

FUSŌ GOBUSSHIN RON

- ENGLISH TRANSLATION -

- Fascicle 1 -

Translation

Treatise on Japan's Protecting Buddha's and Gods - Preface.

Anciently, the Great Priest Furi Qisong¹ (1007-1072) hid himself near the West Lake for thirty years. Broadly he perused the instructions from Lu², widely he searched the Indian scriptures, and he wrote down [his findings] in *Fujiaobian* 輔教編 ("Compilation in aid of the Teaching") and *Fei Han* 非韓³ ("Refuting Han [Yu]"), thirty chapters in all. He came to the aid of the teachings of Śākya[muni, which] were already on the verge of collapsing.

I was forced to withdraw⁴ to the village Nanmoku,⁵ [where] I

¹ Song Mingjiao *dashi* is the Chinese priest Furi Qisong 佛日契嵩, a.k.a. Mingjiao-dashi. (N.B. The Japanese pronunciation of the name 契嵩 is "Kaisū.") Amongst other things, he was an exponent of the *sanjiao heyi* 三教合一 ("Unity of the Three Teachings"). *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten* lists six titles under his name.

² The words "the instructions of Lu" are evidently opposed to the words "Indian scriptures," i.e. Buddhist texts. The same applies to the seven *loci* one can find through the "SAT Daizōkyō Text Database"; here, too, the words are opposed to *zhufen* 竺墳, (six times) and *shidian* 釋典 (one time). The term evidently refers to the Confucian corpus (perhaps to *Lunyu*?). The compound is not listed in Morohashi,

³ Both in *Fujiaobian* (3 fasc.) and in *Fei Han*, Qisong takes a non-exclusivist position towards Confucianism and Taoism. N.B. For the change of the characters in the titles, see *Honkoku*, note 1.

⁴ The point seems to be that Chōon creates a parallel between Qisong, who went to live on the West Lake and studied, and Chōon himself, who also went to live in the countryside in order to study. The wording, both the auxiliary 令 and the verb *nogareru* ("to evade, to escape, to run off"), is intriguing. It might be interpreted as a reference to the banishment to which Chōon was sentenced because of his involvement in the publication of *Taisei-kyō*. The facts are as follows: it was under the name of Chōon Dōkai (1628-1695) that *Taisei-kyō* was published in 1679. After the *bakufu* had decided to acknowledge the complaint of the Ise Shrine that *Taisei-kyō* was a fraudulent text, Chōon was placed under house arrest in the Kōsaiji 広濟寺 in Tatebayashi, by way of punishment. The Kōsaiji had been founded for him in 1669 by the future shogun, Tokugawa Tsunayoshi. His arrest lasted only three months, from the 10th month until the 8th day of the 12th month of Tenna 2 (1682). The following year, Chōon travelled the country, visiting such Shōtoku-related places as the Shitennōji in Osaka and the Hōryūji in Nara. In the 5th month of the same year, Tsunayoshi's successor as lord of the fief Tatebayashi died, so the fief was abolished. Having lost his patrons, Chōon wanted to leave the Kōsaiji and go elsewhere; eventually, he settled for the Fudōji in Kōzuke (see next note). (Based on *Ōbaku bunka jinmei jiten*, s.v. "Chōon Dokai.") According to Chōon's biography *Kurotaki Chōon oshō nenpu* 黒滝潮音和尚年譜, Chōon had been in the Kurotaki region before, in 1675; both then and at this occasion, he was invited by local patrons to come to Kurotaki.

read [the writings of] Mr. Hayashi [Razan]. (0:1b) [I concluded that] overtly he supported the Way of the Gods (*Shintō*), but that secretly he suppressed the Practice of the [Way of the] Gods (*Shinpō*).⁶ In all openness he criticised⁷ Buddhism and made it out to be a heterodox theory. Thus, I could not suffer to remain silent, and I wrote this treatise. I hope that those men who have an interest in the gods and Buddha's will read it, will declaim it. What is correct and what is false is as easily distinguished as a Chinese and a barbarian in the clear

See the entry in *Nenpu* for 1683: 潮音禪師が天和三年(1683)の秋、館林の萬徳山を辞して黒瀧山に隠棲したが、それには黒瀧山の高源和尚や桐淵心源居士などの強い招請があったからで、潮音禪師は、年譜に「師、曾って官寺を厭うの志あり、官府に聞きて萬徳を辞す。始め補陀に入らんと欲す・・・」。

⁵ Chōon Dōkai's literary pseudonym was Nanboku Shōfu 南牧樵夫; he left a *Nanboku shōfu hyakugin shū* 南牧樵夫百吟集 (*batsu* of Genroku 7, 1694; 4 copies of the printed edition survive). Nanmoku (a different pronunciation of the same characters) also represents the place name Nanmoku-mura, Kanra-gun 甘楽郡, Kōzuke Province (Gunma-ken). In Tenna 3/7/1 (1683), Chōon became the new abbot (*shinsan* 晉山; *Bukkyōgo Daijiten* p. 779) of Kurotakiyama Fudōji 黒瀧山不動寺 in this village. It remained his residence until his death, though he continued to travel widely. In the winter of Jōkyō 5 (1688), his patrons and disciples asked him to make the Fudōji the chief temple of his school 潮音派下の本山 and a 開法道場. Chōon consented, and on the 4th day of the 10th month he conducted a ceremony for the opening of the hall 開堂を行う. (Based on *Ōbaku bunka jinmei jiten* s.v. "Chōon Dokai.")

⁶ Chōon's criticism is, apparently, that Razan acknowledged Shinto, but then interpreted it as Confucianism in another guise. A similar distinction between 道 and 法 is made in the second preface of *Taisei-kyō* (edn of 1679, *Jo* 22b; edn ZST vol. 1, p. 14). Here, 道 is identified as the Confucian Way, and 法, as the three Japanese Shinto Sects: 「神者儒宗雖道焉、唯標兩氣之靈而已、不知其躬體常鎮、或議時現時滅、或議人魂凝鬼。吾神不然、三躬五品之靈鎮、而居效驗靈感極、不可與彼類說。法是通三法、以別謂我三部。宗源摠謂三才五鎮、齋元別謂三璽三持、靈宗通謂一性五心、為吾道學元也、至爰精盡矣。」 - "Although the Confucian School does talk about gods, it only highlights the spirituality of the two *qi* (= Yin and Yang). It does not know that the gods' bodies are eternally at rest (*tokoshie ni shizumarimasu*). [The Confucians] either discuss [the fact that the gods] appear one moment and disappear the next, or that human souls coagulate into spirits. Our gods are not like that. The spirituality of their three bodies and five grades is at rest, and they are at the apex of effectivity and spirituality. You cannot discuss them as similar in kind to [those Confucian gods]. Law (*norī*) corresponds to the Three Laws, so, specifically, to our Three Categories. The Sōgen Sect comprehensively speaks of the three talents and the five pillars (*yo no naka no i-shizumari*). The Saigen Sect specifically speaks of the three seals and the three keepers. The Reisō Sect comprehensively speaks of the single nature and the five hearts. These are the origin of our learning of the Way. When it reaches this point the purity culminates." Not the clearest of texts, but it shows that 法 in contexts like these specifically refers to the three Shinto sects Chōon, too, distinguishes.

⁷ In *wenyan* the character 關 is glossed as "to open" or "to avoid, to pass by," but in later stages of Chinese the character can also mean "to oppose and turn down." Cf. also the compound 關異, which is the title of a treatise by Yamazaki Ansai 山崎闇齋 (1618-1682).

mirror on the dais.⁸ How, therefore, could [this treatise] *not* be of some small help⁹ to these two teachings (*i.e.* Shinto and Buddhism)?

The time is Jōkyō 4, Junior of Fire & Hare.

(To An'ei 4, eighty-nine years have gone by.)¹⁰

The mountain priest Chō[on] from the Black Fall [monastery] wrote this preface himself.

⁸ The four characters 當臺明鏡 appear in *Fuguo Yuanwu chanshi Biyanlu* 佛果圓悟禪師碧巖錄 (T2003; TZ vol. 48, p. 169a, line 15). As this is a *kōan*, it does not really clarify what Chōkai is trying to say. The context is as follows: 「垂示云。魚行水濁。鳥飛毛落。明辨主賓。洞分緇素。直似當臺明鏡。掌內明珠。漢現胡來。聲彰色顯。且道爲什麼如此。試舉看。」. The English translation (*The Blue Cliff Record*, Thomas Cleary, transl., BDK English Tripitaka 75, Berkeley, Cal.: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 1998; p. 159) just says: "When fish swim through the water is disturbed; when birds fly by feathers fall. Clearly discriminating host and guest, penetratingly distinguishing initiate and outsider, one is like a clear mirror, like a bright pearl. When a native comes a native is reflected; when a foreigner comes a foreigner is reflected. The sound is obvious; the form is evident. But why is it so?" A more precise translation of the relevant sentences, based on the *yomikudashi* given in *Hekigan-roku* (beginning of section 29; see Iwanami Bunko edn, vol. 1, p. 329) would be is: "It is exactly like the clear mirror in the tower, the clear jewel in the palm of the hand. The Chinese appear in it, and the barbarians come. Their voices are clear and their appearance distinct. Well, tell me why it is like this. Try to give me [an answer]."

⁹ The compound 小補 occurs in *Mengzi* 7A13; "... to mend in a small way" is how Legge translates it. Cf. *Honkoku*, note 2.

¹⁰ Jōkyō 4 corresponds to 1687, and An'ei 4, to 1775.

(1:1a)

Treatise on Japan's Protecting Buddha's and Gods - Fascicle 1.

Composed by the priest Chōon, Succeeding¹¹ Abbot of the Black Fall (Kurotaki) [Fudōji Monastery] in Kōzuke.

In the "Biography of Prince Stable Door"¹² in his [*Honchō*] *jinja kō* ("Essay on the shrines of our country") (fifth [fascicle], third [page] right [side]), Mr Hayashi says: "When I examined Crown Prince Shōtoku, I made an extract of what is recorded in *Nihon shoki*, which is as above. Someone asked: 'In the biography of Yunju Daoying in *Chuandenglu*¹³ it is said of Crown Prince Shōtoku, that "The great Abbot Huisi of the Southern Peak¹⁴ was reborn in Japan and became king." Ganjin,¹⁵ too, said: "I had heard that Lord [Hui]si of the Southern Peak was reborn in Japan and spread the Law of the Buddha. I knew about Crown Prince Shōtoku [before I came to Japan]." Moreover, he said: 'All biographies of the Crown Prince that are about in the world mention this incident, but I still do not know whether it really was the

¹¹ Chōon used a similar reference to himself in his *Bensaiten sangyō ryakusho* 辨財天三經略疏, which also dates from Jōkyō 4 (1687). Since Chōon clearly was the founder and first abbot of the Kurotaki Fudōji temple, it is not clear what the word "succeeding" implies.

¹² This is Prince Shōtoku (574-622). He had received this sobriquet because his mother was delivered of him in front of the stable. The story is told in *Nihon shoki* under Suiko 1/4/10; see Aston, *Nihon shoki* vol. 2. p. 122.

¹³ *Jingde chuandenglu* 景德傳燈錄 ("Records of the Transmission of the Lamp of the Jingde Era," 1004-1007; 30 fasc.; T2076), was composed by the monk Yong'an Daoyuan 永安道原 (dates unknown), who finished the work in 1004. At the command of the emperor, the text was then polished (?) by the Hanlin 翰林 scholar Yang Yi 楊億 (974-1020). Yunju Daoying 雲居道膺 (830-902) was a Chinese Zen priest; his biography is in *Chuandenglu*, TZ vol. 51, pp. 334-336.

¹⁴ Nanyue Huisi 南岳慧思 (515-577) was the second patriarch of the Tiantai (J. Tendai) School. Note, that Huisi died after Shōtoku had been born. Cf. *infra*, note 127.

¹⁵ Ganjin 鑑真 (688-763) was a Chinese priest who travelled to Japan and became the founder of the Japanese *Ritsu* (*vinaya*) School. He founded the Tōshōdaiji 唐招提寺 in Nara in 759. The present phrase is a quotation from Ganjin's biography in *Genkō shakusho* 1:10a-b. See our *Jinja-kō bengi*, *Honkoku*, note 134, for further details.

case, or not?'

"[I, Razan] answered: 'The theory of rebirth (1:1b) is something the Buddhists talk about. It is not something of which we Confucians particularly [like to] speak. Nevertheless, the cases of Yang Hu and Yuanze¹⁶ are reported in the histories and biographies, and these we cannot gloss over.¹⁷ We have [our own] relevant theory. [It says that] when men are born, they all experience the influence of Heaven and Earth, Yin and Yang. The newly born breathe spontaneously, and those who die, spontaneously stop [breathing]. You may compare it to 'the flowing river that, day and night, never lets up'¹⁸; there never is an interruption of even one breath. This year's spring is not last year's spring. The flowers at the top of the tree are not flowers that return to the root.

"In the *Yijing* it says: '[The Sage] traces things to their beginning, and follows them to their end; thus he knows what can be said about death and life.'¹⁹ When you look at it from this perspective, it cannot be the case that a man comes to life again, once he has died. Nevertheless, [the relative speed of] the gathering and dispersing [of

¹⁶ Yang Hu 羊祜 was a military official of the Jin. As a child, he remembered things from his former life (biography in *Jin shu* 34; cf. Mor. X: 28425-59/60). The priest Yuanze 圓澤 (Tang) pledged his friend Li Yuan 李源 that in the next life they would meet again at a specific place. Twelve years later he was reborn, and the two friends met again. The story is reported in *Langye daizui bian* 瑯琊代醉編 36; cf. Mor. III: 4819-128. *Langye daizui bian* (40 fasc.) was compiled by Zhang Dingsi 張鼎思 (Ming). It is a commonplace book in which he notes down observations about the classics and histories; cf. Mor. VII: 21163-12.

¹⁷ *Ad hoc* translation of 誣. The best definition of this character/word is given by Hirose Tansō 廣瀨淡窓 in his *Yakugen* 『約言』 (*Tansō zenshū* vol. 2 [Hida-gun Kyōikukai: Ōita, 1926], p. 18): 「所能知而不知、是謂愚。所不能知而知、是謂誣。」 - "When one can know something and doesn't, this is called stupidity. When one cannot know something and [pretends to] know it, this is called deceit (pretension)."

¹⁸ This is a reference to *Lunyu* 9.17: 「子在川上、曰、『逝者如斯夫。不舍晝夜。』」。Legge translates: "The Master standing by a stream, said, 'It passes on just like this, never ceasing day and night.'" Most commentators agree that the stream is a metaphor of human life.

¹⁹ Quotation from *Yijing*, *Xicizhuan* I (HY Index, p. 40a-b). The translation is Legge's.

Qi] is rather like smoke still casting gloom, while the fire has just died out. (1:2a) Hence, we have the sensation of ghosts and spirits, the manifestations of abandoned ghosts and of spiritual [beings],²⁰ possession by the gods,²¹ and the circulation of the two human souls.²² In the end, while [these manifestations all] come forth out of the Great Void, there is no place where they do not reach.²³ But what traces will remain? [Eventually, none.] How, then, could a man, having died, be entrusted again to a [new mother's] womb? The Buddha's theory of the Three Worlds [maintains] that present results [stem from] former causes, and that present causes [will lead to] future results. Although in essence it comes down to making people cultivate goodness and desist from evil, vulgar fools and common thickheads, not realizing this intent [of the Buddha], are afraid and in doubt, and in the end conclude that the Three Worlds really exist. They are surely possessed by foxes; that is all there is to it.²⁴

"Well now, at such occasions as when one is sacrificing to one's ancestors, one maintains perfect sincerity. Then, [the ancestral spirits]

²⁰ Because the compound 厲靈 is not attested in the dictionaries, we have translated the two characters separately.

²¹ In Mor. VIII: 26997-106, one of the glosses given of the compound 精爽 is 神 and 明. In this sense, therefore, the word refers to beings that are composed of *Qi* having these qualities ("unfathomable, bright, fresh, crisp, refined"), i.e. "spirits, deities."

²² The two human souls are the hun 魂 (J. kon) and bo 魄 (J. haku); see Mor. XII: 45787-28.

²³ The argument here is that everything consists of *Qi*. Similarly to fire and smoke, something still lingers on for some time after the body has died. This "something" is the ghosts, gods, and spirits, who consist of the *Qi* of the disintegrating body. For some time, they retain a measure of individuality, but eventually they, too, will disperse and join the undifferentiated whole of *Qi*, which is the Great Void (*taixu*).

²⁴ *Yako* ("wild foxes") is a term denoting possession, which, after all, is what foxes do. The single *locus* quoted in Morohashi is in *Nihon gaishi* 日本外史 (1829), but the expression '必野狐也' can already be found in *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 ("Extensive records of the Taiping Era"), fasc. 447. This is a collection of stories compiled under the editorship of Li Fang 李昉 (925-96) and finished in 978. *Yako* is also a separate lemma in *Vocabulario*, where we find the expression *yako no shin wo motta hito*.

'will be all over'; it will be as if one sees them, 'as if they are present.'²⁵ It is, for example, like planting the seed of a plum and obtaining a plum tree, or obtaining an apricot tree, when one has planted an apricot stone. (1:2b) This is how it is with things. Therefore, with man, too, it is like this. Methinks, this is the [innate] logic of *Qi* as a whole. Therefore, it is said: 'If it is not a spirit of your own [kind], it is flattery to sacrifice to it.'²⁶ 〈The above is the complete text of Mr Hayashi.²⁷〉

In his "Biography of [Prince] Stable Door" 〈the underneath is a summary of fascicle 6, section 7 and following〉, Mr Hayashi explains that there is no such thing as rebirth and *karma*. When we come to his rendering [of the legend] of the Valley of the High Priest,²⁸ however, he argues that the spirits of dead men become *tengu*. Among the emperors of successive generations [he mentions] Sanuki-no-in, Go-Toba-no-in, and Go-Daigo-no-in, and among the Buddhist priests, Dengyō, Kōbō, Jikaku, Chishō, the High Priest from Kakinomoto, Son'i, Jie, Kakuban, Hōnen, Nichiren, Eisai, Fumon, Jūya, Monkan, Soseki, and Myōkichi. In one and the same book, he first says that there is no rebirth and *karma*, and later on he argues that rebirth and *karma* do

²⁵ Razan is paraphrasing *Zhongyong* 16, the classical Confucian statement about the spirits: 「使天下之人、齊（＝齋）明盛服、以承祭祀。洋洋乎、如在其上、如在其左右。」. Plaks translates the relevant part as "Their vital force billows like a great sea, as if overspreading the world from above, as if compassing the world about on every side."

²⁶ Quotation from *Lunyu* 2.24. For the Confucian conceptions of gods, ghosts, and spirits, and for such Confucian ontological concepts as *Qi* and "patterns," see Boot, W.J., "Spirits, Gods, and Heaven" (Huang Chun-chieh & John Allen Tucker, eds, *Dao Companion to Japanese Confucian Philosophy*, Dordrecht: Springer, 2014), pp. 69-108.

²⁷ Up till here, the text is a complete and correct quotation of Razan's first comment on the biography of Shōtoku-taishi; see *Honchō jinja kō* 5 (*NSTS* vol. 1, p. 521). This same comment is also quoted and commented upon in *Jinjakō bengi* 2:2b-6b.

²⁸ *Honchō jinja kō* 6, 3d section (*NSTS* vol. 1, pp. 552-555). This "valley" is the valley between the Kurama-dera and Kibune (north of Kyoto). Here, as legend has it, the young Minamoto no Yoshitsune (1159-1189) learned sword fighting from a mysterious man, who declared himself to be Yoshitsune's protecting deity. He is commonly regarded as a *tengu*.

exist. (1:3a) Alas! This is the reason why you²⁹ may be bright, but have no discernment. You do not realize that [you are talking about] the emperors of our court, and you [just] say that they have fallen into the Realm of the Devils!³⁰ You speak of the virtuous, highest priests of the land, and you claim that they have all fallen into the Realm of the Devils! You are a seditious, lawless fellow!

First, Mr Hayashi mentions Yang Hu, Yuanze and others, and he cannot deny what the histories and biographies say of them. Later on, he says that when men die, there cannot be such a thing like rebirth. Again, this is an argument in which the beginning and the end do not match. You are [supposed to be] a man of broad learning! However, when you put [your thoughts] into words, the beginning and the end are different from each other. You are like a drunk or a mad man! Why is that?

Mr Hayashi also says: "Even though they never existed, the causal relations between the three worlds that the Buddha preaches are needed to make man cultivate the good and make him stop doing evil things; that that is all there is to it." Well now, it is not the case that only the Buddha has posited [the existence of] the *karma* of the three worlds. In our country, you will find this theory [also] being stated in great detail in Shinto. (1:3b)

>>> Shinto preaches the three worlds.

In Buddhism, they call it "hell," and in Shinto, "the Root Land"

²⁹ The following is an apostrophe to a long-dead Razan. Many more will follow.

³⁰ The *madō* is not one of the recognized Six Realms of Incarnation. The relevant scriptural passage seems to be *Lañkāvatāra Sūtra* 6, where it says (according to Mor. XI: 45906-21): "Even though one possesses much knowledge, quietness of mind, and immediate knowledge [as if things are] in front of one's eye 多智禪定現前, if one does not break with licentiousness, one will surely fall into the Way of the Devils. Those of high rank will become devil kings; those of middle rank will become devil people; and those of low rank will become devil women (sorceresses?)."

or "the Bottom Land." In Buddhism, they call it "the Realm of Heaven," and in Shinto, "the Fields of Heaven." In Buddhism, they call it "Paradise," and in Shinto, "the Eternal World." The one who by the Buddhists is called "the Great King Yama," is in Shinto called Susanowo no Mikoto³¹ or Izanami no Mikoto. In Buddhism, they preach that one should plant the seeds of good and bad in the Field of the Eight [Levels of] Consciousness. In Shinto, the Field of the Eight [Levels of] Consciousness³² refers to one of the Five Organs, namely the spleen, [which] is what they regard as the Field of the Eight [Levels of] Consciousness. The so-called "spleen" [corresponds to the element] Earth,³³ [which is] why one plants the seeds of good and bad in the spleen. The seeds that one planted during one's life and after one's death manifest themselves as good and evil, and are reciprocal. Therefore, in Japan's Shinto, they preached the *karma* of the three worlds from the very beginning. In Indian Buddhism, they introduced this belief as well, [but] at a much, much later [stage]. (1:4a) In Shinto and Buddhism, the preaching of the *karma* of the three worlds is common [practice]. In Confucianism [this is different]. In high antiquity, everybody knew the *karma* of the three worlds, but ever since middle

³¹ = Susanowo no mikoto.

³² Through these Eight Levels of Consciousness, the subject takes cognizance of the surrounding world and of his own person. The Eight Levels of Consciousness are the five senses (sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch), to which are added consciousness (*mano-vijñāna* 意), the (mistaken) belief in the continuity of one's own person (*manas* 末那), and the "store consciousness" (*ālayavijñāna* 阿賴耶識). The concept is typical of the Yogācāra School. In his essay "Kōkyū fumetsu" 黃宮不滅 (*Shigetsu yawa* 4), Chōon also mentions the Eight Levels and the seeds in a Shinto context, but without making the identification with the Five Organs: 「佛未出世以前、於吾國、天祖説八識、植善惡子者也」. Cf. *Taisei-kyō*, edn 1679, 2:3b: 「入黃宮不滅」 - *kinomiya ni irite usezu*.

³³ In Chinese medicine, the Five Organs (heart, liver, spleen, lungs, and kidneys) are paired off with the Five Elements, in the order fire, wood, earth, metal, and water. We have not found any Shintō source which connects the Buddhist concept of the "Eight Levels of Consciousness" (Skt. *aṣṭa-vijñānāni*) to the spleen and the seeds of good and bad. Such a connection certainly does not figure in *Taisei-kyō*, Chōon's main text of reference.

antiquity, the Confucian scholars have been unaware of it and have preached absurd theories.

>>> The Bull King of Kumano's oath formularies.

The fact that in our country we use as oath formularies [stamped with the seal] of the Bull King of Kumano is, it seems to me, [because] Izanami no Mikoto came from the Bottom Land to the Fall of Nachi,³⁴ bathed³⁵ herself, rid herself of her defilements, and established herself as protector of this region.³⁶ Therefore, Izanami no Mikoto is able to know what [passes in] the Root Land. Therefore, we use the Bull King of Kumano [to swear by] in our written oaths. They must not be used in vain. Furthermore, the nuns of Kumano tell stories [with the help] of paintings of hell; this is, [because] Izanami no Mikoto had a female body, thus entered into the Root Land, and knew its extreme sufferings.³⁷ That is why the nuns made these paintings and

³⁴ *Nachi no Taki* is a waterfall in Wakayama Prefecture. The shrine, known as Kumano Nachi Taisha, is one of three shrines, which together form Kumano Sanzan 三山. The deities worshipped in these shrines are collectively known as Kumano Gongen. Izanami is worshipped in the first hall of the main shrine, Hongū Taisha, and in that of the second shrine, Hayatama Taisha. N.B. The main deity of the Nachi Taisha is Ōnamuchi no mikoto. There is no deity called Goō; *goō* is the name given to the paper pledges (熊野牛王符), because the red stamps printed on them are made from the homophonous *goō* 牛黃 ("cow-yellow"), i.e. a kind of "stone" that forms in the intestines of cows, which is used as medicine. There exists a deity called Gozu-tennō 牛頭天王, but he is associated with Yasaka-jinja (Kyoto), not with Kumano, and he is not associated with the oath formularies.

³⁵ The characters say "baptism," the Buddhist way, but the *furigana* says "a ritual bath in the water."

³⁶ This tale about Izanami no Mikoto, who is said to have come from the Bottom Land to the Fall of Nachi, where she bathed herself, rid herself of her defilements, and established herself as protector of this region, is not to be found in any regular (Shintō) source. In *Taisei-kyō* 6 (*Jingi hongī, ge*), however, we find the following passage in which Amaterasu addresses Izanami (edn ZST vol. 1, p. 137): 「時天照太神、召幽道敷神、告去來再尊、『天尊本元不有云罪、何為久留黃泉多凶穢惡國哉。宜復元天矣。熊野神瀧、元來常世天中天聖、神中神仙所在、靈妙清淨國也。須疾出黃泉、祓除於此瀧、而歸來本位。』時去來再尊依憑此勸請、即出於黃泉、至熊野御瀧。是孝養母、其法元也。」. In addition, *Taisei-kyō* 71 (*Jinja hongī*), contains an entry on Kumano jingū according to which the God Takami-musubi, during the reign of Emperor Jinmu, called for Izanami and Izanagi. When they manifested themselves, a shrine (Kumano Jingū) was dedicated to them. Of Izanami it is said that she came back from Yomi no kuni. (edn ZST vol. 4, p. 344).

³⁷ Kumano *bikuni* (the Buddhist nuns of Kumano) are itinerant female religious performers who were particularly active from the 16th to 18th century. Travelling across the country, they

tell these stories. (1:4b) They truly do not lie.

Because you and your [fewllow Confucians] cause men who disregard *karma* to attend on our lords and fathers, these think that *karma* does not exist. Therefore, overtly you are loyal and filial towards your lords and fathers, but secretly you will surely commit regicide and rebellion. In this world, which is in its final stage of pollution and heterodoxy,³⁸ it is only through fear of *karma* that they will "cultivate their persons, regulate their families, and order well the realm."³⁹ If you slight *karma*, then you (= Razan) are considered as [a follower of] the heresy that cuts off and annihilates, [which is called] nihilism.⁴⁰ That is why the Buddha said: "Better erect something visible like Mount Sumeru; do not erect something invisible like a mustard seed."⁴¹ Be warned by this! Restrain yourself!

Mr Hayashi compiled [*Honchō jinja kō* ("Essay on the Shrines of Our Country")]. The first thing he quoted in its preface was the "Register of Names of the Gods" of *Engi-shiki*, saying: "In the whole of Japan, there are 3,132 greater and smaller shrines."⁴²

promoted the syncretic belief of the Kumano mountains, popular pilgrimage sites that attracted a variety of people. To raise funds for these temples and shrines, they performed *etoki* (literally, picture deciphering) that addressed the everyday concerns of the masses, and especially women. Izanami descended to the nether world after having given birth to the Fire God, who burnt her genitals; see *Kojiki* 1, sections 7-9 (Chamberlain, *The Kojiki*, Tut Books, pp. 32-52), and *Nihon shoki* 1 (Aston, *Nihon shoki* vol.1, pp. 21-32), where a great number of variants of the story are given.

³⁸ For 未濁, see *Yomikudashi*, note 10.

³⁹ Reference to *Daxue*, initial part (*jing* 經); cf. Legge's translation, p. 357.

⁴⁰ The term *danmu* 斷無 refers to *danken* 斷見, one of the ninety-five kinds of heterodoxy (*kyūjūgoshu gedō*) and signifies nihilism. It amounts to the philosophical position arguing that sentient beings disappear entirely upon death. In the index of *TZ*, the characters 斷無 occur any number of times in combination, but never as a compound. Neither do they occur in Morohashi. We have, therefore, translated according to the meaning of the individual characters.

⁴¹ A Zen *kōan* that appears in *Biyanlu* (J. *Hekigan-roku*; "Blue Cliff Record").

⁴² For this Register, i.e. *Jinmyō-chō* 神名帳, see *Engi-shiki* 9-10 (Kōten Kōkyūsho & Zenkoku Shinshokukai, comp., 2+1 vols, Tokyo: Ōoka Shoten, 1929-1932; vol. 1, pp. 251-418). It is a list of

Mr Hayashi (1:5a) says this, while he knew very well that [Soga no] Iruka⁴³ had burned the *National Records*.⁴⁴ This being the case, why, then, does he not doubt that, after the Burning of Books under the Qin (221-206), it happened that [a copy of] the *Analects* [survived], stored in the wall of [the house of] Confucius⁴⁵, but that he [in the present case prefers to] compile his *Jinja-kō* on the basis of [Soga no] Umako's *Kujiki*,⁴⁶ [Ō no] Yasumaro's *Kojiki*,⁴⁷ [Prince] Toneri's *Nihon shoki*,⁴⁸ and the "Register of Names of the Gods" of the Engi Era (901-923); that he engraves on wooden boards, and divulges it to the world? What about the fact that he has created enormous confusion amongst scholars of all ages in the realm? Is this not truly a case of a

officially designated shrines (*kansha* 官社). Cf. Bock, Felicia Gressitt, *Engi-shiki: Procedures of the Engi era. Books VI-X* (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1972), pp. 107-171.

⁴³ According to *Nihon Shoki* 24: Kōgyoku 4/6/13 (Vol. 2, p. 210; Aston, *Nihon shoki* vol. 2, p. 193), not Iruka but his father, Soga no Emishi, burned the *Kokki*: 「蘇我臣蝦夷等臨誅。悉燒天皇記。國記。珍寶。船史惠尺即疾取所燒國記而奉獻中大兄」 - "When Soga no Omi Emishi and his people were about to be put to death, they burned all of the *Imperial Records* and the *National Records*, along with rare treasures. Fune no Fubito Esaka quickly took the *National Records* that was burning and presented it to Naka no Ōe."

⁴⁴ The National Record (*Kokki* or *Kunitsufumi*) was a history of Japan that was allegedly written by Shōtoku-taishi and Soga no Umako. It was about to be burned, but saved from the flames; see the preceding note. Interestingly, Razan acknowledges the burning, as is attested by a line in the Preface of *Jinja-kō*: "The old records and *Ancient History* 舊記古史 were burned during the rebellion of Iruka" (*NSTS* vol. 1 p. 366, line 3), but he does not mention that the *Kokki* were saved. He is correct, of course, in the sense that the *Kokki* did not survive as an independent text. Presumably, he would have said that they were included in the later compilations.

⁴⁵ The burning of books and burying of scholars (*fenshu kengru* 焚書坑儒) refers to the burning of books by Qin Shi Huangdi, the first Emperor of Qin, in 210 BC. According to the Han dynasty scholar Liu Xiang 劉向 (77–6 BC), there were two versions of the *Analects* that existed at the beginning of the Han dynasty: the "Lu version" and the "Qi version". In the reign of Emperor Jing of Han 景帝 (r. 157-141 BC), a third version (the "Old Text" version) was discovered hidden in a wall of the house then believed to have been Confucius', when it was torn down by King Gong of Lu (r. 153-128 BC).

⁴⁶ Since its preface was supposedly written by Soga no Umako (d. 626), *Sendai kuji hongei* was generally believed to be the earliest of Japanese histories. In the middle of the Edo period, in other words only after Chōon Dōkai wrote his *Gobusshin-ron*, scholars such as Tada Yoshitoshi 多田義俊, author of *旧事記偽書明証考* (1731), successfully contended that it was an imitation based on the *Nihon shoki*, the *Kojiki* and the *Kogo Shūi*.

⁴⁷ *Kojiki* dates from about 711-12. It was compiled by Ō no Yasumaro (d. 723).

⁴⁸ *Nihon shoki*, completed in 720, was compiled by an imperial committee headed by Prince Toneri (676-735)

smart man falling short?⁴⁹ We are fortunate to have a *Jinja hongi* [as part of] the Crown Prince's *Sendai Kuji* [*Hon*]gi [*Taisei-kyō*], which you have seen [with your own eyes].⁵⁰ Yet, you did not use this older record, but you used those later texts and as a result have created false theories.

>>> The [Deity of the] Great Shrine [of Ise] is a Living God; calling it an Ancestral Mausoleum is a mistake.

Furthermore, you call the Great Shrine of Ise an Ancestral Mausoleum. Calling it a mausoleum [results from] an inappropriate theory. (1:5b) Because the Great Shrine is [home to] a Living God, the Crown Prince in his *Kujiki* calls it a lineage shrine.⁵¹

Mr Hayashi furthermore states 〈Fascicle 5, 5th page [of *Jinja-kō*], full text〉 : "Someone then asked me: 'They say that the Crown Prince's *Mirai-ki* is in the [Shi]tennōji. What about it?'

>>> The Crown Prince's *Mirai-ki* ("Record of Things to Come")

I answered, saying: 'Some of the things that are said in the world may be believed; some may be doubted; and some should be rejected. From the beginning, I have had my doubts about *Mirai-ki*, [ascribed to] the Crown Prince. As yet, no one in the world has ever seen it.⁵² This, too,⁵³

⁴⁹ In Mor. IV: 7632-100, the expression *shaku mo tan to suru tokoro ari* is explained as "whether things are good or bad depends on what you want to use them for"; "in some circumstances, even a wise man will let you down." For further details, see *Honkoku*, note 22.

⁵⁰ Reference to the incident of Inbe no Tansai (no dates known) presenting a text of *Taisei-kyō* to Tokugawa Iemitsu. Iemitsu had it examined by Razan, who pronounced it a forgery; for details, see *infra*, pp. 1:24b-25a, and notes 273 and 277.

⁵¹ *Taisei-kyō* 26 (edn ZST vol. 2, p. 162) contains a section about Ise being a lineage shrine: 「五瀬 (伊勢) 宗宮祭」. In *Shigetsu yawa* 1, we find an essay (no. 63) entitled *Shashokubyō wo benzu* 辨社稷廟, in which Chōon makes the same point: Razan does not understand the differences between lineage shrines, state temples and divine bodies of our country 「不辨吾国之宗廟社稷身軀」.

⁵² Razan is testing his interlocuter. He knew that the Crown Prince's *Mirai-ki* was mentioned in *Taihei-ki*; see *Taihei-ki*, edn NKBT vol. 34, pp. 193-195. As we will see, his interlocuter rose to the

is merely a matter of Buddhist exaggeration. Prognostic and apocryphal texts⁵⁴ as well as [fortune telling through] Yin, Yang, and the Five Elements⁵⁵ were rejected by the Holy Ones.⁵⁶ Even *if* the Crown Prince would have written [a *Mirai-ki*], we should not believe [what it says]. Let alone, if no [such *Mirai-ki*] exists! But even if [a *Mirai-ki*] does exist, then, again, [it must have been] later generations that attributed [these] words to the Crown Prince."⁵⁷ Once, Dengyō (= Saichō; 767-822) wrote *Tendai zasu ki* ("Record of Tendai Abbots").⁵⁸ It is said that, when those who in later days reached the position [of abbot of the Enryakuji], opened it and had a look, [it turned out that] their family name and name had already been determined beforehand. (1:6a) This is the same kind of story as the Crown Prince's *Mirai-ki*. How can one believe [such nonsense]?'

"He said: 'During the Genkō Era (1331-34), Kusunoki Masashige (1294-1336) asked a priest of [Shi]tennōji to open the secret repository and had a look at *Mirai-ki*. In [*Mirai-ki*], it said: "A fish from the east will eat the bird from the west."⁵⁹ A bird from the west

challenge.

⁵³ The "too" refers to the story of the grave and the Crown Prince's pronouncement that he did not mind not having an heir, as he was a disciple of the Buddha. The story is discussed in detail *infra*, p. 1:11a sqq.

⁵⁴ See Mor. X: 36144-1/2.

⁵⁵ See Mor. X: 34046-23-3.

⁵⁶ In a Confucian context, we translate 聖人 as "Holy Ones" and 聖賢 as "Holy ones and Wise men." In other contexts, we translate these terms as "sages."

⁵⁷ In the context of *Jinja-kō* this quotation is the answer to the question what Razan thinks of "Shōtoku-taishi's *Mirai-ki*, which is kept in the Shitennōji." Razan gives two different answers: (1) No one has ever seen it; there is no proof that it exists. (2) As a deductive argument: the Holy Ones reject all kinds of prognostics. Therefore, if there exists a *Mirai-ki* written by Shōtoku (option 1), we must not believe its prophecies. If no such book exists (option 2), the problem solves itself, and if a book by this title exists (option 3), it must have been wrongly ascribed to Shōtoku.

⁵⁸ Although the *Tendai zasu ki* begins with an introduction by Saichō, it lists the Tendai abbots through the ages. It is clear, therefore, that Saichō cannot have been the author of the complete text. Razan cites it as another example of a text pretending to foretell the future, that was foisted on a well-known figure.

⁵⁹ The "fish from the east" is generally identified as Hōjō Takatoki 北条高時 (1303-33), the former

will come flying and devour the fish from the east."⁶⁰ Now, why do you say there is no [*Mirai-ki*]?'

"I said: 'Masashige was a scheming warrior. At the time, having set up camp next to the temple, he had occupied Izumi and Kawachi, and was about to attack Rokuhara.⁶¹ Under these circumstances, he used "the fish of the east" and "the bird from the west" as a prophecy of [what would happen in] his time, in order to make people believe [in him] and not doubt him. It was a trick to incite the warriors and spur their bravery. [The prophecy] was concocted by Mr Kusunoki himself."

〈Until here Mr Hayashi〉

In this interpretation, Mr Hayashi considers [the prophecy] to be a trick of Mr. Kusunoki to incite his warriors and spur their bravery. [However, that claim] that he had once seen the *Mirai-ki* (1:6b) is regarded as trustworthy by warriors of modern times.⁶² The offence [you committed] with this wicked theory of yours cannot go unpunished. In order to crush your vicious interpretation, I will here

regent (*shikken* 執權) who in 1326 had taken the tonsure. The bird from the west refers to Masashige, who fought for Emperor Go-Daigo in the Genkō War (1331-33) and thus helped him briefly to return to power.

⁶⁰ As is mentioned in *Honkoku*, note 30, Razan is not quoting *Taihei-ki* correctly. The correct quotation is 「當人王九十五代，天下一亂而主不安。此時東魚來吞四海，日沒西天三百七十餘箇日。西鳥來食東魚，其後海內歸一三年。如獼猴者掠天下三十餘年，大凶變歸一元。云云」； see *Taihei-ki* 6, 3: "Masashige, Tennōji *Mirai-ki* hiken no koto." In translation: "When the ninety-sixth of the human sovereigns comes to reign, the empire will be convulsed with disorder for a time and the sovereign himself be ill at ease. At this time, a fish from the East will swallow up [all within] the four seas; the sun will be submerged in the Western sea and after more than 370 days a Western bird will come and devour the Eastern fish. After that the whole empire will be reduced to unity and allegiance for three years, and then a monkey-like being will deceive the empire for 30 years. Then the great disaster will undergo a change, and the land will return to a single allegiance." For more details on this text and on an actually existing *Mirai-ki* attributed to Shōtoku, see Boot, W.J., "Het Einde van de Wet: De Voorspellingen van Kroonprins Shōtoku," pp. 64-66, 66-71.

⁶¹ I.e., the *bakufu*'s headquarters in Kyoto.

⁶² Chōon is probably referring to Yamaga Sokō 山鹿素行 (1622-1685). Sokō mentions *Mirai-ki* in connection with Kusunoki Masashige in his *Zuihitsu* (*Yamaga Sokō zenshū* 11, p. 400). He also contributed a preface to the anonymous military work *Kusunoki Masashige ikkan sho* 楠正成一卷書 (pr. 1654). Cf. also *infra*, notes 273 and 277.

and now write down the Preface of *Mizen Hongi* ("Basic Annals of the Future")⁶³:

"In the thirty-third year of the reign of Empress [Suiko] (624), first month of spring, Prince Yamashiro no Ōe (d. 643)⁶⁴ himself, holding [a text of] one volume, came forward, and directly presented it [to the Empress]. The Empress was delighted, and examined it, but the text [turned out to be] extremely opaque. Thereupon, she passed it on to the Talented Lord.⁶⁵ Yet, he (= the Talented Lord) had no clue as to its meaning and [just] sat mumbling [the text].⁶⁶

"[The] only [one who really] thought about it, [was] Nakatomi no Kamako⁶⁷; he said: "The Holy Lord (= Crown Prince Shōtoku) from

⁶³ *Taisei-kyō*, edn ZST vol. 4, pp. 279-80. As a separate text, *Mizen Hongi* was first published in 1871 (皇太子未来記 : 未然本紀). Before that, *Mizen Hongi* only existed as fascicle 69 of *Taisei-kyō* in the form of *shahon* (see for instance the databases of Waseda University and that of the Naikaku Bunko). Both these *shahon* and the printed edition of 1871 do not start with a "Preface" 序, but with a "Historical Biography" 伝. There are minor differences in the use of characters between the edn ZST, the 1871 edition and the various *shahon*. In Kyōhō 13 (1728), the Shinto scholar and prolific commentator of *Taisei-kyō*, Yoda Sadashizu 依田貞鎮 (1681-1764; pen name: Henmui 偏無為), was asked by a vassal of the eighth Shogun, Tokugawa Yoshimune (1684-1751), to write an annotated commentary to *Mizen Hongi*. This resulted in *Mizen hongi chū* 未然本紀註 (the text is accessible through the database of the National Institute of Japanese Literature). See also Noda Masakazu 野田政和, "Kokugakusha Ida Sadashizu (Henmui) ni yoru Shōtoku-taishi sen "Mizen hongi" no chūkai" 国学者依田貞鎮 (偏無為) による聖徳太子撰「未然本紀」の註解, in *Fuchū-shi Kyōdo no Mori Hakubutsukan kiyō* 府中市郷土の森博物館紀要 27 (2014), pp. 13-40.

⁶⁴ Eldest son of Crown Prince Shōtoku, who himself had died in 622.

⁶⁵ In his commentary, Henmui identifies this "talented noble" as Hata no Kawakatsu 秦河勝 (dates unknown); see *Mizen hongi chū* p. 5a. Hata no Kawakatsu 秦河勝 is mentioned thrice in *Nihon shoki* (Suiko 11/11/1: receives a Buddha statue from Crown Prince Shōtoku; Suiko 18/10/9, and Kōgyoku 3/7/7/). On Ikushima, off the coast of Akō, there is a grave of Hata no Kawakatsu. On the coast, there is a shrine, Ōsake-jinja 大避神社, where he is worshipped as Ōsake-daijin (Wikipedia Japonica). According to Kōno Seizō 河野省三, *Kuji Taisei-kyō ni kan-suru kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1952), Kawakatsu also played an, of course legendary, role in the creation of *Taisei-kyō*; see Kōno, *kenkyū*, pp. 13-14, p. 51, and *Taisei-kyō Joden*, which is signed with 「臣、秦大連河勝、謹白爾。于時、天皇三十年秋九月望也。」 (edn ZST vol. 1, p. 16). *Taisei-kyō* also tells the story that he was the incarnation of the Chinese emperor Qin Shihuangdi; see *infra*, note 536.

⁶⁶ The compound *shiki* 旨歸 is a common word denoting "meaning" or "gist"; the compound *meigin* 迷吟 is not attested in the dictionaries. *Mizen hongi chū*, p. 5a, paraphrases as follows: 「彼才卿ニ給ヒ與ヘ玉ヘトモ亦何ノ旨皈ト云コトヲ辨ヘズ混迷沈吟スルナリ」. 吟 means "to recite a text, but not very clearly > to mumble"; for 沈吟, cf. 沈思 - "to be immersed in thought."

⁶⁷ The childhood name of Fujiwara no Kamatari 藤原鎌足 (614-69), who was a statesman,

time to time entered the Yumedono ("Dream Hall").⁶⁸ Your servant was regularly summoned and thus could enter [the Yumedono]. The Divine Female (= Amaterasu) came from the east (i.e., from the direction of the Ise shrine), and the Sage Boy (= Hachiman) arrived from the west (i.e., from the direction of Usa). [The two Gods] answered [the Holy Lord's] questions and they talked with each other. The present [text contains] many sections and sentences that I heard [at those occasions].

'When we count the years, their number amounts to one thousand.⁶⁹ It is probably a text about future state affairs (in which has been recorded beforehand what will certainly come to pass).⁷⁰ (1:7a) It was the task of gods⁷¹ to know what had not yet happened. Because their words are not clear, the sage (= Shōtoku-*taishi*) pondered these. The task of the gods lay in the spiritual and extraordinary, which are unfathomable.⁷² The thoughtful ponderings of the sage lay in not rejecting heavenly [ordained] fate.⁷³ A man who does not have an

courtier and politician, and the founder of the Fujiwara clan.

⁶⁸ The reference here is to a Yumedono that was part of Ikaruga no miya 斑鳩宮, the Crown Prince's palace. *Mizen hongji chū*, p. 5a-b, even claims that Yumedono was the name of the whole of the palace in Ikaruga. There is a Yumedono in Shitennōji, and the central hall of the Hōryūji is also known as Yumedono, but that was built around 739, so it did not exist during Shōtoku's life.

⁶⁹ We have here translated the word *eto* 干支 with "years." The text is divided into ten periods of one hundred years each. The first period began in the thirtieth year of the reign of Empress Suiko, i.e. the year 621; see *Mizen Hongji chū*, p. 6a and 17a.

⁷⁰ The phrase between brackets is the translation of the amplified sentence of *Mizen hongji chū*, p. 6a; see *Yomikudashi*, note 20, and *Honkoku*, note 41.

⁷¹ In translating 神人 as "gods," we follow *Mizen Hongji chū*, p. 6a, where it is stated that the characters refer to Amaterasu and Hachiman.

⁷² *Mizen hongji chū*, p. 6b, reads 在 (*ni ari*) as if it were a copula, and paraphrases "The work of the two gods is subtle, spiritual, strange, and weird, and difficult to fathom for ordinary men." In our translation, we have let the character 在 retain its proper meaning.

⁷³ We follow *Mizen hongji chū*, p. 6b, where 聖賢 is glossed as 聖皇 ("Holy Emperor"), i.e., as Shōtoku-*taishi*. The remainder of the sentence is paraphrased as 「天運ノ辭シ讓ルコナク券ヲ執ルガゴトキヲ云フ」 - "... without refusing [the] heavenly fate, they take their" The expression 執券 remains unclear. 券 is glossed (Mor. I: 2330) as *tsukareru*, *umu* ("to become tired, to be fed up") or *todomaru* ("to stay at a place"), and it is noted, both in the dictionary and in an interlinear

understanding of the spiritual and extraordinary, is a fool about the gods and spirits.⁷⁴ Someone who does not accept the heavenly [ordained] fate, leads gentlemen astray.⁷⁵ The god and spirits are highly respected everywhere [under] heaven.⁷⁶ Gentlemen are the upper rank of mankind. Should we make a comparison, then [their respective activities are like] pulling carts; were we to give an example, [these activities] are like pointing at crows.⁷⁷

'When we consider this text,⁷⁸ its meaning is profound and abstruse; it shatters the mental laziness⁷⁹ of scholars; it dissolves the perplexities⁸⁰ of followers of the Way; it assists the functioning⁸¹ of the gods and spirits; and it purifies the unchangeable human relations.

annotation in *Mizen hongji chū*, p. 6b, that the character must not be confused with 券, but in the present context, that does not seem to help much.

⁷⁴ In the paraphrase of *Mizen hongji chū*, p. 7a: 「鬼神ヲ知ラザルノ愚人ナリ」 - "... is a stupid man who does not know the gods and spirits."

⁷⁵ In the paraphrase of *Mizen hongji chū*, p. 7a: 「天運ノ避ケ難キヲ明ラメサルハ君子ノ為ノ迷者ナリ」 - "He who does not make clear [and accepts] that it is difficult to avoid one's heavenly fate, is a 'lead-astrayer' of gentlemen." On the other hand, in the Ise Bunko *bon*, the *okurigana ru* is added to 迷, thus reading *mayoeru* - "(someone who) has strayed."

⁷⁶ We think that 尊者 should here be taken in its non-Buddhist meaning of "of noble status, hence entitled to respect."

⁷⁷ We follow the explanation given in *Mizen hongji chū*, p. 7a-b. According to Henmui, the comparison and the example refer to the "two gods" and to the "holy emperor(s)." The idea the metaphors try to bring out is that their activities were fundamentally identical: people who pull carts all follow the same tracks, and all crows one can point at, are black. N.B. Henmui surmizes that the character 鳥 will be a mistake for 烏 (*karasu*: crow).

⁷⁸ In *Mizen hongji chū*, p. 7b, the *Mizen hongji* as a whole is characterized in the following terms: 「此書ノ體タル其時ヲ考ヘ見ルニ符節ヲ合セタル如ナレハ」 - "As regards the essence of this book, it is as if one fits together [the two halves of] a tally, when[ever] one considers that (= a specific) period."

⁷⁹ In *Mizen hongji chū*, p. 7b, 慢 is glossed as 慢懂, but no such compound is attested in the dictionaries. Our translation is based on the readings *okotaru* ("to be lazy, to let things lie") and *kokoro ga sadamaranai* ("not knowing what one wants to do"), given in Mor. IV: 11110 and 11242, respectively.

⁸⁰ In *Mizen hongji chū*, p. 8a, 惹 is glossed as 惹氷. No such compound is attested in the dictionaries, but its meaning undoubtedly is "the ice of their perplexities," i.e., their perplexities are broken like ice.

⁸¹ *Mizen hongji chū*, p. 8a, amplifies this into: 「鬼神ノ妙用此書ニ籍テ大ニ裨助シ」 - "The subtle functioning ... is greatly assisted by this book."

Close-by, it establishes Saigen Shinto so that it will never end⁸²; far-off, in showing the study of the Ways, it is not one-sided.⁸³ The text as such does not seem to show any contemporary favouritism,⁸⁴ and the feeling of the phrases [suggests] extremely far-reaching virtues and merits.⁸⁵ It is impossible not to revere it.

'Gentlemen with their common sense are of all ages; they are of frequent occurrence. Gods with their strange and extraordinary [qualities] are (1:7b) non-existent during many generations, and [extremely] rare. [Therefore,] the strange and extraordinary is disregarded. In between the gates [of the palace],⁸⁶ acts [that express] faith in the spirits or fear of the gods are rare.⁸⁷ In houses that stick to common sense, it reaches the stage that thinking is prejudiced in favour of man and has made people self-righteous.⁸⁸ The Holy Emperor (= Prince Shōtoku), therefore, always made it his practice [to follow] common sense in all things, but ever so often he added one

⁸² *Mizen hongji chū*, p. 8a, claims that the fact the Saigen Shinto will never end implies that the imperial lineage, too, will never do so: 「齋元ノ究マルヲナキヲ以テ皇統モ萬歳ニ及テ絶ヘズ」.

⁸³ According to the paraphrase in *Mizen hongji chū*, p. 8a, "Way" should be taken as a plural, i.e. the Ways of the Gods, the Buddha, and the Confucians; these three form a tripod 鼎, and should all be considered together: 「神佛儒ノ三道ノ学鼎ノ足ノ如ニテ偏ニ用ユヘカラズ」.

⁸⁴ *Mizen hongji chū*, p. 8b, explains that the reason is that 「其文ノ面ハ當時アラザルヲ故」 - "... does not have one specific time to which it directly refers."

⁸⁵ In *Mizen hongji chū*, p. 8b, this is explained as 「遠キ千歳ノ後マテヲシル其徳功アレハ」 - "As it has the virtue and merit of [letting the reader] know even as far-away as one thousand years from now, ..."

⁸⁶ In *Mizen hongji chū*, the character 宁 is explained as "between the wings of the gate"; see *Honkoku*, note 47. As the explanation in *Mor. III: 7055 s.v. 3*, makes clear, it is a throne 位, placed between the first gate 大門 and the second gate 正門 of the palaces of the son of heaven and the feudal lords. It is the place where they have audiences with their ministers. Cf. also Zhu Xi's commentary to *Lunyu X.3*: 「位, 君之虚位。謂門屏之間, 人君宁立之處, 所謂宁也」.

⁸⁷ In *Mizen hongji chū*, p. 9a, the sentence is explained as follows: 「希ナリトハ實ニハ無レドモ、言、迫切ナラズシテ希ナリト云フ」. - "Actually, they do not exist, but he says "rare" in order not to make his words too urgent."

⁸⁸ *Mizen hongji chū*, p. 9a, gives the following paraphrase: 「神理ノ妙ヲ知ラザレハ人ニ偏ルナリ己ガ智解ヲイミシト思ヘバ冗ト云フ」 - "Because they do not know the subtlety of the divine principle, they lean towards man. Because they think their own understanding is terrific, they are haughty and proud."

thing that [pertained to the] strange and extraordinary.⁸⁹

'To make a comparison - it is like the moat in China⁹⁰ of one hundred fathoms that protected the royal domain of a thousand miles.⁹¹ A foolish king forgot his military [responsibilities], so flattering ministers, secretly entertaining [ideas of] revolt, filled up [the moat] with beautiful stones.⁹² Thus [the king] lost the strength to defend himself against the enemy. It was not the beautiful stones that were wrong; it was breaking the moat that protected [the realm] from the enemy that was wrong.⁹³ To opt for common sense and to abandon the strange and extraordinary is, again, something like this. The foreign country is a region of humans, [where] one exclusively [follows] common sense, but still the Holy Ones acknowledge evidence of the strange and extraordinary.⁹⁴ How much more, then, will [we in] our country, the realm of the Gods, uphold the spiritual and subtle! How could our countrymen be remiss in their responsibilities ("work") in

⁸⁹ Again, the annotation of *Mizen hongji chū*, pp. 9a-b, is of interest: 「常理ヲ行ハサレバ聖賢ノ慮ニ非ス奇怪ヲ具ヘザレバ神明ノ道ニ背ケリ人神相具フルハ獨り聖皇ニアルカ又奇怪ハ奇怪ニ非ス只人倫ノ及ハサル處ニ奇怪ノ名ヲ與フルノミ」 - "If he had not practised common sense he would not have thought like a sage, and if he would not have added a touch of the mysterious he would have gone against the way of the gods. *The Crown Prince may well have been the only one to combine the human and the divine*. Moreover, the mysterious is not [really] mysterious. We give the name 'mysterious' to those things that are beyond [the understanding of] the common people."

⁹⁰ *Mizen hongji chū*, p. 9b-10a, states that the term *karakuni* here does not refer to Korea, i.e. to the three states of Chinhan 辰韓, Pyŏnhan 弁韓, and Mahan 馬韓, but to China.

⁹¹ A *zhang* (J. *jō*) is 10 feet, and a *li* once was 360 paces. These measures differed considerably according to time and place; in the present context, they are used rhetorically. "One thousand *li* square" is the traditional size of the royal domain, i.e. that part of the realm that was ruled directly by the king of Zhou himself. *Mizen hongji chū*, p. 10a, provides a reference to the ode *Xuan Niao* 玄鳥 (*Shijing* 303), which contains the strophe 「邦畿千里、維民所止、肇域彼四海」; Karlgren translates: "The Royal domain was of a thousand *li*, that was where the people [of our tribe] settled; but he [also] delimited and set boundaries for those [states between the] four seas."

⁹² For the compound 美石, see Mor. IX: 28435-169. However, neither the gloss ("beautiful stones, looking like jade") nor the *locus* (in *Shanhajing* 山海經) turn out to be very useful.

⁹³ The origin of this anecdote is unclear; *Mizen hongji chū*, too, does not mention it.

⁹⁴ As examples of such evidence ("traces"), *Mizen hongji chū*, p. 10a, mentions Fuxi 伏羲 (庖犧), who is depicted as having a human face and a snake's body, and Shennong 神農, who is described as having the head of an ox and a human body.

regard to the strange and extraordinary?

