

REFUTATION OF DEUS

by
Fabian

Translated by
Esther Lowell Hibbard
Assisted by
Professor Yoshimori Hiraishi
Dōshisha University

Translator's Preface

Refutation of Deus (*Ha Deusu*), the oldest known document in Japanese written to contradict Christian doctrine, is a work of great interest both to historians and theologians. The title derives from the fact that the Portuguese missionaries introduced their native word for God, namely "Deus," which the Japanese wrote as 提字子, and pronounced *Deusu*. Later the term was applied to Christianity and its followers, as well as to their deity. The character translated as "refutation" is 破, that is *ha*, literally, to defeat, and is the conventional formula used for rebuttal in a debate on philosophic or religious subjects. Such debates were of common occurrence, even among different sects of Buddhism. It is therefore natural that the same technic should be used in contradicting Christianity.

But the author of this work was no ordinary dialectician. He was a man of rare literary talent and training who had at one time been a Christian convert and therefore knew whereof he spoke. At the same time he had a wide knowledge of the Chinese classics and of Buddhist doctrines, together with

a trenchant wit and imaginative power.

The original manuscript dated Genna 6th year (1620) is preserved in the library of Kyoto University. The present translation was made from the text printed in Vol. X of *Nihon Tetsugaku Shisō Zensho* [Complete Collection of Japanese Philosophical Thought] and published by the Heibonsha of Tokyo in 1956.

In Part VII of the *Refutation*, the author states that he became a Christian at the age of nineteen and spent twenty-two or twenty-three years as a member of the Jesuit Order, after which he became an apostate, in about the year 1605. Historical records do not support these statements, however. According to the list of Japanese converts received by the Jesuits in 1586, there was a certain Fabian de Goquinay who entered the Osaka Seminary in that year. Again, in the Catalogue of the members of the Order dated 1592, it is recorded that one "Fabien[sic] Unquio" was then at the Seminary in Nagasaki, having been a member for six years and being twenty-seven years old at the time. According to this reckoning, his birth date would be 1565 instead of 1563. It must be taken into consideration, however, that the Jesuits did not always know the exact age of their Japanese converts, and often put down an approximate age or omitted the figure entirely. As to the date of his entrance into the Order, if it antedated the record of 1592 by six years, the previous date of 1586 is fully confirmed. But the Jesuits required a novitiate of two years before a convert could be admitted to their brotherhood, so his actual conversion may have been as early as 1584.

According to Japanese tradition, Fabian had been a priest

of a Zen temple in the province of Kaga before his conversion to Christianity. Although this seems unlikely in view of his youth at the time of his conversion, it is possible that he might have been studying in a Zen monastery previous to his contact with Christianity. Otherwise it is hard to understand how he could have acquired such a profound knowledge of Chinese classics. According to Masaharu Anesaki, the Japanese name "Unquio" (雲居—"living among the clouds"), which Fabian used as his surname, has a distinct Zen flavor. It seems improbable that he could have retained his Buddhist appellation after joining the Order, since it was a Jesuit rule that padres and friars should use only their Christian names; and even if they retained their indigenous names as surnames, they were not to be related to Buddhism in any way. It is possible that Fabian wrote his name with the ideographs 運許 ("one to whom fortune has been granted"), a name which suggests the name of Kōan (許奄) given to him in the *Amakusa Hitsuroku* (*Amakusa Catalogue*).

His title of Fucan (不干) may have been derived from his functions in the house of the Order, namely, that of a deputy-vicar (附官). Granted that no such title is listed in the Jesuit dictionary, neither are the Japanese words for "provincial" or "visitor," both of them well-known titles. It is a matter of historical record that Valignano issued orders that every Jesuit house should have a friar in charge, with the title of "deputy vicar."

It was not long after his conversion before Fabian began to show his extraordinary talent for writing. In December, 1592, he finished *The Tales of Heike*, cast in vernacular dialogue form with a view to its use in acquainting Europeans

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with the language and history of Japan. In February, 1593, he re-told *Aesop's Fables* in the same form. He does not re-appear upon the literary scene until 1605, when he composed *Myōtei Mondō*, a dialogue between a Buddhist and a Christian Japanese lady of the nobility, setting forth the superiority of the Christian doctrine. Where Fabian was living at the time is purely a matter of conjecture, though it is recorded that he was in charge of the Kyoto Chapter of the Order in 1606. It is likely that he had been stationed there for several years, since the Jesuits were in need of someone conversant with the language and customs of the court, to act as liaison with the nobility. In 1578 there were only two friars who fulfilled these requirements, and in 1502 one of them died. Therefore it seems plausible that Fabian had been chosen to take his place.¹

This view is substantiated by a record dated in the Genroku Period (1706) concerning a debate that took place in Kyoto between Fabian and a Buddhist priest in the year 1582. The account is as follows:

When Hideyoshi was staying at Yodo Castle there was a carpenter called Nakai Hambei to whom he gave the new name of Shūridayū (Master Repairer) because he pleased the Shōgun so much... A wicked rascal tried to compromise him by sending Habian to him, but since Nakai was too busy [to receive him] he urged his mother [to listen]. Since she was a devout Buddhist, she didn't accept his teachings and decided to summon a priest and have him debate [with Habian]. Thinking that it would be awkward if her plan failed, she invited Hakuo Chūi from Shijō Yanagino-bamba [in Kyoto], and they began the debate.

1. This account of Fabian's career is based on the introduction to Pierre Humbertclaude's "Myōtei Mondō", as published in *Monumenta Nipponica*, I, pp. 224—229.

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Habian mocked Buddhist teachings, saying, "The deity whom our sect reveres is a buddha called Deus who appeared before anything else existed in heaven or earth; he made the sun and moon and man and all living things ... he established the earth and saved mankind. Hence, if we pray to this buddha, we cannot but be helped. All those so-called gods and buddhas in this area are [nothing but] human beings. Sakyamuni was the child of Sudhodhani; Mida was Hōzō Hioka. Those called Amaterasu Ōmikami and Hachiman Daibosatsu were both human beings. Can human beings save human beings? All that talk is nonsense. If you doubt it, look at this," and taking out three scrolls of the Lotus Sutra which he had brought with him, he tore them into shreds and blew his nose with them, then crumpled them up and threw them down and trampled on them. Then assuming an arrogant pose, he said, "If these were truly worthy things, I should be punished. If there is no retribution, they are only waste paper" ... thus mocking them unstintedly.

