Jesus* (1968): "Three days after Jesus' death, (the number of days is not important as it is just a symbolic figure) the disciples see him again. It is a rediscovery of the master whom the disciples did not know or had misunderstood. This is another starting point. Jesus died in reality, but appeared in a new form and started to live in the disciples. This is, in other words, Jesus Christ restored in a new form in the disciples. One of the essential meanings of the resurrection is the disciples' rediscovery of Christ." Endo 1978. Also it is worth noting that Endo has used the term "Enigma 'X'" in his early stages to express the resurrection. See Endo 1973(b).

[56] Endo 1993/98: 301–302 (185).

he expressed the importance of God as "an entity that performs the labors of love".[57]

According to Endo, the awakening of Jesus by the spirit and his practice of love are not limited to him or his social context. The spirit of Christ also appears in others. Therefore the name of the divine is not so important as the action of the spirit that encourages one to an appropriate praxis of faith. Through Ootsu, Endo describes his own personal thoughts:

> Since my youth, thanks to my mother the one thing I was able to believe in was a mother's warmth. The warmth of her hand as it held mine, the warmth of her body when she cradled me, the warmth of her love, the warmth that kept her from abandoning me even though I was so much more dumbly sincere than my brothers and sisters. My mother told me all about the person you call my Onion, and she taught me that this Onion was a vastly more powerful accumulation of this warmth—in other words, love itself. I lost my mother when I got older, and I realized then that what lay at the source of my mother's warmth was a portion of the love of my Onion. Ultimately what I have sought is nothing more than the love of that Onion, not any of the other innumerable doctrines mouthed by the various churches.… Love, I think, is the core of this world we live in, and through our long history that is all the Onion has imparted to us. The thing we are most lacking in our modern world is love; love is the thing no one believes in any more; love is what everyone mockingly laughs at, and that is why someone like me wants to follow my Onion with dumb sincerity.… My trust is in the life of the Onion, who endured genuine torment for the sake of love, who exhibited love on our behalf. As time passes, I feel that trust strengthening within me. I haven't been able to adapt myself to the thinking and the theology of Europe, but when I suffer all alone, I can feel the smiling presence of my Onion, who knows all my trials. And just as he told the travellers on the road to Emmaus when he walked beside them, he has said to me 'Come, follow me.' [Endo 1993/98: 192–193 (119)]

Endo here describes the love of God behind his image of Christ that he received through his mother, and holds that this spirit of love is incarnated in others. Christ is reborn as love in history and in this contemporary world. We thus see how the idea of an 'ever-present Christ', previously connected with the resurrection of Christ, takes on a new shape. Emphasizing spirituality as the mode of divine being,

[57] Endo 1993/98: 104 (64).

Endo goes on to interpret the presence of Christ as love reborn in human hearts. In this way, his multireligious understanding of God can be seen as climaxing in an understanding of Christ as divine love at work worldwide in different religious contexts.

Metaphor of God Incarnated

As explained in chapter 3, Endo explores the metaphysical world by employing narrative, symbol, image, and metaphor. This is his way of expressing an implicit theology of religion. It is also his approach in *Deep River*, and I now go on to explore the meaning of the various metaphors in this work.

As Tsukada confessed to Kiguchi about his sin of having eaten human flesh, far away through the window Kiguchi saw "three birds flying in triangular formation in the grey sky. The birds seemed to Kiguchi to symbolize some profound meaning in life." [Endo 1993/98: 158–159 (98)]

Grey: mourning and humility
Three, triangular: Trinity
Bird: noble spirit

The protagonists arrived in India at night and after three hours drive in the dark, they see the light. "Through the tunnel, they saw a light at the far end of the darkness." [Endo 1993/98: 177]

Darkness: The Devil is the owner of the dark.
Light: Jesus Christ[58]

In the hotel, after returning from an unsuccessful search for his wife, Isobe stared at the white afternoon sunlight—Mitsuko was also sitting on the sofa in her room and staring at the same white light. She remembered the river Ganges, and the goddess Chamunda. The white light also reminded her of the old days of the chapel in her university (and a verse from Isaiah 53:2–3 which is quoted). [Endo 1993/98: 285 (174–175)]

[58] Cf. John 8:12, 'I am the light of the world. Whoever follows me will never walk in darkness but will have the light of life.'

White: Innocent, purity, Life
White Light: God's Grace
In the same page, "white light" appears three times.

Describing Ootsu carring the dead to the Mother Ganges, "He began to walk. By now the morning light had begaun to ray into the city, as of to suggest that God had finally noticed the sufferings of man." [Endo 1993/98: 314 (193)]

Dawn: the symbol of Jesus' resurrection

Mitsuko, staring at the river Ganges, thinks that the love of God is useless in this world. At the same time, she recalls the verse of Isaiah 53:2–3 which leads her to remember Ootsu and Chamunda: "She noticed one skinny cow standing on a stone step nearby, watching the same scene with compassionate eyes."

Cow: An offering for God in the Jewish tradition.
Symbol for Jesus as a sacrifice.
Symbol for endurance and power.
Symbol for slaves who work patiently for others.
Compassionate eyes: All-mighty power of God.

Endo weaved his faith in the concrete presence of God and his mighty grace in the world into the novel, through the use of metaphors such as above.

In this section, I have presented Endo's transformed image of Christ—the *kenotic* Christ, the maternal Christ, and ever-present Christ as divine love. The *Kenotic* Christ in a pluralist context extends Endo's image of Christ in solidarity with the poor. Endo's maternal Christ also takes on pluralist features. Endo also opened up a new vision of God in relation to the world, as an ever-present love transcending religious boundaries.

Christ for the World

During the second half of the 20th century, Japan experienced rapid economic growth. By the 1960s, with the speedy expansion of its GNP, Japan was ranked as second to the US among the market economies. After the two oil crises (1973 and 1979) Japan promoted external eco-

nomic relations, and in direct overseas investment Japan has attained world leadership. In the early years of the third millennium Japan can be seen as one of world's dominant economic powers.

Endo developed his thought in the third stage of his literary works within this social context. At this stage he gave growing emphasis to Japanese religious initiatives. This stood in contrast with his earlier work where western religion and culture provided the initiative, and Japan acted as a suppressed and passive recipient. With this growing confidence in things Japanese, there also emerges a more positive appreciation of western thought in Endo's work; for example, for John Hick's pluralist theology of religion and Jungian ideas about the unconscious human being.

Developments in Endo's Thought

One aspect of Endo's turn towards a broader global awareness is his concept of missionary giving and receiving.

The novel *Silence* (1966) illustrates a one-way mission from the West to Japan. Father Rodrigues appears as a man of faith whose mission is to bring Christianity into Japan. For him, Japan is a land of darkness that needs the light of God, a land of despair which needs hope, and a land of hate which needs the love of God. Into this Japanese land he was eager to plant the seed of Christianity and prove that it can take root and grow. However, he encountered the silence of God, and people's endless suffering. At the end he discovers the love of God through Christ on the *fumie* that he stepped on.

Also in *The Samurai* (1980) the mission came from the West, implying a one-sided domination of power.[59] Velasco, a Spanish missionary with much confidence in his Christian faith, planned to proselyte the

[59] As I mentioned earlier, Endo describes critically the hostile attitude of the two rival Orders. "As I (Velasco) try to contain the anger welling within me, an indescribable sadness consumes my breast. Though we believe in the same God, worship the same Lord Jesus, and share the same desire to make Japan a nation of God, we feud and fight amongst ourselves. Why must men always be so ugly and selfish? Instead of becoming purer within the structure of our religious societies, at times we become uglier than any layman. We seem at this point to be far removed from the obedience, the long-suffering and the limitless meekness which the saints possessed." Endo 1980: 322 (1982: 139).

Japanese and become the Bishop of Japan.[60] He observed the missionary world through the glasses of a diplomat who wants to conquer a foreign land.[61] Velasco travelled back to the West with four Japanese *samurai*, Hasekura, Matsuki, Tanaka, and Nishi, as well as their servants and Japanese merchants. Hasekura and his loyal retainer discover a new meaning for life and return to Japan with their own image of Christ. During the trip with the Japanese servants, Verasco's understanding of Christianity changes little by little. However, though he could stay in his homeland, he returns to Japan and dies a martyr. This reflects his dynamic western beliefs; he worships and serves a Christ of power and glory.

In *Deep River* (1993) the missionary process takes a new turn. The mission is not a western initiative but a Japanese one towards the wider world. Ootsu met Jesus in Japan and suffered with him. He went to Europe to study authentic Christianity, yet his pantheistic thoughts were not accepted by the western Church and he lost his ecclesiastical status. At last, he was led to India, and served society through following his image of Christ. Ootsu had been baptized in Japan and now he carried his understanding of Christianity to the world with the simple motivation of following the suffering Christ.

Endo did not state clearly what he meant by the term 'West' that he often uses. By tracing his critical view of the western missionary approach, I understand his usage of the terms 'West' and 'Japan' as metaphors that stand for 'giver' and 'recipient' respectively. In his works there is a strong opposition toward the western missionary form of 'giving', with its patriarchal features and dominance of power implied. Historically, Christian mission was connected with colonial adventurism, transplanting the religion with Latin, a western catechism, western rules and prayers.[62] Missionaries suppressed local beliefs, labeling them

[60] I understand that Endo was retelling the history of "*Reconquista*": The King of Spain and Portugal extended unlimited rights over their colonial churches and often exercised these rights to the detriment of the mission.

[61] Endo 1980: 284, 286, 327 (1982: 97, 100, 144).

[62] It is a historical fact that the Kings of Spain and Portugal extended unlimited rights over their colonial churches and often exercised these rights to the detriment of the mission, *conquista*. This is one of the main reasons why the Shognate finally decided to close Japan to foreign countries (*Sakoku*) in 1639, churches were destroyed, and foreign missionaries were expelled. See Chapter 2: *Koshinto* and *Kami*.

as pagan.[63] Seen from the Japanese perspective, Christianity itself was pagan, destroying people's way of living and their peaceful state of mind. A dichotomy appeared between European and Japanese culture. The two world-views of monotheism and poly/pantheism came into sharp contrast. The Church as well as the missionaries, however, emphasized adoption of western theology, the worship of 'their' God.[64] Moreover, the West advocated the adoption of their "rites and customs".[65] The missionary attitude thus remained the attitude of a 'giver', assuming the superiority of western culture and Christian absoluteness. On the other hand, Japan is a metaphor for the passive reception of foreign teaching and its people recipients of western initiatives. Thus, the image of the Church, tainted with western conquest and theological arrogance, served to make people fear a loss of national identity.

Endo, however, emphasised an active receiving process, whereby each individual is free to choose his/her religion. He promoted the idea of active reception, in order to inculturate Christianity into new contexts. In *Deep River*, Ootsu approves of the process of conversion, whereby a Buddhist abandons his faith and becomes a Christian.[66] Ootsu transcends, however, the conflict between Japanese and western values, pointing at the universal love of Christ which is manifested in the present situation, where we live, move and have our own being.

Above, I have outlined a model of contextualization where the West is the giver and Japan the receiver. However, neither religions nor cultures are static and unchanging. In the words of Swyngedouw, a Roman Catholic western scholar, "Christianity is transformed by its believers to fit a certain unique culture", and in this way, Christianity makes it possible to unite religion and culture.[67] The inculturation of Christianity thus transcends national cultures. Therein lies a challenge

[63] Its (the church as the bearer of culture) missionary outreach thus meant a movement from the civilized to the "savage" and from a "superior" culture to "inferior" cultures—a process in which the latter had to be subdued, if not eradicated. Thus Christian mission, as a matter of course, presupposed the disintegration of the cultures into which it penetrated. Bosch 1991: 448.

[64] Endo claimed that the Japanese do not comprehend "the western" image of God. Endo 1969/75: 26, 1973(b), 1979: 1–2.

[65] Bosch 1994: 291–298.

[66] Ootsu answered: "I think it's possible (for a Buddhist to abandon his religion and become a Christian). In the same way that each individual chooses a suitable member of the opposite sex to marry." Endo 1993/98: 199 (123).

[67] Swyngedouw in Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture (ed.) 1984: 59.

not only to the Japanese, but also to world cultures: how to preserve indigenous traditions and assimilate aspects of their faith.[68] The scope of inculturation in *Deep River* turns out to be Japan within the context of world cultures.

The Hickian Approach of Endo

> I no longer hold a conflict between "Gods and God".—As I am inclined to Religious Pluralism. [Endo 1992(a): 416]

The increasingly positive appreciation of a pluralist theology of religions offers another aspect of Endo's image of a 'Christ for the world'. In the diary found after his death, Endo indicated that John Hick's books,[69] *Problems of Religious Pluralism* and *God has Many Names*, inspired him to write the novel.[70] On 7 October 1991, Endo asked Mase Hiromasa (1938–)[71] to give a talk on John Hick's philosophy of religion at one of the Monday meetings that Endo used to hold to discuss different topics. On that occasion Mase did not realize that his lecture would become a central theme for Endo's last novel, *Deep River*.[72]

Hick's hypothesis is that such great religions as Christianity, Buddhism, and Islam describe different aspects of the same Reality. The variety of religious experiences of people of different faiths testify that each experience has the same genuine authenticity, despite the different forms it takes. The key principle of pluralism is that salvation consists

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[68] "In an extraordinary policy statement in 1969 it advised its missionaries not to force people to change their customs, as long as they were not opposed to religion or morality. The statement went on to say:

What could be more absurd than to carry France, Spain, or Italy or any part of Europe into China? It is not this sort of thing you are to bring but rather the Faith, which does not reject or damage people's rites and customs, provided these are not depraved." Bosch 1991: 449.

[69] John Hick (1922–) is a philosopher/theologian of religion, born in England, and an advocate of religious pluralism. Ref. Mase E. 1994.

[70] Endo 1997(c): 287 (Nov. 5, 1992).

[71] Mase Hiromasa is professor emeritus at Keio University in Philosophy. He studied under John Hick in England from 1974 to 1975. Mase has eagerly introduced John Hick's philosophy of religion in Japan, and he has made a great contribution to the field of religious pluralism in the country.

[72] *Getsuyo-kai* (a Monday meeting) was held once every Monday. H. Mase says Endo seriously listened to his lecture and he felt a certain pressure at that time. The influence of Mase's lecture on Hick is obvious in *Deep River*.

of transformation from self-centeredness to Reality-centeredness.[73] This transformation is not limited by the nature of the mediator. Hick claims that reality is in itself beyond the scope of our human conceptual system, but nevertheless universally present as the very ground of our being. "And in collaboration with the religious aspect of human nature it has produced both the personal and non-personal foci of religious worship and meditation—the gods and absolutes—which exist at the interface between the Real and the human mind."[74] Hick's great contribution is that his religious pluralism broke through the exclusive theologies of Christianity and opened a way towards a reality-centered view of religions.

Agreeing with Hick's theology of religious pluralism, that the great world religions are different human responses to "the same ultimate transcendent reality", my understanding of him comes from my background in a pluralism-oriented culture.[75] As illustrated in chapter 2, religious pluralism is lived daily in Japanese society. Endo's understanding of Hick was mediated by the interpretation of a Japanese translator, and thus transformed into a Japanese context.[76] It is necessary to keep this in mind when discussing how Hick's pluralism was interpreted by Endo and how it became implicit in *Deep River*.

First, the concept of God is vague and not explicit in this novel or his other novels. In the West, there is a profound debate about whether God is personal or impersonal, immanent or transcendent, one or many. However, these issues only arise when people have a preconception about God as the transcendent One as in monotheistic religion.

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[73] Religious pluralism is "the view that the great world faiths embody different perceptions and conceptions of, and correspondingly different responses to, the Real or the Ultimate from within the major variant cultural ways of being human; and that within each of them the transformation of human existence from self-centeredness to reality-centeredness is manifestly taking place.... Thus the great religious traditions are to be regarded as alternative soteriological 'space' within which, or 'ways' along which, men and women can find salvation/ liberation/ enlightenment/ fulfillment." Hick 1985: 47.

[74] Hick 1999: 77.

