

《翻 訳》

『コリヤード 懺悔録』(ローマ, 1632 年刊) 所載の日本語告解(コンヒサン)の英語全訳 前篇 モーセの第一誠から第五誠に関するもの

——附録「1620 年代, 長崎周辺においてドミニコ会修道士ディエゴ・コリヤードが聴取・採集した
コンヒサンよりうかがう日本人信徒に特徴的なる振舞いと心性」(英文)およびその解題(和文)——

日埜 博司(HINO Hiroshi)

2004 年度の一カ年, 私は, リスボア中心部ベルナ大通りにあるリスボア新大学(Universidade Nova de Lisboa)の社会人文学部海外史研究所(Instituto de História de Além-Mar, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas. 2013 年 9 月以降, 複数の大学に附置されていた人文科学系研究機関が CHAM/Centro de Humanidades という名称のもとに統合された)に, 客員研究員(Investigador Visitante)として籍を置き, 教員寮まで世話してもらって自由に勉強する機会に恵まれた。その少し前から, この研究所は *Bulletin of Portuguese and Japanese Studies* というジャーナルを年一度刊行しており, 私は編集顧問のひとりとしてその末席をけがし今に至っている。2021 年の末, 同誌はおおよそ 20 年にわたる歴史の幕をおろすことになり, これまで同誌と関わりを有してきた人々が, いわばフルキャストで執筆するという編集部の申し合わせが小生に伝えられた。

2016 年初夏, 神田小川町の八木書店より刊行した『コリヤード^{さんげろく} 懺悔録——キリシタン時代日本人信徒の肉声』(*Tradução Integral Portuguesa da Obra MODVS CONFITENDI ET EXAMINANDI* [Roma, 1632] *da Aatoria do Frade Dominicano Frei Diego Colhado: As Vozes Vivas dos Cristãos Japoneses sob a Perseguição no Primeiro Quartel do Século XVII*, xvi, 714 ps.)は, リスボア新大学で進めた勉強と, さまざまなひとびとより賜わった指導と協力の所産にほかならない。よってこの翻訳・著述を作成する過程で零れ落ちてきたいわば^{よてき}余滴を, 前記 *Bulletin* のため, 英文エッセイにまとめることにした。

1620 年代, すでに厳しい迫害下に置かれたキリシタンの苦悩なり葛藤を伝える日本語のコンヒサン*を収める書物が, ディエゴ・コリヤードというカステーリヤ人ドミニコ会士によって編まれた。前掲『コリヤード^{さんげろく} 懺悔録』は, 17 世紀初頭の日本人(狭く限定すると, 長崎を中心とする西九州の人々, 範囲を広くとるなら, 畿内以西の西日本の人々)の風俗, 習慣, 日常的振舞い, 思考パターン……の諸相を広く明らかにする。口外無用のコンヒサンを公刊したのであるから, この書物の稀少性は際立って高い。

*カトリック信徒は少なくとも年に一度、みずからが犯した宗教的罪悪を、デウスの代理たる神父へ打ち明け、その赦しを乞わねばならない。現在、正式の教会用語としては「告解」と呼ばれる行為であるが、キリシタン時代、日本人信徒はこれを「コンヒサン」と呼んだ。ポルトガル語 Confissão をそのまま音訳したことばである。

本来公にすることが厳禁されているコンヒサン。その主の固有名詞などをいっさい伏せて、ではあれ、1632年それらをローマで公刊するに至ったみずからの思いを、コリヤードは「序」においてこう記す。——禁教下の日本に上陸しキリシタンの共同体に入り込むことができたなら、まず聴き取る必要があるのは、コンヒサンで用いられる口語的な日本語である。これから渡日するドミニコ会同志の日本語学習に裨益するよう私はこの書物を編んだ、と。(コリヤードは同時に、『日本語文典』と『羅西日対訳辞書』をローマで上梓している。)日本のキリシタン教会は、こうした楽観的な予断を許さぬ危機的な状況に陥っていたが、このカスティーリヤ人宣教師は、少なくとも主観的には、1630年代以降も、みずからの同僚が日本で布教を継続するであろうとの希望的見通しを持っていたことが、彼自身のことばによって判明する。

リスボア滞在中、コリヤードの編著に興味を寄せてくれる人々から私は次のような助言を受けた。——コリヤードの採集したコンヒサンで明らかにされる日本人信徒の行動、振舞い、発想、考え方、習俗……には、ときおり西洋人(ポルトガルの場合、多くはカトリック)を戸惑わせるものがある。これらこそ“Japaneseness”(「日本的なるもの」と定義しうるものかもしれない。これから出す書物には、日葡両語で、その問題に関する注記を適宜附すとおもしろいのではないかと。

前掲の編訳書においては、できる限り、こうした助言を実行に移すよう努めたものの、その注記はおもに日本語で、附随的にポルトガル語で行なったにすぎない。このたびのエッセイは英語で記すことが義務づけられており、私としては、上述の助言にささやかながら初めて応じたもの、とすることができる。日本人信徒の振舞いなり心根を考えるいわば切り口として、

○「甘え」

○「尻馬に乗る」

○「弱いキリシタン」

という3つの日本語をエッセイのキーワードに設定、幾つかのコンヒサンをなるべく多面的に考察してみることにした。(ちなみにこれら3つの表現のうち、最後の『弱いキリシタン』は、コリヤードの編著に直接現われる日本語表現。残りのふたつはいずれも、1603-04年、長崎刊『日葡辞書』に所載される由緒正しい語彙であり表現である。)

日本語の歴史においてしばしば注目されるキリシタン用語 Taixet(大切)、およびそれに尊敬の助辞を附した Gotaixet(御大切)については、前掲書の第4章第1節「信仰宣言文に見える『御大

切』という語彙をめぐって』においてやや詳しい考察を行なったので、このたびの英文エッセイでは言及を控えた。(Taixet にせよ、Gotaixet にせよ、肉欲的で官能的、かつふしだらな、というニュアンスを強く含む中世日本語の「愛」を、「清らかな愛」「神の愛」から峻別するため、キリタン/宣教師がいれば厳選し常用したもの。タイシエツ、もしくは、ゴタイシエツ、と発音されていたであろう。末尾の「ツ」はいずれも無声音。)

このエッセイに引用することになったコンヒサンは、たまたま、モーセの第一誡(「第一、御一体のデウスを敬ひ、^{たつと}貴み奉るべし」『ドチリナキリタン』)および第四誡(「第四、^{ぶも}汝の父母に孝行すべし」同上)をめぐるのであったわけだが、こうした英文をせっかく執筆する機会に恵まれたわけであるから、この際、コリヤードによって日本語で採集されたコンヒサンのかずかずを、言うまでもなく日本語オリジナルをテキストとして、全訳すればよからうと考えた。(全文のポルトガル語訳注は前掲書第5章で、現代和文訳は第3章で、それぞれ行なっている。)キリタン時代や、ポルトガル大航海時代の典籍および資・史料の文献学的考察、さらにはそれらの双方向的翻訳(葡→日のみならず日→葡も)に従事しつつある筆者としては、手堅く検討のゆきとどいた翻訳を行なうことこそよろずの基盤と考えるので、今回の拙文の範疇は常例どおり「翻訳」とし、前記 *Bulletin* に掲載予定のエッセイ、およびそれをめぐる Peer Review のようすを「附録」として掲載する。

『コリヤード 懺悔録』に収められた日本語のコンヒサンのうち、このたび「前篇」として英訳するのは第一誡から第五誡に関するもの。それぞれのコンヒサンの末尾に日本語でその要旨を記す。

第一誡は、カトリックの唯一神であるデウスへの一途な^{やおよろず}帰依を求めるもの。八百万のカミガミを^{はんしんろん}拝むという汎神論的風土に馴れ親しんできた日本人一般がこの誡に少なからぬ葛藤を覚えたであろうことは、カトリック的性道徳に関する第六誡とともに、最も多く15のコンヒサンがここに含まれることから、明らかだ。息子の病氣平癒を願い「算木」占いをしたり「山伏」を呼び加持祈禱をさせたりしたもの、その振舞いをほかならぬ周囲のゼンチョに咎められ、わが罪はいっそう深まった、など哀れを感じさせるコンヒサンだ。大坂夏の陣に勝利したことを記念し、「御所様」(家康が秀忠が異教寺院の建立を決意、その「奉行」がキリタンにも労務の提供を命じてくる。自身および妻子のいのちが助かるよう、キリタンはこの命に従う。キリタンの家来がゼンチョの主人の言いつけにより、たとえば仏式の葬儀など異教的儀礼に参列するよう強いられたとき、彼はどう対処すべきかという難題について、イエズス会と、ドミニコ会やフランシスコ会など^{たくはつ}托鉢修道会とのあいだで見解の相違が生じ、議論が闘わされた。現実主義的なやり方、つまり信徒に“寄り添う”かたちで問題を解決しようとしたのがイエズス会であったのに対し、よりドグマティックで原理的な対応を信徒へ求めたのが、一般的には托鉢修道会であった。筆者としてとりわけ興味深かったのは5つ目のコンヒサン。キリタンは「転び」証文に署名はしたものの、その際「奉行」から、転ぶのは

表向きだけでよい(内心の信仰などは問わない)、と説得された(「せめて表面^{うはむき}になりとも転^{しき}べと頻りに勧められたに
よって」という。庶民レヴェルの信徒に血を流させることはなるべく少なくしたい、というのが幕府当
局者の本音であったか。

*江戸幕府のキリシタン禁教政策は、明治新政府によってもしばらく維持された。欧米列強外交団からの強い「外
圧」にさらされた明治新政府が、キリシタン禁制の高札を取り除いたのは、1873年(明治6)2月のこと。1867年(慶應
3)7月、長崎奉行によって逮捕された浦上のキリシタンのうち、津和野へ流罪にされ、過酷な拷問に耐えて、ただひと
り最後まで信仰を守った高木仙右衛門という人物がいる。仙右衛門は、日仏通商条約締結交渉のためパリへ赴いた
こともある長崎奉行河津祐邦と対面したときも、みずからの確固たる信仰を吐露している。河津は「この際、仙右衛門に
対しやはり、「うわべだけの偽装棄教」を勧めたらしい。仙右衛門は、奉行河津の説得に対し、「心の内ばかりで信ず
ること叶いません」と拒絶、日本の神仏信仰を強制されても、「カミホトケというは、我らと等しき人間なれば、これを拝む
こと叶いません」と述べ、「これを拝みてごしやう(後生)の助かりすることは、叶いません」と答えたという(五野井隆史
『キリシタン信仰史の研究』吉川弘文館、2017年。高木慶子『高木仙右衛門覚書の研究』[中央出版社、2002年]参
照)。

第二誠は、デウスのたつき御名をもてあそひ軽々しい誓文をするな、というもの。友人に偽証
させ金銭をめぐる訴訟に不正に勝訴したり、逆に友人のため不実の誓文を立て友人の訴訟相
手に損失を負わせたり、などという深刻度の高いコンヒサンもあれば、一度腹に崇^{たか}った食べ物を
二度と食うまいとの誓いを立てたものの、宴席で「横柄者」のそしりを受けぬよう勧められて同じも
のをつい食ってしまった、などという微笑ましいコンヒサンもある。

第三誠は、ドミンゴつまり「主の日」(日曜日)や祝い日に労働することを原則として禁ずる教え。
ドミンゴ・祝い日に自身も働き、複数の「若党」を働かせはしたけれど、急を要する仕事であったし
大して気に懸かることもなかった、と白状する。

第四誠は、汝の父母に孝行せよ、というもの。「父母」は、キリシタン資料において **Bumo**(ブモ)
と綴られ、ラテン文字で記されるからこそ室町・織豊期日本語の発音が判明するその一例。イエ
ズ会の刊行した『ドチリイナキリシタン』(口語的な日本語で記されたキリシタン教理)や『サルバトルム
ヂ』(信徒からコンヒサンを引き出すためイエズス会が編んだ司祭の日本語マニュアル。ローマ、カサナテンセ図書館所蔵。
こ以外に存在の知られない、いわゆる天下の孤本)、中世ヨーロッパで広く流布したカテキズム(教理要綱書)
など参照してみると、「孝行」を適用すべき対象は、子→親、のみならず、弟→兄、妻→夫、家来
(召使い)→主君(主人)、若輩→高齢者、など実に多岐広範にわたっている。しかも「孝行」の対象
は矢印が向かう方向のみの“一方通行”であってはならず、立場において“上位”の者こそ“下
位”の者へしかるべき配慮とリスペクトを払え、と求められる。「孝行」のいわば“双務性”が強調さ

