

## Jesuits' Encounter with Japanese Buddhism in 16th Century : In the Case of "NIHON NO KATEKIZUMO (The Catechism in Japan)"

著者	Kuwabara Naoki
journal or publication title	倫理学
number	31
page range	i-xiv
year	2015-03-20
その他のタイトル	イエズス会と16世紀の日本仏教との出会い : 『日本 のカテキズモ』の場合
URL	<a href="http://hdl.handle.net/2241/00126239">http://hdl.handle.net/2241/00126239</a>

# **Jesuits' Encounter with Japanese Buddhism in 16th Century**

— In the Case of “NIHON NO KATEKIZUMO

(The Catechism in Japan)” —

Naoki Kuwabara

## **[1] Preface**

In 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Catholic Church acquired 300,000 or 400,000 Japanese believers within a few short periods. At that time, Alexandro Valignano S.J. (1539-1606), the Jesuits Visitor of Missions in the East Indies, was the leader of the missionary work in Japan and China. He adopted the "principle of adaptation (accommodatio)" as his missionary policy. It was in advance of the "inculturation" which is one of the guiding principles of the modern Catholic Church for several hundred years. However, he took a critical, even a hostile attitude toward the Japanese Buddhism in those days. In this article, I am going to clarify the meaning of Valignano's criticism against the Japanese Buddhism.

## **[2] The principle of adaptation of Valignano**

In the "Great Navigation Age" of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Europeans in general showed the attitude of ethnocentrism as the conquistador. They shared prejudice to look down on the native religion and culture. About this point, even missionaries were not exception. The European missionaries had fighting spirit of the Crusade of old days. That is why their mind refused all ideas of adaptation. They did not understand genuine religious value inherent in paganism. They were not willing to esteem the value of religious sentiments that were peculiar to the pagan faith and rite. In

addition, it was similar about the social structure and the racial and psychological specialty of the neophyte. Under the influence of the fixed idea of superiority of the European, they intended to exterminate not only the faith of the pagan religion but also the cultural tradition that was different from the “bright embodiment of the European Renaissance”. Therefore, they did not recognize a qualification to become a Christian in the pagan people of every race and every birthplace unless they were Europeanized<sup>(1)</sup>.

Against such trend of the European supremacy of those days, Valignano carried out a missionary policy called "the principle of adaptation". He respected local cultures. This is particularly remarkable in the case of China. Matteo Ricci S.J. (1552-1610) who is famous for his missionary work in China and the adaptation of Christianity to the Chinese culture and the introduction of Chinese culture to the Europe was a disciple of Valignano when he was the novice master of the St. Andrianovitate in Rome. Valignano called Ricci for the missionary work in China and let him land on Macao in 1582. Ricci is well known for his favorable attitude and deep understanding to the Chinese Confucianism.

The principle of adaptation of Valignano was an excellent idea that was in advance of his time for several hundred years. However, his hostile attitude against the Japanese Buddhism is often pointed out as "a limit" when we evaluate him from the standard of the today's Catholic Church that positively engages in the dialogue of the East-West spirituality. His attitude against the Japanese Buddhism was in a striking contrast to the attitude to the Chinese Confucianism of his disciple Ricci.

### **[3] “NIHON NO KATEKIZUMO (The Catechism in Japan)”<sup>(2)</sup>**

#### **— A hostile encounter with the Japanese Buddhism**

#### **(1) Criticism of Valignano against the Japanese Buddhism**

Valignano develops his criticism against the Japanese Buddhism in his book “NIHON NO KATEKIZUMO”<sup>(3)</sup>. This book consists of two volumes. The first volume consists of eight chapters, and the second volume four chapters. The title of this book calls itself "KATEKIZUMO", but the

substance of the book differs from so-called "catechism". Perhaps it is a book of dogmatics that supposed a future missionary as a reader. The most volume of this book is spent for the commentary of the Japanese Buddhism of those days and the confutation against it. The commentary of Christianity itself is slightly written like an appendix at the last of the book<sup>(4)</sup>.