[75] "In Asia (inculturation takes the form of) the search for identity amid the density of religious pluralism." Bosch 1991: 454. Hick himself kindly supports my understanding. In my MA dissertation, I described my understanding of the Real as *Mu*. Hick 1995: 156.

[76] In "The diary of original work on *Deep River*" (Sep. 5, 1991) Endo wrote how much he was inspired to write the novel by John Hick claiming that "encountering the book (*Problems of Religious Pluralism*, and *God has Many Names*) must be my subconscious that had been looking for the book, rather than by chance".

When western Christianity was transplanted into Japan, the concept of God had to be related to a different context. The concept of the divine already existed in the Japanese religio-cultural context as *kami*, an ultimate spiritual force of creation and harmony. On this ground, Japanese people share the basic-shinto (*koshinto*) worldview that all things are sacred pure, and spiritual, despite their differences.[77] The Japanese see religious objects of faith as significant, and God is no exception. This Japanese interpretation of God supports Hick's pluralist theology of religion and conception of God as the Real.

Secondly, human beings interpret religious phenomena with different meanings. We must accept that people 'experience as they see'. None of these phenomena are the Real in itself, although all can be authentic manifestations to humanity.[78] Therefore, religious experience becomes an important issue in terms of faith commitment. Endo was astonished to learn that there was a theologian in the West who held such openness to other religious faiths. He was surprised to find that Hick expressed parallel ideas. He did not find Hick's ideas on pluralism to be new, but he learned from Hick that someone thought similarly to himself on these issues! In the Japanese understanding of religious pluralism, the term 'God' is an analogy that can be applied to the ultimate, ultimate reality, the real, *mu*, emptiness, fullness, truth, or openness. What God essentially is, we cannot say. We can only say how we experience God in relation to ourselves! God is both personal and impersonal, immanent and transcendent, one and many.

Thirdly, Endo's concern for salvation is not focused on the dead but on the bereaved. Salvation has to take place in this world. When Hick claims that salvation/liberation is "the transformation from self-centeredness to Reality-centeredness",[79] it is based in this world. Endo is able to interpret Hick's salvation as corresponding to the teaching of Pure Land, where self-centredness is a fundamental attachment to one's ego that affirms a closed self. Reality-centredness is oneness in everything, where Buddhanature prevails even in each and every small particle of the world. Transformation is to turn aside from one's exertions and

[77] Cf. Ueda in Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture (ed.) 1994: 141–142. Furthermore, Ueda states that differences do not prevent cooperation. Accepting that each is different, people can save themselves and still respect otherness, cooperation, and make peace together. Ueda also mentions *Deep River* in the article "God of Shrine Shinto".

[78] Hick 1999: 77–79.

[79] Hick 1985: 47.

to cast them away. 'To turn aside from one's exertions' is to abandon the tendency to think that oneself is good. Therefore one should turn to the incomprehensible vow of *Amida* that leads to the sweetest joy of *nirvana*.[80] Salvation lies in life, here and now. This interpretation of Hick leads in practice to the social engagement of Ootsu.

Forthly, Hick's pluralist theology leads to a critical attitude towards claims of absolute truth. There are many religions with different insights into the phenomenal world; the efforts of others are as common seekers of Truth. Endo, in *Deep River*, looks closely at the diversity of religious phenomena, situating protagonists in the world of different cultures, and he carefully presents people of different faiths as seekers of a common spiritual fulfillment. Through the metaphor of rivers leading to the ocean, Endo sought to situate Christianity within the context of religious pluralism.

At the end of the novel, Kiguchi chanted the Amida Sutra for his friend and other comrades who died in the war:

> Staring over the river, Kiguchi began to chant a passage from the Amida Sutra. The river flowed by. The River Ganges moved from north to south, describing a gentle curve as it went along… A young girl was standing beside him, keeping her large black eyes fixed on him and did not move. [Endo 1993/98: 326]

Mitsuko who might well have understood Kiguchi's thought actually left him. Yet a girl, who might be an Indian, stayed beside Kiguchi. The girl would not be able to understand the meaning of Kiguchi's chant, nor understand it as a Buddhist service. Here, I understand that Endo intended to place two protagonists of different nationality, religion, generation, and sex at the same place by the Mother Ganges. The religious experience is not shared. Nonetheless, they both look towards the same direction, to the Ocean, namely the Real, and in this spiritual dimension the two different faiths of Kiguchi and of the girl are comprehensible. In this way, Endo was faithful to the model of Hick's religious pluralism.

[80] This may not apply to all of Buddhism but to the *Jodo* (Pure Land) tradition. Shinran claimed that this transformation is not attained by one's own will, but by the very effect of nature. Cf. Takeda R. 1997: 207.

Jungian Thought

The religious emphasis in *Deep River* is based on the religious heritage of *koshinto*, basic Shinto, which focuses on the nature of the divine Spirit. However, Endo's image of Christ turned *pneuma*-centric in his third literary stage. The influence of Jung and the concept of the unconscious.

There is repeated reference in Endo's work to the idea of the collective unconscious. This psychological expression was inherited from the archetypes of Jung.[81] Endo explained:

> For Jungian psycho-analysis, the archetypes are an organizing principle that decide the direction of the human heart. It is hidden persistently in the unconscious, not in the consciousness. It appears differently depending on the individual, the time, and the race. Yet, the origin or archetype that give birth is common to all humankind.[82]

The collective unconscious is a kind of knowledge that all humans are born with, and yet one can never be directly conscious of it. Endo was very much influenced by Jung's idea that archetypes are shared all over the world and at all times. As a novelist, Endo stated:

> For me, I cannot help thinking that through the archetypes that God gave to humanity images and stories which try to tell something important for us are constantly produced.[83]

Endo focused on mutual understanding—how the human endeavor both of East and West could be effective and meaningful in this global world today—and his works in the third stage display this theme in the field of the subconscious. In 1989, Endo stated in the translation of *Foreign Studies*:

> The theme of the unconscious was prominent in Eastern writing long before it was taken up in western literature. Since about the 5th century A.D. one of the sects of Buddhism divided the human soul into several levels, drawing a sharp distinction between the conscious and unconscious worlds. In contrast to this, western Christianity has tended to view the world of the unconscious as belonging to the realm of evil (a belief that has influenced the works of Freud) and, as such, heretical. Even the

[81] Jung identified key motifs that the archetypes can take: the persona, the shadow, the anima/animus, the mother, the child, the wise old man, and the self. Cf. Endo 1983(d): 367–369.

[82] Endo 1983(d): 367.

[83] Ibid.: 369.

> Spanish mystics, who touched on the concept of the unconscious world, failed to treat it seriously, and it was left to Buddhism to claim that it is the unconscious which lies at the heart of man.... As a result of continuous consideration of the concept of 'the unconscious' in my literature, I am now convinced that meaningful communication between East and West is possible. I have gradually come to realize that, despite the mutual distance and the cultural and linguistic differences that clearly exist in the conscious sphere, the two hold much in common at the unconscious level. [Endo (1989: 10–11)][84]

The result of this was the theme of salvation in *Deep River*. Endo was enthusiastic about research in the field of 'near death experience' in the third stage.[85] Research shows that people of different cultural backgrounds find that they have very similar recollections when they are brought back from a close encounter with death. This is an example of shared spiritual experience by people of different cultures, traditions, and religions. In presenting the structure of the Japanese understanding of salvation, Endo nonetheless stressed that people of both East and West might find common ground. Jung's collective theory of the unconscious led him to universalize the most private and intimate experiences. It was to have ramifications for his understanding of salvation. In this perspective, salvation can transcend particular religions and denominations.

I have traced how Endo's thoughts on the inculturation of Christianity in a world context are developed. In the beginning, Endo's notion of inculturation was dualistic: Japan was the receiver and the West the giver. Developing his thoughts in the last stage of his literature, he changes this ealier model of giver and receiver into a model of mutuality and integration. Another element is his increasing focus on religious pluralism. Endo claimed that "X is an activity" or "Onion is an entity that performs the labors of love".[86] With this expression, he proposes a common denominator at work in different religions, and the

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[84] Cf. Rimer 1993: 63.

[85] The research into 'near death experiences' has been held in the field of philosophy since the 1970's. The research is to collect memories of those who have experienced death and returned to this world again. Interestingly, the findings of a survey show that people describe similar images: river, fence, or ocean, and seeing their bodies and the events surrounding them clearly, of being pulled through a long tunnel towards a bright light, of seeing deceased relatives or religious figures waiting for them, and of their disappointment at having to leave this happy scene to return to their bodies. Ref. Endo 1997(a): 71–85. Interview in 1990 with Carl Becker (1951–).

[86] Endo 1993/98: 64.

spiritual mechanism of salvation. As a Japanese Christian facing death, he emphasised the universal salvific will. The Divine can be called by many names: *Kami*/Buddha/God/The Real.

There are thus two important elements in Endo's development towards pluralist ideas. One is Jung's thoughts about the unconscious and the other is Hick's theology of religions. These accompany Endo in his growing concern for Christian contextualization in relation to world cultures.

Koshinto and Inculturation Models

I have introduced aspects of Endo's transformed image of Christ worked out in the third stage of his literature. I have argued that these build on the three dimensions of Christ analyzed in chapter 4. I have also added another aspect: Christ for the world.

In this part, firstly, I shall look at the role of *koshinto* in Endo's new, spiritual and global approach. Secondly, I shall examine what type of inculturation models Endo makes use of, with regard to those of Takeda and Bevans. By this two-fold analysis, I shall try to bring out more clearly the nature of inculturation that Endo presents in his third literary period.

Koshinto as a Background to Endo's Reception of Hick and Jung

As clarified earlier, Endo's implicit theology in his third stage showed a new dimension in his image of Christ, conceived more in terms of spirituality, so that Christianity becomes open to a wider audience and more relevant to world cultures and religions. The Spirit is understood as the divine force active in nature and in history, and experienced in relation to cultures and religions.

I have suggested that contemporary Japanese spirituality is largely based on *koshinto*, which implies a pluralist approach to religions, and that *koshinto* unconsciously underlies Endo's understanding of Christianity.[87] Led by this hypothesis, I have observed how Endo's thoughts and perspectives turn to a global understanding of religion with marked spiritual features. It is my thesis that Endo's inculturation is based on the *koshinto* religious experience.

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[87] See Chapter 2: Harmony in Diversity.

Modern people are influenced by many currents of thought in the form of traditions, images, and metaphors, which makes them in some respects spiritually plural. In this sense religious pluralism already exists in the normal interactions of society today. In order to examine Endo's implicit theology, I return to Hick's pluralist theology from the perspective of a *koshinto* understanding. As I stated earlier, Endo's diary showed that it was the ideas of Hick and Mase (the translator of Hick) that encouraged him to finalize his thoughts on *Deep River*. Though it was not Mase's intention, I think it was his understanding of Hick that influenced Endo. My own theological and Japanese perspective of Hick's theology will, hopefully, illuminate Endo's thinking further.[88]

Endo's literature was better understood in the West than in Japan, because the West is based on the Christian tradition. The same can be said of Hick's hypothesis of religious pluralism. The Japanese may nevertheless have an insight into his hypothesis, due to their non-theistic traditions. Even though Hick is a westerner, his hypothesis is not dialectic or dualistic, it is more pragmatic than theoretical,[89] in fitting with Japanese religious sensibilities. At the same time, it is important to note that his theology is based on the importance of personal religious experience, in disregard of any particular theoretical framework.

As in other Asian countries, Japan has traditionally seen the divine power of the spirit as a present reality. It has been perceived as '*ke*', illustrating an attribute of the *kami*, a force which protects and creates wholeness.[90] According to a *koshinto* perspective, pure religious experience can be mediated by *kami* as spirits, which are present in all natural objects and phenomena, and also in human beings.[91] Accordingly,

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[88] My philosophical thoughts and ideas have been shaped by studying John Hick's religious pluralism since 1990. I am aware of the criticism that the Japanese (Asian) understanding of Hick's religious pluralism is a happy misunderstanding. However, it is my aim to refute this in this section.

[89] "The pluralistic hypothesis is arrived at inductively, from ground level." Hick 1995: 50.

[90] See Chapter 2: *Koshinto* and *Kami*.

[91] Ueda in Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture (ed.) 1994: 57–59. There are three words for Spirit: *Tama*, *Mono*, and *Mi*. *Mi* is used for an object with substance like an apple, a persimmon, a human body, etc. *Tama* and *Mono* are used for spirits that do not have a substance. *Mono* is used as *Mono no Ke*, which means the spiritual force of animals. Often it is used for the spirit of an animal that died in an accident or is killed in a brutal way just for human amusement. It comes back to this world and plays a trick on human beings. *Tama* is the most respected and is used only for *Kami* or the human spirit. Nothing is regarded as mere material; everything on this earth, even a computer, is a spiritual being and beings are all spiritual. In this way, people

spirituality is regarded as the capacity to know the truth through awareness and experience. It is deep religious insight into one's self by perceiving the mystery of an all pervading divine force. It is also understood to involve a personal essence that contains power, energy, and motivating force. Spirituality (*reisei*) in Japanese is expressed as piety, spiritual fulfillment, or religiosity.[92]

In the *koshinto* world-view, spirituality is seen in every living creature. In his third literary stage, Endo laid emphasis on the human subconscious and he considered human beings as spiritual. Spirituality implies to him a subconscious, universal potential which expresses itself in the experience of the divine in concrete cultural contexts. It's outworking varies from place to place; it is unrestricted in nature and can be difficult to clearly define or explain. He regarded it as rooted in the subconscious layers of every human being.[93]

The emotional element of *koshinto* determines the Japanese approach to the divine. A comparison with Christian thought might illustrate the point. In the *koshinto* world-view the relation between the divine spirit and people is based on an unconditional trust. In contrast to Christianity, *koshinto* leaves no room for sin or consciousness of guilt in human beings before the divine spirit. For some western theologians the concept of nature held by the Japanese is discarded because it is consideredpolytheistic and pantheistic. Japanese Christians have, however, struggled to identify God's work in nature in a Japanese context. God is a divine spirit that embraces human beings, grass, tree, flowers, and all.[94] The Japanese and western frameworks for experiencing

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see every object of faith as sacred and also they see sacredness in each individual, too. Thus, honesty, purity, and sincerity make up religious spirituality. Cf. Koyama 1984: 146–150. Koyama has a different view of seeing spirits. He states *Tama* for spiritual being, *Mono* for something strange or awesome, and *Kami* for divine being.

[92] Cf. D.T. Suzuki 1944/2002: 17, 19–20. Also, Koyama often uses the term spirituality. He said "I cannot define spirituality. It is a kind of fragrance that comes from the depth of personality.—The breath of self-denial is the wind of Spirituality. Spirituality is fragrant when it contains self-denial. Christian spirituality is beautiful and edifying when it lives with the stigma of Christ's self-denial. Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." Koyama 1977: 40–41.

[93] Since 1965, Endo had been searching for a mutual understanding between East and West. Ref. 5.3.3. "As a result of continuous consideration of the concept of 'the unconscious' in my literature, I am now convinced that meaningful communication between East and West is possible. I have gradually come to realize that, despite the mutual distance and the cultural and linguistic differences that clearly exist in the conscious sphere, the two hold much in common at the unconscious level." Cf. Rimer 1993: 63.

[94] Ref. Niihori 1999. Also see the book review of Mase-Hasegawa 2002: 218–221.

and understanding 'spirit' apparently differ. The former framework is largely animistic and pantheistic, and the latter is informed by biblical and monotheistic traditions.

Japanese spirituality, in relation to human beings, is understood in different ways. It may occur individually as a mystical experience, but it might also be shared among people, fostering a feeling of solidarity. Endo stated in his diary: "I believe in *ke*".[95] Thus, I understand that Endo is influenced by the *koshinto* idea of spirituality, wherein the contextual work of the Spirit is mediated by natural objects such as trees, rivers, grass, and mountains.

The concept of inculturation took a markedly new turn during the third period of Endo's literary production. A tendency towards internationalization is now seen in his use of western ideas such as Hick's theology of religions and Jung's concept of the unconscious. As I have tried to show, there are even in these international features, attitudes which relate to Japanese traditional spirituality illustrated by *koshinto*. This appears as a spirituality where the emotional elements dominate, but also in the way harmony and integration is sought in, for example, the reception of John Hick's pluralist theology.