れる。「孝行」を適用すべき対象の多岐広範さといえ、ふたつ目のコンヒサンが興味深い。そこで信徒は、「宿老」^{しゆくらう}「貧人」^{ひんにん}ばかりか、「不足なる者」に対し雑言を吐き、嘲ったことを白状する。後者が身体に^{しやうがい}障害あるひとびとをさすことは、紛れもない。Weblio 英和辞典の disabled, physically handicapped のほうが「好まれる」という注記に留意しつつも、歴史的資料の英訳であることに鑑み直截的^{ちよくさいてき}な crippled という語彙を取って用いる。

第五誡は、有名な「殺すべからず」であるが、この「殺す」という語彙も実に多様な概念を包み込んでいるようだ。物理的な暴力(殺人や傷害)はいらまでもなく、ことばや想念による「暴力」すら第五誡に含まれるのは、妄念による“淫行”さえ罪にあたる、と説く第六誡(「邪淫を犯すべからず」)を想起させる。七大罪(モルタル科。本ケースでは手淫)を若輩に犯させる、そのきっかけをつくる行為すら第五誡に含まれるのが興味深い。

ところで。

「対面」がかなり再開されても、コロナ禍で休みなくつづけてきた“すべてを書いてしまう授業”をやめる気に私は到底ならなかった。(ポルトガル語はその限りにあらず。「対面」して担当者の唇の動きを見てもらう必要が、どうしてもある。)その心はまことにもって単純明快、正確さをより厳密に追求できるうえ、担当者であれ履修生であれ、明白な誤りを犯したときはたやすくこれを訂正できるし指摘もできるから。(拙文に少し登場する西^{にしあまね}周を一円切手に描かれる日本郵便の父、などとMANABAに誤記してしまった。^{まえじまりそか}前島密と混同した。)何より最優秀の履修生は教養科目として奥ゆきと深みのある講義を渴望している。当たり前だが、そのような履修生はごく少数でよい。そうしたひとびととの邂逅^{かいこう}は、コロナ禍のもたらしたパラドックスというか僥倖^{ぎょうこう}、であった。話しことばに限りなく近づけて執筆しても、「むずかしいことを、やさしく・ふかく・ゆかみに・まじめに」(井上ひさし)¹のモットーは、いさかも揺らがぬ。

実を言うと、このたびの英文エッセイ、言語論(龍ヶ崎と新松戸)・文学(龍ヶ崎のみ)・リベラルアーツ演習(新松戸のみ)、そしてついでながら、ポルトガル語とゼミの履修生、要するに日埜博司の科目を受講する全員へ公開した。読んで欲しいなどと、無茶は言わない。ただ学科を問わず、これから卒業研究に真摯に取り組もうとする人も一部にいるであろう。エッセイを仕立てるに際し好ましい成果のあった Peer Review のもようを僅かながら、彼ら/彼女らへ示したいと考えたのだ。(Peer

¹ 仙台文学館常設展『仙台、言葉の渚。』に展示される井上自筆の色紙より。原文は次のとおり(原文縦書き)。

むずかしいことをやさしく
やさしいことをふかく
ふかきことをゆかみに
ゆかみなことをまじめに
書くこと

Review とは、いわゆる「査読」のこと。Peer とは、年齢・地位・能力などが同等の者、同僚を意味するから、今回の英文エッセイの場合、対等かつ自由な立場で行なわれる建設的な相互批評、と解釈してもいいであろう。ゆえに執筆者たる当方の意見も正当と思ひ限り、積極的に伝える。)前記 *Bulletin* の査読担当からどのような注文が届きそれをどう消化したか、当方からは査読担当へどのような要望を出したか、を日本語で略述、Peer Review の醍醐味をちよっぴり伝えたい。

このたびの英文エッセイにおいてやりとりの端緒となったコンヒサンは、たとえば次のようなもの。(現代日本語訳で示す。)

あるとき、財産相続に関する訴訟をめぐりゼンチョ [カトリックやイスラムやユダヤ教以外の宗教を信ずる人々。異教徒] の宿に久しく留まっていたのでございますが、その世帯主および隣人たちに私がキリシタンであると見知られぬよう、彼らと一緒にたびたびゼンチョの御堂へ入り、ゼンチョ並みに十念、すなわち阿弥陀の名を十遍唱えることを致しました。またゼンチョたちが再々、神・仏のことを賞讃しますので、私もうなずいて、言葉のうえて「なかなかご尤もじゃ」と申し、深い科を犯しました。このようなことが幾度あったか記憶も定かではございませんが、大略二〇、三〇度ほど、少なくとも二〇度あまりもそんなことがあったであろうかと、心の中で思いました。

これは一読して明らかなごとく、前記モーセの第一誡に反する行為に走ったことを告白するもの。「同調圧力」の強い日本のムラ社会では、周囲の異教徒から十遍念仏を唱えよ、と勧められたら、それをむげに断わるのはよほど勇氣ある行動であろう。ましてやこのキリシタン、財産相続に関する訴訟の話をしに来ているのであるから、波風の立つ振舞いに出てみずからの訴訟に不利が生じては損だ。おそらく今でも、よほど“原理的”な信徒でない限り、上記のような“おとなの対応”をするのではなからうか。

日本語には「尻馬に乗る」という愉快的言い廻しがあるが、このキリシタンの振舞いはまさにこれであろう。もっともポルトガル語にも、主体性なく皆に調子を合わせる、という意味を帯びた「*Maria vai com as outras.*」という表現がある。「マリーアはほかのマリーアといつも道連れ」。ちなみにマリーアほどポルトガルでありふれた名前はない。似た者同士一緒につるむ、あるいは、主体性欠如気味の某、多勢のリード(先導)に従う、というところ。

「尻馬に乗る」は、前述のとおり、1603-04 年、長崎刊『日葡辞書』にも出てくる由緒正しい表現であるから、キリシタン時代の日本人信徒の行動を説明するのに用いても何ら差し支えはない。『日葡辞書』のポルトガル語による語釈をほぼ逐語的に英語へ直して示したところ、査読者は

What do you mean? と申し越してきた。『日葡辞書』のポルトガル語による語釈のおもしろみを損なわぬよう注意しつつ説明文を手直しする。それが 3. 《Xiriumani noru》[尻馬に乗る]の項、最後のパラグラフ――。

一頭の馬にひとがふたり乗っている。ひとりリーダーであり、鞍くらにまたがっている。主体性欠如気味のもうひとり、馬のお尻に乗る。いわば“世間のしがらみ”が馬の巨体、と思えばいい。後者はそこから振り落とされぬよう、必死にリーダーにしがみつく。日本社会のひとつのありようをまざまざと感じさせる言い廻しではないか。

一次原稿には、上記の説明としてこう記した。

「修辞学」(Rhetoric)・「文法学」(Grammar)・「論理学」(Logics)という、リベラルアーツ主要三学科が中世ヨーロッパでは盛んであった。それを学ぶ伝統のもとみずから意見を表明し、理路整然、他者を説得する技わざを鍛える、という修練を積んできた西洋知識人とは対極的に、日本人には、「議論」(Guiron)という語彙が存在するには存在したものの、『日葡辞書』に「争ひ、論ずる。Disputa [英語では Dispute]」という語釈が載るとおり、「議論」とは、論理的な弁論なり説得とは、かなり距離のある概念であり振舞いであるようであった。中世日本には、西洋中世における上記三学科に相当する学問を習う、という伝統もなければ、それらの修練を積んで弁舌を鍛える、という習慣も当然培われなかった、ここに現われるキリシタンは、他者との無用な議論(要するに、悪意を相手にぶつけあうだけの口喧嘩)を避けたくて、つい、「尻馬に乗る」ような行動をとったのであろう、と。

すると別の査読者から今度は、アンダーラインをほどこした箇所について典拠を示して欲しい、という注文が来た。「悪魔の証明」をしてみせよと言われたような気分であったが、空疎な理窟をこねるより、ここはやはり具体的な史・資料に拠って注文に応えたい。手順は次の二段階――。

一 日本人の気質に融合してきた禅がもつとも重んずるのは、「以心伝心」や「不立文字」など、ことばに拠らぬコミュニケーションである。師から弟子への奥義の伝授もそうした大原則ののっとなって行なわれる。そうした考えに立てば、弁が立つだけの者は尊重されるより、むしろ信頼に値せぬ輩とさげすまれる。「口叩き」(『日葡辞書』にも収載される)*ということばなど、そうした空気感を反映するものと見てよい。このキリシタンが禅に由来するそうした考えを念頭に置いていたか否か、むしろ不明ではあるけれど、ともかくその振舞い、“同調圧力”への屈服に加え、多弁を卑しむある種の心性に押し流されて生じたものに違いない。キリシタンへの改宗後も、従来の思考・行動パターンは容易に改まるものでもあるまい。

*Cuchitataqi [口叩き]. Palreiro (おしゃべり[な]、饒舌な[ひと]). † Cuchiuo tataqu [口を叩く]. Falar muito, ou palrar. Mas não se usa em todos os tempos (大いに話す、あるいは、べらべらしゃべる。しかし、この言い方、いかなる

ときにも使うわけではない) (Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam, f.62v).

新潟県出雲崎町の良寛記念館に、この禅僧の手になる「ものいふに(戒語)」という墨蹟が所蔵されている。そこで良寛は、「うるさ起もの」として次の十箇条を列挙する。(複製に添付された解説の葉を参照しつつ記す。この一および二の要旨を英文で記したのが脚注 27。良寛の十箇条に、便宜上、アラビア数字でナンバーを振る。)要するに、べらべらと口数多くしゃべるな、口喧嘩もするな、という良寛の自戒だ。

1 ござ者のおほ起	口数が多い
2 こと者あらそひ	口喧嘩
3 ひ登つひ登つ耳かぞへ多てて毛のいふ	ひとつひとつ数えあげながら、ものを言う
4 興奈起おどけ	おもしろくない冗談
5 可多おどけ	かたよった冗談や、わるふざけ
6 おとし者奈しの奈可き	おちかざらだらと長い嘸
7 つけごとのおほき	つけ加えることばが多い
8 ひきことのおほ起	例として引用することばが多い
9 口上のな可き	長い前口上
10 講釋の奈可起	こまごまとした説明

二 自分の考えや意見を、理を尽くして、一定数の聴衆に向けて話す、という Speech という行為。これはやと明治維新に前後して西洋から流入してきた概念、とされる。これを Speech という英語そのまま——音訳しただけで——日本語へ採り入れるのではなく、「演舌・演説」という二字の漢字へ置き換える、という作業をしたのが啓蒙思想家にして教育者の福沢諭吉。そのほか西周の考えた Philosophy→哲学など、少なからぬ西洋発祥の概念・文物が、明治知識人によって二字漢字へ置き換えられ、結局それらが中国へと逆・伝播していった例は珍しくない。そうした知識は耳学問で仕入れてはいたが、典拠を示せと言われれば、やはりこれもきちんと明らかにする必要がある。『明治大正 新語俗語辞典』(権島忠夫編、東京堂出版、1996年)という興味深い辞典の、「演舌・演説」の項を典拠とした。

そのほか、さらに別の査読担当と行なったやりとりで、こんな例も——。

迫害下、幕府当局者に追われる「南蛮坊主」(Nanbanbōzu) はまっとうな信徒なら命がけでこれがかくまってやらねばならない、そののできない信徒は「弱いキリシタン」で……、と記される神父の訓誡文について、「坊主」は蔑称なのではないか、という、やや困った意見が記してあった。「朝

鮮(人)』は蔑称である, とするが如き“見解”と同様(「朝鮮」は優れてニュートラルな民族名。早い話, 大韓民国最大の発行部数を誇る新聞の名称は『朝鮮日報』, これは客観的な誤りであるから, 査読担当へその旨伝える。そして「南蛮坊主」の「坊主」は, 文脈上, 仏教僧侶とは何の関係もないこと, さらに「坊主」はことばの真の意味において蔑称ではあり得ぬことも, アスタリスクを付して小さな文字で注記した。(むかしの大寺院には, 敷地内に, 僧侶たちが集団生活を送る僧坊=僧房=かいぐつもあった。そうした僧坊ひとつひとつの“主たる”住人が「坊主」と呼ばれたわけだから, 蔑称であろうはずはない。)

nuxi ni tòri caiexe tò vòxetq̄q̄erareta bacàri vò t̄uca-
maçuráidè, gozàru. Sari nagarà ima va mo faia ùchi-
mòdòsò tò vomòi sadàme maraxité gozàru niùtte go q̄
zzucàì àru na.