In the "introduction", Valignano emphasizes that "human being has reason, and the human intelligence are lighted up to grasp the difference in things hereby, and to judge them". In other words, he insists on the universal character of the rational research. On this basis, in Chapter 1 of the volume 1, Valignano insists that the understanding that there is only one supreme "root" of all things is universal. However, he states that the opinion of people is opposed each other about the concept of the "root". He lists up following three points about which their opinions are opposing<sup>(5)</sup>.

(1) The people teach differently about the power, the nature, and the substance of this "root".

(2) They are different in the explanation how this "root" gives the power to exist to all things.

(3) They are opposed each other about the points whether this world leads to the future life; whether this "root" is concerned with the human work with providence; whether the "root" gives the human work a reward in this world or in the future life.

Valignano points out that the various opinions among many sects of Japanese Buddhism remarkably contradict each other.

Valignano examines the accepted doctrines of the Japanese Buddhism, classifying them into two levels, i.e. (A) "the popular teaching (権教)" and (B) "Buddha's true teachings (実教)". He summarizes the doctrine (B) to the following four points.

(B I) The view that the "root" is idle, and does not "concern about the world."

(B II) The opinion of the pantheism to assume that the "root" and all things themselves are the same substance and the opinion that all things melt into the "root" after their extinction.

(B III) The opinion that human being after death completely ceases to exist and melts into the "root", and there is no reward or punishment for the human being after death.

(B IV) The opinion to assume that a human being can reach the stratosphere of the “root” in this world.

As for the doctrine (A), Valignano criticizes the point that Buddhist monks teach what they themselves do not believe at first<sup>(6)</sup>. Then he summarizes to the following three points<sup>(7)</sup>.

(A I) There are “Cami (god カミ)” or “Fotoque (Buddha ホトケ)” who give all good that a human being has in the world, and save the people who observed their law posthumously in another world.

(A II) The popular doctrine of the Buddhism about the salvation that “Cami” or “Fotoque” give in another world appeals to pleasure of the sense.

(A III) So-called the doctrine of reincarnation(輪廻説).

Valignano examines each of these points from three angles<sup>(8)</sup>.

(a) Confutation for the doctrine itself of the various schools of Japanese Buddhism.

(b) The investigation of the cause why these "errors" occur.

(c) Statement of the truth that Valignano himself insists on.

For each of the Buddhism doctrine B I-IV, A I-III, considerations from angle (a)-(c) are developed. This is the basic constitution of the criticism to the Buddhism doctrine made by Valignano. In such manner, Valignano presents the criticism about the doctrines of the Japanese Buddhism from chapter1 to chapter4 of the book1. What is deserving attention is the fact that in chapter 5 of the volume 1, some moral criticisms to the doctrines of the various Japanese Buddhist schools are developed. To be concrete,

(1) Idol worship,

(2) Admitting Bonzes (Buddhist monks) paederasty (boy-love, sodomy) while forbidding violation of priestly chastity,

(3) "Admitting the homicide as a good thing, even a sacred thing, and therefore people kill each other, and even commit suicide", while forbidding the killing of the animal which does not have reason.

(4) Valignano criticizes Japanese Buddhism to think that only chanting “Namu Amidabut (南無阿弥陀仏)” or “Namu Myō Forenguequio (南無妙法蓮華經)” or chanting the name of any other “daemons” is enough for purifying from the stain and the pain of all sins. Valignano states that even if when we suppose that the person advocated the above-mentioned name were the true God (Deus), it is impossible that merely calling the name

causes the remission of the sin, and it is impossible that sins and shameful acts are forgiven by the power of any kind of cries.

Valignano spent a great deal of space for the proof about the immaterial nature and the immortality of anima (soul). In this point, he was an exact follower of the theory of the "anima intellectualis (the intellectual soul)" of Thomas Aquinas.

## **(2) The cosmology and the "design proof" about the existence of God —the liking for the natural science of the Japanese people**

Now, we want to pay attention to the point that Valignano tries the approach to the Japanese people from the angle of the natural theology. He emphasizes universal character of the rational research and appeals to the universal understanding about there "being the only one supreme root of all things". In particular, concerning to the criticism against the doctrine (B I) of the Japanese Buddhism, he proves the existence of the root (Deus) as the Creator where he uses many arguments of the type to be called "design proof"<sup>(9)</sup>. The "design proof" is the argument of the type to appoint God as the person who designed the order that rules over the universe just as there exists an artist who made an elaborate work.