Which Model of Inculturation?

In the third literary stage, Endo's scope of inculturation widens from Japan to a perspective whereby Japan is viewed as one amongst world cultures. He has here presented his image of Christ as divine spirit working as love. The spirit of Christ is Love, nothing but love, in harmony with world cultures.[96] It is a synthesis of East and West, an empirical and pragmatic understanding of Christ. Endo's understanding of Christ is thoroughly grounded in the primacy of culture, rooted deeply in his cultural traditions and religious faith. However, the scene is no longer Japan. It still plays an active role, but integrated into wider world cultures.

The core teaching of Christianity for Endo has now become God's love for the world found in the universal spirit of the resurrected Christ. The Spirit of Christ inculturated in the world is egoless love (*kenosis*),

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[95] Endo 1997(c): 292 (Oct. 5, 1991).

[96] Soon after the *Deep River* was published, it was made into a movie. It attracted audiences, both young and old, in Japan. From their reactions after the movie, it was clear that Endo's message had reached Japanese people, and touched individuals' harp strings.

which takes different shape in different contexts.[97] This religious attitude, illustrated by Ootsu in India, leads to social action that is spontaneous and self-giving in nature. Endo's focus on compassion, and companionship in union with Christ, implies solidarity with people in suffering. Such action can be related to Bevans' Praxis Model.[98] However, there is no apparent concern for breaking social structures and liberating people from political oppression. The development of Endo's image of Christ shows his struggle to harmonize his Japanese religious heritage with a universal Christianity. He emphasizes a non-triumphant, powerless Christ, whose presence he seeks to understand and interpret in relation to the multiethnic and multi-religious context.

The Praxis Model, therefore, does not all-together fit with Endo's scheme. With the Anthropological Model, cultural presuppositions are the starting point for the interpretation of Christ.[99] Above I have identified three components in Endo Shusaku's image of Christ: a *kenotic*, a maternal, and what might be termed a spiritual component. The *kenotic* image of Christ is demonstrated by Ootsu in his Indian pluralist context. Consciously following in the footsteps of Christ, he carries the corpses to near the Ganges in a Hindu environment. Endo here represents Indian culture as a global symbol of religious plurality, transcending Japan and the West. The Motherly Christ is now seen in the image of Chamunda and the Ganges. By searching for God in different contexts, a global and spiritual Christ is emphasized. The understanding of Christ is universal and spiritual, and it is seen in the framework of a pluralist theology of religions. These new images of Christ are related to a widened concept of the world. India is a symbol for all world cultures, which includes Japan.

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[97] The concept of love transformed in the Japanese contextcan be found among Japanese monks to close the gap between monastic life and the world. Hasegawa Ryôshin (長谷川良信 1890–1966) stated "The core of a teaching of Shakyamuni is social involvement." quoted in Serikawa in Kaneoka (ed.) 1989: 866. The statement shows the role of Buddhism in Japan. Buddhist organization took initiatives in building hospitals for leprosy, in Japan. e.g. at *Higashi Hongan-ji* 東本願寺 in 1872, at *Chion-in* 知恩院 in 1893, *Touji Kyusai Byoin* 東寺救済病院 in 1909. However, over the past two centuries, Japanese Buddhism has confronted the age of "internationalization", "modernity", or "globalization" and emerged with an emphasis on immediate practical social activity not only within the country but towards the world. And it is often criticized that Japanese Buddhism is not taking a large role in projects to the Third World. I understand that this is one of the criticisms that Buddhism in Japan has to face.

[98] Ref. Bevans 1992/2000: 63–80. Also refer to my previous discussion in Chapter 4.

[99] Bevans 1992/2000: 47–62.

Returning to the question of how Endo's writing from the third literary period relates to Bevans' Anthropological and Praxis Models, one is led to the conclusion that he makes use of both. The use of the Anthropological Model dominates, however, in the new, global context which has been substituted for the exclusive Japanese one in previous literary periods.

Grafting or Apostatizing Type-in Takeda's Classification?

In Takeda Kiyoko's Classification, the Grafting type illustrates a Christianity which is implanted in Japanese culture as a new, supplementary branch.[100] Takeda's grafting type corresponds to Bevans' Anthropological Model, because Christian ideas here are grafted onto Japanese cultural traditions.

Takeda's Apostatizing type offers, however, a new category not identified by Bevans. This category indicates Christianity that is abandoned after some time, but still retaining the basis of Christ's graceful love and acceptance of the apostate. In *Deep River*, Ootsu once abandoned his Christian faith, but he regains it by hearing the voice of Christ.[101] Thus, Endo still stays, as in the second literary stage, with Takeda's Apostatizing type. Although Ootsu is an apostate, he still remains Christian. Ootsu retains his faith in a new religious context.[102] This model which does not appear in Bevans' scheme, is typical of Takeda's thought and furthermore typical for Japanese, Christian history. In Endo, the apostatizing model is retained to characterize Christian inculturation in the globalized and pluralist context. Excluded by the Church, Ootsu still retained his faith as an ecclesiastically 'apostate' Christian.

It is my hypothesis that to inculturate Christianity in the Japanese context the master-seed needs to be planted and grown in the *koshinto* based culture of religious pluralism, which involves the harmony in diversity. In such a context, one might wonder if it is at all possible to apostisise. Apostasy, afterall, is the complete renunciation of a community's faith. What Endo presented through his protagonists, however, is the renunciation of western stereotypes of God, Christ, and Christianity. If the spirit of Christ is acknowledged in world cultures, one should be able to find Christ in any contexts. 'Ecclesiastical apostasy'

[100] Ref. To my previous discussions in Chapter 4.
[101] Endo 1993/98: 101 (62).
[102] Ref. Chapter 5: Selective Perspectives: Death, Ganges, God.

does not necessarily mean apostasy from the divine love resurrected in Christ. This was also Endo's position in his previous literary periods. What he claimed in stage two was that the apparent apostasy was no apostasy at all—apostates were encompassed by the love and solidarity of Christ.

In this section, I have analysed Endo's new image of Christ for the world, and looked for changes in his principles of inculturation. I have looked at the *koshinto* background to Endo's development in his third stage, and identified elements of *koshinto* spirituality, which, in turn, has promoted a positive reception of Jung and Hick. By discussing Endo's inculturation models I have observed a combination of the Anthoropological and Grafting models of Bevans and Takeda with the Apostate type of Takeda. The same models persist from the previous literary period. However, the concept of culture has changed from a reference primarily to Japanese culture to that of world cultures, which includes an interplay between Japan and the West as equal partners.

In this chapter, I argued that Endo's scope of Christian inculturation has broadened from Japan to a world perspective. Situating Japan in a wider world context, Endo has arrived at a concept which implies a mutual integration of East and West. In *Deep River*, he presents a new, transformed image of Christ. This retains an emphasis on *kenosis*, the maternal Christ, and Christ the ever-present companion. However, the character of Christ is seen more in terms of divine spirituality; the spirit of Christ is identified as love within different religious and cultural identities. This love is conceived as rooted in a great, non-personal life force; a thought indicating the influence of *koshinto*. The type of inculturation during this third literary stage remains unchanged. The Anthropological and Praxis models of Bevans and the Grafting and Apostate types of Takeda still characterize Endo's basic categories of inculturation.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

In this concluding chapter I present the results of my research and discuss my findings. I consider Endo's changing modes of inculturating Christianity in light of Bevans' and Takeda's typologies, and I explore the prominent role of *koshinto* in his understanding of the inculturation process. This leads on to a final discussion of the type of nationalism in his thought.

Solving Problems

As shown in the disposition of my material, I have divided Endo's literary works into three consecutive stages and looked at his interpretation of Christ in these periods. During the preparatory stage, 1947–1965, he felt the need for inculturation. Contrasts and differences between postwar Japan and the West were emphasised. In the second stage, 1966–1980, his efforts at inculturation centred around the figure of Christ—Christ the maternal and ever-present companion in solidarity with the poor. Japan emerged here as an equal partner of the West, and spiritually she was now seeking Christ on her own terms. In the third period, 1981–1993, Endo turned to an increasingly pneuma-centric mode of inculturation. The scope widened from a focus on Japan and the West to an integration of these within a wider understanding of world cultures and religions.

I have found a close and intimate relationship between Endo's inculturation efforts and contemporary theological developments, both in Japan and internationally. A close relation to negative theology as well as to Shinto and Buddhist concerns appear in all three of his stages. In the third stage, however, ideas with a western background such as Hick's religious pluralism and Jung's concept of the unconscious become evident. As to the character of Endo's strategies, I employed theoretical frameworks introduced by the American missiologist, Stephen B. Bevans, and the Japanese Church historian, Takeda Kiyoko. However, the debate among Japanese intellectuals on the role of *koshinto* also seems

relevant to Endo's struggle with inculturation. I shall now conclude by looking more closely at his methods of inculturation.

Endo's Methods of Inculturation

One of the prominent features of Japanese modern thought is that to become a part of the intelligentsia one must be acquainted with western knowledge and critical of Japanese culture and traditions. Christianity was also received as a religion of the West that seperateed one off from everyday Japanese culture. So Endo, during the first stage of his literary performance (1947–1965), stressed the Japanese inability to understand western Christian sensibilities. He argued that the Japanese were culturally and historically different and incapable of comprehending and accepting Christianity in the same way as Europeans. He sensed a strong conflict between the two worlds. He experienced what could be called 'Christ against Japanese culture'. Measured by Takeda's models, during these years Endo's inculturation methods might be classified in terms of the Isolating or Confronting types. In terms of the contextual theology introduced by Bevans, Endo came close to the Translation model of inculturation.

Easing his confrontational view of the West, in his second literary stage, Endo looked for points of reconciliation between Japan and western Christianity. Inspired by the historical phenomenon of *Kakure Kirishitans*, he made use of procedures that fall into two other categories of Takeda: the Absorbed and Apostatized types. Endo's image of a maternal Christ was absorbed in the Japanese religious/cultural heritage of motherhood; that is to say, the harmonizing power of growth, fertility, and creativity that nurtures and embraces. At the same time he focused on Christian apostates in Japan, vindicating *Kakure Kirishitans* in their human responses of love and hope. God was present even in apostasy.

In Bevans' terms, Endo's attempts at interpreting Christ seem basically in accordance with the Anthropological Model. The author tried to find the kernel of a universal Christianity, acceptable in the Japanese context. His interpretation of Jesus as a powerless Christ in solidarity with suffering people partly reflects the influence of Japanese Buddhism—but also conforms to developments in negative theology.

During his last literary stage, Endo produced new, universal and *pneumatic* accents in his image of Christ. His motherly, *kenotic* and

ever-present Christ was transformed in relation to a wider perspective. In *Deep River*, Japan is seen in a global religious and cultural context, where universalist ideas from persons such as Jung and Hick are utilized in order to deepen the image of Christ in a pluralist direction. The spirit of Christ is love, nothing but love for all. In this empirical and *pneumatological* understanding, Christ is in harmony with world cultures. It is a synthesis of East and West, though it still corresponds to Bevans' Anthropological Model and to Takeda's Absorbing and Apostatized types.

The Role of Koshinto

The idea of animism promoted amongst others by Yamaori Tetsuo (山折哲雄: 1931–), former director general of the International Research Center for Japanese Studies, has proved fruitful in offering new perspectives on my understanding of Endo's implicit theology of inculturation. It has been my hypothesis that the essential elements of Shinto have been carried down in the modern analytical concept of *koshinto* (Basic Shinto). *Koshinto* is the living root of the Japanese people and it continues to play an important role in their understanding of themselves. Consequently, *koshinto* is an integral part of Endo's life, although not explicitly alluded to in his literature.

In chapter 2, I identified six features of *koshinto*: syncretizing attitude, harmony in diversity, emotional element, loyalty to nature, inclination to *amae*, and the feminine dimension of the divine. The synthetical development in history of the concept of the divine leads to the Japanese acceptance of plurality, which is based on the harmony in diversity. This is connected with the all-embracing syncretizing spirit of womanhood in *koshinto*. In Shinto mythology, *kami* includes the fertility element of womanhood as an important element. Moreover, the feminization of Buddhism in Japan derives from admiration of maternal love and promotes an all-embracing loyalty to *Amida* Buddha. Through Christianity's inculturation process in the Shinto-Buddhist context, the concept of God was greatly transformed. The faith of the *Kakure Kirishitans* underwent an inevitable transformation as they merged and integrated Japanese indigenous elements into their Christian faith, and they did not hesitate to syncretize the mother figures of Buddhism and Christianity for their divine object (*Maria Kannon*). The maternal aspect of the divine which is inbedded in the culture is highly significant. It is the cultural

respect for the maternal that explains the basis for the merging and integrating process that holds together a pluralism-oriented culture. In addition, *koshinto* can be traced in the negative theology of Nishida and Takizawa, in their basic approach of pursuing the harmony in diversity (in this case a mutual understanding between Buddhism and Christianity). In negating self, the true understanding of self can be accomplished. Even though Japan has adapted many foreign elements, *koshinto* represents its own religio-cultural heritage. The fundamental attitude in *koshinto* continues down to this day, and is unconsciously present within the Japanese without having been taught at all. This synthesizing process is a positive enrichment, a life-affirming syncretism to be highly valued.[1]

In the first stage of his literary works, Endo described Japan as a 'mud swamp', a metaphor describing the factor that is inherent in culture, society, and each individual's mentality. As the metaphor implies, once the new plant of Christianity is transmitted to Japan, the swamp gradually dissolves and destroys it. Apparently, the 'mud swamp' of *koshinto* becomes a major obstacle for the inculturation of western Christianity.

This study has shown, however, that the 'mud swamp' of *koshinto* is given a different interpretation by Endo. Not only is it a basic Japanese spirituality to be positively recognized by Christianity, it can combine and mediate ideas from other cultures, such as Hickian theocentrism and Jungian ideas on the subconscious.

Koshinto and Inculturation?

In Japanese debates the idea of *koshinto* that corresponds to the religious consciousness of the Japanese has been called nationalistic. For this reason it is criticized by scholars, such as Hakamaya Noriaki and Matsumoto Shiro working at the Buddhist Komazawa University in Tokyo. Endo's type of inculturation could well be understood as nationalist in style, but with important modifications. The understanding of solidarity, which is a key concept in his image of Christ, is influenced by *koshinto's* notion of 'harmony in diversity,' expressed by the Japanese term *Wa* (harmony). Even so, this does not imply an inculturation based

[1] Cf. Koyama 1979: 64–68 and 1984: 187–188.

on nationalist ideals. The concept of solidarity with the poor, despised, and weak is drawn by Endo from biblical texts and points beyond the boundaries of national difference. It addresses both Christians and non-Christians in various parts of the world.

In a book, Kuschel writes:

> Literature is a critical conversation of cultural contexts with themselves.... They show Jesus as an authentic expression of culture, but at the same time demonstrate that no culture can level down his person to the point of triviality. Overlaying of context, overlappings of context, and conflicts of context crystallize in this figure. Completely an ingredient of culture, Jesus can at the same time explode contexts. This power of contextualization and at the same time of resistance against levelling down to the prevailing contexts is of the utmost theological relevance. For this simultaneity of immanence in culture and transcendence of culture is characteristic of Jesus and the message of him as the Messiah of Israel and *Kyrios* of the world from the beginning. But this power of transcendence is an expression of the hope that the cultural context can always be changed—in the spirit of Christ.[2]

In this way, the aim of Endo's inculturation can be seen as a factor moderating and partly repudiating his nationalism.

R. Durfee raises the question of nationalism in Endo's inculturation:

> If Endo had been able to complete his historical consciousness, he would have recognized that the Japanese are not the only ones to change Christianity and other things adopted from abroad into something different from their originals.[3]

Other scholars have made similar observations concerning the inculturation or contextualization of religions, both in Japan as well as in other parts of the world. Shinto and Buddhism are subjected to similar processes of inculturation when crossing cultural and national bounderies.[4] These are all reasons for maintaining that Endo takes a more universal approach.