P. Canàì nagarà sòno càne uòba modòxi arauanda ca;chicàra
no uoiòbaide ca? 5

R. liàgaru tòqi mo gozari, buxó de sòre mo itasànu còto mo
àri: tocàcu sòre ua mi-ga fucàì aia mari de gozàru.

R. Sate: ichiban no go uòq̄ite ni t̄quite no tóga no mòxi
arauafu tocòro ni: mazzu, nifando gentio to Christian 10
no tòri sàta ni t̄quqi mòndgatàri uo uq̄e tamòtte ixec-
caino Christian no càzu gentio nò càzu ni curabète mi
rèba mizzu no fito xizzùcu dàiga ni cura bùru gotoqu gia
to mimi ni itta tòqi ua: Hat! còre ua nanto xita còto ca?
to uomòte: tocàcu Christian, no còto ni t̄quite fuxin 15
ga nocòtte, utàgàì maraxité gozaru.

Malchido ua, go misa uògamu tòqi, sòno comùgui no cò
de t̄q̄curarèta mòchi hostia to mòsu no uieni Padre sà-
ma mi cotòba uo tonaieraruru tanteqi, sòno hostia ua
uon aruji Icfu Chrifto no go xiqitai ni, mata uonàju bu- 20
dò xù no uieni mi cotòba uo tonaieraruru de mo sòno
budòxù uonaruji no uon chi ni nàri cauaru ni t̄quite ai fa-
damarànu nènga uocòtte, utàgò fòdo gozanacatta rēdo-
mò; sòno acunen uo fuxègu ni iurucaxé ga àtte cocò-
ro ni cacàri marasùru. 25

Tàbi tabi mo mujòni manqina còcoro De Christian no cò-
to uo aruua còcoro no ùchi ni ca, aruua cotòba de fito
to catatte ca tādàite fitòt̄q̄u zzut̄q̄u nò xisai t̄q̄taie, iuràì,
ari ai, niai nādò uò xenfacu xite, fino no xòtoçu no chi-
ie ni còierare: tādà fides no gorq̄ugue no ficari de macò- 30
toni uq̄eta uon còto uo uāga chiie finbet de facarò to
xita còto ua miga ajamari de gozatta, còre ua sai (ai de
gozatta rēdòmò, icutabi to ua uoboimmaraxènu. Sari
nagara muìò abunai xenfacu de atra tocòrò de mùnè ni
fauatte tóga de gozarçurò to uomòtte arauaxi marafu- 35
ru.

Mata ichidò miga mùfucò ga fucò uāzzutòra tòqi, sòno
nàngui fippacu ni q̄iuamatte Christian no còcorò de ix-
xinpurani, sòno còga inòchi uo tafucari nàgaraiuru iòni
Deus

Ichiban no go voq̄ite ni t̄quite[一番の御掟について](天理大学附属天理図書館蔵, NIFFON NO COTOBANI YÔ
CONFESION[...],p.18 より)

Full English Translation of Japanese Christians' (Kirishitan's) Confessions Recorded by Dominican Friar Diego Collado in the 1620s & Published in the Book Entitled *NIFFON NO COTOBANI YŌ CONFESION (.....) MODVS CONFITENDI ET EXAMINANDI (.....)*, Rome, 1632

FIRST CONFESSION CONCERNING THE FIRST COMMANDMENT²

Answer: I will clearly confess, first of all, the sins I committed concerning Moses' first Commandment. When I talked two or three times with a Gentile to learn about the reputation of Christians from him, he told me: 'The number of Christians in the whole world is insignificant, so comparing it with the number of Gentiles is like saying that a drop of water is equal to the immense current of a great river.' Hearing these words, I was shocked and disappointed that I was unwittingly led to suspect and doubt the things of Christians. [世界におけるキリシタンの数など取るに足らずとのゼンチョー——異教徒——のことばにショックを受け、キリシタンにまつわる諸事に疑念を懐く]

SECOND CONFESSION CONCERNING THE FIRST COMMANDMENT

On another occasion, when I was listening to Mass, the priest blessed what we call the Host, that is, the round cake made of wheat. Even knowing that the said Host, when blessed by the Reverend Father, would become the Body of Jesus Christ and that, in the same way, the wine would be transmuted into the Blood of Our Lord, I was not so skeptical if such a thing could really happen, but I was a little confused. I still have remorse over the aforementioned bad thought, that, due to my carelessness, welled up in me. [聖別によって、ホスチアがキリストの体になり、葡萄酒がキリストの血になり、それぞれ変化する]

² "Thou shalt have no other gods before me" (King James Bible, or Authorized Version, 1611); "Dai ichi, go ittai no Deus uo vyamai, tattomi tatematçurubexi" (第一, 御一体のデウスを敬ひ, 貴み奉るべし) (*NIPPON NO IESVS no Companhia no Superior yori Christan ni sôtô no cotouari uo tagaino mondô no gotoqu xidai uo vacachi tamô DOCTRINA. IESVS NO COMPANHIA NO COLLEgio Amacusa ni voite Superiores no von yuruxi uo cômuri, core uo fan to nasu mono nari. Toquini go xxxc no NENQI. 1592* [『日本のゼズスのコンパニヤのスペリヨルよりキリシタンに相当の理を互ひの問答の如く次第を分かち給ふトチリイナ。ゼズスのコンパニヤのコレジヨ天草に於いてスペリヨウレスの御諭しを蒙り, これを版と為すものなり。時に御出世の年記 1592』], p.50. I have made use of a edition at Tōyō Bunko (東洋文庫)– The Oriental Library –, Tōkyō); "Ho primeiro mādamento he: «Honrrarás huîi soo Deos»" (*O Cathecismo Pequeno de D. Diogo Ortiz. Bispo de Viseu*, Estudo literário e edição crítica de Elsa Maria Branco da Silva, Coleção Obras Clássicas da Literatura Portuguesa 115, Lisboa, Edições Colibri, 2001, p.178); "Não tenhas outros deuses, além de mim" (*Bíblia Sagrada. Boa Nova, tradução interconfessional do hebraico, do aramaico e do grego em português corrente*, Edição da Difusora Bíblica (Franciscanos Capuchinhos), Lisboa, 1999); "Não haverá para ti outros deuses na minha presença" (*Bíblia Sagrada. Para o Terceiro Milênio da Encarnação*. Versão dos textos originais, Difusora Bíblica (Franciscanos Capuchinhos), Lisboa/Fátima, 2002).

との話に疑念まで懐かずとも、内心混乱す]

THIRD CONFESSION CONCERNING THE FIRST COMMANDMENT

I have often tried to examine and inquire, with excessive pride, about the thing of Christians, sometimes thinking to myself, sometimes talking to other people, so I have made every possible effort to know their reason of existence, their tradition, their origin, their current situation, their relations with other religions, etc. It was my fault to have judged and conjectured, only through my modest knowledge and understanding, the religious precepts of Christianity, so sublime and eminent that they surpass the natural knowledge of human beings, precepts that I was able to enjoy in a true way thanks to the resplendent revelation of Deus. I have committed such acts in an arrogant manner several times, but I do not remember how often. Anyway, having known that it is a spiritually dangerous - «Abunai» - act to inquire into the matters above mentioned, I felt grief for it and thought it would constitute a sin, so I do confess. [キリシタンが存在理由、その伝統、その始源、その現況、他宗との関わり、等々に関し過剰なる穿鑿を行ない、ひたすらなる帰依・信仰が内心揺らいだことを反省す]

FOURTH CONFESSION CONCERNING THE FIRST COMMANDMENT

When my son caught a serious illness, I prayerfully prayed with Christian heart to Deus for his salvation and survival, pressed by the danger and distress it caused. My prayer, however, had no effect and I practiced divination using «Sangui», that is, small wooden sticks (as the Gentiles do), to find out whether his illness was deadly or not. As I could not bear to see him complain of pain, and, with fear of losing him, I asked a Gentile for advice and I listened carefully to his opinion. I finally, calling a «Yamabuxi», begged him to cast spells and hang a nomina around the neck. This act carried out in front of the members of my family was disseminated among the neighbours, who, open-mouthed, said: 'You Christians (Hat!*[はつ!]), you are neither serious nor true, for, in addition to committing other sins, you appealed to such divination of Gentile nature, despite having the obligation to obey faithfully your commandments.' Hearing these words, I realized my sin, which became deeper and deeper. This divination was carried out twice in accordance with the advice of an acquaintance of mine. As for the first, I practiced it, taking Camis and Fotoques of the Gentiles as trustworthy, and with regard to the second, I practiced it despite knowing well that it would be good for nothing. [息子の病が致命的か否か「算木」を用いて占う。息子の苦しみを見るに忍びず、ゼンチョの助言を受け、「山伏」を呼ぶ。こうした行為を隣人に咎められ、いっそう自身の罪を自覚す]

*This is the interjection with the meaning of 'yes', 'present', or 'here I am (here we are)', being used here as the interjection supposedly spoken by the Christians in response to the call made by the Gentiles. This interjection is considered to be one of the extremely rare words in which the opening «H» must be pronounced in Latin manner. Anomalous expression, but very interesting and seems to me a little comical.

*この「はっ!」は、ゼンチョが直接語法で投げかゝた呼びかゝりに対し、キリシタンが仮想的に応じた間投詞。「Hat!」の発音であるが、Hを発音しないポルトガル語式ではなく、例外としてラテン語式に「はっ!」と発音する。異様な表現と見えるが、日塾には椎名誠の文体を想起させてややコミカルに映る。

FIFTH CONFESSION CONCERNING THE FIRST COMMANDMENT

To carry out the ordination issued by his excellency - xogun [Tokugawa Hidetada] -, his Buguiō [奉行 Magistrate] , came here recently, from Meaco [Miyako]. For better or for worse, he forced us to 'fall' - to deny the Christian faith -, oblige us to sign a paper attesting to our apostasy and to abandon the Christian way of life. Finally, the Buguiō told us that [he would not care about the internal conservation of our belief and] it would be enough to declare ourselves 'fallen' - apostate - only superficially, so we promised to 'fall' pretendedly so as to save the lives, at least, of our wives and children. [都より下向してきた将軍の「奉行」より、転び証文に署名するよう強えられる。「転ぶ」のは表向きだけでよいとの「奉行」のことでおこしい、偽装棄教す]

QUESTION OF THE CONFESSOR

Those who have 'fallen' («Corobu»), that is, have denied their Faith, even superficially, must unflinchingly retract the word spoken before. Have you done it? [聴罪司祭からの質問。たとえ表面的に、であれ、転んだ者は、つまり、信仰を否定した者は、その前言を撤回せねばならぬ、と]

ANSWER OF THE KIRISHITAN

Not yet, Father. That is what saddened me greatly. Right after the Buguiō destroyed the things of Christendom, he left for Cami - Miyako -, so, so far, I have been doing nothing. Please give me your admonition. [キリシタンの返答。前言の撤回はまだ行なっておらず、そのこと心を痛めている、と]

QUESTION AND ADMONITION OF THE CONFESSOR

Where is a diary recording what the Buguiō did? If he has already gone back with it, you must immediately send him a letter or a messenger informing him that you intend to retract your previous word. Only after your act is known, will your family members and neighbours be convinced that you have amended and returned to being a true Christian. Do not forget to do it without fail. [聴罪司

祭からの質問と訓諭、何らかの手段により「奉行」へ、前言を撤回するつもりである、と知らせるべし。さもなれば、お前の家族も隣人も、お前が真実の信仰へ立ち返ったとは納得すまい、と)

ANSWER AND DETERMINATION OF THE KIRISHITAN

Yes, absolutely. I will not fail to do it. I am prepared to fulfill all obligations as a good Christian from now on and I will turn away from the things of Gentiles, making the greatest efforts to purify totally my heart. [よきキリシタンとしての勤めを果たすとともに、ゼンチョに関わる諸事からは遠ざかる、という強い覚悟を固める]