As the background of this fact, we can point out that Japanese people at that times were overwhelmed by the knowledge of the advanced natural philosophy (science), particularly in the cosmology, that Jesuits brought and then they showed an active interest in them<sup>(10)</sup>. For example, the Part I "De sphaera (On celestial sphere 『天球論』)" in the *Compendium Catholicae Veritatis* (Compendium of Catholic Truth 『講義要綱』)<sup>(11)</sup> by Pedro Gómez S.J.(1535-1600), who was the professor of the collegium established in Japan under the policy of Valignano, was the first attempt to make the Japanese people at that times who did not know the Spherical Earth theory understand the scientific cosmology systematically. "De sphaera" has almost the same constitution and the contents of "Nigi Ryakusetsu (brief explanations about two matters 『二儀略説』)" by Kanesada Kobayashi who was a scholar of Western culture at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. It is known that "Nigi Ryakusetsu" was the introduction of the "De sphaera" of Gómez that Kobayashi made secretly in the times of the severe persecution of the Christianity.

As for the world view of the Japanese Buddhism at that times, the

“Abhidharma-kośa (『俱舍論』)” which was considered to be the writing of Vasubandhu (世親, c.300-c.400) was the authority. Therefore, the cosmology that Jesuits conveyed was in advance more than 1000 years. It is just what Francisco de Xavier S.J. (c.1506-1552) has already reported that Japanese people full of intellectual curiosity were willing to absorb knowledge of the natural science that Jesuits bring<sup>(12)</sup>. It may be said that the "design proof" was the type of proof that was acceptable to such a strongly natural science-oriented Japanese people. Of course, the Japanese people today are strongly natural science-oriented. But this orientation was already remarkable when Valignano and Jesuits first met them. “NIHON NO KATEKIZUMO” indicates that Valignano looked straight at such characteristic of Japanese people and "adapted" himself to it.

#### **[4] The meaning of the criticism against the Japanese Buddhism by Valignano**

##### **(1) The tendency of the “Tendai Hongaku Thought (天台本覚思想)”**

In the “Mahāvaiṣṭyapūrṇabuddhasūtraprassanārtha sutra (『円覚経』)”, one can find the phrase “worldly desires are immediately spiritual enlightenment (煩惱即菩提)”. This phrase is a motto of the thought called “Tendai Hongaku Thought”.

The recent work of Shinzo Kawamura S.J.<sup>(13)</sup> emphasizes the point that the main target of the criticism against Japanese Buddhism by Jesuits including Valignano was a trend of thought that the “Tendai Hongaku Thought” shows typically. “Hongaku (本覚)” means “the Original Enlightenment”, i.e. the Enlightenment which any of creatures (衆生) possesses inherently. The opposite concept of “Hongaku” is “Shikaku (始覚)”. In reality, all creatures are separated from Enlightenment by worldly desires, and they overcome worldly desires by the effort of ascetic practices and realize Enlightenment step by step. This process is called “Shikaku”. In the original text of the “Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana (『大乘起信論』)” correlation between “Hongaku” and “Shikaku” is preached. However, in the development of the Japanese Tendai sect, a trend of thought that emphasizes “Hongaku” appeared and formed the “Tendai Hongaku Thought”. They called themselves “Hongaku School” and opposed

themselves against "Shikaku School".

The Tendai Hongaku Thought is evaluated highly by specialists of Buddhism, as far as it is understood rightly. For example, Yoshiro Tamura comments as follows.

Tendai Hongaku Thought completely breaks through and transcends every thought of dual distinction such as worldly desires (煩惱) vs. Enlightenment (菩提), life and death (生死) vs. Nirvana (涅槃), eternity (久遠) vs. present (今日), essence (理) vs. phenomena (事) and investigates the state of the absolute non-duality into the apex. And therefore Tendai Hongaku Thought is the climactic of Buddhism philosophical principles<sup>(14)</sup>.