In *The Samurai*, written towards the end of his second literary stage, Endo depicts his image of Christ not only for the Japanese, but for people from East and West, for the weak and strong.[5] He presents a

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[2] Kuschel 1999: 346.

[3] Durfee 1989: 59.

[4] Song says no sooner did Buddhism leave the land of its birth than it became Chinese Buddhism, Thai Buddhism, Japanese Buddhism. Quoted in Bosch 1991: 477.

[5] Gessel who translated *The Samurai* states: "The novel is...a symphonic piece that offers up many rich melodies, bringing together East and West, faith and unbelief,

soteriological interpretation of Jesus where Christ becomes the sacrament of universal love, which can be understood in any cultural context. His nationalist concepts are further modified during the third literary stage. He uses the name of Japan in a metaphorical sense to refer to any culture that accepts new elements from abroad. A parallel idea is voiced by Bevans:

> What might seem like a rather narrow starting point in individual experience is actually the best starting point for doing theology that speaks to other individuals—historically and culturally determined subjects—who share one's own world view.[6]

In the central work of his third literary stage, *Deep River*, the image of Christ is developed further towards having a universal significance. He was influenced here by a growing awareness of different cultures and religions.

Endo's mode of inculturation expands from the local to the global. It is true that at times his inculturation has taken on nationalist features. However, there were at least three other aspects that led to a de-emphasizing of nationalism. First of all, it is necessary to begin and root inculturation within a particular cultural framework. This is a feature seen in all religious expansion across borders, and this step is not particular to Endo. Secondly, the nationalist concept is reduced and disciplined by Christian and biblical sources. Lastly, in the wake of increasing globalization, national and local concepts are able to take on a symbolic character which makes them meaningful for any tradition worldwide.

Koshinto and Endo

Endo's programme of inculturation went through a notable process of change during his literary career. Originally he saw a deep conflict between Christianity and Japan, but he overcame the conflict firstly by accepting apostasy as a genuinely Christian mode of life. Influenced by

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fervor and passivity. And though the players in this musical work come from dissimilar traditions and play upon completely different instruments, the concluding refrain sounds out clearly and, most important, harmoniously." (Gessel, Postscript in the English translation of *The Samurai*, 1982: 272. Thus, *The Samurai* (1980) carries one of the themes from *Silence* (1966) and justifies my observation that Endo's second stage is completed with this novel.

[6] Bevans 2000: 99.

globalizing trends, he later underlined and deepened his inculturating strategy by applying a pattern of theocentric pluralism. The influence of *koshinto* was a decisive feature in the dynamics of this inculturation. My study has illustrated how *koshinto* was reinterpreted by Endo—from a force contrary to the Christian cause in Japan to a factor mediating a theocentric and *pneumatic* Christ for Japan in the world.

EPILOGUE—THE SEED OF CHRIST SOWN IN CULTURE

Using Endo's metaphor, one can ask "Can the Cross be raised in the 'mud swamp' of Japan?" I have concluded that it cannot, as long as the Cross represents the West or western Christianity, for it implicitly claims the domination of the West over the East. To set up such a Cross is to insist upon the uniqueness of western metaphysics and to impose western norms.[1] It is crucial to recall that, originally, Christianity was not of western origin.

My study concludes that it is unnecessary for the Japanese to find their Christian identity in western terms. People do not need to emulate the West. With this understanding 'Japan' and the 'mud swamp' can be applied as metaphors to any culture that consumes the Cross tolerantly and consistently until it eventually dissolves. The cross with the small 'c' is what should be planted in other cultures as a seed (core) of Christianity. The Spirit of Love is present in world cultures and able to speak through them in different places and different times. The process of inculturation is to plant the seed and plough the soil in order for the plant to bud. Endo's shift from a Christocentric to *Pneuma*-centric image suggests that the creative power of God is at work in the wider world. The seed will grow in the culture, and even if the seedling is not exactly the same as that of the West, it is a Christian way of relating to religious plurality.[2] As the Gospel of John tells, when the Spirit of truth comes, it will guide you into all the truth.[3] If Christianity is ever to respond to the needs of Japanese people, it has to undergo a radical transformation. Religion and culture are integrally related, and the Gospel message and culture are mutually interconnected.

When Christianity is symbolized by the Spirit of Christ as God's love incarnate in world cultures, nothing can prevent the inculturation of

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[1] Cf. *Dominus Iesus* issued by the Vatican in 2000. It is obvious that Pope John Paul II regards the purpose of Christian mission as to "plant the cross in Asia".

[2] Endo explicitly claimed this within the interview with Miyoshi. See Miyoshi and Endo 1973: 28.

[3] John 16:13, "When, however, the Spirit comes, who reveals the truth about God, he will lead you into all the truth. He will not speak on his own authority, but he will speak of what he hears and will tell you of things to come."

Christianity. I see Endo's inculturation developed by focusing on the Spirit of Christ. Christ, namely the Spirit of love, is the seed that is sown in the soil of culture.[4] In this way, Christianity shall take root in the 'mud swamp' like a beautiful white water-lily, a symbol of many admirable things (fertility, birth, purity, sexuality, rebirth of the dead, and the rising sun). It takes root in the culture as God's love, and floats freely as the wind blows,[5] blossoming beautifully in many places.

I respect those who have maintained the Christian faith in Japan since the 16th century. These include western missionaries and Japanese Christians, such as the descendants of *Kakure Kirishitans*. It is a history of suffering, and there is no doubt that these Christians were stepping stones in the 'mud swamp' in which the seedling needs to sprout. Nonetheless, in my interpretation, when Endo realized that Christianity was more than just a rigid Cross, he was emancipated from the way of thinking (imperialistic, institutional, authoritarian, and traditional type) which had come along with his inherited western Christianity. He tried to interpret the Spirit of Christ in relation to his own life and weaved this into his literary works.

In his final literary stage, Endo developed a new interpretation of Japan and the West within world cultures. His literature was focused on the individual's greatest need in the world, namely spirituality. He explored answers to this profound need, and in so doing, he gave hope. In *Deep River*, one of the main themes was the incarnation of Christ, which had to be re-interpreted in order for it to present the hope of salvation. In the novel Endo searched for a life-affirming spirituality from several perspectives: atheist, Buddhist, Hindu, and Christian. He wrote in a pluralist orientated culture as a Japanese Christian, and he aimed at providing a framework for each individual to ponder their own spiritual nature from an existential stance. The characters were able to open their hearts to the spirituality within and beyond, and they found a true love that transcended intellectual barriers. This shows the author to be a religious pluralist, revealing the Spirit of love manifested in dif-

[4] This Japanese description of inculturation, *Misho no Shingaku* (Theology of Seedling) 実生の神学 was suggested by Father Sugino (1).

[5] John 3:8, 'The wind (spirit) blows where it chooses, and you hear the sound of it, but you do not know where it comes from or where it goes. So it is with everyone who is born of the Spirit.'

ferent ways in a global cultural context. Every individual is embraced by this huge life force.[6]

Endo's theology, implicit in his literary works, brings about the mutual understanding of East and West in spiritual terms through proposing a harmony in diversity. There is no fundamental difference between East and West when it comes to a person searching for love and embraced by that huge life force. My research clarifies that it was not the plant of Christianity brought from the West that Endo was aiming to inculturate but the eschatological and transcultural Christ; the Spirit of Christ and the Spirit of love. The seed is sown in the soil of a specific culture, and it blooms in that context. In that way, the symbol of the cross is transformed into one of inculturation by the Spirit of love incarnate.

[6] Endo published his last historical novel, *Women*, in 1995. In this historical novel, the Shogun sighed when he heard the news of three Christian martyrs: "Shidocchi, Chosuke, and Oharu lived not from money but from their pure hearts…it is very admirable". Endo 1995/97: 204.

POSTSCRIPT—THE SPIRIT OF CHRIST INCULTURATED

For three years before his death Endo Shusaku stayed in hospital, and during the last year he was not able to talk. Junko, his wife, describes how she was at a loss as to what to do in the beginning, but soon they started to communicate in silence. She sat by Endo's bed and stroked his leg. Gradually, she could hear his voice through her hand, as a wave breaking upon the shore. She recalls that the last year was a gift from God, because during that year Endo and Junko felt the preciousness of each other in silence. One can truly experience another's pain without words.[1]

On 29 December 1996 Endo died in hospital in the glare of electric lights, connected to medical instruments. At the end Junko made the decision to turn off the switch from the artificial respirator. She asked the doctor to take all the tubes out of his body. Soon after she heard the voice through her hand:

> Now I am in the light. I met my mother and brother. Have peace of mind and do not worry. Our spirits are together even though we live in separate worlds, in heaven and earth.[2]

At the very last moment, Endo sent her a message through her hand.[3] She is convinced that the message was about rebirth and that death is not the end. People continue to live in the hearts of those by whom they are deeply loved. "*Deep River* was not Endo's last piece of work, Endo himself while dying was his last work."[4]

The year 2000 was a special year for Endo Shusaku and Christians in Japan. In March, 2000, Pope John Paul II apologized publicly for the mistakes, sins and evil practices of the Church over the past two thousand years. He apologized in particular for the persecution, oppression,

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[1] Endo J. 2000: 4.

[2] Endo J. 1998:192.

[3] Endo J. and Suzuki 1997:176–184. Endo Junko said that for two years she suffered from a guilty conscience, because of her decision to withdraw medical life support from her husband. This was so that he could die with dignity.

[4] Kawai 1998: 154. This is from a speech given by Ryunosuke, a son of Endo, at the first annual celebration of Endo's life.

and prejudice directed against Jewish people.[5] Two months after that, on 13 May, after a long decision-making process, the memorial literary hall of Endo Shusaku was opened in Nagasaki, Sotome Town.[6] It is a place where countless tears had been shed by martyrs and weak apostates. Junko claimed that "it must be God's work to have Endo's literary hall at this very place".[7] The opening ceremony was attended by more than three hundred of Endo's friends and admirers from all over the country. He was a Japanese Christian writer who felt solidarity with people's sufferings. On the memorial stone it states: 'The feet that stepped on this must have hurt too'. Endo wrote for those who suffered and about the pain of weak human beings. Though I never had a chance to meet him personally, it is possible to say that Endo was not an ambitious, nor a self-promoting person, but a man of modesty who cared about others. Such was the literature of Endo Shusaku.

On 14 May 2000 a memorial service was held at Ôura Cathedral in Nagasaki.[8] The service turned out to be not only for Endo Shusaku but also for all the *Kirishitans*. It was an epoch-making event in Japan, as no service had ever been held for those *Kirishitans* who were apostates. Additionally, in November the same year, the first joint mass with descendants of *Kakure Kirishitans* and Catholics was held in the shrine of Sotome Town. There were about 200 believers from both sides. They sang hymns and *Orasho* (*Kakure Kirishitans'* prayer) together, and representatives from both sides dedicated flowers together at the altar. These events in 2000 are a fruit of the inculturation of the Spirit in Japan.[9]

This work could not concern itself with Endo's involvement in many different fields, such as psychology, biology, new science, physics, etc. In particular, Endo had a deep concern for medical treatment, including warm hearted care, hospitality, and cures in Japanese hospitals. He stood by patients and fought for better conditions, without losing his humor.[10]

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[5] The Sankei 2000, March16.

[6] Sotome Town (外海町) is the historical place where the *Kirishitans* who ran away from Nagasaki hid themselves.

[7] Interview with Junko Endo (3).

[8] Ôura Cathedral is the church where the first *Kakure Kirishitans* were found in 1865. See Chapter 2. Another memorial service was held at Oura Cahtedral in 2006 for the 10th anniversary of Endo's death.

[9] Ref. The Nagasaki, Nov. 14, 2000.

[10] Endo's wife, who understood his life the most, stated: The life of Endo Shusaku is like a carpet woven by hand. The vertical line was woven by faith and the horizontal line was spun by illness. And from these small spaces, his humor appeared and made

His contribution in this field needs to be explored further in the future. However, I finish this book with a deep appreciation of Endo's work which broke down the ivory tower of western Christianity for ordinary people. In Endo's literature the Spirit of Christ is at work, challenging us to let the new life grow in our own soil. The seed of the Spirit will grow in the 'mud swamp' of Japan. Endo's life-long spiritual journey, searching for the universality of Christian faith, has encouraged many Japanese people, myself included, to hold on to a strong faith in Christ blooming in this culture.

Last of all, I come to the comments of the missiologist, David Bosch, who claimed:

> In the nature of the case inculturation can never be a *fait accompli*. One may never use the term "inculturated". Inculturation remains a tentative and continuing process…, not only because cultures are not static but also because the church may be led to discover previously unknown mysteries of the faith.[11]

Nonetheless, I have still used the term inculturation ('blooming in the soil'). I do not use the term for the establishment of self-governing, self expanding, or self-supporting independent churches, but for the incarnation of God's love, the fruit of the Spirit in Endo and his works. St. Paul stated:

> The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, generosity, faithfulness, gentleness, and self-control[12]

The seed of love, namely the Spirit of Christ, is sown in the soil of human cultures. In this regard, Endo Shusaku's faith, both in his life and through his literary works, offers Japan and the world at large an outstanding model of inculturation.

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me relieved. Since we were married, his lungs had three holes already and he was facing death all the time, so always the fear of death was echoing deep down inside him. In such a situation, he might have enjoyed playing a trick with some humor in order to bring a balance to his life.

[11] Bosch 1981: 455–456.

[12] Galatians 5:22–23.

APPENDIX

Shusaku Endo and his Literary Works

This section provides a brief biography of Endo and information on his works in English for non-Japanese readers.[1] Endo's articles are set in quotation marks, books are italicised.

Biography—Life of Endo Shusaku

Childhood—Foreign Experience-Compassion for Life

1923 Endo Shusaku was born on 27 March in Sugamo, Tokyo, the second son of Endo Tsunehisa and Ikuko. Shusaku's brother, Shousuke, was two years older. His father, 26 years old at the time, had graduated from Tokyo University and worked for Yasuda Bank, which later became Fuji Bank. His mother was a 28 year-old violinist who had graduated from Ueno Music School, now Tokyo University of Art. Ikuko had a significant influence on Shusaku in later years.

1926 (3 years old) His father was transferred and the family all moved to Dairen, in occupied Chinese Manchuria. Endo longed for Japan; it was the beginning of feeling that he was not where he belonged.

1929 (6 years old) He entered an Oohiroba elementary school in Dairen. He was loved and well cared for by a house servant boy. His mother practiced the violin all day long. One cold day, he saw her fingers bleeding, and he realized her inner strength.

1932 (9 years old) The relationship of his parents became worse and he went to school feeling depressed. He was no longer happy and, to hide this sad feeling, he started to play tricks and act like a clown. At that time Kuro, a dog, was his best friend and his sole companion. Though his brother did well at school,

[1] The biography is based on a biographical sketch of Endo by Yamane Michihiro. Ref. Yamane in Yano, Ikuta, and Minami (ed.): 170–189. A more detailed version of Endo's biography by Yamane in Japanese is included in CSEL Vol. 15: 329–388.

Shusaku did not and he received D grades with the exception of composition. Even so, his mother encouraged him, believing that he was a late bloomer. When he entered third Grade his first composition "Dojô" (An Eel) was printed in the Dairen newspaper. That made his mother happy and she kept a copy for the rest of her life.

Junior High School Era—Baptism

1933 (10 years old) Following the divorce of his parents, his mother took Shusaku and his brother back to Japan. He was transferred to Rokko Elementary School in Kobe. First, they stayed with his aunt (Ikuko's elder sister) and moved to a place close to Shukugawa Catholic Church in Nishinomiya. As his aunt was Catholic, they went to the Shukugawa Catholic Church. The church became their playground and Shusaku listened to the teaching of the catechists. At that time an old French man, who had been expelled from his pastorship, was sitting quietly at the back of the church and attending the Mass.[2]

1935 (12 years old) He graduated from Rokko Elementary School. He entered Nada Private Jr. High School, which his elder brother attended. His elder brother did well in school and it was said that he was the cleverest since the opening of the school. Shusaku started in the top level class but gradually dropped to the lowest. In April his mother became a music teacher at Kobayashi Seishin's Girl's School and was baptized there. On 23 June, Shusaku and his brother received baptism into the Catholic tradition at Shukugawa Catholic Church. His mother provided him with his faith in Christianity. He received a baptismal name, Paul. On 8 December he was confirmed under Bishop Kastanje in Osaka. He made a confession of faith without realizing the importance of it; he just wanted his mother to feel happy. However, he went to Mass at six o'clock every morning and had an honest faith.