'Whenever emperors went wrong, inclined towards the common sense of the human world, and neglected the strange and extraordinary (1:8a) gods and spirits, the populace, following [their example], scorned the spiritual and subtle gods of heaven and earth, and slighted the imperial throne of the heavenly grandson.⁹⁵ In these times, it was as if the nobles and the emperor⁹⁶ did not have a state, and during their reigns the people destroyed the fortunes of each other's families. With the holy wisdom of a True Man, the Holy Emperor (= Prince Shōtoku) ahead of time shed light on the principles involved,⁹⁷ and in advance he prepared this text. In other words, he deployed the techniques⁹⁸ of his ancestral gods,⁹⁹ and left them for later Emperors to consider.¹⁰⁰ It is impossible not to trust and revere

⁹⁵ In *Mizen hongji chū*, pp. 10b-11a, Chūai 仲哀 (149-200; r. 192-200), Buretsu 武烈 (489-498-506), and Sushun 崇峻 (521?-587-592) are listed as the emperors who "did not believe the divine teaching 神教," and who thus "either shortened their treasured life (Buretsu), or lost [potential] national territory 國土ヲ沈メ (Chūai, by refusing to attack Silla), or were murdered by a slave (Sushun). Because none of them knew that the divine country was a divine country, even though they had a state, it was as if they had none." N.B. The word translated as "state," 社稷, in ancient China referred to the altar for the god of the soil and the god of the five grains, which was established at the court of the king and in all feudal states. In his *Ben shashokubyō* 辨社稷廟, a short essay in his *Shigetsu yawa*, Chōon mentions Miwa as the "great shrine" (*taisha*) and Hirota as the shrine of the god of the grain in the ancient period. In later times (*chūko*), these roles were taken over by Kamo Jinja and Inari Jinja, respectively. N.B. *Shigetsu yawa* (ID 31312) is a collection in 7 volumes (*satsu*) of essays by Chōon. It only survives in some six manuscripts.

⁹⁶ The compound 君王 has two meanings: (1) the lord of the land, and (2) the feudal lords and the king; see Mor. II: 3323-345. There are two reasons to choose the second option: (1) *kun'ō* is chosen instead of 帝, and (2) it is opposed to 俗 and 臣民.

⁹⁷ In *Mizen hongji chū*, p. 11a, this is explained as 「カク[アル]ベキト云フ理」 - "the principles of this-is-how-it-shall-be."

⁹⁸ The term 術道 is variously explained as "the techniques of prayer and magic" (*Kōjien*, *Nihon kokugo daijiten*) and "the way of talent and art" (Mor. X: 34046-29, with reference to *Liji* 45: *Xiang yinjiu yi*, 3). Apparently, it is not a well-established term.

⁹⁹ The compound 先神 is not found in the dictionaries, but compare 先祖. Thus it means: "the gods before [him], i.e., the gods who are his ancestors." In this case, the term will refer to Amaterasu and Hachiman, who were both ancestors of the imperial house.

¹⁰⁰ The compound 慮界 is not listed in the dictionaries. It could be interpreted as "field of thought" (cf. "field of vision"). In *Mizen hongji chū*, p. 11a, it is explained as 思慮ノ及ブ處 - "the place to where their thinking reached." "Because it was put down 'where thought could reach,' it is a

it.'

"The empress asked: 'When I ponder your remarks¹⁰¹ carefully, I would say (< "is it not so") that the reason why the True Man (= Prince Shōtoku) explained matters that have not yet come to pass, was that he wanted to let the people know those things in advance and to make people consider their anxieties beforehand, in order to [enable them to] eliminate their evil deeds and to avoid the calamities [that would befall them]. However, when I look at the actual text, there is not one single thing of which I "know the shape."¹⁰² In that case¹⁰³ - what, then, is the advantage in preserving¹⁰⁴ this text?'

"Kamako reverently replied, saying: 'If a Holy One (1:8b) would appear and he knew that he would be able to understand [this text], then he could undo the cause of [men's] anxieties. And if a Wise Man would appear and he knew that he would *not* be able to make sense of [this text],¹⁰⁵ then we would [at least] have no need to grieve over the results of our anxieties. The one who is able to undo [the causes of anxiety] will bring peace to the ten thousand families. Not having to grieve [over the results of our anxiety] will bring peace to our heart. If [either] is the case, this [text] would not be without benefits. Even when you would regard it as having no benefit, it is like a solar or lunar

text that everyone must trust and revere." (ibid.)

¹⁰¹ This is the translation of *kotogusa*, i.e. of the *furigana* given in *Mizen hongī chū*, p. 11a. Interestingly, in its annotation, it explains 物 as 人物 (p. 11b), in which case the translation should be: "When I carefully consider the persons involved, ..."

¹⁰² 象 means "visible shape," but it is also the name of the explanations given in *Yijing* of the hexagrams and the individual lines composing them; see Mor. X: 36372 s.v. 14. If that association is intended, "to know the shape" should mean "to get a comprehensible explanation."

¹⁰³ We follow the reading *shikareba* given in *Mizen hongī chū*, p. 11b. Evidently, the empress is drawing a conclusion.

¹⁰⁴ The character 置 ("to place) is explained as 安置, which is used specifically of images, bones, tablets and such things, which are kept as objects of worship.

¹⁰⁵ The paraphrase in *Mizen hongī chū*, p. 12a, says: 「其禍來ルヲ解キ除キ叵 (がた) シト知ラバ・・・」 - "If he knew that it would be hard to dissolve and avoid the coming of misfortune, ..."

eclipse that shows the truth of the calendar.¹⁰⁶ [In the same way,] because the things that the True Man (= Prince Shōtoku) has recorded of [what will happen in] later years is no empty speculation, this shows that what the Holy Ones teach to us about today, too, are no empty words.¹⁰⁷ Or, [an alternative case,] words of clever people are logical and therefore plausible, but they are not realized.¹⁰⁸ [Contrast this with] phrases recorded by a True Man, the logic of which is hard to believe, but which are all realized.¹⁰⁹ [Words] that seem plausible but are not realized, are empty, though beautiful words. [Words] that are difficult to believe, but are [nevertheless] realized, are sincere, though empty words.¹¹⁰ A man of true wisdom (1:9a) does not detest something that is difficult to believe; he always chooses the sincere words. A person of empty wisdom just loves the plausible, and idly chooses the empty words. Alas! The people of the world greatly vacillate between these two.¹¹¹ This becomes the custom, and thus the

¹⁰⁶ *Mizen hongji chū*, p. 12b, paraphrases: 「日月ノ蝕スルヲ見テ天歴ノ實自ラアラハル、如ク」 - "It is like the correctness of the calendar spontaneously showing itself, when you see a solar or lunar eclipse." For the compound 天曆, see: Mor. III: 5833-1489, which gives the gloss 天の天数.

¹⁰⁷ *Mizen hongji chū*, p. 12b, paraphrases: 「・・・如ク真人未然ヲシルスコト虚妄ニ非ルヲ以テ聖人今日ノ人ヲ教ユル空言ナラザルヲ現ハル、ナリ」 - "In the same way as ... the Sages' knowledge of the future is not an empty thing; it is evident, therefore, that what they teach about the people of today is not empty words."

¹⁰⁸ *Mizen hongji chū*, p. 13a, paraphrases: 「才智アル人ノ言語ハ打任セテハ其理シカルベキコトアルモ推度ノ分ナレバ其跡ヲ得ズ」 - "Because in general the words of clever people, even if those that have their logic ("are plausible"), remain speculation, they will not be realized."

¹⁰⁹ *Mizen hongji chū*, p. 13a, paraphrases: 「又真聖ノ人ノ記句ハ指シ當リテ信ジガタケレトモ著龜ノ如ク能ク其跡ヲ得トナリ」 - "... difficult to believe for the time being, but that will be able to achieve their realization, just like the stalks and tortoise [shells]." N.B. "Stalks" refers to the method of divining that is used in the *Yijing*, and "tortoise shells," to the method of heating the shield and interpreting the cracks.

¹¹⁰ *Mizen hongji chū*, p. 13a, paraphrases: 「空言トハ其象ヲ知ルヲナキニ約ス」 - "'Empty words' can be summed up as not knowing (their form >) what they concretely refer to." Compare the remark of the empress cited earlier, when she complained that among the words of the *Mizen hongji* "there is not one single thing of which I know the shape."

¹¹¹ I.e., between "beautiful words" 美言 and "sincere words" 誠言.

hundred studies are emptied [of real content].¹¹² [They] only toil, but do not reach any results. The divine record (i.e., Shōtoku's *Mirai-ki / Mizen hongī*) surely has benefits. The holy words cannot be doubted. They *must* eventually come true. [When they do], you [and your successors] must swiftly act on them.'¹¹³

"At this time, the Empress praised [Kamako] and said: 'With your youthful talents, you exceed the wisdom of a hundred years. Are you a Holy One? Your [talents] are extensive and great; no [single] name will suffice [to describe them].'¹¹⁴ Then she bowed to Kamako's words, and faithfully accepted and revered [Shōtoku's *Mizen hongī*].

"In the second month of spring, the Empress issued an imperial decree, saying: 'Ah, Lord Kamako, because of your youth you have not [yet] been appointed to a position, but following [the precedent] of the *omi* Takenouchi,¹¹⁵ who at a young age was appointed *chikara*

¹¹² If you just look at the Chinese, one would read 為 as *naru*, and translate: "This becomes custom, and thus they (= the *yobito*) make empty (render futile?) their hundred studies." Reading 為 as (*wo*) *shite* or *ni nashite* suggest other interpretations, which, however, are no improvement. Moreover, they do not fit the gloss *narawashi to narite* given in *Mizen hongī chū*, p. 13b, where this sentence is paraphrased as follows: 「世人ハ其レハ眞智ノ人某ハ虚智ノ人トイフニ迷ヒテマヽナラハシトナリテ其百學ヲ空シフス百學トハ百種ノ學ニ非ス凡ソ學ブ所ノ者都ベテ實功ナキヲ以テ空シフストイフナリ」 - "The people of the world are led astray by the fact that they call one or other person who has true wisdom a person of empty wisdom; in some degree this turned into a routine, and thus the hundred studies are emptied [of content]. 'Hundred studies' does not mean one hundred kinds of studies; it means that, in general, everything people study is emptied [of content], because none of it has real merit."

¹¹³ We interpret *hōkō* 奉行 as *okonai-tatematsuru* ("to do something for / at the behest of someone else"). The honorifics 奉行シ玉ヘト申スナリ in *Mizen hongī chū*, p. 14a, clearly indicate that Henmui takes the empress to be the subject of the verb. The empress definitely is the subject of the combination 奉崇 in the following sentence. Hence, it would seem best to take the empress as the subject of *hōkō*. It is illogical that she should respond to predictions regarding the future, but her successors could, and should.

¹¹⁴ This last sentence is the translation of the inserted phrase 蕩蕩無名; see *Yomikudashi*, note 58. In *Mizen hongī chū*, p. 14a-b, it is explained as follows: 「蕩蕩ハ廣キ貌千物物ノ名ヅクベキハ限アリヨッテ其才廣大ニシテ名クベキ無シト讚シ玉フ」- "*Tōtō* means "broad > wide > extensive." With a thousand things to which you have to give a name, there are limits. Therefore, [the empress] praised him, saying that his talents were broad and great, and that there was nothing to which a name could be given."

¹¹⁵ He is usually known as Takenouchi (Takeshiuchi) no Sukune 武内宿禰, not Takenouchi no Omi.

("strength"), I will disregard the general run of adult men and employ you, holy child.' Thereupon, she bestowed *Mizenki* on Kamako and ordered him to make sense of¹¹⁶ this [text].

"Kamako received the holy scripture with extreme reverence.¹¹⁷ (1:9b) Imploring divine assistance, he went into abstinence and secluded himself in a purified chamber. Immediately,¹¹⁸ an old man came up to him and declared: 'I am Konzoku Nyorai, and you will be Muku Bodhisattva.¹¹⁹ A long time ago, I came to Tōnomine and have since stayed there. You descended later, and came to Mount Fukuden.'¹²⁰ At that moment, Kamako instantly ("opened his mind's eye" >) gained insight. He completely penetrated thousands of matters

He is frequently mentioned in *Nihon shoki* as active during the reigns of Emperors Keikō, Seimu, Chūai, Jingō, Ōjin, and Nintoku, so from (traditional data!) 71 till 399, and reached the rank of *ōmi*. The story, however, that is told in *Mizen hongī chū*, p.14b, that Takenouchi no Omi at the age of eight defeated the Kumaso and was appointed *chikara* 八歳ニシテ熊襲ヲ敗ル是ヲカニ任ヘタ, does not appear in *Nihon shoki*. The meaning of *chikara* is unclear, unless it is a completely anachronistic reference to the military term *kondei* 健兒 of the Nara and Heian Periods.

¹¹⁶ The character 會 should be understood in the sense of *rikai* 理會, = 理解. ("to understand")

¹¹⁷ Translation of the characters 甚敬, inserted in *Mizen hongī chū*, p. 15a. Cf. *Yomikudashi*, note 65, and *Honkoku*, note 68.

¹¹⁸ Our translation of *tadachi ni*; see *Yomikudashi*, note 66, and *Honkoku*, note 69.

¹¹⁹ According to the commentary in *Mizen hongī chū*, pp. 15a-b, Konzoku Nyorai ("Golden Grain Tathāgata") is the original body 本身 of Vimalakīrti 維摩, and "Muku Bodhisattva is one of Jōmyō's other names." (N.B. 淨名 is the Chinese translation of Vimalakīrti.) What we have here is the original body showing itself to his trace body 迹身. In the annotation of the next paragraph (*Mizen hongī chū*, p. 16a), the meeting of an original and a trace body is compared to the meeting between the Shinto god Ōnamuchi, and the Felicitous Spirit 幸魂, the Wondrous Spirit 奇魂 and Skillful Spirit 術魂 of a God who turns out to be Miwa Daijin; see *Taisei-kyō* 11 (*Chigi hongī, jō*): 「大己貴尊問：『汝命是誰耶？名字云何？』對曰：『吾是汝幸魂、奇魂、術魂之神也』。大己貴尊曰：『唯然今迺知，汝是吾身元幸魂、奇魂也。欲住何處哉？』對曰：『欲住於大倭國青垣三諸山。』故隨神所願，奉齋大倭國磯城之上郡青垣三諸山，即營使就而居。此大三輪大神、其神之子即大鴨君、三輪君等是此胤也。是人有魂魄，而屬身離身，其事之元也。』。 *Nihon shoki*, vol. 1 has a similar passage: 「于時神光照海、忽然有浮來者曰：『如吾不在者，汝何能平此國乎？由吾在故，汝得建其大造之績矣。』是時大己貴神問曰：『然則汝是誰耶。』對曰：『吾是汝之幸魂、奇魂也。』大己貴神曰：『唯然。乃知汝是吾之幸魂、奇魂，今欲何處住耶。』對曰：『吾欲住於日本國之三諸山。』故即營宮彼處，使就而居。此大三輪之神也」。

¹²⁰ Tōnomine is a mountain at the southern end of the Nara Plain, near present-day Sakurai, on which, after his death, Nakatomi no Kamatari (= Kamako) was interred and has since been revered as the ancestor-god of the Fujiwara clan. In *Mizen hongī chū*, p. 15b, it is said that "Fukudensan" is unknown, but a later reader entered a note in which he suggests that it might be another name of Tōnomine.

in [each of] the [ten sections of] one hundred years in the record [of *Mizen Hongi*].¹²¹ He informed the empress in secret; otherwise, he did not speak of it to anyone in his entourage.¹²² When she heard this [information from Kamako], the empress by turns had feelings of joy and of despair, [but] she kept silent [about what she had heard] and never talked of it."

Methinks, this *Mizen Hongi* is a valuable treasure of our country for ten thousand generations. Which person will not treasure it? When I look at this *Mizen Hongi*, I can adequately distinguish and understand things of the past and the present, and when I do so, [I notice that] not even the smallest details are wrong. Having read *Taihei-ki*, (1:10a) [I conclude that], because it says that Mr Kusunoki saw *Mirai-ki*, he [actually] knew in detail *Sendai kuji hongi*,

>>> *Taisei-kyō* is kept in Iso no Miya, Miwa, and [Shi]tennōji.
[for] I do not doubt that [this text] was secretly kept at the three locations of Isosuzu no Miya,¹²³ Miwa, and [Shi]Tennōji.

Again, Mr Hayashi said: "Someone asked me, saying, 'The Crown Prince mounted a coal-black horse from Kai and went up to the top of the Fuji.

>>> The Crown Prince mounted a coal-black horse from Kai and went up to the top of the Fuji.

[His] servant Tsukitsukai Maro followed him. What do you think of

¹²¹ If we accept the variant 千年 of *Taisei-kyō* (see *Honkoku*, note 71), the translation would become: "The [ten sections of] one hundred years in the record [of *Mizen Hongi* allowed him to] completely penetrate the thousand years."

¹²² The compound 旁客 is not attested in the dictionaries. Our translation is based on the individual meanings of the two characters.

¹²³ Isosuzu no Miya refers to the inner shrine (Naigū) of Ise.

this?' I answered him, saying: 'In Mr Miyako's *Fujisan-ki*¹²⁴ the Crown Prince's climbing [of Mt Fuji] is not mentioned. [The incident] is not mentioned, either, in the shrine and temple histories (*engi*) that are transmitted among the ordinary people. This is why I am suspicious of [this story]. Time and again, the things for which the world admires the Crown Prince [turn out to] have been exaggerated, and in quite a few cases [the storytellers] have made a mess of the facts.¹²⁵ When this time they say that [the Crown Prince] climbed the rocks of the Fuji, I doubt it even more. And when they say that the Crown Prince drove a chariot [to which] a green dragon [had been harnessed], entered the country of the Sui,¹²⁶ (1:10b) took the Lotus Sutra from his ancient quarters on the Southern Peak, and braving the empty void returned to Japan,¹²⁷ I doubt it and distrust it even more. How could I [possibly] believe it? When I consider the biographies of Śākyamuni, [they tell how] he had himself incarnated¹²⁸ to be born in the royal palace of [King] Śuddhodana and became Crown Prince Siddhārtha, and [how] during nineteen years there were all manner of auspicious signs and

¹²⁴ NKSM database mentions a text by this title (ID 4378451), written by one Miyako Yoshika 都良香, which has survived in two manuscripts. Moreover, in *Gunsho ruijū* vol. 9, and also in *Honchō monzui* vol. 12, a text with this title and attributed to Miyako Yoshika is published. In both these cases the text is only one and a half page long; it does not contain the name of Crown Prince Shōtoku. In fact, according to *Fujisan-ki*, the first person to climb Mt Fuji was the ascetic and mystic En no Gyōja (634-ca. 700~07).

¹²⁵ The text specifies the reading *kesu* of the character 鑠, which in itself means "to melt" (tr. and intr.). The compound 鑠實 is not listed, but in view of the reading *kesu*, the meaning should be something like "to obliterate the facts."

¹²⁶ Chinese dynasty; reigned from 581 till 619.

¹²⁷ Reference to the story that Shōtoku Taishi was the incarnation of the second patriarch of the Chinese Tiantai Sect Huisi, who lived in the Tiantai monastery on the Southern Peak 南嶽. The story was referred to earlier; cf. *supra*, note 14. In other words, the Prince was retrieving his own former copy of the Lotus sutra. Razan's source, here, is *Shōtoku-taishi denryaku* (pr. 1672) 2:6b-7a: 「而去年秋、子(なんぢ)國太子、元是念禪法師、駕二青龍車、從五百人、到東方、履空而來、探舊房裏、取一卷經、凌虛而去。仍留此法華五卷義疏。名ク二上宮疏。」

¹²⁸ This seems to be the nuance that is added by the verb 託 ("to entrust," namely "himself"). N.B. The compound 託誕 is not attested in the dictionaries, nor anywhere in the *Taishō daizōkyō*.

divine transformations - more than one could count. I think that the one who composed the biography of Crown Prince Shōtoku, too, must have seen the biographies of Crown Prince Siddhārtha, and out of envy and admiration he must have made his [work] resemble those. That is all there is to it." 〈Up till here Mr Hayashi〉

*Seikō hongī*¹²⁹ ("The Basic Annals of the Holy Emperor," i.e. of Shōtoku Taishi) also contains the stories that he climbed the top of the Fuji on a black horse from Kai, or that he entered the country of Sui and took the Lotus [Sutra]. Mr Hayashi, however, says that he doubts them, and that they are exaggerated and make a mess of the facts. Mr Hayashi had at his leisure perused the works of the Holy and Wise Ones¹³⁰; he knew the permanent way and the human relations that bring order [to society]. He had also read the utterly divine book¹³¹ but he did not know of magical oddities and divine transformations. (1:11a) Therefore he had these doubts. His is the usual malady of Confucian scholars, formerly and now, in the other country and in Japan. Truly, is this not [like] the saying that "the rope of a well bucket is too short to scoop the depth [of the well]"?¹³² If you [really] want to know the story of the Crown Prince, you should read *Seikō hongī*. The Crown Prince's posthumous name is "the Truly Eminent Great and

¹²⁹ *Seikō hongī* refers to *Taisei-kyō* 35-38. The story about Crown Prince Shōtoku retrieving the Lotus Sutra can be found in fasc. 37 (edn ZST vol. 2, p. 380-381).

¹³⁰ Although *seiken* 聖賢 is frequently used in reference to Shōtoku-taishi, in this case the reference must be to Confucianism, as contrasted with Shinto, whatever *kami no itaru no sho* may mean exactly (cf. next note).

¹³¹ This is most likely a reference to *Taisei-kyō*. Chōon assumed that Razan had indeed read *Taisei-kyō*; cf. *infra*, note 277. What books Razan actually had read about Shinto appears in his 既見書目 ("List of Books Already Read") of 1604 (*Razan Rin-sensei shū Furoku* 1 (*Shishū* vol. 2, pp. 5-12); here (p. 12b) are listed four historical sources: *Nihon shoki*, *Jinnō shōtō ki*, *Engishiki*, and [*Shinsen*] *Shōji roku*. Of course, later on he will added other titles to the list.

¹³² A paraphrase of a line from *Zhuangzi* 18: *Zhile* (至樂; "Perfect Enjoyment") 5: 「孔子曰：『善哉汝問。昔者管子有言、丘甚善之、曰：「楮小者不可以懷大、綆短者不可以汲深。」』」。

Holy Crown Prince." Thus, under the Holy Ones and Sages of China, there is no person who can compare to him or equal him. In India, you have the birth of Crown Prince Siddhārtha. I think that they were of similar stock. Is there anyone in the politics of the every-day world who rises one head above him?

Again, Mr Hayashi says 〈fourth page of fascicle five〉 : "Again, someone asked, 'In the *Taishi denryaku* ("Shortened Biography of the Crown Prince") that the Taira compiled, it says that the Crown Prince once ordered people to build his tumulus, and that he instructed them, saying "Cut it here and slash it there; (1:11b) I do not intend to have descendants." Well, how [can one] call it a [matter of] great reproach not to have children and grandchildren who succeed you? In the teachings left by Confucius, not to have descendants is unfilial [behaviour]. I, [however,] am a disciple of Śākya, and I am not a disciple of Confucius.'¹³³ What do you make of these words?'

"I answered him saying, 'In recent years I saw a book [written] by a Christian.¹³⁴ In its argument it also touched on this point. [It said:] "If it is unfilial not to have descendants, then [it should be pointed out that] one has never yet heard that Boyi and Shuqi had children. Are Yi and Qi unfilial? If having posterity is considered filial, is then the one who buys many concubines and indulges his sexual desires [to be considered] filial?" In my opinion, the words of the Crown Prince and the argument of the Christians both are concerned with only one side

¹³³ See also our translation of this passage in *Honchō jinja kō bengi* 2:6b-7a and notes.

¹³⁴ Razan here refers to *Tianzhu shiyi* 天主實義 ("The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven"), a book written by Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci (1552-1610), which argues that Confucianism and Christianity are not opposed and in fact are remarkably similar in key respects.

and lack objectivity and fairness." ‹Until here Mr Hayashi›

In *Seikō hongī* it says: "In the twelfth month of winter the Crown Prince ordered the horses to be put to his carriage, went to his burial place in Shinanaga, (1:12a) and inspected the layout of his tumulus. He immediately went inside, looked to the four [directions], and commanded as follows: 'Be sure to slash it here and cut it there, for no descendants will succeed me.' In pursuit of this command, the workmen of the tomb broke off what had to be broken off, and cut what had to be cut. The Crown Prince greatly rejoiced, and thereupon by nightfall he turned his carriage around.

"The assembled nobility spoke to him, saying: 'The way of the former emperors is to have a long [line] of descendants. When you have no descendants, it is wrong. Why has our great king slashed the tumulus, and does he desire to end [his line]?'¹³⁵

"The Crown Prince answered as follows: 'I have thought about this often. When a man is born, he receives his life, manages his material endowment,¹³⁶ and entrusts himself to his fate.¹³⁷ [Both] material endowment and fate depend on one's former lives. In my previous lives I often cultivated the absolute and highest truth,¹³⁸ and [as a result] I no [longer] tarry between heaven and earth. Though

¹³⁵ The object of the verb 絶 is not mentioned, but can be inferred from the context: the verb 欲 suggests that the action is going to take place in the future, and the fact that the tumulus is mentioned *before* 欲 suggests that it is not the object of 絶, although 絶 was used as a synonym of 斷 two lines back.

¹³⁶The compound 御氣 (Mor. IV: 10157-43) means "to control one's temper," "to drive through the original *Qi* of the universe."

¹³⁷ It is not clear what the phrase 數ニ託ス exactly means. One of the possible meanings of 數 is fate (see Mor. V: 13363 s.v. 7). Translating 數 with "fate" implies that the preceding 命 should be translated as "life," not "fate."

¹³⁸ Translation of *shintai* 眞諦. The meaning of this Buddhist term is "the holy truth; absolute truth; truth beyond referentiality."

[presently] I find myself between heaven and earth, it is a mere borrowed [existence]. Therefore, my body in this present life, [with] its fate and [with] its material endowment, was born entrusting itself to cut-off karma.¹³⁹ The Heavenly Mandate has no favourites, and I already know that my line will come to an end. (1:12b) If, knowing this, I would enter my blessed¹⁴⁰ tumulus, I fear I might do to naught the [construction] rules of the builders. [But] again, why should I fear the wrong [of not having descendants] and deceive myself? The laws left by the former emperors relate to general matters. If they would really cover everything, then the heavenly law, on the other hand, would be empty.'¹⁴¹ The assembled nobility heard these [words]. Overcome with grief and regret, they cried and prostrated themselves."¹⁴²

Methodically, the biography of the Crown Prince that the Taira compiled was compiled by them *after* [Soga no] Iruka had burned the national records.¹⁴³ Therefore it contains many mistakes.

>>> *Taishi den* contains many errors; *Seikō hongī* is the correct version.

Seikō hongī, [on the other hand,] is a book that was compiled by the scholar Hata no Kawakatsu¹⁴⁴ after the demise of Crown Prince Shōtoku, and which Empress Suiko, following an oracle of the Great

¹³⁹ The compound 絶法 is not attested in the dictionaries. It occurs some thirty-four times in the Buddhist canon, but not once in combination with 託. In view of the context, the most likely interpretation seems to be that the Crown Prince's karma has come to an end, and that he "is no longer of this world."

¹⁴⁰ Cf. *Honkoku*, note 81.

¹⁴¹ An interesting pronouncement. The idea that we have "imperial law" and "heavenly law" is not often broached.

¹⁴² The above, from "In the twelfth month of winter" till here is a complete and correct quotation from *Taisei-kyō* 38 (*Seikō hongī* 4, Suiko Tennō), edn ZST vol. 2, p. 394; edn 1679, 38, frame 24-25.

¹⁴³ Cf. *supra*, notes 43 and 44.

¹⁴⁴ See *supra*, note 65.

God Heavenly Grandchild,¹⁴⁵ had stored in three places: the Isonomiya,¹⁴⁶ Miwa, and the [Shi]tennōji. For this reason, *Seikō hongī* is [a text] that on all points differs from what the Taira tell us. The words of the Crown Prince's biography by the Taira (1:13a) are the pronouncements of later men, and not the pronouncements of the Crown Prince himself. Nevertheless, Mr Hayashi discusses the Crown Prince and the Christians as if they are the same. It must be his tongue running away with Mr Hayashi the twaddler?¹⁴⁷ In his *Tsurezuregusa*, [Yoshida] Kenkō [writes that,] because the Crown Prince argued that it was all right not to have descendants, everyone, now and formerly, with one voice [condemned] the Crown Prince as the worst [example of] unfiliality.¹⁴⁸ This opinion is incorrect. The Crown Prince, thinking back to the karma of his former lives, [realised that] his descendants would not succeed him.¹⁴⁹ Therefore, when he had his tumulus built,

¹⁴⁵ The 天孫太神 will be Ninigi no mikoto, the grandson of Amaterasu. The Preface of *Taisei-kyō* (*Jindai kōdai Taisei-kyō jo* 神代皇代大成經序), which was written by Empress Suiko herself, makes mention of this oracle: 「太神託曰：『神通、天通、地通、人通、法通，大聖皇太子之行紀及述紀、不可不加入之。是皇天之行、是皇天之作也。古天之皇天、新天之大王誠哉。神代、皇代、太成之經、祕之於神祠、則不滅矣。天皇善哉、奉代皇太神答之。朕奉天孫太神報敕、大喜而為加錄。是即神造也、非朕謾改聖作而為凡作』」。 It also mentions that this text was stored at Iso no Suzu no Miya, Miwa and Shitenōji: 「仍以遂拋任神尊之託宣而，祕是於五十鈴宮於大三輪宮及于四天王寺、為所以欲為諸宮中日月、而照無窮世也爾。于時、我人皇立皇極、一千百四十有五年也」。

¹⁴⁶ In the Preface of *Taisei-kyō*, this name is written as 五十鈴宮. Isosuzu no Miya is another name of the Naigū, the Inner Shrine in Ise.

¹⁴⁷ The word *kōchōsetsu* 廣長舌 refers to one of the thirty-two birth marks of the Buddha, defined by a long and flexible tongue with which he can cover his face. Figuratively it is used to refer to a talkative, garrulous individual.

¹⁴⁸ This will be a reference to *Tsurezuregusa* 6, where the subject is discussed and Shōtoku is quoted. Keene translates the passage as follows: "Even members of the nobility, let alone persons of no consequence, would do well not to have children. Prince Kaneakira, Fujiwara no Koremichi, and Minamoto no Arihito all desired that their line end with themselves. Fujiwara no Yoshifusa ... was of the same opinion. He wrote, 'You would best not have descendants. How unfortunate it would be if they proved inferior to yourself!' They say that when Prince Shōtoku had a tomb built for himself before his death, he ordered the workmen to 'cut here, trim there - I wish for no descendants.'" (Keene, Donald, *Essays in Idleness*, rpt, 6th pr., Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1991 pp. 6-7)

¹⁴⁹ This again will be a reference to *Shōtoku-taishi Denryaku*; see *Shusho Taishi den* 4:30a-31a,

he told them to slash it here and to cut it there. His words did *not* mean that it is all right that one's line be cut.

Again, Mr Hayashi says 〈ninth page right, fifth fascicle〉 : "Someone asked again, saying: 'The Crown Prince [stated that] Shinto is the root and trunk, Confucianism is the branches and leaves, and Buddhism is the flowers and fruit.¹⁵⁰ What do you think of these words?'

"I answered, (1:13b) saying: 'These are not the words of the Crown Prince. They were afterwards attributed to him by the Urabe and Nakatomi.¹⁵¹ The Crown Prince did not have a mind [like] Prince Xian's, [who was] fond of antiquity.¹⁵² He [rather] had a nature [like] Xiao Yan's, [who] lectured on the Sutra's.¹⁵³ If the Crown Prince really had loved the gods in the same way as he loved the Buddha,¹⁵⁴ why, then, did he waste great treasure on building so many Buddhist temples? If he had served Confucianism in the same way as he served the Buddha, why, then, did he say that he ardently believed in the

where it says: 「遙憶過去、因果相按、吾未賽了、禍及子孫、子孫不續、豈云大咎」。

¹⁵⁰ See for translations of this passage Grappard, "*Yuiitsu Shintō Myōbō Yōshū*, p. 153, and Scheid, *Weg der Götter*, p. 350. Notwithstanding the differences between the wording in *Myōhō yōshū* and in *Jinja-kō*, Razan will have based himself on *Myōhō yōshū*, where this is presented as a quotation, pretending to be secret words spoken by Shōtoku-taishi to Empress Suiko. Scheid, *op. cit.*, p. 243, note 49, identifies *Biki-sho* 鼻婦書 (1324) and *Kuji hongji gengi* 舊事本紀玄義 (end of the Kamakura Period?) as possible sources, and also mentions Ichijō Kanera as a possible influence, for which he refers to "Nishida 1957" - a book that is not listed in his bibliography.

¹⁵¹ This might be a generic reference to "clans of shinto specialists. More pointedly, however, "Urabe" could be a reference to Yoshida Kanetomo 吉田兼俱 (1435-1511), the writer of *Yuiitsu shintō myōhō yōshū*, for the Yoshida descended from the ancient clan Urabe. "Nakatomi" just might be a reference to Ichijō Kanera (1402-1481), who was a Fujiwara and, hence, a descendent of the Nakatomi, but as long as the nature and extent of his involvement is unclear, we cannot be sure.

¹⁵² Prince Xian is Liu De 劉德, a son of Emperor Jing of the Western Han Dynasty (r. 188-141). Xian was his posthumous name. Prince Xian was interested in Confucianism; see Mor. II: 2224-533.

¹⁵³ Xiao Yan is Emperor Wu of the Liang Dynasty 梁武帝 (r. 502-549). He was well-known supporter of Buddhism.

¹⁵⁴ Notwithstanding the reading *taishi wo shite ... gotoku narashimeba*, which is specified in our manuscript, the auxiliary *ling* 令 should be interpreted as a reinforcement of the preceding particle *ruo* 若, meaning "if, given the case that ..." After all, there is no agency that makes the Crown Prince do this; it is a hypothesis that is being formulated.

Three Treasures? Methinks, what he really believed was just that Buddhism was the root and trunk, and that Shinto and Confucianism were the branches and the flowers. Aaah! If he had turned the Buddhist temples into schools and the Buddhist practices into sacrifices, and if he had instructed [the students] in filial and brotherly piety and had urged them to be loyal and sincere, how, then, could the Way of the Gods and the Way of Men¹⁵⁵ have been two [separate things]?¹⁵⁶ How regrettable, that the Crown Prince was not like this." 〈Until here Mr Hayashi〉

Seikō hongī says: "On the 19th day, 3d month of the 7th year of Emperor Bidatsu, (1:14a) the emperor, impressed by the Crown Prince's native talents, gave orders and summoned the Crown Prince to the great hall, and questioned him about the meaning of the teachings of Confucianism and Buddhism. The Crown Prince reported to him as follows: 'Confucianism is the Way of Human Relations; it is the same as the Way of the former emperors. This is the branches and leaves of the Way. The Buddha is the teacher of the Heavenly Ancestor in the Way of Great Awakening. This is the flowers and fruits of the Way. These two methods are independent, but they go together with the Way of the Gods. The three of them together are the great accomplishment.¹⁵⁷ Our Way is the roots and trunk of the Way. Having a trunk, it has branches; having branches, it has fruits; having fruits, it

¹⁵⁵ 人道 here means "the Way of Human Relations" 人倫之道, i.e. Confucianism. Other interpretations such as "the Realm of Man" as one of the six realms of transmigration, or as one of the three realms of nature, next to the Way of Heaven 天道 and the Way of Earth 地道 are not appropriate.

¹⁵⁶ Razan is here alluding to a different theme, namely, that Confucianism is not a foreign creed, and that Shinto and Confucianism are basically one.

¹⁵⁷ *Taisei* 大成: the title of *Taisei-kyō* probably derives from this notion.

brings forth trunks. [In this way,] spontaneously, there is an unalterable principle¹⁵⁸ [running through all] three laws. The world reveres them, practises them.' The emperor heard him, and could neither suppress nor reject¹⁵⁹ [his words]."

If we follow *Seikō hongī*, then [these words] are not [to be] attributed to Nakatomi, but truly are a doctrine of the Crown Prince. Yet, Mr Hayashi is of the opinion that these are *not* the words of the Crown Prince. He is a man of heterodox interpretations, [who] (1:14b) preaches heterodoxy whenever he opens his mouth. Our Way is the roots and the trunk. When there is a trunk, there are branches; when there are branches, there are fruits; when there are fruits, the trunk is brought forth. Methinks the fruits are the Way of the Buddha; the branches are Confucianism; the roots are the Way of the Gods. That being the case, one root, branch, and fruit are each other's beginning and end. More specifically, our country is the sun; China is the stars; India is the moon. The stars and the moon increase their lustre through the [rays of] the sun. How could [our country] not be the root?! Therefore, the two Ways of Confucianism and Buddhism are brought forth by the Way of the Gods. This principle is something that a person who has not been initiated in the *Kanden* [of *Taisei-kyō*]¹⁶⁰ cannot know.

In his *Disquisition on the god Ho no Ikazuchi*, Mr. Hayashi states: "In

¹⁵⁸ Just as the preceding 成三大成, the present 三法經 will be an allusion to the *Taisei-kyō*.

¹⁵⁹ The compound 押廢 is not attested in the dictionaries. We have therefore translated according to the meaning of the individual characters.

¹⁶⁰ Reference to an initiation ceremony involving baptism, which one had to undergo before being told the secrets of *Taisei-kyō*. Chōon himself had undergone the ceremony, when he was initiated by Nagano Uneme. For details, see the Appendix "*Taisei-kyō* and its corpus of initiation texts (*kanden*)."

Shōtai 4 (901), through slander of the Minister of the Left Fujiwara no Tokihira (871-909),
(1:15a)

>>> Kan Shōjō (= Sugawara no Michizane, 845-903)

[Sugawara no Michizane] was demoted to the post of governor of Dazaifu," [where] he died. His spirit¹⁶¹ became Tenjin ("the Heavenly God"). [Among his] attendants and messengers, there is in particular the god Ho no Ikazuchi. [Ho no Ikazuchi] killed Fujiwara no Kiyotsura (867-930), Taira no Mareyo (d. 930) and others by lightning. He burned down the [Emperor's] palace and all the temples. "This is a popular tradition. This is not worth taking [it seriously]." He quotes [the Song Confucians] Masters Cheng¹⁶² and Mr Hu¹⁶³ [to the effect] that the thunder god has no form, and he explains [the whole incident] through logic.¹⁶⁴ He [also] slights "the dragon's carriage, the stone axe, the ogre's drum, or the whip of fire of the heterodox believers as uncanny stories that are hard to believe."¹⁶⁵

Mr Hayashi contents himself with false theories of Song Confucians [like] the Masters Cheng and Mr Hu, and he does not believe the explanation of the Buddha from India, nor the tales of the gods of our country. He belittles the Buddha and the gods, and he esteems the Cheng and Hu. It is truly ridiculous.

¹⁶¹ Although the character 靈 is here glossed *tamashii*, which is usually translated as "soul," in a Neo-Confucian context, the character rather denotes a superior quality of *qi*. We have generally translated the word as "spiritual(ity)." Hence, the translation "spirit," rather than "soul."

¹⁶² I.e., the brothers Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033-1107) and Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032-1085).

¹⁶³ I.e., Hu Yin 胡寅 (1098-1156).

¹⁶⁴ Near the end of the disquisition, Razan says: "Their non-goodness and the bad material force of heaven and earth came together, [so the result] was the necessary effect of principle" 理之必然也; see *Bunshū* vol. 1, p. 297a. See also Boot, "Spirits, Gods, and Heaven in Confucian Thought."

¹⁶⁵ Here ends the quotation *cum* paraphrase. We have put the parts that are direct quotations between "..."; cf. *Yomikudashi*, note 83.

Let me here present evidence that the god of thunder does have a form. The biography of Emperor Yūryaku (418-456-479) in *Taisei-kyō* states: "[Zodiacal sign] Elder of Water - Tiger.¹⁶⁶ Loud thunder. (1:15b) The princesses and court ladies are all in fear and look pale. At that time, Kamitori no Muraji was in attendance in the inner palace.¹⁶⁷ Thereupon the Emperor spoke and said: 'Even though it is thunder from Heaven, why should we not [try to] control it?' And next, he ordered [Kamitori], saying: 'You are by nature extremely courageous. Try to go and get him.' Then Kamitori no Muraji mounted his chariot, raised his whip, and pursuing the sound of thunder he spoke: 'The material force of man really exists; the material force of a spectre manifests itself, but is empty [inside]. Why should I not get hold of you? If you, spectre, have courage and strength, come and compete with my strength.' In pursuit, [Kamitori] arrived at Thunder Hill. The god of thunder, [however], did not descend. [Kamitori] became angry and kicked his horse. Thereupon, startled, [the horse] jumped and went up into the air for some thirty meters. The god of thunder became afraid and fell to the ground. His appearance was frightful. [Kamitori] brought him back to the Great Hall [of the palace]. The Emperor took one look at him, and was unable to look at him again; he was [too] afraid. All the halls resounded with thunder, and all

¹⁶⁶ These *eto* denote the twenty-seventh day of the fourth month of the twelfth year of Yūryaku. No similar incident is mentioned in *Nihon shoki* under this date.

¹⁶⁷ Apart from *Taisei-kyō*, the episode is also described in *Wakan sansai zue* (1712), fasc. 73. There, Kamitori no Muraji is identified as Chiisako(be) no Sugaru 小子部螺贏. The present episode is not mentioned in *Nihon shoki*, but an earlier one (Yūryaku 7/7/3), in which Sugaru captures another deity at the emperor's behest and brings it to the palace, is. *Wakan sansai zue* mentions the *Nihon shoki* as its source for the first story, although it supplies much more detail than the version in *Nihon shoki*, but does not mention a source for the second one - the capture of the Thunder God. The story of Chiisakobe no Sugaru 栖輕 being sent by the emperor to catch the thunder is also told in the very first story of *Nihon ryōiki* 日本靈異記; the details, however, are significantly different. *Ergo*, neither *Nihon shoki* nor *Nihon ryōiki* can be the source for *Taisei-kyō* and *Sankai zue*.

offices were brightly lit by lightning. [The Emperor] spoke, and entreated [Kamitori] to get rid of him. The god of thunder (1:16a) did not go away. [The courtiers] performed a Shinto dance (*kagura*), and this calmed him down. They performed a Shinto sacrifice, and this satisfied him. Finally, he waved over a cloud, mounted it, and flew away, discharging thunderbolts. Ever since then, the Emperor did not make light of the virtues of a god. Kamitori no Muraji gave himself new names based on the word thunder. He called himself Catcher of Thunder (*Kaminaritori*). Naming the place where [the god of] thunder had fallen down, he called it Thunder Hill (*Ikazuchi no oka*). Furthermore, he called himself Devil-catching Muraji (*Onitori no muraji*). This is based on the fact that in appearance, [the god of] thunder is a red devil."¹⁶⁸

Moreover, not only does the god of thunder have a form, the gods of our country are mostly living gods, and therefore they have a

>>> Our country has many living gods; in the foreign country (= China), one considers the souls of the dead to be gods.

form. In the foreign country (= China) one worships the souls of dead men and considers them to be gods. It is for that reason that Confucians think they have no form. Do not treat the Gods of our country and those of the foreign country as identical. In our country, even the souls of dead men massively [manifest] divine transformations and mysterious wonders. Usa¹⁶⁹ and Yoshino¹⁷⁰ in

¹⁶⁸ In Japan, "devils" (*oni*) were divided into red devils, associated with *yang*, and white ones, associated with *yin*, although they were introduced as part of Buddhist lore.

¹⁶⁹ Usa is the place in Bungo (Ōita Prefecture) where the oldest shrine of Hachiman is located. The point is that Hachiman is the deified Emperor Ōjin (200-310; r. 270-310).

¹⁷⁰ The deity worshiped in Yoshino is Emperor Ankan (466-531-536). There existed a tradition that he was the original of Zaō-gongen. *Taisei-kyō* subscribes to this tradition; see *Taisei-kyō* 29,

the past, and Kitano Tenjin¹⁷¹ more recently are proof of this.

In [fascicle four of] *Taisei-kyō* it says: "At that time, Izanagi, (1:16b) having already parted from Izanami, deeply lamented [her fate] and he [also] thought it suspicious.¹⁷² In a god's body there are three [types of] bodies¹⁷³; these are the transcendent principle body, the material force body, and the seed body.¹⁷⁴ The so-called transcendent principle body is [the five stages of] causation, becoming, climaxing, transforming, and settling, which have existed since the primordial beginning.¹⁷⁵

where the following is recorded: 「宣化天皇：三年、秋八月、勾大兄安閑天皇現魂於金峯、告吉野國縣主物部吹荒子曰：『我是勾大兄丸安閑。元在戶科外天內津宮明津宮、昔成天皇、取國政焉。今成此山神。吾是權現神、護寶祚、守國、叶乎民之願。』權化神名、於此時始。」

¹⁷¹ The title given to Sugawara no Michizane when he was deified posthumously in 986. His main temple in Kyoto is known as Kitano Tenmangū.

¹⁷² The story of Izanami's descent into the Nether World (*Yomotsukuni*) and Izanagi's visit is also told in several versions in *ihon* included in the first book of *Nihon shoki* (see *Nihon shoki* vol. 1, pp. 11-24; Aston, *Nihon shoki* vol. 1, pp. 20-33). Neither the version of *Taisei-kyō* nor the versions of *Nihon shoki* makes clear, however, what "suspicions" Izanagi may have felt, but in view of the context, they will relate to the assumption that a god has three bodies, which is discussed underneath. N.B. *Shigetsu yawa* 3 contains a long essay (two double pages), entitled *Shin setsu konshō* 神説婚障, which begins with a spurious quotation from *Taisei-kyō* 4 (*Kōsen* 黄泉 *hongī*). In it, Chōon also discusses the reasons for Izanagi's puzzlement, without bringing up the three bodies of the gods.

¹⁷³ Translation of the characters 於神身, which we inserted on the basis of the text in *Taisei-kyō*; cf. *Honkoku*, note 110, and *Yomikudashi*, note 91. The literal translation would be "In the body of a god there are three bodies." There is no real difference in meaning between 身 and 躬. The complete quotation that follows serves yet again as proof that Gods *do* have a form, and is part of the argument that Chōon started above (1:15a).

¹⁷⁴ The threefold division reminds of the three bodies of the Buddha (*dharmakāya* 法身, *saṃbhogakāya* 報身, *nirmāṇakāya* 應身), but the definitions are completely different. See the essay *Shinbutsu sanshin* 神仏三身 (*Shigetsu yawa* 6.56), where the parallels are spelled out: 「夫レ神道ノ三身トハ者、理身、氣身、精身也。佛道ノ三身者、法身報身應身也。名異ニシテ、理同シ。此ノ理法身ハ、寥莫ニシテ而躰也也。氣報身、貞善ニシテ而相也也。精應身ハ、事信ニシテ而用也也。以ニ身躰相用一ヲ、配ニスル神佛ノ三身一ニ者也。躰ハ無相ニシテ而性也。相ハ具ニス五常一ヲ。用ハ五常之中以レスル也信ヲ也。」 The terms 理, 氣, and 精 stem from Confucian metaphysics, but in Neo-Confucianism, the division is twofold, *li* and *qi*. There is no separate, third category such as *jing*; *jing* is a quality of *qi*. On the other hand, the term *Go Chin* 五鎮 ("Five Pillars") is an important concept in *Taisei-kyō*, where it serves as the counterpart of the Confucian concept of *Wu Xing* 五行 ("Five Agents"). Three of the Five Pillars are 理, 氣, and 精. In *Taisei-kyō*, edn 1679, the "three bodies" are read (*kotowa*)*ri* (*no*) *mi*, *iki* (*no*) *mi*, and *tana* (*no*) *mi*. The meaning of the word *tana* is unclear, though it may be a pseudo-archaic rendering of *tane* ("seed"); cf. *Yomikudashi*, notes 92 and 107. We have decided, therefore, to translate the term as "seed body," based on the Japanese reading.

¹⁷⁵ In our translation of this sentence, we have treated 久方元有之 as attributive to 縁生極易定,

"God" is the controlling spirit within the transcendent principle.¹⁷⁶ The "Heart"¹⁷⁷ [contains] the nature [that consists] of this transcendent principle.¹⁷⁸ "Material force" gives this transcendent principle a (body >) concrete form.¹⁷⁹ The limbs and senses¹⁸⁰ provide this transcendent principle with a location [in which to be active].

"The [reason why] the heart is not spoken of [in terms of] five,¹⁸¹ [is that] it has not yet divided, manifested, and expanded

and ended the sentence with 是, to be read as *kore nari*. Cf. *Honkoku*, note 111, and *Yomikudashi*, notes 93 and 95. The reading *arasu* of 有 given in *Taisei-kyō*, edn 1679, cannot be accommodated. What is said is that (1) the *kotowari no mi* has existed ever since the very beginning of the cosmos, and (2) that it is equivalent to the five stages that determine all cosmic processes, great and small.

¹⁷⁶ *Taisei-kyō*, edn 1679, 4:2a, reads the sentence as follows: *kami wa ri ni okeru sube-mitama nari*. We have tried to follow this reading in our translation.

¹⁷⁷ 心 is the fourth of the Five Pillars. We prefer to translate *xin* 心 as "heart," rather than "mind," because *xin* is not only the intellective principle in man, but also the basis of human feelings. De Bary's translation "Heart-and-mind" captures this idea, but is a bit cumbersome. A second reason is that *xin* also refers to the organ "heart." In this sense, the word is associated with a specific location. We find this, e.g., in the expression 方寸 (see *infra*, pp. 3:18a-b). On the other hand, *Taisei-kyō* defines 心 as 「心謀萬法、無窮。其性識、其業貫、故云無窮識物」 - "The heart devises the myriad phenomena; it is unlimited; its nature is discriminatory; its functioning is penetrating; therefore, [the heart] is called an unlimited discriminatory entity." In this case, "mind," with its associations of rationality, *would* be an appropriate translation.

¹⁷⁸ In standard Confucian metaphysics, the "heart" consists of *li* (universal; the same for all members of a species) and *qi* (different for each individual of a species); within an individual, the *li* part of the heart is called "nature" 性. In a Shinto context, the identification of "god" with "nature," dwelling in the heart, is often made, e.g. in Razan's *Shinto denju*. This implies an identity of "gods" with *li*. "The heart" is, therefore, partially identical with *li*, but not completely. Therefore, rather than translating "the heart is the nature of this *li*," we have inserted "contains."

¹⁷⁹ The expression *ri wo nasu* is specified by the reading marks in *Taisei-kyō*, edn 1679. An alternative interpretation would be to read 為 as *tame*, and to translate the sentences as "*Qi* is the body *for* this principle"; "the observable world is the place *for* this principle."

¹⁸⁰ *Sakai* is the fifth of the Five Pillars, mentioned above. In Mor. III: 5409 s.v. 5, 境 is defined as "the world that becomes the object of the mind" 心意の対象となる世界, and in a Buddhist context, it is a technical term meaning "the objects of cognition." An indication of what the term means in the context of *Taisei-kyō* is given in *Taisei-kyō* 1: 「諸帝及諸神、皆各具九境。九境者何者？即目、耳、鼻、口、手、足、陰、軀、心。」. We will therefore translate the term as "limbs and senses."

¹⁸¹ The meaning of this sentence can be gathered from the first (一心: "One Heart") and second (五心: "Five Hearts") sections of *Taisei-kyō* 40 (*Kyōgyō hongī, jōkan no ge*). **One Heart** is defined there as follows: 「吾天皇心、無聞因、無作因、謂是天真心神明心。」 - "My heavenly-august heart never hears causes [of karmatic causation], and never makes causes [of karmatic causation]. [That is why] we call it the true heart of heaven, the illuminated heart of the divine." The reading given in the edn 1679 is: *Wa ga ama no oho-mi-gokoro, tanamono mo kiku naku, tanamono mo nasu nashi. Kore wo ama no magokoro, kan'ake no kokoro to iu*. The word *tanamono* will be *tanemono*: "seed-thing"; cf.

[itself]. To the material force, gathered and stored, the same applies.¹⁸² The gods, remaining in their origin, are undifferentiated. Their limbs and senses enter into emptiness and concealment. Only the transcendent principle manifests itself in accordance with the law; therefore, it pushes them to take shape.¹⁸³

"Now, before heaven had risen, the gods, who were in the Eternal World,¹⁸⁴ were all [identical with] their transcendent principle body. They were, therefore, without desire and without delusions; there was no moment, therefore, at which their long life would end. The body of the first Heavenly Ancestor¹⁸⁵ is a case in point. If he did not want to show himself [of his own accord], then the gods, too, were

supra, note 174. The meaning of the character leaves no doubt in regard to the meaning of the phrase. The reading indicated in the edn 1679 is rather stilted; it would be better Japanese to read *tanamono wo kiku (koto) mo naku, tanamono wo nasu (koto) mo nashi*. (See edn ZST vol. 3, p. 28; edn 1679, fasc. 39/40, frame 31-33). The **Five Hearts** are defined as the five elements that constitute the heart of August Heaven 皇天, namely mercy (Benevolence), radiance (Wisdom), loyalty (Righteousness), measuredness (Rites), and trust, distributed according to the five seasons: 「吾為春而惠、為夏而光、為秋而忠、為冬而節、為用而信也、在常而中。是五者、諸心一也。」 - "In spring I [distribute] mercy; in summer I shine; in fall I [promote] loyalty; in winter I [practise] measuredness; and in the middle of the year I [promote] trust. I remain in the permanent and thus [hit] the middle. This is why these five things are one heart." (See edn ZST vol. 3, p. 28; edn 1679, fasc. 39/40, frame 33). See also Sonehara Satoshi, *Tokugawa-jidai no itanteki shūkyō* (Tokyo: Iwata Shoin, 2018), pp.63-64, for an explanation of this passage.

¹⁸² If we have read this correctly, it means that, just like the "heart," the *qi*, too, has not yet divided, manifested, and expanded itself.

¹⁸³ It is unclear, which "law" 法 it is, according to which "principle" manifests itself and which causes 心, 氣, 神, and 境 to start moving and assume one or other form. It helps, however, to look at the very beginning of *Taisei-kyō* 1, where the state of being of the unborn, eternal god (heavenly ancestor 天祖), is described in the following terms: 「天讓日天先霧地讓月地先霧天祖太神者、又常世常皇尊、坐虛莫極、立妙定限。無先有物、無非主之。是謂天先神、其法之元也」。 Note the word 法 in the final phrase: *sono nori no moto nari*. The last four phrases would translate as: "There was nothing that existed before him. There is nothing of which he is not the lord. He is called the god from before heaven. He is the origin of that / its law(s)."

¹⁸⁴ If we do not follow the alternative reading 在 offered by *Taisei-kyō*, edn 1679 (cf. *Yomikudashi*, note 99), but follow our own manuscript and read 有, then the translation should be: "When heaven had not yet arisen, there was the eternal land. The gods all were their transcendent principle body." The implication will be that the gods all were in the *tokoyo no kuni*, but it is not clearly spelled out. Hence our preference for the emendation.

¹⁸⁵ For "Heavenly ancestor" 天祖, cf. *supra*, note 183. He is described as "the unborn, first heavenly deity" 無生始天神, so he is definitely different from Amaterasu. *Taisei-kyō* 1 also has a 天常立 and a 地常立, but Kuni no tokotachi, the first God in *Nihon shoki*, does not appear.

unable to see him.

(1:17a) "The gods who came into existence after heaven had come into existence, came to the centre of heaven in their transcendent principle bodies; then, from the pure material force of heaven,¹⁸⁶ they made their divine bodies¹⁸⁷ and were born. Their transcendent principle bodies they made into their divine souls. From the material force and the "senses and limbs"¹⁸⁸ they made their divine bodies. This is called the material force body. This applies to the ancestral gods of [the first] seven generations.¹⁸⁹ When heaven comes to an end, their bodies, too, will come to an end.

"With their transcendent principle bodies, or again with their material force bodies [the gods] entered into the material force of their fathers and mothers, and from *that* material force they made their [own] bodies. The gods who have been born from [this] pure essence,¹⁹⁰ are called [the gods of the] seed bodies. They will, therefore, come to an end before heaven [ends]. Such is the case with our living gods.

"In case of the material body or the seed body - when [a god's]

¹⁸⁶ 精氣 (read *tana-iki* in *Taisei-kyō*, edn 1679; cf. *Yomikudashi*, note 101) is a common compound; it seems better to interpret it this way, than to relate it to the 氣躬 and 精躬 mentioned earlier; also, the order - *jing qi* instead of *qi jing* - would be wrong.

¹⁸⁷ Here the compound 神躬 is used, which is not on the original list of the Three Bodies. In the next line, the compound 神身 is used, which can be interpreted in the general sense of "the body of a god." We find the same variation in the *hanpon* and modern editions of *Taisei-kyō*, so it is unlikely to be a mistake. The question now becomes, what is the difference?

¹⁸⁸ Neither our manuscript, nor the two editions of *Taisei-kyō* indicate, whether 氣境 is a paratactic (氣 and 境) or hypotactic (the 境 of 氣) construction. We have chosen the first. For the translation of 境, cf. *supra*, note 180.

¹⁸⁹ The term *shichidai tenso* does not occur elsewhere in *Taisei-kyō*, so it will be a reference to the seven generations of gods from Kuninotokotachi to Izanagi and Izanami that are mentioned in *Nihon shoki* (see *Nihon shoki* vol. 1, p. 4; Aston, *Nihon shoki*, pp. 7-9).