SIXTH CONFESSION CONCERNING THE FIRST COMMANDMENT

On another occasion, the following happened: when Goxosama [御所様 Tokugawa Ieyasu or Tokugawa Hidetada] deigned to win the war against the imperial enemy [Toyotomi family], and thought that he should attribute it to the providential help of Camis and Fotoques, deciding to found some sumptuous temples in Atago[愛宕] and Fachiman[八幡]. Goxosama ordered that mandatory services relating to the construction of temples should be distributed among his Buguiō[奉行 Magistrate], Daiquanxu[代官衆 Representatives] and Fiacuxō[百姓 Peasantry] according to the possibility of each one. I tried to employ a Gentile to avoid participating in the construction of such temples, creating a ruse, by paying a fee, to get him to attend those services. However, I did not have the courage to ask him directly and I finally participated two or three times in these tasks together with the Gentiles, even though I had no desire to adore Camis and Fotoques. It was a subterfuge so as not to fall into the shogun's disgrace. Finally, full of terror and concern, I was led to participate in the construction of Gentile temples, fearing that it would be an act strictly prohibited for us Christians. [「御所様」が潮敵——豊臣家——に対する戦勝を記念し、神・仏をまつる寺院の建立を決定。ゼンチョを雇いその建築への参加を拒もうとするも、結局恐怖に駆られ、異教寺院の建築に参加。キリシタンには禁ぜられた行為であろうとの自覚あり]

TENTH CONFESSION CONCERNING THE FIRST COMMANDMENT

Although neighbouring non-Christians are living at ease, all the evils and misfortunes in this world are happening to us, good Christians. Furthermore Deus deigns to allow the unfortunate Gentiles, who should be punished by Deus and suffer afflictions in hell, to enjoy modest comforts in this world, possibly for the sake of divine mercy. On the other hand, Deus does nothing but give maddening difficulties and torments to us Christians, who could receive perpetual salvation and consolation in another life. Although some Christians claimed that it was His deep and eminent

providence or His pious work, I had, once or twice, a lot of complaints against Deus, and lamenting that divine providence was arsy-versy, I was a little angry with Him. Even if I did not do so from the bottom of my heart, I recognize how wrong it was to have tried to treat the highest and the most eminent things of Deus with little devotion, without paying due reverence to them. [来世、インヘルノ(地獄)へ墮ちるはずのゼンチョはこの世で安楽をむさぼるのに対し、バライノ(天国)ゆきが約束されているはずの我らキリシタンのみ現世はこいいて苦しみを味わう——。この“不条理”をめくりデウスに対し不平不満を懐くこと、数度]

ELEVENTH CONFESSION CONCERNING THE FIRST COMMANDMENT

Ordinarily, even if I hear the croaking of crows, I do not care about it. However, two or three times, I was so annoyed about it that I was afraid some danger - «Sannan»[産難] - or disaster would befall me. Never do I believe seriously such a thing really happens, but, given that in accordance with the Christian custom I had to obey only divine providence and to ignore anything else, the act was a fault stemming from my little devotion. Likewise, I thought, four, five or six times, what I saw in my dreams would come true. [カラスの鳴き声に不吉を感じ、危険・災難が身にかかろうかと懸念したこと、二～三度。夢に見たことが現実に起ころうかと思つたこと、四～六度]

TWELFTH CONFESSION CONCERNING THE FIRST COMMANDMENT

Moreover: In spite of continually receiving countless benefits from Deus, I have lived with so little devotion and done a lot of discourtesy to Him without paying Him due reverence or thanksgiving. Anyway, I am a Christian in name only, because I was always thinking that everything would come to nothing after my death, neither caring it nor ignoring the Last Judgment. [死後すべてが無に帰するとの考えのもと、死に思いも致さず、「最後の審判」も無視]

THIRTEENTH CONFESSION CONCERNING THE FIRST COMMANDMENT

Furthermore: I have always been negligent about praying and preserving the way of life as a Christian. On the contrary, I cursed and mocked the good souls who never fail to fulfill these obligations. I have done this so far fifteen or sixteen times. [キリシタンとしての務めをまっとうする真摯な信徒に雑言を吐き、これをあざげること、十五～十六度]

FOURTEENTH CONFESSION CONCERNING THE FIRST COMMANDMENT

Relying on the vast and infinite mercy of Deus, I thought, two or three times, that it would not be so serious to repeat sins, and I believed that it would not be so difficult to enjoy their absolution, if only I had a good deal of «Côquai»[後悔], that is, contrition. So I committed «Mōacu»[猛悪] - great evils and sins -, abusing the divine mercy as a basis - «Motoi»[基] - to work such villainies. Contrary

to what I confessed earlier, I pondered only once on the maddening sins I had committed, and considered that I could not be forgiven at all, even if I could enjoy His infinite mercy, thus finally coming to lose «Tanomoxi»* - confidence - in Deus. [「猛悪」を重ねても、デウスに縋り、コンチリサン(痛悔)さえ尽くせば、その罪は許されると信ず。他方、悪の限りを尽くしたわが身を顧み、もはやデウスの無限の慈悲に縋っても救いはないであろうと絶望、デウスへの「頼もし」を失う]

*Although this Japanese noun «Tanomoxi» is defined in *Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam* (f.381v): “*Certo modo de contrato de companhia que se faz em Iapam* (A kind of contract of company, namely, that of people or group with the same purpose, which is carried out in Japan). ¶ *Item, Certo emprestimo, que muitos fazem a algum, que teue perda* (Or, A kind of loan, which many people do for the sake of someone who have suffered damage).” Being impossible to apply the definition cited above to this «Tanomoxi», I have translated it as «confidence» in accordance with the explanation of Collado’s autograph Castilian-Japanese dictionary (cf. Ōtsuka Mitsunobu & Kojima Yukiye, *Collado Jihitsu Sei-Nichi Jisho: Fukusei, Honkoku, Sakuin oyobi Kaisetsu*, Rinsen Shoten, 1985).

*この「Tanomoxi」という名詞、『日葡辞書』には、「日本において同一目的を持った人びとのあいだで行なわれる、ある種の契約様式。[また]損害をこうむったある者に対し、多くの者が実行してやる、ある種の融資——鎌倉期以降盛んに行なわれるようになった相互扶助的金融(組織)、すなわち「頼母子」をさす(引用者注)——という語釈が示される。いずれの語釈も、本コンヒサンに見える「Tanomoxi」へあてはめることは不可能であるから、コリヤード自身の自筆西日辞書の解釈に従い、confidence(信頼)と英訳する(大塚光信/小島幸枝編『コリヤード自筆西日辞書——複製・翻刻・索引および解説』臨川書店、1985年)。

FIFTEENTH CONFESSION CONCERNING THE FIRST COMMANDMENT

With regard to an act, I doubted whether this, if it were performed, would constitute a mortal sin, however I ended up performing it. I later learned that it would not constitute a sin so serious as I had thought, however, I cannot escape the sin already committed, for when I did it, I was aware that I might possibly commit a mortal sin. This happened three times. [ある行為がモルタル科にあたるのか否か確証なく、躊躇しつつもそれを実行に移したこと、三度]

FIRST CONFESSION CONCERNING THE SECOND COMMANDMENT³

³ “Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain” (King James Bible, or Authorized Version, 1611); “Da ni, tattoqi mina ni caqete, munaxiqi chicai subecarazu” ([第二, 貴き御名にかゝりて虚しき誓ひすへからず])(*NIPPON NO IESVS no*

Confessing about the sins against the second commandment of Moses, I have contracted, for these three years, a very bad habit. I usually swear often, without confirming what I say is real or not, in order to make those who hear me believe in my word. [みずかからのことばが実か不実か確かめることもせず, これを聞くひとびとが真実と受け取るよう, 頻繁に誓文を立てる]

SECOND CONFESSION CONCERNING THE SECOND COMMANDMENT

I took «Sorajeimon» - false oath[s] - two or three times in order to harm other people, even though I knew very well that what I said under oath was a lie. As for one false oath, the damage caused was not so serious as the other two, when a person, owing to my false oath[s], received great damage. [悪意をもって「空誓文」を立てること, 二〜三度。一度は他人へ実害を及ぼさずも, 他のケースでは, わが偽りの誓文のため, ある人, 多大の損害をこうむる]

THIRD CONFESSION CONCERNING THE SECOND COMMANDMENT

Furthermore, I got angry with my children and «Vchinomono»[内の者] - domestic servants - and swore four times to kill them in the name of Deus. As for one of these, I swore to carry it out, and as for the remaining three, I did so only to threaten them. I often fret myself with them, swearing to beat and punish them. From time to time I forgive them without fulfilling what I intend to do, because my anger soon cools off. I did so over and over again without any consideration, letting myself be carried away simply by anger. [わが子や「内の者」——家事奉公人——に怒りを発し, デウスの御名にかけてこれを殺そうとの誓いを立てること, 四度。怒りに任せ, 思慮もなく, 安易な誓いを繰り返し立てる]

FOURTH CONFESSION CONCERNING THE SECOND COMMANDMENT

Moreover, when I had a quarrel with someone about a «Iqiiqi»[い きい き]* - complicated problem -, there came another person, who advised us on reconciliation. I could not but accept his advice in a superficial manner, swearing and deciding in my heart to take revenge on him. Later, however, I left it undone. [他者とある「い きい き」をめくり口論。ある仲裁者の助言を受け入れ和解するも, 同仲裁者に対し内心復讐の念を固める]

*Companhia no Superior yori Christan ni sōtō no cotouari uo tagaino mondō no gotoqu xidai uo vacachi tamō DOCTRINA. IESVS NO COMPANHIA NO COLLEgio Amacusa ni voite Superiores no von yuruxi uo cōmuri, core uo fan to nasu mono nari. Toquini go xuxxe no NENQI. 1592; “Ho segundo mandamento he: «Nō jurarás seu nome em vão»” (O *Cathecismo Pequeno de D. Diogo Ortiz*, p.181); “Não façam mau uso do nome do Senhor, teu Deus, porque Ele não deixará sem castigo os que fizerem mau uso do Seu nome” (*Bíblia Sagrada. Boa Nova*); “Não usarás o nome do SENHOR, teu Deus, em vão, porque o SENHOR não deixa impune aquele que usa o seu nome em vão” (*Bíblia Sagrada. Para o Terceiro Milênio da Encarnação*).*

*According to Ōtsuka Mitsunobu, this word cannot be found in the *Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam* (Nagasaki, 1603-04) or in other philological sources published by European missionaries in the Christian Century of Japan, except in the two works compiled by Friar Diego Collado. In the Latin-Castilian-Japanese dictionary, the following entry can be seen: “Differential et dissensio, encuentro o diferencia. Iqi iqi[い き い き]”. Ōtsuka has not found any other examples of this word in Japanese sources (*Koryādo Sangeroku Shichū*, Rinsen Shoten, 1985, p.31).