[2] The memory of the old French man stayed with Endo. This may have influenced him later as a writer, where he introduces the characters of old priest/missionaries and of rejected priests.

Sophia Preparatory Course—Awakening into Philosophy and Literature

1940 (17 years old) He graduated from high school, ranked 141 out of 183 students. He could not enter any university and began to study at home in Ninagawa.

1941 (18 years old) He entered into Sophia University but did not often attend. He began to enjoy novels and started to enter the world of literature. In December his first critical essay "Keijijou gaku teki Kami, Shûkyô teki Kami" (Metaphysical God and Religious God) was published by Sophia University Publishing Company.

1943 (19 years old) He left Sophia University and studied by himself. As his brother was going to join the navy Shusaku moved to his father's house, where his elder brother had been staying, in order not to impose an economic burden on his mother. Shusaku had a guilty conscience about leaving his mother to go and stay with his father.

Keio Preparatory Course—Youth during the War

1943 (20 years old) In April he entered the Department of Literature in Keio University. As the war became worse the school could not offer many courses, so he was soon mobilized to work in a munitions factory in Kawasaki. He was disowned for disobeying his father who wanted to send him to medical school. He stayed with a friend at first and then moved into the St. Philip Dormitory which was directed by a Catholic philosopher, Yoshimitsu Yoshihiko. Yoshimitsu inspired Endo to read Jacque Maritan and encouraged him to believe that literature would suit him better than philosophy. He introduced Shusaku to the works of Katsuichiro Kamei and Tatsuo Hori, Japanese writers who greatly influenced him. At this time, Endo suffered religious and personal dilemmas. He knew that he would sooner or later be called up for military service and he would have to kill the enemy. He questioned why Japanese churches taught 'Do not kill' but then said nothing about the war? He had to live a double life, being a Japanese citizen and a Catholic. Christians were oppressed for believing in the enemy's religion.

Changing to French Literature—Devotion to Catholic Literature and the Beginning of his Critical Essays

1945 (22 years old) By chance Shusaku came across a book, *A Rough Sketch Of French Literature* by Sato Hajime, at a second-hand bookshop in Shimokitazawa, which inspired him to join the Department of French Literature. One month before he was due to enter the military, the war ended. He started to read contemporary French Catholic writers such as Francois Mauriac and Georges Bernanos.

1947 (24 years old) In December, his first essay "Kamigami to Kami to" (Gods and God) was accepted by Kanzai Kiyoshi for printing in Shiki Vol. 5. His critical essay, "Katorikku sakka no mondai" (The Problems for Catholic Authors), was published in Mita Bungaku. From this time onwards he wrote critical essays continuously.

1948 (25 years old) In May he graduated from Keio University with a degree in French Literature. His BA Thesis was *Neo-Thomism ni Okeru Shiron* (Poetic Theory of Neo-Thomism). On the recommendation of Kanzai Kiyoshi, he presented a critical essay, "Hori Tatsuo Kakusho" (A Note on Hori Tatsuo) in Kougen in the March, July, and December issues. He continued to contribute essays to Mita Bungaku, "Shi to Bokura" (Death and We) in June, "Nijû-sai dai no Kadai" (Issues for 20s) in August, "Kono ni-sha no uchi" (Between the Two) in October, and "Charles Pegi no Baai" (The Case of Charles Pegi) in December. Endo wrote his first play, "Saul" (Paul), which was only discovered after his death.

1949 (26 years old) Sato Hajime helped him to get a part time job at Kamakura Bunko, a publisher. He was engaged to edit an encyclopedia of 20th century world literature. The publisher went bankrupt later that year, so he started to work at the Catholic Digest Co. with his brother, who had been demobilized. He joined the Mita Bungaku coterie, where he met Maruoka Akira, Hara Tamiki, etc. In February he submitted "Nomura Hideo-shi wo Shinon de" (In Memory of Nomura Hideo), in May "Kanzai Kiyoshi" (Kanzai Kiyoshi), and in December "Rambô no chinmoku wo Megutte" (On Rimband's Silence—Poetics of Neo Thomism) in Mita Bungaku. In May, he also published "Jakku Rivielu—sono Shukyô teki Kunô" (Jacques Riviere, his Agony)

in Kogen; in August, "Immanuel Munie no Sarutoru Hihan" (Emanuel Mounier's Criticism against J.P. Sartre) in Kosei and others.

Foreign Studies—A sense of distance from the West

1950 (27 years old) On 4 June he set sail for France from Yokohama on a French ship, the Marseillaise, as the first officially sponsored Japanese student to study abroad after the War. There were three other Japanese on the ship, Inoue Youji (1927–), Mikumo Natsumi (1923–1987), and Mikumo Takashi (1925–). Inoue was going to Carmel monastery to become a priest. Because they were Japanese, they were not allowed to leave the ship at any port where the ship stopped. While on the ship they learned that the Korean War had started. On 5 July they arrived at Marseille. Until September, Endo stayed with the Robine family in Rouen and he was treated like a member of the family. In October he entered the Graduate University of Lyon. He was determined to study the writings of various French Catholics under the guidance of Dr. Rene Bady. However, he became more distant from western Christianity and his dream to become a professor of French Literature in Japan was lost. He decided to become a writer in order to enable the Japanese to become more familiar with Christianity. While at the University of Lyon, he sent his essays to the Gunzo publisher in Japan. He sent "Furansisu Moriaku" (Francois Mauriac) to Kindai Bungaku in January, "Seinen ni Tsuite" (About Holy Year) to Ningen in February and others.

1951 (28 years old) In August he visited Inoue Youji at the monastery. From November until the following July, he regularly sent in essays in the series "Aka Getto no France Ryokou" (Red Getto's French Journey).

Pleurisy—Withdrawal from Foreign Studies-His Mother's Death

1952 (29 years old) He transferred to Paris but was almost immediately hospitalized with pleurisy, which put his life in danger.

1953 (30 years old) In January, because of his health, he had to leave France against his will. After he returned to Japan, most of his time was spent in bed or in frequent visits to hospital. On 29 December his mother suddenly died from cerebral apoplexy.

She was 58 years old. Endo was not present at his mother's death and this greatly troubled him.

From Critical Essays to Novels—White Man awarded the Akutagawa Prize

1954 (31 years old) He became a lecturer at Bunka Gakuin. He contributed to Bungei-Hyouron (Modern Criticism) and wrote "Marukus de Sade Hyouden" (A Critical Note on Marquis de Sade). In November he wrote his first novel, *Aden Made* (Till Aden) in Mita Bungaku.

1955 (32 years old) In July "Shiroi Hito" (White Man) was awarded the 33rd Akutagawa Prize. In September he was married to Junko, who was at that time studying French literature at Keio University. In November, he wrote "Kiiroi Hito" (Yellow Man). In December, his first book was published by Koudan Publishing Company: *Shiroi Hito/Kiiroi Hito* (White Man/Yellow Man).

1956 (33 years old) Endo continued writing a long novel, *Aoi Chiisana Budou* (A Little Green Grape) in Bungakukai. In June his first son, Ryunosuke, was born. He took up a post as lecturer at Sophia University in Tokyo for one year.

Establishment of Status in the Literary Field

1957 (34 years old) He published *Umi to Dokuyaku* (The Sea and Poison), and with this novel his status as an important novelist was confirmed. In the same year, a priest, Petrus Herzog, resigned as a Jesuit and married a Japanese woman. As he was a spiritual father to Endo, and had been to Endo's mother, it came as a great shock. This influenced his novels in many ways.

1958 (35 years old) In January, Inoue Youji visited him. Inoue had returned to Japan the previous year after a seven-year-stay in France. They noticed that they shared the same anguish in being Japanese and Christian, and made up their minds to be forerunners in exploring this field. In April, Endo was appointed as a lecturer of literature in Seijo University and gave lectures on the theory of French literature for one year. He serialized his first religious essay, "Seisho no naka no Joseitachi" (Women in the Bible) in a monthly magazine, Fujin Gaho, until May the following year. He was awarded the 5th Shincho-sha Prize and the 12th Mainichi Culture Prize for *Umi to Dokuyaku* (The Sea and Poison). He also received the Art Festival Encouragement

prize for his script "Heiwa-ya-san" (Peace-making man), written for an NHK drama.

1959 (36 years old) In January, the serialization of Endo's long novel *Kazan* (Volcano) began in a magazine, Bungakukai (until October). In February, he published his first Christian novel, *Saigo no Junkyô-sha* (The Final Martyrs). In March, his first humorous long novel *Obaka-san* (Wonderful Fool) was serialized in a daily newspaper, Asahi Shinbun. During September and October he wrote "Sado-Den" (A Critical Biography of Marquis de Sade)—an interest from his studies in France in 1950. In November, he visited France for the second time with his wife Junko. The main purpose of this visit was to learn more about de Sade.

Hospitalization—Three Operations and facing Death

1960 (37 years old) He returned to France to collect materials for a study of the Marquis de Sade, but he suffered from a relapse of his pleurisy. He returned to Japan and remained hospitalized for most of the ensuing three years. From July to December, he serialized his humorous long novel *Hechima-kun* (Sponge Gourd Boy) in a local paper. In December he was transferred to Keio University Hospital.

1961 (38 years old) On 7 January he had an operation on his lung. He had a second operation two weeks later but it was a failure, and his health did not improve. While hospitalized he saw other patients commit suicide in despair. During this difficult time he read many books concerning the *Kirishitan* era. In December he was operated on for the third time. He saw a paper *fumie* the day before his operation. Although the operation was risky, he decided to have it rather than remain sick in bed throughout his life. The operation continued for six hours. At one point his heart stopped but the surgery turned out to be a success.

1962 (39 years old) In May, *Obaka-san* (Wonderful Fool) was dramatized and staged in Hamamatsu-Meijiza, directed by Yadai Seiichi. Endo left the hospital after three years of hospitalization but his physical strength did not recover, so he could only write short essays during the year. From the middle of July he rented a cottage in Karuizawa and spent the summer there. In October, while recuperating at home and unable to write novels, he named himself Korian (literally meaning Mountain

Dweller Mr. Fox and Raccoon Lair) and wrote a picture diary. He titled it Korian nichijô (Diary of Korian) and kept it until October the following year. This became the starting point of Endo's other face, Korian. (Actually, Korian came from the western Japanese dialect expression "Korya akanwa", meaning "This is no good!").

Resumption of Writing

1963 (40 years old) In January he made a comeback and his first long novel *Watashiga Suteta Onna* (The Girl I Left Behind) was serialized in a monthly magazine, Shufu no Tomo (Housewife's Friend), until December. It became one of Endo's most loved works, twice made into a film and then later into a musical. He visited the hospital in Gotenba and met Ibuka Yae on whose life the novel was based. In March he moved from Komaba to Machida City where the air was fresh and clean. From October his "Gogo no Oshaberi" (A Chat in the Afternoon) was serialized in a magazine, Geijutsu Seikatsu (A Life of Art), until December the following year. He renamed this "Korian Kanwa". He also named his new house Korian.

1964 (41 years old) In March, *Watashi ga suteta Onna* (The Girl I left Behind) was published by Bungeishunju shinsha. In the spring he traveled to Nagasaki and happened to see a *fumie* with a mark of a black footstep left on it. It reminded him of his three years of hospitalization, facing death, and stimulated him to write a new novel.

1965 (42 years old) From January to December his long novel *Manchô no Jikoku* (The Time of High Tide) was serialized in Ushio. This novel was written out of his experience of hospitalization and the *fumie* that he had seen in Nagasaki. In July his *Korian Kanwa* (An Idle Talk with Korian) was published by Tougen-publishing Company. During the summer and through early fall, he rented a former clinic in Karuizawa as a cottage and wrote his first manuscript of *Chinmoku* (Silence). In October, a collection of short stories written about his experience of being sick in bed, *Aika* (Elegy), was published by Kodansha. He was awarded an Art Festival Encouragement prize for a script "Waga Kao" (My Face), written for a TBS drama.

Chinmoku (Silence)—Discovery of the Maternal Christ

1966 (43 years old) In March, *Chinmoku* (Silence) was published by Shincho Publishing Company. It created a sensation and became a best seller. Many people sympathized with its theme of human weakness and were moved by the image of the maternal Jesus who shared their torment. On the other hand, the expression "You may step on it" was misunderstood. The novel was criticized and was even forbidden to be read in some Catholic parishes. In May the drama *Ôgon no Kuni* (The Golden Country) was performed in the City Center Hall for the first time. He spent the summer in Karuizawa, as he had the previous year. In October he received the 2nd Tanizaki Prize for Chinmoku. From that year, he took up a post of lecturer in Seijo University Dep. of Literature, and gave lectures on the theory of the novel for three years.

1967 (44 years old) In May he became a director of the Japan Artists Association. In August he visited Portugal at the invitation of Armando Martins, the ambassador of Portugal, with whom he had been on friendly terms for some time. He received an order of Knighthood and gave a speech at the 300th anniversary of St. Vincent in Albufeira in Central Algarve. He traveled to Lisbon, Paris, and Rome, and returned to Japan in September.

Active in various fields—Organizing Kiza, a theatrical company—Assuming the post of Chief Editor of the journal Mita Bungaku (Literature)

1968 (45 years old) Endo assumed the post of chief editor of the journal, Mita Bungaku, for one year. In spring he appeared in a TV drama, *Korya Akanwa* ("This is No Good"). In April he organized a theatrical company named Kiza and staged *Romeo and Juliet* at Kinokuniya Hall. He played the role of Mercutio on stage. The play was performed twenty times up until 1995. From May, for the next five years, "Seisho Monogatari" (The Story of the Bible) was serialized in the journal *Nami*. He studied the Bible during this period. He made an appearance in the movie, *Watashiga Suteta Onna* (The Girl I Left Behind). *Dokkoisho* (Oof!) was filmed, entitled "Nihon no Seishun" (Japan's Adolescence). He built a little house in his backyard so that the young people of Mita Bungaku could visit; he named it "Chinmoku no Ie" (The House of Silence).

1969 (46 years old) He went to Israel to learn about the background of the New Testament in preparation for a new long novel. In March, the theatrical company Kiza staged *Hamlet* in Kinokuniya Hall and Endo played the role of the ghost. In April he received an invitation from the department of state affairs of the U.S.A. and visited the States for a month. In September his play *Bara no Yakata* (House of Roses) received its premiere at the City Center Hall in Tokyo. This story was set in Karuizawa during the War. He received an Honorary Order, Ordem do Infante D. Henrique, from the ambassador of Portugal for editing the standard edition of Morais' Works.

Study of the Bible and the visit to the Holy Land—Search for the Figure of Jesus for the Japanese

1970 (47 years old) In May he appeared in a T.V. drama, "Taihen-da" (Oh my God!), as a guest. In April he visited Israel with Yadai Seiichi, Handa Norio, Inoue Youji, and others for a second time and returned in May. In October, his play *Nihon no Kishi* (A Japanese Knight) was performed at Nissei Theater. With Handa Norio and Miura Shumon, he helped at the Christian pavilion as a producer of the first joint enterprise of Catholics and Protestants in the Osaka Exposition. For this work he received the order of Silvestri from the Vatican.

1971 (48 years old) In November the movie of *Chinmoku* (Silence) was released. He went to Ayutthaya, a city in Thailand, to prepare for a play, "Menamu Gawa no Nihonjin" (Japanese at the Menam River). Later, he went to Benares in India and visited the Ganges. He visited Istanbul, Stockholm, and Paris, and returned to Japan in the same month.