However, the Tendai Hongaku Thought implies that "all the human beings already possess Enlightenment". Therefore, according to the understanding of vulgar masses, neither the ascetic practices nor the religious precepts are necessary, and the mediocre person (凡夫) is admitted good as a mediocre person. Practically, the Tendai Hongaku Thought comes to the conclusion that there is no need of ascetic practices and morality.

According to Kawamura, the reason why Valignano and Jesuits in those days emphasized immortality of anima was to criticize the tendency to the Tendai Hongaku Thought in the Japanese Buddhism. Kawamura adopts the scheme of "Hongaku School" vs. "Shikaku School" which Daito Shimaji, a specialist of the doctrine of the Tendai sect, had shown and he understands the characteristic of the whole Japanese Buddhism at that time was the tendency to the "Hongaku School"<sup>(15)</sup>. As for the Jesuit missionaries, they considered that the characteristic of "Hongaku School" that prevailed among the Japanese Buddhism must result in the absence of the morality. Kawamura points out that the Jesuits intentionally took the position of the "Shikaku School" in order to emphasize the necessity of the moral norms.

According to Kawamura, Jesuits in those days emphasized the idea of reward and punishment not only in this world but also in the future life as the basis of the moral norms, and they emphasized the doctrine of "the immortality of anima" as the ethical subject who receives reward and punishment.

## (2) The doctrine of the “Jodo-Shin-Shū [True Pure Land Sect]

(浄土真宗)”

A radical form of the tendency to the "Hongaku School" is seen in Jodo-Shin-Shū, as far as there is some danger of the "Honganbokori [Presumption upon the Primal Vow]" (本願ぼこり). "Honganbokori" is the presumption upon the vows by Amidah [Buddha in previous lives or worlds] to save all sentient beings, and it tends to conclude the violation of moral norms. The Jodo-Shin-Shū is an influential and one of the most popular sect of Buddhism in Japan founded by Shinran (親鸞, 1173–1263) in the Kamakura period (1192-1333). The characteristic of the Jodo-Shin-Shū consists in the doctrine of "the absolute power of the Other, the Buddha (絶対他力)". However, this doctrine itself involves the danger of the "Honganbokori" and this sect had been suffering from this danger throughout its history.

Since the days of Francisco Cabral S.J. (1533-1609), the predecessor of Valignano in the Japanese missionary work, the Jesuits recognized the similarity between the doctrine of “the absolute power of the Other, the Buddha” adopted by the Jodo-Shin-Shū and the doctrine of “the absolute power of the God” adopted by Martin Luther. About this fact, we have textual evidence<sup>(16)</sup>. Both Shinran and Luther construct their religious thought on the basis of the awareness of human powerlessness. Therefore, their doctrines share same structure, namely distrust of the human effort. The moral criticism (4) of Valignano in the “NIHON NO KATEKIZUMO”, namely the criticism to the thought "that only chanting the name of Buddha (or the name of Sūtra) is enough for salvation" is turned to this point. We should remember that the Society of Jesus was the active leader of the Counter Reformation movement. Here in Japan, they found opponents parallel with those whom they confronted in Europe. Both in Europe and in Japan, the Jesuits were confronted with a religious thought that emphasizes the human powerlessness and the passivity in the religious salvation. They emphasized the significance of the active human effort in the moral life. This is clear from the fact that the Jesuits at that time had a special interest and favor to the thought of the Stoic school whose motto is “potes quia debes (you must, therefore you can)”.

### **(3) Animistic interpretation of the “tathāgatagarbha (如来藏)”**

The thought of “tathāgatagarbha” (如来藏思想) is known from a famous phrase in "Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtras (Mahayana version 大乘版『大般涅槃經』)" that “all creatures have Buddha-Nature (一切衆生悉有仏性)". In Japan, animistic interpretation of this thought that "all creatures (一切衆生)" include trees and plants and even inorganic matter prevailed. According to Kawamura, this animistic idea is the basis of the tendency to the Tendai Hongaku Thought in the Japanese Buddhism<sup>(17)</sup>.