¹⁹⁰ When it becomes as explicit as this, one begins to think that "sperm" might be a good translation of 精.

body ends, he will [again] become his transcendent principle body. If [the god has committed] any offences, he will *not* [again] become [his transcendent principle form], but will go to¹⁹¹ the Nether World (*Yomotsukuni*); if he has *not* [committed] any offences, he will [again] become [his transcendent principle body], and thus return to the Eternal World (*Tokoyonokuni*)."¹⁹²

Again, I (= Chōon) say: "In *Taisei-kyō*, fascicle ten (= *Tenjin hongī*), page twenty-four *verso*, it says: 'The Way of Sōgen¹⁹³ has a [divine] aspect of inexhaustible spirituality¹⁹⁴, (1:17b) a [mental] aspect of limitless comprehension,¹⁹⁵ a [logical] aspect of decision [when] the law has reached its ultimate,¹⁹⁶ and a [material] aspect of being the basis of replenishing and moving.¹⁹⁷ These [aspects] are all internal aspects, and together they are one single entity. ¹⁹⁸

¹⁹¹ The character is 歸, but it is glossed *yuki* in *Taisei-kyō*, edn 1679; hence: "to go to."

¹⁹² This, then, may be the reason for Izanagi's puzzlement and suspicions (cf. *supra*, note 172): What offence had Izanami committed, that she had to go to the Nether World? After the passage quoted here, *Taisei-kyō* continues with 「今吾思之吾妹美神，何為早終，更有咎與」。Izanagi *did* wonder what offence Izanami might have committed.

¹⁹³ In *Taisei-kyō*, edn of 1679, 10:24b, the three characters the "Way of Sōgen" are read as *takatsumimoto no michi* (cf. *Yomikudashi*, note 109); interesting, but hardly illuminating. This part of the quotation describes four characteristics of the Way of Sōgen. In the more elaborated version in *Taisei-kyō* 40 (see *infra*, notes 194-918), the Way of Sōgen is described through five characteristics, which represent the *gochin* 五鎮 ("Five Pillars"; see *supra*, note 174), which is the *Taisei-kyō* version of the Five Agents 五行, i.e. 神, 心, 理, 氣 and 境. In his commentary *Shin kyōgyō sen*, Henmui states that Sōgen stands for the *gochin* 五鎮. What follows in our manuscript, however, is a definition of Sōgen in terms of four of these Five Pillars: the divine 神, the heart 心, transcendent principle 理, and material force 氣. The fifth Pillar, objects of cognition 境, is lacking.

¹⁹⁴ In the elaboration of this passage in *Taisei-kyō* 40, "the divine" is described as follows: 「神經天天無盡，其性靈，其化妙」。The term *mono* 物, which is frequently used in this passage in fasc. 10 can usually be translated as "matter" or as "thing," but on the basis of Henmui's commentary *Shin kyōgyō sen*, where he defines *mono* as 「物ハ猶レ相ノ也。又色也」, we have opted for the translation "aspect."

¹⁹⁵ The preceding description of "the mind" in *Taisei-kyō* 40 is: 「謀萬法，無窮。其性識，其業貫」; edn ZST vol. 3, p. 29.

¹⁹⁶ The preceding description of "the transcendental" in *Taisei-kyō* 40 is: 「成法，作極，其性斷，其象實」; edn ZST vol. 3, p. 29.

¹⁹⁷ The preceding description of "material force" in *Taisei-kyō* 40 is: 「遍張滿虛，其性易，其造素」; edn ZST vol. 3, p. 29.

¹⁹⁸ In *Taisei-kyō* 40, the term "internal aspect" 内物 is explained as follows: 「五鎮成神躬，成人躬，

Nevertheless, they [also] form external¹⁹⁹ entities and bring into existence the things of the world. Inside, there is a one entity,²⁰⁰ which lacks spirituality and is void and empty. It is beyond colour, beyond sound. [All these] have been done away with, and a [mere] semblance [of these things is left]. And yet, [because of this,] it rules the myriad spiritual entities and establishes all things. The name of this single entity is transcendent principle.²⁰¹ It divides into the categories of True Causation, Hidden Becoming, Dark Climaxing, Obscure Transformation, and Subtle Settling. [These] five are [in fact] only one single [entity]. Externalised, it becomes any number of things, and eventually, the ten thousand things."²⁰²

又成蟲躬及化躬。為其者，言之則是內物」。The term "single aspect" 一物 is explained as follows: 「五者合一，而成一躬，則是一物也，故云內物一物」；edn ZST vol. 3, p. 29.

¹⁹⁹ In his *Shin kyōgyō sen*, Henmui gives the character 外 the reading *hoka*, i.e. "other," but in view of the preceding *uchi-tsu-mono*, "external" seems the more appropriate translation.

²⁰⁰ In his *Shin kyōgyō sen*, Henmui makes clear that this specific entity pertains to *ri* 理, the transcendental principle aspect. In addition, *Taisei-kyō* 40 contains the following elaboration: 「獨有理為鎮離靈，而虛別虛而真」。

²⁰¹ Here, we follow our manuscript. As said above (*Honkoku*, note 124), the printed editions of *Taisei-kyō* do not have the character 理.

²⁰² Here ends the quotation from fasc. 10. In *Taisei-kyō* 40 (*Kyōgyō hongī*), third section, we find a longer elaboration on Sōgen Shinto: 「宗源 第三 宗源道者、無盡靈物、無窮識物、法極斷物、滿動元物、成現形物。皆是內物一物而已。宗源普世、普物、元底素也。神經天天無盡、其性靈、其化妙、故云無盡靈物。心謀萬法、無窮。其性識、其業貫、故云無窮識物。理成法、作極、其性斷、其象實、故云法極斷物。氣遍張滿虛、其性易、其造素、故云滿動元物。境成界現態、其性納、其質竅、故云成現形物。這五鎮成神躬、成人躬、又成蟲躬及化躬。為其者、言之則是內物。五者合一、而成一躬、則是一物也、故云內物一物。然成外物、生世物也。五鎮又成天躬及地躬、並成形極法極。為顯靈者、密靈、是外物也。有躬之外萬法、是世物也。一切咸五鎮成之、故云成外物。生世物、向一切、而欲行之、則無盡窮、而竭氣絕力、終身不能遂之。向五鎮、而喪行之、則維邇、維面而不難得獲之。於中有一物、無靈而虛物、絕色絕音、絕絕有似。神、元靈之表靈者。心、是靈之底靈者。氣、乃靈之御境、亦靈之門也。獨有理為鎮離靈、而虛別虛而真。真復權之、名箇特物也。是為絕色、無形、絕音、無言、唯絕絕是而還在尋常中、以似有難云者、是即道基也。神離之、則失道心。離之則非道、況氣、況境乎。乃取這一物、而不可不覺了。還領眾靈、建立一切。理之一物、無意、無造、而以無造、領神心氣境之靈者、而立天。立天、立神、立心、立法、立物。夫無意、故不議矣。無造、故不作矣。彼雖不作、是僉所作、故似建之、難道之。其一物名、真緣、冥生、幽易、玄極、妙定、品品、分五只一。世萬、無不從緣生、緣極不思議、名之為真。又彼無不生而有、生極見不及、名之為冥。世物無有而不變、變極、究微精、名之為幽、彼也無不至格極。中極極、在深遠名之為玄。方庶總無非常定、定極、知絕滅、名之為妙。此五位、在四天之地。五位、分品名也、實名維理而已。是外物幾物、而

"The form of a god is not fixed.²⁰³ Sometimes [a god has the appearance of] a man in his prime, sometimes of a man in old age, or the form of a child, or the appearance of a woman; it all depends on the occasion. The various categories of rough spirit, gentle spirit, and shape-shifting spirit²⁰⁴ each differ in appearance and substance. As gentle spirits, many male deities have the appearance of a woman. And many female deities have, as rough spirits, the physique of a man. Luck-bringing spirits usually (1:18a) have a human appearance, while the wonder-working spirits generally have the shape of an object. The appearance of our great gods is especially noble and dignified.²⁰⁵ [When they appear] with many faces and hands, this is the result of a different mental state."²⁰⁶

更為萬物。理之正位、極微。天地之元、為羸者、是乃外也、微而成諸法、是以為幾物、更萬物無不發於茲矣」。Our translation of the quotation from fasc. 10 is partly based on this elaboration. In addition, in 1731 Henmui wrote an extensive commentary on *Kyōgyō hongī*, i.e. *Shin kyōgyō sen* 神教經箋 (this text is accessible through the Nichibunken database), which we have used as well.

²⁰³ Here begins a new quotation; see *Honkoku*, note 127. N.B. *Shigetsu yawa*, vol. 6, contains an essay with the same title: *Shinkei futei* 神形不定. Here, the name of this "great god" is given as "Ōnaumchi no Ōkami" 大己貴尊大神.

²⁰⁴ Standard Shinto theology distinguishes five types of spirits: *ara-mitama*, *nigi-mitama*, *saki-mitama* 幸魂, *kushi-mitama* 奇魂, and the *naohi* 直靈; the *naohi* rules the other four. This is the so-called "theory of one spirit, four souls" 一靈四魂. The *saki-mitama* and *kushi-mitama* are mentioned in *Taisei-kyō*, but not in our manuscript. On the other hand, the *bake-mitama*, which is mentioned both in our manuscript and in the printed versions of *Taisei-kyō*, is not part of the usual list. We have provisionally translated it as "shape-shifting spirit." The quotation from *Taisei-kyō* 12 is part of a discussion between Emperor Sujin and Ōtataneko no Mikoto 大田田根子命, ancestor of the Miwa clan. This conversation began after the God of Miwa had entered into a dream of Emperor Sujin and described his various forms as a spirit. Then, the God of Miwa states that the Emperor should sacrifice to Ushi Itadaki no Mikoto, which is his *bake-mitama*: 「又祭我術魂牛頂尊大神」。The term *bake-mitama* can also be found in the *Chigi hongī* chapter of *Sendai kuji hongī*. In this chapter, the God Ōanamuchi no Mikoto sees a divine light. When Ōanamuchi asks "Who are you?", the divine light responds saying "I am your *saki-mitama*, *kushi-mitama* and *bake-mitama*": 「大己貴命問曰：『汝命是誰耶，名字云何。』對曰：『吾是汝之幸魂·奇魂·術魂之神也。』術魂二字、日本紀無之」。

²⁰⁵ It is unclear, whether 太神 refers to Amaterasu, or to "the major gods" as a collective. We have opted for the latter interpretation.

²⁰⁶ The iconography of a great god with many faces and hands is unusual, and should be seen as an indication of an unusual state. *Taisei-kyō*, edn 1679, reads: *kon ni yorite sugata wo koto ni su*, so "They change their shape because of their spirit." If we follow our manuscript and read *ijō*, in the present context it might just mean "different appearance," but generally, the word would indicate a

You and yours - you must all revere the gods of our country, and you must not revere the theories of wicked Confucians of recent times and from a foreign country.

In his Commonplace Book (*Zuihitsu*), Mr Hayashi states: "Someone asked: 'How do you distinguish Shinto and Confucianism?' I said: 'As I look at it, their principles are just one [and the same]. Only their practices differ. The

>>> Moriya died, and Shinto was no longer practised. Kūkai appeared, and the Divine Law perished.

ō-muraji (Mononobe no) Moriya (d. 587) died, and Shinto was not practised any more. The priest Kūkai (774-835) appeared, and instantly the Law of the Gods perished. The damage done by heterodoxy was huge.' He said: 'Are the books on the divine age in *Nihon Shoki*²⁰⁷ and *Taijitu-shuo* ("Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate") by Zhou [Dunyi] (1017-1073)²⁰⁸ two sides of the same coin, or not?' I said: 'I do not know [this] yet. Ah, one change, and the Royal Way (1:18b) becomes the Way of the Gods. One change, and the Way of the Gods becomes the Way. The Way is what we call the Way of Confucius. It is not what we call the heterodox way. The heterodox way is the Way of the Buddha. The Buddha plugged and

more serious degree of abnormality.

²⁰⁷ These are the first two fascicles of *Nihon shoki*, in which the myths and legends of the period of the gods, i.e. the period from the beginning of the cosmos until Emperor Jinmu's accession, are recorded.

²⁰⁸ Zhou Dunyi was the first of the Neo-Confucian thinkers of the Song Dynasty, and *Taijitu-shuo* is his most important work. The diagram is a schematic presentation of the links between the "ultimate of non-being" 無極 and the existing world 万物. It can be read as an account of the creation of the world, as is obviously done here, but the better way to read it is as a demonstration how the existing things can by analysis be reduced to more general, more abstract categories. Without a divine creator, creation does not mean much in the Chinese way of thinking.

blocked the road of Benevolence and Righteousness. How sad, that for a long time now we have not had that Way in our empire."

Mr Hayashi states that Shinto and Confucianism are of one [and the same] principle, and that the Way of the Buddha is the heterodox way. When I (= Chōon) try to weigh his intention, it is that Buddhists do not have a wife and children, and therefore place themselves outside the Five Human Relations. Because [the followers of] Shinto and Confucianism do have wives and children, they are one and the same. When that is true at all, let me ask you [something]: Is it not true, that Taibo and Boyi, who are regarded as paragons [of virtue] in Confucianism, did not have wives and children? And is it not true, that [the deities] Takagi Sumera Mikoto and Tsukiyomi no Mikoto, who are highly regarded in Shinto, did not have wives and children? The Buddha explicitly divided [his followers] into four groups, and [on that basis] taught his disciples. He called them *biku*, (1:19a) *bikuni*, *ubasoku*, and *ubai*.²⁰⁹ *Biku* and *bikuni* follow the law of the recluses; they accept and obey the two hundred and fifty or five hundred precepts.²¹⁰ Because they teach the lay believers, they do not have wives and children. *Ubasoku* and *ubai* have committed themselves to the Three Refuges and [Five] Precepts.²¹¹ Because they [have to] "order their states" and "regulate their families,"²¹² they all have wives and children.

²⁰⁹ The original Sanskrit terms are *bhikṣu*, *bhikṣuṇī*, *upāsaka*, *upāsikā*.

²¹⁰ 250 precepts in the case of the *biku* (monks), and 500 in the case of *bikuni* (nuns).

²¹¹ *Sanki gokai* 三歸五戒, the ceremony which makes the recipient an *upāsaka* 優婆塞 or *upāsikā* 優婆夷, a male or female disciple, relying on the three refuges 三歸 (= the three "formulas of refuge" in the three treasures 三寶, i.e. to the Buddha 佛, the *dharma* 法, and the *saṃgha* 僧) and accepting the five precepts 五戒 (not killing 不殺生; not stealing 不偷盜; no debauchery 不邪淫; no false speech 不妄語; no consumption of alcohol 不飲酒); see Oda, *Bukkyō daijiten*, p. 609.

²¹² An oblique reference, this, to two of the Eight Wires of *Daxue*.

Methinks, the Five Precepts are the equivalent of the Five Constant Virtues. You, [Razan, seem to] think that all Buddhists, [both] those who stay [at home] and those who leave [the world], are the same in that none of them has wives and children; and that [for them] the Way of the Five Human Relations does not exist. That is why you speak in this manner. The luminous deities of Shin[to], the illustrious virtue of the Confucians, the subtle heart of the Buddha - these are one and the same. You are the only one to take Shinto and Confucianism [as sharing] one [and the same] principle, and to regard Buddhism as something different. In what respect is the subtle heart of the Buddha different from the luminous deities of Shinto or the illustrious virtue of the Confucians? You do not clearly understand the illustrious virtue of the Confucians; (1:19b) that is why you make a distinction and speak like this.

Although Reisō Shinto²¹³ with its transmission of Shinto through initiation is the secret amongst secrets, I will record the following for you, blind of heart as you are.²¹⁴ To begin with, the moon of the last night of the month is the heart of the ordinary man. The moon of the first night of the month is the heart of the scholars. The moon of the second night of the month is the heart of the rational thinkers.²¹⁵ The moon of the third night of the month is the heart of the good people. The moon of the fourth night of the month is the heart

²¹³ Reisō 靈宗 Shinto is the third type of Shinto. Together with the other two types, i.e. Sōgen Shinto and Saigen Shinto, it forms the Sanbu Shinto, which is the Shinto espoused by *Taisei-kyō*.

²¹⁴ Razan is here getting his initiation, whether he wants to or not. Exactly the same sixteen moons, with drawings, can be found in *Kanden-ki* 灌傳記 (manuscript in the possession of Komazawa Daigaku, signature 4024 W.7 1-4) vol. 4 (frames 13-17), and in *Shintō hiden* 神道秘傳 (manuscript in the possession of Iwase Bunko, sign. 99-39, vol. 3 (frames 83-87)). N.B. this second manuscript can be consulted through the SNKSM of Kokubunken.

²¹⁵ The compound 理者 is not attested in the dictionaries.

of beautiful women. The moon of the fifth night of the month is the heart of great men. The moon of the sixth night of the month is the heart of the Holy Ones. The moon of the seventh night of the month is the heart of Perfect Ones. The moon of the eighth night of the month is the heart of True Ones. The moon of the ninth night of the month is the heart of Immortals.²¹⁶ The moon of the tenth night of the month is the heart of Earthly (?) Gods.²¹⁷ The moon of the eleventh night of the month is the heart of the Imperial Gods. The moon of the twelfth night of the month is the heart of August Gods. The moon of the thirteenth night of the month is the heart of the Venerable God. The moon of the fourteenth night of the month is the heart of the Ancestor God.²¹⁸ The moon of the fifteenth night of the month (1:20a) is the heart of the Surpassing God.²¹⁹

Methinks, the Surpassing God occupies a position [corresponding to that] of Buddha's of Subtle Awakening and Complete Fruition.²²⁰ When you look at [our list] with this order [in mind], then

²¹⁶ The term *xianren* 仙人 comes from a Taoist context; it is generally translated as "genie." It refers to someone who has reached physical immortality through dint of ascetic practice.

²¹⁷ The term 后神 is not attested in the dictionaries. It occurs only twice in the (digitalised) text of *Taisei-kyō*, but not in a context that allows us to understand what type of deities the term refers to. The choices are between "later gods," "consort gods," and "earthly gods" (cf., for the latter, expressions like *kōdo* 后土, explained as 土地神).

²¹⁸ With some difficulty the terms "Venerable God" and "Ancestor God" can be related to the list we find in the first book of *Taisei-kyō* 1. The first category, under which a number of gods (names and functions) are listed, is 無生始祖神 (1:1a-3b), so "ancestor god"; the second category is 始生出天神. The word 尊 is not in evidence, but logically, they should be the ones who are connected with the 13th night of the month. They are followed by the categories 一代俱生天神 (1:6a-7b) and 二代俱生天神 (1:7b-11a). Evidently, more research is needed.

²¹⁹ For a probable relation with the initiation texts, see *Honkoku*, note 137. The term "Surpassing God," read *sugi-kami* in the edn of 1679, is not attested in the dictionaries. It does, however, occur frequently in *Taisei-kyō*, esp. in fasc. 7, where we read, *i.a.*: 「神祇有二者、一者内中神、二者外過神」. See also *ibid.*, fasc. 4: 「過神 過道法天外之神」.

²²⁰ If *kaman* is synonym with *enman* 円満, then 「妙覺果滿」 describes the qualities of a Buddha. See the lemma *myōkaku* in Oda, *Bukkyō daijiten*. The terms also appear together eleven times in *Taishō daizōkyō*, e.g. in *Darijing zhuxinpinshu siji* 大日經住心品疏私記 (T2215, TZ vol. 58): 「第四證菩提是妙覺果滿位歟。」 (T2215; TZ vol. 58, p. 699b).

[you will notice that] the position of the Holy Ones corresponds to the sixth night; the position of the luminous deities, to the fourteenth; and Complete Fruition, to the moon of the fifteenth day. Above, we have pursued our discussion in terms of the function and merits of Shinto, Confucianism, and Buddhism. Were we to pursue our discussion in terms substance and virtue, then Shinto, Confucianism, and Buddhism would [turn out to be the realization of] one and the same principle.

Now, from the outside, [Mononobe no] Moriya seemed to revere the Way of the Gods, but inwardly, he despised the Way of the Gods, shook the imperial throne, and killed a crown prince. He detested the Way of the Confucians and ridiculed the scholars.²²¹ Nevertheless, you claim that, once Moriya had died, the Way of the Gods was [no longer] practised. That is really ridiculous, ridiculous! You consider an enemy of the gods and an enemy of the emperor as good, and consider as evil someone who restored the Way of the Gods and protected the imperial way. [This means that] you cannot distinguish white from black. I ask you now: (1:20b) Will the whole world agree with you, and regard Moriya as a good man? Or Kōbō,²²² as an evil person? You alone, with your wrong-headed talk, call him a good person.

²²¹ The most outstanding feats of Moriya were burning the Buddhist temple and throwing its statues into the Canal of Naniwa, his support of Prince Anahobe, and his armed uprising against the emperor Yōmei. It cannot be denied that he "shook the throne", but according to *Nihon shoki*, he never killed a crown prince. However, in *Taisei-kyō* 32 it says that Moriya killed Crown Prince Oshisaka no Hikohito no Ōe no mi-ko in the sixth month of the first year of the reign of Empress Suiko: 「六月甲辰朔丁未四，夜，物部守屋大連祕遣陰賊，弑太子彥人尊。倚物於盜賊業」。That Moriya ridiculed the scholars is said both in the Preface and in fasc. 36 of *Taisei-kyō*; see also our Translation of *Jinja kō bengi* (p. 2:9a), which contains the same reference: "The Great Muraji of the clan Mononobe was greatly incensed, and chided the scholars, saying: 'Our gods are mysterious and remote. Kong Qiu (= Confucius) and Meng Ke (= Mencius) are dog-eating barbarians! How could they know the exalted gods? Henceforth, we shall no longer import foreign inanities.' The ministers all withdrew [from the lectures]. The scholars wept [tears of] blood."

²²² Kōbō is, of course, Kōbō-daishi, which is Kūkai's the posthumous name. Kūkai (774-835) was a Japanese monk. He studied in China from 804 till 806, and upon his return he founded the Shingon Sect.

Again, [Mr Hayashi] says: "One change, and the Royal Way becomes the Way of the Gods. One change, and the Way of the Gods becomes the Way. The Way is what we call the Way of Confucius." On the basis of your statement, Confucianism would be higher than Shinto, and Shinto would be higher than the Way of the Kings.²²³ When you discuss the relative status of the Three Ways like this, [your opinion] is the heterodox view of a stupid and benighted man. Why don't you see it? The Diagram of the [Yellow] River and the Writing of the River Luo²²⁴ are diagram[matic representation]s of the parting of heaven and earth, and of [the processes of] mutual generation and destruction. The Shinto of our country has come into being from the very first numbers in the Diagram and in the Writing, and that is how we had the seven generations of heavenly gods, and the five generations of the earthly gods. Methinks, the diagrams in the Chart of the [Yellow] River and the Writing of the River Luo (1:21a) correspond to the first day of the five generations of the earthly gods, when [these] gods came into existence. You, however, in your pointless way, quarrel about the status [of the Three Ways]. In our country, you are an enemy of the gods, and an enemy of the kings.

²²³ Our manuscript says that that both Confucianism and the Way of the King are higher than Shinto, but that conflicts with the preceding sentence, and goes against the gist of the argument. We have therefore emended the phrase (1:20b, line 4) as follows: 「儒道、從神道高、從王道神道高 = 儒道、神道ヨリ高ク、王道ヨリ神道高ク」.

²²⁴ The *He tu* ("Diagram of the Yellow River") emerged from the Yellow River in the days of Fu Xi, on the back of a dragon horse, and the *Luo shu* ("Writing of the Luo"), in the days of Yu from the Luo on the back of a tortoise, after he had quelled the waters. Fu Xi fashioned the Eight Trigrams, which form the basis of the *Yijing*, after the *He tu*. The reflection of the *Luo shu* is found in the chapter *Hongfan* ("The Great Plan") in the *Shujing*. Both diagrams consist of an arrangement of white and black dots, numbering from one to ten, the white dots (odd numbers) representing Yang, and the black ones (even numbers), Yin. For further references, see Mor. VI: 17245-182.

In his "Disquisition on Setting Free Living Beings" Mr. Hayashi says: "In Confucianism, there are two theories. According to one theory, when Heaven brought forth the birds and animals, it from the beginning intended them as food for man. This theory is not correct. How could [Heaven possibly] have brought forth man [as food] for [blood sucking] ants and flees? The other theory [holds that] the birds and animals arose [as domesticated animals,] relying on man. When one kills them, that is not humane. This theory, too, is incorrect.

>>> Those whom we beat by force, we may eat.

As a rule, all those whom we can beat by force, we may eat." <Up till here Mr. Hayashi. Underneath my criticism.>

If it were as you explain, and man may eat all those whom he can beat by force, what, then, [would we say] if there were a huge ogre eating humans? Do you think that that is all right? Or do you find that not all right? At the time of the Buddha, there was the goddess Hārītī, who ate children,²²⁵ and in our country we had the Wine[-drinking] Heavenly Boy,²²⁶ (1:21b) who ate men. These are [examples of such ogres].

Mr Hayashi quotes the Great Commentary of the *Yijing*²²⁷ as follows:

²²⁵ According to the legend, Hārītī (J. Kishimojin) was the daughter of a *yaksa* (J. *yasha*). She gave birth to one thousand children, but stole the children of other people and gave them to her own children to eat. In order to teach her, the Buddha hid her youngest and dearest child. She got the message and became a protecting deity of Buddhism.

²²⁶ Legend has him living on Mt Ōe (Tanba), where he had his palace and many spirits who served him, until he was killed by Minamoto no Yorimitsu (fl. 1000) in 995. See the relevant lemma in Wikipedia Japonica.

²²⁷ Reference to *Yijing: Xici, xia 2*. The text and translation are: 「古者包犧氏之王天下也，仰則觀象於天，俯則觀法於地，觀鳥獸之文，與地之宜，近取諸身，遠取諸物，於是始作八卦，以通神明之德，以類萬物之情。作結繩而為網罟、以佃以漁。」 - "Anciently, when Bao-xi had come to the rule of all under heaven, looking up, he contemplated the brilliant forms exhibited in the sky, and looking down he surveyed the patterns shown on the earth. He contemplated the ornamental

"When Mr. Paoxi²²⁸ was king of All under Heaven, he created the knotted strings²²⁹; he made nets²³⁰ and used them for hunting and fishing.' Therefore, [Mr Hayashi continues,] Master Ouyang²³¹ said: 'Mr. Paoxi was the first to teach the people to catch things (= animals), and [thus] to sustain their lives. He thus benefitted a myriad generations.²³² This is why he is regarded as a Holy One.'" <Up till here Mr. Hayashi. Underneath my criticism.>

Methinks, Mr Paoxi was a man from China. Initially, because [the people] did not have clothes, he cobbled something together from twigs and leaves, and covered them; because they did not have the five grains, he caught birds and animals, and fed them. He could not suffer [to see] them die from lack of clothing and food. Therefore, he hunted and fished for them. Master Ouyang, however, [says that he] taught the people to catch things and [thus] to sustain their lives, and that therefore he benefitted a myriad generations. When you regard him as a Holy One [on this account], then [how about] King Tang, [who]

appearances of birds and beasts and the (different) suitabilities of the soil. Near at hand, in his own person, he found things for consideration, and the same at a distance, in things in general. On this he devised the eight trigrams, to show fully the attributes of the spirit-like and intelligent (operations working secretly), and to classify the qualities of the myriads of things. He invented the making of nets of various kinds by knitting strings, both for hunting and fishing." (Legge's translation.)

²²⁸ Paoxi is the same person as Fu Xi, the first of the ancient Holy Ones. Paoxi is a name he received because he raised animals for the kitchen.

²²⁹ A contrivance anciently used in lieu of writing.

²³⁰ There does not seem to be any difference in function between 繩 and 罟. The latter is specifically glossed as *uo-ami* ("fish net"), but the other, too is used for fishing.

²³¹ Reference to Ouyang Xiu, "Fangshengchi bei" 放生池碑 ("[Tang] Stele Inscription of the Pond for Releasing Animals [of Tianbao 10," =751]).

²³² In our translation, we have followed the *okurigana* given in *Bunshū* vol. 1, p. 303b; cf. *Yomikudashi*, note 119. If one would follow the reading indicated by the *okurigana* and *kaeriten* in our manuscript, the translation would become "When Paoxi first taught the people, he caught things (= animals) and sustained their livelihood."- as if he were doing all the work. It is less persuasive, and more cumbersome. See also *Honkoku*, note 145.

opened (1:22a) the nets on three sides,²³³ or Confucius, [who] fished with a hook and shot with an arrow with a string attached to it, and did not use nets or shoot at [sitting birds]?²³⁴ Or Mencius, [who] kept well away from the kitchens and did not eat their food?²³⁵ Methinks, these three men all were Holy Ones and Sages. What do you say?

>>> Birds and animals are meant to be eaten by man.

You, a plebeian Confucian of the final, decadent age,²³⁶ do not know the mind of the Holy Ones and Sages, and without good reason you think that Heaven intended the birds and animals to be eaten by man. By being careful of your own life,²³⁷ you should show pity with theirs.

Furthermore, Mr Hayashi says: "For the Buddhists the prohibition of killing is [equivalent to] Benevolence. It is not that [not killing] is not good, but [the Buddhists] apply [the rule] in a topsy-turvy, confused way. Benevolence begins from Filial Piety and Brotherly Love. Since the Buddhists do not know the Five Teachings,²³⁸ where, then, are

²³³ I.e., in order to give the animals or birds a chance to escape the nets: an example of humane treatment of animals, mentioned in the *Yin ji* ("Annals of the Yin") in *Shiji*. See Mor. I: 12-1690.

²³⁴ The "sitting birds," sadly omitted here, are supplied from the original passage in *Lunyu*; see *Honkoku*, note 148.

²³⁵ Again, the quotation is inaccurate. In *Mencius* 1A7, it says 「君子之於禽獸也、見其生不忍見其死、聞其聲不忍食其肉。是以君子遠庖廚也。」 - "The attitude of a gentleman towards animals is this: once having seen them alive, he cannot bear to see them die, and once having heard their cry, he cannot bear to eat their flesh. That is why the gentleman keeps his distance from the kitchen." (Translation according to Lau, *Mencius*, Penguin Classics, p. 55.)

²³⁶ For the translation of *matsudaku* 未濁, see *supra*, note 38, and *Yomikudashi*, note 10.

²³⁷ As explained in *Honkoku*, note 149, the character 借 (*kariru*, *kasu*: "to borrow, to lend") is probably a mistake for 惜 (*oshimu*: "to be careful with, to take pity on"), which is the character used in Ise Bunko *bon*. We have emended accordingly in the *Yomikudashi*, and follow this in our translation. For the translation of 恕, see the definition given in *Lunyu* 15.24: 「己所不欲、勿施於人」 - "Do no to unto others what you would not want others to do to you."

²³⁸ The Five Teachings are the virtues that must be practised in the context of the Five Human Relations. One definition stems from the *Shujing*; here it says: "Intimacy must exist between father and son, righteousness between lord and minister, difference between man and wife, order between younger and older brothers, and trust between friends." An alternative formulation, found in *Zuozhuan*, says that a father must be righteous, a Mother, loving, an elder brother,

Filial Piety and Brotherly Love? Are the Buddhists men who are humane toward things, but not humane towards humans?" 〈Up till here Mr. Hayashi.〉

How [is it possible] you do not see? In the *Bonmō-kyō*,²³⁹ [which contains] the teachings of the thousand Buddha's,²⁴⁰ it says: "Its (1:22b) beginning, Filial Piety, is the root of the hundred commandments.²⁴¹ What one must do, is to be filial and obey one's father and mother, one's teachers and elders."²⁴² When, thereafter, [the sutra] explains the ten heavy and the forty-eight light commandments, it then surely [says to] be humane to humans, first, and to be humane to things, afterwards.²⁴³ Confucians are [like] frogs in well; they do not know the Eastern Sea of Indrah.²⁴⁴ They say of themselves that [only] Confucians know Filial Piety, and they do not know the Filial Piety of the Buddhist monks. The Confucians distinguish twenty-four [exemplars of] Filial Piety,²⁴⁵ but the

companionable, a younger brother, reverent, and a child, dutiful.

²³⁹ For *Bonmō-kyō* (2 fasc.), see T1484; TZ vol. 24, pp. 997-1010.

²⁴⁰ This refers to the Buddhist notion that the past, present, and future kalpas each have a thousand buddhas.

²⁴¹ Both the *Bonmō-kyō*, and the commentaries on this text, discuss the five hundred commandments, not the hundred commandments.

²⁴² The *Bonmō-kyō bosatsukai chū*, vol. 1 (梵網經菩薩戒注 第1卷 [卍續藏, 第 38 冊, No. 0691]) contains the phrase (0559a19-20): 「孝名為戒。既孝順父母師僧三寶必須修善善不違理即是持戒故孝名戒也」.

²⁴³ According to *Shin Butten kaidai jiten* pp. 113-114, the "ten heavy" commandments are sins like murder, armed robbery etc., while the forty-eight light commandments concern impoliteness versus seniors, drinking, eating meat, etc. N.B. The combination 十重四十八輕戒 is found in *Bonmō-kyō* (op. cit, pp. 1008-1009), but the rest of the quotation cannot be found - neither in *Bonmō-kyō* nor in the remainder of the *Taishō zōkyō*.

²⁴⁴ The expression "Indrah's Eastern Sea" is not attested, but the associations are clear: as a protective deity, Indrah is associated with the east, and the Eastern Sea is the largest sea known to the Chinese - the absolute opposite of a well. Cf. *Hufa lun* 護法論 (T2114; TZ vol. 52, p. 639c): 「夏蟲不可語冰霜。井蛙不可語東海」.

²⁴⁵ See Mor. I: 247-473. There are three different lists of these twenty-four exemplars of filial piety. The oldest list derives from the book *Ershisixiao* 二十四孝, written by Guo Jujing 郭居敬 (Yuan).

Buddhists, too, have twenty-four [exemplars of] Filial Piety.²⁴⁶ The [Way of] the Gods, too, has its five [types of] Filial Piety.²⁴⁷ The three ways of Shinto, Confucianism, and Buddhism have Filial Piety as their root; in this, they are identical.

In his "Disquisition of the Discussion between Councillor Kan²⁴⁸ and Enni"²⁴⁹ Mr Hayashi says that "Enni himself explained the affiliation of the [succeeding] generations [in Buddhism], and then asked Lord Kan about the affiliation of the Confucians. The Lord did not answer and kept his mouth shut.²⁵⁰ Why did Lord Kan not speak [about the transmissions of Our Way]? (1:23a) Let me explain.²⁵¹ The Eight Sects of Shingon, Tendai, Kegon, Hossō, Sanron, Risshū, Jōjitsu, and Kusha²⁵²

²⁴⁶ There is a book of this title, *Shakushi nijūshi kō* 釈氏二十四孝, written by the monk Nissei 日政 (1623-1668; a.k.a. Fukakusa Gensei 深草元政). The preface is dated Meireki 1 (1655); the text was printed in Kanbun 10 (1670). It gives short biographies of twenty-four exemplars of filial piety, each with its own illustration.

²⁴⁷ Differently from the two preceding items, *gokō* 五孝 does not refer to a list of exemplars, but to the several implementations of filial piety depending on the social category to which one belongs: son of Heaven, feudal lord, minister, official, and ordinary people; see Mor. I: 257-97. The term also appears in the following quotation from *Taisei-kyō* 37 (聖皇本紀): 「于時，太子製三經解，三月事成。製已，給之學架。學架拜看信伏，而命左右曰：『三經儒宗大意，學者精之，則無差迷。孝經行教，無小大人，宜先學行之，人倫大原也。五孝為應，能起百行，人雖知孝行，未知其應行，則迷失中當。共孝立，應立而行中於德，是聖人教導萬世人，正千代行。又爰有工夫，五孝有應兼斥，上止上通下，下止下通上，行以盡之耳』。」

²⁴⁸ *Kangi* (Councillor) is short for 諫議大夫; see Mor. X: 35724-6. In China, it is a bureaucratic position that dates back to the Qin Dynasty. The appointees were supposed to criticize the emperor. In Japan, it is the Chinese equivalent of *sangi* 參議, i.e. member of the council of state. Kan *kangi* is Sugawara no Tamenaga 菅原為長 (1158-1246), a well-known scholar and poet. Tamenaga and Enni were ordered to debate by the regent Kujō Michiie (1193-1252).

²⁴⁹ Enni (1202-1280) was a monk of the Rinzaï Sect; he visited China in 1235.

²⁵⁰ This is a mixture of a paraphrase of Razan's text and of and of Kokan Shiren's 「諫議箝口」. Chōon leaves out a major part of the text in Razan's *Bunshū*: 「諫議不答、退而謂人曰、我欲與辯圓角道義、彼以世系而言。故余且箝口而已。」 - "The councillor did not answer. He left and said to others: 'I wanted to discuss the meaning of the Way with Enni, but he talked about lineages and generations. That is why I shut up.'" (*Bunshū* vol. 1, p. 299b, l. 14-15).

²⁵¹ From here onwards, Razan begins his own argument.

²⁵² This part is Chōon's paraphrase of a passage in which Razan argues that all the patriarchs of the Eight Sects lived either hundreds of years or even one thousand years after the death of the Buddha, implying that the teachings of these patriarchs cannot have been directly related to the teaching of the Buddha himself. Cf. *Honkoku*, note 160.

do not rely on a teacher handing down [the teachings of the sect to his disciples]; [therefore] I consider them to be empty theories.²⁵³ Would it be that the Eight Sects are all empty and that the Zen Sect alone may be considered solid? When I (= Razan) talk about it from the [point of view of] the Eight Sects, then I would not know from which sutra has come [the story of] what in Zen is known as the secret transmission of [the Buddha] to Mahākāśyapa.²⁵⁴ The *Daibon-ten'ō mon butsu ketsugi kyō*,²⁵⁵ too, is questionable."

Again I (= Razan) say: "Zen stopped when it reached Simha-bhikṣu."²⁵⁶ Ah! How great!²⁵⁷ The line of transmission of Our Way [began with] Yao who transmitted it to Shun. And eventually it reached Master Zhu. Our Way is the Way of the *Great Learning*, and our texts are the Four Books and the Five Classics. Our social positions are lord and minister, father and son, man and wife, elder and younger

²⁵³ Again, Chōon reduces Razan's argumentation to a few words which confusingly seem to be connected to the first half of the sentence, but in fact form the next stage in Razan's argumentation. Chōon leaves out the phrase 「今附爾之言不因師授爲虛設則夫八宗之爲設也皆虛而禪者之爲設也」. This definition of "empty theories" 虛説 is given by Enni in so many words earlier in the discussion: "If one does not receive [a transmission] from a teacher, it is an empty teaching." (*Razan bunshū* 26; vol. 1, p.299b, line 11.) N.B. The *Bunshū* consistently writes 虛設 ("empty construction" > "hypothesis"); cf. Mor. IX: 32709-217-2.

²⁵⁴ Mahākāśyapa was one of the direct disciples of the Buddha; he succeeded him as head of the community. According to *Daibon-ten'ō mon butsu ketsugi kyō*, he received the Buddha's teachings three years after the Buddha's enlightenment: 「世尊云。吾有正法眼藏。涅槃妙心。實相無相。微妙法門。不立文字。教外別傳。付囑摩訶迦葉」.

²⁵⁵ We have completed the title of the sutra (1 fasc.; text in *Manji Shinsan Dai-Nihon zoku zōkyō* vol. 1, no. 27). The second section of the sutra is entitled *Nianhua-pin* 拈華品. Here we find the story of the Buddha handing the flower to a smiling Ānanda, which supposedly is the beginning of the wordless transmission of Zen. It is, of course, an apocryphal text.

²⁵⁶ He is generally known as Āryasimha. He is the twenty-fourth Zen patriarch, who lived in central India during the sixth century. A History of the Buddha's Successors 付法藏因緣伝 states that, when Āryasimha was propagating Buddhism in Kashmir in ancient India, King Mirakutsu, who was hostile to Buddhism, destroyed many Buddhist temples and stupas, and murdered a number of monks. Āryasimha was among those beheaded by the king.

²⁵⁷ As there is nothing inherently great about the ending of the Zen transmission, "Ah! How great!" must be proleptic. The sentence Chōon left out (cf. *Honkoku*, note 164) would translate as "In that case, however, within the heterodox [sect] there exist already opposing arguments and criticisms. Why do they go out of their way to discuss aspects of our Way?" It makes it even clearer that Razan is referring to the greatness of the Confucian transmission.

brothers, and friends. (1:23b) Our tasks are to investigate things, to extend our knowledge, to make sincere our wills, to make correct our hearts, to cultivate our bodies, to regulate our families, to govern the state, and to bring peace to the empire. More in particular, the substance of this heart lies hidden in the personal activities of the lord of men, in the daily actions of the people. "The wise man knows the overall picture, and the not-so-wise know one or other minor aspect."²⁵⁸ And when someone thoroughly embodies all this in its completeness, then he has obtained the transmission [of the teaching]; that is all there is to it.²⁵⁹

A virtuous man of old [once] said: "[Followers of] the external way may be smart, but they have no wisdom."²⁶⁰ Methinks, he could have said this of people like Mr Hayashi. Mr Hayashi has broad knowledge, but he is unable to distinguish black from white, and he does not know heterodox from orthodox. Why is it like that? The teachings of the various sects are based on the sutra's and śāstra's, and [the sects] have continued them further and further. The esoteric sects use the transmission through affect.²⁶¹ In our own Zen sect [the

²⁵⁸ Quotation from *Lunyu* 19.22. In the *Lunyu* these words are part of a discussion of the legacy of Kings Wen and Wu: "The doctrines of Wen and Wu have not yet fallen to the ground. They are to be found among men. *Men of talents and virtue remember the greater principles of them, and others, not possessing such talents and virtue, remember the smaller.* Thus, all possess the doctrines of Wen and Wu." (Legge's translation)

²⁵⁹ Although it is not indicated in the text, this is the end of the quotation / paraphrase of Razan's "Disquisition." Cf. *Razan bunshū* 1, pp. 299-300.

²⁶⁰ This quotation occurs in a number of texts, *inter alia* in *Hannya shinkyō*; see *Manji Shinsan Dai-Nihon zoku zōkyō* vol. 26 (no. 574), near the beginning, in the pericope explaining the meaning of *hannya*.

²⁶¹ The term 感授 is listed in Mor. IV: 10953-76, but the example quoted there (「隨風感授」) can hardly be called illuminating. In a passage in *Saihokushū* 濟北集 15 (*Gozan bungaku zenshū* 五山文学全集 vol. 1), Kokan Shiren discusses various traditions of master-disciple initiation in Buddhism. He distinguishes between the physical (Zen) and affective (Mikkyō) transmission, concluding as follows: 「又我法中、有身授、有感授。感授為末。身授為本」. *Kan* 感 must here be interpreted in the sense of "to be influenced, to experience someone else's spiritual power." The

initiations] are passed on correctly from one to the other;²⁶² they are [received] face to face, and transmitted directly. How could one talk of it on the same day [as the other transmissions]? Because the lineage of the Confucian school ²⁶³ resembles the lineages of the various [Buddhist] sects, (1:24a) [the Confucians] want to fuse theirs with the face-to-face [instruction] and direct transmission of the Zen Sect. How completely ridiculous! The argument of Master²⁶⁴ Mahākāśyapa as [reported] in *Zhengsongji*²⁶⁵ goes into [all necessary] detail. How [have you failed] to read that? If [the transmission within] the Zen Sect had been cut off, this sect would no [longer] exist in Japan and China, [but it still exists, so the transmission must be in order]. What do you say to that?

Furthermore, as regards the transmission of the lineage of the Confucian School, you do not [seem to] know the principle of "holding fast to the middle" [as transmitted] from Yao to Shun,²⁶⁶ and

point apparently is, that in the case of the esoteric sects there is no direct transmission, person to person, from the Buddha, but that the practitioner "has experienced" his presence, in a dream or vision, i.e. during meditation.

²⁶² With a slight change of characters (嫡嫡相承), the phrase occurs forty-eight times in *Taishō daizōkyō*, nineteen times of which in *Shōbō genzō* 正法眼藏.

²⁶³ The standard translation of 道統 is the "Transmission of the Way." In fact, it is a pseudo-genealogical arrangement of masters and disciples, calqued on the Buddhist genealogies of transmission. It begins with the most ancient Holy Ones, passes through Confucius and Mencius; sometimes, it stops there, and sometimes it stops at Zhu Xi, or at a later scholar's own master or person.

²⁶⁴ In Chinese, "lion" 獅子 is homophonous with "master, teacher" 師子. Hence, abbots and other eminent monks, beginning with the Buddha himself, who preached the Dharma to large audiences, came to be called "lions."

²⁶⁵ The full title is *Chuanfa* 傳法 *zhengsong ji* (J. *Denbō shōjū ki*: "Record of the Dharma Transmission of the True Lineage"; 9 fasc., T2078, TZ 51, pp. 715-768), compiled by the Chinese Zen monk Qisong. It is a collection of biographies of Zen monks, beginning with the Buddha himself. Cf. *Shin Butten kaidai jiten*, p. 215.

²⁶⁶ Reference to *Shujing* 1: *Da Yu mo* ("The Counsels of the Great Yu") and *Lunyu* 20.1; cf. Mor. III: 5193-140. In the first instance Shun says to Yu: "The mind of man is restless, prone to err; its affinity for the right way is small. Be discriminating, be undivided in the pursuit of what is right that you may sincerely hold fast to the Mean." (transl. Waltham, *Shu Ching*, p. 23). In the second instance, Yao says to Shun: "'Oh! you, Shun, the heaven-determined order of succession now rests in your person. Sincerely hold fast the due Mean. ... Shun also used the same language in giving charge to Yu."

incongruously you quote the Way of *The Great Learning*, the Eight Wires, the Five Relations, and the Four Books and Five Classics. If we follow your explanations, would not the Way of *The Great Learning*, the Eight Stages, and the Five Relationships be unknown among the Ten Wise Men²⁶⁷ of the Confucian School? And how could anyone but Zengzi have been the one who transmitted Confucius' "Way of all-pervading unity"?²⁶⁸

Furthermore, when you regard the Song Confucians from Zhou Dunyi (1017-1073) to Zhu Xi as the same as Confucius (1:24b) and Mencius, I fear [that you ignore] a distance [as huge as] between heaven and earth. Contrary to the Confucians of the Six Dynasties, the Han, or the Tang, the Confucians of the Song look as if they have clearly explicated the principles of the Confucian Way. [In fact,] however, they chew on the dregs of the ancients; there is not a phrase, not [even one] word that has flown forth from their own breasts. Who among the Song Confucians possessed the temperament²⁶⁹ of the Holy Ones and Sages? They did not know Buddhism, and yet went out of their way to criticize it. All these are instances of being bright, but having no wisdom.

When Shogun Iemitsu²⁷⁰ visited the mausoleum in Nikkō,²⁷¹ on the

(Legge's translation)

²⁶⁷ These are Confucius' most important disciples; for the list, see Mor. II: 2695-334-1.

²⁶⁸ The term 一貫 occurs in *Lunyu* 4.15 (Legge translates: "My doctrine is of an all-pervading unity.") and 15.3 (Legge translates "I seek a unity all-pervading."). In the first instance, the one to whom Confucius tells this is Zengzi; in the second instance, his disciple is Zigong 子貢.

²⁶⁹ Cf. Mor. VI: 17059-105-2; it is synonym with 氣性 and 氣質.

²⁷⁰ Taiyūin-dono is the posthumous name of shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu (1604-1651).

²⁷¹ I.e. the Tōshōgū, where his grandfather Ieyasu was worshipped as Tōshōgū-*daigongen*.

way there he stopped at Kurihashi.²⁷² At that time there was one Inbe no Tansai,²⁷³ bringing with him a *Sendai kuji hongei* compiled by Crown Prince Shōtoku. Through Abe Bungo-no-kami²⁷⁴ he presented it to his lordship. Tansai was thereupon ordered to return to Edo. (1:25a) After his lordship had returned from Nikkō to Edo, he had Mr Hayashi read this book. Hayashi said: "I have looked through the book. As it contains characters that did not exist²⁷⁵ in the days of the Crown Prince, and because it [mentions] reading the *Great Learning*,²⁷⁶ it is an apocryphal work." Thus he reported. [The shogun] then returned this book to Tansai. Tansai burst out in anger and immediately burnt the book.²⁷⁷

²⁷² Nowadays part of Kuki-shi 久喜市 (Saitama).

²⁷³ This probably refers to Hirota Tansai 廣田坦齋, who was active around 1644-48. He is acknowledged by Yamaga Sokō as his teacher, and briefly mentioned as such in his *Haisho zanpitsu* 配所殘筆 (1675; see *NST* vol. 32, p. 320).

²⁷⁴ I.e. Abe Tadaaki 忠秋 (1602-1675), *rōjū* from 1633-1666.

²⁷⁵ We interpret the phrase as 有所無之字 - *naki tokoro no ji ari*; cf. *Yomikudashi*, note 126.

²⁷⁶ References to the *Great Learning* can be found in *Taisei-kyō* 31 (秋八月, 天皇命上宮皇子檢校儒釋經, 分弘束。立學從禮記, 出大學及中庸, 別為部, 通孝經、大學、中庸者為束, 為儒宗大意。) and 36 (秋七月, 太子奏聞:「以奉詔, 從禮經, 出大學, 為比孝經, 一經而令初學習之。後日又出中庸, 為次大學之經, 令初學之熟者, 正乎理及行辟, 而習推之止延之, 名之為三經也。」)。Both references pertain to the first year of Emperor Yōmei (585). Razan's point is that the privileged treatment of *Daxue* and *Zhongyong* - lifting them out of the *Lii* and presenting them, together with *Lunyu* and *Mengzi*, as a kind of propaedeuticon (the "Four Books") - must be dated to the Song, specifically to the brothers Cheng and to Zhu Xi. Razan refused to believe that the Crown Prince had already reached the same conclusions, five centuries earlier.

²⁷⁷ It is not clear on which source Chōon bases himself. Razan himself nowhere refers to *Taisei-kyō* or to Tansai. His son Gahō mentions *Taisei-kyō* in his *Nanjukujō* 南塾乘 and concludes it is a forgery: 「延寶元年十二月、六日、大久保和泉守[正朝]寄舊事紀大成經鷓鴣傳新板一部十六冊、是或人祕本也、雖非新作、又有所可疑、頃日活字板成、和泉守得之所寄也、夜闌電覽、大成經愈疑其偽書、見跋文則佐々木所傳來也」, but he does not mention the incident with Tansai. There are a few other sources that claim that Tansai presented a text by Shōtoku-taishi to Iemitsu, but these sources date from after Chōon's death: (1) In his *Taisei-kyō raiyu* (1732), Henmui quotes the story from *Gobusshin-ron*, though with different characters and written out in Japanese: 「丹齊大ニ嘖(イカリ)ヲ發(ヲコ)シ即時ニ書ヲ焚ス」。N.B. In his *Taisei-kyō raiyu shinmon keiben* 大成經來由審問稽弁 (1754), he reports a discussion on the question why *Taisei-kyō* was given to Razan to evaluate instead of to the imperial court; see Kōno Seizō, *Kuji Taisei-kyō ni kan-suru kenkyū*, resp. pp. 127-128, and p. 156. (Kōno refers to the text as *Taisei-kyō raiyu ki*, but this title is not found in the NKSM Database.) (2) *Shibu uchiwa* 志武宇地話 (preface 1801) by Fujiwara Tadanori 藤原忠儀 contains the story that one Deguchi Ichinokami Inbe Tansai 出口市正忌部澹齋, a priest from the Izawa shrine, in 1624 presented a text by Shōtoku-taishi and other items to the new Shogun

When I reflect on what Mr Hayashi meant when he called it an apocryphal text, there are two [possible] meanings. The first is, that this book [contains] the discourses of a True and Perfect One²⁷⁸ (= Crown Prince Shōtoku); therefore [Razan, with] his seeing power of a [mere] scribe, was not really up to it.²⁷⁹ The second [possible meaning] is, that this book was greatly different from the books about the gods, the poems, the prose etc. that he composed, and that therefore he spoke like this. Between these two [possible] meanings, I fear that he will not be able to evade a later [critical] discussion.²⁸⁰

Now, the three divine books of our country are the *Kujiki*,²⁸¹ *Kojiki*, and *Nihon shoki*. (1:25b) Among these three books, the names of the seven generations of heavenly gods are all different. Broad though his knowledge is, Mr. Hayashi does not correct these. [Moreover,] he uses for corroboration the *Kojiki*, which was compiled fifty years after the *Kujiki*, or the *Nihon shoki*, which was compiled one hundred years after the *Kujiki*,²⁸² and thus he wrote *Jinja-kō* and his poems and prose.

Having completely read the two fascicles of the divine period of the *Nihon shoki*, you [really] have no doubts? Or do you? Confucian,

(Iemitsu); see Meiji Seitoku Kinen Gakkai, ed., *Kujiki kunkai*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Meiseidō, 1944), pp. 7-8. Cf. *supra*, notes 50 and 131. See also our Appendix: "*Taisei-kyō* and its corpus of initiation texts (*kanden*)."

²⁷⁸ As *Taisei-kyō* 34 makes clear, the characters 真至 are Shōtoku-taishi's posthumous name: 諡皇太子, 白真至大聖皇. Cf. also the following note.

²⁷⁹ Cf. *infra*, p. 3:4a, where it is said that Shōtoku divided men into nine grades, of which the 真人 and 至人 were the highest, and the *kijin* 記人 (here translated as "scribe") was number three from the bottom.

²⁸⁰ The compound 後説 is attested; see Mor. IV: 10098-440. The meaning is "later explanation" or "explanations of later generations." Chōon's argument is that Razan is either congenitally too dumb to recognise *Taisei-kyō* for what it is, or too prejudiced. In either case, someone else will eventually give another explanation of *Taisei-kyō*. As the words 恐 and 免 imply, Chōon assumes that this later explanation will be critical of Razan. We may assume that Chōon refers to his own, highly critical review of Razan's sources and expertise that follows in the next paragraphs.

²⁸¹ *Kujiki* here refers to *Taisei-kyō*, not to the ten volume *Sendai kuji hongū*.

²⁸² The *Kojiki* was composed in 712, and the *Nihon shoki*, in 720. As the Crown Prince died in 622, the "fifty years" Chōon mentions in connection with the *Kojiki* is wide off the mark.

Buddhist, and Shinto scholars of ancient and modern times [found that] there were many variant theories in this book and that these were difficult to explain.²⁸³ This being so, people of the recent Yuiitsu ("the one and only") Shinto posited all kinds of heterodox interpretations; they preached these, and brought confusion to high and low. If [we go by] this book by the Crown Prince, there are three branches of Shinto, which are called Sōgen, Saigen, and Reisō.²⁸⁴ (1:26a) Each of these three branches has twenty-two transmissions; all in all, there are sixty-six transmissions. If you have [not] been initiated²⁸⁵ and have not received the sixty-six secret transmissions,

²⁸³ This will be a reference to the one or more alternative versions of the same myth or incident that are often introduced in *Nihon shoki* - the passages beginning with 一書曰.

²⁸⁴ Reisō is the Shinto of the *Taisei-kyō*; see e.g. the definition in *Taisei-kyō* 1: 「這神傳靈宗道、一日告群祇曰：『靈宗具體用、唯為心五耳。』天鈿女命曰：『心五者宗源，大神何意耶。』曰：『宗源畢竟、以靈宗為基。』一日又曰：『靈宗在體虛莫、唯理還出乎用。明靜中極、不動應萬。若弓恒張、若矢疾中。』是靈宗、其學元也。」 - "This god transmits the Way of the Virtuous Ancestor (translation of *reisō*: cf. Mor. XII: 42532-220, 217). One day he spoke to the assembled earthly gods, saying: 'The Virtuous Ancestor embodies both substance and function; he is just the five [functions / aspects] of the heart.' Ame no Hosome no Mikoto said: 'The five [aspects / functions] of the heart is the primeval source. What does the great god intend [to say]?' He said: 'The primeval source ultimately bases itself on the Virtuous Ancestor.' Another day he said: 'The Virtuous Ancestor in his substance is empty (虛莫 = 虛無?). Only the principle returns and goes out into practice. In luminosity and quietude [it reaches] its apogee. Without moving it responds to a myriad [stimuli]. It is like a bow, always drawn; like an arrow in its speed.' This is the Virtuous Ancestor - the basis of his teachings."

²⁸⁵ The compound *kanden* is not attested in the dictionaries, but it should mean "initiation through baptism." The ordinary word for baptism is *kanjō* 灌頂. In the esoteric Buddhist sects, it forms part of initiation rituals. Of course, the compilers of *Taisei-kyō* wanted a Shinto equivalent. The origin of the Shinto ritual, called *suikanhō* 水灌法, is described in *Taisei-kyō* 15, and ascribed to Ninigi no Mikoto. The water is assembled from various sources (two are used, but four are mentioned, comparable to the Four Oceans from which the water for the original Indian ritual had to be collected; see Mor. VII: 18759-58-1). The ritual is presented as a device for keeping the potentially unruly earthly gods in their place: 「天孫熟閑思之：『世下神、邪若為、非善法、難救之。』依作水灌法。是法出天祖。」 - "The Heavenly Grandchild considered this fully and calmly, [and said]: 'If the gods of the earth act wrongly, it will be difficult to save them, if the law (method? ritual?) is no good.' Accordingly, he instituted the method of baptism with water (*mi-sosogi no nori*). This method originated from the Heavenly Ancestor." This passage is quoted in Chōon's *Shigetsu yawa* 6, the reading marks of which we have used to interpret the above quotation. The text is the same; the main difference is that Chōon substitutes [Hiko]hohodemi no Mikoto, i.e. Ninigi's son, as the initiator of this ritual. The origin of the ritual is also mentioned, briefly, in the biography of Chōon's teacher Nagano Uneme, *Nagano Uneme Ariwara Yoshikado sensei gyōgō ki* (長野采女在原吉門先生行業記) by Senrei 仙嶺, quoted in Kōno Seizō, *Kuji Taisei-kyō ni kan-suru kenkyū*, p. 134. See also our Appendix: "*Taisei-kyō* and its corpus of initiation texts (*kanden*)."

and yet speak of an apocryphal book and groundless theories, how can that be allowed?