1972 (49 years old) In May he visited Rome with Miura Shumon, Sono Ayako, and others, and met Pope Paul VI. This visit was planned by Father Hyatt, whose missionary program on TV and radio had been broadcast with Endo's cooperation since 1964. The Pope asked Endo to cooperate and work with the other religions of Japan. After this visit, Endo went to Israel for the third time to finish writing his new long novel. He returned to Japan in April. In June he assumed a post as a member of the central education council of the Ministry of Education. In July he was appointed as an executive director of the Japan Artists

Association. *Umi to Dokuyaku* (The Sea and Poison) was published in England, and *Chinmoku* (Silence) in Sweden, Norway, France, Holland, Poland, and Spain.

Two Faces—Shikai no Hotori (By the Dead Sea), Iesu no Shyogai (A Life of Jesus) and Korian Boom

1973 (50 years old) In March as part of a group tour, 'Enjoy European plays with Shusaku Endo', he visited London, Paris, Milan, and the Andalusia district of Spain, returning to Japan in April. In June he had a newly written long novel, *Shikai no Hotori* (Beside the Dead Sea), published by Shincho-publishing company. In October, *Iesu no Shôgai* (A Life of Jesus) was published by the same publisher. This novel was the culmination of his years of study in search of a Jesus which the Japanese might comprehend. These two novels, *Shikai no Hotori* (Beside the Dead Sea) and *Iesu no Shôgai* (A Life of Jesus), are said to be two sides of the same coin. *Menamu Gawa no Nihonjin* (Japanese at the Menamu River) had its first premiere in Yakult Hall in Shinbashi by the theatrical company Kumo. In December, *Endo Shusaku no Sekai* (The World of Shusaku Endo) was featured in a separate volume of Shincho. That same year, the Lazy series—*Gûtara Ningen-gaku* (Studies of Lazy Human Beings), *Gûtara Kôyû-roku* (Records of Lazy Friendship), and *Gûtara Aijô-gaku* (Studies of Lazy Affections)—became best sellers and there was great public interest in the figure of Korian. Endo also appeared in a TV commercial.

1974 (51 years old) In May, he moved his office to Yoyogi-tomigaya. In July, Kodansha began a 4 year project publishing Endo Shusaku Bunko (Shusaku Endo Pocket Edition, volume 1–50, supplement 1). In October, Endo visited Mexico to collect materials in order to write a new long novel requested by Shincho Publishing Company. He returned to Japan that same month. In the same year *Obaka-san* (Wonderful Fool) was published by Peter Owen Publishing Company in England.

1975 (52 years old) From February to December *Endo Shusaku Bungaku Zenshû* (The Complete Edition of Shusaku Endo's Literary Works, 11 volumes) was published by Shincho Publishing Company. He visited London, Frankfurt, and Brussels with Kita Morio and Agawa Hiroyuki, and gave lectures in each city.

A Visit to Auschwitz—the Death of his Elder Brother

1976 (53 years old) From January to June he was chief editor of the journal Omoshiro hanbun (Just Kidding). In June he went to South Korea to collect data and materials for *Tetsu no Kubikase—Konishi Yukinaga Den* (An Iron Pillory—The Story of Konishi Yukinaga) and returned to Japan that same month. In September he was invited by the Japan Society to visit America and gave lectures in New York. He went to Los Angeles, and San Francisco, returning to Japan that same month. In December he went to Warsaw in Poland to receive the Pietrzaka Prize. He visited the Auschwitz concentration camp and returned to Japan that same month.

1977 (54 years old) In January he became one of the screening members of the Akutagawa Prize committee. In February the theatrical company Kiza staged the opera *Carmen*. He played Escamilio and gave an enthusiastic rendition of the role. In April the publication began of *Kirisuto-kyô Bungaku no Sekai* (The World of Christian Literature) (volumes 1–22, published by Shufu no Tomo). In May, Endo's elder brother Shousuke died from arterial rupture of the esophagus at the age of 56. Endo and his brother had shared childhood hardships and were on good terms with each other. He was shocked and felt orphaned by the loss of his brother. *Iesu ga Kirisuto ni Narumade* (Until Jesus Becomes Christ) was serialized in Shincho-sha until May the next year. He changed the title to *Kirisuto no Tanjô* (The Birth of Christ) the next year and this was published in November.

1978 (55 years old) In May the theatrical company Kiza staged their first musical, Tony and Maria. In June, Endo received the Dag Hammarskjold International Prize for *Iesu no Shôgai* (A Life of Jesus). The Italian company Queriniana published *Iesu no Shôgai* (A Life of Jesus), the Pax Publishing Company in Poland published *Watashiga Suteta Onna* (The Girl I Left Behind), and the Peter Owen Publishing Company in England published *Kazan* (Volcano).

The Samurai—An Inner Autobiography

1979 (56 years old) In February Endo received the Yomiuri Literary Award for *Kirisuto no Tanjô* (The Birth of Christ). He went to Ayutaya in Thailand to collect materials for the novel Yamada

Nagamasa, and returned to Japan that same month. He cooperated in making a religious magazine for the Joshi Paulo congregation and started a series of monthly dialogue articles, Akebono, for ten years. He made 107 interviews and they were collected into more than 20 books and were published. In May he received the Artistic Academy award for his services to literature. He went to Dairen with Agawa Hiroyuki on the Queen Elizabeth II, boarding in Hong Kong. There he visited the house where he had spent his childhood 46 years before. He returned to Japan that same month. In April he visited London to discuss publishing a translation of his books. He went to Paris and London and returned to Japan in the same month. On 31 December he finished writing *Samurai*, a semiautobiographical book. During this year, *Iesu no Shôgai* (The Life of Jesus) was published by the Paulist Publishing Company in America.

1980 (57 years old) In January an additional series of *Omoshiro Hanbun* (Just Kidding) featured Endo Shusaku in *Kossori Endo Shusaku* (Secretly, Shusaku Endo). In winter, Endo entered Keio Hospital with suspected cancer. He had an operation for paranasal sinusitis; tests showed that he did not have cancer. At the same time a 25 year old woman working as a housekeeper at Endo's house was hospitalized with bone marrow cancer. Seeing her suffer, he was moved to give up smoking. After many hospital tests she eventually died. This later made Endo start the 'Heart Warming Medical Care Campaign'. In April, Shincho published his newly written long novel, *Samurai*. In May he went to New York with the theatrical company Kiza which staged the opera Carmen at the Japan Society. Starting in November until February 1982, to show his gratitude to Nagasaki, he wrote *Onna no Isshô* (A Woman's Life) as a serial in the Asahi Newspaper. In December he received the Noma Literary Prize for *Samurai*. At this time he formed an amateur chorus group "Koru Papasu" (male chorus group).

1981 (58 years old) In April, before Mother Teresa's visit to Japan, he wrote *Maza-Teresa no Ai* (The Love of Mother Teresa) for the Yomiuri Newspaper. He became a member of the Artistic Academy. He went to Nagasaki to collect materials to write about Fr. Kolbe. He proposed to preserve the remains of the monastery where Fr. Kolbe once lived. This later became a reality and the monastery was called "The House of St. Kolbe".

Arashi no Yobu Koe (The Sound of the Wind) was filmed and was released as *Mayonaka no Shôtaijô* (The Midnight Invitation).

The 'Heart Warming Medical Care Campaign'

1982 (59 years old) In April, "Kanja kara no Sasayakana Negai" (Patients' Humble Wishes) appeared in the Yomiuri Newspaper and received many responses. This gave him an opportunity to form the Endo Volunteer Group. In July, Shunju publishing company began to publish the writings of Francois Mauriac (Volume 1–6) which Endo edited. Endo translated *Ai no Sabaku* (The Desert of Love) and *Therese Desqueyroux*. He wrote a commentary on the writings of Mauriac vol. 3. In the preceding year he had rented an apartment in Harajuku with Toyama Ikko, Miura Shumon, Uehara Yamato, Yadai Seiichi, and Inoue Youji, and established the Japan Christian Art Center. He started regular meetings for discussion, inviting specialists of various fields, such as in Christianity, Buddhism, and depth psychology. *Samurai* was published by Peter Owen Publishing Company of England.

1983 (60 years old) In July he established a Japanese chess club, Uchû Giin, with his friends who did not know how to play the game. He invited Hasegawa Kayo, a female professional Japanese chess player, to instruct the club. From October to November the next year, *Shukyô to Bungaku no Tanimade* (Between Religion and Literature) was serialized in Shincho. Later he changed its title to *Watashi no Aishita Shôsetsu* (A Novel I have Loved) and published it. In this novel he referred to the issues and reality of the unconscious as described in Carl G. Jung's psychology and in Buddhist Alaya consciousness.

1984 (61 years old) In May he lectured about "Literature and Religion: Focusing on the Unconscious" to writers from all over the world at the 47th International Poets, Essayists, and Novelists (P.E.N.) Assembly in Tokyo. In June he took up the post of president of the Nikkatsu Art Academy. In October he wrote a report on the 'Heart Warming Medical Care Campaign' and serialized it in the Yomiuri evening newspaper for four days, with the title "We want this kind of medical care".

Scandal—the Elderly's Prayer—Problems of Evil

1985 (62 years old) In April he traveled to England, Sweden and Finland. He happened to meet Graham Greene at the Ritz Hotel in London and talked over various issues. In June he was elected the 10th president of the Japan Poets, Essayists, and Novelists (P.E.N.) Club. He went to America and received an honorary doctorate from Santa Clara University in California, and lectured at the Jack Maritan and Thomas Moore Research Institute.

1986 (63 years old) In February he moved his place of residence temporarily to an office in Yoyogi-tomigaya. In May the newly written long novel *Sukyandaru* (Scandal), was published by Shincho. This novel referred to the problem of evil that he had been thinking about since his studies in Lyon, where he had been impressed by the prayers of elderly people. In May he went to London for the theatrical company Kiza's second performance abroad, which staged Madam Butterfly at the Janet Cochrane Theatre. In October the film *Umi to Dokuyaku* (The Sea and Poison) was released. He received the examiners' special prize, Gunkuma Prize, at the 13th Berlin International Film Festival. In November, having been invited by Fujen University, he went to Taiwan and lectured at the Assembly of Religion and Literature.

1987 (64 years old) In January he resigned from his post as a screening member of the Akutagawa prize committee. In May he went to America and received an honorary doctorate from Georgetown University. He returned to Japan that month. In October, following an invitation from the Korea Culture Academy, he visited Korea and met Korean writer Yoon Hun Gil. He returned to Japan that same month. In November, "Chinmoku no hi" (Monument of Silence) was completed in Sotome Town, Nagasaki, the setting for the novel *Chinmoku* (Silence). He attended the unveiling ceremony of the monument with his wife. On the monument the sentence, 'Though people are so sad, oh God, the sea is so blue', was carved. In December he moved to Nakamachi in the Meguro ward of Tokyo.

Civil War's Trilogy—Hangyaku (The Treason), Kessen no Toki (Time for a Decisive Battle), Otoko no Isshô (Men's Life).

1988 (65 years old) From January 1988 to February 1989, *Hangyaku* (The Treason) was serialized in the Yomiuri newspaper. This was based on new historical material recounting tales of military exploits. It became the source of Endo's Civil War Trilogy. He read *Bukô-Yobanashi* (Tales of Military Exploits Told at Night), which had been published by Shin Jinbutsu Ourai, and traveled around the Kiso river in Aichi prefecture where the story took place. The Kiso River thereafter became an important image for his thought and work. In April, in his role as president of the Japan PEN Club, he attended an assembly of the International PEN Club in Seoul, and returned to Japan in September. In November the monument of Chi no Kokyo (Home of Blood) was completed in Okayama, where the characters in *Hangyaku* (The Treason) once lived; he attended the unveiling ceremony with his wife. These characters are drawn from ancestors on his mother's side. On the monument were the words, 'Long ago, among these mountains and fields/my ancestors fought./The blood of my ancestors/binds/me and the people of this town./ Oh, the land/where the stars are so beautiful./My home of blood.' *Sukyandaru* (Scandal) was published by the Peter Owen Publishing Company in England. He was selected as a 'Person of Cultural Merit'.

1989 (66 years old) In April he resigned from the presidency of the Japan PEN Club. He visited Shimizu valley and the remains of Kotani Castle in North Biwa; he was impressed with 'the Spring of Kohoku.' In December his father Tsunehisa died at the age of 93. He could not forgive his father for leaving his mother but, being aware of his father's loneliness, he had visited him several times. That same year he organized a volunteer group, the 'Silver Association', in order to fulfil a campaign proposal: 'volunteer for old people by old people'. *Ryûgaku* (Foreign Studies) was published by Peter Owen Publishing Company in England.

Fukai Kawa (Deep River)—Culmination of his Life and Literature

1990 (67 years old) In February he travelled to India to collect materials for a new long novel. He saw the statue of Chamunda at

the National Museum in Delhi, went to Benares, and returned to Japan that same month. In July he moved his office to Hanabusayama in Meguro. From August he started writing a creative diary which was published as *Fukai Kawa Sousaku Nikki* (Deep River Creative Diary) after his death. In September he started to serialize *Otoko no Isshô* (A Man's Life). In October he was awarded the St. Edmund Campion S.J. prize from America.

1991 (68 years old) In January he became chairperson of Mita Bungaku's board of directors. In May he went to America and attended the study group of Endo Literature at John Carroll University. He received an honorary doctorate from the above University. He met the film director Martin Scorsese to discuss making *Chinmoku* (Silence) into a film. He returned to Japan that same month. In September he lectured at Chuo Hall for the 100th anniversary of the Tokyo Catholic Diocese. In December he went to Taiwan and received an honorary doctorate from Fujen University.

1992 (69 years old) In September he finished writing the first manuscript of *Fukai Kawa* (Deep River). A doctor diagnosed him as having kidney disease. He was hospitalized for tests and discharged after a month.

1993 (70 years old) In May he was hospitalized at the Juntendou University Hospital. He had an operation for kidney disease. During the next three and a half years he fought against the illness and was readmitted to hospital several times. In June his newly written long novel, *Fukai Kawa* (Deep River), was published by Kodansha. He sensed that his days were numbered and considered this novel to be the culmination of his life and literature. This was to be his last fictional iterary work. When publishing this novel, at one point he became seriously ill with heart failure but recovered; he gently stroked the book which had been delivered to his sickbed. In November the opera *Chinmoku* (Silence) had its premier at the Nissei theater.

Fighting the Disease for the last time—Living as Job

1994 (71 years old) From January to October his last historical novel *Onna* (Woman) was serialized in the Asahi Newspaper. He received the Mainichi Cultural Arts Award for *Fukai Kawa* (Deep River). In April the 13th edition of the English translation

of *Fukai Kawa* (Deep River) was published by the Peter Owen Publishing Company. In May the following year a book review of the novel appeared in the New York Times, covering over two pages. It also became one of the final nominees in the Independent Newspaper's Foreign Countries' Novel Prize. The novel was internationally acclaimed. In May the original *Watashi ga Suteta Onna* (The Girl I Left Behind) was made into a musical and performed as *Nakanaide* (Don't Cry) by the theatrical company Ongakuza. Endo praised it, saying, "Mitsu, whom I love, is alive." The English translation of *Watashi ga Suteta Onna* (The Girl I Left Behind) was published in England. He began to suffer from itching, a side effect of the medicines he was taking, but endured it because he was determined to write Job.

1995 (72 years old) In January he began a serial *Kuroi Agehachô* (The Black Swallowtail Butterfly) in the Tokyo Newspaper. It was discontinued on 5 March because of his illness. In April he was hospitalized again. From May until July the following year, Kodansha started publishing *Endo Shusaku Rekishi Shôsetsu Zenshû* (The Complete Edition of Shusaku Endo's Historical Novels: volumes 1–7). In June he left hospital. He went to the preview of the movie *Fukai Kawa* (Deep River) and choked with tears while viewing it. The movie was awarded the Ecumenical Judge Prize at the Montreal International Film Festival. In August the theatrical company Kiza performed the play *Oudishion* (The Audition), which became the last play performed in the presence of their leader, Endo. In September he was hospitalized at Juntendou University Hospital with a cerebral hemorrhage. Subsequently, he was unable to talk, but he and his wife Junko communicated by holding each other's hands. In October, *Chinmoku* (Silence) was performed by the theatrical company Subaru at Milwaukee Repertoire Theater. This play was a joint Japanese-American production and was performed in Milwaukee and in Tokyo. In November he received the Order of Cultural Merit. In December he left hospital.