Hakuo listened with bowed head from beginning to end, awaiting the time when Habian should have finished saying all he wanted to. Then he said, "So that's what you say If so, the Deus doctrine makes no sense. If Deus existed at the beginning of the world, when there were no buddhas, and if he made all things, why did he create evil rascals, poor people, suffering, disaster, and disease? Tell me, for what purpose did he make them?"

Thus accused, Habian was stuck for an answer, and saying it was hard to awaken those sentient beings who had no bond [with the truth], he was about to take his leave. But Hakuo, pulling his sleeve said, "Those are the words of our buddhas! You hateful fellow!" and slapped him on the head, after which he fled in consternation.

Nakai, thinking this amusing, reported the incident to Hideyoshi when he went to the castle at Yodo. The Lord said he had heard about it from Nobunaga, who, because the time was not ripe, had left things as they were. Although it was not a sect that would last very long, he decided to assign more than 3,000 soldiers ... and sent them to the Southern Barbarians' Temple, where they seized [a number of Christians] and sent them abroad and caused their sect to be annihilated. After that Habian went down to Shimabara in Bizen....."2

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2. *Samidareshō* (Extracts for the Rainy Season) by Miura Antei, printed in *Nihon Shisō Tōsō Shiryō*, Vol. X Tōbo Shoin, Tokyo. 1930. p. 448. Translated by the present writer.

If this account is reliable, Fabian must have been in Shimabara at the time of his apostasy. According to the *Refutation*, the latter event took place in 1605, the same year in which he wrote the *Myōtei* dialogue. This date is untenable for two reasons. In the first place, the fervor and conviction of his arguments in favor of Christianity indicate no change in his beliefs; and second, it is recorded that he had his famous debate on the subject of Christianity in the *Myōtei*, dialogue with Hayashi Razan, the Confucian scholar, in July or August of 1606. Moreover, in 1607 the vice-provincial then in office presented to Honda Kōzukenosuke a book written especially for the occasion by Fabian. Anesaki also observes that there are one or two other MSS dated 1607 which bear the marks of his style. It is natural that he should have desired for the sake of expediency to conceal the exact date of his apostasy as long as possible. If we rely on his claim that he had spent twenty-three years as a Jesuit, we may conclude that he left the Order in 1609, a conjecture which is confirmed by the fact that Ōkubo Chōsan, the official whose protection Fabian sought after his apostasy, was governor of the Kyoto area between 1609 and 1613. Japanese tradition, however, holds that he left Kyoto for Kyūshū well in advance of his apostasy, which actually took place at Amakusa. It is possible that the latter account is nearer the truth, and that Fabian was deliberately trying to cover his tracks by falsifying the facts.

Whether Fabian left the Order on his own initiative or was expelled is a matter of doubt, but it seems clear that his apostasy was caused more by discontent at the treatment he had received at the hands of the Jesuits than any fundamental

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change in his convictions. In the *Refutation* he explicitly states that the padres did not treat their converts as their equals and refused to promote them to the priesthood. It is undeniable that Fabian was never trained for the priesthood, as that would have involved beginning the study of Latin at an early stage and its continual use throughout his career. In his case it was clear that his talents were to be directed entirely toward the use of his native language.

The possibility that he might have turned informer against his former associates is suggested by the incident of Murayama Toan, a Christian who was acting as deputy commissioner at Nagasaki. When he was arraigned for embezzlement of government funds, he decided to create a diversion by accusing the Jesuits, and for that purpose he suborned several witnesses, including a certain Fabian, "doubly apostate to his faith and to his country, who wrote the names of all the padres living in Japan whom he knew and whom he had entertained. At the head of the list he put two or three special names, one representing each of the three foreign nations."³

By 1620 the *Refutation*, having received official sanction by the Japanese authorities, seems to have become widely known, even among Christians, where it exercised a malign influence, according to Collado⁴, who mentions it in a letter dated 1622. In this letter, he gives among the possible causes for the per-

3. Bartoli: *Dell'istoria della Compagnia di Giesu*. II, p. 27, cited in Pierre Humbertclaude's "Myōtei Mondō," *Monumenta Nipponica* Vol. I, p. 232. Footnote 16. Translated from the French by the present writer.

4. "Lettre de Collado, Nagasaki le 8 mars 1622" as cited in Pierre Humbertclaude's "Myōtei Mondō", published in *Monumenta Nipponica*, I, p. 232. Footnote 2.

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secution of the Christians, the calumnies of the English and Dutch traders, who insisted that the Jesuit missionaries were aiming only at the conquest of Japan; and the writings of "a certain Fabian, apostate from the Jesuit Order, whose books are full of blasphemies against God, and who pretends to know the real intentions of the padres."

After 1622 all trace of Fabian is lost to history. Did he die at the age of 57, and was his grave marked with another name in order to hide his identity? We shall never know. Whatever his ultimate fate, however, we cannot but regret that a scholar of such acumen should have been lost to the cause of Christianity because of disappointed ambition.

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PART I

Now, for those who first enter the gates of the Deus sect, there are seven steps in learning its doctrines. As to what the essence of the first step is, it is to know the lord of creation through all things in heaven and earth: the ruler, through the invariable changes of the four seasons. For instance, when we look at a palace, we find there is a skillful artisan; when we see that a family has its rules¹ upon which the order of their home-life is based, it is usual to think that there is surely a master.

1. 壁書—The rules for the conduct of the family of a feudal lord were originally inscribed by its founder on the walls of their mansion; hence the term "wall-writings" was applied to them. These later became a written family tradition and are now valuable source material for the study of history and ethical concepts.

Thus, while there was a period of emptiness and quiet² without a single thing in the void, without a creator it would have been impossible to bring into being this heaven and earth; and for the sun and the moon and the stars in the heaven to give forth their sparkling light, and rise in the east and set in the west without fail; and on the earth for a thousand plants and and ten thousand trees to grow without one of them making an error in its season of blooming or losing its leaves. They say that this lord of creation is named "Deus".