In his Commonplace Book, Mr Hayashi states: "Our empire is a country of the Gods. The Way of the Gods is the Kingly Way. Once the Buddhist teachings had begun to flourish, both the Kingly Way and the Way of the Gods were completely discarded."

Although with his mouth Mr. Hayashi preaches [that Japan is] the Divine Country and talks about the Way of the Gods, in his heart he makes light of the Divine Country and feels contempt for the Way of the Gods. Let me present my evidence. You, [Mr. Hayashi,] have seen the books on the Age of the Gods in *Nihon shoki* and *Kujiki* by Crown Prince [Shōtoku], but you have not researched the birth of our country either in its details or in its outline. You have, on the contrary, looked in detail at *Shiji* ("Records of the Grand Historian") from the other country. If you only revere that [foreign] country, (1:26b) how could that not imply a disdain of the country of the Gods?

>>> *Ritō [Shinchi] Shintō*

Furthermore, when you yourself composed a book on *Ritō [shinchi] shintō*,²⁸⁶ you ignored *Sendai kujiki* (= *Taisei-kyō*), and you had not been initiated into the secret transmission of the Age of the Gods [based on the teaching of *Taisei-kyō*]. How could this not imply disdain of the Way of the Gods?

²⁸⁶ The only *book* in which Razan discusses his *ri tō shinchi shintō* ("Shintō in which Principle is present in the Heart") is *Shintō denju*; see NST 39, pp. 11-57. For further details, see Boot, *Adoption and Adaptation*, pp. 176-192. An interesting question is, how Chōon got to see that text, for Razan wrote *Shintō denju* for the *rōjū* Sakai Tadakatsu 酒井忠勝 (1587-1662); it was never printed during the Edo Period, and the NKSM database indicates that only a few manuscript copies were made. Otherwise, Razan mentions *ri tō shinchi shintō* in one single entry in his *Zuihitsu* (see *Bunshū* 69; vol. 2, p. 419) and briefly in *Jinja-kō* 2 (see *Nihon shisō tōsō shiryō* vol. 1, p. 419, lines 6-7).

When I had a look at the book that you compiled on *Ritō [shinchi] shintō*, the whole of it turned out to be the explanations of that Confucian scholar Wani, who came to our country during the reign of Emperor Ōjin (200-310; r. 270-310), but which did not at all correspond to the Way of the Gods in our country. When Wani explained the Way of the Gods of our country, the Crown Prince of Uji (= Uji no Waki Iratsuko 菟道稚郎子; dates unknown) gave a detailed refutation.²⁸⁷ This is called the interpretation of [the Crown Prince of] Uji. How could this be a rejection of the Kingly Way and of the Way of the Gods?

Again, you say: "Once Buddhist teachings had begun to flourish, the Kingly Way and the Way of the Gods were discarded." For your sake, I will analyse this [statement]. Well now, it was during the reign of [Empress] Suiko that, for the first time since the creation of our country, (1:27a) Crown Prince [Shōtoku] gave Japanese readings to Chinese characters, and that the people in our country finally came to understand the Confucian and Buddhist books from the foreign country. Because [the Crown Prince] feared that people from the other country would not understand the Way of the Gods of our country, he

²⁸⁷ According to *Taisei-kyō* 23 (天皇本紀), Wani arrived in Japan in Ōjin 16/3, and became the tutor of Crown Prince Uji. On Ōjin 19/10/6, the Great God of Sumiyoshi gave an oracle in which he accused Wani of "giving quite a lot of wrong interpretations." The emperor summons, questions, and chides him ("Your country is a country of men; our country is the country of the gods"). In the end, he is scared by the god himself: 「十九年，十月戊戌朔癸卯六，住吉大神曰：『八百萬神等無常俱居天皇守之，唯予三神俱天皇常居內裏，冀大殿中間定余居淨處，崇余余力擊西。故以吾三神入於序，祭之。又加八門於今四門，更以四大殿加二十四殿。若闕一字，則發國災。天皇之政依上中下，祭神之儀皆依古儀。雖崇尊之不為新加，雖急之時不為新滅。王仁頗為異解，謾神代，輕皇代。當推取其密書，為末葉類僻印。異國人文推吾神力，莫合神文，須尊是此八節之法。』天皇令曰：『以此神語，慎為節用。』即召王仁，問其所以。王仁即曰：『如吾國理解此國文，著書持之，以奉天皇。』即敕告之：『汝國人國，吾國神國。向後，以汝國理而勿解吾國文。』于時王仁愕然驚曰：『他不所知，而獨書之。卑神知之。』即見此事身震，毛豎，知神德驗。」 *Taisei-kyō* 44 contains a lengthy section entitled "Uji's teachings" 菟道訓 (edn 1679, 44, frame 34 left - 55 right), which is in effect a discussion with Wani.

turned the divine script²⁸⁸ into Chinese characters, and composed *Sendai kujiki* in seventy-two fascicles. Unfortunately, [Soga no] Iruka burned the national records of Japan. Thereafter, one after the other, [Soga no] Umako composed *Kujiki*, [Ō no] Yasumaro, *Kojiki*, and [Prince] Toneri, *Nihon shoki*.²⁸⁹

The Way of the Gods [in the version] of *Nihon shoki* was transmitted by the Urabe clan. Kōbō (= Kōbō-*daishi* Kūkai; 774-835) and Dengyō (Dengyō-*daishi* Saichō; 767-822) received this [tradition] from the Urabe clan and these two Great Teachers (*daishi*) composed many explanatory works of Shintō texts.²⁹⁰ Nevertheless, [you state that] "after the Buddhist teaching had begun to flourish, the Kingly Way and the Way of the Gods were discarded." I would not know where it was that they were discarded. Or do you, on the contrary, regard supporting the Kingly Way and the Way of the Gods (1:27b) as discarding them? I think that of all those who discarded the Kingly Way and the Way of the Gods no one can have been worse than you.

In his "Disquisition on *Genkō shakusho*,"²⁹¹ Mr. Hayashi says: "Is this

²⁸⁸ Chōon evidently subscribed to the notion that in ancient times Japan had had a writing system of its own. The general name of such scripts is *jindai moji* ("Script from the Age of the Gods"). *Jindai moji* are referred to in *Taisei-kyō* 10 (「次以四十七言，詔告大己貴尊。其靈句曰：「ひふみよいむな人含道善命報名，やこともちろらねし親子倫元因心顯煉忍。 きるゆい君主豐位， つわぬそ臣私盜勿， をたはく男田畠耘， めかうお女蠶續織， へゆきり家饒榮理。 へてのますあせえほれけ宜照法守進惡攻撰欲我刪。」如是宣，依大己貴尊與天八意命同意，以是言造神代文字，以是四十七字通連作萬言句。」) and 41 (「今以秦字，代於神字，而成聲。但用音，不用訓。所以神字，其用唯有音，以無訓也。」).

²⁸⁹ Chōon will have known that Soga no Umako had died in 626, and that, therefore, his compilation of *Kujiki* (10 fasc.) should have predated by many years Iruka's ill-fated *coup d'état* and the Taika Reform that followed.

²⁹⁰ One would like to know to which books Chōon refers. To our knowledge, neither Kūkai nor Dengyō wrote about Shinto, let alone, explained Shinto texts.

²⁹¹ *Genkō shakusho* (30 fasc.) is a history of Japanese Buddhism, written by the Zen priest Kokan Shiren (1278-1346). He finished it in Genkō 2 (1322); hence the title. Shiren's historiographical innovations are listed at the beginning of Razan's "Disquisition." They amounted to imitations of

[book] the beginning of the history of Buddhist priests in our empire? Why is it that our Way had nobody at all? [Someone like Kokan] Shiren is not worth wishing for.²⁹² He borrowed the words of the Confucians and used them to decorate the theories of the Buddhists. How could it have been just Kokan [who did such things]? All the texts in the more than five hundred boxes of the *Daizōkyō* ("Great Sutra Collection") are [written with] our characters, [which they] borrowed.²⁹³ They relate to us like thieves to the master of the house. Threatening, robbing, and usurping a status above their position is their only craft."

Well now, although *Kujiki*, *Kojiki*, *Nihon shoki*, and *Engi shiki* are [the equivalent of] the *Shiji* ("Historical records") of our country, Confucian (1:28a) and Buddhist scholars seldom read them. [However,] both Confucian and Buddhist scholars *do* have a liking for our Buddhist texts. There are no scholars who do not read them. As Mr. Hayashi has said himself, he read them in his younger years. He says that at that time there was no one of his [Confucian] Way. Do you think that nowadays there are some? Heterodox Confucians like you? If you think that means that there are some, it would be better to have none.

Again, you say that the characters in the *Daizōkyō* and in Kokan [Shiren]'s [*Genkō*] *shakusho* are all borrowed from "ours." Well now, the *Daizōkyō* was written in Sanskrit and brought [from India] to China. Because the Chinese had difficulties understanding the Sanskrit, [the *Daizōkyō*] was translated into Chinese characters. [It was done] in order to make it easy for the Chinese to understand the Sanskrit texts.

Chinese historiography, which, in this Buddhist context, greatly irritated Razan.

²⁹² In view of the reading *negau* specified in Razan's *Bunshū*, this is the obvious translation. The meaning will be "we need not be envious of him."

²⁹³ The particle 以 is used to mark the object 我文字, which is placed in front of the verb 借; the particle 之 after the verb repeats the advanced object.

Again, although in our country we had the divine script of forty-eight signs, Crown Prince Shōtoku translated the [texts written in the] divine script into Chinese characters. [The reason why] he compiled (1:28b) *Sendai kujiki* was in order to make it easy for the Chinese to understand our Way. Writing [systems] are a tool. If borrowing a tool is theft, [then how about you?] You borrow Chinese characters! How could that not be theft? [You say that] Kokan [Shiren] threatens, robs, and usurps a status above his own? Look at your own poems and prose! It is all robbed, stolen, and usurped! [On the other hand,] how could this not have been the case with everyone who composed literature, formerly and nowadays?

In his "Disquisition on Koretaka" Mr Hayashi says: "The monk (Kokan) Shiren says in his book²⁹⁴: 'Koretaka and Korehito were rivals for the throne.²⁹⁵ [In order to settle this,] they [decided to] bet on horse races and *sumō* matches. Korehito begged the monk Eryō²⁹⁶ to pray for him. Koretaka also asked a monk, Shinzei,²⁹⁷ to pray for [his side]. Both

²⁹⁴ In *Genkō shakusho* 3 we find the biography of Shinzei, but this anecdote is not reported there. Although there are small differences, Razan's *Koretaka no ben* seems to be based on the short biography of the Tendai priest Eryō as recorded in Kokan Shiren's *Genkō shakusho* 12: 「釈慧亮。睿山円澄之徒也。兼稟慈覺。初仁寿帝二皇子争儲位。帝二皇子鬪藝。勝者得立。兄惟喬。弟惟仁。藝敵不決。乃賭力士相撲。於是乎惟仁有羽林郎将善雄。惟喬武衛將軍那都羅。羅膂力過善雄。惟仁付亮乞法救。亮乃修大威德護摩法。惟喬又受真濟闍梨修密供。都下皆知二沙門加二皇子也。期日二人角力。那都羅身体壮大。善雄不及。群臣以為惟仁失也。于時惟仁馳使告亮。亮即執独鈷杵。鑿破頭腦投炉火而供。持念須臾。忽大威德尊所騎青牛大吼一声。此時宮中善雄得勝。惟仁立為太子。貞觀帝是也。」

²⁹⁵ Koretaka (844-897) was the eldest son of Emperor Montoku; his mother was the daughter of Ki no Natora. He was the appointed heir until in 850 Korehito was born, whose mother was a Fujiwara. Korehito succeeded his father in 858 as Emperor Seiwa. Koretaka fulfilled a number of bureaucratic appointments such as governor of Dazaifu, before he took the vows and retired as a monk.

²⁹⁶ Eryō (800-859) was a monk of the Tendai Sect. In 829 he received the Mahayana bodhisattva precepts under Gishin, Saichō's designated successor and the first chief priest of Enryaku-ji. He also studied under Enchō and Jikaku, the second and third abbot of Enryaku-ji. Eryō was supervisor of a temple on Mount Hiei called Hōdō-in.

²⁹⁷ Shinzei (800-860) was a Shingon monk. His father was Ki no Misono 紀御園 (dates unknown);

sought [the support of] the power of the Dharma. Eryō's powers of concentration²⁹⁸ proved effective, and Korehito ascended the imperial throne."

Criticizing this, however, Mr Hayashi says: "The Buddhists are boasting of the effectiveness of their prayer, (1:29a) thus injecting lies into the people's customs and transmitting and extending them to men of later times."

Your [own] people, Mr Hayashi, (have been able to record >) did not mind recording that "Confucius²⁹⁹ had been praying for a long time," and that "When you have committed a sin towards Heaven, there is none to whom to address your prayers."³⁰⁰ Don't you even know that at one time the Duke of Zhou prayed for King Wu's [recovery from] illness?³⁰¹ If the Holy Ones did not pray, why, then, is the Duke of Zhou considered to have prayed? Theories [such as] that Confucius had been praying for a long time, and that there is none to whom to address one's prayers when one has sinned against Heaven, are teachings to his disciples, [telling them how to] deal with illnesses in incidental cases; they really do not say that one should not pray to the gods and spirits. Otherwise, how can [the Confucians] have taught [such things as] that

he therefore belonged to the same clan as Koretaka's mother. He was one of Kūkai's ten most important disciples, and the first Shingon monk to be appointed *sōjō* ("high priest").

²⁹⁸ Our translation of *jinen* 持念, which literally means "to maintain mindfulness".

²⁹⁹ The name is given as Kongzi Qiu, so "Master Kong," [with the given name] Qiu.

³⁰⁰ Two quotations from *Lunyu*, resp. 7.35 (「子疾病、子路請禱。子曰：有諸。子路對曰：有之。誄曰：禱爾于上下神祇。子曰：丘之禱久矣。」 - "The Master being very sick, Zilu asked leave to pray for him. He said, 'May such a thing be done?' Zilu replied, 'It may. In the Eulogies 誄 it is said, 'Prayer has been made for thee to the spirits of the upper and lower worlds.'" The Master said, 'My praying has been for a long time.') and 3.13 (「王孫賈問曰：與其媚於奧、寧媚於竈、何謂也。子曰：不然，獲罪於天，無所禱也。」 - "Wangsun Jia asked, saying, 'What is the meaning of the saying, 'It is better to pay court to the furnace than to the south-west corner'?" The Master said, 'Not so. He who offends against Heaven has none to whom he can pray.'" (Legge's translations)

³⁰¹ This story is reported in the Han text *Jiaoshi Yilin* 焦氏易林 2, 166: 「武王不豫、周公禱謝、載璧秉珪、安寧如故」.

Confucius brought the *di* offering to the Taishan and sacrificed to the gods of the soil and the grain,³⁰² or that Yu reduced his drink and food and observed filial piety towards the gods and spirits?³⁰³ The Confucians of the Tang and the Song did not understand the intention of the Holy Ones; they just blithely spoke of licentious shrines and slandered them. (1:29b) From which people have you learned to speak like this? How could this be the intention of the Holy Ones of antiquity?

Formerly, in our country, Crown Prince Shōtoku commanded the Buddhists [to fulfil] four tasks. The first was called prayer; the second, instruction; the third, burial rites; the fourth, prayer for the dead.³⁰⁴ You [seem to] regard the first of these tasks as a boast. Ah! What [kind of a] mindset is that? In Shinto one posits [the existence of] nine heavens.³⁰⁵ The teachings of the ninth heaven correspond to the

³⁰² The character 禘 occurs twice in *Lunyu* (3.10, 3.11), but not in connection with the Taishan. Neither is it mentioned anywhere that Confucius sacrificed to the gods of the soil and the grain; on the contrary, wherever this sacrifice is mentioned, it is specified that offering to these gods was the prerogative of the feudal lords. The *di* sacrifice is defined (see Mor. VIII: 24778) as the summer sacrifice in the ancestral temple or as the great sacrifice the king made at the beginning of the year. The *Liji* is categorical: "If you are not a king, you do not bring the *di* sacrifice." (『禮記』,「大傳」:「禮、不王不禘」) In other words, it is unclear on what texts Chōon bases these formulations.

³⁰³ Reference to *Lunyu* 8.21. Legge translates: "The Master said, 'I can find no flaw in the character of Yu. He used himself coarse food and drink, but displayed the utmost filial piety towards the spirits. His ordinary garments were poor, but he displayed the utmost elegance in his sacrificial cap and apron. He lived in a low, mean house, but expended all his strength on the ditches and water channels. I can find nothing like a flaw in Yü.'"

³⁰⁴ The most likely source for this statement would be *Taisei-kyō*, but we have been unable to find it. Even the term *shieki* (四役) is not included in dictionaries such as Nakamura Hajime's *Bukkyōgo daijiten*.

³⁰⁵ The term or concept *kyūten* can be found both in ancient Chinese sources (for instance in the section Tian Wen 天問 in *Chu Ci* 楚辭), in Buddhist sources (the depiction of the world with Mt. Sumeru in the centre and the Nine heavens at the top 四禪九天), and in western sources such as Matteo Ricci's famous world map, *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu* 坤輿萬國全圖. In Shinto, the term or concept *kyūten* seems to be absent, except for *Taisei-kyō*, where it is introduced in the first fascicle of *Jindai hongī*. This fascicle describes the origins of the cosmos, starting with the first and uncreated God (無生始天神) Ame no mioya 天祖. Hereafter follow the seven generations of Heavenly Gods, each generation consisting of a pair of Gods (供生天神 *tomo ni narimasu amatsu kami*). It is during these seven generations of Heavenly Gods that the nine layers of heaven (*konoe no ame* 九重天) are formed. Nothing in the description of the nine layers of heaven suggests any relation to the hierarchic position of the teachings of the Buddha, the Japanese gods and Confucius

Indian Buddhist teachings. The teachings of the fifth heaven correspond with Japanese teachings about the gods. The teachings of the first heaven correspond to the Confucian teachings from China. Therefore, because the [teachings of the] Buddha's and gods are teachings of the higher heavens, if one recites and celebrates them, they will prove effective. Because the Confucian teachings are [teachings of] the lowest heaven, they have no effect, even though one recites them. Is it really all right, for you to laugh at me?

Mr Hayashi also says: (1:30a) "Having received a shogunal command, I compiled the *Honchō hennen roku* ("Chronological Records of Our Court").³⁰⁶ When I reached the times of Emperors Junna (786-823-833-840) and Montoku (827-850-858), I pondered the ancient records and wrote my "Disquisition on Urashima" and my "Disquisition on Koretaka," and thus cleared away long-existing doubts and dispelled the misgivings of the people.³⁰⁷ Apart from these, there are many more things that I discovered as I was compiling [*Hennen-roku*], but these I put into the interlinear notes; we³⁰⁸ will not quote the lot of them here."

as posited by Chōon in our text. In addition, it is rather strange, to say the least, that Chōon, in his propagation of Shintō, places Buddhism at the top (ninth heaven) and Shintō only at the middle position (fifth heaven). On the other hand, *Taisei-kyō* 3 (*In'yō hongī*) contains a passage which is of interest in the present context: Amaterasu ascends to Takamagahara where she meets Ame no miya. Ame no miya then declares that he bestows upon Amaterasu the fifth layer heaven (「于時，天照太神，遂昇諸高天原，而謁天祖。天祖詔曰：『汝日太神未有天，先能有知天。今又至天成，形出來知天』。授以第五重天。其天中大陽天，而周乎天一年，為世為善為吉。是依德位上，及日曜大善理，生為大福，其法之元也」). This would connect the Sun Goddess with the fifth heaven, but it is unclear whether Chōon's statement that "The teaching of the fifth heaven corresponds with Japanese teachings about the gods" refers to this passage.

³⁰⁶ Provisional title for what would become *Honchō tsugan* 本朝通鑑, compiled by Razan and his son Hayashi Gahō 林鷺峰 (1618-1680).

³⁰⁷ The *Urashima ga ben* and *Koretaka no ben* can be found in *Razan Ren-sensei bunshū* 26; see *Razan bunshū* vol. 1, p. 304 and pp. 305-306. As is explained *ibid.*, p. 306, Razan wrote them in the Shōhō (1644-1647) and Keian (1648-1651) eras.

³⁰⁸ In *Razan bunshū*, this is a note written by Razan's editors, i.e. his sons Gahō and Dokkōsai. Chōon quotes it as if it were written in the first person singular (Razan speaking).

I (= Chōon) have always, always been pained and distressed by [historiographers who] imitate the historical texts that have been compiled by Confucian scholars since the Song Dynasty. They expunge all [references to] gods and Buddha's and leave out all extraordinary and mysterious events. Well now, in Japan, ever since the Crown Prince made the Five Constitutions,³⁰⁹ we have ruled the empire and the state through the Three Ways. If one should want to compile a national history of our country, one should assemble men of broad knowledge from the three persuasions, Buddhists, Shintoists, and Confucians; if then one compiles [a history], one will give a balanced [account]. If one does not do it like this, and has [representatives of only] one persuasion (1:30b) to compile [a history], then they are bound to do as they like, following their own predilections, and thus, to fabricate one-sided theories.

When I read the three records of Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Mikawa,³¹⁰ they are [just full of] prejudiced stories by Confucian scholars. Actually, it would have been better, had they not been written. The Buddha's and gods these lords revered have all been expunged. Military chronicles of our country should follow the way of writing of the ancient *Heike monogatari* and *Taihei-ki*, and they should not apply

³⁰⁹ A reference to *Taisei-kyō* 70 (*Kenpō hongī*), which, contrary to *Nihon shoki*, contains not one but five constitutions: one for civil servants 通蒙憲法, one for politicians 政家憲法, one for Shintō priests 神職憲法, one for Confucians 儒士憲法, and one for Buddhists 釋氏憲法.

³¹⁰ These will be *Shinchō-ki* 信長記 and *Taikō-ki* 太閤記 by the Confucian physician Oze Hoan 小瀬保安 (1564-1640), and the *Mikawa monogatari* 三河物語 by Ōkubo Tadataka 大久保忠教 (1560-1639). Of course, Tadataka was very much a samurai, not a Confucian, but Chōon's use of "Mikawa" points to *Mikawa monogatari*, and there are no other biographies of Ieyasu by Confucian authors that could be put on par with the other two texts. No scholar would write about the reigning house unless he was ordered to do so. All other texts were unauthorized, contained unreliable gossip, and could not be printed. *Mikawa monogatari* was not printed either, during the Edo Period, but to judge by the surviving copies, there were quite a few manuscripts in circulation.

the conventions³¹¹ of heterodox Confucians of later times. Be warned by this! Be prudent! Those many things you have discovered will all be heterodox theories, not orthodox theories. Having read these two disquisitions, I have come to know this only too well!

In his "Disquisition on the Child of Urashima," Mr Hayashi says: "[According to] the *Tango fudoki* ("Record of the Customs and Land of Tango"), 'the Child of Urashima returned after more than three hundred years.' *Honchō shinsen den* ("Biographies of Immortals from our Country") only says, 'He returned after one hundred years.' (1:31a) These two versions do not agree. The version of the *Shinsen[-den]* is nebulous and fuzzy, and quite unbelievable."

In Crown Prince Shōtoku's *Sendai kuji hongī*, under Emperor Yūryaku 22, autumn, 7th month, [it says]: "A man from Tsutsukawa in the district of Yona in the province of Tanba, [named] Mizue Urashimagako, boarded his ship and went fishing in the sea. He caught a huge tortoise, which then changed into a beautiful woman. At that time, Urashimagako fell in love with her and made her his wife. In the end, he went out into the sea and, passing through, he reached the mountain Penglai. One by one he inspected the dwellings of the immortals. Hereupon he sent back the boys and girls [of his retinue, but] Urashimagako [himself] remained there. It has been a long time, but he still has not returned."

When I ponder the *Fudoki*, *Shinsen-den*, and *Kujiki*, *Kujiki* is the oldest. The [other] two texts are later traditions. Thus, it says in *Kujiki*

³¹¹ The character 毫 means "thin hair > tip of the brush"; hence 毫規 is a synonym of the 筆法 in the preceding sentence.

that Urashimagako has not yet (1:31b) returned, and in the [other] two books, that he has already returned. [The only point on which the first two] disagree is whether [he] had [been away for] over three hundred years or one hundred years.

[You,] Mr Razan, say that "the theory of *Shinsen[-den]* is nebulous and fuzzy, and quite unbelievable." You regard everything [that falls] outside of what you have seen yourself and know yourself as arbitrary theories and baseless writings. What, then, do you discourse on Chinese immortals like Liu Chen, Ruan Zhao, Li Shao, Liu Yi, Qin Gao, Huang Zhe, Ling Wei, or Wang Zhi?³¹² Do you discuss them, thinking that they are real? Or do you discuss them, thinking that they have never existed?³¹³

Again, Mr Hayashi says: "The Holy Ones recorded [all] unusual [events], but did not talk of the extraordinary."³¹⁴ This argument is one of those that hide their head and show their tail. How could a Holy One who records unusual [events] not talk of the extraordinary? What does this mean? In Empress Suiko's Preface to *Sendai kuji hongei*, it says: "Not to make use of extraordinary and miraculous events (1:32a) is [the way to] establish the traces of a gentleman and the practice of the [five] human relations. Therefore, [the Confucians] throw out the extraordinary and miraculous events that have occurred, with the

³¹² Apparently, these are all immortals who went to Penglai. The identical list also figures in Razan's disquisition. Razan also specifies what each of them was famous for; see *Razan bunshū* vol. 1, p. 304b.

³¹³ Razan does not make much of a mystery out of his opinion. After having mentioned the various immortals, Razan concludes: "All in all, stories of this nature partake of the miraculous. It is the stuff, however, on which those who have a predilection for the extraordinary pride themselves, and which popular tales relate. They have been around forever. [The tale of] Urashimagako also belongs to this type." (*Razan bunshū* vol. 1, p. 304b)

³¹⁴ As explained in the *Honkoku*, note 202, Razan here joined two separate quotations. As Chōon will point out in a minute, the difference between 異 and 怪 is difficult to maintain.

result that these drop out of history in great numbers. Ever since the middle period, this has been the method of historical compilation of the western country (= China). In many instances, it also leads to differences with what remains of the True and Perfect Men.³¹⁵ Even in that country, former [times] and later [times] are not the same. Those who imitate the later history doubt the evidence of antiquity and call it allegories, or say that it is all empty lies. Neither do they know such subtleties as that the True [Man] is superior to the Perfect [Man], and that the Holy Ones do not reach the [level of the] Perfect [Man]. Let alone, [that they will be able to understand] our heavenly and earthly gods, [who] stand through spiritual virtue and control through subtle transformations. If you are like those [Chinese historiographers], you lose this, and when you lose this, you will acquire foreign customs, and thus lose the Origin of Abstinence.³¹⁶ And he who has lost the Origin of Abstinence becomes a sinner against the gods of heaven³¹⁷ and the object of the emperor's resentment." (1:32b)

In our country, [Razan,] you are an enemy of the gods and an enemy of the crown. If I were to punish you, I do not know, [but] I might choose the heaviest of the Five Punishments³¹⁸ to inflict on you.

³¹⁵ *Zhenren zhiren* 真人至人 occurs twice in *Zhuangzi*. For the meaning, see Mor. IX: 30142-148/154. The meaning of the sentence will be that the modern Chinese method of historiographical compilation frequently causes the historiographers to ignore or distort the *faits et gestes* of non-Confucian True and Pure Men.

³¹⁶ *Taisei-kyō* distinguishes three branches of Shintō: Sōgen, Saigen, and Reisō. *Taisei-kyō* edn 1679, Jo, 6b, reads the characters *saigen* as *in tsu moto*. Assuming that *in* is short for *imi* (or *imu*), the word means "origin of abstention."

³¹⁷ The original text edition of *Taisei-kyō* has 臣, not 神, but here we follow the correction given in our manuscript; cf. *Honkoku*, note 209. It is unclear what the expressions "sinner against the ministers of heaven" should imply or refer to. The most obvious "minister of heaven" is the emperor, but he is mentioned next, separately.

³¹⁸ The classical list is branding, cutting off the nose, cutting off the feet, castration, and death.

FUSŌ GOBUSSHIN RON

- ENGLISH TRANSLATION -

- Fascicle 2 -

(2:1a) In the Preface of *Jinjākō*, Mr. Hayashi says: "In the Middle Ages,³¹⁹ [the Kingly Way] gradually dwindled, and the Buddhists, availing themselves of the opportunity, introduced the Law of those western regions and changed the customs of our eastern land. As the Kingly Way had already decayed, the Way of the Gods, too, was gradually discarded.³²⁰ And because deviant teachings were strange to us and thus had difficulties taking hold, they formulated their heretical³²¹ theories, saying: 'Izanagi and Izanami are Sanskrit words. The Goddess of the Sun³²² is [the Buddha] Dainichi. Because [Japan] is Dainichi's original country, it is called the Country of the Origin of the Sun.'³²³ Or: ' The original grounds are the Buddha's and their hanging-down traces are the gods. Because, in a grand temporary [manifestation, the Buddha] becomes one with the dust,³²⁴ [the god who appears] is called a Temporary Manifestation (*gongen*). Because [the Buddha] forms

³¹⁹ Intended is the period from the Taika Reform until the founding of the Kamakura *bakufu*; see Mor. I: 73-506-2.

³²⁰ Razan explains his ideas about the relation between the Kingly Way and the Way of the Gods more in detail in his *Shintō denju* 神道伝授. There he writes that they were "one principle" 王道神道一理也 (NST 39, p. 12).

³²¹ Litt. "their left-way theory." For "left-way" 左道, see Mor. IV: 8720-306. The term derives from *Liji*: *Wangzhi*. It is a strange term, for as a rule the left side is good, and higher than the right side, but here it is supposed to be the other way around.

³²² Intended is, of course, Amaterasu ōmikami.

³²³ A possible source of this statement might be *Goyuikō shakugi-shō* 御遺告釈疑鈔 by the Shingon priest Raiyu 頼瑜 (1226-1304), which contains the following passages: 「問。『大日本國矣、立名所由如何。』 答。『或記云。神代七世之中、第三大日靈尊、亦名天照大神。日天子始生為帝王、於後登高天、照天下。故名大日本國。』」 And: 「神號天照大神、邦名日本國。」. See *Zoku Shingon zensho* vol. 26, p. 46.

³²⁴ This is a reference to the well-known phrase 和光同塵: "to soften one's brilliance and become one with the dust." The phrase originally comes from the *Daodejing*, where it is used to describe the Saint (according to most scholars) and the Way (according to Duyvendak; see. J.L.L. Duyvendak, *Tau-te-tsjing. Het boek van Weg en Deugd*, 2e herz. dr., Arnhem: Van Loghum Slaterus, 1950, pp. 39, 168-169). In Buddhism, the phrase is used to describe the Buddha or Bodhisattva, who manifests himself temporarily in the shape of another being in order to do his work of saving all sentient creatures.

karmatic ties and brings benefits to the [living] beings, he is called a Bodhisattva.' The kings, dukes, and high dignitaries of the time, and the lords and governors of the provinces submitted themselves [to these beliefs] and (2:1b) did not realize [what they were doing]. Eventually, it reached the stage that they allowed shrines and temples to be confused, and [no one] doubted [anymore that they were identical]. Shinto priests and Buddhist monks lived together and shared their abodes. Aah! The gods were there, but it was as if they had gone. If the gods were gods [in their own right], how did this happen?"³²⁵

Mr. Hayashi thinks that "the theory that the [relation between] the Buddha's and the gods is that of original state *versus* trace manifestations was something that Kōbō [Daishi] and Dengyō [Daishi] privately formulated."³²⁶ In many places [in his works], he slanders [this theory]. Now, the principle (*gi*) of *honji suijaku* was revealed in an oracle of the God of Miwa³²⁷; it was not [invented and] preached by a Buddhist priest. [Likewise,] the beginning of temporary manifestations (*gongen*) lies in Yoshino. [In general,] these temporary manifestations have an original ground and a trace manifestation, the original ground being a Buddha and the trace manifestation, a god. The original ground of Yoshino is the Great Lord Miroku.³²⁸ After his death, Emperor Ankan (466-531-536) manifested himself at Yoshino. There were various

³²⁵ These two phrases should be read in the context of the *honji suijaku* theory: according to this theory, the gods only had a mediated existence; in reality, they were Buddha's. The alternative, which Razan of course prefers, would be that the gods had an unmediated existence, i.e., were gods in their own right, not manifestations of something else. N.B. A complete translation of Razan's preface of *Honchō jinja kō* can be found in our *Jinja-kō bengi*.

³²⁶ The particle *to* makes clear, that this sentence is a quotation; the reference probably is to an entry in Razan's *zuihitsu*; see *Zuihitsu* 5 (*Razan Rin-sensei bunshū* 69; *Bunshū* vol. 2, p. 419).

³²⁷ It is unclear to what passage in which work Chōon refers. There is no such passage in *Taisei-kyō*.

³²⁸ I.e. the Bodhisattva Maitreya.

auspicious signs, and he became the mountain god [of Yoshino].³²⁹ (2:2a) [He said:] "I am a temporary manifest deity (*kari-ara-gami*). I will protect the imperial throne and defend the State. Make a statue and sacrifice to it."³³⁰ Furthermore, once we had this temporary manifestation, we [also] had a person who served him, called En no Gyōja (634-700/707), and ever since then, we have had mountain ascetics (*yamabushi*) [who practised] their mountain asceticism (*shugendō*). Outwardly, they studied [the teaching of] the gods; inwardly, they practised [the teaching of] the Buddha.

By now, [this combination of Shinto and Buddhism] has filled the realm and spread over [all the land within] the Four Seas. This is the spontaneous [effect] of the Way of Heaven. If you have not received an initiation, it is not possible to understand [this teaching]. Its principle (*gi*) is the most secret tradition of the Way of the Gods. Yet, Mr Hayashi claims that Buddhists surreptitiously created it, and that "the kings, dukes, and high dignitaries of the time, and the lords and governors of the provinces believed and submitted themselves, and did not realize [what they were doing]." If we follow your theory, was it like this because all the kings, dukes, and high dignitaries were ignorant and had lost their way? [Do you really think so]? Are the masses all drunk, and are you the only one who is sober?

Furthermore, you state that "shrines and temples (2:2b) have been confused and that Shinto priests and Buddhist monks are living together." Now, [it is a fact that] the Shinto priests and Buddhist monks

³²⁹ For the story of the posthumous manifestation of Emperor Ankan (a.k.a Magari no Ōe-maru); see *Taisei-kyō* 29; cf. *infra*, p. 2:6b-7b.

³³⁰ *Kari-ara* is just a Japanese reading of the characters *gon-gen*, so it denotes a category, not an individual name. Furthermore, in the text it is not indicated who spoke these words, but we may assume that it was Ankan; cf. *Yomikudashi*, note 146.

of the shrines and temples are living together, but it is not because the Shinto priests and Buddhist monks for their private reasons wanted [their shrines and temples] to be confused and they themselves wanted to live together; it is because of an oracle of our gods. If it were otherwise, how would they be able to live together at all? The gods of our country are fond of Buddhism; that is why there are temples and priests in [all] the provinces, districts, villages, and houses. The Confucian Law is disliked by the earthly gods of our country. For that reason, although [Confucian] schools have been built everywhere since olden times, they find it difficult to prosper.

>>> The gods dislike Confucianism.³³¹

For this, there is evidence galore. I shall bring forward proof that the gods dislike Confucianism. In the Biography of Emperor Yūryaku (418-456-479) in *Kuji hongji taisei-kyō* it says: "Yamato-hime no Mikoto assembled the [shrine] officials of the various gods and announced: 'You, Shinto priests, listen properly to my words. Avoid even the *breath* of teachings from other countries and of other beliefs (2:3a) that [claim that] souls will ever be exhausted.'"³³²

Furthermore, in *Seikō hongji* [of *Kuji hongji taisei-kyō*] it says: "In the evening, [Crown Prince Shōtoku] returned to his Palace in Ikaruga. That night, he entered the Yumedono ("Dream Hall"). Nakatomi no Kamano³³³ attended upon him. Because of his youth, he was allowed

³³¹ In *Shigetsu yawa* 1 (no. 92), we find an essay, *Bensai jasetsu* 辨碎邪説, in which Chōon addresses the same topic of Yamatohime no Mikoto's oracle, and interprets it as a warning against foreigners (read: Confucians) who say that the soul of men will eventually be spent and the souls of the gods be destroyed. He also quotes, with small differences in wording, *Taisei-kyō* 26.

³³² This must be a reference to the Chinese, hence, Confucian idea, that after death the two "souls" 魂魄 disperse and eventually return to the void, and that there is no "soul" that is reincarnated.

³³³ This will be the later politician and founder of the Fujiwara clan, Nakatomi (Fujiwara) no Kamatari (614-669). He appears elsewhere in Suiko's biography in *Taisei-kyō*, as very young and

to enter inside the hall. In the third night-watch,³³⁴ two guests appeared. One drove a four-dragon chariot, and one drove a chariot drawn by a blue dragon. Their looks were tranquil and serene. They dismounted from their chariots and composedly walked [towards the Crown Prince]. On reaching him, they faced north,³³⁵ bowed with their heads touching the ground, and said: 'The Heavenly Emperor³³⁶ commanded his servants to agree to the request of the Great King (= Prince Shōtoku); he sent us, and here we are.' The Crown Prince composedly greeted both men according to etiquette and accepted their salute. The guests kneeled down and seated [themselves]. The Crown Prince spoke, saying: 'I want to spread your Way in this country. The gods in this country are liable to reject this. You will be enshrined in this country and protect the prosperity and spread of the Great Way. The area of Hirano in the province of Yamashiro is a good area, well-suited for the purpose. (2:3b) Our Naniwa Emperor (= Emperor Nintoku, 257-319-399) and Crown Prince Uji³³⁷ are of the same (material force >) disposition as you two gentlemen; you will stimulate

very wise.

³³⁴ The time that elapsed between sundown and sunrise was divided into six equal periods, corresponding to roughly two hours, the exact length depending on the season. The third night-watch would, therefore, correspond to the two hours before midnight.

³³⁵ The ruler faces south, so everyone approaching him faces north.

³³⁶ As will become clear hereafter, the two guests are the spirits of the Duke of Zhou and Confucius. Therefore, it is unlikely that the term *tentei* 天帝 refers to the Buddhist deity Indra (Taishakuten 帝釈天). Here, it must refer to Tiandi 天帝, = Shangdi 上帝, i.e. the highest god of the ancient Chinese pantheon. To be precise, 帝 was the highest (?) god of the Shang-Yin; at least, he is the god mentioned on the oracle bones. 天 was the highest god of the Zhou dynasty, perhaps only latterly identified with the blue expanse above. *Tiandi* is a combination of both, but never was an actual deity in his own right, with a ritual, a shrine, or a mythology of his own. If we go by Mor. III: 5883-1168, the oldest *locus* of *Tiandi* is *Shijing* 47, where it is said of a beautiful woman: 「胡然而天也、胡然而帝也」 - "How she is so like Heaven, how she is so like God?" (Transl. Karlgren)

³³⁷ "Uji no Taishi" will be Prince Uji no Waki Iratsuko 菟道稚郎子, whom we have already met; see *supra*, 1:26b, and note 287.

each other. You four gods, enshrined together in Hirano,³³⁸ should protect the imperial throne and that Great Way.' The two guests complied with the [Crown Prince's] command, turned north, and left. [Nakatomi no] Kamanoe respectfully asked: 'Who were these guests?' The Crown Prince said: 'One [of the guests] was Dan, Duke of Zhou, and one was Kong Zhongni (= Confucius). I made a request to the Heavenly Emperor and invited the two gods [to come to our country to be enshrined here].'³³⁹

"After some time, there was a messenger from a god. He arrived from the north and began with the words: 'The great god Ōkamo³⁴⁰ refuses [to hand over] the area; he will not give it [to you].' The Crown Prince decreed, saying: 'Do not trouble yourself over the great god. I will remove him. We will have to entrust him temporarily to the void.' Presently, the Crown Prince left the Yumedono. He summoned the priest Esō³⁴¹ and ordered him, saying: 'You, go to Hirano in Yamashiro, (2:4a) conduct a ground-breaking [ceremony], and remove the obstacle

³³⁸ *Taisei-kyō* 71 (edn 1679: 71/72, frame 9) has a section "Hirano no Jinshi" 平野神祠. It locates this shrine in Settsu. The story is the same: Shōtoku founded the shrine, installed Confucius and the Duke of Zhou in the secondary shrine building (*betsuden*), and "the gods from Naniwa and Uji" in the main shrine (*seiden*). His argument was that Confucianism and Chinese had to be learned; however, because Confucianism was preoccupied with the Human Relations and did not make use of the spiritual and the extraordinary, it did not suit the national customs (學問貴賤入道之大路也。(中略) 所以此學純乎倫正、不用神怪也、國風難云何。). The task of the four deities was to "protect and spread those teachings," and well-intentioned people are invited to come and pray at this temple (有志人當仰此祠).

³³⁹ This is the implication of the words 勸請, which specifically mean inviting a god to come and be worshipped in a new shrine.

³⁴⁰ This is the god Ōkamo Tsumi no mikoto 大鴨積命, who is revered as the ancestor god of the Kamo clan. In *Taisei-kyō*, edn 1679, 12:12b-13a, he is mentioned as the eldest son of Ōmikemochi no mikoto 大御食持命. The entry begins with the following words: 「兒大鴨積命。磯城瑞籬朝御世、依德賜賀茂君姓。隨父之訓、事於父母。」. He is also mentioned in the (real) *Sendai kuji hongi* 4, but only briefly: 「十一世孫大鴨積命。此命、磯城瑞籬朝御世、崇神。賜賀茂君姓。」.

³⁴¹ Esō (K. Hyech'ong) is a Korean priest from Paekche. He travelled to Japan in in 595 (the 3rd year of Empress Suiko); after its completion in 596, he stayed in the Hōkōji 法興寺 in Asuka. Shōtoku made him his teacher. Esō and the priest Eji 惠慈 from Koguryō were known as the Leaders of the Three Treasures 三宝の棟梁. See *Nihon shoki* 22 (vol. 2, p. 137; Aston, *Nihon shoki*, pp. 123-124).

[posed by] this god.' At the same time, he ordered Lord [Nakatomi no] Mikeko³⁴² to put up an imperial rescript,³⁴³ to put together the shrine, and to make the [four] gods stay there."

Furthermore, in *Mizen hongji* it says: "New Confucians will arrive; our own Confucians will dwindle. Sacrifices of cows and deer will increase in number; sacrifices [for which it is necessary to prepare through] avoidance and abstention³⁴⁴ will further decline. While its followers despise the customs of our country, their cabal reveres the refinement of foreign customs. ³⁴⁵ Their principal objective is slandering the Buddha, and their [main] business is ridiculing our gods. They worship their former kings of little virtue as if they were heaven; they repudiate our ancient emperors with their many virtues as if they were dirt. It is this way when they speak of people who lived previously, and it is this way, when they speak of previous teachings. If their kind flourishes, our teaching will surely decline. If ever these followers became important, our country would surely lie prostrate. [However,] the gods stop them; therefore, their misfortunes are many. The gods detest them; therefore, their side will find it difficult to establish itself."

Recently, Shinto priests all say: "Yamato-hime no Mikoto said: 'Avoid even the breath the Buddhist teaching.'" This they use as proof. (2:4b) [Of course,] someone who studies Shinto and Confucianism [in combination] will say that Buddhism is disliked by the gods. (2:4b)

³⁴² He is the father of Nakatomi no Kamatari.

³⁴³ The character is *asa* ("hemp"). For the present interpretation, cf. Mor. XII: 47887 s.v. 4.

³⁴⁴ Our translation is based on the meaning of the two individual characters of the compound. The meaning given in Mor. *hokan*: 10310 (p. 301a), based on a Japanese *locus* (!), is "periodic sacrifice, at which one grieves for the soul of a dead person." This seems to be less relevant in the present context.

³⁴⁵ Although the pronouns 其 and 彼 suggest differently, the 徒 must be the members of the 黨.

In the days of Emperor Yūryaku³⁴⁶ Buddhism had not yet come to this country.

>>> Avoiding the breath of Buddhism.

How, then, could the expression "avoiding the breath of Buddhism" have existed? Shinto priests make this claim, taking *Yamato-hime no [mikoto] seiki* ("The years of her holiness Princess Yamato") as their proof.³⁴⁷ This *Seiki* was fabricated by Satsukimaro from Ise.³⁴⁸ Therefore, that book contains many garbled, mixed-up³⁴⁹ [passages]. What it says here [is that] that one should avoid the breath of teachings of aberrant laws from strange countries that [claim that] souls will [eventually] be exhausted [and return to the Great Void],³⁵⁰ which

³⁴⁶ Yūryaku's traditional dates are 418-456-479.

³⁴⁷ *Yamato-hime no mikoto seiki* is one of the so-called *Shintō gobusho* ("Five Shintō Works"). The pretension is that it was written by the ancient imperial princess, daughter of Emperor Suinin (69 B.C. – 29 A.D. - 70). It covers matters related to the shrine from the beginning of heaven and earth until the reign of Yūryaku, when the deity of the Outer Shrine was installed (*Gegū chinza*). The oracle it contains, about "covering one's breath concerning Buddhism," returns in different formulations in two other texts of the *Gobusho*, but in identifying Confucianism as the foreign teaching that should be avoided, *Taisei-kyō* differs from the standard interpretation of these oracles. For details, see Teeuwen, Mark, "Attaining Union with the Gods," *Monumenta Nipponica* 48,2, (1993), pp. 227-229.

³⁴⁸ According to the colophon of *Yamato-hime no mikoto seiki*, Satsukimaro was a Watarai priest (Outer Shrine) who lived during the reigns of Empress Shōtoku (764-70), Emperor Kōnin (770-81), and Emperor Kanmu (781-806); he compiled this text in 768. Nowadays, however, it is generally believed that this work dates from the mid-Kamakura period. Supposedly, it is based on ancient records of the Ise Shrine, and it is assumed that the *negi* Watarai Yukitada 度会行忠 (1236-1305) was responsible for the final version of the text; see *Kokushi daijiten*, s.v. "Yamato-hime no mikoto seiki" and "Watarai Yukitada." See also: Teeuwen, Mark, *Watarai Shintō: An Intellectual History of the Outer Shrine in Ise* (Leiden: Research School CNWS, 1996), pp. 11-17.

³⁴⁹ For the translation of 雜亂, cf. the dictionary glosses of the inverted compound *ran-zatsu*.

³⁵⁰ Cf. *supra*, notes 331 and 332. This is a quotation from *Taisei-kyō* 26 (*Tennō hongī*), Yūryaku 12/4/29 (edn 1679, 26:16a-b); cf. *Honkoku*, note 217. The entry begins with the words: 「日本媛命, 集會諸神司等, 告之而謂曰: 『吾事皇太神四百七十年。今三光大神一處集鎮坐, 天下位太平, 亦無待之謂之, 今當歸於神都。汝等能事大神, 宜祈天下泰平, 神魂無盡常坐。雖天地盡神魂不竭, 吾恆見皇太神』」。 – "Yamato-hime no mikoto assembled all the priests of the gods and admonished them with the following words: 'I have served [Amaterasu] for 470 years. Today, the Three Shining Deities are enshrined together in one place. The empire is in a position of great peace. This, too, I had never expected to say (*mata kore wo matsu koto mo iu koto mo nashi*). Now it is time [for me] to return to the capital of the gods. You should be able to serve the great gods, and you would do well, praying for peace in the empire. Gods and spirits will never be exhausted; they will be there for ever. Even though heaven and earth have reached their end, gods and spirits will not be exhausted. I will for ever see the Great Goddess [Amaterasu].'" Needless to say, none of this appears under this date

means “avoid Confucianism.” Confucianism came to these lands during the reign of Emperor Ōjin.³⁵¹ Through this one can know that our gods disliked Confucianism. Also, the earthly gods rejected Confucianism and did not want to see it establish³⁵² itself in this country.

Again, during the Tenshō Era (1573-1592) Zhu Xi’s *Four Books with Collected Commentaries* and his *Five Classics with Collected Commentaries* (2:5a) were brought across to this country. Ever since Fujiwara Seika (1561-1619) and his [followers] read them and propagated them, the Way of Confucianism has flourished. They use Confucian burial rituals and bring Confucian ancestral offerings.³⁵³ Many are those who meet with disasters [because of these practices]; there are more of them than can be counted. Really, the theory of the *Mizen* [*hon*]gi³⁵⁴ does not misrepresent the issue.

Again, the gods of this country have a liking for the Buddha. Let me show proof. In the Biography of Emperor Senka in *Kujiki* it says³⁵⁵: “In his second year, second month of spring, there was a great, brightly-shining light on [top of] the Kamichiyama in Watarai in the province of Ise, which filled the whole province. When the priests of the gods had gone there, they saw one young boy of about sixteen years of age. He was impressive and handsome; he looked fine and was of noble mien beyond compare. One would not dare to approach him

in *Nihon shoki*.

³⁵¹ Ōjin’s traditional dates are 200-270-310; he ruled before Yūryaku.

³⁵² Literally “to be at ease” 安 in this country.

³⁵³ The compound 祭祠 is not attested in the dictionaries. The second character in the first instance refers to a *place* of worship, especially of the ancestors, but it can also refer to the worship itself, like the first character of the compound. Hence our translation. This compound is frequently used in *Taisei-kyō*; see e.g. fasc. 6, 18, 19, 20, 34, 57 and 60.

³⁵⁴ The “theory” has been quoted earlier, on p. 2:4a, lines 6-7. It refers back to the prediction given in *Mizen-hongi*, under the tenth period of one-hundred years; see edn ZST vol. 4, p. 287.

³⁵⁵ Quotation from *Taisei-kyō* 29, Senka 2/1/?. Needless to say, nothing of this nature appears in *Nihon shoki*. N.B. The traditional dates of Emperor Senka are 467-536-539.

closely. Moreover, he was riding a big beast, [whose] height was three metre sixty or more.³⁵⁶ The colour of its fur was deep purple. It looked extremely fierce and threatening.

Thereupon, the August Great Goddess (= Amaterasu) spoke as follows through a priestess: “This great, divine visitor, (2:5b) the Great God Venerable Child,³⁵⁷ who resides in the country of China, on the mountain range of the Five Peaks.³⁵⁸ He is the wisest of the wise in the world; he is the holiest³⁵⁹ among the holy of the world. He is the teacher³⁶⁰ of heaven and earth. Now that he has arrived here, you must revere him and sacrifice to him; do this with pure offerings.³⁶¹ Because this child god has resided in that country of China since eight hundred thousand years, it became a cultured [country]. Henceforth, in this country, too, [people] must become cultured. The hound³⁶² on which this child god rides, is an awe-inspiring divine hound. The riotous, all-evil gods see it, and fear it greatly. Because all pure, upright gods suffer attacks from the evil gods, he created this shape of a hound and

³⁵⁶ A *tsue* / *jō* is 303 cm; a *shaku* (foot) is 30 cm, so the height of the animal was 360 to 390 cm.

³⁵⁷ Our manuscript of *Gobusshin-ron* has a red line that links the characters 児尊大神, indicating that together they form a name. The same is also implied by the *okurigana wa* in our text. There are no *furigana*, however, that specify the reading of the name. However, *Taisei-kyō*, edn 1679, 29:31b, reads: *Kono marōdo no ōn-gami no chigo-no-mikoto no ōn-gami wa ...*,” and a similar reading is indicated in Henmui's *Jinja chiyō* 神社知要 4 (cf. *Yomikudashi*, note 161). We have decided to follow these reading in our translation.

³⁵⁸ There are several mountain ranges named *Wufeng* (see Mor. I: 257-1014); the most likely candidate is the range in north-western Jiangxi, on which a Buddhist temple, the Jingjuesi 淨覺寺, was built by emperor Wu of the Liu-Song dynasty.

³⁵⁹ The manuscript specifies the reading *hitoshi* for 聖. This reading of the character is not attested elsewhere, and its meaning (“the same as, identical to”) makes no sense. *Taisei-kyō*, edn 1679, reads *hijiri* (29:31b); we have decided to follow that reading.

³⁶⁰ The manuscript specifies the reading *mono-oshie* of the character 師, which is not elsewhere attested, but forms an interesting counterpart of *mono-shiri*.

³⁶¹ In view of the characters 非犠, *kiyoki sonae* means “offering for which no animals have been slaughtered.”

³⁶² This time, our manuscript specifies the reading *inu* of the character translated earlier as “beast.”

has placed it in front of the gods.³⁶³ This venerable child has come to help me. Our divine glory will increase, and the virtue of the country will be fostered. In all eternity, you must keep him here and sacrifice to him.” At that moment, the child god divided his divine body, just like, for example, one divides the fire of a torch. (2:6a) One body stayed here; the hound he rode changed into a rock, and the child god hid his shape. One body flew through the air and reached the province of Mutsu; [there] it became like a stone, and stayed for ever. Therefore, this area was named Nagai.³⁶⁴

Again, in the Biography of Emperor Kinmei is says: “In the year *hinoto tori* (twenty-third year) the emperor spoke to [the priests] and made them sacrifice to the guardian dog and the child god on Kamichiyama. The sacrifice consisted of non-animal offerings.³⁶⁵ Before this, the child god had given an oracle to a priest and taught [the emperor], saying: ‘I am deeply compassionate; therefore, I do not take pleasure in meat as food. As I have immeasurable wealth, I do not rely on sacrifices to nourish³⁶⁶ my body. I only receive men’s true intents,

³⁶³ This is an exact description of the function and location of *koma-inu* (usually written 狛犬), which are the stone, lion-like dogs that guard the entrance of shrines. This identification is also made in Henmui, *Jinja chiyō* 神社知要 4, “Koma-inu” 児馬獸.

³⁶⁴ Nagai (the meaning is “to remain for ever”) was the name of a village 郷 located in the district Okitama-gun 置賜郡 in Dewa, nowadays known as Kameoka. In a local temple (the Daishōji of the Chizan-ha of the Shingon Sect; founded in 807) there is a statue of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, the Kameoka Monju 亀岡文殊. The point is that Mañjuśrī rides a lion, and that the Wutaishan in China are regarded as his sacred territory. Both from the iconography and from the place of origin, therefore, the Child God is a double of Mañjuśrī. The identification of the Child God with Mañjuśrī is explicitly made in Henmui, *Jinja chiyō* 神社知要 4, “Koma-inu” 児馬獸. N.B. See also the *kakemono* in the possession of Waseda University (*Chi* 03_03535, dated 1773), which contains an image of Mañjuśrī and a text, written by Hayashi Shihei 林子平 (1738-1793), about this shrine that quotes the passage in *Taisei-kyō* under Senka 2/1/?.

³⁶⁵ The meaning of the character compound is clear, in view of its earlier occurrence (p. 2:5b, lines 2-3), but the *furigana* are different this time. The word *nie-mono* is not attested; *nie* as such, however, means “offerings,” esp. of fish and fowl.

³⁶⁶ The character 艱 makes no sense in this context. We have therefore followed the text of *Taisei-kyō*.

and respond to their wishes. So, do give me [offerings] that are not meat.' The emperor spoke again, saying: 'This god has great power. Even the August Great Goddess reveres him. The sacrificial ritual should be lavish and substantial.' Because of these [words], they sacrificed to him lavishly. (2:6b) This was the beginning of sacrifices of vegetarian food.³⁶⁷ On this day, [the emperor] spoke, and likewise [commanded] sacrifices to the avatar on Kinpusen.³⁶⁸ In this case, too, they sacrificed non-meat food. This god terribly disliked meat food. From these [events] onwards, then, sacrificial rituals of non-meat offerings began in the shrines in all provinces."

"Again, on [the day] *mizunoe uma*, the fifteenth [day of the month], the emperor visited the district (*agata*) of Yoshino.³⁶⁹ Emperor Maruo no Iroe's former likeness [appeared],³⁷⁰ riding a red horse and leading the deities of the eighty guilds.³⁷¹ He came, moving through mid-air, and spoke to the emperor, saying: 'You, esteemed emperor, for a long time I have not visited you! Are you still happily ruling the empire?' Overjoyed, the emperor made his obeisance, and

³⁶⁷ The word *imike* is not attested. The character compound 齋食 is, but the glosses given in Mor. XII: 48565-64 are not very helpful: (*saishoku*) "purified food"; (*saijiki*) "food eaten during the morning; food served at ecclesiastical gatherings; the afternoon's rice, as distinguished from the morning's gruel." We have therefore based ourselves on the meaning of the Japanese words, which mean "avoidance food," and the earlier statements of the god's preference for non-meat offerings.