Going to Heaven, the Shining World where his Mother and Elder Brother Awaited

1996 (73 years old) In April he was hospitalized for treatment of his kidney problems. Miraculously his illness temporarily abated,

and he dictated his last writing, *Sato Saku Sensei no Omoide* (Memories of Prof. Saku Sato). Experiencing breathing difficulties due to pneumonia, he died in hospital on 29 December at 6:36 pm. Before dying his face lit up and, through the touch of his hands, his wife Junko received a message saying, "I'm now in the light and meeting my mother and brother, so there is no need to worry about me." On 2 October a funeral mass was held in St. Ignatius Catholic Church in Kojimachi. Four thousand people attended, offering flowers. Deferring to Endo's last wish, *Chinmoku* (Silence) and *Fukai Kawa* (Deep River) were placed in his coffin. His remains were buried in the Catholic graveyard in Fuchu, where his mother and brother lay.

1997 In September a thousand acquaintances of Endo gathered at Tokyo Kaikan to honour his memory. In October the original *Watashi ga Suteta Onna* (The Girl I Left Behind) was made into a film and released as *Aisuru* (To Love). In November the theatrical company Kiza gave a performance of *Lasuto Suteji* (Last Stage) in memory of their leader Endo at Shiba Park Mel Park Hall. They disbanded after this performance.

1998 From April to June an exhibition of Endo's works was held in the Setagaya Literature House. From July to September an exhibition, 'Shusaku Endo and Karuizawa', was held in Karuizawa Kougen Bunko. *Endo Shusku no Subete* (Everything on Shusaku Endo) was published by Bunshu-bunko.

1999 Publishing began of *Endo Senshu Bungaku Zenshû* (The Complete Series of Endo Shusaku's Literary Works: Volumes 1–15) by Shincho. From May an exhibition, 'In search of a maternal God, Shusaku Endo's world', was held in the main stores of Mitsukoshi in Nihonbashi (Tokyo), Kyoto, Yokohama, Shizuoka, Sendai, and Machida.

2000 In March the Endo Shusaku Memorial Hall was completed in Sotome Town, Nagasaki.

Literature by Endo Shusaku[3]

1953 『フランスの大学生』(Furansu no Daigakusei) *University Students in France*
1954 『カトリック作家の問題』(Katorikku Sakka no Mondai) *Problems Confronting the Catholic Author*
=『家の中の見知らぬ人』(Ie no Naka no Mishiranu Hito) *Unknown Man in the House*
『掘辰雄』(Hori Tatsuo) *Hori Tatsuo*
『白い人、黄色い人』(Shiroi Hito, Kiiroi Hito) *White Men, Yellow Men*
1956 『神と悪魔』(Kami to Akuma) *God and Devil*
『青い小さな葡萄』(Aoi Chiisana Budou) *A Green Little Grape*
1957 『タカシのフランス一周』(Takashi no Fransu Isshû) *Takashi's Round Trip to France*
『恋することと愛すること』(Koisurukoto to Aisurukoto) *To Love and To Like*
1958 『月光のドミナ』(Gekkô no Domina) *The Moon Light's Domina*
『海と毒薬』(Umi to Dokuyaku) *The Sea and Poison*
『恋愛論ノート』(Renai-ron Noto) *The Theory of Love*
1959 『最後の殉教者』(Saigo no Junkyô-sha) *The Final Martyrs*
『恋の絵本』(Koi no Ehon) *A Picture Book of Love*
『おバカさん』(Obaka-san) *A Wonderful Fool*
『蜘蛛—周作恐怖譚』(Kumo:Shusaku Kyofu Tan) *Spiders—Fear of Shusaku*
1960 『若い日の恋愛ノート』(Wakai Hi no Renai Nôto) *A Love Note in My Youth*
=『ロベルトは今夜』(Roberuto wa Konya) *The Night of Robert*
『火山』(Kazan) *Volcano*
『あまりに碧い空』(Amari ni Aoi Sora) *The Sky so Blue*
『聖書の中の女性たち』(Seisho no Naka no Joseitachi) *The Women in the Bible*
1961 『ヘチマくん』(Hechima-kun) *Sponge Gourd Boy*
1962 『結婚』(Kekkon) *Marriage*
1963 『宗教と文学』(Shukyô to Bungaku) *Religions and Literature*
1964 『私が捨てた女』(Watashi ga Suteta Onna) *The Girl I Left Behind*
『浮世風呂』(Ukiyo Buro) *The Brief Life Bath*
『一・二・三！』(Ichi-Ni-San!) *One Two Three!*
『偽作』(Gisaku) *An Anecdote*
1965 『留学』(Ryûgaku) *Foreign Studies*
『哀歌』(Aika) *Elegy*
1966 『沈黙』(Chinmoku) *Silence*
『金と銀』(Kin to Gin) *Gold and Silver*
『楽天主義のすすめ』(Rakuten Shugi no Susume) *Be an Optimist*
『協奏曲』(Kyôsô Kyoku) *Concerto*
『さらば、夏の光よ』(Saraba Natsu no Hikariyo) *Farewell to the Summer Lights*
『闇のよぶ声』(Yami no Yobu Koe) *Calling from the Darkness*
1967 『遠藤周作のまごころ問答』(Endo Shusaku no Magokoro Mondô) *Q&A with Endo Shusaku*

[3] Some books have been published by different publishers and at various times. I have given only the earliest publication date.The following symbols are used: *Collection of Interviews, +Joint Work, = Translated Works.

『ぐうたら生活入門』(Gûtara Seikatsu Nyumon) *A Guidebook on How to be Idle*
『キリシタン時代の知識人—背教と殉教』(Kirishitan Jidai no Chishiki Jin—Haikyô to Junkyô) *Intellectuals in the Kirishitan Era—Apostasy & Martyrdom*
『現代の快人物—狐狸庵閑話巻之弐』(Gendai no Kaijinbutsu—Korian Kanwa Kan no Ni) *The Story of Korian Part 2*
『どっこいショ』(Dokkoisho) *Oof!*
『私の影法師』(Watashi no Kagebôshi) *My Shadow Figure*
『古今百馬鹿—狐狸庵閑話之巻之参』(Kokon Hyakubaka Korian Kanwa no Kan no San) *Foolish Story of Korian Part 3*

1968 『快男児・怪男児』(Kaidanji Kaidanji) *Comfortable Man, Strange Man*
『廃虚の眼』(Haikyo no Me) *Eye of the Remains*
『影法師』(Kagebôshi) *The Shadow Figure*
『周作口談』(Shusaku Koudan) *Talk with Shusaku*

1969 『母なるもの』(Hahanaru Mono) *Mother*
『それ行け狐狸庵』(Soreike Korian) *Let's go, Korian*
『遠藤周作ユーモア小説集』(Endo Shusaku Yumoa Shôsetsushû) *The Humour of Endo Shusaku*
『大変だァ』(Taihen-da) *Oh my God!*
『薔薇の館・黄金の国』(Bara no Yakata, Ôgon no Kuni) *House of Roses, The Golden Country*
『楽天大将』(Rakuten Taishô) *The Optimist*

1970 『遠藤周作怪奇小説集』(Endo Shusaku Kaiki Shôsetsushû) *Mysteries of Endo Shusaku*
『愛情論—幸福の手帖』(Aijô Ron-Kôfuku no Techô) *Theory of Love—The Note on Happiness*
『遠藤周作の本』(Endo Shusaku no Hon) *The Books of Endo Shusaku*
『どっこいショ』(Dokkoisho) *Plump Down*
=『愛の砂漠』(Ai no Sabaku) *The Desert of Love*
『石の声』(Ishi no Koe) *The Voice of Stones*

1971 『切支丹の里』(Kirishitan no Sato) *The Village of Christians*
『黒ん坊』(Kuronbo) *The Black*
『埋もれた古城』(Umoreta Kojô) *The Buried Castle*
『遠藤周作シナリオ集』(Endo Shusaku Sinarioshu) *Scripts of Endo Shusaku*

1972 『恋愛とは何か』(Renaitowa nanika) *What is Falling in Love*
『ただいま浪人』(Tadaima Rônin) *No Status Now*
『狐狸庵雑記帳』(Korian Zakkichô) *A Rough Notebook of Korian*
『ぐうたら人間学』(Gûtara Ningen-gaku) *Studies of Laziness*
『牧歌』(Bokka) *Pastoral Songs*

1973 『狐狸庵型』(Korian Gata) *The Forms of Korian*
『灯のうるむ頃』(Hi no urumu koro) *The Time of Dawn*
『死海のほとり』(Shikai no Hotori) *By the Dead Sea*
『イエスの生涯』(Iesu no Shôgai) *A Life of Jesus*
『メナム川の日本人』(Menamu Gawa no Nihonjin) *Japanese at the Menam*
『ぐうたら会話集』(Gûtara Kaiwa-shû) *The Lazy Talks*
『遠藤周作第二ユーモア小説集』(Endo Shusaku Daini Yumoa Shôsetsushû) *The Humor of Endo Shusaku Part II*
『ぐうたら怠談』(Gûtara Taidan) *The Lazy Conversations*

1974 『ぐうたら好奇学』(Gûtara Kôki-gaku) *Idle Curiosity*
『ピエロの歌』(Piero no Uta) *Songs of Pierrot*
*『周作快談』(Shusaku Kaidan) *Shusaku's Ghost Story*
+『狐狸庵 vs マンボー PART I』(Korian vs Manbô Part I) *Korian vs Manbô Part I*

『口笛をふく時』(Kuchibue wo Fuku Toki) *When I Whistle*
『うちの女房、うちの息子』(Uchi no Nyobo, Uchi no Musuko) *My Wife, My Son*
『喜劇新四谷怪談』(Kigeki Shin Yotsuya Kaidan) *The Comedy—New Yotsuya Ghost Story*
『最後の殉教者』(Saigo no Junkyô-sha) *The Last Martyrs*
『恋愛作法』(Renai Sahô) *Love Manners*
*『日本人を語る』(Nihonjin wo Kataru) *Talk about Japanese*
1975 『君たちの悩みにまじめにお答えします』(Kimitachi no Nayami ni Majime ni Okotae shimasu) *I'll Answer Your Concerns, Seriously*
『彼の生きかた』(Kare no Ikikata) *His Way of Living*
*『この人たちの考え方』(Kono Hitotachi no Kangaekata) *Their Way of Thinking*
*『怠談』(Taidan) *Idle Talks*
『身上相談』(Minoue Sôdan) *The Consultants*
『ぼくたちの洋行』(Bokutachi no Yôkô) *Our Travel West*
『観客席から』(Kankyaku Seki kara) *From the Auditoriums*
『吾が顔を見る能はじ』(Waga Kao wo Miru Atahaji) *Looking At One Side of the Self*
*『続日本人を語る』(Zoku Nihonjin wo Kataru) *Talks on Japanese Part II*
『遠藤周作ミステリー小説集』(Endo Shusaku Misuteri Shôsetsushu) *Mystery Novels of Endo Shusaku*
+『狐狸庵vsマンボーPART II』(Korian vs Manbô Part II) *Korian vs Manbô II*
1976 『ボクは好奇心のかたまり』(Boku wa Kôkishin no Katamari) *I'm a Clod of Curiosity*
『勇気ある言葉』(Yûkiaru Kotoba) *Brave Words*
『愛のあけぼの』(Ai no Akebono) *A Dawn of Love*
『私のイエス—日本人のための聖書入門』(Watashi no Iesu—Nihonjin no Tame no Seisho Nyumon) *My Jesus—A Guidebook of the Bible for the Japanese*
『砂の城』(Suna no Shiro) *The Sand Castle*
『療友達・パロディー』(Ryôyû-tachi, parodi) *Friends in the Hospital*
1977 『悲しみの歌』(Kanashimi no Uta) *The Song of Sorrow*
『鉄の首枷—小西行長伝』(Tetsu no Kubikase—Konishi Yukinaga Den) *An Iron Pillory—The Story of Konishi Yukinaga*
『恋の絵本』(Koi no Ehon) *A Picture Book of Love*
『走馬燈—その人たちの人生』(Sômatô—Sono Hitotachi no Jinsei) *Revolving Lantern—Their Lives*
『旅は道づれ世は情け』(Tabi wa Michizure Yo wa Nasake) *Companion for Traveling; Companion for Life*
『自選』(Jisen) *Self-Selections*
『作家の旅』(Sakka no Tabi) *The Journey of Writers*
*『日本人はキリスト教を信じるられるか』(Nihonjin wa Kirisuto-kyô wo Shinjirareruka) *Can the Japanese Believe in Christianity?*
1978 『ウスバかげろう日記』(Usuba Kagerô Nikki) *A Stupid Ephemeral Diary*
+『狐狸庵vsマンボーII』(Korian vs Manbô II) *Korian vs Manbô II*
『人間のなかのX』(Ningen no Naka no X) *X in Human beings*
『キリストの誕生』(Kirisuto no Tanjô) *The Birth of Christ*
*『ぐうたら会話集・第二集』(Gûtara Kaiwa-shû Dainishû) *Lazy Talks II*
1979 『王妃マリー・アントワネットI』(Ôhi Marî Antoinette I) *The Queen Marie Antoinette*
『銃と十字架』(Jû to Jujika) *A Gun and a Cross*
『十一の色硝子』(Juichi no Irogarasu) *The Eleven Coloured Glasses*
『異邦人の立場から』(Ihôjin no Tachiba kara) *From A Foreigner's Point of View*

*『周作怠談・12の招待状』(Shusaku Taidan—2 no Shôtaijô) *Shusaku's Lazy Talks—12 Invitations*
『お茶を飲みながら』(Ocha wo Nominagara) *Over a Cup of Tea*
『ぐうたら社会学』(Gûtara Shakai-gaku) *Sociology of Laziness*
『王妃マリー・アントワネットII』(Ôhi Marî Antoinette II) *The Queen Marie Antoinette II*
+『親鸞(親鸞講義)』(Shinran (Shinran Kogi)) *Shinran, Lectures on Shinran*
1980 『結婚論』(Kekkonron) *The Theory of Marriage*
『天使』(Tenshi) *Angels*
『侍』(Samurai) *The Samurai*
*『ぐうたら会話集・第三集』(Gûtara Kaiwa-shû Daisanshû) *Lazy Talks III*
『狐狸庵二十面相』(Korian Nijûmensô) *Korian Twenty Features*
『父親(上・下)』(Chichioya) *The Father*
+『かくれ切支丹』(Kakure Kirishitan) *Hidden Christians*
『王妃マリー・アントワネットIII』(Ôhi Marie Antoinette III) *The Queen Marie Antoinette, III*
『作家の日記』(Sakka no Nikki) *The Dairy of the Writer*
『遠藤周作による遠藤周作』(Endo Shusaku ni yoru Endo Shusaku) *Endo Shusaku by Endo Shusaku*
『真昼の悪魔』(Mahiru no Akuma) *Demons At Noon*
1981 『狐狸庵うちあけばなし』(Korian Uchiakebanashi) *Confidential Talks of Korian*
『愛と人生をめぐる断想』(Ai to Jinsei wo Meguru Dansô) *Pieces of Memory about Love and Life*
『王国への道—山田長政』(Ôkoku eno Michi—Yamada Nagamasa) *The Road to the Kingdom—Yamada Nagamasa*
『王妃マリー・アントワネット(合本)』(Ôhi Marie Antoinette) *The Queen Marie Antoinette, Compilation*
『名画・イエス巡礼』(Meiga-Iesu Junrei) *Fine Art—The Pilgrimage of Jesus*
『僕のコーヒーブレイク』(Boku no Kôhî Breku) *My Coffee Break*
1982 『女の一生—一部・キクの場合』(Onna no Isshô—Ichibu, Kiku no Baai) *Women's Life-Part I, Kiku*
『女の一生—二部・サチ子の場合』(Onna no Isshô—Ichibu, Sachiko no Baai) *Women's Life—Part II, Sachiko*
『足のむくまま気のむくまま』(Ashi no Mukumama Ki no Mukumama) *As I Go, As I Like*
『自分をどう愛するか〈生活編〉』(Jibun wo Dou Aisuruka, Seikatsu hen) *How to Love Your Own Self, Life Version*
『冬の優しさ』(Fuyu no Yasashisa) *Tenderness of Winter*
『あべこべ人間』(Abekobe Ningen) *Reversed Man*
『遠藤周作と考える—幸福、人生、宗教について』(Endo Shusaku to Kangaeru—Kôfuku, Jinsei, Shukyô ni Tsuite) *Think with Endo Shusaku—About Happiness, Life, and Religion*
1983 『悪霊の午後』(Akuryô no Gogo) *Evil Spirit in the Afternoon*
『私にとって神とは』(Watashi ni totte Kami towa) *God for Me*
『よく学び、よく遊び』(Yoku Manabi, Yoku Asobi) *Learn Well, Play Well*
『イエス・キリスト(合本)』(Iesu Kirisuto) *Jesus Christ*
『イエスに邂った女たち』(Iesu ni atta Onnatachi) *Women Who Met Jesus*
1984 『自分づくり—自分をどう愛するか〈生き方編〉』(Jibun zukuri—Jibun wo Dou Aisuruka, Ikikata hen) *Create Your Own Self—How to Love Yourself, Living Version*
*『生きる学校』(Ikiru Gakkô) *The Living School*
*『怪人探検』(Kaijin Tanken) *Exploration of a Strange Man*
1985 『私の愛した小説』(Watashi no Aishita Shôsetsu) *The Novel that I Loved*