In refutation of this, I say, "What is there in this [teaching]? Haven't many men discussed this principle everywhere? There is a saying, 'In the beginning of heaven and earth something existed which was without form and void, but which was sufficient to become the source of all phenomena; then the four seasons followed each other without ceasing'³; as well as, 'Why should Heaven speak? The four seasons change, and the hundred things are born.'⁴ Besides, Buddhist teaching argues the same principle according to the doctrine of birth and decay⁵; and according to Shinto doctrine, the age of the gods is divided into seven generations of heavenly gods, and five generations of earthly gods. In particular, the first of the seven generations of heavenly gods were the three pillars, Kunitokotachi

2. 空寂—Skt. *sūnya* and *nirvāna*, "the tranquility of annihilation."

3. 「有物先天地…」—*Tao Teh King*, XXV "There was something chaotic in nature which existed before heaven and earth. How still it was and formless, standing alone, and undergoing no change; proceeding everywhere and in no danger (of being exhausted)." (Legge. p. 212)

4. 「天何言哉」—Confucius, *Analects*, Book 17 ("Yang Ho") Ch. XIX, 3. "The Master said, 'Does Heaven speak? The four seasons pursue their courses and all things are [continually] produced [but] does Heaven say anything?'"

5. 成住壞空—growth and decay.

no Mikoto⁶; Kuninosatsuchi no Mikoto⁷, and Toyokumunu no Mikoto⁸, and they created the heaven and the earth. Because he constantly stood and ruled our country, he is called 'Kunitokotachi no Mikoto.' Why should the sect of Deus alone tediously preach as if they were the only sect that recognizes a creator of heaven and earth? Those whose words are many have little grace⁹. They are embarrassed, aren't they?"

The followers of Deus say, "Our god, being called 'infinite'¹⁰ is without beginning or end; and being called a 'spiritual substance'¹¹ is a substance without color or form; and being called 'omnipotent'¹² is able to do all things; and being called 'most wise'¹³ is the source of unsurpassed wisdom; and being called 'jessimo'¹⁴ is the source of great law; and being called 'most merciful'¹⁵ is the source of great compassion and mercy,

6. 国常立尊—Literally, "the god who constantly rules the land." According to *Nihon Shoki*, he was the first of the seven generations of gods, and founded heaven on Takamagahara.
7. 国狭槌の尊—Born of the mountain god Oyamatsumi no Kami and Nozuchigami, he has power over the earth and is the tutelary deity of slopes. According to *Nihon Shoki*, he is placed next to Kuninotokotachi in the order of creation.
8. 豊斟淳尊—one of the pillars of the seven generations of gods. The etymology of the name has been variously interpreted as "lord of the abundant harvest" or "a thick stand of trees," suggesting fertility and abundance. (*Nihon Shoki*, Book I)
9. 品少し—lack of refinement in words or actions (Shinmura Izuru, *Jien*)
10. インビニイト—"inbiniito", phonetic rendering of Portuguese "infinito".
11. スピリツアルスタンシヤー—"spiritsuaru sutanshiya," phonetic rendering of Portuguese "espiritual substância."
12. ラムニボテン—"omuniboten," phonetic rendering of Portuguese "omnipotente."
13. サビアンチイシモ—"sapianchiishimo," phonetic rendering of Portuguese "sapientissimo."
14. ジェスイモ—"jesuimo," perhaps an error for the Portuguese "justissimo."
15. ミゼリカウルヂイシモ—"mizerikaurujishimo," phonetic rendering of the Portuguese "misericordissimo."

besides being the source of all good and all virtues. They say the gods and buddhas are all human beings and do not have the aforesaid virtues, and being subject to birth and death, how can they be called the creators of heaven and earth?"

In refutation of this, I say, "Considering the buddhas and gods as human beings is the perverted view of ignorant people, and is indeed an opinion worthy of the Deus sect. Now the three-fold aspects of buddhahood are the Dharma-nature¹⁶, the Buddha as fulfilment¹⁷, and the incarnated Buddha¹⁸. Even though it is said that for the salvation of all living creatures and the purposes of expediency, the incarnate Buddha¹⁹ assumes eight protean aspects, the Dharma-nature is the intrinsically subsistent Buddha without beginning or end, and is the true Buddha which is ineffable and beyond discrimination between right and wrong. Wherefore it has also been taught in the

16. 法身—Skt. *dharmakāya*, the Law; the intrinsic nature of Buddha.

17. 報身—Skt. *sambhoga-kāya*, the saints or enlightened ones.

18. 應身—Skt. *nirmānakāya*, the incarnated Buddha (the historical Buddha). Giles says (p. 238), "The Buddhist Trinity means (1) The spiritual body (of Buddha) (2) his joyful body (showing Buddha rewarded for his virtues) (3) his fleshly body, under which Buddha appears on earth as a man." In Book I, Part I, of Fabian's *Myōtei Mondō*, as translated by Pierre Humbertclaude, the following passage is found: "..... Mida, Shaka et Dainichi, trois bouddhas qui personnifient le *hosshin*, *hōjin* et *ōjin*, et désignent par suite l'âme humaine. Il y a en effet trois puissances dans le coeur de l'homme; l'appétit concupiscible, l'appétit irascible et l'ignorance. Définissons-les un à un: l'ignorance est le *hosshin-butsu* sans pensée ni désir e on l'appelle *Dainichi Nyorai*. L'appétit concupiscible [sic] est le *hōjinbutsu* qui se rapporte aux choses que l'on fuit ou que l'on désire et c'est *Amida Nyorai*. L'appétit irascible est *L'ōjin-butsu* qui éveille la colère et produit la rancune, *Shaka Nyorai*. Ce sont là autant de facultés inhérentes à l'âme humaine."