It may seem that there is some resemblance between the doctrine (A I) of the Japanese Buddhism and the teaching of Valignano. Both maintain that there is a kind of the life after death and reward. Remember here the criticism to the Buddhism doctrine (B II) i.e. the opinion of the pantheism, and (A III) i.e. so-called the doctrine of reincarnation. Valignano emphasizes that anima as "the ethical subject" who assumes reward and punishment in the future life has "the intellectual nature" that is fundamentally different from the animals and plants and the inorganic matter. On the other hand, in the case of the doctrine of reincarnation in the tradition of the Buddhism (or originally in the tradition of the Hinduism) the subject of the reincarnation is not the intellectual soul or self but only Karma. We can understand here that the real target of these criticisms was the animistic interpretation of the tathāgatagarbha which was the basis of the tendency of the Tendai Hongaku Thought in the Japanese Buddhism.

### **[5]The language of rationality and the language of religion**

There is a room for the doubt in the scheme of Kawamura who understands a characteristic of the whole Japanese Buddhism as the tendency to the "Hongaku School". We must take the variety of the Japanese Buddhism into consideration. For example, of course, Zen Buddhism, especially the Rinzai school of Zen Buddhism (臨濟禪) were taking the position of the "Shikaku School" as far as they attach great importance to ascetic practices. In fact, Myōan Eisai/Yōsai (明菴栄西, 1141–1215) who brought the Rinzai school of Zen Buddhism from China to Japan is known by having strongly insisted on the revival of religious precepts<sup>(18)</sup>.

The basis of the thought of some modern Japanese Buddhist thinkers such as Kitaro Nishida (1870-1945) and Daisetsu Suzuki (1870-1966) was mainly the experience of their Zen exercises under the discipline of the Rinzai school of Zen Buddhism. However, they share the common philosophical principles of Buddhism that “breaks through and transcends every thought of dual distinction” and “investigates the state of the absolute non-duality” with the Tendai Hongaku Thought. Suzuki liked a motto “the discretion of the indiscretion (無分別の分別)”. Zen scholars tend to like paradoxical expressions as Suzuki did. They like the expression that copulates contradictory concepts by the mediation of the character “即 (is immediately)” just like the motto of the Tendai Hongaku Thought “worldly desires are immediately spiritual enlightenment (煩惱即菩提)”. Apparently they scorn the Aristotelian logic of the rationality based on the Law of contradiction.

Seeing such expressions, how do you feel and think and react? If the reaction refusing them as “nonsense” is one extreme, the reaction appreciating them blindly as “profound philosophical principles” would be another extreme. It seems to be the position of the moderation to think that such contradictory expressions presuppose the existence of the deep religious experience, and as far as the expression is supported by the experience there is a possibility that they are not real contradiction. Perhaps it may be said that Valignano who was a European showed the reaction that inclined to the direction of the former. We may think that here was his limit.

Katsumi Ide gives some comments about the encounter of Japanese Buddhism with Christianity.

The contact of Christianity in 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century with the Buddhism were a notable event not only in the history of Japanese thought but also in the history of the interchange of the East-West thought, but the missionaries understood the Buddhism doctrine to be a materialistic and nihilistic thought and were not able to understand Buddhism’s original thought of the absolute nothingness or the negative logic. [...] On the other side, the Buddhist monks considered a Christian concept of Deus to be a concept of the personification. Therefore the effective mutual understanding was not formed<sup>(19)</sup>.

Here, we must consider the difference between two types of languages that are the basis for the two types of thoughts. One type of language is the language of rationality. The other type of language is the language of religion.

In the "NIHON NO KATEKIZUMO" of Valignano, scholastic arguments that he learned from the education he received were made full use of. The essence of the scholasticism is the "pursuit of the univocity", i.e. the effort to remove ambiguity of concepts by dividing them. The ground of the scholasticism is the public space of the "disputatio" in the universities. Scholasticism is the typical thought based on the language of rationality.