『何でもない話』(Nandemo Nai Hanashi) *Easy Stories*
『ほんとうの私を求めて』(Honto no Watashi wo Motomete) *Seeking for The True Self*
『天国のいねむり男』(Tengoku no Inemuri Otoko) *A Dozing Man in Heaven*
『宿敵(上・下)』(Shukuteki) *An Old Enemy*
*『狐狸庵が教える「対話術」』(Korian ga Oshieru Taiwajutsu) The*Technique of Conversation that Korian Teaches You*
1986 『心の夜想曲』(Kokoro no Nokutaan) *Nocturne in the Heart*
『ひとりを愛し続ける本』(Hitori wo Aishitsuzukeru Hon) *Keep on Loving One Person*
『スキャンダル』(Sukyandaru) *Scandal*
『風の肉声』(Kaze no Nikusei) *Voice of Wind*
*『狐狸庵が教える「対談学」』(Korian ga Oshieru Taidangaku) *The Technique of Dialogue that Korean Teaches You*
*『私が見つけた名治療家32人』(Watashi ga Mitsuketa Meichiryôka 32nin) *32 Fine Therapists Whom I Met*
『遠藤周作のあたたかな医療を考える』(Endo Shusaku no Atatakana Iryô wo Kangaeru) *Heartful Medical Care*
『あなたの中の秘密のあなた』(Anata no Naka no Himitsu no Anata) *The Hidden You Inside Yourself*
『男感覚・女感覚の知り方』(Otoko Kankaku, Onna Kankaku no Shirikata) *Knowing the Sense of Men and Women*
1987 『わが恋う人は』(Waga Omou Hito wa) *My Lover*
『死について考える—この世界から次の世界へ』(Shi ni tsuite Kangaeru—Kono Sekai kara Tsugi no Sekai e) *Thinking about Death, from this World to the Unknown World*
*『新ぐうたら怠談』(Shin Gûtara Taidan) *New Lazy Talks*
『ピアノ協奏曲二十一番』(Piano KyôsôKyoku Nijûichiban) *Piano Concerto No. 21*
『眠れぬ夜に読む本』(Nemurenu Yoru ni Yomu Hon) *A Book for the Sleepless Night*
『あまのじゃく人間へ』(Amanojaku Ningen e) *To Obstinacies*
『妖女のごとく』(Youjyo no gotoku) *Like a Mysterious Women*
1988 *『遠藤周作と語る—日本人とキリスト教』(Endo Shusaku to Kataru—Nihonjin to Kirisuto-kyô) *Talk with Endo Shusaku—Japanese and Christianity*
*『こころの不思議、神の領域』(Kokoro no Fushigi, Kami no Ryôiki) *Mystery of Mind, The Realm of God*
『ファーストレディ(上・下)』(Fâsuto Ledî I+II) *First Lady I+II*
『その夜のコニャック』(Sono Yoru no Konyakku) *The Cognac on That Night*
1989 『"逆さま流"人間学』('Sakasama-ryu' Ningengaku) *Humanology of the Other Way*
『春は馬車に乗って』(Haru wa Basha ni Notte) *Take a Coach in Spring*
*『こんな治療法もある』(Konna Chiryôhô mo Aru) *There is Such a Therapy*
『反逆(上・下)』(Hangyaku) *The Treason*
『落第坊主の履歴書』(Rakudai Bôzu no Rirekisho) *The Regime of Failure*
1990 『変わるものと変わらぬもの』(Kawaru Mono to Kwaranu Mono) *Changeable and Unchangeable*
*『心の海を探る』(Kokoro no Umi wo Saguru) *Seeking the Sea Inside the Mind*
『考えすぎの人間へ』(Kangaesugi no Ningen e) *For those Who Think Too Much*

1991 『生き上手死に上手』(Ikijôzu Shinijôzu) *Live Well, Die Well*
『決戦の時(上・下)』(Kessen no Toki) *The Last Battle*
『男の一生(上・下)』(Otoko no Isshô) *Men's Life*
*『怪女・怪男・怪話』(Kaijo, Kaidan, Kaiwa) *Strange Women, Strange Men, and Strange Stories*
『へんな自分を愛しなさい』(Hen na Jibun wo Aishinasai) *Love Your Strange Side*
*『人生の同伴者』(Jinsei no Dôhansha) *A Companion in Life*
1992 『心の砂時計』(Kokoro no Sunadokei) *The Sandclock in the Mind*
『切支丹時代』(Kirishitan Jidai) *The Christian Era*
『あなたが病に倒れたら』(Anata ga Yamai ni Taoretara) *When You Get Sick*
『王の挽歌(上・下)』(Ô no Banka) *The Elegy of the King*
*『たかが信長されど信長』(Takaga Nobunaga Saredo Nobunaga) *Only Nobunaga, but Nobunaga*
『狐狸庵歴史の夜話』(Korian Rekishi no Yobanashi) *The Night Stories of Korian History*
1993 『深い河』(Fukai Kawa) *Deep River*
『万華鏡』(Mangekyô) *Kaleidoscope*
『キリスト教ハンドブック』(編) (Kirisuto-kyô Handbook) *A Handbook of Christianity*
1994 『心の航海図』(Kokoro no Kôkaizu) *The Minds Voyage Plan*
『狐狸庵閑談』(Korian Kandan) *A Quiet Talk of Korian*
+『狐狸庵先生のこう打てば碁が下手になる』(Korian Sensei no Kô Uteba Go ga Heta ni Naru) *How to Play Japanese Chess Badly by Mr. Korian*
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[DUC]: Dutch	[ENG]: English	[EST]: Estonian	[FIN]: Finish
[FRE]: French	[GER]: German	[GRU]: Urdu	[ITA]: Italian
[KIR]: Kirghiz	[LIT]: Lithuanian	[NOR]: Norwegien	[POL]: Polish
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GLOSSARY

Japanese Terms

Amae 甘え: Passive dependency.
—— no kôzo 甘えの構造: The theory of *amae*, the anatomy of dependence, propounded by Doi Takeo (1920–). It is also the title of his book published in 1971. In the book he detects this dependency in the social structures of Japan.
Amaterasu 天照大御神: The sun goddess in Japanese mythologies, enshrined in the Grand Shrine of Ise.
Amida 阿弥陀: *Dharmakara*. The origin of the name comes from the Sanskrit text *Amitabha, Amitayus* (infinite light and infinite life). *Amida* is the Japanese pronunciation.
—— *Sanzon* 阿弥陀三尊: The three *Amida* divinities.
Bateren-Tsuihô Bun 伴天連追放文: A decree expelling the Christian missionaries by Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1614.
Bosatsu 菩薩: Bodhisattva: beings destined for enlightenment who, out of compassion, vow to save all beings.
Bunkanai Kaika 文化内開花: Inculturation, meaning literally 'blooming in the culture'.
Bunmyaku-ka 文脈化: Contextualization.
Bushidô 武士道: The way of the warrior.
Dainichi 大日: *Maharairocana*. The Buddhist concept of the supreme; the Cosmic Buddha.
Daijô sai 大嘗祭: Great festival of the first harvest performed by a crowned emperor, in which he offers the first fruits to Amaterasu.
Daishi 大師: Great teacher, e.g. *Kô-bô-daishi* Kûkai 弘法大師 空海 (774–835), founder of *Shingon-shu* (esoteric Buddhism) of the Japanese Buddhist sect which centers on Mount Kôya.
Dochaku 土着: Indigenization, meaning literally 'to take root in the soil'.
Fumie 踏み絵: A metal image of Christ or Mary to be trodden on.
Haibutsu Kishaku 廃仏希釈: Elimination of Buddha. It refers to an anti-Buddhist movement that arose in the early Meiji era.
Haiku 俳句: A Japanese poem constructed of 17 syllables and following a pattern of 5, 7, and 7 syllables.
Hokke-kyô 法華経: *Lotus Sutra.*
Honji-suijaku 本地垂迹: A theory of Buddhist leaders in the 8th century that claimed that buddhas appeared in the world (*honji*) in the shape of *kami* for the purpose of saving people (*suijaku).*
—— *Han-honji suijaku* 反本地垂迹: Anti *honji suijaku;* Shinto gods were the *honji* and the Buddha the *suijaku.*
Jihi 慈悲: Compassion.
Jinjya 神社: A Shinto shrine.
Jinja-Honchô 神社本庁: The Shrine association organized in 1945.
Jinja-kyôku 神社局: Office of Shrines.
Jôdo 浄土: The Pure Land (sukhavati), *Amida's* paradise.
—— *Shin shu* 浄土真宗: True Pure Land Buddhism founded by Shinran (1173–1262).
—— shu 浄土宗: Pure Land Buddhism founded by Honen (1133–1212).
Juniku-ka 受肉化: Incarnation, to perceive the flesh.

Juyô 受容: Acceptance.
Jyu-nana Jô no kenpô 十七条の憲法: The Seventeen Article Constitution.
Kaishin 改心: Conversion.
Kami 神: A divine spiritual force of creation and harmony.
—— *Shin* 神: Another pronounciation for *kami. (*e.g. *Shinto, Shinkoku, Shib-Butsu, Shingaku, etc.)*
—— *Kannagara no Michi* 神随らの道: The way to *kami.*
—— *Kurushii toki no kami danomi* 苦しいときの神頼み: *Kami* in human need are *kami* indeed.
—— *Yaoyorozu no kami* 八百万の神: Literally meaning 8 million *kami.*
Kannon 観音: *Avalokiteshvara* Boddhisattva. An important bodhisattva, who is depicted as attenting and sitting left to *Amida* Buddha.
Ke 気: Spirit.
Kegare 穢: Spiritual pollution that can be removed by performing ceremonies of purification.
Kien 機縁: Chance and relation, or mediator for relationship.
Kirishitan キリシタン: Premodern name for Roman Catholicism and Roman Catholics.
—— *Kakure Kirishitan* かくれ切支丹: Hidden Christians.
Kojiki 古事記: Record of Ancient Matters written in 712. It is a Japanese classic compiled during the Nara period, and is a semisacred scripture of Shinto. It contains myths, legends, and historical accouts centering on the imperial clan.
Kokugaku 国学: National learning.
Korian 狐狸庵: Pen-name for Shusaku Endo.
Kû 空: Emptiness.
Ku/gyô-ku 苦/行苦: *Sakharadukka*, the evil of material life.
Kyôiku Chokugo 教育勅語: The Imperial Prescript on Education.
Matsuri 祭: Religious ceremonies, rites, rituals, festivals.
Meiji Ishin 明治維新: Meiji Restoration.
Michi 道: a way, road or path. When used religiously it means right conduct or right action. Cf. Shinto 神道.
Miko 巫女: Shaman; a charismatic female diviner. Also a priestess serving as an assistant at a shrine.
Mu 無: Nothingness.
—— *Zettai-Mu* 絶対無: Absolute Nothingness.
Mu-kyôkai 無教会: Non-church, an indigenous Protestant churchless Christianity developed widely under the influence of Uchimura Kanzo (1861–1930).
Musubi 産霊: Spirits of birth and becoming, also accomplishing or combining.
Namban-ji 南蛮寺: Temple of the Southern Barbarians.
Nembutsu 念仏: Chanted sutra. i.e. Namu Amida Butsu (I take refuge in *Amida* Buddha).
Nihon-Shoki 日本書紀: The Chronicles of Japan compiled at the imperial court in 720.
Nyorai 如来: *Tathagata*, a person who has attained Buddha-hood.
Reisei 霊性: Spirituality.
Sakoku 鎖国: The national edict closing Japan to the world in 1639.
Samurai 侍: A Japanese warrior.
Satori 悟り: Enlightenment.
Seishi 勢至: *Mahasthamaprapta* Boddhisattva, who stands on the right side of *Amidha* Buddha.
Seppuku 切腹: Suicide by means of cutting one's belly.
Shaji-kyoku 社寺局: Office of Temples and Shrines.
Shôgun 将軍: A warrior-ruler.
Shika-in 四箇院: Four facilities built by Prince Shotoku to meet four different needs of society. (*Keita-in* 敬田院 an educational facility, *Hita-in* 悲田院 a place to shelter the poor, *Shiyaku-in* 施薬院 to accommodate the sick, and *Ryobyo-in* 療病院 to cure people).

Shikoku Henro 四国遍路: A pilgrimage in Shikoku island.
Shin-Butsu Shûgô 神仏習合: The synthesis of Shinto and Buddhism.
Shin-Butsu 神仏: A joint word for the *kami* of polytheism and Buddha of pantheism.
Shinkoku 神国: The country of *kami*.
Shinto 神道: The way of the *kami*.
—— *Fukko-shinto* 復古神道: Revival-shinto.
—— *Jinja-shinto* 神社神道: Shrine-shinto.
—— *Kokka-shinto* 国家神道: State-shinto.
—— *Koshinto* 古神道: Basic-shinto.
—— *Koshitsu-shinto* 皇室神道: Shinto of the Imperial House.
—— *Minzoku-shinto* 民俗神道: Folk-shinto.
—— *Shûha-shinto* 宗派神道: Sect-shinto.
Shugen-dô 修験道: Order of Mountain Ascetics founded on a peculiar blend of folk beliefs, Shinto, and Buddhism, with some elements of Yin-Yang and Taoist belief.
Shûkyo-sei 宗教性: Religious sensitivity; the capacity of the emotions or feelings as distinguished from intellect and mind.
Shûkyo-kyoku 宗教局: Office of Religions.
Sokui no rei 即位の礼: Enthronement Ceremony.
Taikyô Senpu 大教宣布: Great Promulgation Movement.
Tama 霊: Spirit; the pure soul of the *kami* and of people.
Tannishô 歎異抄: Notes Lamenting the Differences.
Tenshu 天主: The Lord of Heaven.
Tekiô 適応: Adaptation.
Tsumi 罪: Sin, according to Shinto; *tsu miare* removed by ceremonial cleansing, *harae*.
Yamatai-koku 邪馬台国: One of the principalities in Japan during its early historic period.
Yamato 大和: An early kingdom of Japan, also the old name for Japan.
Yuta ゆた: Miko of Okinawa.
Zange 懺悔: Repentance, metanoia.
Zazen 座禅: Meditation, sitting with crossed legs.
Zen 禅: *Dhyana* or meditation school of Buddhism introduced by Eisai and Dogen in the early 12th century from China.
Wa 倭: Ancient description for the Japanese nation.
Wa 和: Harmony.
—— *Ta no Wa* 多の和: Harmony in Diversity.

INDEX OF NAMES