19. 応化如来—Skt. *tathāgata*, the revelation of truth in visible form for the salvation of all sentient beings.

sutras²⁰ that the buddhas are subsistent and changeless. To think of them merely as human beings is the error of unenlightened people. Again, to say that the gods are human is just as ignorant as the foregoing. Verily, how grateful we are that we have the tradition that in our land the gods have been identified with the buddhas²¹. For instance, Temman Daijizai Tenjin²² is by origin the Kwannon²³ of great compassion and mercy; but when he softened his radiance and had communion with the world of trivia²⁴, he was incarnated as Kan Sōjō²⁵

20. 常住無有變易—*Daijō no Nehankyō* (大乘の涅槃經) teaches that all sentient beings share the Dharma-nature, though in different forms.
21. 本地垂迹—“A movement started in the Nara period to reconcile the native gods with the Buddhist divinities. This was all the easier because the Buddhist believer regards the universe as a manifestation of one truth under two categories, noumenal and phenomenal. Therefore the Great Illuminator Dainichi was identified with the Sun Goddess Amaterasu. Not only Buddhists but Shintoists as well came forward and proposed identifications of native deities with the Buddhist avatars. It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that complete fusion of the two religions was ever reached... Nor was the process of compromise so rapid as is sometimes suggested. It was not until the close of the Heian period (say 1100) that the fully syncretic Dual Shinto was evolved... The more specific theory (expressed in the formula *honji jūi jaku*, ‘traces of descent from true home’) which regards the gods as manifestations of the Buddhas, was elaborated in later times.” (Sansom, *Japan*, p. 222—223) This identification of the Shinto deities with the Buddhist *bodhisattvas* played a very important part in the ideology of the Japanese preceding and during the Second World War.
22. 天満大自在天神—the Shinto name for the deified courtier Sugawara Michizane.
23. 觀世音—Avalokitesvāra, the merciful and compassionate manifestation of Buddha.
24. 塵—pollution; trivia of this world (*Shimmura Izuru, Jien*).
25. 菅相承—Sugawara Michizane, early Heian period statesman (845—903 A.D.) litterateur and scholar, who lectured to the Emperor Yōsei on the Chinese classics. When chosen to go as an envoy to the T’ang court, he declined and urged the Emperor to stop sending embassies to China. In 899 the members of the Fujiwara clan, resenting his rapid rise at court, forced the Emperor to send him to Kyūshū as governor, an assignment considered tantamount to banishment, and from which he never returned. Today he is popularly revered as the tutelary deity of calligraphy, because of his skill in that art.

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(Sugawara Michizane), appeared at Kitano Shrine, and is worshipped as the god who protects a hundred kings. There is not a single god of a shrine or mausoleum but conforms to this principle. Not only that, but how can it be said that Kunitokotachi no Mikoto, who was a god existing before heaven and earth were created, or a single human being existed, was only a human being? 'Let them not speak; let them not speak; let what is known be known, and what is unknown, be unknown.'²⁶ As even the most sacred Confucius said about the gods, 'The gods use the people on the earth to serve them; the priest dresses himself elaborately and performs rites as majestically as if he [i.e. the deity] were above him [the priest] and on each side of him.'²⁷ Just as a blind man fears not serpents, so from the viewpoint of the Deus doctrine, to say such things is frightening, frightening; it truly invites the punishment of having one's tongue pulled out.'²⁸

"Japan is called the Land of the Gods, and also may be called the Land of the Buddhas because of the eastward spread of Buddhism. Therefore, [the followers] of Deus who mock at gods and buddhas need not wait for the future; even in the

26. 言うこと勿れ—"Consider what you know as known, and what you do not know as unknown—that is knowledge." Confucius, *Analecets*, Book I: 17 in Legge's *Four Teachings of Confucius*.

27. 「使天下之人」—"How abundantly do spiritual beings display their powers! They cause all men under heaven to fast and purify themselves, and put on their richest dresses to engage in their sacrifices. Then like overflowing water, they seem to be over the heads and on the right and left [of their worshippers]." Confucius, *The Doctrine of the Mean*, Ch. 16, 3 (Legge, *Religions of China*, p. 94)

28. 舌を抜るる—In the Buddhist hell, the souls of those who have told falsehoods in this life will have their tongues pulled out with a pair of pincers by the demons that serve Emma-ō, the Lord of Hell. (Shimmura Izuru, *Jien*).

present life they cannot escape the retribution of the gods and buddhas which they deserve. There is no time to count those of unknown fame, but take for example, [the following well-known Christians]. As long as Ōtomo Sōrin²⁹ relied on the gods and buddhas, his **military** power spread throughout Kyūshū and made his fame extend to the four seas ; but after he became a follower of Deus, his military fortunes deserted him, he invaded Hyūga³⁰ Province along with Yoshimune, his eldest son ; and in fighting with Shimazu, he was defeated in battle at Mimikawa, and having been deserted by everyone, he slunk home to his fief. Since then his clan has gradually decayed, and although his was a powerful family which had flourished through successive generations until that day, it now appears

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29. 大友宗麟—(1530—1587) Member of a noble family of Bungo [now Ōita], and oldest son of Ōtomo Yoshiakira, who carried on a feud with the Mōri clan from 1552—1571, when the Ashikaga Shōgun made peace between them. Since the Ōtomo castle faced Beppu Bay, many foreign vessels entered the port, which eventually became the center for trade and the evangelization of Japan by Jesuit missionaries. Sōrin himself was baptised by the Vice-provincial Father Cabral in 1578 under the baptismal name of Francisco. Next year he established a seminary and college at Funai and Usuki respectively. In 1582 he sent the first mission to the Pope at Rome. When he was converted, he destroyed many Buddhist temples and monasteries, but soon he was defeated in a clash with Shimazu at Mimikawa in Hyūga and never regained his military power. In 1579 he retired in favor of his heir, and in 1586 Shimazu invaded his fief with a large force and forced him to flee to Bunzen, where he died in 1587.
30. 日向—the ancient name for the present prefecture of Miyazaki and part of Kagoshima.

to be doubtful whether it has any descendants or not. Again, Konishi,³¹ lord of Settsu³² Province, a devotee of Deus, had no help from the gods and buddhas, and joining Mitsunari in a villainous plot or rebellion, was dragged along the highway, his head was severed, and all his clan having perished, he has left no descendants. Takayama Ukon³³ as well was a leader of the Deus sect, but where are his descendants? Akashi Kamon³⁴ also became [a follower of the] Deus sect, lost his home, and he himself was annihilated. Again, in Kyoto, a

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31. 小西摂津守—(d. 1600 A.D.) A general who served the Ukita clan of Bizen but joined Hideyoshi's forces after his lord was defeated. He rendered signal service as a naval commander, for which he was given the title of Lord of Settsu in 1585. In 1587 he was given the southern half of Higo as his fief, but met defeat at the hands of Tokugawa Ieyasu at Sekigahara in 1600. He hid at Ibukiyama but was discovered and taken to Kyoto, where he was beheaded at the age of 44 years.