³⁶⁸ The four characters 權現魂神 are glossed as *kari-ara hito-gami*, i.e. temporarily - manifested - god in human shape; cf. *supra*, note 330. As Kinpusen (Nara Prefecture) is associated with En no Gyōja and *Shugendō* practices, the reference will be to Zaō Gongen; cf. *supra*, p. 2:2a.

³⁶⁹ *Taisei-kyō* dates this event to Kinmei 13/5/15. Nothing of this nature is mentioned in *Nihon shoki*. N.B. Kinmei was the twenty-ninth emperor; his traditional dates are 509-539-571.

³⁷⁰ In *Nihon shoki* 18 (vol. 2, p. 37), *Ankan-tennō zenki*, Ankan's name is given as Magari no Ōe 勾大兄 Hirokuni Oshikake. The reading given in our manuscript fits with this: *maru* is related to *magaru* (though it is not a recognised reading of the character), and *iro-e* is an elder brother born from the same mother (as the younger brother, who speaks).

³⁷¹ *Be* / *tomo* were hereditary corporations / guilds in the service of the imperial clan and the other aristocratic clans. If a distinction is to be made, *tomo* were the older institution, and would in principle be in the service of the imperial clan. As a rule, they were specialised in one or other occupation. As these *tomo* and *be* were all organized on (pseudo-) familial lines, they had their own ancestral and/or protective deities.

reported to his elder brother³⁷² the [former] emperor, saying: ‘I never thought I would meet you again. For joy my words are cut short. Ever since you passed away, where have you been? Has your sage-like body³⁷³ been at rest and tranquil? Has your reign³⁷⁴ been a happy one?’

"The deceased emperor spoke, saying: ‘Having come from the High [Field of] Heaven, I assisted our father (2:7a) the emperor’s³⁷⁵ rule. In my turn, I, too, succeeded to the imperial rule,³⁷⁶ and I have not yet returned to heaven. I intend to remain here for a long time, and to protect the imperial reign of following generations. I have been blessed; my ministers all came and turned into gods, serving me. In the days when they lived, and at present, now that they are dead, nothing is different. Only, in the old days it was all frustration, but nowadays everything is as I wish. This is where life and death are different.

"I love two practices, and I dislike two practices. The two practices I like are abstention [from meat] and non-action.³⁷⁷ The two I dislike are none other than selfishness and high-handed behaviour.³⁷⁸ Abstention from [meat] is a divine law, and non-action is the intention

³⁷² Ankan, Senka and Kinmei were all sons of Emperor Keitai (26th emperor; trad. dates 450-507-531-531).

³⁷³ The *furigana* read *on-mi*, “your body.” The translation “sage-like is inspired by the characters. N.B. *Sei* (“holy”) was the standard epithet for everything appertaining to an emperor.

³⁷⁴ The reading *mi-yo* fits the characters. The word means “the reign of an emperor.”

³⁷⁵ The character 考 means, amongst other things, one’s dead father. The *furigana kaso* might represent 家祖, which would have the same meaning? N.B. The auxiliary *tamau* is evidently used in the first person singular – an auto-honorific, so to say.

³⁷⁶ This translation is based on the characters, rather than on the *furigana shiroshimeshiki*, that just mean “I ruled.”

³⁷⁷ The word *tada ari* (“just existing”), which is here used as a gloss of *wuwei*, means “ordinary, without anything that catches the eye, plain, uncaring.” See also the expression *tadaari no hito*: “ordinary people.”

³⁷⁸ If 改造 is the correct reading, it should be interpreted as “making changes” in general; 政造, on the other hand, would imply changes in the existing political and ritual arrangements (*matsurigoto*). Our translation, however, is based on the reading *ara-goto* given in *Taisei-kyō*, edn 1679, 30:9a-b. Cf. *Honkoku*, note 258.

of the gods. Do not tinker with [things] on your own.³⁷⁹ How could I be the only one to like [the former], and to dislike [the latter]? The assembled gods of heaven and of earth all are united on this. If we take a closer look at the abstention [from meat, we see that] there is a standard abstention and a special abstention.³⁸⁰ What is done according to precedent I regard (2:7b) as good, and what has been made now I regard as bad. All the great gods are one in liking [the first] and detesting [the second]. The abstention [from meat] originally existed in heaven; when it reached earth, it was by and by distinguished into various kinds.³⁸¹ This was according to the intention of the gods. All this is originally [part of] the Way of Heaven; nothing has been made anew by man. You, emperor, must always be prudent and follow the practices of the gods and follow the intention of the gods.' On these words, the great god turned the reins of his horse and went back in glory."

Again, "on the first day of the fifth month, the Province of Kawachi reported to the effect³⁸² that 'in the Chinu Sea in the Province of Izumi there is a mysterious Sanskrit chanting. It reverberates and echoes like the sound of thunder. We see strange rays of light and multi-coloured brilliance; it is bright like the radiance of the sun.' The emperor thought it strange and sent Misobe no *atai* Natsutsu³⁸³ to go out into the sea and see whether the situation truly was as had been

³⁷⁹ "Tinker on your own" is our translation of *(w)are tsukuri*.

³⁸⁰ We have not yet been able to find out the difference between these two types of *monoimi*. The function of this sentence in the context of the present argument, too, is unclear.

³⁸¹ It is unclear what "kinds" (*ka, shina*) are intended here, but it could refer to "the six types of taboo" (*roku jiki no kinki* 六色禁忌).

³⁸² "To the effect" is an attempt to translate *oyoso*.

³⁸³ In *Nihon shoki*, only the title *atai* is given, not the name *Natsutsu*. *NS* contains a note, saying that this will be due to a copyist's error.

reported. At this time, Misobe no Natsutsu went into the sea and searched for the origin [of the phenomena]. He did in fact discover a camphor tree gently drifting on the sea. In the end, he salvaged it and presented it [to the emperor].

"The emperor received it, and having thought deeply, (2:8a) he spoke, saying; 'This tree is very special. It is not the work of man; it was made by heaven. What should we make out of it?' He put this question to his assembled ministers, but they were at a loss. Thereupon [the emperor] spoke again, saying; 'This is a strange, extraordinary thing. If on a whim we make a [one or other] useless thing³⁸⁴ out of it, then we will invite the censure of Heaven.' Thereupon he ordered that the Great God of Ise (= Amaterasu) and the Great God of Miwa³⁸⁵ be consulted.

"The Great God of Miwa gave an oracle through a small boy and said: 'The floating tree is a tree from heaven. It does not fall into the category of weird, useless things.³⁸⁶ You must make a Buddha statue out of it. [All] epidemics in the whole country will quickly stop within the year.'

"The Great God of Ise gave an oracle through Princess Iwaohime³⁸⁷ no mikoto, saying: 'That shining camphor tree is my

³⁸⁴ According to the characters, a "non-thing." The *furigana* specify the reading *adashi*, which is an adjective derived from *ada* ("without substance, ephemeral"). An *adashi-mono* thus is "a useless, ephemeral thing."

³⁸⁵ The main god of the Miwa Shrine is Ōnamuchi no kami, which is another name of Ōkuninushi no mikoto. Ōkuninushi was the earth god who surrendered the earth to the heavenly god Ninigi no mikoto and retired to Kizuki in Izumo, where his main shrine (Izumo Taisha) stands today. Ninigi was, of course, deemed to be the ancestor of the imperial house, while Ōkuninushi is described as a descendant of Amaterasu's unruly brother Susanowo no mikoto.

³⁸⁶ The characters say *ibutsu* = strange thing, while the *furigana* says *adashi-mono* = useless thing. Our translation is based on both.

³⁸⁷ Transcribed according to the *furigana*, which specify *i-wa-wo*, although *wo* is an unattested reading of the character 隈.

intention.³⁸⁸ Hear me reverently, and do not be remiss! In the age of the gods, the hearts of all [men] were all pure and white. They were utterly correct and upright, holy, and penetrating.³⁸⁹ Therefore they knew no sin or blame. After one million years of the gods of the earth, however, gradually (2:8b) [men's] hearts became black and filthy, and they did bad things; in the foreign country it is like this. Therefore, the daily increasing³⁹⁰ multitude of common men wanders through the Bottom Country, the Root Country. For this reason, in the west of China, [a country]³⁹¹ close to heaven, there was a true man [who was as a] god amongst gods. From his birth³⁹² he was able to teach [men] instead of August Heaven according to their [individual] susceptibilities. The time has come for him to come, and his words have now arrived [in this country]. Henceforth, I will stop giving oracles. I will follow the Great Way and the subtle words of that True Saint, and thus change evil and create good. Protect this country!

'The wondrous camphor tree I bestow on you, the emperor. Make the image of that Saint and True [Man], god among gods, and, forsooth, you will wipe out the many calamities [occurring] everywhere in the country. When the precious laws of the foreign countries are all

³⁸⁸ The meaning will be "is there through my volition," because I wanted it to be there.

³⁸⁹ The expression 聖亨 is not attested. Our translation is based on the meaning of the individual characters. The phrase is reminiscent of the words 元亨利貞, which appear in the *Yijing*, at the beginning of the explanation of the first hexagram, *qian* 乾. Legge translates them as "great and originating, penetrating, advantageous, correct and firm."

³⁹⁰ The meaning of *moromasu* 庶增 is unclear. The word is not attested elsewhere, and the context offers no hints. "Daily" is the translation of the character 日 (*hibi ni*) that is inserted in the printed editions of *Taisei-kyō*. We have, therefore, interpreted the phrase as *hibi ni masu moro-bito*. Cf. also the phrase *ama no masu hito-ra*, which occurs in the *norito* of the *Ōharae*; it means "the people that prospers and increases in numbers."

³⁹¹ It seems better to split up 天 and 国, as does the printed text of *Taisei-kyō*, for *tengoku* is a Christian term. Besides, *Taisei-kyō*, edn 1679, reads: "*ten ni chikaki kuni ni ...*".

³⁹² The *furigana* specify [*umare*]*masu yori*, which conflicts with the punctuation and with the flow of the Chinese sentence. Nevertheless, we have translated accordingly.

gathered in our country, they will help [to establish] the rule of our imperial lineage. Added to our law, there will be three (i.e. Shinto, Confuciansim, and Buddhism), and this is the ideal [situation]. We will now erect three stones as proof; you must go to them and see them.'

"The priests did not know where [these stones were], but then (2:9a) they saw a purple light arising. It was like the brightness caused by a rainbow. It was on the Kamichiyama. When they arrived there and looked, three stones were standing on top of the rock. The radiance came from here, and from nowhere else. The emperor inquired about this in great detail, and when he knew that this would eliminate many calamities in the country, he was greatly pleased. Thereupon, he gave orders to the sculptors and had them make two Buddha statues. These are the statues made from camphor wood, radiating light, that are at present in the temple in Yoshino.³⁹³ The Buddha statues had not yet been finished, and already the epidemics in the country had stopped. The people of the time all said that Heaven acts in natural ways."³⁹⁴

"[In the twenty-eighth year (620), twelfth month, third day, with the cyclical characters] Elder of Water / Dragon of Empress Suiko (554-593-628),³⁹⁵ the Great God of Miwa took possession of a female court attendant and she danced mightily. The palace shook to its foundations and the earth trembled enormously. Addressing the

³⁹³ This temple, formerly known as the Hisodera 比蘇寺, is nowadays known as the Sesonji 世尊寺 (Ōyodo-chō, Nara Pref.). It was reputedly founded by Shōtoku-*taishi*. A statue of a sitting Amida, which presently is the main deity of the temple, is said to be one of the two statues. The other statue, a standing Eleven-faced Kannon, seems to have disappeared. See Wikipedia Japonica s.v. "Seonji."

³⁹⁴ The meaning or function of this phrase ("The actions of Heaven spontaneously are thus") within the present argument is unclear. There is little "effortless spontaneity" in the way Heaven and the deities acted; it seems all to be well considered and done on purpose.

³⁹⁵ As is indicated in the *Honkoku*, note 281, the following is a quotation from *Taisei-kyō* 33. The year and month are given in the preceding paragraph, which begins with the words 「二十八年，十二月庚寅朔」.

Empress directly, [the Great God] spoke to her, saying: (2:9b) 'In the spring of coming year, darkness will settle over the realm. Sun and moon will lose their radiance; even though they are there, it will be as if they are not there.³⁹⁶ Heaven will be distressed and the Gods will be in fear. For successive years, [heaven] shall display strange apparitions, but you, Empress, shall not be afraid.³⁹⁷ Aah, how sorrowful! What should we do about it? I wish that you, Empress, in fear of this, will quickly build cloisters at the Shrine at Ise [in the country] of the divine winds³⁹⁸ and at our Great Shrine in Miwa; assign one hundred and ten Buddhist priests [to each]; and have each of them recite the *Peacock Sutra* ten thousand times.³⁹⁹ If [you do this and,] widely directing yourself to the gods of heaven and earth, sacrifice to the gods of the shrines of the provinces and districts, then that misfortune shall certainly be turned around and the gods of heaven and earth shall restore joy and happiness.'

"The Empress was greatly astonished. She took her imperial writing brush and informed the Crown Prince of the purport of the god's instructions. The Crown Prince presented a memorial [to the Empress] and advised her to cancel the prayers, saying: 'That heaven will display strange [apparitions], truly has its reasons. Although your

³⁹⁶ Both our manuscript and *Taisei-kyō*, edn 1679, 33:58b, read: *arite mo naki ga gotoku naru*.

³⁹⁷ No subject of the verb 示 is in sight other than *ruinen*, but in his reply to the empress, Shōtoku says that it is heaven that will visit the empire with change apparitions. The god, however, will protect the empress and the empire, and the empress, understanding this, will not be unduly afraid.

³⁹⁸ The "country of the divine winds" is Ise; cf. *Nihon shoki* 6 (Emperor Suinin 25/3/10), where Amaterasu says to Yamatohime: 「是神風伊勢國則常世之浪歸國也」 - "The province of Ise, of the divine wind, is the land whither repair the waves of the eternal world, the successive waves." (see Aston, *The Nihon shoki* vol. 1, p. 176)

³⁹⁹ Various versions of this sutra exist; see T982, T984-87. It is an early work of Buddhist magic, derived from the peacock-protecting devotion (*mora-paritta*) found in the *Theravādin ātānāṭiya-suttanta*, which is the third and most widely propagated text of the *Pañcarakṣā* corpus. The earliest and shortest Chinese translations, which appeared in the 4th century A.D., explain that the great Peacock mantra has long been used by the sages for self-protection.

servant is lacking in wisdom and unworthy of his ancestors, I also know something about it, so I am not astonished. [As] it is neither in the interest of the Empress, nor in the interest of her subjects,⁴⁰⁰ I find it difficult to report the reasons [to your majesty], even though I should. The God [of Miwa] points at spring next year. By that time, he will see that [his shrine] is not (2:10a) a shrine for the gods of soil and grain.⁴⁰¹ It is the way of a gentleman, that he fears to meet the disgrace of misfortune and premature death because he has not cultivated the human relations; he does *not* fear his own premature death, when he has cultivated himself and has abided in the Way, and then the end of his life comes and his time arrives. Your servant once heard: "When man's lifespan is long, then he will also often have [occasion to] be ashamed." I also heard: "To withdraw when the work is done is the way of heaven."⁴⁰² There are strange apparitions that one can evade by praying, and those for which praying does not help and from which one cannot escape.⁴⁰³ Thinking it over, [this is one of those situations in which] I should *not* pray. The cloister at Miwa we leave to the intention of the god. In case an objective reason for building it presents itself, it can be built it at some later time. At the shrine in Ise it cannot be done

⁴⁰⁰ Clearly, the Crown Prince here implies that the oracle is related to his own actions and fate, and that the empress and the people have nothing to do with it.

⁴⁰¹ *Shashoku* 社稷 (literally "soil and grain") is a term that stems from ancient China. It refers to an altar where the gods of soil and grain of a feudal country are worshipped, and, metonymically, to the state and to the ruling family. Apparently, the God of Miwa has discovered that next year his shrine will not be appointed a national shrine, or will no longer be one. That he is chagrined by this is expressed by the auxiliary verb 見. Cf. *supra*, note 95.

⁴⁰² Quotations from respectively *Zhuangzi: Tiandi* 6 and *Daodejing* 9. For details, see *Honkoku*, note 288. The implied conclusion of these two quotations is that the Crown Prince does not mind dying young, as long as he knows that he has lived correctly and done his job.

⁴⁰³ Apparently, this is the intended meaning, but in order to arrive at this translation, it is necessary to read *inori narazu shite*. If one reads *inorazu shite*, the first and the second clause would mean the same, the difference being that the second clause is phrased negatively: "When you pray, you can escape" <> "When you don't pray, you cannot escape."

[anyhow]. This shrine is the foundation of Shintō]. We cannot change its appearance, [which is like it was in] the age of the gods. We cannot add [anything to it], nor take [anything] away from it; and Confucian and Buddhist sacrifices cannot be performed [there]. If later on the god so desires, we can arrange that by building [a cloister at] a different location. How could I modify the appearance of the shrine of a fundamental god⁴⁰⁴ for the sake of escaping my own private misfortune? (2:10b) I pray you, Empress, to stick to your duties and not to be shocked by unrighteous apparitions."

Proof like this is clear and distinctive. However, you [Hayashi Razan] think that Buddhists did this for their private purposes, and you exclusively slander and blame them for it. In recent times, Shintō priests and Confucian scholars are wont to say that Shintō and Confucianism are the same and that the gods abhor Buddhism. This is extremely ridiculous. If the gods preferred Confucianism, why, then, are not the Confucians directing the Shintō priests in the shrines, but do we only have Buddhist priests leading them? This, then, is proof that our gods do not like Confucianism.

In *Jinjakō*, Mr Hayashi quotes *Nihon Shoki* [as follows]: "In the third month of the twenty-fifth year (5 B.C.) of the reign of Emperor Suinin (29 B.C. - 70 A.D.), [the emperor] took away the Great Goddess Amaterasu from Toyosukihime no Mikoto⁴⁰⁵ and entrusted her to

⁴⁰⁴ The compound *ne-tsu-kami* or *moto-tsu-kami* is not attested; the meaning, or rather, the reason for calling Amaterasu "the root god" is unclear.

⁴⁰⁵ Her full name was Toyosukiiri-hime no mikoto. She was a daughter of Suinin's predecessor, Emperor Sujin (148-98-30 B.C.). Eighty-seven years before, she had, at her father's command, brought Amaterasu to the village Kasanui (Yamato) and served her there. She was the first of the *saigū*, i.e. virgin imperial princesses who served Amaterasu. N.B. *Saigū* is the name both of the

Yamatohime no Mikoto. (2:11a) Thereupon, Yamatohime no Mikoto, seeking a place where she might enshrine the great god, went to Sasahata in Uda (the character 篠 is read as *sasa*). She returned from there and entered the province of Ōmi. Then she went east, going around Mino, and [finally] she reached the Province of Ise. At that time, the great goddess Amaterasu instructed Yamatohime, saying: 'Ise, this province of the divine wind, is the province where the waves from the eternal world crash, waves upon waves. It is a secluded land, a pleasant land; I wish to dwell in this province.' Therefore, just like the great god had instructed her, she built her temple in Ise and erected her [own] *saigū* ("Shrine of Abstinence") upstream along the River Isuzu. She called it the Shrine of Ise. This, then, was the place where the great goddess Amaterasu came down from heaven for the first time."

"One [variant] text says: 'The Emperor made Yamatohime no Mikoto his (august staff >) representative, and offered her to the great goddess Amaterasu. Thereupon, Yamatohime no Mikoto took the great goddess Amaterasu and, having enshrined her at the foot of the sacred oak in (2:11b) Shiki,⁴⁰⁶ she sacrificed to her. Then, afterwards, in the year Younger of Fire / Snake (twenty-sixth year of Suinin's reign), winter, tenth month, on the day Elder of Wood / Rat (18th day), according to her instructions, the goddess moved to the Shrine in Watarai in Ise.'"

In the main text of *Nihon shoki*, it says that the Sun Goddess is

palace where they lived in Ise, and of their function.

⁴⁰⁶ The three characters 磯城山 do not add up to the reading Shiki, but as we have explained in *Honkoku*, note 299, the character 山 is a mistake. Without *yama*, the two remaining characters can be read "Shiki," which is the name of a place in Yamato. "Itsukashi-no-moto" means as much as "at the foot of the sacred oak"; it is not a placename.

enshrined at Iso no Miya. According to the alternative account, the Sun Goddess dwells in the shrine at Watarai. This Watarai no Miya is the Inner Shrine.

Furthermore, in *Jinjakō* it says: "One [alternative] version says: 'The shrine of [the Goddess] Toyouke [can be identified as the shrine of] Kuni no Tokotachi no Mikoto. At the left side, [there is the shrine of] Ninigi no Mikoto; at the right side [there is the shrine of] Ame no Koyane no Mikoto. They were built during the reign of Emperor Yūryaku.'"

"One theory maintains: 'The Outer Shrine is where, according to oral tradition, the heavenly ancestral God Ame no Minakanushi is [enshrined]. In an oracle of the August Goddess [Amaterasu], it says: 'First sacrifice to this god, first worship him.' Furthermore, the divine grandson [of Amaterasu], Ninigi no Mikoto, is [enshrined] in the same hall (*aidono*) [as Ame no Minakanushi] of this shrine.⁴⁰⁷ (2:12a) Therefore, Ame no Koyane no Mikoto and Ame no Futodama no Mikoto, too, are [enshrined] in the same hall.⁴⁰⁸ Thus, it is called the Daijingu at two locations."⁴⁰⁹

In *Kujiki*, [it says]: "Ame no Minakanushi is the younger brother of Kuni no Tokotachi."⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁷ *Aidono* 相殿 is a structure enshrining multiple *kami* in addition to the principal object of worship (*shushin* 主神).

⁴⁰⁸ These two deities were Ninigi's companions when he descended to earth; hence, it stands to reason that they are enshrined together with him.

⁴⁰⁹ Namely, the Inner (Naigū) and the Outer Shrine (Gegū).

⁴¹⁰ Quotation from *Jinja-kō* 1 (*NSTS* vol. 1, p. 374). Razan cites as his source *Kujiki*, but the account in *Kujiki* is different: Ame no Minakanushi belongs to the first generation of the heavenly gods, and Kuni no Tokotachi, to the second. Cf. also Razan's *Shintō hiden setchū zokkai* 3 (*Shintō Taikai: Ronsetsu-hen* vol. 20, pp. 434-436), the short essay "Kuni no Tokototachi no Mikoto." Here (p. 436) Razan, basing himself on *Nihon shoki*, says that Kuni no Tokotachi and Ama no Minakanushi may be regarded as one god, or as two. He does not repeat the line about the one being the brother of the other.

In this way, there are different theories about the identity of the gods⁴¹¹ [who dwell] in our national ancestral shrine in Ise, and is it not at all clear [which theory is correct]. I will present in abbreviated [form] the [truth about] the identity of the gods of the three shrines,⁴¹² based on [*Sendai kuji [hon]gi [taisei kyō]*]. The biography of Emperor Yūryaku states: "In the first main sanctuary,⁴¹³ Toyoke no Miya, [is enshrined] the Great God Toyotsukiyomi. At his left side is co-enshrined (*aidono*) Ame no Yagokoro no Mikoto, and at his right side, Ame no Tachikarao no Mikoto. In the main sanctuary of the Shrine at Uji (= the Naigū) [is enshrined] the Great God Hoshiamemima. Co-enshrined at his left side is Ama no Futodama no Mikoto, and at his right side, Ame no Komako no Mikoto. In the main sanctuary at Izawa no Miya [is enshrined] the Great Goddess Amaterasu. Co-enshrined at her left side is Izanagi no Mikoto, (2:12b) and co-enshrined at her right side, Izanami no Mikoto." In this way, this [text] clearly records the identity of the gods of the three shrines. That Shintō and Confucian scholars have no intention to use this [source] ... Aah, what [kind] of mentality is that?

In his *Jinja-kō*, Mr Hayashi says that [the god of] Ata[go-yama] is the spirit of Illa, and that Inari is an old man carrying rice. Methinks, the identities of these two deities have been considerably confused. The

⁴¹¹ Usually, the word *shintai* refers to a physical object (mirror, sword, etc.) in which the spirit of the kami is believed to descend and which serves as an object of worship at shrines. Here, however, there is no discussion of such items of worship, but of the gods themselves: who resides where. Hence, we opted for the present translation.

⁴¹² I.e. the Inner shrine, the Outer shrine, and the Isonomiya at Izawa.

⁴¹³ *Shōden* 正殿, also called *honden*, is the "sanctuary," or central structure of a shrine prepared as the seat (*shinza*) of the deity forming the object of worship (*saijin*). Toyo[u]ke no Miya will be the Outer Shrine, which is dedicated to this goddess.

god of Ata[go-yama] is called Ame no Hitokuma no Mikoto; the god Inari is called the god Kuni no Mikemochi. [The story of these two deities] is told in detail in [*Sendai*] *kuji* [*hon*]*gi* [*taisei kyō*]. [Therefore,] I omit [all further discussion] here.⁴¹⁴

(2:12b) In his “Inscription on the Stele of Eiki”⁴¹⁵ Mr Hayashi says: “In this year,⁴¹⁶ the middle month of autumn, the nineteenth day, my brother Eiki died in Eastern Musashi.⁴¹⁷ He was fifty-four years old. Ah! How sad! (2:13a) We have buried him at the northern corner of the Hall of the Former Holy Ones.⁴¹⁸ We have not used the foreign teaching.⁴¹⁹ His original taboo name was Nobuzumi. Later on, he changed this to Eiki. He himself used the *nom-de-plume* Tōshū,⁴²⁰ and in his final years he called himself Choton.”⁴²¹

Well now, [as regards] the funeral rites of this country - under

⁴¹⁴ The story of Mikemochi and Hitokuma as told in *Taisei-kyō* 5 (cf. *Honkoku*, note 315) is, briefly, as follows: Hitokuma is sent to earth by Amaterasu to find Mikemochi; Mikemochi spits up all kinds of food; Hitokuma is revolted by this lack of decorum and scolds her. It seems that Chōon is identifying Ame no Hitokuma, whom he calls “the god of 愛岩,” with Razan’s god of the 愛當山, whom Razan identifies as the spirit of a wise man from Korea, Illa (J. Nichira), who was the teacher of Crown Prince Shōtoku. For Illa, see *Nihon shoki* 20, Bidatsu-tennō 12 (vol. 2, pp. 108-112; cf. Aston, *Nihon shoki* vol. 2, pp. 97-101); see also *Honchō jinja kō* 4 (*NSTS* vol. 1, pp. 491-493, esp. p. 493), where the identification of the *gongen* of the Atago-san with Illa is attributed to no lesser person than Tokugawa Ieyasu. Apparently, the 愛當山 and 愛岩 can be identified with the Atago-san 愛宕山 near Kyoto, though an unambiguous identification is lacking both in the account of *Nihon shoki* and in *Jinja-kō*. Chōon furthermore seems to identify Inari with Mikemochi.

⁴¹⁵ Original text in *Razan-sensei bunshū* 43 (vol. 2, p. 72).

⁴¹⁶ The year, mentioned at the end of the inscription, is Kan’ei 15 (1638).

⁴¹⁷ Eastern Musashi means “Edo”, which was located in the eastern part of the Province of Musashi.

⁴¹⁸ This hall (a place of worship of Confucius) Razan had built together with a school on the plot of land he had been given in 1630 on Shinobugaoka (Ueno) in order to build his residence. For details, see Boot, *Adoption and Adaptation*, Ch. 4, p. 196, and note 208.

⁴¹⁹ This will become the focus of Chōon’s subsequent attack: Eiki was not buried according to Buddhist rites.

⁴²⁰ The meaning of the characters is “Eastern Ship.” The origin of the name is no longer known.

⁴²¹ *Cho* is the name of a tree (of the family of the Simaroubaceae), the wood of which is useless; hence, the word is also used in the sense of “useless thing.” A *ton* is a small artificial hill. Again, the origin of the name is no longer known.

the reign of Empress Suiko,⁴²² on the basis of an oracle [given] by the God of Miwa, [it was decided that] we would dispose [of the dead], both noble and base, through Buddhist sacrificial ritual. Let me show proof. In the *Basic Annals of Empress Suiko* in *Sendai kuji ki*⁴²³ it says: “On the day of the Sheep, Ōtomo no *muraji* Kadoki⁴²⁴ memorialised the empress, saying: ‘I ask permission to change my father’s grave mount into a shrine to worship him, and [also,] to revise the ritual for the dead and to sacrifice to him as to a god.’

“The empress came out into the Great Hall⁴²⁵ and, directly addressing Kadoki, she said: ‘Why do you not know the rites? The Imperial Ancestor manifested himself in Shima,⁴²⁶ and Emperor Homuda manifested himself in Usa.⁴²⁷ If it is not on the basis of such proof of spiritual effectiveness, even an emperor is not worshipped as a god. (2:13b) He has a grave mount, but he has no shrine. What are you saying! What is moving you? Well now, to build a shrine and bring sacrifices without such proof of spiritual effectiveness, is forbidden in the wider context by [the teachings of] Saigen [Shinto], and in the more immediate context it falls under the restrictions of the basic laws. What man are you? And what kind of man was your father? Having turned

⁴²² Suiko was born in 554; she reigned 593-628.

⁴²³ There is no parallel passage in *Nihon shoki*, but there is an entry under Suiko 32 that is relevant to Buddhism; see *Nihon shoki* 22 (vol. 2, pp. 164-165), and Aston, *Nihon shoki* vol. 2, pp. 152-154. N.B. According to some variants, followed by Aston, the event took place in Suiko 31, which year happens to have the cyclical combination 癸未 that is given in *Taisei-kyō*.

⁴²⁴ No details are known; the name does not appear in *Nihon shoki*.

⁴²⁵ Or, if we follow the text of the *Taisei-kyō*, “came outside and entered ...”.

⁴²⁶ “Imperial ancestor” will refer to Emperor Jinmu. The Bay of (I)shima (for the reading, cf. *Honkoku*, note 324) is on the south side of Ōnyūjima 大入島 (Ōita Pref.). The local legend, referred to in Wikipedia Japonica, that Emperor Jinmu, on his way to Yamato, landed on this island and was seen off again with a fire and prayers for a safe sea journey, is not mentioned in *Nihon shoki* or *Kojiki*.

⁴²⁷ This is, of course, a reference to the god Hachiman, who identified himself as Emperor Ōjin (Homuda), and manifested himself first in Usa (Bungo).

your back on our divine rites, and having turned your back on our holy rituals,⁴²⁸ with which of the country's laws will you do it, or which person's rites will you employ? If you had been appointed minister and would have a minister's [allotment of] land,⁴²⁹ would you not most surely endanger the gods of the soil and the grain (i.e. the state)?' Shaking with fear, Kadoki withdrew.

"On the same day, the empress addressed the great ministers, saying: 'Man regards death as the culmination; he regards the funeral as the apex [of a man's life]; and he regards the sacrifices as important. If a man is careful about his person, [he does this] not only [because] that is the way to live, he [also] desires not to dishonour himself in death. If he fears for his rank and emoluments, it is not only [because of] his authority during his life, he [also] desires his funeral to be dignified. If he thinks of his descendants, it is not only [because he wants] to keep them alive and feed them, he [also] wants to have a complete [set of] sacrifices [at his tomb]. (2:14a) There are rules for death, funeral, and sacrifices. You only [have to] perform these according to ancient [precedent]. Now, although this was the situation, at the time of Emperor Homuda's reign the Confucian School came [to Japan], and people came to know it. At the side, there were those who mingled its ceremonies [with those of our country]. Again, at the time of my father's reign,⁴³⁰ the Buddhist School came [to Japan]. Again, it happened that people followed its rules and that, thus, [Buddhist rites]

⁴²⁸ If a meaningful distinction can be made between *shinrei* and *seirei*, the first can be taken as referring to the rites used to worship the gods, and the second, as referring to the ritual used at court.

⁴²⁹ In Suiko's days, there were no *daijin* yet, but only *ō-omi*, and there were no specific allocations of landed income on the basis of rank and appointment. Nevertheless, it is this post-Taika system to which the text seems to allude.

⁴³⁰ Suiko's father was Emperor Kinmei.

became intermingled [with our ancient rites] and that these were no [longer] pure. From inside these confusions, [some men] conceived egoistic ideas and thus messed up the rites. Now We⁴³¹ are trying to correct this [situation], but we do not know which is right. [Therefore,] you should ask the godhead and ascertain this.'

"The great ministers leading the minor ones, they arrived in front of the God of Miwa. They built a temporary shrine for the great sacrifice, and asked the godhead to come down. At that time, the god gave an oracle to a priest and spoke, saying: 'Funeral rites and sacrifices for the dead are shunned by the gods. When a priest has been in contact with [any of these things], then, for the next three years, no god would have dealings with this priest. In high antiquity, there was nobody [who performed rites for the dead]. When you did perform them, (2:14b) the gods would distance themselves [from you]. [The reason is that] the gods do not take pleasure in the lingering pollution. Nowadays, there are the Buddhist monks. The gods are happy to put them to [this task]. The rites of the Confucian School greatly violate Saigen. Their [way of] acting is not ours. If you would leave it to them and have them perform [the funeral rites], there is no doubt that before long they will be using cows and deer. That would directly diminish the authority of the gods.

'Now, however, the empress wants to determine her laws. The rules regarding high and low [that she proposes] are in accord with the ritual of Crown Prince Shōtoku.⁴³² All other [laws, such as the] laws for the funeral or the laws for sacrifices that are performed are better left

⁴³¹ Note the royal, or rather, the imperial "we."

⁴³² Possibly a reference to *Kan'i seido*, the system of court ranks that was introduced by Shōtoku-taishi in 603, during the reign of Empress Suiko.

to the monks and nuns. The monks and nuns, being guests [from the realm] beyond causation,⁴³³ cannot be polluted. Leave to them what must be done. Henceforth, we must not change this routine. It is not only our country that has turned toward⁴³⁴ this Law; in all [countries], all over [the earth], it is like this. If you ask why [it is like this], it is that this Law has a principle that is outside heaven and earth, but when it arrives [inside the universe], it realises the principle of the heavenly ultimate, and when it flows down, it realises the principle of the Human Relations.⁴³⁵

'Within the [Four] Seas and outside of them,

>>> He pushed over Ming's seat, and Ming gave a shout like a tiger.
(In one book, these ten characters are lacking.)⁴³⁶

there are the so-called Holy Ones and Sages. (2:15a) They know the principles of Human Relations, and they approve⁴³⁷ that the Human Relations rely on [these principles]. Although they are quite talented

⁴³³ In this case, *mui / tada ari* is not to be interpreted as the Taoist *wuwei*, but according to the Buddhist usage: "not caused by something > existing eternally > the Buddha's nirvana > Buddhism."

⁴³⁴ Translation of *kaeru / ki-suru*: Buddhism was new to Japan, so it is not a matter of "returning."

⁴³⁵ These phrases remind one of Zhou Dunyi's "Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate," which begins with "the non-ultimate and the supreme ultimate" 「無極而太極」. N.B. The part from 「来至成天極之理」 until 「好人倫依之」 is also quoted, apparently from *Taisei-kyō*, in *Teisoku-ron* 鼎足論 (4 fascl.; preface 1751; pr. 1821; cf. *NSTS* vol. 5, p. 480) by the Jōdo priest Taiga 大我 (1709-1782), who lived in the Zōjōji in Edo during the last decades of his life.

⁴³⁶ The characters derive from *Shūmon mujintō ron* 宗門無尽燈論 ("Treatise on the Inexhaustible Lamp of Faith"), a Rinzai Zen text by Tōrei Enji 東嶺円慈 (1721-92), dated Kan'en 1 (1748). The text says: 「明曰。片雲横谷口。遊人何處來。泉顧視曰。夜來何處火。燒出古人墳。明曰。未在必道。泉作虎聲。明打一坐具。泉推倒明就坐。明亦作虎聲。」 In this part of Tōrei's text, two Chinese priests figure, i.e. Guquan 谷泉 (965-1056) and Chuyuan 楚圓 (987-1040). We have not been able to trace the original Chinese source for Tōrei's text. Interestingly, Tōrei Enji was, during the latter part of his life, strongly involved in the study of and initiations in *Taisei-kyō*. Texts by Tōrei that relied on the teachings of *Taisei-kyō* are *Achi no miya en'yu* (吾道宮緣由), *Kanden jinichi chūgū shidai* (灌伝次日中宮次第) and *Shinjubutsu sanbō kōkyō kuge* (神儒仏三法孝経口解). What the quotation from *Shūmon mujintō ron* has to do with Chōon's text and which text is referred to with the words *ippon kono jūji nashi* remains completely unclear.

⁴³⁷ In the Chinese sentence, *hao* 好 is a verb, and the following four characters depend from it, so "they love X to depend on Y." The construction indicated by the *furigana* (... *ni yoru ni yoshi* or the ... *tatsu ni yoshi* that follows) may mean "good for depending from" or "good for standing on," but for the moment we prefer to translate *hao* as "to approve [of the fact] that"

and clever, they cannot know everything about the principle of the Heavenly Ultimate. We, the great gods, are able to know it through our spirituality, and we approve that heaven and earth stand on it. The small gods, swarming like little flies, cannot know it in detail. When it comes to the principle that is outside heaven and earth, even we, the great gods, do not yet know it. We approve that the (World of the Law >) universe to stand on. When the universe stands, heaven and earth stand; when heaven and earth stand, the Human Relations stand.

'Now, the Law of the priests and nuns comes from outside heaven. Therefore, defilement does not concern them. As principles, these principles were exhaustively investigated and fathomed.⁴³⁸ Therefore, our country and the foreign countries have abolished the earlier Laws and they have moved on to this [Law of Buddhism]. One might want to resent this, but [for that] there is no cause. Insightful people know this, and do not feel bitterness. Erring souls do not know this, and are resentful about it. They claim that that Law, which (does not stand >) is not valid today, existed formerly and must be established. They [try to] draw water from a dry well⁴³⁹; (2:15b) they [try to] burn wood, using burnt-out ash.⁴⁴⁰ Insightful persons will not do this. Those people who [only] know old water and old fire, and who do not realise that these cannot be obtained today - we call them erring [persons]; that is all. In these words of mine there is a principle that

⁴³⁸ Again, one is reminded of Neo-Confucian tropes, this time stemming from *Daxue*: 格物窮理 - "Go to the things and investigate their principles."

⁴³⁹ Lit. "they look for water, drawing from a dried-out well."

⁴⁴⁰ This phrase evidently is an allusion to the expression 枯木死灰 - "withered trees and dead ash." Just like, in the preceding, parallel phrase, the attempt to find water was doomed (because the well was dry), in this case, it will prove impossible to burn the wood, because the ash is dead, i.e. the fire has gone out.

has no beginning or end.⁴⁴¹ Although they seem to speak of the present, they sometimes talk of the future; although they seem to speak of former times, they sometimes speak of the present. [My words] may grate the ears, but if you concentrate [yourself on this principle] with full attention, all principles are reached [by it].'

"On the basis of this oracle, the empress gave her orders and established the law[, saying]: 'Well now, the Ways that man cherishes are the principles of Sōgen [Shintō], the rules of Saigen [Shinto], and the remaining [institutions] of the former emperors and the teachings of the Holy Emperor (= Crown Prince Shōtoku). When you have also practised [the teachings of the Duke of] Zhou and [of] Confucius, the gods will shun [you because of] the pollution of death, when you yourself are dying and about to expire. [The Duke of] Zhou and Confucius are different from us. Because we have, therefore, [decided to] leave [death and funerals] to the monks and nuns, it is not allowed to avail oneself of others [than monks and nuns], as far as the ritual of the funeral and the rules for the sacrifices are concerned.

'The way to lead men is to redress the evil and practise the good. Thus, Sōgen and Saigen are truly correct, (2:16a) and it is the very principle of [the Duke of] Zhou and Confucius. Insightful people must rely on this. Stupid people cannot do anything with it. Therefore, [the number of persons who] have even slightly (entered into >) grasped this, is still small. The refined commandments of Buddhism reach a

⁴⁴¹ In Japanese, we have expression *hashi naku mo*, meaning "just so, unexpectedly, without a clear motivation." In Chinese, the compound 無端 is treated in Mor. VIII:207, and is attested in *Xunzi*, *Shuoyuan*, and *Chunqiu fanlu* (see Chinese Text Project), e.g. 環之無端 (*Xunzi: Wang zhi*) and 循環無端 (*Shuoyuan: Jian ben*: "turning round and round *without beginning*."). In Morohashi that compound is glossed as "without beginning or end, like a ring," "unexpectedly," and "forlorn, out of sorts, bored."

[high level of] abstruseness, while the coarse commandments verge on the superficial. They are fitting for the knowledgeable, and acceptable to the stupid.⁴⁴² This is why the monks and nuns, [both] in their own conduct and in their teaching of others, must place the commandments first.

'When there are many monks and nuns and temples and halls, then [people's] faith is (light >) superficial; many loose it, and few gain it. When there are no [monks, nuns, temples and halls], then [people, when they] loose their faith, have nothing to rely on, nothing to get them going. [The correct ratio would be] three temples in a large province, two temples in a middling province, and one temple in a small province; appoint monks to be their abbots. In the districts and boroughs, found hermitages and place the nuns there. The major families will rely on the monks, and the small houses will rely on the nuns. Monks and nuns will live apart; they will study separately, and they will not meet. Their food and clothing will be (not beautiful >) simple. They will be in charge of prayer, teaching, funerals, and sacrifices. Have the monks convert the men, and the nuns, the women.⁴⁴³ This corresponds with the principle according to which in antiquity the Buddha initiated the monks and nuns [into the Buddhist organization].⁴⁴⁴

'For the performance of sacrifices and prayer, and the practice

⁴⁴² In order to make sense in the present context, we have to interpret *taeru* (-2) as "to be worth it"; cf. phrases like *ichidoku ni taeru* or *miru ni taenai*.

⁴⁴³ "To change into," in the sense of "to convert" seems the best interpretation in the present context.

⁴⁴⁴ As such expressions as 剃度 'to be tonsured' and 得度 'to enter the monastic' life show, *watasu* in the pregnant sense means "getting people to enter the monastery," "accepting them into the faith." It does not necessarily have to mean "making people enter Nirvana."

of [temple] visits and worship,⁴⁴⁵ (2:16b) whether it is done in great shrines, provincial shrines, or local shrines, (it is >) we follow the traditional rules. To invite a god for you yourself to worship, just like that, or to build a shrine in a new place,⁴⁴⁶ for no good reason, and privately to sacrifice there and to visit it⁴⁴⁷ means disrespect for the virtue of the gods and the laws of the king.⁴⁴⁸ [Such people] get rid of the old, and establish themselves in what has newly come into being; they abolish the root, and establish themselves in the many ramifications. In order to worship their deceased parents, they use a shrine; in order to sacrifice to them, they use the sacrificial ritual [prescribed] for the gods. This goes against the way of Saigen.

'[Regarding] beings that anciently ⁴⁴⁹ displayed spiritual powers, you had better follow the councils of the court. [If you want your parents] to live for ever,⁴⁵⁰ the thing to do⁴⁵¹ is to seek refuge in the Buddha and to pay for [a few] masses⁴⁵² [that will help them] to be reborn in the Pure Land. This is the result, reached by all the ways of filial piety; now and later, there [need] be no expenses.

'Confucianism [teaches] the unchanging nature of the Human Relations. [Its followers] build schools in the districts and villages: the important people become the teachers, and the lesser people become

⁴⁴⁵ As no such compound is attested, we have decided to interpret it according to the meaning of the individual characters: "to visit a temple" and "to venerate."

⁴⁴⁶ There seems to be no deeper meaning to *shinjō* ("new place").

⁴⁴⁷ If we follow the *Taisei-kyō*, edn ZST, and read 請 instead of 詣, the meaning would be "to invite the god to come to this new shrine." For this interpretation of 請, cf. the compound 勸請, which has precisely this meaning. Cf. *Yomikudashi*, note 257, and *Honkoku*, note 356.

⁴⁴⁸ For "king," of course, read "emperor."

⁴⁴⁹ This is an attempt to translate *kore*, on the basis of one of the meanings of the character.

⁴⁵⁰ The two characters form a compound, read *jōsei*, and meaning "to live for ever." *Tsune naru* is, we assume, a Japanese rendering of the same.

⁴⁵¹ This is an attempt to translate *kore* 為, on the basis of the meaning "to do" that the character has, and also, to render the *meireikei* at the end of the sentence.

⁴⁵² Apparently, masses cost less than building special shrines on the grave.

the disciples. When you separately establish [your own] house, you will probably end up becoming a follower [of Confucianism]. [This means that] you support the other country and point [critically] at your own, which is harmful to Saigen. If the foreigners arise, then [the Confucians] will join with them. Therefore, we do not (2:17a) appoint biased Confucians in the highest positions of our court."⁴⁵³

Furthermore, the section "Burial of the Dead" of *Reikō Hongi* ("Basic Annals: Outline of the Rites") [of *Taisei-kyō*] states: "During one's life, human relations are important. Death is the grand culmination of one's life.⁴⁵⁴ Therefore, at the time of his death we measure [a man's] high or low status and the fortune or misfortune [he experienced] during his life. If, as a man, he does not obtain his [due] praise,⁴⁵⁵ then he will be deemed to have obtained (shame >) indignity and dishonour. Therefore, a gentleman will feel ashamed of a low status and maintain a high status; he will feel ashamed of messy, unprincipled behaviour and maintain his correctness. That, being a man, his death will not be a shabby affair, how could this not (lie in >) be the result of one's actions and deliberations during one's life? Because of this, Heaven decreed that the ceremonies for the dead will be [according to] their status in life, and, when they created the Rites, the Holy Ones saw to it that the virtues [one displayed during] one's life would show in the status [awarded one] at one's death.

"The correct way (*gi*) to act at the onset of death is [as follows]:

⁴⁵³ The usual meaning of *jōgū* is "the highest shrine," i.e. nearest to the top of a mountain. Evidently, in this case this does not apply. The word will therefore be used metaphorically. Possible interpretations are "our highest institutions," or "the innermost reaches of the court."

⁴⁵⁴ Cf. *Honkoku*, note 364, and *Yomikudashi*, note 263.

⁴⁵⁵ Literally "beauty." However, the character 美 can also be read als *homeru* ("to praise"), so "fame and glory."

the pulse stops and breath ceases; we then speak of the ritual of the dead body (*shitai*). The straw mat [on which the deceased lies] is not moved, nor is the hem [of his garment]. Depending on whether it is spring or autumn, [the body continues in this state for] either three or seven days. During this period, [the body] either comes back to life, or [everything] ends.⁴⁵⁶ When it becomes smelly, (2:17b) we speak of a corpse (*shishi*).

"The correct way of [handling] a corpse [is as follows]: the corpse is bathed in pure, hot water. [Then it is dressed in] the inner and outer garments of the season; these are all white in colour. We spread night clothes⁴⁵⁷ underneath, and we spread night clothes on top. In summer, we take the winter clothes, and in winter, the summer clothes. These we place on top [of the corpse], and thus place it inside the coffin. In order to bind (?) [the various clothes], in the old days we used a red [cord], and nowadays a cotton [cord].

"The correct way of constructing a coffin [is as follows]: in ancient times, the emperor [had] a stone coffin. Its length was nine feet (162 centimetres), its width was six feet (108 centimetres), and its depth was five feet (ninety centimetres). These were all short feet.⁴⁵⁸ This was the standard coffin. When the body was longer than nine feet, long feet were [used]. On top of [the coffin] was [placed] an additional coffin, which was also [made of] stone, had the same size. In it, the armour and helmet, bow and arrows, straight (*tsurugi*) and bent (*katana*) swords, and rare treasures [of the deceased] were placed.

⁴⁵⁶ If we follow the text of *Taisei-kyō*, we should translate "it [begins to] stink."

⁴⁵⁷ Henmui explains the word *kaburi* 被り as night clothes (*fusuma* or *shin'e* 寝衣).

⁴⁵⁸ Measures are notoriously unreliable, of course, but the general rule is that a foot (*shaku*) equals 30,3 centimetres in Western measures. The "short foot" (*tanjaku*) would amount to 18 centimetres.

Nowadays, wooden coffins are the rule, [but the rest] is as above.

"The correct way of [constructing] a temporary imperial mortuary [is as follows]: [the coffin is placed] nine feet below the ceiling, and six feet above the earth. On the four sides, there is a space of twelve feet, and [then] a veranda of five feet. On the four sides, there is a (2:18a) cloister. To the right, there is a guardhouse, and to the left, a chapel for offerings. All around it is an earthen wall with tiles on top, and there is [one] gate in each of the four directions.

"The correct way of [building] a pillared chamber [is as follows]: its height is ten feet, six [of which] are above and four, below.⁴⁵⁹ [The chamber] has no ceiling.⁴⁶⁰ It is ten feet wide, and has no veranda. On the four sides of the balustrade⁴⁶¹ [shrubs] have been planted. At the south [side] is a gate. On the four sides, it is surrounded by a moat, [measuring] thirty-six *ken*.⁴⁶² On the outer side of the moat is a hall for offerings.

"The correct way of [constructing] a gravemound with mausoleum [is as follows]: the height of the main top is sixty *chū* (36,36 meters).⁴⁶³ The height of the secondary top is fifty-five *chū* (33,33 meters). The height of the hill in between is 48 *chū* (29,1 meters).⁴⁶⁴ The length of the base of the imperial tomb is 250 *chū*

⁴⁵⁹ It is unclear above, c.q. below what the chamber, c.q. the pillars are. The ground?

⁴⁶⁰ It is unclear what kind of building is described here: a chamber without ceiling, but with a roof? A kind of pergola?

⁴⁶¹ We assume that 檻 is short for *rankan* 欄檻.

⁴⁶² The *ken* 間 is a standard measure, equivalent to the distance between two pillars of a house. It is usually put at 1.82 meter.

⁴⁶³ As will be said at the end of this paragraph, for Chōon c.q. the authors of *Taisei-kyō*, one *chū* 肘 equals two feet (*shaku*) "and that is all." According to Mor. IX: 29268 s.v. 3, too, a *chū* equals two feet, though "one theory puts it at 1 *shaku* and 8 *sun*." So, if we take the standard equivalents in the metric system, 1 *chū* is either (2x30,30=) 60,6 cm, or (30,30+8x3,03=) 54,5 cm.

⁴⁶⁴ The meaning of the word *chūzan* 中山 in the present context is not clear. The description reminds one, though, of the "square front, round back" type of tumulus (*zenpō kōen kofun*): a round

(151,50 meters) and its width, 115 *chū* (69,69 meters). The main number six⁴⁶⁵ symbolizes the earth. The secondary number five represents the Five Elements.⁴⁶⁶ The middle number [of forty-eight]⁴⁶⁷ represents the accumulation of years. The [sum of the] length and width [of the base of the imperial tomb is 365 *chū*, which] is the number of heaven.⁴⁶⁸ One *chū* is two *shaku* (60,6 centimetres), not less.⁴⁶⁹

"The correct way of [laying out] the mausoleum and the grave is [as follows]: Imperial princes have [tumuli with] a main (2:18b) and a secondary [top]; they [also have] length and width. The Three Lords⁴⁷⁰ have length and width, but not the main and secondary [tops]. The Three Lords⁴⁷¹ and Nine Ministers have [a mausoleum with four]

hill at the end, on top of the grave, a lowered corridor, and a slightly raised mount over the entry. Cf. Henmui's *Sōgi ryakurei*.

⁴⁶⁵ *Seisū* 正数 ("correct figure") will correspond with the earlier *seihō* 正峯, and the figure '6' with the height of sixty *chū*. In order to bring out the correspondence, we have translated *seisū* as "main number."

⁴⁶⁶ Again, the number '5' corresponds with the fifty-five *chū*, which is the height of the secondary top; a relation is laid with the Five Agents (*wuxing*).

⁴⁶⁷ This insight, that the number '48' for the height of the middle mound is a duplication of the twenty-four subdivisions of the solar year, we owe to Henmui's commentary. Twice twenty-four is two years, which begins to bridge the gap with the "accumulated years" that follow. N.B. In the pre-modern East-Asian the solar year was divided into twenty-four periods of equal length, six for each season, called *ki*, *setsu* or *sekki* 節氣.

⁴⁶⁸ Henmui claims, that this "number of heaven" corresponds to the number of days in a year, and to the 365 degrees that Heaven moves around in one year.

⁴⁶⁹ The relevance of this last sentence is unclear. Just like the preceding *ken*, a *chū* should need no explanation for native readers. The stress laid by the final two characters, too, is intriguing: "two feet, and nothing more; that all there is to it." The readers might have known that "according to one theory" (cf. *supra*, note 463) the *chū* was shorter than two feet, but certainly not longer.

⁴⁷⁰ In the Japanese case, the Three Lords are the *dajō daijin* (Prime Minister), and the *sa-* and *udaijin* (Ministers of the Left and Right). Strictly speaking, these functions came into existence only after the *Taika* Reforms, so here the appellation is anachronistic.

⁴⁷¹ The expression "Two Lords," which we find in *Taisei-kyō* at this point, exists (see Mor. I: 247-327/328), but is used only to refer to certain persons mentioned in the *Shujing* and the *Chunqiu* / *Zuo zhuan*. It is not used to refer to a set of two bureaucratic functions. Apparently, Chōon or his copyist did not know what to do with them, and changed "two" to "three." On the other hand, "Three Ministers" is redundant; they have been treated already. The term *kyō* / *kei* refers to the bureaucrats of the third rank and higher, such as the *dainagon*, *sangi* etc., excluding the top three. In view of the fact that a few lines further on the "Three Lords" and "Nine Ministers" are treated as separate categories, the easiest solution would be to ignore the Two or Three Lords here, and put it

corners⁴⁷² and steps. The common noblemen have [a mausoleum with four] corners but no steps. Commoners have [a mausoleum] without corners or steps. The [size of the] tumulus of a crown prince is two thirds of [that of] an emperor. The [size of the] tumulus of imperial princes is one third of [that of] an emperor. [The size of the tumulus of] the Three Lords is two thirds of [that of] the imperial princes. [The size of the tumulus of] the Nine Ministers is again decreased by one (i.e., to one third of the burial mound of the imperial princes). Further down, [the size of the tumulus] is again decreased by one at the time.

"The correct way of conveying the corpse to the funeral is as follows: [the corpse of] an emperor [is transported] in a phoenix carriage.⁴⁷³ [The corpse of] an imperial prince [is transported] in a large carriage.⁴⁷⁴ [The corpses of] the Three Lords [are transported] in a stately palanquin.⁴⁷⁵ [Those of] the Nine Ministers [are transported] in a large palanquin. ⁴⁷⁶ [Those of] common noblemen [are transported] in a [palanquin that is] covered with beautiful [cloth], while [the corpses of] commoners [are transported] in a [palanquin] covered with coarse [cloth].⁴⁷⁷

"The correct way to perform music [at the funeral is as

down to a scribal error.

⁴⁷² In his *Sōgi ryakurei*, Henmui explains the character 角 (*kado*) as 廟根四角. N.B. Henmui's description here shifts from the grave to the mausoleum, or rather, the "mausoleum root," whatever that may be.

⁴⁷³ A phoenix carriage is a carriage pulled by men, with two phoenixes in gold or bronze on the roof.

⁴⁷⁴ The *dairen* is not mentioned in the dictionaries, but Henmui glosses the word as *te-guruma* ("handcart"). So, a big carriage on wheels, pulled by men, but without the roof and the phoenixes?

⁴⁷⁵ The compound *gen'yo* is not attested in the dictionaries. A *yo* is carried by men on their shoulders; contrary to the *ren*, it does not have wheels.

⁴⁷⁶ The compound is not attested in the dictionaries.

⁴⁷⁷ The compounds *bifuku* and *sofuku* are not attested in the dictionaries. The translation is based on the meaning of the individual characters, and the assumption that, in view of the decreasing scale, we are dealing with palanquins.

follows]: the music begins in the tuning *lu* (J. *ryo*), and ends in [the tuning] *lü* (J. *ritsu*).⁴⁷⁸

"An emperor is [buried] underneath the main top, above [the level of] the hill between [the two tops]. The imperial princes are [buried] underneath the secondary top, above [the level of] the hill between [the two tops]. The Three Lords are [buried] in the upper half [of their tumulus].⁴⁷⁹ The Nine Ministers are [buried] in the lower half [of their tumulus]. Common noblemen are [buried] in their grave, above the ground. (2:19a) Commoners are [buried] in the earth under their grave mound. In ancient times, the members of the escort [of the emperor and high dignitaries] were buried alive [together with the deceased]. A talented [member of the] Haji replaced them with clay figures. This is the ritual of today.⁴⁸⁰

"In ancient times, offerings to the dead consisted of the meat of sacrificial animals⁴⁸¹; nowadays,⁴⁸² it is vegetarian food. [Offering vegetarian food] is based on the [teaching of the] Buddha and [this aversion of meat offerings] is supported by the gods.⁴⁸³ In ancient times, the incantations [that accompanied] the offerings consisted of Shintō ritual prayers⁴⁸⁴; nowadays, they are Buddhist sutras. This is based on [simple] logic, and accords with [the spirit of the present] time. In ancient times, the day of offering was [once] a year; nowadays

⁴⁷⁸ *Lu* and *lü* are two different pentatonic tunings. *Lu* is associated with Yin, and *lü*, with Yang.

⁴⁷⁹ The literal translation would be "above 上 the limit of 限 the upper half 上半."

⁴⁸⁰ At this point, Henmui in his *Sōgi ryakurei* commentary, extensively refers to *Taisei-kyō* 17-22 (*Jinnō Hongi*), the reign of Emperor Suinin (r. 29 BC-70 AD, and the burial ritual as it was practised at that time. N.B. The Haji were a hereditary corporation (*be*) of potters.