*「い き い き」というこの奇妙な日本語の語彙は、大塚光信によると、コリヤードの編んだ『懺悔録』と『羅西日辞書』の中でしか確認することができないという。上記のとおり、『羅西日辞書』には、「(意見の)衝突、もしくは、すれ違い」という語釈が与えられる。

FIFTH CONFESSION CONCERNING THE SECOND COMMANDMENT

Frequently do I make a vow never to do a good thing again, for example, to lend something to another person, especially when he/she never returns to me what I lent. When I make a vow, I do so sometimes with a firm determination to carry it out, and sometimes without thinking about it. Rarely do I swear advertently. [貸したものを相手が返さぬときなど、そのたび、そうした「よきこと」も、二度とすまい、との誓いを頻りに立てる。誓文を立てる際、強い決意をもって行なうこともあり、思慮なく行なうこともあり]

SIXTH CONFESSION CONCERNING THE SECOND COMMANDMENT

Furthermore, during the trial concerning the amount of «Nifacu me»[二百匁], which is equivalent to twenty taels, that is, twenty cruzados, I asked a friend of mine, in advance, to make a «Sorajeimon»[空誓文] - false vow - in order to win it, in spite of my having no reason, thinking that if I lost it I would lose not only my honour but also my money. In the end I won the trial, so I gave him «Sanbuichi»[三分一] - a third - of the said amount, embezzling the rest. At a time another trial happened to him and I made a false vow in return for the help I received previously from him. I swore twice in an unjust way in the presence of «Xugonin»[守護人], that is, officer of justice. I remember, however, that his opponent suffered the loss of [only] approximately «Ni sanjū me»[二・三十匁], which was equivalent to two or three taels, that is, two or three cruzados. [「二百匁」をめぐる訴訟に勝つため、友人に「空誓文」を行なわせ、勝訴。「二百匁」の「三分一」は友人へやり、残りを取り込む。後日、その返礼として、友人のため、「守護人」の前で不義に宣誓。訴訟相手は損害を負う]

SEVENTH CONFESSION CONCERNING THE SECOND COMMANDMENT

Furthermore, I have sworn countlessly in a useless and unnecessary manner about things of little importance. [ささいなことがらをめぐり無益かつ不要の誓文を立てる]

EIGHTH CONFESSION CONCERNING THE SECOND COMMANDMENT

As I was beaten by a gambling player - «Vacuchi uchi»[博奕打ち] -, being extorted the amount of «Sanbiacu me»[三百匁], which was equivalent to thirty taels, that is, thirty cruzados, I cursed myself, decided and promised never to play such a game again under the oath that I would not mind getting «Xacurai Biacurai»[赤癩・白癩] - leprosy - if I did not keep the aforesaid promise. In spite of that, I played later two or three times. As for one of these, I was forced to do so just for recreation without betting money. As for the remaining two times, I played with a firm determination to extort everything I could from a clumsy player, but in the end we drew, neither winning nor being beaten. [博奕に負け二度と打つまいとの誓を立てるも、二〜三度その誓を破り、結局勝ち負けなし]

NINTH CONFESSION CONCERNING THE SECOND COMMANDMENT

Furthermore, when I fell seriously ill, I vowed not to eat anything which did harm to my stomach even if someone offered it to me. A person, however, advised me to eat such a thing at a banquet to which I was invited, so at last I ate it so as not to be seen as a rude and impolite man, that is, «Vôfeina* mono»[横柄/押柄な者]. [腹に祟った食べ物を食べまい、との誓を立てるも、「横柄な者」とのそりを避けるため、宴席でそれを食べる]

*As for this word, the *Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam* contains a spelling “Vôfêi” whose syllable “ô” is pronounced with the mouth open [アウ], but in the Latin-Castilian-Japanese Dictionary compiled by Friar Diego Collado, we see in most cases a spelling “Vôfei” whose syllable “ô” is pronounced with the mouth a little closed, bringing the lips together in a circle [オウ or オオ]. Ôtsuka Mitsunobu assumes that the second form would be more proper and correct (cf. *Koryâdo Sangeroku Shichû*, Rinsen Shoten, 1998, p.74, additional annotation 12).

*「横柄/押柄」という語彙の長音部は、開音の「アウ」とする資料と、合音の「オウ/オオ」とする資料が併存するが、大塚光信に従い、後者を採る。

TENTH CONFESSION CONCERNING THE SECOND COMMANDMENT

On one occasion I made a «Guan»[願] - vow - to attend a certain number of Masses and to give alms [to the poor]. However, I have not fulfilled it in relation to alms, which have not been distributed at Holy Mass, out of my negligence. In any case, I will fulfill my vow when possible. [一定数のミサに出、施しを行なう、との誓いをまだ果たさず]

ELEVENTH CONFESSION CONCERNING THE SECOND COMMANDMENT

In short, I am accustomed to swearing [in a giddy manner], having always shown this bad «Cagami»^{〔鑑〕} - example - to my family members, which example has made them swear in the same manner. I cannot fault with them, for I feel hesitant to do so, having left them to swear at will. ^{〔安易に誓いを立てるわが悪しき鑑が家族へ悪影響を及ぼす〕}

FIRST CONFESSION CONCERNING THE THIRD COMMANDMENT⁴

Because the Reverend Padres are presently in hiding, not being able to show up in public, we have no chance or opportunity to worship the Mass on Sundays and holidays. Two or three times, owing to my carelessness, I did not attend it, although it was possible for me to do so. Another time I found out where the priest was and I went there, but on the way to the destination, I was distracted with something of little importance. So when I reached there, he had already started offering the Mass, so I missed «Xibuichi» - a quarter - of it. ^{〔怠慢によるミサへの不参加や遅着, など〕}

SECOND CONFESSION CONCERNING THE THIRD COMMANDMENT

Furthermore, when I attended the Mass, generally speaking, I thought of a lot of things which were completely unnecessary, but I did not do so on purpose. As I am usually involved in various matters, I feel great remorse for being distracted here and there, even on the Mass. I know I have to be more zealous when attending it, but, despite being there from the beginning to the end, I did not concentrate my attention to it two or three times, which act, I think, was like not worshipping it. ^{〔雑念にまぎれミサに集中せず〕}

THIRD CONFESSION CONCERNING THE THIRD COMMANDMENT

When an impending deal occurred to us, not only did I work on Sundays and holidays, but I also forced my three «Vacatō» – young servants – to work. I made them do so once for «Fitotoqi» - two hours – and three times the whole day long. I was pressured by an urgent situation, and did not want

⁴ “Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy” (King James Bible, or Authorized Version, 1611); “Daisan, Domingo ^{〔uaiti〕} i uo tçutome, mamouubexi” (第三, ドミンゴ・〔祝ひ〕日を勤め守るべし)(*NIPPON NO IESVS no Companhia no Superior yori Christiani sōtō no cotouari uo tagaino mondō no gotoqu xidai uo vacachi tamō DOCTRINA*, p.51); “Ho terecyro mandamento he: «Sanctifica as festas»” (O *Catecismo Pequeno de D. Diogo Ortiz*, p.183); “Recorda-te do dia de sábado, para o santificar. Trabalharás durante seis dias e farás todo o teu trabalho. Mas o sétimo é o sábado consagrado ao SENHOR, teu Deus. Não farás trabalho algum, tu, o teu filho e a tua filha, o teu servo e a tua serva, os teus animais, o estrangeiro que está dentro das tuas portas. Porque em seis dias o SENHOR fez os céus e a terra, o mar e tudo o que está neles, mas descansou no sétimo dia. Por isso, o

to suffer losses for not meeting the deadline, which losses would have happened if I had otherwise acted. Moreover, as the deal was not extendable, I am not so concerned about them. [トミンゴおよび祝いの日にみずから働き、「若党」らにも働くことを強いるも、]

FIRST CONFESSION CONCERNING THE FOURTH COMMANDMENT⁵

I have a wife, children and parents. However, I do not get along well with my mother-in-law as she is a woman with bad nature. When she advises or reprimands my children or my wife, she is unable to contain her emotions, crying, screaming, and she gets almost insane, making a thousand follies. Furthermore, she abhors our good marital relations, getting even more furious, and unfoundedly conjecturing, she claims that my mother makes us pretend to play a good couple. My mother-in-law, from time to time, tries to detain my twenty-year-old son in her house, and, when he is unable to carry out the service I ordered him to do due to lack of time, she reprimands him, claiming that his negligence is really unforgivable and that he is ill-bred and disobedient towards his father. Therefore I cursed her frequently, even from the bottom of my heart, saying: ‘Damn the old woman who never dies! May she perish as soon as possible!’ I argued with her five or six times, offending her directly with insulting words, and I slandered her two or three times behind her back, damning her somehow a lot, and finally I did not speak to her for two or three months. Moreover, I was angered at my wife with no reason seven or eight times, I slapped her once or twice, and once I even hit her with a stick, kicking her down and trampling her underfoot. As a result, she miscarried as she was then pregnant. I also gave a discourteous reply to my old parents as regards what was happening [to me], which saddened and disturbed them a lot. I was annoyed by the fact that my parents were alive, and finally I wanted them to die early in order that I could inherit the property from them. Once I seriously thought so, but in most cases I only spoke of the thought. (女と不和に陥り、こ

SENHOR abençoou o dia de sábado e santificou-o” (*Bíblia Sagrada. Para o Terceiro Milênio da Encarnação*).

⁵ “Honour thy father and the mother” (King James Bible, or Authorized Version, 1611); “Daixi, nangi no bun□ ni oōō subexi” (第四, 汝の父母に孝行すべし)(*NIPPON NO IESVS no Companhia no Superior yori Christian ni sōto no cotouari uo tagaino mondō no gotoqu xidai uo vacachi tamō DOCTRINA*, p.50); “Ho quarto mandamento he: “Hórra teu padre e madre” (*O Cathecismo Pequeno de D. Diogo Ortiz*, p.186); “Respeita o teu pai e a tua mãe, para que vivas muitos anos na terra, que o Senhor, teu Deus, te vai dar” (*Bíblia Sagrada. Boa Nova*); “Honrai o teu pai e a tua mãe, para que se prolonguem os teus dias sobre a terra que o SENHOR, teu Deus, te dá” (*Bíblia Sagrada. Para o Terceiro Milênio da Encarnação*).

れへ暴言を吐く。妻へ暴力をふるい、妊娠中絶に至らしめる。財産相続をもくろみ、両親の速やかな死を願う]

SECOND CONFESSION CONCERNING THE FOURTH COMMANDMENT

From time to time, joining with uneducated youths, I slandered and spoke badly of the elderly, the poor and the crippled, cursing them. Instead of respecting and treating them with due charity and mercy, I did nothing but make a mockery of them and speak ill of them. [若輩者とつるみ、老齡者、貧人、身体障碍者をあざけり、悪しざまに言う]

THIRD CONFESSION CONCERNING THE FOURTH COMMANDMENT

I disputed twice or three times with my elder brother - «Xaqiö»[舎兄] - about things of little importance. We sworn at each other for a while and I even wished twice that sorrows, disasters, ills or problems would befall him. Once I wanted it from the bottom of my heart, and the next without so much malice. My anger passed me quickly, easing my heart. [兄とささいなことで争い、その身に不幸・災難が降りかかるよう願う]

FOURTH CONFESSION CONCERNING THE FOURTH COMMANDMENT

I heard approximately four times my companions criticize the way of life of a reverend priest. In spite of that, I did not reprimand them, but rather allowed them to do so and even spoke several things that would tarnish his honour. It is true that they knew his way of life, which was to be reprimanded, but I was wrong, I admit, in making it a topic of our banal conversation, and this behaviour was bad, given the fact that the priest is a most worthy representative of Deus. [デウスの代理者たるパートレの不行跡をなじる仲間を非難せず、パートレの日常の振舞いを雑談のネタとする]

FIFTH CONFESSION CONCERNING THE FOURTH COMMANDMENT

Besides this, I was jealous of my wife with whom I had lived until then without any rift - «Suqima»[隙間]-, however, suspecting unreasonably that she had adulterous relations with so-and-so, I abhorred them and intended twice to kill them, if possible, with poison. [妻の不貞行為を証拠もないまま疑い、相手もろとも妻を毒殺しようとしたこと、二度]

SIXTH CONFESSION CONCERNING THE FOURTH COMMANDMENT

I did not take any care, nor was I diligent in raising and supporting not only my wife but also my children. I should have made an effort to oblige them to improve their conduct and their way of life, making them obey the good Christian customs, but I have not acted in that way, which is my sin. [日常の行儀を改善するよう妻子を躾せず、キリシタンのよき習慣に従うよう指導もせず]

FIRST CONFESSION CONCERNING THE FIFTH COMMANDMENT⁶

I told a child, who did not yet know «Iocoximano michi»[邪の道] - the evil way -, that is, the lustful pleasure acquired with his own hand - «Tezzucarano inracu»[手づからの淫楽], namely, masturbation - and even taught him how to carry it out, persuading him to do it, finally getting him to commit the said sin. [「^{よこしま}邪の道」を知らぬ少年へ「^{いぬらく}手づからの淫楽」を教え勧め、同人にその罪を犯させる]

SECOND CONFESSION CONCERNING THE FIFTH COMMANDMENT

I gave a bad advice to an acquaintance of mine, who initially did not want to accept it, but I caused him to commit a mortal sin. [嫌がる知人へ悪しき助言を与え、結局同人がモルタル科を犯す、そのきつかりをつくる]

THIRD CONFESSION CONCERNING THE FIFTH COMMANDMENT

Furthermore, an acquaintance of mine told me that he did not have the courage to do a bad deed alone, to which I, despite knowing well of his bad intention, accompanied him, even being his accomplice in the sin. I practiced it five times. [その悪意を知らながら、知人の悪事の片棒を担ぎ、罪の共犯者となること, 5度]

FOURTH CONFESSION CONCERNING THE FIFTH COMMANDMENT

Moreover, I have a son who is already married. His bride has constant brawls with my wife, so I held a grudge against her, wishing she would die or be dying. Finally I did wish approximately ten times she would never be in my sight. [わが妻に悪口を吐く嫁の上に死, あるいゝは死のような苦しみが襲う願う。嫁を見たくもないと願うこと, 十度ばかり]