In 1584 he had been baptized. During the persecution of the Christians under Hideyoshi, he championed their cause. He established a charity hospital for lepers in Ōsaka and also took part in the rescue and education of orphans. He is considered a holy martyr by the European church.

32. 摂津—the ancient name for the district around Ōsaka.
33. 高山右近—(1552—1614 A.D.) A Christian lord baptized under the name of "Jiusto." At first he was a retainer of Lord Murashige at Takatsuki Castle, but through an agreement with Oda Nobunaga to protect the Christians in that area, he transferred his allegiance to that general, under whom he served in the Chūgoku campaign. Later he was called back to Takatsuki and fought with Hideyoshi at the battle of Yamasaki with great distinction.

In 1587 he went with Hideyoshi to Kyūshū, but when the edict against Christianity was suddenly issued at Hakata, he retired to Akashi and remained in hiding at Shōdoshima. In 1614 he was banished to Manila at the order of the Bakufu and died soon after from sickness.

34. 明石掃部—(Dates unknown) A general of the early Edo Period. In 1595 he was baptized as Johan. He took part in the battle of Sekigahara, but when the western army was routed, he took refuge with his Christian friend Kuroda Naōe in Chikuzen. He died of disease.

member of the Kikyōya³⁵ family called Juna, a draper ; in the port of Sennan,³⁶ one member of the Higoroya³⁷ family were strong supporters of the Deus sect, although they were merchants, but the greater part of all this family died and came to a bad end. Where are the descendants of such families now? These are facts clearly known to all people. After having heard the truth of these facts, to say that the gods and buddhas are but men seems to indicate that they think that because Sakyamuni was incarnated as the son of Jōbon Taiō³⁸ and the Lady Maya, his mother, and departed this world in the Kakurin³⁹; and because Hachiman Daibosatsu was born of

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35. 桔梗屋—Although merchants were considered of the lowest social class, during the Tokugawa Age they amassed considerable fortunes which gave them power beyond their station. Kyoto, in particular, which had been the center of the silk-weaving industry since the Heian Period, had a number of influential merchants. "Father Organtin won to Christianity the man that was reputed to be the richest merchant in Kyoto." (Otis Cary, *History of Christianity in Japan*, p. 119) It is possible that this wealthy merchant was the head of the Kikyōya family.
36. 泉南の津—Now Sakai; originally a center of salt production and later an important port for foreign trade. The Bakufu gave the city many privileges in return for large loans of money, thus increasing the power of the merchant class.
37. 日比屋—This seems to be a variant reading of Hibiya Ryokei's name. He was "a wealthy merchant living in Sakai (then called Sennan no Tsu) who entertained St. Francis Xavier on his first visit to Kyoto. Later his son Fukuda asked Father Vilela to open a mission there in 1561. Fukuda was baptized in 1563 and became a patron of the church, opening his own home for services." (Rev. Johannes Laures, S. J.)
38. 淨飯大王—Suddhodana, king of central India, father of Gautama Buddha. He married the younger sister of the king of Kuri Castle, who became the mother of Siddhatha. On the seventh day thereafter she died, but her younger sister married the king and brought up the child in her stead.
39. 鶴林—Crane Grove, the place in central India where Gautama entered into Nirvana. According to tradition, the leaves of the *sāl* trees suddenly turned white and looked just like white cranes. (*Prajñā sūtra*)

Emperor Chūai and the Empress Jingū⁴⁰, they were all human beings. If so, then when Jesus Christ⁴¹, the chief deity of the Deus sect, was born with Joseph as his father and Santa Maria as his mother he was indeed [born] of mere human beings. This means that in this country, they [the Christians] do not make a human being lord of heaven and earth.

The argument of the Deus [sect] that Jesus Christ was by rank originally the incarnation of their god in human form is no different from the Buddhist incarnation. This point we shall put aside for the moment. Since the gods are manifestations of the buddhas, there is no need for discussion. Try comparing the ultimate nature of Buddhas with [that of] Deus. [They say] Deus is the source of all good and of ten thousand virtues, as I have indicated above, [but] the Dharma-nature is said to be beyond knowledge and virtue; then how can heaven and earth and all things have been created by one who is supra knowledge and virtue? Moreover, if the prudence and understanding which we have to-day be not basically derived from the ultimate wisdom and virtue, whence can it be?"⁴²

In refutation, I say, "The Deus [sect] does not discern truth. They, hearing that the Dharma-nature is non-knowledge and non-virtue, and thinking it irrelevant, abandon it; hearing that Deus is virtuous and wise, they think it is relevant and accept

40. 仲愛天皇, 神功皇后—The 14th Emperor and his consort, the Empress Jingū, who drove out the barbarians from Japan. But having ignored a divine oracle commanding them to attack Korea first, they were defeated in battle.

41. ゼズキリスト—"Zezu Kirisuto," phonetic rendering of Portuguese "Jesu Cristo"

42. 無智—quiet tranquility without movement and cut off from intellectual understanding. (*Bukkyōgaku Jiten*)

it. But hold! I will explain the truth to you. In the first place, there is a mystery even in the single letter *Mu*⁴³. As it has been written, 'The letter *Mu* is an iron barrier extending ten million *ri*⁴⁴; who can pass through it, and where will he arrive?'⁴⁵ But those Deus-followers would not know this! Moreover, just as the ideograms indicate, 'Non-knowledge' and 'Non-virtue' are indeed the truth. To say that Deus is full of knowledge and virtue is not satisfactory. In general, where there is wisdom, there must be personal preferences, dislikes and likes. Dislikes, likes, and personal preferences are human feelings. Deus, who has love and hate, is unworthy of consideration. More of this teaching will be discussed later. Wherefore to say 'that the Dharma-nature is like a great ocean'⁴⁶; there is no discrimination between right and wrong' is indeed the truth. Again, the Deus (sect) prides itself on the fact that Deus is virtuous. Again, this is a secular view devoid of the slightest understanding. Since it is said even of men that 'Superior virtue is un-virtue, therefore it has

43. 無—the concept of the contradiction between existence and non-existence. Buddhism distinguishes the two extremes of existence and non-existence, but teaches that leaning toward either one is error. Moreover, the Absolute, which transcends both existence and non-existence, can only be expressed in negative terms. Therefore reality is called "Formlessness." (*Bukkyōgaku Jiten*) "The term *mu*, "non-existence" ... is not annihilation, but denotes absence of concrete particularity or of materiality. It is intended to describe what we would call the purely formal, including purely formal thought, viz., the prototypes of things as well as ideals. Materiality makes things real but non-materiality... while giving shape to things by cutting away certain portions, renders them useful." (Carus, *Introduction*, p. 18)

44. 里—1 *ri* equals 2.44 miles or 4.93 kilometers.