⁴⁸¹ For the compound *seizen*, see Mor. VII: 19986:17: "meat of domestic animals used for food."

⁴⁸² According to Henmui's commentary *Sōgi ryakurei*, *ima wa* ("nowadays") refers to the reign of Empress Suiko.

⁴⁸³ Additions are, again, based on the elaborations in Henmui's *Sōgi ryakurei*.

⁴⁸⁴ *Taisei-kyō* uses the characters 鬼則 which, according to Henmui, should be read as *notto*, i.e. *norito* 祝詞.

it is [once] a month.

"The correct way of presenting the mourning gifts⁴⁸⁵ [is as follows]: [everyone,] from the emperor down to the common people, without exception,⁴⁸⁶ [presents them] on the seventh day, the twenty-seventh day, and so on, until the seventy-seventh day; [then] on the hundredth day, and in the third, the seventh, the thirteenth, the seventeenth, and the thirty-third year [after their ancestor's death]. From the emperor down to the common noblemen, without exception, [gifts are presented] in the fortieth, the fiftieth, and the sixtieth year [after their ancestor's death]. When the children [of the deceased] have died, his grandchildren (2:19b) take over [this task]. From the emperor down to the Nine Ministers, without exception, [gifts are presented] in the seventieth, eightieth and ninetieth year [after their ancestor's death]. [The obligation now] extends to the grandchildren and great-grandchildren. From the emperor down to the Three Lords, without exception, [gifts are presented] in the hundredth, one hundred and tenth, and one hundred and twentieth year [after their ancestor's death]. [The obligation now] extends to the great-grandchildren of the children. From the emperor down to the imperial princes, without exception, [gifts are presented] in the one hundredth and thirtieth, one hundredth and fortieth, and one hundredth and fiftieth year [after their ancestor's death]. From the one hundredth and sixtieth year and after, only the emperor performs [the ceremony]. Even the emperors, though,

⁴⁸⁵ For the compound *chōten*, see Mor. IV: 9698-68. The difference between *chōten* and the preceding *tengu*, which we translated as "offerings to the dead," seems to be that the *tengu* are presented once, at the funeral, while the *chōten* are presented many times, in remembrance.

⁴⁸⁶ It is strange that the characters 一同 are given the *furigana hitomuki*, as if it were 一向. The meaning differs: *ichidō* is "all together"; *ikkō / hitomuki ni* means "single-mindedly, eagerly." We have translated according to the original meaning of the character 同, which fits the context better. Henmui, too, reads *ichidō ni shite*.

without exception, perform [the ceremony of gift-giving] for the great-great-grandfather on the day this great-great-grandfather [deceased]. This is called the comprehensive offering [ceremony]. Man's life spans vary in length. Long ones depend on generations; short ones depend on years.⁴⁸⁷ The correct way of presenting mourning gifts [to the deceased] is to remember of them, according to Filial Piety, as they dwell in the nether world, and to insist, according to Duty, that one shall not forget them.

"The correct way of determining [the correct number of] positions⁴⁸⁸ [is as follows]: (2:20a) for an emperor it is ten; for a Crown Prince it is nine; for a prominent imperial prince it is eight; for a less important imperial prince it is seven; for the Three Lords it is six; for the Two Lords⁴⁸⁹ it is five; for the Nine Ministers it is four; for court nobles⁴⁹⁰ it is three; for common noblemen it is two; for commoners it is one. In [doing] good, it is considered laudable to go as far as you can; [in practising] the Rites, restraint is considered laudable. Both [rules] have to be observed simultaneously. When someone of low status [but] with a large income manifests [the intention] to go as far [as possible in doing] good, and to do this all by himself, he is not [acting according to] the Rites. On the other hand, when he does *not* do this, he is not [doing] good. You must do these things in line with⁴⁹¹ [the status of] your

⁴⁸⁷ The second phrase is inserted on the basis of the text in *Taisei-kyō*; cf. *Yomikudashi*, note 277, and *Honkoku*, note 462. The meaning of these two phrases in the present context is unclear.

⁴⁸⁸ For our translation of *ten'i* 奠位, cf. Mor. III: 5960-2. Henmui explains the term as "to establish the positions of the comprehensive offering" 總奠ノ位ヲ設クル. It is possibly a reference to the number of celebrants participating in the ceremony.

⁴⁸⁹ *Sic!* See *supra*, note 471.

⁴⁹⁰ The compound *kaikan* 階官 exists (see Mor. XI: 41755-11), but the glosses given s.v. do not really fit the present context. "Officials of [the sundry] ranks" seems the best interpretation; hence, in view of the Japanese context, our "court nobles."

⁴⁹¹ One of the meanings of the character 排 is "putting things in a row." Henmui explains the

family."

Because Mr Hayashi personally detests Buddhists and is fond of Confucians, he therefore has no use for the oracle of [the God] Miwa. I have explained in detail that he changes the laws of Empress Suiko, modifies the law of the state, violates custom, snubs the Empress, and slights the high dignitaries. Since [the reign of Empress] Suiko, we have, generation after generation, buried the emperors according to the Buddhist Law. Furthermore, ever since the warrior [Minamoto no] Yoritomo (1147-1199) assumed (2:20b) supreme military authority,⁴⁹² we have had Buddhist priests bury the shogun, reign after reign. And yet, you, and you alone, condemn this as incorrect, and you take the initiative to bury people according to the Confucian rites.⁴⁹³ Therefore, in province after province, those who adore the Confucians discard the Buddhist way [of burial] and bury [their dead] with help of Confucians.

In our country, at the beginning of the Keichō Era (1596-1615), the rule of the Great Lord Minamoto (= Tokugawa Ieyasu, 1542-1616) combined the civil and the military arts, tolerance and strictness mutually supporting each other. He strictly prohibited the sect of the Christians. Nonetheless, remaining elements of this wicked sect revolted in Arima.⁴⁹⁴ Thereafter, the ban [on the Christian religion] became more and more severe. Everywhere in Japan, both high and

character as 「排ハ^ヲ推ス也。列^{ツラナ}ルナリ。親戚族類ト相列^{アヒツラナ}ルナリ」. The translation then becomes "arrange this *in accordance with* your family." The question that is still unanswered is, whether the phrase means "don't do it alone, do it *together with* the other members of your family," or "do these things *in accordance with the status of* your family." In view of the context, both interpretations would be possible. See also *Yomikudashi*, note 279.

⁴⁹² This must be a reference to the year 1192 when Emperor Go-Toba appointed Yoritomo as *Sei-i Tai Shogun*.

⁴⁹³ Literally, "as regards burying them according to Confucian precepts, you are the beginning."

⁴⁹⁴ In view of what follows (a description of the *terauke* system), and in view of the fact that Arima is located on the Shimabara Peninsula, Chōon must have had the Shimabara Revolt (1637-38) in mind.

low had to get a sealed [document] from a Buddhist priest, thus [making it possible to] clearly identify⁴⁹⁵ [the members of] this wicked sect and prohibit it. Yet, you Confucian fellows do not use the [documents] sealed by Buddhist priests, nor do you follow the [Buddhist] burial rites. [Do you do this] in order to carry to the extreme this discussion of heterodox *versus* orthodox?

(2:21a) Mr Hayashi says in his Commonplace Book: “The common, rustic men who in our country occupy themselves with the military system are unable to explain its main points. They expound [such] abstruse⁴⁹⁶ [things like] the pattern of heaven, divining by the stars, or watching the *qi*, and thus deceive our young and eager warriors. And this is not all! They rely on the baseless incantations and prayers of the Buddhists and use these to spread their own system. There are too many idiots in the world!

“When an emperor of the Tang⁴⁹⁷ had to deal with barbarian raiders from the west, he had the monk Fukū⁴⁹⁸ perform his magic,⁴⁹⁹ and the barbarians from the west were defeated and fled.

>>> Fukū concentrated his mind on Bishamon,⁵⁰⁰ and several thousands of divine warriors defeated the western barbarians.

At that time, [Fukū] reported [to the emperor as follows]: ‘Several

⁴⁹⁵ For the translation of *benpaku*, see Mor. X: 38657-59.

⁴⁹⁶ Literally “far-away.” N.B. The compound *enbyō* is not attested in the dictionaries.

⁴⁹⁷ This is Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 of Tang (685-762; r.: 713-56). This episode occurred during the Tianbao period (742-756).

⁴⁹⁸ This is Amoghavajra (705-774); he is revered as one of the Eight Patriarchs of the Doctrine in Shingon Buddhism.

⁴⁹⁹ Although the reading *majinau* is not attested in the dictionaries, it is specified by the *furigana* of our manuscript and of Razan's *Bunshū*. We have decided to follow these in our translation. Cf. *Yomikudashi*, note 282.

⁵⁰⁰ Bishamon (Skr. Vaiśravaṇa) is one of the Four Heavenly Kings. He dwells on the northern side of Mount Sumer, and protects the northern part of the world with an army of *yaksa*'s and *rāksasa*'s.

thousands of divine warriors had come from the sky and manifested themselves. They were very scary. And now, the brigands are pacified. [He,] Fukū, had concentrated his mind on the Heavenly King Bishamon, and with help of the divine warriors he had defeated them.' Thus he spoke. [All] Buddhist explanations are like this. It was for the same reason that afterwards [the emperor] erected a statue of Bishamon in [one of] the watchtowers of the castle.⁵⁰¹ (2:21b)

"I (= Razan) do not know whether the divine warriors really came down and manifested themselves. He [just] makes this claim. In the military system, they always pray to Tamonten⁵⁰²; they chant magic spells (Skr. *dhāran*; J. *darani*); they recite the *Hannya shingyō*⁵⁰³; and they call it 'the great luminous mantra, the great spiritual mantra.' They are all like this."⁵⁰⁴

When I (= Chōon) saw this explanation by Razan, I was both amazed and indignant. When we have such evil Confucians like you, with their warped principles and warped knowledge, work side by side with [our] great men and gentlemen, those warped principles and warped knowledge will beguile the eyes and ears of these great men and gentlemen, and when that happens, we will not [merely] lose our identity as a righteous country and a military country; on the contrary, our hearts will be enslaved by the foreign country and its foreign laws.

⁵⁰¹ Razan probably based himself on *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (T2061; TZ vol. 50, p. 714a): 「又天寶中西大石康三國帥兵圍西涼府。詔空入。帝御于道場。空秉香爐誦仁王密語二七遍。帝見神兵可五百員在于殿庭。驚問空。空曰。『毘沙門天王子領兵救安西。請急設食發遣』。四月二十日果奏云。『二月十一日。城東北三十許里。雲霧間見神兵長偉。鼓角誼鳴山地崩震。蕃部驚潰。彼營壘中有鼠金色。咋弓弩弦皆絕。城北門樓有光明天王。怒視蕃帥大奔』。帝覽奏謝空。因勅諸道城樓置天王像。」。

⁵⁰² Tamonten is another name of Bishamon.

⁵⁰³ A very short sutra of only 262 characters, supposed to encapsulate the essence (hence "heart") of the *Prajñāparamitā sūtra*.

⁵⁰⁴ Here ends the quotation from Razan's *zuihitsu*.

Now, because our country is a righteous country and a military country, we have, ever since the Age of the Gods, at times defeated the other country, but never once have we been beaten by a foreign country.⁵⁰⁵ This, then, is the reason why (2:22a) our country has been a righteous country and a military country, and why the authority and virtue of our gods defeated the spiritual authority of the gods of the foreign country.

When I read the "Explanations of Military Works" in ten sections that Mr. Razan composed,⁵⁰⁶ [I noticed that] he places first the military system of foreign countries, and places second the military rules of our country. During the reign of Emperor Shōmu,⁵⁰⁷ Lord Kibi⁵⁰⁸ received in China the transmission of the military system⁵⁰⁹ and then returned. Since then, this country⁵¹⁰ took this as the muster of its military system, and transmitted it [to later generations]. If [Razan] uses this as his proof, [then I say that] Kibi is [someone from] recent times, but that [already] in the Age of the Gods we had military expeditions in our country, and that also in the Age of the [Human] Emperors, we had military expeditions.⁵¹¹

⁵⁰⁵ The operative word in this sentence is 征, here translated as "defeated" and "been beaten." 征 does not mean just any war, but a military expedition that is carried out by the rightful lord of the empire, to punish unruly and disobedient subjects.

⁵⁰⁶ The *Gunsho daisetsu* can be found in *Razan Rin-sensei bunshū* 62 (*Zassho* 7); see *Bunshū* vol. 2, pp. 295-305. The series has a postface, in which Razan explains the circumstances under which he wrote the essays. It is dated Genna 5/7/25 (1619).

⁵⁰⁷ Shōmu's dates are 701-724-749-756.

⁵⁰⁸ This is Kibi no Makibi 吉備真備 (695?-775), who accompanied the embassy to the Tang of 717 and stayed in China as a student until 735. After his return, he became involved in court politics. He was at one time banished to Dazaifu, but he returned to the capital, and ended his career as *udaijin* ("Minister of the Right").

⁵⁰⁹ In view of the overall argument, this should be the interpretation of the sentence 吉備公傳軍法於中花飯, though it is not the most self-evident interpretation. One needs to hypostathise a change of subject: "Kibi returned, *someone* having transmitted to him the military system in China."

⁵¹⁰ The words "this country" refer to Japan.

⁵¹¹ The implication is that there was no need for Kibi to import Chinese military knowledge into Japan; Japan had been fighting for ages already, and had its own system and experience. This goes contrary to Razan's argument in *Gunsho daisetsu* s.v. *Jinpō* 陣法, where he discusses Kibi no

Specifically, because,⁵¹² during the reign of Suiko, [Mononobe no] Moriya prided himself on his glory and might, and disrespected the empress, Empress Suiko commanded the Crown Prince and [Soga no] Umako to attack and punish him.⁵¹³ At this time, because Moriya's army was superior in strength and the imperial army was in all respects inferior, in one night the Crown Prince (2:22b) wrote the *Basic Annals of Military Expeditions*⁵¹⁴ for Umako, and gave them to him. From the generals' tree⁵¹⁵ he carved a small image of Bishamon and had him put it⁵¹⁶ into his hair. Because of this, [the imperial army] won a great victory. This [means], then, that in our country we determined the military system during the reigns of the human emperors. This was the first time that we composed a book on military expeditions. Why, then, should we follow them - the military books of Lord Kibi, and all the other military books which were produced afterwards? The

Makibi's contributions, and concludes: "From this we see that, although our country had garrison laws (*jinpō*) before this, it was only with Lord Kibi that, I think, they became detailed." (*Bunshū* vol. 2, p. 296b).

⁵¹² This "because" translates both ... *ni yorite* 因 and *yue ni* 故. Cf. *Yomikudashi*, note 287.

⁵¹³ Chōon is mistaken. Even according to *Taisei-kyō* 32, the battle between Soga no Umako and Mononobe no Moriya took place in 587, in the 7th month of the 1st year of Suiko's predecessor Emperor Sushun (d. 592; r. 587-592; the year of his birth is not known).

⁵¹⁴ For the *Gunryo hongī*, see *Taisei-kyō* 67-68.

⁵¹⁵ A "generals' tree" (*shōgun no ki*) is not attested in the dictionaries. According to *Nihon shoki* 21: *Sushun zenki* (vol. 2, p. 126; cf. Aston, *Nihon shoki* vol. 2. pp. 113-114), Shōtoku fashioned images of the Four Heavenly Kings, and *not* just of Bishamon, from a *nuride-no-ki*. In *Taisei-kyō* 32, the incident is described as follows: 「散取白膠木，作四天王像，與馬子大臣，祈天王大神，而進討伐矣。」. There are differences with the *Nihon shoki* (Shōtoku does not put the images in his own hair, but gives them to Umako, while Shōtoku himself prays to a Tennō-daijin), but the tree remains a *nuride* (correctly *nurude*; *Rhus javanica*). One of the other names of the *nuride* is *kachi-no-ki*, which can be interpreted as "tree of victory"; this name is said to be a reference to the present incident.

⁵¹⁶ The Chinese text is none too clear, but the *okurigana* that spell out *-shimu* indicate a causative, implying that it is not the Crown Prince who wears the images on his head, which is the usual story, but that he has given them to Umako to wear. See for reference, *Taisei-kyō* 36: 「是時，太子依皇后詔，出自殯宮，隨大軍後。見其軍狀，而自略曰：『賊軍、兼兵而多、官軍卒眾而少。少不勝於多。是軍旅不賢、不可不曉陳。賊兵愚卒而亂、官兵智眾而一。以一不勝於亂。是邪魅所為。不可不行祈。』即命軍允秦連川勝：『立陳盛眾、堅我破他、為懸追敵、造待圍眾。』為如是術。又命將軍大臣、撰方執白膠木、刻四天王像、安將軍頂髮、發願為誠信。大臣發願曰：『今使我勝敵、奉為護世四大天、起立寺塔。』時發願了、進軍相戰。」

military books that have been composed since Lord Kibi are based on theories [and explanations given in] the *Seven Books*⁵¹⁷ of the foreign country. If [we, in] our country, would make the *Seven Books* our teacher and then fight with the foreign country, how could we defeat it? We will not use theirs, and they will not use ours.

Through the Crown Prince's *Basic Annals of Military Expeditions*, this country has transmitted its military system. At the present moment, there are scions of military traditions that have gone on continuously, without interruption. (2:23a) Men who are born in a military family and who hold a military command should transmit this system, and they must not use the military system of the other country and its laws.

Mr. Hayashi considers the pattern of heaven, divining by the stars, or watching the *qi*, and [also] the incantations and prayers of the Buddhists as [an attempt to] deceive the warriors, and regards them as unfounded theories [and explanations]. Moreover, in *Explanations of Military Works*, which you have written, you discuss military sacrifice, you discuss watching the *qi*, and you discuss talismans and incantations. The earlier and the later argument are inconsistent; your main aim is to execrate the Buddhists and thus to prevent them from becoming popular.

Even Confucius and Mencius said that they did not study military expeditions, so how could you possibly know something about them? Confucius and Mencius discussed the relative merits of kings and hegemonies. Hegemonies they considered as despicable, and kings they

⁵¹⁷ These are the so-called *Seven Military Classics*. For an English translation see Ralph D. Sawyer, *The Seven Military Classics of Ancient China*, Boulder: Westview Press, 1993.

considered as honourable. Therefore, Confucians of the foreign country argue that weapons are instruments of murder. In our country, kings and hegemonies (2:23b) are like our two eyes or our two hands. Which should we consider as honourable, and which as despicable?

Heaven has [a cycle of] mutual generation, and [a cycle of] mutual destruction. Spring and summer are [the seasons of] mutual generation, and autumn and winter, [of] mutual destruction.⁵¹⁸ Through mutual generation and destruction, heaven and earth make the four seasons go round and make a complete year. Man is rooted in heaven, so how could he possibly be different? That is why I say that you, evil Confucians, should not be allowed to serve next to great men and gentlemen.

In the *Basic Annals of Military Expeditions* there also are the Five Ropes. These are heaven, earth, man, things, and gods.⁵¹⁹ These Five Ropes are the mainstays of the military expeditions of our country. In the foreign country, at best they preach the opportunity of heaven, the advantages of earth, and the harmony among men, but they do not preach the use of arms,⁵²⁰ or the assistance of the gods.⁵²¹ This, then, is the point in which the military expeditions of our country are superior to those of the foreign country. [In] *Military expeditions*,⁵²² [it

⁵¹⁸ These cycles of mutual generation and destruction are spelled out at the very beginning of *Gunryo hongji*, in the section *Tenmon*; see *Sendai kuji hongji Taisei-kyō* 67 (edn ZST vol. 4, p. 243).

⁵¹⁹ "The Five Ropes" is the title of section 8 in the first book of *Gunryo hongji*. They are defined as "(the principle of) heaven, (the advantages of) earth, (the enterprise of) man, (the use of) things, and (the aid of) the gods. The first (天理) and the third (人業) are different from the list in *Gobusshin-ron*. See *Taisei-kyō* 67 (edn ZST vol. 4, p. 255).

⁵²⁰ *Wuyong* (J. *butsuyō*) is the title of section 4 of *Gunryo hongji* 1. Here it says: "The practice of battle is realised in the availability of arms. Even if you have astute generals and courageous soldiers, when they lose their implements, then they cut their base (?)." See *Taisei-kyō* 67 (edn ZST vol. 4, pp. 250-251). The interpretation given in Mor. VII: 19959-128 is irrelevant here.

⁵²¹ "The assistance of the gods" is the title of section 5 of *Gunryo hongji* 1.

⁵²² The passage ending with the particle *to* (p. 2:24a, line 3) is a paraphrase, not a quotation of

says that] “the opportunities of heaven are less important than the advantages of earth; the advantages of earth are less important than the harmony among men; the harmony among men is less important than the use of arms; the use of arms is less important than the assistance of the gods; the assistance of the gods is less important than the use of arms; the use of arms is less important than the harmony among men; the harmony among men is less important than the advantages of earth; the advantages of earth are less important than the opportunities of heaven.” [*Military expeditions*] argues like this, in the inverted order. The assistance of the gods, however, is regarded as (the eyes >) essential, as something about which one keeps silent.⁵²³

You, Confucians, do not know these things, and yet you discuss the military system of our country. It will be a discussion that misses the point? You make light of the Buddhist incantations, but you seem to attach importance to the blessings of the gods. These “incantations of the Buddha,” however, are valued by the gods and by heaven, which is why in the presence of the gods sutra’s and incantations are recited for the enjoyment of the Buddhist teachings. This is mentioned in biographies of olden and modern times. How could you not have read them? Oh! How painful!

(2:24b) In his *Commonplace Book*, Mr Hayashi says: “Kazan’in⁵²⁴

Gunryo hongji (edn ZST, vol. 4, p. 255).

⁵²³ It is an unsatisfactory translation; something like “throat” (another essential item of the anatomy) would have fitted better. However, in view of the dictionary glosses, we have no other choice than “to remain silent.”

⁵²⁴ Emperor Kazan’s dates are 968-984-986-1008. The reference works say that he took the vows because of (1) sorrow for his deceased consort, and (2) because of a conspiracy of Fujiwara no Kanaie (929-990). Thanks to this intrigue, Kanaie managed to get his grandson on the throne as Emperor Ichijō, while he himself became *sesshō* and *kanpaku*. Kazan retired to the Kazanji and

became a monk at nineteen; in our country, he is regarded as the [counterpart of] Emperor Wu of the Liang.⁵²⁵ How did he ever become so badly ensnared by Buddhism?”

I, in my turn, say, how did Mr. Hayashi ever become so badly ensnared by Confucianism? In India, Śākyamuni rejected the royal throne and became a monk at nineteen. In our country, Kazan'in longed to follow his example. What is it, that you do not gratefully praise him, but use this to slander him? In case you say this in reference to the fact that he did not succeed to the imperial throne, in China Xu Yu⁵²⁶ and Taibo⁵²⁷ renounced the empire and did not accept the royal throne. Nevertheless, Confucius and Mencius did not fault them for this, but regarded them as Sages, even as Saints.

>>> Burning the Buddhist books of the empire.

Again, Mr Hayashi says: “I wish I could gather all the Buddhist books in the empire, burn them, and throw them away.⁵²⁸ Never has there been a greater disaster than these [books]! (2:25a) Alas! The

wrote *waka*.

⁵²⁵ Emperor Wu (464-502-549) was the first emperor of the Liang Dynasty (502-556), and a great supporter of Buddhism. He took the vows four times during his life, but died a layman.

⁵²⁶ Xu Yu was a hermit; when he heard that he was to succeed Emperor Yao, he fled into the woods (first time), and washed his ears with water in order to rid himself of the defilement (second time). The story is told in *Zhuangzi*; he is not mentioned in either *Analects* or *Mencius*.

⁵²⁷ Taibo was the eldest son of “the Old Duke” 古公 of Zhou. He understood that his father wanted his youngest brother, Jili 季歷, to succeed him, as he would become the father of a great saint. (This happened: Jili's son was the future King Wen 文王, the founder of the Zhou dynasty.) In order to allow his brother to succeed, Taibo fled the country and went to live among the barbarians in Wu, where he tattooed his body and shaved his head according to barbarian custom. There is a legend, much discussed in Japan in the 17th century, that he crossed to Japan and became the founder of the Japanese imperial house c.q. empire. The theory vacillates between identifying Taibo with Jinmu and with Amaterasu. See also *infra*, notes 609-613. For further details, see Brownlee, John S., *Japanese Historians and the National Myths, 1600–1945: The Age of the Gods and Emperor Jimmu*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1997. N.B. Taibo is *not* mentioned in *Mencius*, but there is a chapter in the *Analects* (ch. 8), entitled 泰伯, in which he is mentioned once (*Lunyu* 8.1).

⁵²⁸ The choice of words in this sentence is somewhat idiosyncratic. *Agete* 拏 has the implication “all,” which conflicts with 衆, which is glossed as “many.” Moreover, 衆 is here used as a verb, but no such usage is attested in the dictionaries; a gloss like *atsumeru* is lacking. And after things have been “burnt,” there is little left than one can “throw away.”

emperor cavorted with the Buddha! How sad! It is something that leaves me laughing [bitterly] a thousand years later.”

You, Mr. Hayashi, judge Umayado [because of his] use of the single character *chin*.⁵²⁹ If I compare⁵³⁰ that with these evil words of yours, that are equivalent to slandering the emperor, [the Crown Prince's choice of pronouns] amounts to one hair of nine oxen.⁵³¹ Heaven will inexorably punish all sins of insurrection.⁵³²

Now, in this country, it is advantageous to the realm that imperial princes take the vows. Nevertheless, you greatly reject and denounce it.⁵³³ Let me argue for your [benefit] how this [taking the vows] is advantageous to the realm. If, from generation to generation, the imperial princes would not become monks, and we would give estates to each of them, I fear that there would not be one inch of land left as fiefs for the warriors. If one hundred [princes] would not become priests, but would now take wives and beget children, they would beget three children per person. In the course of their lives, they would increase (2:25b) with three hundred persons. Fathers and children together would number four hundred persons. If you would give fields to all of them, and they would build their residences, it would be an enormous expense. When, however, a monk has no children, what major expenses would there be for him alone?

⁵²⁹ *Chin* 朕 is the personal pronoun used by emperors, comparable to the royal ‘we’ in European languages. Umayado (“horse stable door”) is the sobriquet of Crown Prince Shōtoku, who was *not* an emperor.

⁵³⁰ “To put in a row, to align” is the gloss given in the dictionary of this compound; cf. Mor. VI: 16743-152. In the present context, however, it seems more appropriate to emphasize the *first* character, “to compare.”

⁵³¹ This is a proverbial expression, meaning “a trifle.”

⁵³² *Tokoro nashi* is a Japanese expression, which means “without gaps, without escape.” In Chinese, the sentence is rather weird, as one would at first sight interpret 無所誅 as *chū-suru tokoro nashi* – “there is nothing he punishes.” The *okurigana ni* puts the reader on the right track.

⁵³³ We have translated the compound *ki-shi* according to the meaning of the individual characters.

[Your idea to] collect all the Buddhist books of the realm, to burn them and throw them away, truly puts you on par with⁵³⁴ such rebellious criminals⁵³⁵ as Li Si of the Qin,⁵³⁶ or with [Mononobe no] Moriya of our country. If they would have made you rule the state, then you would have disrupted the bureaucracy, wrought havoc with the laws, and make people suffer [the hardship of “wallowing in] the mud and [being scorched by] fire. Therefore,⁵³⁷ in recent times, many have been the *daimyō* and high dignitaries who, having listened to your baseless theories and wicked talks, destroyed Buddhist temples. It has been solely the result of your heterodox views.

Ever since Empress Suiko, generation upon generation, the emperors have held the Law of the Buddha in highest regard. It has been propagated throughout the whole empire. The Avatar Who Shines In The East has become a god through *Ryōbu* Shinto. For a long time, [now,] he has protected his descendants, and the shogun, from reign to reign, have venerated the Law of the Buddha. And you speak ill of it in

⁵³⁴ This is our translation of ... *to ippan*.

⁵³⁵ This is our translation of *akugyaku no hito*: *akunin* means criminal, and *gyaku* implies disobedience of one's lords and masters.

⁵³⁶ The funny thing is that Li Si (d. 210 B.C.) was neither a rebel nor a regicide, but the loyal servant of the first emperor of the Qin Dynasty. He had studied with Xunzi, but, once in Qin Shihuangdi's employ, he was responsible for the “burying of Confucians scholars and the burning of the Confucian books,” and for the unification of the writing system, both of which were aspects of unification policies of the Qin empire. In the end, he was executed for his troubles. The single association Chōon has to go on is “burning books.” N.B. See also *Taisei-kyō*, edn of 1679, 30:25a-b, where Qin Shihuangdi appears to Emperor Kinmei in a dream. He says that he has always loved Japan and wants to be incarnated there. His servant, Li Si, has gone ahead and has already been incarnated as Soga no Umako. In the end, and after a small miracle, the emperor himself becomes Hata no Kawakatsu; for Kawakatsu, see *supra*, note 65.

⁵³⁷ The preceding sentence is hypothetical, because Razan never was put in charge of the government; the importance of his position within the *bakufu* administration was minimal. In this sentence, however, he is made responsible for the anti-Buddhist policies of such *daimyō* as Ikeda Mitsumasa 池田光政 (1609-1682), *daimyō* of Okayama, or Tokugawa Mitsukuni 徳川光圀 (1628-1700), *daimyō* of Mito, which were inspired by their belief in the Confucian teachings. Nevertheless, the “therefore” is incorrect. N.B. “Kings and ministers” (*kokuō daijin*) can in this case be explained as “*daimyō* who are in charge of a complete province (*kokuō*), and who also held court titles (hence *daijin*).” Cf. also the following note.

this way! That you do this, [is paramount to] deceiving the emperor, slighting the shogun, bewildering *daimyō*,⁵³⁸ and disturbing the loyal people. [In these respects,] there can be nobody worse than you.

End of the Second Fascicle of *Fusō gobusshin ron*.

⁵³⁸ It would be more appropriate to translate 國王 as 'imperial princes', but the hierarchal order of 'emperor', 'shogun' indicates that here *kokuō* must represent a position below that of shogun; therefore we have opted for *daimyō*.

FUSŌ GOBUSSHIN RON

- ENGLISH TRANSLATION -

- Fascicle 3 -

(3:1a) In his "Essay on Sannō [Gongen],"⁵³⁹ Mr. Hayashi says: "At a certain day, Crown Prince [Wangzi] Qiao, [son] of King Ling (r. 571-545 BC) of the Zhou became an immortal, left [the palace], and entered Mount Tiantai.⁵⁴⁰ Shangdi⁵⁴¹ gave him a position in the heavenly bureaucracy and appointed him as True One (*zhenren*) of [Mount] Tongbo and Assistant King of the Right (*youbiwang*). Tongbo is a different name for Tiantai.⁵⁴² [Qiao's] temple was built in the mountains, and he was given the sobriquet True Lord. When you sacrifice to him, it will have an effect; when you pray to him, he will certainly respond. The people call [this place] the territory of the Sannō ("Mountain King")."⁵⁴³

>>> The White-Bearded God

Next, [Mr. Hayashi] says⁵⁴⁴: "[As regards] the White-bearded

⁵³⁹ Razan's *Essay on Sannō [gongen]* consists of a refutation of various "made up" stories about the origins of the "Mountain God," i.e. the tutelary deity of the Enryakuji on the Hieizan.

⁵⁴⁰ A very short biography of Crown Prince Xiao can be found in *Liexianzhuan* 列仙傳 ("Serial Biographies of Immortals") 1, but the details of that biography hardly match those given by Razan. The source Razan probably used was *San Tendai Gotaisan ki* 參天台五台山記 (ID 1176187; 8 fascl.), in which the Japanese Tendai monk Jōjin 成尋 (1011-1081; went to China in 1072 and died there) describes his experiences in China. In the entry for Enkyū 4/5/14, he quotes a *Tiantaiji*, in which Prince Qiao is mentioned, together with a few of the details Razan gives: 「天台記云：『真人周靈王太子喬，(中略)以仙官授任為桐柏真人、右弼王、領五岳司，侍帝來治華山。』」. (This text can be accessed through Chinese Text project and is also available in a number of modern editions.) The investiture by Shangdi is mentioned in a much later source, *Tiantaishan fangwai zhi* 天台山方外志: 「按、僊宗自周靈王太子晉僊去、奉上帝命治桐柏宮、實主此山。」 by Qi Shennan 齊召南 (1703-1768), printed in 1767. Here, however, the relevant question is, which source did Qi use that could also have been consulted by Chōon.

⁵⁴¹ The Heavenly Ruler or Supreme Deity. Cf. *supra*, note 336.

⁵⁴² See Mor. VI: 14770-77-1-*ro*.

⁵⁴³ The link between these Chinese events and the Sannō or Hiyoshi (Hie) Jinja in Japan is Saichō. He had studied at the Tiantaishan in China, hence knew the set-up with the tutelary mountain god (*jinushi no kami*), and decided to introduce the same in Japan when he founded the Enryakuji.

⁵⁴⁴ The connection between the White Bearded God and Hieizan can already be found in *Taihei-ki* 18 and in *Soga monogatari* 6. While *Taihei-ki* also makes the connection with Sannō Gongen, *Soga monogatari* does not do so. It is also possible that Razan knew the undated and not independently transmitted *Sannō shintō denki* 山王神道伝記, which is quoted in *Hiyoshi sannō shinki* 日吉山王新記 (1664) by the Tendai priest Jisshun 実俊 (published in *Zoku gunsho ruijū* vol. 52, pp. 757-758). The story told there is that the Buddha, when he came to Japan for the second time ("when men lived one hundred years"), at Shiga-no-ura 志賀浦 he met an old man who sat there, fishing. The

God⁵⁴⁵ - there [once] was a spirit in West Lake (Xihu) in the prefecture Hang (Hangzhou). They called it Radiance of the Lake. Ghosts and spirits who rely on mountains and waters shine radiantly [everywhere] between heaven and earth.⁵⁴⁶ The story that [the White-bearded God] saw the lake transform itself seven times into a plain of reeds,⁵⁴⁷ is based on [the story that the immortal] Magu saw the Eastern Sea (3:1b) turn into a mulberry field three times."⁵⁴⁸

In my opinion, the three Gods Sannō, Hiyoshi, and Miwa differ from each other, but, in their substance, they are one [and the same]. Why? [Because] the substance of the three Gods is the God Ōanamuchi and, more in particular, the God Hiyoshi is *not* [identical with the God] Ōyamakui.⁵⁴⁹ When in the Crown Prince's *Jinja Hongi* the White

Buddha asked him how he would like it, if he would spread Buddhism. "The old man answered: 'I have for a long time been in charge of this place. From the time when men lived for six thousand years until now, I have seen the water of the lake change and become reed fields. If this place would become a sacred area of Buddhism, then I would have no place to fish.' The Buddha was about to return, when he met Yakushi who at this opportune moment (善逝=善折) came from the east. [The Medicine Buddha] reported, saying: 'Since the time when men lived twenty thousand years, I have been in charge of this place. That old man does not even know yet that I exist! Why should I have any qualms? I present it to my Buddha. You make it into a mountain where Buddhism is spread around.' Thus, they made their deal, and then the one went east, the other, west. Now, the old man is the God Shirahige. Once, he said: 'I have seen the lake of Ōmi change (変枯=変故) and become a mulberry field seven time.'"

⁵⁴⁵ This will be the deity who is worshipped in the Shirahige Jinja. He is variously known as Shirahige *Daimyōjin* and Hira *Myōjin*, and identified as Sarutahiko no mikoto 猿田彦命. The shrine lies at the foot of the Hira-san, on the east side, between the mountain and Lake Biwa (Takashima-shi, Shiga-ken). (Source: Wikipedia Japonica.)

⁵⁴⁶ No source identified. The relation between the "spirit of the West Lake" and the deity in Ōmi is unclear.

⁵⁴⁷ A remark of the deity to this effect is reported in *Taihei-ki* 18: 「此翁答曰、『我は人壽六千歳の始より、此所の主として、此湖の七度迄蘆原と変ぜしを見たり。但此地結界の地と成らば、釣する所を可失。釈尊早去て他国に求め給へ。』とぞ惜みける。此翁は是白髭明神也。」

⁵⁴⁸ This remark of Magu is reported in *Shenxianzhuan* 神仙傳 ("Biographies of Divine Immortals") 3: 「麻姑自説:『接待以來、已見東海三為桑田、向到蓬萊、水又淺於往昔、會時略半也、豈將復還為陸乎。』」

⁵⁴⁹ Ōanamuchi is the god of Miwa, and also the god of the *Western Shrine* 西本宮 of Sannō Jinja. Ōyamakui is the god of the *Eastern Shrine* of the same. Hiyoshi is just a synonym of Sannō. The "Seven Shrines of Sannō" (or: "of Hiyoshi") are the two *hongū* mentioned above, and five secondary shrines (*sessha* 摂社). Apart from these "Upper Seven Shrines," there also are lists of the "Middle" and "Lower Seven Shrines," all with different deities who are paired off with different Buddha's and

Bearded God is called the Great God Kagutsuchi⁵⁵⁰, it is clear that he is not a ghost or spirit from the West Lake.⁵⁵¹ The Avatar⁵⁵² who Shines in the East (Tōshō Gongen, i.e. Tokugawa Ieyasu) was initiated into Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō⁵⁵³ by the Great Teacher Jigen (i.e. Tenkai; 1536-1643). On becoming a Manifested Incarnation, he vowed to protect his descendants.⁵⁵⁴ His original state is Yakushi [Nyorai] and his manifested form is [Tōshō] gongen.

>>> Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō

Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō is not the Sōgen Shintō of the Yoshida clan; it is not Syncretic [Shintō]⁵⁵⁵; it is not *Engi* [Shintō]⁵⁵⁶; neither is it the *Ritō [shinchi] shintō* that you [Mr. Hayashi] have established.⁵⁵⁷

Bodhisattva's. (Based on Wikipedia Japonica s.v. "Sannō-gongen.")

⁵⁵⁰ In *Jinja hongī* (*Taisei-kyō* 71), the name of this god, albeit written with the character 著 instead of 着, appears in the entry of Hiura Jinja 日浦神社 in Ōmi no kuni 淡海國 (edn ZST vol. 4, p. 334) and in the entry of Kajitori Taisha 楫取大社 in Shimo-tsu-Unanokuni 下海國 (edn ZST vol. 4, p. 359), but neither entry makes any reference to the White-bearded God. The name of this god also appears in various other books of *Taisei-kyō*, in particular in *Taisei-kyō* 3 (*In'yō hongī* 陰陽本紀), which relates the well-known tale of the fire god who caused the death of Izanami and therefore was killed on the spot by Izanagi. Of particular interest is that *In'yō hongī* states that thereafter the spirit of the god Kagutsuchi went rough in Toyoashihara no kuni (炏著塵神魂魄荒於豐葦原國), i.e. the Province of the Plain of Reeds, which could be the connection that Chōon makes between Kagutsuchi and the White-bearded God. In *Taisei-kyō* 44 (*Kyōgyō Hongī* 經教本紀), the *ateji* 軻遇突智 are introduced to indicate the reading of the name 炏著塵: *Ka-gu-tsu-chi*.

⁵⁵¹ Razan' argument is an affirmative answer to the question 「白鬚神者湖水之主乎」. Chōon's refutation of this view is concluded here. It should be noted, however, that the White Bearded God (Shirahige no kami) does not appear in *Taisei-kyō*, at least, not under this name.

⁵⁵² *Gongen* refers to the incarnated form of a Buddha, who manifests himself as a *kami*.

⁵⁵³ Sannō Shinto developed within the Tendai Sect in the early 13th century and was based on the cult of the Sannō at the Hiyoshi Taisha as the tutelary deity (*jinushi*) of the Enryakuji. *Sannō ichijitsu shintō* was very much an invention of Tenkai. *Ichijitsu* means as much as "of one substance." Tenkai used these ideas in order to bring about the deification of Tokugawa Ieyasu.

⁵⁵⁴ The text uses the term *seigan* ("vow"), a Buddhist term which signifies a promise by a Buddha or Bodhisattva to save sentient beings. Note, however, that in Ieyasu's case it is restricted to his own descendants and the the east of the country. See W.J. Boot, "The death of a shogun: deification in early modern Japan" (in: John Breen & Mark Teeuwen, eds, *Shinto in History. Ways of the Kami*, Richmond: Curzon, 2000), pp. 158-161.

⁵⁵⁵ *Shūgō shintō*, i.e. a kind of shinto that combines *kami* cults and the belief in the buddha's.

⁵⁵⁶ According to Yoshida Kanetomo in his *Yuiitsu Shintō Myōbō Yōshū*, "*Engi shintō*" refers to the type of shintō that is based on the origins and history (*engi*) of one's own shrine.

⁵⁵⁷ *Ritō shinchi* means as much as "the principle is present in the heart." It is a rather tortuous, and doomed, attempt to identify the Shinto gods with *li* ("Principle") in the Neo-Confucian sense of "the

[Sannō Shintō] is the Shintō that anciently was transmitted by the Mountain God himself to [the Tendai priest] Gyōen (d. 1047) ⁵⁵⁸; (3:2a) it was, in other words, not something that was revealed to a Shinto priest or Confucian [scholar]. You slander [our] Gods and Buddhas, which the Tōshō Gongen, whom you have been serving, respectfully revered, and call them barbaric ghosts (*kogi*) and foreign Gods.⁵⁵⁹ [This shows that] you are a rebellious and disloyal person [the likes of whom] have been few in past and present.

Mr. Hayashi himself says: "The Buddhist Emperor Shōmu (701-724-749-756), Minamoto no Yoritomo (1147-99), and father and son Toyotomi [Hideyoshi (1537-98) and Hideyori (1593-1615)], (all) built a great hall and cast a great [Buddha] statue.⁵⁶⁰ The state wasted a huge amount [of funds] and there was no benefit to the livelihood of the people."

If that were the case, [then how about] the Confucians, [who] in ancient times in China built Confucius temples and cast statues of him? And you [Japanese Confucians] have, in recent years, built Confucius temples in Japan and carved statues of him! Did that not cause expenses for the state, without benefitting the people? [Evidently,] you say that [in the case of] Confucians there are no

reason why things are as they are, and the norm of how things ought to be" 所以然之故、所當然之則。For details, see Boot, *Adoption and Adaptation*, Ch. III.B.1

⁵⁵⁸ The story that Sannō Shintō was revealed to the Tendai priest Gyōen is told in his biography in *Genkō shakusho* 11:14b-15a.

⁵⁵⁹ Razan actually used the term *kogi* 胡鬼 in his *Futara sanshin den* 二荒山神伝 (*Razan Rin-sensei Bunshū* 37; *Bunshū* vol. 2, pp. 411a-416a). *Ibid.*, p. 411a, he writes: 「遂至於使本朝之名神合汚于胡鬼、而奪神宮為梵宇掠社戶為僧俸焉」.

⁵⁶⁰ Emperor Shōmu had built the Great Buddha Hall at the Tōdaiji in Nara. Minamoto no Yoritomo rebuilt the Great Buddha Hall at the Tōdaiji after this temple had been severely damaged during the Genpei War (1180-85). Toyotomi Hideyori had a Great Buddha Hall built at the Hōkōji in Kyōto. When it was destroyed by fire in 1602, his son Hideyori had it rebuilt.

expenses but there are benefits, and that [in the case of] Buddhists there are expenses but no benefits. It is a biased argument [with which] you elevate yourselves and damage others. (3:2b) If your claim is that building temples and casting statues is [done] in order to reward merit and remunerate virtue and thus, eventually, to teach later generations and future students to revere the Way of the Holy Ones and to long for Confucian customs, that would also apply to the disciples of the Buddha. How could these be two [different things]? For the Buddhist clergy, building halls and casting statues is not just [something they do] for the sake of rewarding merit and responding to virtue, of revering the way of the Buddha and longing for Buddhist customs; [they do it] also in order to encourage high and low to awaken their good heart,⁵⁶¹ to give [alms of] money and grain, and to plant the seeds of happiness and prosperity,⁵⁶² and in order to (sow the cause >) lay the foundation of wisdom and longevity through worship and sutra recitation.

You [Confucians] discuss our single life in the present world, [but] you know nothing of the law of cause and effect in the past, the present, and the future. [Hence,] that you think only in terms of expenses is utterly reasonable [for you]. When a ruler, his ministers, or powerful patrons build a [Buddha] hall and cast [Buddha] statues, then gold and grain will flow down and the common people will automatically be enriched. When there is no building [of Buddha halls] and casting [of Buddha statues], then gold and grain will accumulate at

⁵⁶¹ *Zenshin* will be synonym of *bodaishin*; the expression 發菩提心 exists.

⁵⁶² The parallel construction of these two clauses suggests that the causative that is specified in the *furigana* of the character 蒔 (but which is *not* specified in the Chinese), may well be operative in this first clause, too.

the top and the many [ordinary] families (3:3a) will be impoverished. It is just regular logic. If we stuck to your viewpoint, then those who in India, China, Japan, and all the other countries, [both] in ancient and in modern times, have built [Buddha] halls and have cast [Buddha] statues would have been ignorant fools. And only you - you think - would be wise? [You,] wicked Confucian of biased views, you should reflect [on your shortcomings] and affect some modesty.

>>> The starving man of Kataoka

Mr. Hayashi says: "[When] the starving man of Kataoka had died, [Prince Shōtoku] built a grave and buried him. At that time, no one considered him to be Bodhidharma (fl. 500). A later person who prided himself on his [knowledge of] Zen, laid the connection and related [the story]. When Kokan [Shiren] (1278-1347) compiled [*Genkō*] *Shakusho* and wrote his biography, he more and more distorted the truth. I think that that person who died of starvation, too, was merely a foreigner of that time. Why should he be regarded as [Daru]ma?"

Mr. Hayashi (3:3b) misled [the people in] the world and he lied to his lord [Tokugawa Ieyasu]. He was a crazy scholar. Because he personally did not like them, he called *Nihon shoki*,⁵⁶³ *Taisei-kyō*, and

⁵⁶³ *Nihon Shoki* 22 (Suiko, twenty first year (613), twelfth month) contains a reference to Crown Prince Shōtoku's encounter with the starving man at Kataoka, but does not make any allusion to this person being Bodhidharma: 「先日臥于道飢者、其非凡人。為必真人也。」「時人大異之曰、『聖之知聖、其實哉。』逾惶。」 - "The other day a starving man lay in the road, but this was no common man, it was a True One. ... At that time people thought it strange and said, 'A sage knows another sage, this is true.' Their awe of him grew on and on." (See *Nihon shoki* vol. 2, pp. 156-157; Aston, *Nihon shoki* vol. 2, p. 145.). These two descriptions of the starving man at Kataoka in *Nihon Shoki* can also be found, in exactly the same wording, in *Taisei-kyō* 33 (*Teikō Hongi*), but again without any reference to Bodhidharma. *Taisei-kyō* 62 (*Eika Hongi*), however, contains a phrase that does connect the two with each other: "一日天皇，問左右曰：「片岡山飢人，其名何人也？」左右言：「不知矣。但可知之人。迹見赤禱敷。」天皇召之問。赤禱稽首曰：「臣聞神人，聶言西極婆羅僧。菩提達磨，其人也焉。」".

[*Genkō*] *Shakusho*, and the grave and the temple [of Bodhidharma]⁵⁶⁴ distortions and false theories. He wrote [about these claims] and left these writings to the world. If someone would assert that the [description in the] Biography of Confucius in *Shiji*, [about] his grave on the bank of the [River] Si, north of the capital of the state Lu, amounted to distortions and empty talk, would you accept that?

Methinks, Crown Prince Shōtoku was a True One, a Perfect One. Therefore, he was in the possession of spiritual, penetrating powers. Had he not known that that starving man was Bodhidharma, would he have given him his own garment? In [those] ancient times, [too,] there were wickedly distrustful people like you. Therefore, he dispatched a man and had him open [the grave]. Then [it turned out that] the whole body had disappeared. Only the garment that [the Crown Prince] had bestowed upon [the man], remained. The envoy took the garment and presented it to [the Crown Prince]. The Crown Prince himself put on the garment. (3:4a) If he had not been Bodhidharma, but [just] a stranger who died of starvation, how could he have had such spiritual power? You only have knowledge of the political discussions [that are part] of the standard way of the Holy Ones and Sages, but you know nothing about True and Perfect Ones who are endowed with spiritual, penetrating powers. Truly, is it [not] difficult to talk about winter snow with an insect of the summer?⁵⁶⁵

⁵⁶⁴ This refers to the sentence that was omitted in the quotation from *Bunshū* vol. 1, p. 294b; cf. *Honkoku*, note 525. There it says that "Eventually, the place popularly came to be called Daruma's grave and they also built a Daruma Temple, so it became bigger and bigger."

⁵⁶⁵ Chōon here probably alludes to a phrase in the Floods of Autumn 秋水, one of the Outer Chapters 外篇 of *Zhuangzi* 莊子: 「北海若曰: 井蛙不可以語於海者, 拘於虛也; 夏蟲不可以語於冰者, 篤於時也。」 - "Ruo, (the Spirit-lord) of the Northern Sea, said, 'A frog in a well cannot be talked with about the sea - he is confined to the limits of his hole. An insect of the summer cannot be talked with about ice - it knows nothing beyond its own season.'" (Translation James Legge)

Crown Prince Shōtoku distinguished nine levels [of humans].⁵⁶⁶ The upper three levels are True Ones, Perfect Ones, and Holy Ones; the middle three levels are sages, great men, and good men; the lower three levels are scribes, narrow-minded men, and evil men. When I consider Mr. Hayashi's character, he is a scribe,⁵⁶⁷ a small-minded, and an evil man.

Why? In his "Telling the followers of Zen" Mr. Hayashi says: "National Teacher Daitō (1282-1338)⁵⁶⁸ initially was a beggar and lived under Gojō Bridge." "He had (3:4b) wife and child. In order to cut off his lust for love and affection, he sent his wife out to buy rice wine. Then he closed the door [of his dwelling], murdered his two-year old child, and roasted it on a skewer. When his wife returned and saw this, she wondered [what this was]. They ate from the roasted child and drank [from the rice wine].

>>> National Teacher Daitō eats his roasted child.

[When] his wife looked carefully, [she understood what she had been eating], yelled loudly, and went away. [Dai]tō, too, went away." "Aah! So perverted are the minds of Buddhists! How cruel! The benevolence of tigers and wolfs lies in the fact that they do not eat their own pups.

⁵⁶⁶ The Nine Levels are introduced and explained in *Taisei-kyō* 66 (*Gyogo hongī*, section 17; see edn ZST vol. 4, pp. 227-229; *Taisei-kyō*, edn 1679, 65-66, frame 25-29). Chōon attributes the concept to Shōtoku Taishi himself; see also his essay *Jin ben roku kyū* 人辨六九 (*Shigetsu yawa* 7.133). In *Tenna* 2 (1682), Chōon wrote *Taisei-kyō hamon tōshaku hen* 大成經破文答釈篇 to defend *Taisei-kyō* against *Taisei-kyō hamon* 大成經破文 (1680-81), written by 龍尚舍 Tatsuno Hirochika 竜野熙近 (1616-1693), who was a priest of the Ise jingū. At the end of this *Taisei-kyō hamon tōshaku hen*, Chōon refers to the same nine-fold division as he does here. N.B. Hirochika also wrote an abbreviated version of his *Taisei-kyō hamon*, *Hamon yōryaku* 破文要略.

⁵⁶⁷ *Kinin* is explained as follows: 「所謂記人、利根識機而正学者入道、邪学者口給」 - "The so-called *kinin* are smart and quick-witted; those among them who study orthodox [teachings] enter into the Way, and those who study heretic [teachings] become fast talkers."

⁵⁶⁸ Daitō is the Rinzai priest Shūhō Myōchō (1282-1338), who was the founder and first abbot of Daitoku-ji in Kyōto.

[Daitō] destroyed the human relations and severed his duties. "It is better to free the fawn than to sip the broth."⁵⁶⁹ [That applies] all the more in this case. It was as great a crime between heaven and earth as [the one committed by Huangbo Xiyun, who] at the crossing of Dayi killed the mother who had born him.⁵⁷⁰ He should truly be punished for that!"

Mr. Hayashi called himself the first generation of the Confucian school. He did not rely on texts and traditions and for no reasons made use of popular, fictitious theories. These he wrote down and transmitted. (3:5a) He wanted to do away with Buddhism and to restore Confucianism. He is really to be pitied. When I examine the texts of the past and the present of our realm, I find no one who killed his child and ate it. Would Daitō, as a Buddhist, have committed this evil act? Mr. Hayashi detests Buddhists. In this, he shows his biased and

⁵⁶⁹ Cf. *Honkoku*, note 562. The quote is from the poem by Huang Tingjian, but the reference is to a story, in *Zhanguo* 22, about Yue Yang 樂羊. It runs as follows: "Yue Yang was a general of Wei and attacked Zhongshan. His son was in Zhongshan. The lord of Zhongshan cooked his child and left [Yue Yang some of] the broth. Yue Yang sat down in his tent and sipped it; he finished a whole bowl. Marquis Wen [of Wei] said to Dushi Zan, 'For my sake, Yue Yang ate the meat of his own son.' [Dushi Zan] answered, 'If he even eats the meat of his own son, whose meat will he not eat?' When Yue Yang returned from Zhongshan, Marquis Wen rewarded him for his merits, but doubted his heart."

⁵⁷⁰ An allusion to a story about Huangbo Xiyun 黃檗希運 (d. 850). Xiyun's standard biography *Hongzhou Huangbo Xiyun chanshi* 洪州黃檗山希運禪師 can be found in *Jingde chuandenglu* 景德傳燈錄 ("Transmission of the Lamp"; T2076) 9, but it does not include this anecdote. It is included in *Zenrin shōki sen* 禪林象器箋 by Mujaku Dōchū 無著道忠 (1653-1745), as a quotation from *Yunfu qunyu* 韻府群玉 13, compiled by Yin Jingxian 陰勁弦 (fl. 13th century): 「黃檗運禪師。得道之後。忽思省侍父母。一婆子出問。何處。曰江西。婆曰。我家亦有一子。在江西。多年不歸。因借宿。婆親為洗足。運足心一誌甚大。婆失記是其子。次日運辭去。於三里外。說與鄉人云。吾母不識山僧。但母子一見。足矣。鄉人報知其母。母趕至福清渡。運已登舟。母一跌而終。運不回。但於隔岸。秉炬。法語云。一子出家。九族登天。若不生天。諸佛妄言。擲炬火然。兩岸人。皆見其母。於火焰中轉為男子身。乘大光明。上生夜摩天宮。後官司改福清渡。為大義渡。」. It is not clear on which source Razan based himself, but the anecdote itself must have been widely known if only because it is referred to in *Taihei-ki* 13. Bernard Faure tells the story as well, but fails to give the necessary references; see Faure, Bernard, *The Power of Denial. Buddhism, Purity, and Gender* (Princeton UP, 2003), p. 153. Xiyun's mother is said to have "drowned when crossing a stream at night. Xiyun came back to the river bank, and threw a torch into the water. At that moment, the body of his mother floated to the surface, which he interpreted as a sign that she had obtained salvation." See also *Gohō shiji ron* 4:35 (NSTS vol. 2, p. 152).

narrow-minded views and his greatly evil mind. Why should he not be considered a scribe, a narrow minded, an evil man? Aah! If it were not this man, *who* would fall into the hell where one's tongue is pulled out? Do not those who are your descendants do their utmost to distance themselves from your wicked theories?

Mr. Hayashi, licking the drool and spittle of the Confucians of the Song, once told [the following story]: “The Buddhist [monk] Zonggao⁵⁷¹ one day went to visit Zhang Nanxuan⁵⁷² to ask him about [the phrase] “one with which to pervade it.”⁵⁷³ Nanxuan answered: (3:5b) “It is not easy to talk with you of ‘pervading unity.’ Rather, you come and tell me about Loyalty and Reciprocity.” Zonggao was lost for words and left. He had led astray Zishao,⁵⁷⁴ [but] the moment he met Nanxuan, he was seen through.”

[Apparently, Razan] considered this single paragraph⁵⁷⁵ as [greatly] to the credit of Confucians scholars, [for] he discusses it at

⁵⁷¹ This is the Zen monk Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (1089-1163).

⁵⁷² This is Zhang Shi 栻 (1133-1180), a follower of the brothers Cheng and a contemporary (and friend) of Zhu Xi (1130-1200). He was politically active, and left a considerable body of writings. See *Song Yuan xuean* 44, 50.

⁵⁷³ This phrase occurs twice in the *Lunyu*, viz. 4.15 and 15.3. The standard translation of the term is “all-pervading unity.” The two passages run as follows: (*Lunyu* 4.15) 「子曰：『參乎！吾道一以貫之。』曾子曰：『唯。』子出。門人問曰：『何謂也？』曾子曰：『夫子之道，忠恕而已矣。』」 - "The Master said, 'Shen, my doctrine is that of an all-pervading unity.' The disciple Zeng replied, 'Yes.' The Master went out, and the other disciples asked, saying, 'What do his words mean?' Zeng said, 'The doctrine of our master is to be true to the principles of our nature and the benevolent exercise of them to others, this and nothing more.'" (*Lunyu* 15.3) 「子曰：『賜也，女以予為多學而識之者與？』對曰：『然，非與？』曰：『非也，予一以貫之。』」 - "The Master said, "'Ci, you think, I suppose, that I am one who learns many things and keeps them in memory?' Zi Gong replied, 'Yes - but perhaps it is not so?' 'No,' was the answer; 'I seek a unity all pervading.'"