On the other hand, the original setting of the language of religion is the inner world of the religious experience. Here, the role of the language is very limited and often paradoxical rhetoric is used. Such was the case about the Tendai Hongaku Thought and Zen scholars of the Japanese Buddhism. This type of language would be rightly understood only under the support of the religious experience. If the language of the religion is separated from the depth of the experience, the result must be misunderstanding, nonsense, and degradation such as was seen in the vulgar interpretation of the Tendai Hongaku Thought. We can find an example of such danger in the language of religion also in the history of the Western thought. Meister Eckhart (c.1260-c.1328) was condemned as heresy because of the paradoxical expressions he used in his German writing (sermons)<sup>(20)</sup>. However, he also wrote scholastic writings in Latin. Recent studies on Eckhart, especially the studies of his scholastic writings written in Latin, clarify the right understanding of him and his legitimate faith of Christianity.

Ide shows the feeling of regret about the fact that the opportunity of the confrontation with the scholasticism by the Japanese people was abandoned because of the attitudes of the Zen priests who dislike philosophical arguments and because of the liking to the natural science and lack of understanding to the metaphysics of the Japanese people in those days<sup>(21)</sup>.

Ide understood Japanese Buddhism mainly on the basis of the Zen Buddhism and as far as Zen Buddhism is concerned the evaluation made by him seems to be valid. According to the modern Zen scholar Daisetsu Suzuki, the theory of philosophy represented by scholasticism that divides concepts and pursues the univocity would be a typical example of "the

intellect of classification (分別知)" that he scorns. We can imagine that such was also the case about the Zen priest in 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century. The comment of Ide points out that at those times there were no bridge between the two types of languages, i.e. language of rationality and that of religion.

The Catholic Church today has respect for depth of the religious experience of Zen Masters, and positively engages in the dialogue of the East-West spirituality. Ide points out that in the 16<sup>th</sup> century when Valignano lived, an enthusiastic mystical religious movement was developed in Spain<sup>(22)</sup>. Why, then, Valignano had no interest in the mysticism or the spirituality of the Japanese Buddhism?

The ultimate answer to this question must be based on more comprehensive study. But one tentative answer is "because the approach of Valignano to the Japanese people was completely rationalistic". We can suppose that the intention of Valignano was to appeal to the rational character of the Japanese people. This strategy is a manifestation of his policy of the adaptation. However, the above comment of Ide also indicates another point. The "rationality" of the Japanese people was limited in the field of the natural science and did not extend to the field of the metaphysics. The metaphysical language is rational, but it is also religious.

In the history of the Western thought, there also had been contrast or tension between the language of rationality and the language of religion. For example, Jean Leclercq showed the contrast between the "monastic theology" and "scholastic theology" in the 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>(23)</sup>. The synthesis or the mediation of two levels of language has been the greatest theme of the philosophy throughout its history.

## Notes

(1) P.A. Santos Hernández S.J., *Adaptación Misionera*, Bilbao, 1958, p.44.

(2) I introduced contents of the "NIHON NO KATEKIZUMO" in the following article in detail. Cf. 桑原直己「A・ヴァリニャーノ『日本のカテキズモ』における日本仏教論」(『日本カトリック神学院紀要』第2号所収、2011、pp.175-206) [Naoki Kuwabara, "Arguments on the Japanese Buddhism by Alexandro Valignano in the <NIHON NO KATEKIZUMO (The Catechism in Japan)>", *Bulletin of the Japanese Catholic Seminary*, No.2, 2011, pp.175-206. (ed. only in

Japanese)].

(3) *Catechismus Christianae Fidei*, in quo veritas nostrae religionis ostenditur, & sectae Iaponenses confutantur, editus à Alexandro Valignano societatis Iesv cum facultate supremi senatus fanctae & generalis inquisitionis, & ordinarij, Olyssipone, A. Riberius, 1586. (Classica Japonica/CJ: facsimile series in the Tenri Central Library, Section 2 Kirishitan materials; 3, Tenri Central Library, Yushodo [distributor], 1972.) Cf. Japanese translation: ヴェリニャーノ著・家入敏光訳編『日本のカテキズモ』天理図書館参考資料第 7、天理大学図書館、1969. Hereafter abbreviated to CJ.jp.