45. 無字鉄関—from *Mumonkan*, a Zen document. See Chapter I and commentary.

46. 法性は如大海—from the *Bosatsu Shotaiyō* (菩薩胎經)

virtue,'⁴⁷ to say that Deus has such and such virtues is on the contrary a thousand times unsatisfactory. To cite Lao-tze's three ideographs *i* (colorlessness) *ki* (soundlessness) and *chō* (formlessness) none of these three things can be put in words, for the aforesaid cannot be seen, cannot be heard, and cannot be grasped, being inexpressible.⁴⁸ It is said that this [teaching] cannot be handed down in writing; indeed it is to be expected that it should be so. To say that, because of his wisdom and understanding, Deus excels the essence of Buddha is laughable in the extreme — you [followers of Deus] shall not know the meaning of perceiving all things with a serene mind as in an unclouded mirror.

Again, the Deus [sect] say, "If there is neither wisdom nor virtue at the source, how can human beings' understanding be found in all visible phenomena? From what source has this moral responsibility proceeded? When we consider things according to this principle, there must be both wisdom and virtue at the source."

In refutation I say, "That willows are green, flowers crimson,"⁴⁹

47. 上德不德—Lao Tze 38:1 "Superior virtue is unvirtue. Therefore, it has virtue. Inferior virtue never loses sight of virtue. Therefore it has no virtue." (Carus, p. 99)

48. 夷希微—Lao Tze: *Tao Teh King*, Ch. XIV. "We look at it, and do not see it; it is named the colorless. We listen for it, and do not hear it: it is named the soundless. We grasp at it, and do not get hold of it: it is named the incorporeal. With those three qualities it cannot be investigated and defined; and hence we blend them together and form a unity." Chinese readings of these 3 principles are *i*² (colorless) *wei*¹ (formless) and *hsü* (noiseless)

49. 柳は緑—From the Poems of Su-tung-po (蘇東坡), one of the three great poets of the T'ang period. The complete verse is as follows:

"That willows should be green and flowers crimson.
Is their true aspect."

is but natural. Try breaking the roots of a willow⁵⁰; they are not green; try rending a blossoming tree; it is not crimson; but Nature appears just as it is at the time. As in the saying, 'Try breaking the wild cherry that blooms year after year at Yoshino — and see if there are any blossoms', it is the usual thing for that which is not at the roots to be on the tips of the branches. 'The way gives birth to one; one gives birth to three, and three produces all things.'⁵¹ From the source which is invisible but clear are born Yang and Ying; then the principle of purity and filth, dynamism and staticism are added, and they produce Heaven, Earth, and Man, together with all visible phenomena; and our power of discrimination and understanding; birds' and beasts' power of running and flying, crying and roaring; the power of plants and shrubs to blossom and wither, all follow variations of these two principles of purity and foulness, dynamism and staticism. Since ancient times till now the thousand saints and ten thousand sages have never failed to expound this principle. To excel Confucius and exceed Lao-tze is not for Deus. Thus I have cut the Gor-

50. 柳の根—In Book I, Part VI of Fabian's *Myōtei Mondō* as translated by Pierre Humbertclaude, the following passage is found:

"... il en est de nous comme de cette fleur que fit voir Bouddha; si l'on fendait l'arbre, on n'y verrait ni vert ni rouge; mais vienne le printemps, et sous l'influence bienfaisante de la pluie et de la rosée, la fleur qui en soi n'est pas, ne s'en épanouira pas moins pour un temps."

In Footnote 13 attached to the translation the translator makes the following comment:

"En somme la conscience est dans l'homme un phénomène accidentel et transitoire. Notre être est cet arbre dans l'intérieur duquel il est impossible de discerner quoique ce soit de cette fleur de la conscience; notre conscience est la fleur, une simple puissance en nous dont l'actuation dépend entièrement des circonstances antérieures."

51. 一生一, 二生二—*Tao Teh King* 42:1. "The Way begets unity; unity begets duality; duality begets trinity; and trinity begets the ten thousand things."

dian knot.”⁵²

PART II

The Deus [sect] say, “This Deus is the lord of the two worlds of the present and future, and the source of rewards and punishments. Therefore, even though there be a lord, you should know what will be given rewards or punishments in the future according to their deeds⁵³ in the present. Since all things which have shape and color—men and beasts, trees and plants, must come to an end; when burned, they become ashes; when buried, earth — then it should be explained what remains in the future world, to enjoy pleasure and suffer pain. Thus there are various kinds of souls. First, the souls of plants and trees are called ‘*anima vegetativa*.’⁵⁴ ‘*Anima vegetativa*’ means life which is provided only with the function of being born, flourishing and withering; of flowers blooming and leaves falling. Again, the soul of birds and beasts is called ‘*anima sensitiva*.’⁵⁵ ‘*Anima sensitiva*’ means the life that is provided not only with the function of birth, but also of sensation, motion, and so on. For instance, this is the soul which makes a sparrow know on seeing a hawk that it is its enemy; and this is the soul which feels hunger and thirst, pain and itching. Since

52. 蔓頭の葛藤—Literally, “the tangled top of the vine,” implying a difficult and complex problem.

53. 業—The Buddhist term *Karma* (causation) is used here for lack of any Japanese term to express the Christian concept of merit and guilt acquired in this life.

54. アニマベゼタチイワ—“*anima bezetachiiwa*” is the Japanese phonetic rendering of this Latin phrase.