⁵⁷⁴ The most likely identification is with Zhang Jiucheng 張九成 (1092-1159), who consorted with the Buddhists and was shunned by Zhu Xi; see Mor. IV: 9812-917. His biography is in *Song Yuan xuean* 40. Another possible identification would be Yu Gangjian 虞剛簡 (dates unknown). He is also an official and Confucian scholar, but does not seem to have degraded himself in Buddhist company; see Mor. 32723-160. Biography in *Song Yuan xuean* 72:6b-8b.

⁵⁷⁵ In 佛教大辭典, the combination 一絡索 (also written 一落索) is defined as one part of a piece of writing, a paragraph. It is said that the expression is found frequently in Zen texts.

several places in his Collected Works.⁵⁷⁶ Let me try and explain this for your [improvement]. Did Zen Master Dahui not know of Loyalty and Reciprocity, and did he [for that reason] say nothing to Nanxuan? Or did he know about them, and did he therefore not speak to him? [After all,] the definitions of Loyalty and Reciprocity are known to the youngest of novices, and flowering talents discourse about them. How could Dahui not have known and therefore not have answered?

Methinks, the fact that he did not have one word for Nanxuan⁵⁷⁷ was [deftly done,] like inserting a needle or a scalpel into a painful spot.⁵⁷⁸ You [Confucians], you pride yourself on being so smart; you look down upon Dahui, [thinking] that⁵⁷⁹ he did not know “the one that pervades all,” “Loyalty,” or “Reciprocity.” Sitting in a well yourself and seeing heaven, you imagine that there is no heaven apart from [the small part that you see]. (3:6a) It is utterly ridiculous.

[Suppose that] now, here, there were someone [who] took [a part of] the great emptiness and divided it into two halves. One half he calls “noble,” and one half, “vile.” Should we will call this “wisdom,” or should we call this “folly”? Mr. Hayashi says: “Green bamboo is suchness, and

⁵⁷⁶ The anecdote appears at various places in Razan's *Zuihitsu*. Without pretending to be complete, we list the following entries: *Zuihitsu* 67 (*Bunshū* vol. 2, p. 387a), *Zuihitsu* 68 (*ibid.*, p. 400b, 401b-402a, 402a, 402a-b).

⁵⁷⁷ We assume that the expression is intended in the sense of “did not have one word left for him > did not consider him worthy of one more word.”

⁵⁷⁸ The same simile is used in a poem by the medieval Zen-monk Ikkyū Sōjun 一休宗純 (1394-1481), “In praise of two patriarchs” 贊二祖; see Yanagida Seizan, *Ikkyū Kyōun-shū* 狂雲集, Zen Nyūmon 7 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1994), p. 153. Yanagida says that Ikkyū's line 「恰如痛所下針錐」 goes back to “a word of Kyodō” (= Kyodō Chigu 虛堂智愚; 1185-1269), without giving further particulars. Kyodō was one of Ikkyū's predecessors as abbot of the Daitokuji. The poem is *not* translated in Sonja Arntzen's *The Crazy Cloud Anthology*.

⁵⁷⁹ Read in Japanese, the sentence comes out fine, but in Chinese, Dahui, being the subject, should have been put *in front of* 不知.

the yellow flowers are transcendent wisdom.’⁵⁸⁰ When you look at [these words, they seem] lofty. However, they have no substance. [Compare this to:] ‘Kites fly, fishes jump, and the Way is in it.’ [In this quotation from a Confucian Classic, the *Shijing*, the distinction between] high and low [can be] clearly observed; full of life, they swim with swinging tails.⁵⁸¹ The myriad things are all part of me. They are all factual principle.⁵⁸² Oh! How great! If, [however, one takes] those ‘green bamboo and yellow flowers,’ why, then, are there nothing but empty and lofty interpretations? There is no practical application at all! Let alone [such phrases as] “[Marks of] the world are permanent⁵⁸³” or “Filling the eyes are green mountains”?⁵⁸⁴ Is this what [people] who wallow in heterodox [doctrines] are like?”

When I read these opinions of Mr. Hayashi, (3:6b) [the way] he “takes the void and distinguishes it into two halves,” and quarrels over “noble and vile” gives me the impression of someone who is dumb and deaf of heart. Let me explain: [the phrase] “Green bamboo is suchness,

⁵⁸⁰ The eight characters 翠竹真如、黃花般若 are quoted from (or: also appear in) the postface of Jingde chuandenglu 景德傳燈錄 (T2076); see TZ 51, p. 466a, lines 23-25. Mor. IX: 28732-142 refers to Langyedai zuibian 瑯琊代醉編 32, and quotes an anecdote from Chuandenglu 傳燈錄, without further specification. N.B. Langyedai zuibian (40 fasc.) dates from the Ming, and was written by Zhang Dingsi 張鼎思. It contains remarks and notes re. the classics and histories; text in Siku tiyao, zibu 四庫提要、子部.

⁵⁸¹ *Hatsuhatsu* describes the movement of swimming fish; see Mor. XII: 46484-1. The function of 地 is to indicate that the preceding combination should be interpreted as an adverbial expression.

⁵⁸² That is, “principles of really existing, solid things.”

⁵⁸³ The *locus classicus* of this expression, which stands for the notion that phenomena are permanent because they are nothing but manifestations of the Absolute, is the Lotus Sutra: 「是法住法位、世間相常住」. (T262; TZ vol. 9, 9b10).

⁵⁸⁴ The *locus classicus* of the saying 「心外無法滿目青」 - “Apart from the mind there are no things; filling the eyes are green mountains,” is the *Huangbo Duanji chanshi Wanling-lu* 黃檗斷際禪師宛陵錄, compiled by disciples of Huangbo Xiyun 黃蘗希運 (d. 850). In the Zen tradition “mind” is never conceived as something that exists apart from the five kinds of sense data (sights, sounds, smells, tastes, tactile sensations) and the mental phenomena (ideas) that form a sixth class of dharmas or “things.” Thus, when a person gains awakening, his mind is no longer distorted by what Huangbo calls “views”: deluded beliefs in “things” that are imagined to exist in and of themselves, external to one’s own mind. That is the thrust of the phrase, “filling the eyes are green mountains.”

and yellow flowers are transcendent wisdom' [describes] a state of mind; 'kites fly and fish jump' [refers] to man. When you meet a man, you meet a state of consciousness, and when you meet a state of consciousness, you meet a man. Men and [their] states of consciousness cannot be separated.⁵⁸⁵ Therefore, it is said: 'All observable reality is emptiness; emptiness is all observable reality.' Again, it is said: 'All dharma's are true reality.' In Confucianism, it is said: 'Each plant, each tree contains the heavenly principles in their entirety.' Again, they say: 'The breeze of spring blows gently and reaches each house; the heavenly principles flow and go, and are daily renewed.' If this is the case, Mr. Hayashi not only does not understand the principles of Buddhism, he is also greatly in the dark regarding the principles of Confucianism."

Again, he says: "Let alone [such phrases as] "Marks of the world are permanent. Filling the eyes are green mountains." Well now, of these two lines, one is the Buddha's own doctrine [as recorded in the Lotus Sutra], and (3:7a) one is an ancestral [Buddhist] expression. If we would follow your appreciation, then we regard "Green bamboo is suchness, and yellow flowers are transcendent wisdom" as lofty, and "Marks of the world are permanent; Filling the eyes are green mountains" as something inferior. This is, again, taking the void and dividing it into two halves, and on top that, this means creating a distorted vision.⁵⁸⁶ If you understood Confucianism, you would understand Buddhism. The reason why you formulate your dissenting opinions is, precisely, that you do not understand Confucianism. The

⁵⁸⁵ Chōon says the same in his essay "Shaku Ju taiben" 釈儒對辨, *Shigetsu yawa* 6.

⁵⁸⁶ The explanation of "eye flower" given in Mor. VIII: 23318-23 is "the eyes become hazy and are no longer clear." The *locus* is a poem by Bai Juyi, entitled "Suffering from eye flower" 病眼花詩.

gates through which one enters Confucianism and Buddhism are different, but once you have reached the inner rooms, they are the same. Let alone the fact that the Holy Ones of Confucianism do not reach [the level of our] perfected bodhisattva's.⁵⁸⁷ They are as distant as heaven and earth! Is this something that your eyes cannot see?

In her “Disquisition on Crown Prince Eight-Ears,” Mr. Hayashi says: “According to the method of the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, [one says that] Prince Guisheng of Zheng killed his lord Yi, while in fact Prince Song did it,⁵⁸⁸ [and on the same principle I say that] Crown Prince Eight-Ears killed the emperor, although in fact the *atai* (3:7b) Koma⁵⁸⁹ did it.” [Because] they killed the emperor through the *atai* Koma, Mr. Hayashi either says that Umako [did it],

⁵⁸⁷ 果滿 is explained as “the perfection of merit” 功德の円満. The compound occurs any number of times in the Buddhist corpus. The combination 果滿如来, however, occurs only once, in *Liqu shibi yaochao* 理趣釋祕要鈔 (T2241; see TZ 61, p. 713a, line 24-25).

⁵⁸⁸ Reference to *Chunqiu*, Xuan-gong 宣公 4; see *Shunjū Sa-shi den* vol. 2 (9th pr., Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1984), pp. 586-587.

⁵⁸⁹ According to the first of Razan's two *So Bashi ga ben*, the actual killer was a retainer of Umako, whose name he gives as Aya no atai Koma 漢直駒. N.B. Atai” is an ancient title (*kabane*), not part of a name, as Chōon seems to think. The story goes as follows: “Emperor Sushun told the Crown Prince, saying: ‘Although outwardly Umako reveres the Buddha, inwardly he is terribly devious and sly; he is spendthrift, haughty, and cruel. What do you think of him?’ In the winter of his fifth year, the tenth month, someone presented a wild boar to the emperor. Eight-Ears was in attendance. The emperor looked back at him, and said: ‘How shall I be able to find someone to cut off the head of my deceitful minister like I cut off the head of this boar?’ Privately, Eight-Ears thought, ‘this is where the trouble starts.’ At the time, someone from the Soga party reported [to Umako what the emperor had said]. Umako found the brave warrior Aya no atai Koma willing to kill the emperor. On the day *kinoto mi* of the eleventh month, Koma entered the emperor’s chambers (天座; cf. Mor. III: 5833-582) [and killed him]. [The treasure] Umako gave to Koma was enormous, but Koma, using the intimacy [of their relation] as an excuse (?) 託切, did not exert caution. Ugly rumours arose. Angrily, Umako bound Koma to a tree in the garden, and shot him down personally.” According to one of the alternative sources quoted in *Nihon shoki*, the one who relayed the emperor’s words to Umako was a disgruntled imperial concubine, Ōtomo no Koteko; see *Nihon shoki* vol. 2, pp. 131-132, and Aston, *Nihon shoki* vol. 2, pp. 119-120. In wording and details, Razan does not base himself on the account in *Nihon shoki*. The version told in *Taisei-kyō* 32 is also different: it lays the initiative of the murder not with Umako, but with Koma, who is helped by a woman official, and it lets the murder take place in the bedchamber, not in the audience chamber. A recent article on the topic is Satō Nagato 長門, “17-seiki ni okeru Wa-ōken no tenkai katei,” *Kokugakuin Daigaku kenkyū kiyō* 39 (2001), pp. 57-76.

>>> Crown Prince Eight Ears committed high treason

or he says that Crown Prince Eight-Ears [did it], and thus places them at the root of high treason.

When I [try to] gauge⁵⁹⁰ his intentions, [I think that] he hates Crown Prince Eight-Ears and Umako because they caused Buddhism to flourish, and [that therefore] he accused⁵⁹¹ [these] two lords of high treason.

Emperor Sushun's [own] misdeeds were far worse than [those of] Zhou and Jie.⁵⁹² And thus, the *atai* Koma killed him. If you say that this was the fault of Buddhism,⁵⁹³ what, then, do you make of [King] Tang and [King] Wu respectively killing Jie and Zhou? Master Zeng says: “[There are few men in the world who] love and at the same time know the bad qualities of [the object of their love], or who hate and at the same time know the excellences [of the object of their hatred].”⁵⁹⁴ That may be so, [but how about the contrary case – that] you hate someone and do not know his good points, or that you love someone and you do not know his bad points? Confucius and Mencius were [respectively] a Holy One and a Sage. The Crown Prince was a True and

⁵⁹⁰ Of course, the character 較 means “to compare,” but in this case, the other element of the comparison is lacking. We have therefore chosen a different translation.

⁵⁹¹ Translation of 負ス, interpreted as “to make them carry / shoulder.”

⁵⁹² From the ordinary historical sources (*Nihon shoki*), it is unclear what terrible misdeeds Sushun may have committed. Of course, many people died in the war between Soga no Umako and Mononobe no Moriya, but technically, that was before Sushun's enthronement, and anyway, it should not have bothered Chōon, who favoured the Buddhist cause. Nevertheless, Chōon considers Emperor Sushun's behaviour as evil and immoral. His source for this viewpoint most likely was *Taisei-kyō* 43: 「廿瀨部（崇峻）天皇 天皇，欽明天皇第十五子。性荒強卒怒，懦肆疑。不聽大臣諫，傲溢催賣公田外，訶責三公，害疲百姓。嘲神明，蔑天道。使臣無節，廢功棄德。須臾寵愛，忽乍追擯。忘仁失義，不攀禮，不依智，宗急意，為苛政，非公無言矣。故諡崇峻天皇。諺曰：「無道上者，捨民。非捨民，是捨身也。雖捨之有民，如先朝。為賊被弑，無厥人，是誰也」”; see also *infra*, p. 3:15a-b, and note 647.

⁵⁹³ This is what Razan says in so many words in the first of the two disquisitions: “That Umako killed his lord truly is the fault of Buddhism” 「馬子之弑君、誠佛之罪也」 (*Bunshū* vol. 1, p. 293a).

⁵⁹⁴ Quotation from *Daxue* 8. We follow Legge's translation.

Perfect One. Now, to regard the Holy Ones and Sages as superior to True and Perfect Ones (3:8a) may be compared to regarding copper and iron as superior to gold and silver. [If he has to choose between the two,] which man will believe [the Holy Ones and a Sage]?

Well now, during Emperor Ōjin's reign, Confucian writings for the first time were brought to our country, but those who [could] read them, were few. Therefore, they only used the [Chinese] reading; they did not know how to read the texts in Japanese. During the reign of Suiko, Crown Prince Eight-Ears for the first time gave Japanese readings to Chinese characters - thirteen thousand in all. Ever since then, the people of our country have known the writing from the Chinese soil and have penetrated the Confucian principles of the Chinese court.

Mr. Hayashi, because you benefitted from the Crown Prince Eight-Ears' munificence in creating the [Japanese] writing system, you have at long last managed to learn the script and penetrate the principles of Confucianism. And yet you vilify the Crown Prince and set him down as a perpetrator of high treason. Peng Meng learned to shoot the bow from Yi, and he killed his master.⁵⁹⁵ [You and he] are the same kind of people.

⁵⁹⁵ The story is told both in *Zhuangzi* and in *Mengzi*; see Mor. XI: 38901-52. The explanation of Peng's behaviour given in *Mengzi* 4B24 is that he realised that, now that he had completed his training, Yi was the only one whose skill was superior to his. N.B. There is a problem with the name Peng. The usual reading of the character 逢 is *feng*, but D.C. Lau, *Mencius*, p. 132, transcribes the name as "P'eng," while the text of *Mengzi* in *Sishu zhuji* 8:9a and in the Chinese Text Project write the name with a different character, 逢 (Mor. XI: 38847), which is pronounced "Pang." Although this reading is also specified by Zhu Xi in *Sishu jizhu*, we have decided to follow the reading provided by Lau.

(3:8b) In his "Disquisition on Empress Kōmyō,"⁵⁹⁶ Mr. Hayashi says the following – following one or other theory, he says: "Empress Kōmyō built a bathhouse and, having made them take a bath, she removed the dirt of one thousand men. Her sin was to love the Buddha. Outside, she was a Buddhist, but inside, she was lascivious."

Confucius once said: "The mind of the superior man is conversant with righteousness; the mind of the mean man is conversant with gain."⁵⁹⁷ How could that *not* be the case? In his daily life, Mr. Hayashi's mind must have dwelled on lechery. That is why he sees someone else's good deeds and, on the contrary, takes them to be lecherous behaviour. Well now, Nanzi of Wei was the wife of Duke Ling, but she had been unfaithful to him. Confucius visited her, and Zilu was not amused.⁵⁹⁸ As regards the suspected lascivious behaviour of [Lady] Nanzi – was it her sin to have wanted to see Confucius?⁵⁹⁹

In her final years, our Empress Kōmyō made the great vow that she would build a bathhouse and of [all people,] noble and vulgar, wash

⁵⁹⁶ This is Kōmyōshi 光明子 (701-760, a.k.a. Asukabe-hime 安宿媛). She was a daughter of Fujiwara no Fuhito (659-720), and the wife of Emperor Shōmu (701-724-749-756). Cf. *Genkō shakusho* 18.

⁵⁹⁷ *Lunyu* 4.16; translation by Legge.

⁵⁹⁸ Reference to *Lunyu* 6.28 (or 6.26 in Legge). For another part of the story, see *Chunqiu*, Ding-gong 定公 14 (*Shunjū Sa-shi den* vol. 4, pp. 1728-1729, *Shinyaku Kanbun taikai* vol. 33, 3d pr., Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1983). N.B. Zilu was one of Confucius' more prominent disciples.

⁵⁹⁹ This is the best we can do. The overall argument seems to be that both Razan and Zilu had a dirty mind and saw lechery where there was none – Razan in the case of Kōmyō, and Zilu, in that of Nanzi. In view of the other sources such as the *Zuo zhuan*, the thesis that "Nanzi's only sin may have been that she wanted to see Confucius," would be untenable in regard to Nanzi, but perhaps Chōon did not know, or chose to ignore them. The defence of Confucius as given by Zhu Xi is as follows: "When Confucius reached Wei, Nanzi asked to see him. Confucius refused, but eventually he had to give in and went to see her. Methinks, in the old days, when one served someone's state, there existed a ritual of seeing [this ruler's] wife. But Zilu regarded it as shameful that the Master went to see this lecherous woman; therefore, he was displeased. ... The Way of the Holy One is large and his virtue is complete. There is no 'may I, or may I not.' When he has an audience with a bad person and posits that on him rests the ritual [obligation] to go and visit that person, why, then, should he be concerned that the other is no good?" (*Lunyu jizhu* 3, pp. 18b-19a)

away the filth.⁶⁰⁰ This is why, in the last [person] she sensed the manifestation of Buddha Akṣobhya.⁶⁰¹ (3:9a) She built a new temple, [which] she called the Ashuku-dera. It was the time when Shōmu and Kōmyō built great temples and cast the image of the Great Buddha; when together they received the Great Commandments of the Bodhisattva; when for the first time they built the three ordination platforms in the three provinces,⁶⁰² and widely founded temples in the sixty-six provinces. If, in the days of yore, at the meeting on the Vulture Peak, they would not have received the Buddha's promise [of their eventual salvation]⁶⁰³, which he transmitted to kings, ministers, and powerful patrons of Buddhist countries, how, then, would they have been able to realise such great superior works? It is something that you [Confucians] are unable to know.

In his "Disquisition on the Constitution in Seventeen Articles"⁶⁰⁴ Mr. Hayashi says: "Sixteen [of the articles] are acceptable, but the one about the Three Treasures is unacceptable. I discard the uncertain

⁶⁰⁰ At the beginning of the *Disquisition*, Razan restates the incident. Here, he renders the vow as follows: "I will *personally* 親 remove the dirt of one thousand men." He adds, again on the basis of *Genkō shakusho*, that "the emperor and his ministers were apprehensive 憚, but could not stop the empress' fierce determination." In his own comments, that follow, he criticizes the empress for personally washing her subjects, and the emperor for allowing this, and concludes that in both cases it was a fault that arose from loving the Buddha 好佛之罪. He also makes a comparison with Liuxia Hui 柳下惠, an official of Confucius' state of Lu, whose fault it was (see *Mengzi* 2A9) that he "was wanting in self-respect" 不恭, and then declares that the Hui's behaviour was still acceptable, but that Kōmyō's behaviour was not.

⁶⁰¹ In his "Disquisition," Razan writes that, after 999 persons had been bathed, the thousandth person revealed himself 化現 as the Buddha Akṣobhya (*Bunshū* vol. 1, pp. 294b-295a).

⁶⁰² These platforms were erected in the Tōdaiji in Yamato, the Yakushiji in Shimotsuke, and the Kanzeonji in Chikuzen.

⁶⁰³ The compound *juki* 受記, which means "To receive a guarantee from the Buddha that one will achieve perfect enlightenment in the future," derives from the Lotus Sutra.

⁶⁰⁴ The title of Razan's disquisition is 十七條憲章辯 instead of 十七條憲法辯. In the disquisition, Razan refers to the constitution as 憲令十七條 and uses 章 to refer to individual articles of the constitution. He discusses articles 2 and 16. We might, therefore, have to translate the title of the disquisition as "Disquisition on [individual] articles of the seventeen-article constitution."

Three Treasures of the Buddha and Laozi,⁶⁰⁵ and choose the reliable Three Treasures of Mencius: land, people, (3:9b) and government.”⁶⁰⁶

Let me try and ask Mr. Hayashi, what aspects of Buddhism and Taoism are so dangerous, and what is the aspect of Mencius' [ideas that makes them] so safe? You are a scribe,⁶⁰⁷ and have a small-minded, evil disposition. That is why you formulate such theories. You only read the books of the [Confucian] Holy Ones and Sages, and know nothing of the books of the True Ones and Perfect One. You say to yourself: “The political system of Confucius and Mencius is unrivalled formerly and now. Therefore, I criticise the Crown Prince's Constitution and regard it as unacceptable.” [You forget that] Confucius and Mencius are Holy Ones and Sages at best! The Crown Prince, whom you vilify, was given the posthumous name of True Perfect Great Holy Imperial Crown Prince. Neither Confucius nor Mencius ever ruled over one country for even one generation. Let alone, over the empire! The Crown Prince was the man who was the first in our country to become imperial regent, and who ruled the empire in peace. How could one possibly discuss him on the same day as Confucius and Mencius?

The political system of Confucius and Mencius (3:10a) was suitable for that country, but not suitable for ours. The political system of our country is not suitable for that country, but suitable for ours. The political systems of countries are naturally at variance. You may compare them to medicines of different composition, with which

⁶⁰⁵ The Three Treasures of Taoism, as specified by Razan in the "Disquisition," are Charity 慈, Thrift 儉, and Unobtrusiveness 不敢. The *locus* is *Daodejing* 67.

⁶⁰⁶ The *locus* is *Mengzi* 7B28. Legge translates: "Mencius said, 'The precious things of a prince are three: the territory, the people, the government and its business. If one value as most precious pearls and jade, calamity is sure to befall him.'"

⁶⁰⁷ In the Nine Ranks that Chōon outlined in an earlier section, 記人 is the third from the bottom, only followed by 小人 and 惡人.

physicians cure people from Yang countries and Yin countries. Methinks, the *Disquisition* of yours is [an illustration of] the expression “sparrows laughing at the roc.”⁶⁰⁸

In his "Discussion of Emperor Jinmu," Mr. Hayashi states: "Engetsu of the Higashiyama⁶⁰⁹ once made an edition of *Nihon shoki*,⁶¹⁰ but [after some] deliberations the court could not agree, so he did not finish it, and in the end he burnt it. When I privately reflect on Engetsu's intentions, [I think that] he had investigated all the books and concluded that the Japanese [imperial house] descended from Taibo of Wu."

Another [story is that] "he displayed the two characters 'Three Refusals'⁶¹¹ at the shrine at Ise. Although the distortions and embellishments of the facts [are many and various] like this (3:10b), there nevertheless seems to be some truth [in these stories]."

Again, Mr. Hayashi, quoting the *Book of Jin*,⁶¹² states: "Methinks, the Japanese [emperors] descend from King Shaokang of

⁶⁰⁸ Needless, to say, the *peng* is not the big bird *roc* from Arab legend, but a mythical bird of Chinese provenance. It is described in the first chapter of *Zhuangzi* (*Xiaoyaoyou* 逍遙遊), where it is paired off with the big fish *kun* 鯤. As Legge says in the second note of his translation of *Zhuangzi*, these are “fabulous creatures, far transcending in size the dimensions ascribed by the wildest fancy of the west to the kraken and the roc. However, as the identity of the small birds that laugh cannot be determined, there is little use in being precise about the big one.” This expression refers to the notion of “ignorance of one’s own limitations.”

⁶⁰⁹ This is the Rinzai priest Chūgan Engetsu (1300-1375). In 1325, he travelled to China to study Zen. After his return, he became abbot of the Manjuji, and later of the Kenninji. He was famous both for his knowledge of Neo-Confucianism and for his mastery of Chinese.

⁶¹⁰ Chūgan's *Nihon shoki* is alternatively titled *Nihon sho*. It was forbidden by the court in 1341 because it contained the theory that Japan's imperial house descended from Taibo. For details regarding Taibo, see *supra*, note 527.

⁶¹¹ Reference to *Lunyu* 8.1, where Confucius praises Taibo for having refrained three times from accepting the throne of Zhou. The quotation in *Lunyu* reads: 「子曰：泰伯，其可謂至德也已矣。三以天下讓，民無得而稱焉。」. A board inscribed with the two characters 三讓 seems to have hung at the Ise Shrine; see e.g. Watarai Nobuyoshi, *Jingū hiden mondō* 神宮秘伝問答 (1660), which states: 「三讓ト云フ額、内宮ニ、アリタルト云説アレド、今ノ世モ能筆ハ額ヲ書、奉納ス。」.

⁶¹² The *Jinshu* is the *History of the Jin Dynasty*. This dynasty reigned over China from 265 till 420.

the Xia Dynasty.⁶¹³ "As regards Taibo [being the ancestor of the Japanese imperial house], people of ancient times have often said this. I am not the first one to say this. As regards Shaokang [being the ancestor of the Japanese imperial house], it is one of the several theories recorded in the *Book of Jin*. This truly is [a matter] of high antiquity. It is not easy to know it in detail."

Again, Mr. Hayashi, quoting a certain theory, states: "'Our country considers the Sacred Mirror (Yata no Kagami), the Kusanagi Sword (Kusanagi no Tsurugi), and the Yasakani Jewel (Yasakani no Magatama) as the three Imperial Regalia. Ever since the gods with their spiritual powers succeeded heaven and came to govern the world, truly the three Imperial Regalia have existed. The Mirror, the Sword and the Imperial Seal⁶¹⁴ were originally made in Heaven, and from generation to generation they have been treasured. Now, if it is like you say, they would also be treasures from a foreign country, and be of human manufacture. What about it?' I reply, ⁶¹⁵ saying: 'When Taibo (3:11a) fled [his country], would there not have been utensils for him to take with him and to leave as heirlooms? ⁶¹⁶ His ancestor Gong Liu commenced his march with shields and spears, and even with battle-axes.⁶¹⁷ Why would Taibo not have followed the precedent of his

⁶¹³ This tradition is mentioned in the section *Worenzhuan* 倭人伝 ("Record of the Dwarf People") of *Wei zhi* 魏志, i.e. the History of the Later Wei Dynasty (386-550), which is the first of the *Sanguozhi* 三国志 ("Records of the Three Kingdoms"). Perhaps, it can also be found in *Jinshu*. Shaokang was the sixth king 后 of the Xia Dynasty; his traditional dates are 2079-2057, and those of the dynasty, 2205-1766.

⁶¹⁴ The Emperor's Privy Seal (*gyoji* 御璽) is also considered as one of the regalia.

⁶¹⁵ The preceding turns out to be a question put to Razan. He now proceeds to answer it.

⁶¹⁶ The compound 襲藏 is explained as "to store and keep for many generations."

⁶¹⁷ Reference to *Shijing* 250: 「乃積乃倉、乃裹餼糧、于橐于囊。思戢用光。弓矢斯張、干戈戚揚、爰方啓行。」 - "He reared his ricks, and filled his granaries. He tied up dried provisions and grain, in bottomless bags, and sacks, that he might gather his people together, and glorify his State. With bows and arrows all-displayed, with shields, and spears, and battle-axes, large and small, he

ancestor? [Was] giving up his realm all he did?⁶¹⁸ To my mind, Taibo did not act like an ordinary person, did he?"

Again, he quotes [passages in *Shiji* and the *Book of Zhou* that mention] such things as the sword of Jizha of Wu,⁶¹⁹ the sword Zhuliu of [King] Fuchai [of Wu],⁶²⁰ the red knife, the great lessons, the large round-and-convex symbol of jade, and the rounded and pointed maces [of the Zhou],⁶²¹ and the five jade symbols of rank [of Shun],⁶²² and these he considers as [comparable to] the three Imperial Regalia. Aah!

commenced his march." Duke Liu was an ancestor of the Ji clan, which later founded the Zhou dynasty. Cf. Mor. II: 1452-763-1/3.

⁶¹⁸ The answer could possibly be: "No, he kept the heirlooms."

⁶¹⁹ *Shiji* 史記 31: *The biography of Taibo of Wu* 吳太伯世家, contains the following episode: 「季札之初使，北過徐君。徐君好季札劍，口弗敢言。季札心知之，為使上國，未獻。還至徐，徐君已死，於是乃解其寶劍，繫之徐君冢樹而去。從者曰：『徐君已死，尚誰予乎？』季子曰：『不然。始吾心已許之，豈以死倍吾心哉。』」 - "As Jizha left for his embassy, he had met, on his way north, the lord of Xu. Lord Xu liked Jizha's sword, but did not dare tell him. Jizha knew it, but as he was going to the central kingdoms, he did not give it to him. On his way back, he arrived in Xu. The lord of Xu had died. Seeing this, Jizha took his official sword, stuck it in a tree, next to the tomb of Lord Xu, and left. His servants said: "The Lord of Xu is dead, why give him a sword?" Jizha answered: "You are not right. Since the beginning, my heart had given it to him. How could I, now that he is dead, betray my heart?"

⁶²⁰ See Mor. III: 5835-14 and IV: 7821-85. In *Shiji* 31 we find the following passage: 「越王句踐率其眾以朝吳，厚獻遺之，吳王喜。唯子胥懼，曰：『是棄吳也。』諫曰：『越在腹心，今得志於齊，猶石田，無所用。且盤庚之誥有顛越勿遺，商之以興。』吳王不聽，使子胥於齊，子胥屬其子於齊鮑氏，還報吳王。吳王聞之，大怒，賜子胥屬鏹之劍以死。將死，曰：『樹吾墓上以梓，令可為器。抉吾眼置之吳東門，以觀越之滅吳也。』」 - "King Goujian of Yue and all his subjects paid homage to Wu, and offered generous tributes. The King of Wu was happy about this, but Zixu was worried: "They are just trying to make us forget them," he used to say. He criticised the King of Wu, saying: "Yue should be our utmost concern. We may now try to impose our will on Qi, but this is like trying to plough a field full of stones, nothing good will come out of it. The Decree of Pangeng says that those who revolt and conspire to topple the kingdom should be destroyed, and left without any descendants. This is how the Shang dynasty came to flourish." But the King of Wu did not heed him. Instead, he sent Zixu as an ambassador to the Qi. Zixu left his son with Lord Bao of Qi, and came back to the Wu to report on his mission. When he heard of it, the King was angered, and sent to Zixu the sword Zhuliu, so that he would commit suicide. Before dying, Zixu said: "Plant catalpas on my tomb, you will soon need their wood (to make coffins). Also, tear my eyes off, and put them on the top of the eastern door of the capital, so that they can see the armies of Yue destroying Wu."

⁶²¹ The list is in *Shujing: Guming* 顧命: 「越玉五重，陳寶，赤刀、大訓、弘璧、琬琰、在西序。」 - "(They set forth) also the five pairs of gems (or jade), and the precious things of display. There were the red knife, the great lessons, the large round-and-convex symbol of jade, and the rounded and pointed maces, all in the side-space on the west; ..."

⁶²² The *wurui* 五瑞 are mentioned in *Shujing: Shundian* 舜典: 「輯五瑞。既月乃日，覲四岳群牧，班瑞于群后」 - "He called in (all) the five jade-symbols of rank; and when the month was over, he gave daily audience to (the President of) the Four Mountains, and all the Pastors, (finally) returning their symbols to the various princes."

Mr. Hayashi is a man from the country of the Gods, but he reveres the human emperors of the foreign country. He sees the Gods of our country as rustics. His high treason and immorality are [so great that] no punishments would be sufficient. Ever since the founding of our country, I have not yet seen a person who [is as guilty] of high treason as you.

In particular, while pretending the idea to be Engetsu's, you expound your own speculations (3:11b), and consider the Japanese [imperial house] to have descended from Taibo of Wu. You are a criminal [who advocates] warped theories. You may be a person with extensive knowledge and excellent memory, but you do not rely on the three Shintō scriptures of Japan⁶²³; that without good reason you fabricate such wicked theories, quoting the wicked theories of others, is because you are partial to the Confucian school and hold the Way of the Gods in contempt.

That you call the Crown Prince's *Kuji Hongi* an apocryphal work, [is a reason for] you to put it aside and not to discuss it, [but for me,] to discuss it again.⁶²⁴ *Kujiki*, *Kojiki*, and *Nihon shoki* all consider the Sun Goddess [to be the ancestor of the Japanese imperial house]. You should know that considering Taibo [to be the ancestor of the Japanese imperial house], is [merely] some theory. If we rely on your theory [and regard Taibo of Wu as the founder of Japan], it would have happened 2,866 years [ago], [counting back] from Shōhō 2 (1645).⁶²⁵

⁶²³ I.e., *Nihon shoki*, *Kojiki*, and *Kujiki*. In the case of Chōon, however, the latter text usually does not denote the ten volume *Sendai kuji hongi*, but rather the seventy-two volume *Taisei-kyō*.

⁶²⁴ A strange phrase; the change of subjects seems to be necessary.

⁶²⁵ The Zhou Dynasty began (traditional dating) in 1122 BC. The episode of Taibo would have preceded that by something like fifty years. 1122 + 1645 + 50 adds up to 2817, which is fairly close to the figure Chōon mentions. Since Chōon wrote *Fusō go busshin ron* in 1687, it is rather strange

How could the creation of our country have been a mere 2,866 years ago? When I speak according to *Nihon shoki*, it does not discuss the seven generations of the Heavenly Gods, (3:12a) but of the time span of the five generations of the Earthly Gods [it says the following]: Amaterasu Ōmikami - 250,000 years; [Ame no] Oshihomimi no Mikoto - 300,000 years; Ninigi no Mikoto - 310,000 years: Hikohohodemi no Mikoto - 637,892 years; Ugayafukiaezu no Mikoto - 836,042 years.⁶²⁶ With time spans as distant and remote as these, it is useless to calculate them. However, when you say that Taibo of Wu lived barely 2,866 years ago, it clearly is a heterodox theory and a nonsensical tale.

Again, you do not regard the three Imperial Regalia [as objects of] divine manufacture, but you say they were made by men. This, too, is speculation by [you,] Mr. Hayashi. When we follow the [Chapters on] the Divine Age of the *Nihon shoki*, [we read that] the Great Goddess Amaterasu (3:12b) closed the door of the [Heavenly] Rock Cave and stayed there in solitude. A permanent darkness [settled on] all the six quarters, and no one could tell whether day changed into night, or night into day. Therefore, Omoikanekami no Mikoto, Amanokoyane no Mikoto, and Amanofutodama no Mikoto hung the Yasakani Jewel on the upper branches [of a *masaka* tree], the Yata Mirror in its middle branches, and green and white pieces of cloth⁶²⁷ on its lower branches.

that he took the year 1645 as his starting point to count back to the time of Taibo. Searching the internet by using the combination Taibo and Shōhō 2 only results in references to the fact that in that year Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628-1701) read the biography of Taibo in *Shiji*.

⁶²⁶ Neither *Nihon shoki* nor *Taisei-kyō* specify the numbers of years during which the five Earthly Gods reigned the earth. The fourteenth-century *Shintō-shū* 神道集 contains the same figures as here except for Amaterasu. *Nihon shoki jindaimaki shō* 日本書紀神代卷抄 by Yoshida Kanetomo contains the same figures for all deities, so it will be the source on which Chōon based himself for these numbers.

⁶²⁷ The *ao-nikite* (green or blue) was cloth made of hemp (*asa*), and the *shiro-nikite* (white) was cloth made of the bark of the mulberry tree.

Do you disagree with this? Even worse, do you [really] consider [the Regalia] to be treasures made by men? The three Imperial Regalia are treated in detail in the Crown Prince's *Kuji Hongi*. I will skip them here. [You,] Mr. Hayashi, have fabricated wicked theories in great number, and thus you have deceived [everyone] in the empire, now and formerly, both of high and of low rank.

>>> Three[fold] enemy

You truly are an enemy of the Gods, an enemy of the Buddha, and an enemy of the imperial house. I fear that because of this sin of yours, of [being a] three[fold] enemy, your descendants will not succeed you. If your descendants do succeed you, [does that mean that] the gods and the Sun Goddess of our country do not exist? (3:13a) How frightening! Let this be a lesson [for all] !

In general, we [tend to] regard as to be correct what our heart likes, and as wrong, what it hates. It is the constant emotion of ordinary people, everywhere in the realm, now and formerly. In his "Disquisition on Emperor Kinmei⁶²⁸ (509-539-571)," Mr. Hayashi states: "Was [Emperor] Kinmei the [Emperor] Xiaoming (28-75) [of the Han]⁶²⁹ of our court? Was [Soga no] Iname⁶³⁰ (d. 570) the Ying of Chu⁶³¹ of our

⁶²⁸ Razan's disquisition follows the account in *Nihon Shoki* 19: Kinmei 13 (552). In this year, Emperor Kinmei received a bronze statue of Buddha as a gift from the king of Paekche, King Sōngmyōng 聖明王, with other artefacts, and with a significant group of artisans, monks, etc. This episode was regarded as the official introduction of Buddhism to Japan.

⁶²⁹ "Xiao" seems to be a prefix to his name: "Emperor Ming the Filial"? It was during his reign (58-76 AD) that Buddhism began to spread into China.

⁶³⁰ Soga no Iname was a statesman during the reign of Emperor Kinmei. He is known for his early support of Buddhism

⁶³¹ This is Prince Liu Ying 劉英 (d. 71) of the Later Han, who carried the title of "King of Chu." See E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China* (Leiden, 1959) vol. 1, pp. 26-27. See also the English Wikipedia s.v. Liu Ying. As Henri Maspéro, quoted *ibid.*, remarked, "It is a very curious fact that, throughout the whole Han dynasty, Taoism and Buddhism were constantly confused and appeared

court?"⁶³² Because Kinmei of our country and Xiaoming of the foreign court first introduced Buddhism, you therefore regard them as dumb. Because Soga no Iname of our country and Chu[wang] Ying of the foreign country did *not* worship a statue of the Buddha, you therefore consider them to be intelligent.⁶³³ Do you, in that case, regard everyone who since the time of Xiaoming of China and Kinmei of our country have believed and revered Buddhism, as dumb? Do you consider everyone who, since the time of Chu[wang] Ying and [Soga no] Iname, have not venerated and believed in Buddhism,⁶³⁴ to be intelligent?

At the time of the reign of Emperor Xiaoming of the Eastern Han (3:13b), Buddhist statues and scriptures were for the first time introduced into China. [In *Fozu lidai tongzai* 4 it says:] "[In this year (= 71), Taoist priests] compared Buddhism and Taoism they [decided to test their scriptures by fire] and burnt their [canonical] texts. The Taoist texts of the various masters all turned to ashes. Next, they did [the same] with the Sanskrit books. The fire burnt brightly, but [the books] became as new, exactly like a tripod,⁶³⁵ and further increased their brightness. ... Hereupon, six hundred and twenty-eight Taoist

as a single religion."

⁶³² Razan discussed the same topic, in a similar way, with Matsunaga Teitoku (1571-1654) in their *Jubutsu mondō*; see Ōkuwa Hitoshi & Maeda Ichirō, comp., *Razan, Teitoku "Jubutsu mondō": Chūkai to kenkyū* (Tokyo: Perikansha, 2006), p. 36-41.

⁶³³ This is an extremely strange pronouncement of Chōon. Both Soga no Iname and Prince Liu Ying were actively involved in the promotion of Buddhism. Contrary to Mononobe no Okoshi and Nakatomi no Kamako, Iname rather supported the introduction of Buddhism and even accepted and worshiped a Buddhist statue; see *Taisei-kyō* 30 (*Teikō hongī*), edn ZST vol. 2, p. 237-8. 「蘇我大臣稻目宿禰即進奏曰『西蕃諸國，一皆禮之。豐秋日本，豈獨背也』物部大連尾輿、中臣連鎌真，一同奏曰『我國元則王天下者，恆信敬祭之。以天神地祇八百萬神等，春秋祭拜，以之為事，已天下平。方今改之，拜蕃神者，恐必國神致怒作災。』天皇詔曰：『兩斷難決，宜付情願人。然稻目宿禰，試令禮拜。』大臣跪受而忻悅，安置於小墾田家，勸修淨業。捨向原家，為寺奉佛。」

⁶³⁴ Again, a statement that is not born out by any known evidence; moreover, it conflicts with what Chōon will relate a bit further down.

⁶³⁵ Tripods can stand being put on a fire. As we have not been able to find an anecdote about tripods and fires, we assume that this common-sense observation is all there is to this comparison.

masters removed their ornamental hairpin and took the tonsure. Emperor Ming [...] introduced the profound doctrine⁶³⁶ on a grand scale and widely guided priests and nuns to their ordination. He highly revered the ten temples.⁶³⁷ [...] That temples obtained their [own] name, began from here."

"During the reign of our Emperor Kinmei, King Sōngmyōng of Paekche (r. 523-54) presented to [the Emperor] a golden statue of the Buddha, banners and canopies, and scriptures and treatises. Soga no Iname spoke [to the Emperor], saying: 'In the countries of the western barbarians everyone exclusively honours these. How could [the country of] the Origin of the Sun and of the Bountiful Harvests alone turn its back to this?' The *ōmuraji* Mononobe no Okoshi and the *muraji* Nakatomi no Kamako⁶³⁸ jointly addressed [the Emperor], saying: 'The basic law of our country is (3:14a) [that] in spring and in autumn we sacrifice to the Gods of Heaven and Earth. Were we to change this now, and worship barbarian gods, we fear that the gods of our country will surely become angry and will visit disasters on us.' The Emperor spoke: 'It is difficult to decide [between] the two views. We will give [the statue etc.] to the one who wishes for it from his heart.' Iname no Sukune knelt down and received [the statue]; delighted, he enshrined it at his house in Oharida.

"[Hereafter,] a pestilent spirit ravaged the country. Mononobe

⁶³⁶ As a rule, the term 玄宗 ("the abstruse, the dark doctrine") refers to Taoism; cf. Mor VII: 20814-225. In this case, however, it must refer to Buddhism.

⁶³⁷ According to *Fozu lidai tongzai*, these were the seven temples for men the emperor built outside the city walls, and the three nunneries that he built inside the city wall.

⁶³⁸ *Nihon Shoki* writes Kamako as 鎌子 instead of 鎌真. The character combination used in our manuscript is an idiosyncrasy of *Taisei-kyō*. It is unclear how this person fits into the genealogy of the Nakatomi. He must *not* be confused with the Nakatomi no Kamako 鎌子 (614-669), son of Nakatomi no Mikeko 御食子, who after the Taika Reform received the new name Fujiwara no Kamatari 藤原鎌足.

no Okoshi and Nakatomi no Kamako addressed the Emperor, saying⁶³⁹: 'Having received your imperial order, at the head of a crowd we went toward Oharida. There we took the statue of the Buddha and [tried to] melt it with a bellow. In the end, it did not melt. The fire did not even get near to it. When we struck it with a hammer, it did not leave the slightest scratch. When Great Minister [Soga no] Iname saw this miracle, he yelled loudly, raising his voice; he fell to the ground and cried intensely. [Then] he said with a deafening voice: "Calamity and disaster are not far off!" Hereupon, the *ōmuraji* took the Buddha statue and threw it into the canal of (3:14b) Naniwa, [where it sank to] the bottom. Later on, we set fire to the temple. It burned down completely, so nothing is left.' Then, suddenly, though there were no wind or clouds, heaven reverberated with thunder and lightning, and the Great Hall [of the palace] burnt down. None of the various buildings remained. The pestilent spirit became even more vigorous, and there were many who died."⁶⁴⁰

Both in China and in our country, there were such

⁶³⁹ According to *Nihon Shoki* 19 (Kinmei 13; see *Nihon shoki* vol. 2, p. 78) Okoshi and Kamako petitioned the emperor, in the following words: 「物部大連尾輿、中臣連鎌子、同奏曰『昔日不須臣計、致斯病死。今不遠而復、必當有慶。宜早投棄、懇求後福』。」 - "Mononobe no Okoshi and Nakatomi no Muraji no Kamako jointly addressed the emperor, saying: 'It was because thy servants' advice on a former day was not approved that the people are dying thus of disease. If thou dost now retrace thy steps before matters have gone too far, joy will surely be the result! It will be well promptly to fling it away, and diligently to seek happiness in the future.'" (Ashton, *Nihon shoki* vol. 2, p. 67). In our text, which is based on *Taisei-kyō*, this passage takes the form of a report to the Emperor. We have translated it accordingly.

⁶⁴⁰ Chōon omits the final comment of the part he quoted: 「佛大慈大悲，雖無怒罰業，人有牟讎為罪，則護法神天罰之，其緣也。」 *Taisei-kyō*, edn 1679, 30:12b-13a, reads the passage as follows: *Hotoke wa daiji daihi ni shite, ikari no tsuminae naki to iedomo, gōnin okashi-atanau tsumi wo nasu koto aru toki wa, sunawachi, hō wo mamoru kuni-kami ama-kami kore wo bassuru. Sono en nari.* - "Although the Buddha's, because of their great compassion, do not know anger or sin, bad people sometimes commit the sins of transgression and enmity. When they commit such sins, then the gods who protect the law will punish them. This is their karma." N.B. Chōon also returns the incident in an essay in *Shigetsu yawa* 4 (no. 91), *Benron Shaku Mi* 辨論釈弥, but here he is preoccupied by the question, whether the Buddha statue was a statue of Śākyamuni, or the statue of Amida that was later venerated in the Zenkōji 善光寺.

awe-inspiring omens. It is for that reason that Xiaoming and Kinmei caused [the sculpting of] Buddha statues and [the building of] temple halls to flourish, and that they spread the true law. And yet, Mr. Hayashi says that Kinmei was dumb. Why? Let me say it again, "Mr. Hayashi is dumb." Ah!⁶⁴¹

In his "Disquisition on So[ga] no Umako," Mr Hayashi says: "Alas! That Umako killed his lord is truly the fault of Buddhism. If someone had had taught Umako the Five Principles,⁶⁴² then how could he have been like that? Someone who, being a man, (3:15a) does not know the Five Principles, is not a man. Umako and the *atai* Koma both were people who wore human masks, but had the hearts of beasts. Master Cheng⁶⁴³ says: 'When you compare them to the words of Yang and Mo,⁶⁴⁴ the words of the Buddha are closest to Principle. For this [precise] reason, the harm they do is considered to be the greatest. Scholars must by all means keep themselves aloof from them as [they should do] from "lewd songs and beautiful faces." If they do not do that, they will run

⁶⁴¹ As we said in the *Honkoku*, notes 637 and 638, the two final characters are unclear. *Nan zo aa* is not an attested pronunciation.

⁶⁴² The ordinary translation of *wu dian* (Mor. I: 257-872) is "Five Relationships," but in order to maintain a distinction with the Five Human Relations (*wu lun* 五倫), we have opted for a different translation. The *wu dian* are mentioned in *Shujing: Shun-dian*, but not defined there. In other texts, two different definitions are given. In *Zuo zhuan*, they are defined in terms of virtues typical of individual agents: Righteousness as the virtue of the father, Kindness as the virtue of the mother, Friendship as the virtue of the elder brother, Obedience as the virtue of the younger brother, and Filial Piety as the virtue of the child. In *Mencius* (see *Mengzi* 3A4), they are defined in terms of virtues that are specific to the Five Human Relationships; see *infra*, note 659.

⁶⁴³ Of course, there were two Masters Cheng: Cheng Yichuan 伊川 (1033-1107) and Cheng Mingdao 程明道 (1035-1085). However, in the text quoted, *Er Cheng yishu* 二程遺書, the entries are not ascribed to the one or the other.

⁶⁴⁴ Yang is Yang Zhu (ca 395 - ca 335). As a thinker, he was inspired by Taoism and coined the slogan *wei wo* 為我 ("for myself"). As such, he was the antithesis of Mozi (Mo Di 墨翟; ca 480 - ca 390), whose ideas are summarized as *jian ai* 兼愛 ("universal love"). Both are frequently mentioned (and criticized) in *Mencius* as heterodox thinkers. In the present disquisition, Razan says that Mencius criticized them for neither acknowledging lord nor father (*Bunshū* vol. 1, p. 293a).

into [their snares] in gallop.'⁶⁴⁵ Umako not only galloped into their [snares], he also defied his superior and loved upheavals. In this respect, the destructive [character of] Buddhism is enormous. One cannot but be warned by this."⁶⁴⁶

Mr Hayashi argues that it truly was the fault of Buddhism that Umako, not knowing the Five Principles, killed the emperor, and also, that he had a man's face but an animal's heart. The argument exceeds the bounds [of propriety]. Let me briefly explain this for your benefit. The evil and immoral [behaviour] of our Emperor Sushun⁶⁴⁷ (3:15b) was even worse than [that of King] Zhou of the Yin and [King] Jie of the Xia.⁶⁴⁸ However, the *atai* Koma killed the emperor, having guessed Umako's [real] feelings. It was not the case that Umako gave direct orders to the *atai* Koma and made him kill the emperor. After this, Umako counted Koma's crimes and personally killed him with arrows.

Although they were Holy Ones, who knew the Five Principles, King Tang of the Yin and King Wu of the Zhou killed their lords Jie and

⁶⁴⁵ Razan quotes from Zhu Xi's *Lunyu jizhu* 論語集注, where Zhu quotes Cheng as follows: 「程子曰：『佛氏之言、比之楊墨、尤為近理、所以其害為尤甚。學者當如淫聲美色以遠之、不爾、則駸駸然入於其中矣。』」 The text in *Chengshi yishu* 13:1a, where Yang is criticized for casting doubt on Benevolence, and Mo, for casting doubt on Righteousness is as follows: 「楊墨之害甚於申韓。佛老之害甚於楊墨。楊氏為我疑於仁。墨氏兼愛疑於義。申韓則淺陋易見。故孟子則闢楊墨、為其惑世之甚也。佛老、其言近、又非楊墨之比。此所以害尤甚。楊墨之害、亦經孟子闢之。所以廓如也。」

⁶⁴⁶ Original text in *Bunshū* vol. 1, p. 293. The interlinear note in red says: "Until here, Mr Hayashi."

⁶⁴⁷ This is Chōon's second reference to the notion that Emperor Sushun's behaviour was evil and immoral (see *supra*, p. 3:7b). This notion is based on the description in *Taisei-kyō* 43; the relevant passage is quoted *supra*, note 592.

⁶⁴⁸ The Xia and the Yin (Shang-Yin) dynasties are two Chinese dynasties that preceded the Zhou Dynasty. The existence of the Zhou and Yin dynasties is abundantly proven by the archaeological record, but that of the Xia is not. It seems to be a historiographical construction. The Chinese histories tell, how the last kings of both dynasties indulged in reprehensible, immoral behaviour; lost the Mandate of Heaven; and were overthrown by the virtuous ancestors of the succeeding dynasty. One of the perennial debates in China was, whether the overthrow of these kings was morally and ideologically justified, and, more in general, what conditions must be satisfied in order to allow a subject to overthrow his lord. Mencius' formula (*Mengzi* 1B8) is well-known: when King Wu overthrew King Zhou, he did not overthrow his lord, but "just a man" 一夫.

Zhou.⁶⁴⁹ Do we say of them that they wore a human mask, but had an animal's heart? When you not only forget the lack of loyalty of Tang and Wu and attack Umako for his crime, but also impute this crime to the Buddha, will you, then, also impute the Tang's and Wu's crimes of high treason to Fu Xi?⁶⁵⁰ Methinks, from Jinmu to Suiko, the two evil kings of our country were Buretsu⁶⁵¹ and Sushun. Details are given in *Taisei-kyō*.⁶⁵² You [Confucians] should really have a look at it.

Next, [Mr Hayashi] quotes Master Cheng [to the effect] that scholars must distance themselves from Buddhism (3:16a) as [they should distance themselves] from lewd songs and beautiful faces. Let me, in my turn, remark that scholars must distance themselves from heterodox Confucians as [they would distance themselves] from lewd songs and beautiful faces. The reason is that [heterodox Confucians like Razan] have gone out of their way to vilify Buddhism, without having knowledge of the Way of the Buddha. They erode the belief of the faithful, high and low, and cause them to remain stuck in the view that karmatic retribution does not exist.⁶⁵³ We must but call this a great sin.

⁶⁴⁹ Our manuscript has a chiasmic arrangement, which we have not followed in order to avoid unnecessary confusion. Tang, founder of the Yin Dynasty, killed Jie, last king of the Xia Dynasty; Wu, founder of the Zhou Dynasty, killed Zhou, last king of the Yin Dynasty.

⁶⁵⁰ Fu Xi (2852-2738) was the first of the Chinese Sage Kings. Legend credited him with the invention of the Eight Trigrams, which formed the basis of the *Yijing*, and of the writing system in general, and also with teaching the people to fish and hunt.

⁶⁵¹ Buretsu's traditional dates are 489-498-506.

⁶⁵² Just as in the case of Sushun (see *supra*, notes 592 and 647), *Taisei-kyō* 43 also depicts an extremely negative image of Emperor Buretsu: 「武烈天皇 天皇，仁賢天皇太子。性暴惡曲邪放逸，不抱大法，自在不納臣諫，邪敏慢乎賢者。惡智非乎古法，百惡無不盡之，千非無不翔之。雖神託訓，疑棄不聽。雖天示怪，推破不用。唯好猛烈，誇為任。夫文仁而好烈，功遂威成，而隆光安民，是君子之德也。武暴而好烈，害長毒成，熾晴困民，是奸賊之業也。天皇此任歟。故諡武烈天皇。諺曰：「天皇極惡，而海內無叛害，為無天與，為無政與，是由先皇大德餘薰未竭也。知先皇極善矣，與天皇極惡大焉。遂崩於妖害斷胤，那為無報乎。」 Contrary to Sushun, however, Buretsu (489-498-506) also has a bad press in *Nihon shoki*. He did terrible things, such as slashing the belly of a pregnant woman, shooting people out of trees, and having women raped by horses; see Aston, *Nihon shoki* vol. 1, pp. 404-407.

⁶⁵³ The compound 隨在 is not attested in the dictionaries. Our translation is based on the meaning

Next, [Mr Hayashi] says: "Buddhism defies superiors and loves upheavals; this is [due to] the destructive [character] of Buddhism." When I think about it, [I conclude that] nobody surpasses you, heterodox Confucians, in defying superiors and loving upheavals. Even though the lord esteems Buddhism, you do not like it. You speak ill of it, saying whatever you like,⁶⁵⁴ and writing this down, you leave it for the world [to read]. How is this not defying one's superiors and resisting one's fellow men?

Next, he says: "Umako did not know the Five Principles." [But] Mr Hayashi himself has said that the Five Human Relations and the Five Constant [Virtues]⁶⁵⁵ only exist [for] the Confucians of China, and that you do not have them in other countries.⁶⁵⁶ Do you (3:16b) know the two ways of foreign Confucians and our Confucians, or do you not? The so-called "Foreign Confucians" are those of China. "Our Confucians" are the Confucians of this country. The foreign Confucians for the first time entered our country during the reign of Emperor Ōjin, when Wani brought the Confucian texts.⁶⁵⁷ Even though [since then] Confucian

of the individual characters: "follow *and* be" > "remain in." N.B. The denial of karmatic retribution 因果撥無 is the fourth of the Five Faulty Views 五惡見. These are: 1. The attached view of the reality of the inherent existence of one's own self (我見). 2. The extreme view (邊執見), which is attachment to the positions of either eternalism or nihilism. 3. The erroneous view (邪見), wherein one does not properly acknowledge the relationship of cause and effect. 4. The view of attachment to views (見取見), i.e. holding rigidly to one opinion over all others. 5. The view of rigid attachment to the precepts (戒禁取見), the notion that the austerities, moral practices and vows of non-Buddhist schools can lead one to the truth. They are mentioned mentioned in *Gusharon* 俱舍論 (T1558, TZ vol. 29, p. 89a3).

⁶⁵⁴ For the translation of *ōsetsu* 横説, cf. Mor. VI: 15594-164-2.

⁶⁵⁵ The Five Constant Virtues are Benevolence, Righteousness, Etiquette, Wisdom, and Trust. The Five Human Relations are the same as the Five Principles in Mencius definition (cf. *infra*, note 659).

⁶⁵⁶ Not in the first of the *So Bashī ga ben*, and nowhere in his *Bunshū* does Ranzan say this so in so many words, but he does imply it, because he only quotes Chinese Confucians and refers to Chinese debates; see *Bunshū* vol. 1, p. 293.