(4) 井手勝美『キリシタン思想史研究序説—日本人のキリスト教受容—』ペリカン社、1995、p.19. [Katsumi Ide, *An Introduction to the Study of KIRISITAN; The Accept of Christianity in 16th and 17th Century in Japan*, Pelican-Sha, 1995 (ed. only in Japanese, the citation was translated by Kuwabara)].

(5) CJ.jp,p.5.

(6) *Ibid.*,pp.55-57.

(7) *Ibid.*,pp.57-59.

(8) *Ibid.*,p.10.

(9) *Ibid.*,pp.13-18.

(10) 平岡隆二「イエズス会の日本布教戦略と宇宙論—好奇と理性、デウスの存在証明、パライソの場所」、『長崎歴史文化博物館研究紀要第 3 号』、2008. p.50 以下。[Ryuji Hiraoka, “The missionary strategy of the Society of Jesus and the cosmology —curiosity and reason, proof of the existence of Deus, the place of the paradise”, *Bulletin of the museum of the history and culture in Nagasaki*, No.3, 2008 (ed. only in Japanese, the citation was translated by Kuwabara)].

(11) P. Gómez, *Compendium Catholicae Veritatis*, 上智大学キリシタン文庫監修・編集『イエズス会日本コレジヨの講義要綱 (コンペンディウム)』全 3 巻所収、大空社、1997.

(12) ザビエル書簡、コーチン発、1552 年 1 月 29 日付 (河野純徳訳『聖フランシスコ・ザビエル全書簡』全 4 巻、平凡社、第 3 巻、p.186.) [The letter of Francisco Xavier, From Kochi, 29, January,1552]. Cf. Hiraoka, 2008, p.43.

(13) 川村信三『戦国宗教社会＝思想史 キリシタン事例からの考察』知泉書館、2011. [Shinzo Kawamura, *A History of the Society and Thought in the Age of Wars (in Japan)*, Chisen-Shokan, 2011 (ed. only in Japanese)].

(14) 田村芳朗「天台本覚思想概説」(『日本思想大系 天台本覚論』岩波書店所収 1973、p.478.) [Yoshiro Tamura, “Introduction to the Tendai Hongaku Thought”, *A Series of Japanese Thought; Tendai Hongaku Thought*, Iwanami-Shoten,1973 (ed. only in Japanese, the citation was translated by Kuwabara)].

(15) Kawamura, 2011, pp.178-181.

(16) A. Valignano, *Sumario de las cosas de Japón*, 1583; *Adiciones del Sumario de Japón*, 1592,

editados por José Luis Alvarez-Taladriz, Monumenta Nipponica monographs, no.9, Sophia University, 1954-. Cf. Japanese translation: 松田毅一他訳『日本巡察記』、平凡社、1973、東洋文庫、p.31.

(17) Kawamura, 2011, pp.156-57.

(18) 末木文美士「栄西における密と禅」(『鎌倉仏教展開論』、トランスビュー、2008、pp.148-169.) [Humito Sueki, “Eisai on Vajrayana and Zen”, *The Development of the Kamakura Buddhism*, Trans-view, 2008].

(19) Ide, 1995, p.168.

(20) I have discussed about the two aspects of Eckhart's thought and two levels of languages, i.e. scholastic (rational) and spiritual (religious), in my article. Cf. 桑原直己「エックハルトの「神秘主義」と説教・靈的指導の言語」(筑波大学哲学・思想専攻『哲学・思想論集』第38号、2012、横書き部 pp.33-47.) [Naoki Kuwabara, “<Mysticism> of Eckhart – The Language of Sermon and Spiritual Guidance”, *STUDIES IN PHILOSOPHY*, No.38, Institute of Philosophy, University of Tsukuba, 2012, pp. 33-47 (ed. only in Japanese)].

(21) Ide, 1995, pp.44-45.

(22) *Ibid.*, p.168.

(23) Jean Leclercq, *L'amour des lettres et le désir de dieu : initiation aux auteurs monastiques du moyenâge*, Paris; Cerf, 1957.

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