FIFTH CONFESSION CONCERNING THE FIFTH COMMANDMENT

Moreover, when I fought with a fearless man, he tried to kill me, giving me a thrust, but as I am skilled in fencing art - «Feōfō»[兵法] -, I gave him two or three strong slashes. When I heard about the rumour that the wounded man's brothers and relatives, swearing revenge, wanted to kill me with either a firearm - «Teppō» - or any other weapon, I had the pride to say and think, for three months, that I would kill all those guys who tried to defeat me. After the wounded man recovered, I

⁶ “Thou shalt not murder” (King James Bible, or Authorized Version, 1611); “Daigo, fito uo corosu becarazu”(第五, 人を殺すべからず)(*Nippon no IESVS no Companhia no Superior yori Christian ni sōtō no cotouari uo tagaino mondō no gotoqu xidai uo vacachi tamō DOCTRINA. IESVS no Companhia no Collegio Amacusa ni voite Superiores no von yuruxi uo cōmuri, core uo fan to nasu mono nari. Toquini go xaxxe no Nenqi. 1592, p.50*); “Ho quinto mandamēto he: «Nō matarás»” (*O Cathecismo Pequeno de D. Diogo Ortiz, p.187*); “Não mates” (*Bíblia Sagrada. Boa Nova*); “Não matarás” (*Bíblia Sagrada. Para o Terceiro Milênio da Encarnação*).

reconciled with him and we have now become very close friends. Even though I heard that the cost had been enormous spent both for the medication and for the doctor, I was not concerned about him, never compensating him for the damage I caused, since he had provoked me first and started the fight. [喧嘩を仕掛けてきた相手に刀傷を負わせる。復讐をもくろむ相手の親族は皆、これを返り討ちにしてやろう、と高言。相手とは後日和解するも、彼の負担した薬代は支払わず]

SIXTH CONFESSION CONCERNING THE FIFTH COMMANDMENT

I heard that a certain person spoke ill of me. He neither greeted me nor said anything to me for two months, in spite of meeting me. Although he later sent someone to apologize to me for what happened, I still have inner complaints - <[con]> [遺恨] -, not forgiving him after all. [出会っても挨拶せぬ相手の非礼をついに許さず、内心に「遺恨」を残す]

SEVENTH CONFESSION CONCERNING THE FIFTH COMMANDMENT

I have often quarreled and argued with someone, cursing and swearing at others over trifles. Frequently I have offended them, becoming angry with them. Later, however, we all have been reconciled, begging forgiveness in a mutual manner. [他人とささいなことで口論し、こゝろこゝろのことばを吐く。後日和解し、相互に許しを乞い合う]

EIGHTH CONFESSION CONCERNING THE FIFTH COMMANDMENT

Answer of the Kirishitan: A bad-natured husband of mine hits me and beats me violently, so, when I was pregnant, I aborted by “twisting the belly”^{*} so that the baby would not be born. [夫の暴力に堪えかね、妊娠中、みずから“腹を捻ぢ”って、流産させる]

^{*}I cannot explain in a concrete way the action of “twisting the belly”, that is, «Farauo negiru» [腹を捻ぢる].

NINTH CONFESSION CONCERNING THE FIFTH COMMANDMENT

Answer of the Kirishitan: Furthermore, because we were extremely poor, we had six children. However, there being no way to raise and sustain them, we used several artificial inventions in order to avoid any pregnancy. Once, being in the sixth month of pregnancy, I aborted a fetus by means of a medicine. Another time, shortly after the birth, I killed the newborn child by trampling on it with my feet, telling a lie that I had a stillborn baby. [子沢山と貧困を理由に、人工的な避妊行為を行なう。薬を用いて^{むつき}六月の子をおろす。分娩後、新生児を殺し、死産であったと偽る]

Appendix:

Behaviour and Mind Characteristic of Japanese Christians (Kirishitan) as Observed in their Confessions Collected in and around Nagasaki by Dominican Friar Diego Collado in the 1620s

HINO Hiroshi

ABSTRACT

In the 1620s, a Castilian Dominican Friar Diego Collado was engaged in missionary work around Nagasaki under the ban on Christianity, and published, in Japanese language through Latin letters, confessions he heard and collected from the believers. This book entitled *Niffon no Cotoba ni Yô Confesion* (.....) is not only historical material regarding the history of Catholic missions, but also provides us with a clue to the inner side of the heart of Japanese Christians (Kirishitan) oppressed at that time. I will point out a few peculiarities of Kirishitan's mind through the real voice of their confessions, making use of some 16th century Japanese words and idiomatic expressions, as keywords. However several behaviours and mindsets of Japanese Christians may seem far from being authentically Christian from a dogmatic standpoint, it could not be denied that the Kirishitan struggled, as good Christians, to fulfill their religious obligations, contributing unconsciously to the creation of another species of Catholicism.

和文要約

1620年代、カステイーリヤ人ドミニコ会士ディエゴ・コリヤードは、キリスト教禁教下の長崎周辺で布教活動を行ない、日本人信徒から聴き取りあるいはい収集したコンヒサンを、ラテン文字の日本語を用い、布教聖省(ローマ)より公刊した。『懺悔録』と命名されるこの書物は、日本カトリック布教史の基礎資料であるばかりか、抑圧される日本人信徒——キリシタン——の心の内面を知るひとつの手がかりを与えてくれる。コンヒサンを通じて吐露される彼らの肉声に耳を傾けてみると、キリシタンの心にこぼれ幾つもの特異性を指摘できる。その考察に際し、16世紀日本語に確かに存在していた語彙なり慣用表現を、いわずキーワードとして利用した。『懺悔録』に見える日本人信徒の幾つもの振舞いや心のありようは、教義にひたすら忠実な——ドグマティックな——立場から見れば、真実のキリスト教からは懸絶しているように見えるかもしれない。しかし彼らもまた“善きキリシタン”としてみずからに課せられた宗教的義務を果たそうと懸命であったことは否定し得ない。いわず新しい装いのカトリシズムを創出することに無意識のうちに貢献した人々であった、と言ってよい。

KEYWORDS

- ① Diego Collado, O.P.
- ② Kirishitan's confessions exposed
- ③ “Abusing the mercy of others”

④ “Following blindly the lead of someone”

⑤ Culpability of “Weak Christian”

A Castilian priest Friar Diego Collado (c1589-1638 or 1641) is one of the Dominican missionaries most dedicated to evangelizing activities in and around Nagasaki in the first quarter of the 17th century. Under the severe Christian persecution started by the Tokugawa Shogunate (Tokugawa Bakufu) in the 1610s, our friar made tireless efforts to confess Japanese believers and recorded their confessions in Japanese language by means of Latin letters. He published a work entitled *NIFFON NO COTOBANI YÔ CONFESION* (.....). *MODVS CONFITENDI ET EXAMINANDI* (.....) under the auspices of Propaganda Fide, Rome, in 1632, together with a grammar of Japanese language (*Ars Grammaticae Iaponice Linguae*) and a Latin-Castilian-Japanese dictionary (*Dictionarium sive Thesauri Linguae Iaponicæ*).

In comparison with the universality of books belonging to such genres as «CATHECHISMVS» and «CONFESSIONARIUM», the rarity value of Collado’s work *NIFFON NO COTOBANI YÔ CONFESION* (.....) is truly remarkable. The confessions of native believers, whose disclosure was (and still is, of course) strictly prohibited, are vividly recorded there⁷.

Our Dominican friar, it seems to me, through the disclosure of such confessions, intended to offer vivid examples useful for the learning of a colloquial/practical Japanese language to his colleague missionaries coming from then on to Land of the Rising Sun.

In this essay I will focus on behaviour and mind characteristic of Japanese Christians (Kirishitan), as observed in their difficulties in the face of Christian persecution. In advancing this consideration, I will make use of some 16th to 17th century Japanese words or idioms as keywords, which, I assume, would describe well such behaviour and mind.

⁷ *Tradução Integral Portuguesa da Obra NIFFON NO COTOBANI YÔ CONFESION, Vo môsu yodai to mata Confesor yori goxensacu mesaruru tame no canyônaru giô giô no coto. Danguixa no monpa no Fr. Diego Collado to yû xucqe Roma ni voite core vo xitate mono nari. 1632*[日本の言葉にようコンヒサンを申す様態と、またコンヘソルより御穿鑿召さるゝ為の肝要なる条々のこと。談義者の門派のフライ・ディエゴ・コリヤドといふ出家、ロマに於いてこれを仕立てものなり。1632年]. *MODVS CONFITENDI ET EXAMINANDI Penitentem Iaponensem, formula suamet lingua Iaponica. Auctore Fr. Didaco Collado Ord. Præd. Roma à die 20. Iunij, anni 1632: As Vozes Vivas dos Cristãos Japoneses sob a Perseguição no Primeiro Quartel do Século XVII*, ed. Hino Hiroshi, Yagi Shoten, 2016 (Japanese title. *Colhado Sangeroku: Kirishitan-jidai Nihonjin Shinto no Nikusei*). Herein Collado’s work in the Tenri Central Library, Nara, is reproduced in facsimile.

1 «Amaye» [甘え]

According to *O Catecismo Pequeno de D. Diogo Ortiz*, both «the blasphemers» and «the sacrilegious» are classified as breakers of the first Commandment. Aside from this doctrine, the tenth confession concerning the first Commandment («Thou shalt have no other gods before me»)⁸ recorded by Collado seems significant to me because it contains a description of a psychological tendency which may characterize (even modern) Japanese people in general. That is «Amaye»[甘え].

We can confirm some entries relating to this word in the monumental *Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam* published by the Society of Jesus (Nagasaki, 1603-04)⁹.

○Amaye [root], Amayuru [present], Amayeta [past]. *Fazerem caricias, ou afagos os mininos aos pays.* (Doing caresses, or cuddling the children to their parents.) ¶ Inuga xujinni amayuru [犬が主人に甘ゆる]. *O cão faz festa, & caricias ao senhor.* (The dog feasts, and caresses the owner.) (f8)

○Amayegoye [甘え声]. *Voz de mininos como chorosa, ou mauiosa pera mouerem a mãy, ou a outros a lhe darem algũa cousa.* (Children's voice as weeping, or sweet given so that someone should bless them with

⁸ «Dai ichi, go ittai no Deus uo vyamai, tattomi tatematçurubexi» [第一, 御一体のデウスを敬ひ, 貴み奉るべし] (NIPPON NO IESVS NO Companhia no Superior yori Christan ni sōtō no cotouari uo teguino mondō no gotoqu xidai uo vacachi tamō DOCTRINA. IESVS NO COMPANHIA NO COLLEgio Amacusa ni voite Superiores no von yuruxa uo cōmuri, core uo fan to nasu mono nari Toqini go xuxce no NENQL 1592 [日本のイエズスのコンパニヤのスペリオルより, キリシタンに相当の理を, 互いの問答の如く次第に分かち給ふドチリイナ。イエズスのコンパニヤのコレジヨ, 天草に於いて, スペリオルスの御評しを被り, これを版と為すものなり。時に御出世の年紀 1592], p.50. I used the edition in Tōyō Bunko – The Oriental Library, Tōkyō); “Ho primeiro mādamento he: «Honrrarás huñ soo Deos»” (*O Catecismo Pequeno de D. Diogo Ortiz, Bispo de Viseu*, Estudo literário e edição crítica de Elsa Maria Branco da Silva, Coleção Obras Clássicas da Literatura Portuguesa 115, Lisboa, Edições Colibri, 2001, pp.180, 178).