⁶⁵⁷ This episode is described in *Nihon shoki* 10: *Ōjin Tennō ki* 15 & 16 (see *Nihon shoki* vol. 1, pp. 276-277; Aston, *Nihon shoki* vol. 1, pp. 262-263). *Taisei-kyō* gives almost the identical story. The main difference is that it specifies the Classics that a Korean embassy brought to Japan on Ōjin

books were [available in Japan], it was during Suiko's reign that the Crown Prince for the first time made them widely known.

How could we in our country not have had [any knowledge of] the Five Human Relations and the Five Constant Virtues of Confucianism before Ōjin?

>>> Rebuttal⁶⁵⁸ [of the claim] that only Confucianism knows the Five Human Relations and the Five Constant Virtues.

Let me try and argue that the Five Human Relations and the Five Constant Virtues *did* exist. As regards the Five Human Relations - when there are man and wife, there are father and son; when there are father and son, there are elder and younger brothers; when there are elder and younger brothers, there are friends; when there are friends, there are lord and minister. When these Five Human Relations exist, then spontaneously there is Etiquette between man and wife; there is Benevolence between father and son; there is Wisdom between elder and younger brothers; there is Trust between friends; there is Righteousness between lord and minister.⁶⁵⁹ [Even among] birds (3:17a) and beasts spontaneously the way of the Five Relationships

15/8/6. It turned out that a member of this embassy, Ajiki 阿直岐, whose real task was to look after the horses that were presented to the emperor at this occasion, was able to read the books. He was made to teach the crown prince Uji no Waka-iratsuko. *Taisei-kyō* and *Nihon shoki* agree that it was Ajiki who told the emperor that Wani was a superior scholar. Hereupon, the emperor summoned Wani, who came to Japan in the following year and taught the crown prince. The Classics that according to *Taisei-kyō* were brought to Japan - not by Wani, as Chōon says, but by the embassy of the previous year - were the *Yijing*, *Xiaojing* 孝經, *Lunyu*, and *Shanhaijing* 山海經 (see *Taisei-kyō* 23: Ōjin 15 & 16). No titles are specified in *Nihon shoki*, but *Kojiki* mentions *Lunyu* and *Qianziwen* 千字文 as the books that were brought by Wani to Japan (*Kojiki* 2; edn NKBT vol. 1, pp. 248-249).

⁶⁵⁸ In Buddhist texts, the compound 彈斥 is used to express a rebuttal of the teachings of the lesser vehicle.

⁶⁵⁹ In *Mengzi* 3A4, the (Five) Human Relations 人倫 are explained as: Intimacy should exist between father and son 父子有親; Righteousness should exist between sovereign and subject 君臣有義; Distinction should exist between husband and wife 夫婦有別; the younger should give Precedence to the elder 長幼有序; Trust should reign between friends 朋友有信. Cf. *supra*, notes 642 and 655.

and the Five Constant Virtues exists. How much more, among men?

When we relate the Five Constant Virtues to the Five Agents, then Wood is Benevolence; Fire is Wisdom; Earth is Trust; Metal is Righteousness; Water is Etiquette.⁶⁶⁰ When Heaven and Earth have the Five Agents, how, then, could humanity not have the Constant Virtues? What you say, [namely] that [only] the Confucianism of China knows the Five Human Relations and the Constant Virtues is a huge mistake.

Mr Hayashi says in his "Disquisition on Genbō": "Fuji[wara] no Hirotsugu⁶⁶¹ had a beautiful wife. Genbō⁶⁶² sent go-betweens⁶⁶³ to her with amorous intentions. Hirotsugu was angry about this, and after he had died, his spirit killed Genbō. Before this, Genbō had had a relation with Empress Kōmyō. [Gen]bō's lascivious behaviour, thus, was of long standing. It was only logical that he would meet a premature [death]. I deem it all to be the fault of Buddhism."⁶⁶⁴

In imitation of such small[-minded] Confucians as Han

⁶⁶⁰ The connection that Chōon makes between the Five Constant Virtues and the Five Agents is based on *Taisei-kyō* 40: 「元指木仁，是仁惠之支。常惠者仁愛，不變滅也。可變非王者之仁，可滅非君子之仁。次押首指而曰：『太覺之愛覺覺。』首指火智，是智覺之支。愛覺者智悟，不惡愛也。不愛非王者之智，可惡非君子之智。次押高指而曰：『太誠之慈誠誠。』高指土信，是信誠之支。慈誠者信寔美甘者也。非美非王者之信，非甘非君子之信。次押腰指而曰：『太克之悲克克。』腰指金義，是義克之支。悲克者義制不離悲也。不悲非王者之義，可離非君子之義。次押尾指而曰：『太節之惻節節。』尾指水禮，是禮節之支。惻節者禮儀止惻施也。非惻非王者之禮，不止非君子之禮。」

⁶⁶¹ Hirotsugu (d. 740) was appointed to Dazaifu in 739, where he was second in command (*daini* 第式), holding junior fourth rank; this was in effect a demotion. The following year, he rebelled against the ruling clique in Nara, consisting of Tachibana no Moroe (684-757), Genbō, and Kibi no Makibi, but he lost the battle and was executed.

⁶⁶² Genbō (d. 746) was a monk of the Hossō Sect. He studied in China from 716 till 735. Upon his return, he was appointed *sōjō*, and together with another old China-hand, Kibi no Makibi, he became an important political figure under Tachibana no Moroe.

⁶⁶³ Literally "messengers of flowers and birds." The association is that flowers look beautiful, and birds sing beautifully. In the original context, the word refers to messengers sent around the country by the Tang emperor Xuanzong to collect women for his harem; see Mor. IX: 30734-394.

⁶⁶⁴ See *Genbō ga ben* 2; *Bunshū* vol. 1, p. 296a. The last sentence is not part of Razan's disquisition, but Chōon, or the one who provided the *okurigana* of his text, apparently thought that it belonged there, as is indicated by the placing of the *okurigana* to.

Tuizhi⁶⁶⁵ of the Tang (3:17b) or Master Ouyang [Xiu (1007-1072)], Master Cheng, and Master Zhu [Xi (1130-1200)] and others of the Song, who rejected the Buddha, you, Mr Hayashi, also want to reject the Buddha in your turn. And I, in my turn, will frown on you. I shall not speak of the great evil and heinous crimes of the Confucians of ancient times; I will let those be, but I will cite one or two cases from the modern period. Mr Hotta wanted to rule the state through use of flattery, and he was killed by a certain person.⁶⁶⁶ Yamamoto Taijun was caught stealing leaves.⁶⁶⁷ He was beheaded and his head was put on display by the officials. Kan Tokuan from the capital had an evil heart and rough manners, and was killed by a disciple.⁶⁶⁸ Ura no Shinpei from southern Owari trod his servant with his feet and was killed by this servant.⁶⁶⁹

⁶⁶⁵ He is better known as Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824).

⁶⁶⁶ It is unclear who this Mr Hotta could be. The phrase "ruling the state," the character 弑, and the failure to mention the name of the murderer, who is referred to as 某人, indicate that both Mr Hotta and the murderer were men of quality. It all suggests Hotta Masatoshi 堀田正俊 (1634-1684), a confidant of Shogun Tsunayoshi, who was murdered in 1684 by another *daimyō*, Inaba Masayasu 稲葉正休. On the other hand, even though he has nine titles to his name in the NKSM database, two of which are labeled *Kangaku*, Masatoshi was a *rōjū*, not a Confucian scholar.

⁶⁶⁷ There was a Confucian scholar Yamamoto Tōun 山本洞雲, whose *imina* was Taijun 泰順, but Chōon is probably referring to the writer of popular literature (*kanazōshi*) Yamamoto Taijun (1636-1669). As Noma Kōshin 野間光辰 writes in his *kaidai* of Taijun's *Rakuyō meisho shū* 洛陽名所集, the two are often confused. According to Noma, this second Taijun's father committed a fraud with fake silk from Nagasaki in order to raise the 300 ryō needed for his son's wedding. The scam was discovered and both father and son were crucified (Awataguchi, Kanbun 9/10/14; see Noma Kōshin, ed., *Shinshū Kyōto sōsho* 新修京都叢書 vol. 11 [Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1974], *kaidai*, pp. 7-8). According to *Kanbungakusha sōran*, the other Yamamoto, Tōun, was a disciple of Utsunomiya Ton'an 宇都宮遯庵 (1633-1707), lived in Kyoto, was active as a Confucian scholar, and died in the Manji Era (1658-1662). This date of death is dubious: the NKSM database lists fifteen titles under Tōun's name that were published between 1676 and 1686 (see also our Translation of *Jinja kō bengi*, note 246).

⁶⁶⁸ Kan Tokuan (1581-1628) was a disciple of Fujiwara Seika and a colleague of Hayashi Razan. Together, they compiled the collected literary works of Seika after the latter's death. He had a school in Kyoto where he taught both Confucianism and medicine. He was killed by a student. It was the young Nakae Tōju, who claimed that the fact that Tokuan was killed by a student, indicated that he must have been a bad man. For details, see Boot, *Adoption and Adaptation*, Ch. 4 (on-line edition on the homepage of the NGJS, <ngjs.nl>, pp. 252-254).

⁶⁶⁹ It is unclear who this "Ura no Shinpei" may have been.

These four persons were gentlemen who in recent times studied Confucianism and became well-known for that.⁶⁷⁰ Thus, [these examples show that] it was not only Buddhists who committed crimes and perished, but that such people also existed among the Confucians. A *gāthā* by an ancient worthy says: "It is no use (3:18a) to bring up other people's mistakes time and again, and one's own blunders one must eliminate whenever they come round."⁶⁷¹ How should his not be the case?

>>> In this section, we come to know the intent through which the Japanese gods and the foreign gods stand.⁶⁷² It is a difference in quality as between black and white.

Mr Hayashi says in his *Commonplace Book*: "Of the Three Regalia, the Seal symbolizes Benevolence; the Sword symbolizes Courage; the Mirror symbolizes Wisdom. [Beings] that from the beginning are equipped with these Three Virtues are the gods. Now, the heart is the abode of the gods. As it is already equipped with the Three Virtues, how could the gods be far off? Within one cubic inch, [they manifest themselves in all] their dignity and solemnity."

In this theory of the Three Regalia, Mr Hayashi follows the explanation of the Chinese Confucian Wani⁶⁷³; it is not the orthodox

⁶⁷⁰ One wonders whether Chōon did have a kind of *Akuju monogatari* from which he took these examples.

⁶⁷¹ For the possible sources of the quotation, see *Honkoku*, note 657. The gloss *yaya*, given in Mor. V: 13656-38 of the compound *sensen*, does not make much sense here. We have therefore opted for the interpretation *meguri-megurite*, "coming round and round," which corresponds much better with the *hinpin* in the parallel line.

⁶⁷² The compound 立意 is attested (Mor. VIII: 25721-5); it is glossed as "to determine one's heart; resolve." In the present context, however, no decisions are taken, so "resolve" is not appropriate.

⁶⁷³ Chōon is correct in saying that three regalia are of Chinese origin. They are mentioned *i.a.* in *Shujing: Hongfa* and in *Zhongyong*. In *Taisei-kyō* 43 (*Kyōgyō hongī*), Wani is quoted as follows: 「王仁

theory of the Way of the Gods of our country. Therefore, Crown Prince Uji formulated [his own] teaching⁶⁷⁴ and taught this to Wani. What a pity that Mr Hayashi, having been born after Crown Prince Uji, had never heard of the Way of the Gods of our country and became a heretic.

Mr Hayashi said: "The heart (3:18b) is the abode of the gods. Because it is equipped with the Three Virtues, the gods are not far off. Within one cubic inch, [they manifest themselves in all] their dignity and solemnity." If we follow your interpretation, the gods are merely present in this cubic inch inside [us] humans, in their dignity and solemnity. Now, this argument [shows] that you only acknowledge [abstract] Principles 理 and do not know [concrete] Affairs 事.

Therefore, the Crown Prince⁶⁷⁵ said: "I⁶⁷⁶ have heard from old and ancient [men] that all things 物 that are in heaven and on earth are furnished with both Affairs and Principles; none of them lacks in either, not even one little bit, and lean to one side. If you lean towards Principle, it is called heterodox, and if you lean towards affairs, it is called stupidity. When Principles and Affairs are both present, it is

曰：天照大神授天璽之瓊、鏡、劔者。曰人生則上天命之以知、仁、勇性而為降。高皇產靈尊以天真床追衾，覆皇孫尊者，曰人居胎，被包於胞袋。離天磐座者，曰人初生離母胎。挑天八重雲者，曰開孃之命門陰戶。天降者，曰自胎冥誕出於世明。」. We think that it is very well possible that the "makers" of *Taisei-kyō*, having knowledge of Razan's ideas on the Three Regalia, on purpose attributed these words to Wani and had them criticized by Prince Uji, a polemic which in reality most likely never happened at all.

⁶⁷⁴ The compound *kunkai* in the first instance means ("reading and explanation" >) "commentary," but the context makes clear that "teaching" is the more appropriate translation. The contents of this teaching are given two paragraphs further down.

⁶⁷⁵ This Crown Prince is the Crown Prince Uji; this section of *Taisei-kyō* 44 is entitled *Uji-kun* 菟道訓; see *Honkoku*, note 662 for the text. A note (edn 1679, 43/44, frame 34, left) says that it was "compiled in *kana* by Crown Prince Uji, and written out in characters by Crown Prince Kami-no-miya (= Shōtoku)."

⁶⁷⁶ The passage that follows is taken from *Taisei-kyō* 44, *loc. cit.*. The characters 寡人 that Crown Prince Uji here uses to refer to himself are those that the feudal lords of the Zhou Dynasty used to refer to themselves. It implies that he actually governs.

called correct."

Again, [the Crown Prince] said: "When foreigners think about the gods, [they think that the gods] only dwell in the emptiness of Principle and Material Force, without [any definite] shape, and they do not yet know the fullness of their mysterious nature. As *we* know our gods, we see how they dwell with their natures and subtle bodies in the fullness of wonderful changes and miraculous functioning. The reason is that the country where [the foreigners] live is a country of humans, and not a country of gods (3:19a), while the country where *we* live is a country of the gods and not a country of men. Moreover, when they have [acquired some] knowledge of their gods, then those men of the country of humans just assess and watch; [the result is] emptiness. The men of the country of the gods observe directly, with empathy;⁶⁷⁷ [the result is] fullness."

Again, Crown Prince Uji taught Wani, saying⁶⁷⁸: "Look where I am pointing at. That august⁶⁷⁹ sun is the Great Goddess Amaterasu. [My human] nature, which that august goddess has bestowed on me, is here [within me]." You have obtained it, [too,] and call it Illustrious Virtue.⁶⁸⁰ You say that the Illustrious Virtue manifests itself only at

⁶⁷⁷ The opposition between 量看 and 直視 seems to be between objective observation and empathetic, intuitive observation.

⁶⁷⁸ The passage that follows is also taken from *Taisei-kyō* 44. Crown Prince Uji's teaching is preceded by the following remark of Wani: 「天照太神者, 人人命得之明德也」 - "Amaterasu is the Illustrious Virtue that all people obtained [as their] mandate."

⁶⁷⁹ The argument is that the sun, in itself, is quite impressive; hence, deserves the suffix *mikoto*. The Crown Prince, however, points out that this august phenomenon is a real god. Cf. the entry in *Iwanami kogo jiten* s.v. *mikoto* - 3, where *mikoto* is defined as a suffix used to address gods and men reverently. Quoting the *Kojiki*, the dictionary makes a difference between the two characters used to write *mikoto*: "For those who are extremely worthy of reverence, 尊, and for the rest, 命.

⁶⁸⁰ Wani here uses a Confucian term to identify Amaterasu. *Meitoku* (明德) and *sei* (性) are two different terms that stand for the same idea, i.e. the innate, pure and good nature that all people are endowed with. The *locus* of the term *meitoku* is the very first sentence of *Daxue*: 明明德 - "to illustrate one's illustrious virtue."

rare occasions, but how can you ignore that the august sun of heaven manifests itself every day? Do you [really] not see this? What opportunistic words⁶⁸¹ are these [words of yours], inclining [as they are] towards Principle?

>>> The Shinto in which Principles and Things are as they should be.⁶⁸²

Crown Prince Shōtoku and Crown Prince Uji expounded a Shinto in which Principles and Things are as they should be and considered this to be orthodox. What you, [Confucians,] expound is merely (3:19b) the acknowledgement of Principle, nothing more. Therefore, I consider it as heterodox. If we do not have someone who has received the secret initiation into the Three Regalia, who could be able to know this?⁶⁸³ The Three Regalia of our country are the secret of secrets!

In his Commonplace Book, Mr. Hayashi states: "Marquis Ding [of Qi]⁶⁸⁴ rebelled against [King Wu⁶⁸⁵ of] the Zhou. [Ding's father,] Lord Tai [of Qi], drew his likeness and shot [arrows] at it several times. [Because of this,] Marquis Ding fell ill and he requested [King Wu permission] to

⁶⁸¹ Our translation for the term '推語'.

⁶⁸² This reminds one of the standard Neo-Confucian definition of *li*: 「所以然之故、所當然之則」 - "The reason why things are what they are, and the norm that indicates how they should be."

⁶⁸³ Chōon probably means "If you, Razan, have not received the secret initiation through baptism (*suikan denju*), which I have but you indeed have not, how would you be able to know the profound meaning of the Three Regalia?" For an explanation of the relation between *Taisei-kyō* and its secret initiations (*kanden*), see Appendix III.

⁶⁸⁴ Marquis Ding of Qi 齊丁公 was the second ruler of the ancient Chinese state of Qi under the Western Zhou Dynasty. He is generally known as Lü Ji 呂伋 ('Lü' was his lineage name 氏; his clan name 姓 was 'Jiang' 姜). He succeeded his father Lü Shang 尚, a.k.a. Jiang Ziya (姜子牙), i.e., Lord Tai 太公 of Qi. For further references, see Mor. II: 3386-35/36 (Lü Ji), and 3386-85 (Lü Shang).

⁶⁸⁵ Wu 武 was the first king of the Zhou dynasty. The traditional dates of his reign are 1122-1115, but modern scholarship puts the founding of the Zhou about a century later, in 1046 BC.

surrender. Following the [order of the] days of the Ten Celestial Stems, Lord Tai removed the arrows.⁶⁸⁶ When all arrows had been removed, Marquis Ding recovered. Do the [stories of the] magic arts of poisons and curses by sorcerers [that appeared in] later generations have their origin in this [story]? This [story] comes extremely close to baseless nonsense. Yu Rang⁶⁸⁷ cut the robe of Viscount Xiang of Zhao, and Viscount Xiang died. [Emperor] Xuanzong (685–712-756-762) [of the Tang] cut the throat on an image of the District Governor of Lang. The Governor of Lang died. (3:20a) It is not yet possible to know whether [these stories are] true or false. [Emperor] Wang Mang [of the Xin dynasty]⁶⁸⁸ shot [arrows] at an image of Liu Yan (d. 23 AD),⁶⁸⁹ [but] Mang died first. Gao Pian⁶⁹⁰ (821-887) believed in the magic of Lü Yong[zhi]⁶⁹¹ (d. 887) and [tried to] make the divine warriors [of the

⁶⁸⁶ In Lü Shang's biography in *Shiji* 32 this anecdote is not mentioned. Razan's source may possibly have been the encyclopaedic work *Yiwen Leiju* 藝文類聚 (Tang), which quotes a medical text, *Taigong jingui* 太公金匱, as follows: 「武王伐殷，丁侯不朝，尚父乃畫丁侯射之，丁侯病，遣使請臣，尚父乃以甲乙日拔其頭箭，丙丁日拔目箭，戊己日拔腹箭，庚辛日拔股箭，壬癸日拔足箭，丁侯病乃愈，四夷聞乃懼，越裳氏獻白雉。」 It mentions on which days which arrows were removed. The story is repeated in later collections.

⁶⁸⁷ Yu Rang lived in the State of Jin 晉 around 450 BC. He served Zhi Yao a.k.a. Zhi Bo (Earl Zhi) 智瑤·伯), who appreciated Yu Rang very much. In a cruel conflict, the Fan and Zhonghang Families were defeated by a coalition of the four families Zhi, Zhao, Wei, and Han, but Zhi Yao was too greedy, and the other three families allied to eliminate the Zhi clan in the aftermath of Battle of Jinyang and killed Zhi Yao in 453 BC. Because Viscount Zhao Xiang 趙襄子, brother of Marquis Xian of Zhao, had hated Zhi Yao deeply, he actually used the skull of Zhi Yao as a drinking cup. Yu Rang revenged his master by cutting Zhao Xiang's robe. The story is told in *Shiji* 86; cf. Mor. X: 36425-44/45

⁶⁸⁸ Wang Mang was an official of the Han Dynasty. He seized the throne from the reigning Liu family and founded his own Xin Dynasty 新朝; he ruled 9–23 AD.

⁶⁸⁹ Liu Yan was a general who led one of the uprisings against the Xin Dynasty. Although he was militarily successful, he died early as a victim of political intrigue. Cf. Mor. II: 2224-63.

⁶⁹⁰ Gao Pian, King of Bohai 渤海王, was a general of the Chinese Tang Dynasty. He initially gained renown for defeating incursions of (the?) Dali, but later became known for his failure to repel the rebel army under Huang Chao 黃巢 (835年–884年) and his mismanagement of Huainan 淮南 Circuit, which he governed as military governor. Cf. Mor. XII: 45313-839.

⁶⁹¹ Lü Yongzhi was a sorcerer, active towards the end of the Tang Dynasty, who gained the trust of the military governor Gao Pian and at one point became more powerful than Gao himself. He is not listed in Morohashi, but he *has* made Wikipedia Sinica with a lemma of his own.

Dark Lady] stave off the enemy.⁶⁹² While the sacrifice [to the Dark Lady] had not yet finished, the enemy attacked and killed [Gao] Pian. Aah, how foolish!"

Speaking of Marquis Ding, Mr. Hayashi [says that he] considers [the story] to be unfounded nonsense. Or, speaking of Yu Rang and of the Governor of Lang, [he says that] it is not yet possible to know the truth or falsehood [of the stories about them]. Methinks, Marquis Ding, Yu Rang, and the Governor of Lang are all recorded in Confucian books; now and formerly these have been considered to be trustworthy. You alone, born one thousand years later, do not trust them! You speak of unfounded nonsense and say that their truthfulness or falsehood cannot yet be known!

If we rely on your views, then there are [also a few things] mentioned in the biographies of filial sons -- [stories like] that of Meng Zong, [who made] bamboo sprouts grow [in winter], or that of Wang Xiang, who [managed] to get carp out [of the frozen river]. Are they all unfounded nonsense?⁶⁹³ If that is the case, then one [should] consider

⁶⁹² Razan's source probably is *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑 252.91, where we find the following: 「駢好妖術，每發兵追蠻，皆夜張旗立隊，對將士焚紙畫人馬，散小豆，曰：『蜀兵懼，今遣玄女神兵前行。』軍中壯士皆恥之。」, though the story of the sacrifice and Pian's death is not told there. N.B. The Dark Lady 玄女 once instructed the Yellow Emperor in the military arts; cf. Mor. VII: 20814: 255.

⁶⁹³ *Ershisi Xiao* 二十四孝 ("The Twenty-four Paragons of Filial Piety") was written by Guo Jujing (郭居敬, who lived under the Yuan Dynasty (1260–1368). Meng Zong and Wang Xiang are respectively no. 20 and no. 18 on the book. In Wikipedia Anglica s.v. "*The Twenty-four Filial Exemplars*," the stories are translated as follows. (1) "Meng Zong's father died when he was young so he lived with his mother. Once, when his mother was ill, the physician suggested that she drink soup made of fresh bamboo shoots. However, it was winter then and there were no bamboo shoots. In desperation, Meng went to the bamboo forest alone and cried. Just then, he heard a loud noise and saw bamboo shoots sprouting out of the ground. He was so happy that he collected them, went home and made soup for his mother. She recovered from her illness after drinking the soup." (2) "Wang Xiang's mother died when he was young. His stepmother disliked him and often spoke ill of him in front of his father, which resulted in him losing his father's love. However, Wang still remained filial to them and he personally took care of them while they were sick. Once, during winter, Wang's stepmother suddenly had a craving for carp. Wang travelled to the frozen river,

all those Confucian texts, which you do value [so much], as unfounded theories.

(3:20b) Because [all phenomena in] the three realms⁶⁹⁴ are [nothing but] transformations of the consciousness, when a single thought becomes extremely (cutting >) acute,⁶⁹⁵ then there is none of the myriad phenomena that is not affected. Let me enlighten you through an example that is close by. A digger wasp takes a leaf-eating caterpillar, builds a nest, and lets [the caterpillar] rest [therein]. Morning and evening, [the digger wasp] casts a spell, saying: "Look like me, look like me." [And then,] when he pierces it with his sting, the moment is there, and [the caterpillar] transforms and becomes a digger wasp.⁶⁹⁶ Through this [example] it should be clear to you. Even [in the case of] small insects, when [digger wasps] recite the mantra (*myō*)⁶⁹⁷ "look like me" over a caterpillar and put a spell on it with the *mudrā* (*in*) of their sting, [the caterpillar] becomes a digger wasp. How much more [does this apply to] man, who is the [most] spiritual of all the myriad phenomena? [When,] with concentrated thought and single-mindedly, someone shoots at this [or] cuts at that, how could that not have an effect?⁶⁹⁸

Furthermore, Mr. Hayashi quotes [the stories about] Wang

undressed, and laid on the icy surface. The ice thawed and Wang was able to catch two carps for his stepmother."

⁶⁹⁴ These are the three realms of *samsāra*, i.e. the worlds of the unenlightened man: the realm of desire 欲界, the realm of form 色界, and the realm of formlessness 無色界.

⁶⁹⁵ Contrary to what one might expect, 一念至切 is not a quotation. We have, therefore, translated the four characters according to their individual meaning.

⁶⁹⁶ Cf. *Honkoku*, note 678. The anecdote was rather famous; apart from *Renshū ryōzai*, it is also mentioned in e.g. *Sezoku genbun* 世俗諺文 and *Shintō shōji no setsu*. The first dates from 1007, but was not generally available until its inclusion in *Zoku Gunsho ruijū* 885; the second one dates from 1711, so neither can have served as Chōon's source.

⁶⁹⁷ *Myō*, short for *myōju* 明呪, is a Shingon term. It has the meaning of *mantra*.

⁶⁹⁸ Apparently, Chōon did not share Razan's distrust of these stories and also had a theory that explained, how they could have happened.

Mang and Gao Pian, who [respectively] died before [Liu Yan], and was attacked and killed by the enemy, [because] he wants to claim that the story that Marquis Ding and Viscount Xiang [respectively] recovered and died are baseless tales. I, for my part, say: "Aah, how foolish".

(3:21a) In his *Commonplace Book*, Mr. Hayashi states: "In one variant text [of *Nihon shoki*], Kuninotokotachi no Mikoto is called Amanominakanushi no Mikoto.⁶⁹⁹ An oral transmission of a man of ancient times says: 'The eight million Gods are one God, and [this] one God is the eight million Gods.'⁷⁰⁰ Now when I ponder about this, all phenomena come forth from the Five Agents (*Wu Xing*). The Five Agents are one Yin and Yang. Yin and Yang are the Supreme Ultimate (*Taiji*). The Supreme Ultimate originally is the Ultimate of Non-Being (*Wuji*).⁷⁰¹ Herein we can see the deepest interpretation of this Mikoto."

When I see this theory of Mr. Hayashi, [I think that] he bases [his list of] the Seven Generations of Heavenly Gods on *Nihon shoki*. You, [Mr. Hayashi,] are a man with a broad knowledge of antiquity, and yet you do your utmost not rely on *Kujiki* (= *Sendai kuji hongī*) by [Soga no] Umako. Again, you do not make use of *Kujiki* (= *Taisei-kyō*) by Crown

⁶⁹⁹ In the main text *Nihon shoki*, the first deity to appear was Kunitokotachi no Mikoto, but in one of the variant texts quoted next, we find the following: "One text says: 'When heaven and earth first separated, first there were [two] gods who were born together. They were called Kuninotokotachi no Mikoto and, next, Kuninosatsuchi no Mikoto.' Again, [the text] says: 'The names of the gods produced in the Plain of High Heaven are Amanominakanushi no Mikoto; the next one was ...'" See *Nihon shoki* 1 (vol. 1, pp. 2-3); Ashton, *Nihon shoki* vol. 1, p. 5. Contrary to Razan's claim, this passage does not say that Kuninotokotachi and Amanominakanushi were identical - two names of the same deity. What may have been at the back of his mind, is, that in *Kojiki*, Amanominakanushi is the name given to the first god to appear. It is rather unlikely, however, that Razan ever read *Kojiki*.

⁷⁰⁰ Such a phrase can be found in Yoshida Kanetomo's *Nihon shoki jindai no maki shō* 日本書紀神代卷抄.

⁷⁰¹ This is based on the *Taijitu shuo* 太極図説 "Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate" by Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017-1073). In his essay *Seimei kōkai* 西銘講解 (*Razan Rin-sensei bunshū* 30), Razan discussed the same topic. For a translation, see Chan, *Reflections on Things at Hand*, pp. 5-7.

Prince [Shōtoku], but base [your rendering] on *Nihon shoki*. Why? I criticize you for this. [Texts] like the *Kujiki* of Umako and of the Crown Prince, (3:21b) place Amenotokotachi at the very beginning. Next, they place Kuninotokotachi no Mikoto.⁷⁰² In other words, this is the logic of Heaven and Earth mutually reacting to each other. However, if we leave out Amenotokotachi no Mikoto and place Kuninotokotachi no Mikoto [first], we are discussing the logic of a non-mutual relation [between Heaven and Earth].

Nihon shoki lumps together all heavenly deities of the seven generations, mixes them up, and does not clearly distinguish between them. The *Kujiki* by the Crown Prince clarifies the logic behind the birth of the Seven Generations of Heavenly Gods, and of all of them have [their own] story.

>>> *Taisei-kyō*'s logic is clear; *Nihon shoki* can hardly be considered as proof.

Nihon shoki only mentions the names of the Seven Generations of Heavenly Gods and does not give [any kind of] biographical [details]. [*Nihon shoki*] is a book that (is insufficient to >) can hardly be used as proof. The *Kujiki* of the Crown Prince was hidden in a shrine. For that reason, up until now we have used the explanations of *Nihon shoki*. Fortunately, this book has appeared in the human world. Later scholars, relying on this [book], must thoroughly investigate our Way of the

⁷⁰² In *Taisei-kyō* 1 (*Jindai hongī*), we do find Amenotokotachi (「一代，俱生天神。天皇 天常立尊 天帝 天御中主尊 天常立尊者，更名天魂尊。」) and Kuninotokotachi (「二代，俱生天神。天皇 地常立尊 天帝 豐御地主尊。地常立尊、又地狹槌、又國狹立豐御地主尊、又豐國淳、又豐香節二神、以清輕浮氣為神質、化生而成地魂、和魂。」) as the Gods of the first and the second Generation. For the first Generation of Gods, *Sendai kuji hongī* has the same as *Taisei-kyō*, but for the second Generation of Gods it does not use the characters 地常立尊, but only mentions 「國常立尊、亦云、國狹立尊、亦云、國狹槌尊。一云、葉木國尊。」. See also *Honkoku*, note 683.

Gods; that really should happen. Again, speaking of Kuninotokotachi no Mikoto, Ryū no Shōsha (1616-93)⁷⁰³ (3:22a) preaches that [this God] is one's own heart. You can see [for yourself] that the Way of the Gods in Japan is in disorder.

In his Commonplace Book, Mr. Hayashi states: "Sōgen Shintō is [the Shintō that] the Nakatomi, Urabe, and Inbe [clans] practised and transmitted. In the Shintō of the Combined Practice of the Two Realms,⁷⁰⁴ priests such as Saichō and Kūkai combined the Buddhist teaching with the Way of the Gods. [Concretely,] they identified the Womb and Diamond Realms with Yin and Yang and, in the end, they considered the original ground of Buddha's and Gods as one [and the same] substance. Aah! The Shintō in which [the gods are regarded as] manifestations of original [Buddha's and Bodhisattva's] and as not having [their own,] independent origin is [the kind of Shintō we find in] the ancient, traditional legends of the origin⁷⁰⁵ of one or other shrine or of one-or-other God. These are the three divisions of Shintō

⁷⁰³ A priest of the outer shrine of Ise. His other names are Ryū Hirochika (竜熙近) and Tatsuno Hirochika (竜野熙近). With *Sendai kuji hongi Taisei-kyō nanmon* 先代旧事本紀大成経難文 (1681) and *Taisei-kyō hamon* 大成経破文, he wrote the earliest critiques of *Taisei-kyō*. Chōon replied with *Taisei-kyō hamon tōshaku hen* 大成経破文答釈篇 (1682).

⁷⁰⁴ This is another way to refer to the *honji suijaku shintō*, which assumes that every god is the temporal (and temporary) manifestation of a specific Buddha or Bodhisattva, like Buddha's and Bodhisattva's also manifest themselves, in different forms, in the Diamond Realm and the Womb Realm.

⁷⁰⁵ The term *engi* 縁起 refers to the Buddhist concept of "dependent origination" (Skr. *pratītyasamutpāda*): nothing in this world owes its existence to itself; it is always caused by / conditioned on something else, so, fundamentally, empty. The gods are no exception. Hence, legends in which the origin of shrines were told, also were given this name, because they tell about the *en* ("cause, relationship") that explains the origin (*gi*) of the shrine. Because *pratītyasamutpāda* is one of the central concepts in Buddhism, interpretations abound. See, e.g., the following verse from Nāgārjuna's *Chūgan-ron* 『中觀論』: 「因縁所生法、我說即是空、亦為是假名、亦是中道義」 - "Dharma's that have originated from dependent causation - we preach that they are empty. They are also regard as provisional names. This, in its turn, is the meaning of the Middle Way."

("Shinto as divided into three").⁷⁰⁶ Above these, separately, there is [the Shintō of] Principle Present in the Heart. Not many people are able to know this."⁷⁰⁷

When I discuss this based on the Crown Prince's *Kujiki*, then the first of the Three Divisions of Shintō is called Sōgen, (3:22b) the second, Saigen, and the the third, Reisō. Sōgen Shintō is transmitted by the Urabe clan. Saigen Shintō is transmitted by the Inbe clan. Reisō Shintō is transmitted by the Aji.⁷⁰⁸ Having said that, the two lineages of the Inbe and the Aji have by now declined and are no [longer] visible. There is only the Urabe lineage that [still] exists. [Nowadays,] it is called Yoshida. The divine ancestors of the three divisions are Ama no Koyane no Mikoto, [enshrined] in the Hiraoka shrine in Kawachi, Ama no Futodama no Mikoto, [enshrined] in the Kurowa shrine in Kurowa, and Ama no Omoikane no Mikoto, [enshrined] next to the Togakushi shrine in Shinano.

>>> Criticism of the [use of the] character *zhen* in *Essay on Preaching*

⁷⁰⁶ Razan clearly has based himself on Yoshida Kanetomo, *Yuiitsu Shintō Myōbō Yōshū* 唯一神道名法要集. This treatise begins with the following question-and-answer (translation by Alan G. Grapard, *Yuiitsu Shintō Myōbō Yōshū, Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. 47, No. 2 (1992), pp. 137-161): "Q: Into how many categories is it possible to divide Shinto? - A: The Shinto formulated through Co-dependent origination of essence and hypostasis (*Honjaku-engi* Shinto); the Shinto devised around the Twofold mandala combinations (*Ryōbu-shūgō* Shinto); and the Shinto called Original and Fundamental (*Genpon-sōgen* Shinto). Hence the term of three lineages (*ke*) 家 of Shinto." N.B. The reference, thus, is *not* to the esoteric concept of the *Three Realms* 三部, which is an alternative to the binary division into the Diamond and Womb *mandala*, and adds a *soshitsuji-kai* 蘇悉地界 to the other two.

⁷⁰⁷ Not many people could know about this, because this *Ritōshinchi shintō* was devised by Razan himself. He explained it in a "for your eyes only" document, *Shintō denju* 神道伝授, which he wrote for Sakai Tadakatsu 酒井忠勝 (1587-1662), *daimyō* of Wakasa, but he did not refer to it in, e.g., *Honchō jinja kō*. His *Bunshū*, to which Chōon is referring, was published posthumously. See *Shintō denju*, NST vol. 39, pp. 18-19; Boot, *Adoption and Adaptation*, Ch. III ("The Doctrines") B.1.

⁷⁰⁸ For the use of *ke* / *ie*, cf. the quotation from *Yuiitsu Shintō Myōbō Yōshū*, *supra*, note 706.

*the Law and the Clear-eyed View.*⁷⁰⁹

In his Commonplace Book Mr Hayashi says: "Prince Umayado says in his *Seppō myōgen ron*⁷¹⁰: 'The founding priest from Southern India showed it to me,⁷¹¹ saying ...'"⁷¹² [Next,] Mr Hayashi censures the prince for [using] this one character *zhen*, saying: "The First Emperor of the Qin ruled that the Son of (3:23a) Heaven would call himself *zhen*. In this context, by referring to himself as *zhen*, Umayado is not different from Wang Mang⁷¹³ of the Han and his 'my younger brother, small child Feng'; [Wang] eventually usurped the state."⁷¹⁴

⁷⁰⁹ Translation of *Seppō myōgen ron*; for details re. the text, see the following note. The "clear-eyed view" (*myōgen*) is the capacity to see through appearances; it is a particular ability of Holy Ones.

⁷¹⁰ *Seppō myōgen ron* (ID 40222) was written by one Entsū 円通 who calls himself an *ubasoku* in the first line, and about whom no further details are known. Some, however, ascribed the text to Shōtoku-*taishi*. The oldest manuscript copy is dated Eikyō 6 (1434), and the oldest printing dates back to the Kan'ei Era (16244-1644). The book went through a number of reprints in the seventeenth century; many copies are extant, but Razan wrote the present entry in his Commonplace Book in the Keichō Era (1596-1615), so he cannot have used any of the printed versions. The NKSM database also lists a number of related titles, e.g. *Kashō* 科鈔 *Seppō myōgen ron* by Ryōten 亮典 (dates unknown), printed in 3 *kan* in Kanbun 10 by the Sanbōin 三宝院 on Kōyasan (*chosaku* ID 2195882), and *Seppō myōgen ron tensakushō* 添削鈔 by Tanrei Sochū 丹嶺祖衷 (dates unknown), printed in 3 *kan* in Kanbun 8 (*chosaku* ID 3207087).

⁷¹¹ Using the character *zhen*, glossed as *ware*.

⁷¹² We have consulted the two printed editions that are available through the homepage of Kokubunken. In the first (*se*-1-121-8; no year of printing indicated; 33 frames) the quoted phrase is found on p. 11b (frame 16). The "Nanten no soshi" also occurs earlier, on p. 5a (frame 9). In the second edition (96-293-2; printed in Kanbun 5, = 1665; 47 frames), which is heavily annotated, the "Nanten no soshi" is identified as Bodhidharma (p. 8a; frame 10). Nowhere in the text is an ascription to be found to Shōtoku-*taishi*; the argument that "Bodhidharma came to Japan and spoke with the Crown Prince; hence, the *zhen* must be him; hence he wrote the book" is not spelled out.

⁷¹³ Wang Mang lived c. 45 B.C. - 23 A.D. He toppled the Western Han Dynasty in 9 A.D., and founded his own Xin 新 Dynasty. He tried to restore the ways of the early Zhou Dynasty.

⁷¹⁴ Cf. *Honkoku*, note 696. *Bunshū* vol. 2, p. 361b, writes: 「漢王莽遂以為孟侯朕弟小子封及朕復子明辟之語、乃此周公居攝稱王之謂也。是以竟致篡亂之事」 - "Eventually, Wang Mang of the Han bethought himself of the words 'Head of the princes, my younger brother, little one, Feng' and 'I report the execution of my commission to my son, the intelligent sovereign,' for this was how the Duke of Zhou, during his regency, had presented himself as king. This is why [Wang Mang] ended by usurping the state." The point seems to be that Wang Mang referred to himself as *zhen*, following the precedent he had discovered in *Shujing*, where the Duke of Zhou did the same - once, when he was speaking on behalf of King Cheng, and once, when he was addressing him. Wang herewith goes *against* the decision of Qin Shihuangdi, who, as Razan points out in the same entry, "had decided that [*zhen*] was to be the name of the most venerable 至尊之稱. The Han followed this [institution] and did not change this. Later [dynasties], in their turn, have followed this up till the present." Razan in his turn is quoting from *Shujing* 4: *Kang gao*: 「王若曰、孟侯、朕其弟小子封」 (cf. *Mor.* IV:

Let me explain this. Wang Mang was a vassal. Umayado was the crown prince. Empress Suiko had twice, thrice [tried to] cede the throne to him, but he had not accepted it.⁷¹⁵ Holding the power of regent, he ruled the realm in peace. As specifically regards the character *zhen*, in high antiquity every one, high and low, noble and base had used *zhen* to refer to themselves. Mr Hayashi dislikes Umayado for his promulgation and enjoyment of Buddhism, and through [his use of] this single character he desires to inculcate Umayado.

Prince Umayado was the first to provide the Chinese characters with Japanese readings, and he created the characters for writing. Until today, you [Confucians] have benefitted from his blessings⁷¹⁶; [thanks to him] you have by and by come to know the Confucian principles, but, on the contrary, you criticize all his phrases and words. How could you not be a Peng Meng?⁷¹⁷ (3:23b) At present, there are Confucians. Because Fu Xi and Cang Xie⁷¹⁸ had made the trigrams, in later generations the Confucians benefitted from their blessings and

7473-520-3), and *Shujing 5: Luo gao*: 「朕復子明辟」 (cf. Mor. V: 13805-526). Legge translates the first as "The king speaks to this effect: Head of the princes, and my younger brother, little one, Feng: ..." (cf. Waltham, *Shu Ching*, p. 146), and the second as "Herewith I report (the execution of my commission) to my son my intelligent sovereign." (cf. Waltham, *op. cit.*, p. 169).

⁷¹⁵ There is no such entry in the usual sources such as *Nihon shoki*, but *Taisei-kyō* 33 (edn ZST vol. 2, p. 290) and 37 (edn ZST vol. 2, p. 368-369), both contain an entry dated to the first year of the reign of Empress Suiko, summer, fourth month, in which the Empress indicates that she would rather let Prince Umayado (Shōtoku Taishi) reign the realm. In fasc. 33, Empress Suiko, in spite of Umayado's protests, appoints the prince to become Crown Prince and to act as her regent. In fasc. 37, Empress Suiko states that she is too weak in disposition to reign the realm and wants Prince Umayado to reign in her place 「天皇詔群卿等曰：『吾弱婦也。性不解物。萬機日慎，國務滋多。宜以天下事，皆啓太子。』」), but the Prince refuses.

⁷¹⁶ The compound *onji* 恩疵 is not attested in the dictionaries. According to the meaning of the individual characters, it should mean "blessings and faults." We think it is a case of two opposites being used to convey one single concept, *in casu*, "blessings."

⁷¹⁷ See *supra*, note 595.

⁷¹⁸ Cang Xie was a servant of the Yellow Emperor who, by looking at the traces of birds, created writing; see Mor. IX: 31627-43.

penetrated the Confucian principles. When I criticize them, is that allowed, or is it not? You are someone who repays kindness with grudges.⁷¹⁹

Mr Hayashi says in his commonplace-book: "*Liu tao*⁷²⁰ ("Six Secret Teachings") [pretends to be] the conversations between [kings] Wen and Wu of the Zhou with Great Duke Wang,⁷²¹ arguing about military [matters], but in fact it is an apocryphal work.⁷²² However, in it you will find one or two lines, [sometimes] three or four lines of ancient phrases; these are here and there in the text. These, in their turn, may be worth the [trouble of] picking out? On the other hand, the various kinds of military equipment - things for attacking, things for defending, things for fighting in the field, things for shielding against wind and rain, things intended for [fighting] on sea and land, on rivers and in dry moats - are mentioned in [great] detail. They are, however, (3:24a) suited to ancient times, but not to the present; you can use them in yonder country, but you cannot use them in this country. What one should do is to know its principles and to understand the variations. One must not put glue on the bridges and then play the lute."⁷²³

Ah! What kind of a man is Mr Hayashi? Imitating the Confucian

⁷¹⁹ The expression 「以恩報怨」 exists; see, for instance, the fifteenth-century *Ainō shō* 壺囊鈔, fasc. 1, where we find 「以恩報怨事」 as its sixth entry. In the present context, however, the reverse will have been intended; cf. *Honkoku*, note 698. We have emended and translated accordingly.

⁷²⁰ The title literally means "six sheaths" It is one of the Seven Books (see *supra*, note 517), which is a collection of military classics. N.B. in Sawyer, *The Seven Military Classics*, it is put first.

⁷²¹ Great Duke Wang was the first marquis of Qi 齊侯. He had retired from the world and was quietly fishing in the waters of the Wei, when he was discovered by King Wen, whose son, King Wu, he helped to overthrow the Yin Dynasty.

⁷²² This notion has been disproven by modern archaeology, which turned up a text on bamboo strips in a tomb dating from the Han Dynasty. For this point, and for the rest of the discussion, see Sawyer, *The Seven Military Classics*, pp. 35-37.

⁷²³ A proverbial expression: if one glues the bridges of the lute, one cannot change the tuning. It refers to a person who cannot adapt and improvise.

scholars of the Song, who called the *Suwen*⁷²⁴ an apocryphal work, he calls *Liu tao* an apocryphal work, and he calls *Sendai kuji hongji* an apocryphal work. Merely because a book contains something he dislikes personally or detests, without distinguishing between heterodox and orthodox, or between correct and incorrect, he calls it an apocryphal work or a baseless theory, as his fancy takes him. Not only does he say this with his mouth, he also writes it down in books, thus leaving it to the world and creating doubts in [the minds of] later [generations of] scholars. There is no sin greater than this.

Well now, *Liu tao* truly is a work of Great Duke Wang. I will, therefore, show proof of this. *Shiji* ("Records of the Historian") [tells how] the youthful Zhang Liang⁷²⁵ (3:24b) ran into an old man on the bridge⁷²⁶ in Xiapei⁷²⁷ who threw his shoe down the bridge. He spoke to Liang, saying: "You, lad, go down and pick up my shoe." Liang felt like hitting him. [The old man said again:] "Meet me here in five days." Liang kept the appointment, but the old man was already there. Angrily, he said: "What [sloppy behaviour] is this? Arriving late for an appointment with an older man!"⁷²⁸ They made an appointment for

⁷²⁴ *Suwen* (9 fasc.) is one part of a larger compilation, *Huangdi neijing* 黄帝内经 ("The Inner Classic of the Yellow Emperor"), which is regarded as the oldest Chinese medical classic. It was probably compiled sometime at the end of the Period of the Warring States or the beginning of the Han Dynasty. The other part of the compilation is *Lingshu* 靈樞 (9 fasc.).

⁷²⁵ In his youth, Zhang Liang (d. 168 B.C.) tried to kill Qin Shihuangdi, but failed, after which followed the episode that is told here. Ten years later, he met Liu Bang 劉邦 (247-202-195), the founder of the Western Han Dynasty, and served him. He saved his life at one occasion, and he was also the one who defeated Liu's contestant for the throne, Xiang Yu (232-202). After the founding of the Han, he was enfeoffed as marquis of Liu 留侯.

⁷²⁶ The character 圯 is explained as "bridge" in reference to the present passage; see Mor. III: 4889 s.v.

⁷²⁷ For Xiapei, see Mor. I: 14-504-2. It is the name of a district founded by the Qin in present-day Jiangsu. N.B. The state Pei was founded by the founder of the Xia Dynasty. According to Mor. XI: 39340 s.v. 1, it was located in Shandong. Apparently, we have to distinguish between Pei and Xiapei.

⁷²⁸ The translation is based on the text in *Shiji* and *Shibashi lüe*; cf. *Honkoku*, note 700. Note that 長者 can mean both "a rich man" (generally read *chōja*) and "an old(er) man" (generally read *chōsha*).

five days later, but when [Liang] arrived, the old man, again, was already there. He was angry, and again they made a date for five days later. [This time,] Liang went in the middle of the night. When the old man arrived, he was pleased. He gave him a book of bound bamboo strips,⁷²⁹ and said: "When you have read this, then you will become a teacher of emperors. In later days, you will see a yellow stone at the foot of Gucheng Mountain,⁷³⁰ north of the Ji⁷³¹; that stone will be me." When in the morning [Liang] inspected [the book], it turned out to be the military lore of Great Duke Wang. Liang was intrigued; day and night he practised and read it, and before long, he assisted [his superiors and the realm was stabilized].⁷³²

When we look at it like this, [it is clear that] the book Lord Yellow Stone gave to Zhang Liang was *Liu tao* of Great Duke Wang.⁷³³ I (3:25a) read *Seven Books* in my early adulthood. Often, it moved me to tears. The man who compiled *Seven Books* during the Great Tang did not have eyes to see⁷³⁴ when he compiled it; [as a result,] the order is a mess. When [you ask me] why, [my answer is that] *Liu tao* is a book

In view of the Chinese sources, which have 老人, "older man" is the obvious translation.

⁷²⁹ The compound 編書 is not attested; it is not a usual word for "book." As the original meaning of 編 is "to string together bamboo strips," we have decided to interpret the compound in this sense.

⁷³⁰ Gucheng is the name of a district (*xian*), or, as here, the name of a mountain in Shandong; see Mor. VIII: 25221-39-2-*i*.

⁷³¹ Name of a river in Henan.

⁷³² In all its brevity, 既佐 is an obscure phrase; the complete sentence in *Shibashi lue* 十八史略, Chōon's source, is 既佐上定天下. Its most likely meaning is that, having studied the book, before long Liang was able to assist his superior Liu Bang in his struggles with the Qin and with Xiang Yu. However, as *Shiji* tells, it took another ten years before Liang met Liu Bang and began to fight for him.

⁷³³ Note that *Liu tao* is ascribed to Taigong Wang, but that Taigong Wang was a different person from Lord Yellow Stone, and that they lived many centuries apart. *Seven Books* include both *Liu tao* (no. 6), ascribed to Taigong Wang, and *Sanlüe* 三略, ascribed to our Lord Yellow Stone. One wonders why the latter, when he was handing out books, did not give his own military treatise to Zhang Liang, but that by Taigong Wang. For a survey of the various theories, see Sawyer, *The Seven Military Classics*, pp. 281-284.

⁷³⁴ The compound 具眼 (*juyan*) is defined as "to be able to distinguish right from wrong; to have a discerning eye; to be an intelligent observer."

from the times of the Zhou, and that Great Duke Wang was a Sage. Why, then, has he placed *Sunzi* and *Wuzi*, [which books date] from [the Period of] the Warring States, first, and *Liu tao* near the end, at place six? It would seem to be that Righteousness is not assured [in this text].⁷³⁵ I think that, within *Seven Books*, no book is considered to be better [than *Liu tao*] at explaining the way of the military in conformity with the Way of the Holy Ones.

Extreme [as ever], Mr Hayashi calls it an apocryphal work. Great Duke Wang made his name in the times of the Zhou, taught King Wu, and executed King Jie, [while] Zhang Liang read this book, made his name in the world of the Han, taught the High Ancestor [of the Han, i.e. Liu Bang], and overthrew Xiang Yu. The Great Duke and Zhang Liang were teachers of emperors. People like Master Sun and Master Wu⁷³⁶ (3:25b) made their name in the Period of the Warring States, and were at best the teacher of one state. One cannot discuss their virtue and merits on the same day.

End of the final fascicle of *Fusō gobusshin ron*

Shōtoku 4 (1714), 8th month, day in
the first decade

⁷³⁵ The most likely explanation of this judgement is that the putative writer of *Liu tao* helped King Wu to topple his lord, King Jie. Wu could explain his action, but nevertheless, it was a hotly debated issue all through Chinese and Japanese history. It might have been a reason to give this text by Great Duke Wang a less prominent position in *Qi shu*.

⁷³⁶ The authors of the military treatises *Sunzi* and *Wuzi*, which bear their names, and in the standard arrangement come respectively first and second in the *Seven Books*.

APPENDIX: *Taisei-kyō* and its corpus of initiation texts (*kanden*).

I.

「秘密三部の神道とは、宗源(カンツモト)・斉元(カンツイミ)・靈宗(カンツムネ)の三部五鎮の神道のことであるが、この三部を統括する灌(ミソソギ)伝と云うものがあり、これを総称して「三部灌伝」と云う。

灌伝に就ては、昭和60年代に『さすら』誌上に於いて布施弥平次氏が「灌伝私訓解」「神道灌伝考」としてその一部が紹介されたが、当時から殆んど知られることの無い存在であった。

抑も、灌伝とは、天兒屋根命の神裔・中臣家の伝える宗源伝、天太玉命の神裔・斎部家の伝える斉元伝、八意思兼命の神裔・阿智家の伝える靈宗伝の三伝を統括する饒速日尊(ニギハヤヒノミコト)の神裔・物部家が統括する神道秘伝のことを言い、宗源伝、斉元伝、靈宗伝それぞれ二十四伝ずつあり、その合計七十二伝を総合したものである。

この「秘密三部の神道」の七十二伝の数は『先代旧事本紀大成経』七十二巻と符合し、恰も、仙道に於ける経典『老子道德経』と行法『老子法』とが表裏を為して居るが如くである。

また、三部灌伝には小生の知る限り、三部、つまり宗源・斉元・靈宗、それぞれに仮書・実書・竟書と三種三重の伝、つまり九巻があり、更に、灌伝として初篇、再篇、竟篇の三巻あるが、この布施氏が研究されたのは黒瀧山不動寺に伝わる潮音伝の灌伝で、これは仮書と実書の混ざったものであり、これのみではその全貌を明

らかにすることは困難であつたろうと思われる。

それは、灌伝の『再篇』に「二、不書」として「家々、家書を成すも、必ず宗源・斉元・靈宗の名目を書かず、何を以ての故か、この伝これ極密にして、未だすなわち称へず、これ筆を停めるを以て極宗と為すに依る故と謂ふ。」とある如く、その存在すら極秘であり、これを知る者は極く限られて居た為である。

そして、これらを研究して見ると、これこそ吾が禊流の神言・神数・神象と交錯する神伝でも有り、確かに『先代旧事本紀大成経』とその淵源を同じくして居ることが窺われるのである。」

(quoted from misogi.org/taishi.htm)

SEE ALSO the section 「授水灌法」 in Chōon's *Shigetsu yawa*.

II:

Chōon bunshū 1: 「近世ノ儒者、以二異国ノ儒道謂レ同ニシト吾国ノ神道一神者モ亦吾国ノ神道ヲ謂レ等ニト異国ノ儒道一。雷同シテ而悉ク誹二謗佛法一。佛者モ亦不レ知レ為ニシヲ其非一也。可レ悲可レ歎。先代旧事紀^{ヤマトヒメノミコト}日本姫命云ク從二武姫^{タケヒメ}ノ天皇ノ時一^{アタシクニ}異国ノ人來ル其ノ人者ノ中ニ且ツ有下称二人魂^{ヒトタマツキ}竭、神魂既歸^{カンタマ}亡^{ホロボ}ス者上是吾国ノ怨ニシテ無^{ナシ}ニスル神威一也。如二此ノ文一則吾国ノ之神不レ重ニンセ儒道一可レ知ンヌ矣。」

III.

In *Shigatsu yawa*, vol. 3 (授水灌法), Chōon mentions that he received a 神道の灌伝, and he quotes: [先代舊事本紀大成經十五 天孫本紀上]: [天孫熟閑思之:「世下神邪, 若為非善法難救之。」依作水灌法。是法出天祖, 使天太玉命子富國太命遣海, 需海神之素水, 使天物梁命子天押雲命遣天, 索月宮之素水。外祖豐玉彥神頂, 有妙靈寶水湖沼。此水地潤元, 能雨降露為。祖伯月豐受神座, 有神妙瑞水湖沼。這水天澤元, 能氣霑運滋。是二水元一, 互師氣張為, 月迴龍控兮, 潮標潮授矣。以茲操世成。合這二水, 灌兒尊頂。天祖天帝造天造地, 神生氣生。如此眾等妙法元法, 皆用授為。富國太命、天押雲命, 奉助導天孫, 水灌法已遂。是灌頂神事, 其法之元也。

于時天孫惡國穢邪, 推關八重巖, 遂巖隱去也。是國人惡逆神捨國隱去, 其理之元也。]

The text about *kanjō* in *Nagano Uneme den* (Chōon received both the text of *Taisei-kyō* and initiations (*kanden*) related to this text from Nagano Uneme): [灌頂徒若千人矣、夫灌頃之為法也、蓋權興於夫祖、而大成乎天孫矣、此時也世下神邪而正道不明、天孫大患之、乃使国太押雲二命需海神月宮之素水合些水灌兒尊頂以繼神命之法位矣、是天祖天帝之遺法而万世入道之軌範也、住昔嘗律別三死至干冥府冥主詔大王曰、大王蕪服於本国即白天皇、当以臣民等灌伝印書、必令葬者持之、然別宥大罪以為小罪、轉重罪為輕罪焉、至乃君子善客益升

神位遂常望矣、大王蘓生以冥主言、即奏天皇、天皇聞之且怖且悦、
勅以灌伝印書、令葬者從之、其由尚矣、可欽可貴]