55. アニマセンシチイワ—“*anima senshichiiwa*” is the Japanese phonetic rendering of this Latin phrase.

the first two '*anima*' are the souls which come from the material form and deal only with the needs connected with that material form, they vanish along with the material form when it returns to the Four Great Elements.⁵⁶ Now human beings' minds are called '*anima rationalis*.'⁵⁷ This '*anima rationalis*' not only performs the functions of the foregoing two, but also discriminates between good and evil. This 'rational soul' of the Deus [sect] does not issue from the material form, but on the contrary controls it, being a spiritual substance,⁵⁸ that is, a substance without color or shape. The meaning of not issuing from material form is that since human beings also have material form, they are no different from birds and beasts in respect to feeling hunger and thirst, heat and cold. Hence, when they experience hunger, they want to eat, but when they feel that it would be a disgrace to eat at a certain place, they won't eat even though they should die. Again, on the battlefield, our bodies may wish to flee, but rather than be pointed at with the finger of scorn after flight, we remember our duty and cause the unwilling body to die fighting willingly; so [it is clear that] the '*anima rationalis*' does not issue from material form. It is clear that a single body and a ruler were created by Deus. Therefore, since the '*anima rationalis*' is quite separate from the material form, it is something which does not vanish along with the physical body but remains alive in the future world, and according to

56. 四大—The four basic elements, earth, air, fire, and water, which make up the universe.

57. アニマラジヨナル—"*anima razionaru*" is the Japanese phonetic rendering of the Latin phrase "*anima rationalis*."

58. スヒリツアルスタンシヤ—cf. note 11

his deeds in this life, one receives eternal pleasure or inexorable punishment. The good place is in heaven and is called 'Paradise.'⁵⁹ The bad place is called 'Inferno'⁶⁰ and is located in the depth of the earth."

In refutation I shall say this: "They take up each of the three kinds of '*anima*' and name each and explain it separately. Above all, they say that '*anima rationalis*' (human beings) does not issue from the material body but was made separately by Deus, and according to its deeds in the present world, it will be given pain or pleasure in the next. Ah, how pitiable that Deus knows not the truth! Ah, how sad that our nation's common people should be misled by this foreign heresy! I will explain the truth and let you hear it. In general, in all things there are the two elements of the phenomenon and the noumenon⁶¹—if this phenomenon exists, then its principle must exist also, so the noumenon may be called original nature, given by Heaven. Even if there are multifarious phenomena, the noumenon is neither two nor three but only one. The difference in the function depends on the variety of the phenomena. We can compare rain⁶² to the noumenon, while the thousand vessels are phenomena. For instance, when Heaven makes rain fall in torrents, we bring forth all sorts of vessels and receive it. In rainwater it is said there is no form of long or short,

59. ハライソ—"Haraiso" is the Japanese rendering of the Portuguese "Paradiso."

60. インヘルノ—"Inheruno" is the Japanese rendering of the Portuguese "Inferno."

61. 事理—not to be confused with the Platonic concept, which was of course unknown to Fabian.

62. 一味の雨—Just as the rain refreshes grass and trees alike, so Buddhist doctrine gives refreshment and nourishment to all alike without discrimination. (Shimmura, *Jien*)

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round or square, nor any breath of fragrance or stench. no sense of purity or filth, no taste of sweetness or bitterness. But round and square, the five flavors, fragrance and stench, purity and filth and such are completely dependent on the roundness or squareness, the goodness or badness, the purity or filthiness of the vessel. Therefore the Heaven-given original nature is also the same. According to the dissimilarity of pure or muddy, thick or thin natures, their functions also differ — why should we distinguish between the respective vegetative, sensitive and rational spirits, and so on? In particular, they [the Deus sect] think that the human being's mind is called ' *anima rationalis* ' and is something distinctive, the basic principle of which is to control bodily desires, and that this is not generally known to other people. Truly, this is the worst of narrow points-of-view. In Confucianism, natural desires are called ' Human nature ' and a sense of reason is called ' The Spirit of Tao. ' In the respect that Confucianism has penetrated all goodness and beauty, the Deus [sect] with its barbarian misguided notions cannot match it. As it is written, " The mind of man is perilous ; the mind of Tao is subtle. " ⁶³ Well, in Buddhism, the three principles of mind, ⁶⁴ thinking, ⁶⁵ and consciousness ⁶⁶ are taken up and discussed in detail. Not to provoke one conception — that is the wonderful substance of the immobility of Self. The arising of intense

63. 人心惟危—Counsels of the Great Yu, *Book of History*: " The mind of man is precarious ; the mind of Tao is subtle. "

64. 心—St. *citta*, the spiritual, as opposed to the material.

65. 意—St. *manas*, the operation of the mind.

66. 聞—St. *vi.j.nana*, intuition or sensation.

self-interest — that is will.⁶⁷ Moreover, thinking minutely of green and red is called “consciousness.” For instance, as with fire, there are three forms: fire, flames, and embers, although they are all the same fire. Hence, being unaware of the meaning of what has been discussed so fully by everybody, it is trickery to deceive fools by saying things like a foreigner talking in his sleep, such as *anima sensitiva*, *anima rationalis* and so on, as if they were something rare! Again, they say that to the *anima rationalis* Deus will give pain or pleasure in the next world according to its deeds in this life. Is Deus that which commits such tyranny? It would be censured even in the case of earthly kings. It is recorded in tradition that after U of the Ka⁶⁸ dynasty ascended the throne, on seeing a criminal he alighted from his carriage, and weeping, blamed himself, saying, ‘The people made the will of the Emperors Shun and Yaou⁶⁹ their will. When We became ruler, the Hundred Families of their own accord made their minds one with Ours, and We grieve for this [crime as if it were Our own].’”

It is a fact recorded in tradition that in the great drought

67. 不起一念—A concept found in Māhāyana and Zen Buddhism.

68. 夏の禹—Emperor Yü of the Hsia dynasty (2205 B.C.): see Analects II; 23, 2 and Kwang-Tsze, Bk. II *Khi Wū Lun* (The Adjustment of Controversies) (See *The Texts of Taoism* by Legge and Suzuki) Emperor Yü was the successor and counsellor of Shun, who coped with the flood during the reign of Yáo.