⁹ *Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam com a declaraçã em Portugues, feito por alguns padres, e irmãos da Companhia de IESV.* Com licença do Ordinario, e Superiores em Nangasaquí no Collegio de Iapam da Companhia de IESVS. Anno M.D.C.III. *Supplemento deste Vocabulario impresso no mesmo Collegio da Cõpanhia de IESV.* Com a sobredita licença, & aprovação. Anno 1604 (Biblioteca Pública de Évora, Res.108). A facsimile edition, under the title *Évora-bon Nippo Jisho*, was published by Seibundō in 1998, with a commentary of Ōtsuka Mitsunobu.

something.) (E8)

See the confession in question:

“Although neighbouring non-Christians are living at ease, all the evils and misfortunes in this world are happening to us, good Christians. Furthermore Deus deigns to allow the unfortunate Gentiles, who should be punished by Deus and suffer afflictions in hell, to enjoy modest comforts in this world, possibly for the sake of divine mercy. On the other hand, Deus does nothing but give maddening difficulties and torments to us Christians, who could receive perpetual salvation and consolation in another life. Although some Christians claimed that it was His deep and eminent providence or His pious work, I had, once or twice, a lot of complaints against Deus, and lamenting that divine providence was arsy-versy, I was a little angry with Him. Even if I did not do so from the bottom of my heart, I recognize how wrong it was to have tried to treat the highest and the most eminent things of Deus with little devotion, without paying due reverence to them.”¹⁰

«Amaye» is a noun form of the verb «Amayuru»[甘ゆる]. It is often said that this word does not have a single corresponding English word. Japanese psychologist Doi Takeo[土居健郎] (1923-2009) defines the word «Amaye» as ‘the desire to abuse the love of others’, ‘to enjoy the indulgence of others’, and ‘to indulge in the benevolence of others’. He argues that «Amaye» is a key concept for understanding the Japanese mind and psychology. He also affirms that, in Japanese society, parent-child relationship is prolonged and would be reflected in matrimonial relationship, between the teacher and the student, and between the leader and the follower, and that the aforesaid tendency can be clearly observed in the way of life of modern Japanese adults¹¹.

From the 17th century Western Christian perspective, the behaviour declared in the present confession, in which the Kirishitan expresses ‘for one or two times, a lot of complaints against Deus’, ‘and, lamenting that divine providence was arsy-versy’, gets ‘a little angry with Him’, could be interpreted as a moral posture different from that of the Roman Catholic Church. But,

¹⁰ *NIFFON NO COTOBANI YÔ CONFESION* (.....), Roma, 1632, p.22. Every English translation of the confessions and admonitions quoted in this essay is based on the Japanese text elaboratedly by Collado himself.

¹¹ Cf. Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia ed., *Keys to the Japanese Heart and Soul*, Kōdansha International, 1996, pp.93, 95. The original title of Doi Takeo’s long-seller on this subject is “*Amaye*” *no Kōzō* (Kōbundō, 1971), whose English translation is *The Anatomy of Dependence: The Key Analysis of Japanese Behavior*, tra. John Bester, Kōdansha International, 1973.

this attitude, I believe, will be understood in a natural way through the association of the concept above mentioned: the Kirishitan in question, through the open manifestation of their complaints against Deus, wants, in truth, that He might pay more attention and give him more help, trusting that Deus would never fail to forgive him all the sins he has committed. That is to say: the complaints on the part of the Kirishitan are, I assume, nothing short of «Amayegoye» spoken in such a way that he should move Deus, or others (saints, etc) to bless him with something [good]. The present Kirishitan might be called «Amayacaxigo»[甘やかし子], that is defined as ‘a spoiled child, or one raised too gently’¹², but who believes firmly that Deus will tolerate and forgive every bad behaviour committed by him.

2 «Iouai [weak] Christian» [弱いキリシタン]

Some of the enthusiastic Japanese Christians in Nagasaki, in accordance with the teaching «Anguiano mononi yadouo casu coto»[行脚の者に宿を貸すこと] («Provide accomodation to those on pilgrimage») specified in the aforesaid *Doctrina*, did not hesitate to shelter and protect European missionaries as one of the conducts called «Iifino xosa»[慈悲の所作], that is, «works of mercy», but such act was, of course, a life-threatening one.

See the following admonition given by the confessor.

“As for the three oaths not to shelter priests: while it is true that making a vow in the name of Cami and Fotoque is a thing of little importance, nevertheless, not only the Gentiles but also the «Buguiô»[奉行. Magistrate], the «Tono»[殿. Nobles in general] and «Goxosama»[御所様. Aristocrats in high places], it seems to me, will be scandalized and amazed. They will say that those who swore not to give refuge to the «Nanbanbözu»[南蛮坊主]* - Catholic priests coming from Southern Europe via Southern parts of Asia - in the name of, for example, «Atago Fachiman»[愛宕八幡. War deity] and «Amida»[阿彌陀], are no longer Christians. Even if so, such Christians will be only just «Iouai [weak] Christian»[弱いキリシタン]. They also jeer at such subjects for being likely to return easily to their former sect. So I consider dangerous - «Abunai» - to make such vows because it will provoke the said suspicion and scandal among the Gentiles.”¹³

¹² ‘Filho muito mimozo, ou criado cõ muito mimo, & com demasiada bradura’ (*Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam*, f8).

¹³ *NIFON NO COTOBANI YÔ CONFESION* (.....), p.62.

*Living quarters used by monks in a Buddhist temple are called «Sōbō». Originally «Bōzu» means a principal monk of «Sōbō», but, this word is not, needless to say, related with Buddhist priest in this context.

The meaning of the Japanese expression «Iouai Christian» - weak Christian -, however simple it may seem, should be rather difficult to grasp, particularly from a Western/Christian perspective that seeks to distinguish ‘good’ from ‘evil’, without taking into consideration the trapped situation in which the Japanese Christians found themselves in the first half of the 17th century. Needless to say, the overwhelming majority of them could not help trampling «Fumiye» [踏み絵] and manifesting their ‘willingness’ to abandon their faith. They had no choice but to do so in order to avoid being executed.¹⁴

In Collado’s work, the admonitions on the part of the priest do not always correspond to every confession made by the believers, but as for the seventh confession concerning the first Commandment (see below), we can see the admonition given by the priest to the Kirishitan. The confessor, needless to say, admonishes his disciple to conduct himself/herself like a «Tçuioi [strong] Christian» [強い キリシタン].

¹⁴ As for a typical attitude of such «Iouai Christian» at that time, I cannot find another better example than the behaviour of Kichijirō, who plays a subordinate role in the masterpiece *Chinmoku* (*Silence*) written by a Japanese Catholic novelist Endō Shūsaku [遠藤周作] (1923-96), published by Shinchōsha in 1966. Kichijirō offered Father Sebastião Rodrigo, protagonist of the novel (attributed to Father Giuseppe Chiara, S.J), various conveniences and aids so that Rodrigo could survive in a hidden corner of Kyūshū island, but in the end he sold Rodrigo, just as Judas had done so to Jesus Christ, denouncing the place where he was to the shogunate authorities, because of having been blinded by the pecuniary prize to be given to informers. Kichijirō, however, still claims not to have given up his faith and appears repeatedly in the prison where Rodrigo is detained, so as to ask him to hear the confession.

On an occasion Kichijirō, confessing to have stepped on «Fumiye» [踏み絵] and to have recognized the strong belief of the former comrades already martyred, expresses his naked feelings in his native dialect, in a voice so loud that the priest might listen well to him: ‘That’s right, anyway, I am a Yowai Christian. I have, however, my own reason. One who stepped on «Fumiye» also one’s own reason. Do you think I stepped on it willingly? My foot, that stepped on it, hurts. Ah! This foot really hurts. Reverend Deus, though He made me as a weak man, deigns to order me to imitate a strong believer. It is neither reasonable nor just!’ (*Chinmoku*, Shinchō Bunko, 1981, pp.178-179 et seq.)

“As regards your having made «Iūnen», that is, having invoked the name «Amida» ten times in a temple of the Gentiles, I admonish you to declare that you are a true Christian if you visit such a place again, and to inform them [other Gentiles] that you are not going or accompanying to such a temple from now on. I also admonish you never again to praise Camis and Fotoques, even if advised to do so, and to declare to the Gentiles that only the doctrine of «fon no Deus»[本のデウス], namely, that of the authentic Deus is good par excellence.¹⁵

The Japanese Christendom, which reached their peak in terms of conversions at the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century, was made to decline, as a result of severe crackdowns by the Tokugawa Shogunate. The Shogunate, it seems to me, did not pursue deeply their inner beliefs as long as the believers stated that they would abandon Christian faith - namely, «Corobu», whose literal translation is «fall» - even superficially or in a disguised manner. One reason why the Christian Century in Japan ended with a relatively small amount of bloodshed could be explained by the fact that the majority of them were «Iouai Christian», namely, Christians who did neither pursue the principles of Catholic faith in a dogmatic way, nor did obey blindly, for example, the following two interrogations from the confessor, concerning the first Commandment of Moses.

“When you were asked whether you were a Christian or not, have you denied your faith in words, or have you performed any acts of gentile nature such as hanging [on your neck] «Iuzu»[数珠] - prayer beads - or a amulet used by Gentiles, lest you should reveal yourself as a Christian? Such acts, if not done from the bottom of your heart, do not necessarily mean losing your faith, but even so, you must confess them, because they constitute sin.”¹⁶

¹⁵ *NIFON NO COTOBANI YŌ CONFESION* (.....), pp.58, 60.

¹⁶ 「たとひ心中にはキリシタンをすてずとも、或は人よりキリシタンなりや否やと問われたらん時、言葉を以てちんじ、或はキリシタンにあらずと顯さん為にゼンチョの数珠・守りなどを掛け、其外ゼンチョの行ひをなしたりや否や。此等の儀は真実よりせざれば、ヒイデスをうしなはする儀にはあらざれども、科なれば、コンヒサンに申すべし」(*SALVATOR MINDI: CONFESSIOARIVM // IN COLLEGIO IAPONICO SOCIETATIS IESV. Cum facultate Superiorum // ANNO. M.D.XCVIII*). The only copy of this book is in the Biblioteca Casanatense, Roma. The facsimile edition was published by Yūshōdō in 1978, with a commentary of Ebisawa Arimichi. Printed in Japanese cursive-styled handwriting, this book may be called a “manual”

“When misfortune or disaster happened to you, or took place something that did not please you, have you felt anger and complaints against Deus, or have you doubted that Deus would deign to see to it that everything would be all right?”¹⁷

Concerning whether or not Japanese Christians could participate in the construction of pagan temples and Christians servants could attend Buddhist funeral with their Gentile masters, the Dominican monks showed their followers a more rigorous and doctrinal attitude than the Jesuit priests, who made more realistic decisions, relying principally on Thomas Aquinas’ (Dominican!) theological theory¹⁸.

A typical example of «Iouai Christian» can be seen in the sixth confession concerning the first Commandment:

“On another occasion, the following happened: when Goxosama [御所様. Tokugawa Ieyasu or Tokugawa Hidetada] deigned to win the war against the imperial enemy [Toyotomi family], and thought that he should attribute it to the providential help of Camis and Fotoques, deciding to found some sumptuous temples in Atago [愛宕] and Fachiman [八幡]. Goxosama ordered that mandatory services relating to the construction of temples should be distributed among his Buguiö [奉行. Magistrate], Daiquanxu [代官衆. Representatives] and Fiacuxö [百姓. Peasantry] according to the possibility of each one. I tried to employ a Gentile to avoid participating in the construction of such temples, creating a ruse, by paying a fee, to get him to attend those services. However, I did not have the courage to ask him directly and I finally participated two or three times in these tasks together with the Gentiles, even though I had no desire to adore Camis and Fotoques. It was a subterfuge so as not to fall into the shogun’s disgrace. Finally, full of terror

compiled by Jesuit priests in order that they could induce their disciples, in an efficient way, to go to confession. Cf. Matsuoka Kōji, “Keichō 3 Nen Ban *SALVATOR MUNDI* no Honbun to Sakuin” in *Jōchi Daigaku Kokubungaku Ronshū*, VI, 1973)

¹⁷ 「身上に、悪事・さいなん出来し、或は心にまかせざる事ある時、デウスを恨み奉り、或は万事を治めりからひ給ふ事なきかと疑ひたりや」 (*ibid.*)

¹⁸ Cf. Tradução Integral Portuguesa da Obra *NIFFON NO COTOBANI YÔ CONFESION* (.....), pp.296-302. Several Dominican and Jesuit sources on this issue are cited and discussed there.

and concern, I was led to participate in the construction of Gentile temples, fearing that it would be an act strictly prohibited for us Christians.”¹⁹

A Japanese verb «Corobu» -‘fall’- had the metaphorical meaning of ‘apostatize’ or ‘abandon/deny one’s faith’ in the later stages of the Christian Century of Japan. This fact, intriguingly, can be confirmed by the following episode as seen in a Portuguese historical/literary source, which marks the tragic end of the history of Japan-Portugal relations²⁰.