69. 堯舜—Emperor Yaou and Shun were ideal rulers of ancient China. The latter was especially revered by Confucianists for his moral character. However, his son was supplanted in public favor by Yü (see above) because of the latter's success in controlling floods.

of the seventh year of King Tō of Shō⁷⁰ the people were suffering so the official in charge of ritual reported to the King the result of his divination ; namely, that a human sacrifice should be offered. Thinking, "These are all divine calamities caused by my sins," and thinking, "The people are not to blame," the king was going to sacrifice himself, so he rode in an undecorated carriage with a white horse, and wrapping himself in a robe of rushes, he prayed in a mulberry grove ; blaming himself for the following six evils, he said, "Is government without order ? Have the people lost their occupations ? Is the court too aloof ? Are assignations with women flourishing ? Is bribery practiced ? Is informing common ?" Scarcely had he finished speaking when a great downpour [inundated] many thousand square *ri*⁷¹; moreover, he indeed saved the lives of the people by casting

70. 湯王—According to the historian Sze-mâ Chi'en, the Emperor T'ang of the Shang dynasty (B.C. 1766—1760) said when it was suggested that a human sacrifice be offered as a prayer for rain in time of drought, "If a man must be the victim, I will be he." He fasted, cut off hair and nails and in a plain carriage drawn by white horses, clad in rushes in the guise of a sacrificial victim, he proceeded to a forest of mulberry trees, and there prayed asking to what error or crime of his life the calamity was owing. He had not done speaking when a copious rain fell." (Legge. *Religion of China*, p. 54) Also Cf. "The Way of the Master" (君道), in *Garden of Legends* (說苑) a Han dynasty anthology. "In the 7th year of the reign of T'ang, when a drought had made the river so dry that the stones were parched, he had a priest carry a tripod and pray to the gods of mountains, rivers and the sun, saying, 'Is the government without virtue, do the priests hate [their work], is bribery practiced, do calumniators flourish, have [too many] palaces been built, is the influence of concubines on the emperor powerful ? Will this drought last till the end of the world ?' Scarcely had his words ceased when the sky was flooded by a great rainstorm. Thus, just as shadows follow a form and as echoes follow a voice, Heaven responded.

71. See Note 45

coins from the gold of the Shoku Mountains.⁷² If even an earthly king, how much more a divine lord or king! Thus how can Deus, who, without anybody's asking or requesting [it], creates numberless human beings, sinks them in hell, and let alone one day or month, makes them suffer pain piled on pain for all eternity, be called a god of great pity and compassion? Great compassion and pity mean taking away pain and giving pleasure.

PART III

The Deus [sect] say, "Although, as a spiritual substance, Deus is of a nature without color or form, and fills the heavens and earth⁷³ without admitting a hairsbreadth between, especially in order to reveal his glory and to give pleasure to good people, he created a realm of ease above the heavens, called Paradise. Previous to creating human beings, he had created unmeasured and unnumbered⁷⁴ heavenly beings called angels,⁷⁵ but had not yet revealed his divine form. He fixed a divine law that [angels] must not aspire to the position of the one supreme Being, and if we keep this divine command, through that merit,

72. 莊山—According to Chinese texts there was a mine on the steep ascent to Shoku, and when in the late Kan period the emperor fled from the power of Ming he dug gold from these mountains and cast coins with it. (*Dai Kanwa Jiten*)

73. 諸天—The plural used here implies, "All the heavenly realms, or the gods and buddhas which dwell there." (Shimmura, *Jien*)

74. 恒沙—Literally, "the sands of the Ganges River." Footnote 26 on Book I, Part X, of *Myōtei Mondō* as translated by Pierre Humbertclaude, reads as follows:

"Sable du Gange et mont Sumer sont des termes bouddhiques consacrés pour désigner l'infini."

75. 安女—*anjo*, the Japanese writing of the Portuguese "anjo" (angel)

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we may see and worship the divine form of Deus and reach the heights of the joy of ceaseless worship; but it is said that if we break this law, we shall fall into a hell called "Inferno," full of many sufferings, and be subjected to the torture of deadly cold and deadly heat. However, ere a moment had passed from the time of creation, an angel called Lucifer⁷⁶ among the myriad angels, boasting of his own righteousness, urged [the others] to worship him, since he was Deus himself. Then a third of those countless angels agreed with Lucifer, but the majority did not join him. Then Deus first drove out Lucifer, and later the third of the angels who had joined him, to the nether regions and caused them to fall down to Inferno. That is to say, because of the sin of the angels' pride, they became Tengu⁷⁷ called "jiabo."⁷⁸

In refutation, I say that it is strangely like deliberately inviting retribution for you Deus [followers] to preach this [doctrine]. In the first place, to say that Deus fills the whole world to overflowing seems to be an echo of the promulgation of Dharma-nature,⁷⁹ which prevails throughout heaven and earth

76. ルシベル—"Rushiberu", Japanese phonetic rendering of "Lucifer."

77. 天狗—An imaginary creature with a human body but bird's wings and a red face with a long nose. It was believed to haunt graveyards and deep forests and to have superhuman powers of motion, being especially adept at sword-play. (Shimmura, *Jien*) In the popular mind it came to be identified with foreigners, especially Europeans. Here it is used in the sense of "devils," for lack of a better Japanese equivalent.

78. チャボ—"jiabo," the Japanese phonetic rendering of the Portuguese "*diabo*."

79. 真如—Footnote 18 on Book II of *Myōtei Mondō*, as translated by Pierre Humbertclaude, reads as follows:

"D'après les bouddhistes, 真如 est non seulement ineffable, mais *el* exclut la seule pensée d'une définition; on peut le rendre par l'interrogation; Qu' est-ce? et il se rapproche de la matière des scolastiques."

and the universe.⁸⁰ To be sure there is a resemblance; as to its reasonableness, I must say it is not completely reasonable. Well, haven't you said, "Deus is called *sapientissimo*; his is the wisdom conversant with the three worlds⁸¹"? Therefore he must have known when he made the angels that they would instantly fall into sin. If he didn't know that, to call his [wisdom] conversant with the three worlds is a lie. Again, if he created them while aware of this fact, it is the greatest cruelty. If he is a god able to do all things, why didn't he make the angels so that they would not fall into sin? To leave them just as they were to fall into sin is exactly like creating a spirit of evil. Why did he create troublesome Tengu and let them cause evil? Perhaps it was a blunder of Deus in creation; or again it might be said that such chips as the angels, left over from making heaven and earth, were thrown into the fire of Inferno. Oh, what a big laugh!

80. 六合—Lit. "Heaven and earth and the four directions" (Shimmura, *Jien*)

81. 三世—The three realms of the present, past, and future.