According to *Relação* written by the Jesuit Father António Cardim, the shogunate authorities in Nagasaki, before executing most of the mission members, advised them to renounce the Christian faith, telling them that their lives would be spared if they accepted the seductive offer of apostasy. The author further informs us that the «Iurubaças» - interpreters - asked them if there was anyone who wanted to ‘fall’ and asserted that the shogun [Tokugawa Iemitsu] would spare his life. A young soldier named Bento de Lima Cardoso replied decidedly to one «Iurubaça» with mockery and derision: ‘Fall? If you decapitate me, then my body will irresistibly «fall» (‘cair? he força caya o corpo, quando me cortarem a cabeça’).

Another example of «Iouai Christian» can be seen in the fifth confession concerning the first Commandment:

“To carry out the ordination issued by his excellency - xogun [Tokugawa Hidetada] -, his Buguiö [奉行. Magistrate] , came here recently, from Meaco [Miyako]. For better or for worse, he forced us to ‘fall’ - to deny the Christian faith -, obligin]g us to sign a paper attesting to our apostasy and to abandon the Christian way of life. Finally, the Buguiö told us that [he would not care about the internal conservation of our belief and] it would be enough to declare ourselves ‘fallen’ - apostate - only superficially, so we promised to ‘fall’ pretendedly so as to save the lives, at least, of our wives and

¹⁹ *NIFFON NO COTOBANI YÔ CONFESION* (.....), p.20.

²⁰ *Relação da gloriosa morte de quatro Embaixadores Portuguezes, da Cidade de Macao, com sincoenta, & sete Christãos de sua companhia, degolados todos pella fee de Christo em Nangasaqui, cidade do Iappaõ, a tres de Agosto de 1640. Com todas as circunstancias de sua Embaixada, tirada de informações verdadeiras, & testemunhas de vista. Pello Padre Antonio Cardim da Companhia de IESV Procurador geral da Prouincia de Iappaõ. Em Lisboa. Com todas as licenças necessarias. Na officina de Lourenço Anuers. Anno de 1643 (Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Res.327).*

children.’²¹

See also the following dialogue between the confessor and the Kirishitan relating to the confession above cited:

“Question: Those who have ‘fallen’ («Corobu»)²², that is, have denied their Faith, even superficially, must unfailingly retract the word spoken before. Have you done it?»²³

“Answer: Not yet, Father. That is what saddened me greatly. Right after the Buguiö destroyed the things of Christendom, he left for Cami - Miyako -, so, so far, I have been doing nothing. Please give me your admonition.»²⁴

“Question & Admonition: Where is a diary recording what the Buguiö did? If he has already gone back with it, you must immediately send him a letter or a messenger informing him that you intend to retract your previous word. Only after your act is known, will your family members and neighbours be convinced that you have amended and returned to being a true Christian. Do not forget to do it without fail.»²⁵

3 «Xiriumani noru» [尻馬に乗る]

I found an interesting observation in a Japanese travel guide, which says, explaining the importance of banal conversation among Japanese: ‘In conversation in general, avoid conflict and refrain from humiliating someone. For Japanese people, the objective of conversation is not to exchange ideas, but only to create a relationship’²⁶.

In contrast to Westerners, who have valued from ancient times «Rhetoric» as a way to persuade others, along with «Grammar» and «Logics», the Japanese have not always considered speaking eloquently as a good thing, nor have they been trained to hone their eloquence, and, on the contrary, people who speak too much, despidely called «Cuchitataqi» [口叩き], were generally treated as

²¹ *NIFFON NO COTOBANI YÔ CONFESION* (.....), p.18.

²² Corobi [転云ひ], Corobu [転云ぶ], Corôda [転云だ]. *Cair*. Dôdo corobu [どうと転云ぶ]. *Cair dando baque, ou fazendo estrôdo* (*Vocabulário da Lingoa de Iapam*, f.59). No metaphorical meaning can be seen here.

²³ *NIFFON NO COTOBANI YÔ CONFESION* (.....), p.18.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *American Express Guide: Japão*, Porto, Livraria Civilização Editora, 2001, p.366.

unreliable.²⁷

See the following confessions in which the respective Kirishitan behaved in such a manner as the Portuguese funny saying «Maria vai com as outras», that is, «Someone following blindly the lead of others».

The seventh confession concerning the first Commandment:

“When I stayed for a long time in a house of a Gentile to carry out legal business relating to the succession of an inheritance, so as not to reveal myself as a Christian to the owner of the house and to his neighbours, I visited a chapel of Gentiles accompanying them, and I did, following them, «Iūnen»[十念], that is, I invoked the name of Amida ten times. When they praised the things of Camis and Fotoques, I committed a terrible sin of agreeing and consenting, shaking my head, and said: ‘You have so good a reason.’ I do not remember how many times I committed such a sin, but I think I have done similar things approximately twenty to thirty times.”²⁸

²⁷ This tendency may be related with a Zen philosophy that the doctrine’s essence has to be acquired through discipline and transmitted tacitly from the master to the pupil [«Ishin denshin» 以心伝心], not in written/verbal communication [«Furyū monji» 不立文字].

A Zen priest named Ryōkan[良寛](1758-1831), who appeared in the late Edo period, shows us the following “troublesome” acts, enumerating them as a commandment to himself (Ryōkan’s calligraphy entitled *Monoyūmi* [In uttering something. ものいふこと] reproduced by Ryōkan Memorial Museum, Izumozaki, Niigata).

1. Not to be talkative; 2. Not to quarrel; 3. Not to utter something by enumerating things one by one; 4. Not to say a boring joke; 5. Not to play a prank on somebody; 6. Not to be a poor storyteller; 7. Not to talk a story with a lot of additional words; 8. Not to be so illustrative in conversation; 9. Not to mention a preamble too long; 10. Not to explain too detailedly.

The creation of the Japanese word, which expresses the “art” of speaking one’s thoughts and opinions in a clear/logical manner towards an audience, was only realized by Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901), an Enlightenment thinker and educator in the Meiji era. Concerning the laborious invention of the word in question, that is, «Enzetsu»[演舌 or 演説], without using the word «Speech» as it is in English, see *Meiji Taishō Shingo Zokugo Jiten: shinsō-ban*, ed. Kabashima Tadao et al., Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 1996, p.49.

²⁸ *NIFFONNOCOTOBANIYŌCONFESION*(.....), p.20.

The fourth confession concerning the fourth Commandment («Honour thy father and thy mother»)²⁹:

“I heard approximately four times my companions criticize the way of life of a reverend priest. In spite of that, I did not reprimand them, but rather allowed them to do so and even spoke several things that would tarnish his honour. It is true that they knew his way of life, which was to be reprimanded, but I was wrong, I admit, in making it a topic of our banal conversation, and this behaviour was bad, given the fact that the priest is a most worthy representative of Deus.”³⁰

Regarding the behaviour above described of the Kirishitan, it might be interpreted so naturally through a metaphorical meaning of the expression «Xiriuma ni noru», whose explanation can be seen in *Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam*: «Cauaigar nas âcas do caualo indo outro na sella. (Straddling a horse’s haunches, clinging firmly to another sitting on the saddle.) ¶ *Item, per met.* Fitono cotobano xiriuriani noru» [人の言葉の尻馬に乗る]. *Repetir sem proposito o que [diz] o outro.* (Repeating without purpose what another one says.)» (f.306).

The Kirishitan in question tried unconsciously to avoid unnecessary dispute or quarrel - that is, «Guiron» [議論], whose definition can be seen in *Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam*: «Arasoi, ronzuru [争ひ, 論ずる]. *Disputa*» (f.119)-with those around him, just like a person [lacking in spirit of independence] who straddles a horse’s haunches, clinging firmly to another sitting on the saddle, in order that, or course, he might not be shaken off the horse.

Conclusion

While translating into Portuguese Collado’s *NIFFON NO COTOBANI YÔ CONFESION* (.....), I received valuable comments from my Portuguese colleagues/collaborators, as regards certain behaviours, manners, habits, thinking styles and so on of Japanese believers as observed in the present book, so I thought it interesting to explain their behaving/thinking patterns with the help of 16th century Japanese words/idioms and sayings that seemed useful in interpreting those patterns, some of which might be evocative of the so-called “Japaneseness”.

²⁹ «Daixi, nangi no bumō ni cōcō subexi» [第四, 汝の父母に孝行すべし] (*NIPPON NO IESVS no Companhia no Superior yori Christan ni sōtō no cotouari uo tagaino mondō no gotoqu.xidai uo vacachi tamō DOCTRINA*, p.50); «Ho quarto mandamento he: “Hōra teu padre e madre”» (*O Catecismo Pequeno de D. Diogo Ortiz*, p.186).

³⁰ *NIFFON NO COTOBANI YÔ CONFESION* (.....), p.32.

I have considered several vivid voices of Japanese Kirishitan through their confessions collected by Diego Collado, O.P. in the 1620s. The confessor sometimes imposes on his disciples not a few admonitions which are virtually impossible to attain (for example, “Question & Admonition” as translated above. See the note 25) and demands that they should behave as «Tçuiioi [strong] Christian» in most cases.

In this essay, we have considered several behaving/thinking styles of Japanese believers belonging to the category of «Iouai [weak] Christian». There might be a doctrinal/dogmatic argument that a Kirishitan who disobeys, for example, any one of all the interrogations envisioned by Jesuit Fathers in the aforesaid *SALVATOR MVNDI: CONFESSIO NARIVM*, can no longer be called a true/authentic Christian.³¹ Undoubtedly, however, the «Iouai Christian», who constituted the overwhelming majority of Japanese Christendom, made every possible effort to maintain and respect their Christian way of life, despite repeated religious mistakes and misconducts, having made at the same time a precious contribution to the creation of a new species of Catholicism.

³¹ All the interrogations envisioned by the Jesuits towards the Japanese Kirishitan, regarding the Ten Commandments and Seven Mortal Sins have been translated into Portuguese by Hino Hiroshi. Cf. *Tradução Integral Portuguesa da Obra NIFFON NO COTOBANI YÔ CONFESION*, *op.cit.*, Apêndice 1, pp.627-671.

V Acacixi ga nhòbò mo, còdomo mo voia mo mòchi maraxita mono de vògiaru sò de gozarèba xitomè tovoiofo nacachigote i marafuru. Sono xifai va foré ga igi ga varùte cò domo ca nhòbò ni ca arui va iqen arui va xeccan o cùvairu tòqi are ie coràierareide nàqi faqèbi curuvàre marafuru niotte de gozaru. màta nhòbo fufu no chiguiiri ni fènqi xeraruru tòqi mò sadamète nuxi ga fàfa no ijtçugè de arò to fufiò xite foré demo iccò xicari marasuru. màta miga fatachi no mufucò vòba jèn àcu nuxi no iàdo ni tomèò to xeraruru ni tçuite, vaga iitçucuru xigòto uò fimaga nòte xènu tòqi va, faru tote va qicoienu còto gia to mòvite tete ni xitågavànu, buxitçugena cotòmo xicari, màta amari nàgaraiuru ano tòxi iori ga faio xine caxi! to fai fai xintei iori zonji maraxita. goròcùdo mo fore to caracòte, giqini accò vo fàqi, cāguédemo ni fando foxiri sono coto sanzani fàtatorì naxi maraxite, tçuini fore càra futa tçuqi mitçuqi no aida ni sòre to cotòbamo cavaxi maraxenande gozatta. màta megia mòno to xichi fāchido murini fara vo tātete, ichinidò va tçura vo vchi, ma ichido va bō de taraq, futātābi mo qètavoxi āxide vòxi funde quainin no mòno narèba, co vo voròsaxe maraxitā. Sono iie màta rōtai no uoia xū ni taixite burei ni fore no, qi ni cacātata fēnji vo mōdoxi maraxita, màta iqitè gozaru còto mi ni mutçucaxu zonjite, tçuideni mo sono zaišò no iūzūru tameni, xinò to nozomi maraxitā ga ichido bacāri xinjit càra de gozātta ni, nocori ua cuchi bacari de gozātta.

Tòqi doqi mo jàcu fai mòno to iori òte, xucurò, finnin, fusòcu naru mòno uo meri fšò xi, sòreni uiamai, cu uāieuzuru jifi no cauāri ni tāda foxiri azaqeri bacari caqe maraxita.

Mata miga xaqiò to dai jinai còto ni tçuite ni fando caracòte fucòxi no aida ni sòre to xicari, nanica qizzuca, qēga, uāzauj ni auare caxi! to nozomi maraxitā ga nido de gozātta: ichido ua xincòn càra nani nari tomò cocorozā