III. TRANSLATION

(1:1a) Hayashi Dōshun once published *An Inquiry into the Shrines of Our Country* in three fascicles.¹ To [text] he added passages related to Buddhism, which he had collected [from his sources]. Things that did not suit him, he discussed on the basis of his own private insights,² maligning [Buddhism] to his heart’s content, and going to the depth of his poisonous envy. He did nothing but revile the splendid achievements³ of the Sages and thus led astray the foolish feelings of ordinary people. Anyone who is amongst the followers of the [Buddha] cannot but be deeply pained when he sees this. This being the case, a man who had great talents,⁴ a mature judgment,⁵ and a reputation [to maintain] in the world⁶ would have been circumspect and scrupulous on many points, and would not have discussed [these matters] lightly.

For several decades this book has spread unchecked throughout the realm. (1:1b) Quite frequently uneducated Shinto priests have used it to engage in empty speculation⁷ and to destroy ancient [arrangements]. Stupid laymen, avid for novelties, have leapt at these heterodox [notions] and lost the truth.

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¹ *Honchō jinja kō* had been published by 1659. In the list he compiled of his father’s published works (*Henchoshomoku*, dated Manji 2/12/14), Hayashi Gahō mentions a *jinja-kō*, in 3 fascicles, and adds "recently published." (Razan-sensei *shishō* vol. 2, appendix 4, p. 63a). The book itself has no dated prefaces or postfaces, and only two of the many, many printed copies listed in the *Nihon kotenseki sógō mokuroku* Database of Kokubunken apparently carry a colophon that specifies publishers and dates. One seems to have been published in Shōhō 2 (1645) by Tahara Jinzaemon 田原仁左衛門, and the other between Kan’ei 15 (1638) and Shōhō 2 by one Kamimura Jirōemon 上村次郎右衛門, both in Kyoto. The book must have been reprinted, but no dates are available. There are a number of modern editions. All references are to the edition in the series *Nihon shisō tōsō shiryo* vol. 1.

² Razan writes: "When, occasionally, there are passages that have to do with the Buddhists, then I add them, but lowered by one character in order not to confuse the readers. And, moreover, when discussing [these things], I do it according to my own insights, and also add [my comments] to the same [text]." See above, the translation of the pref ace, and Nihon Shisō Tōsō Shiryō vol. 1, p. 366.

³ For the meaning of *huilie* 徽烈 ("splendid achievements") see Mor. IV: 10267-49.

⁴ The compound 欲才 is not attested, but 宏才 is, and 欲 is listed as a regular *itaiji* of 宏; see Mor. III: 7086 s.v., and ibid., 7086-27).

⁵ The compound 老度 is not attested in any of the dictionaries. Our translation is based on the meaning of the two individual characters: "old" and "to measure, to plot."

⁶ *命世* see Mor. II: 3473-49. In one of the *loki* quoted there, the phrase *命世之宏才* appears.

⁷ A literal rendering of 課虚 would be "measuring the void." As explained in *Kakikudashi*, note 2, the reading of this passage is problematic; hence, the translation is provisional.
Now, my status is as low as that of a dog or a horse⁸ and my talents are [as useless] as those of a summer insect.⁹ I have many shortcomings and I have hidden myself in a cabin¹⁰ by a mountain stream. What breath I have left I dedicate to meditation and recitation.¹¹ By nature I am clumsy with words and with the brush, but my companions [want to] do something [about this book] and have forced me to compose the present volume. I fear and am ashamed of the fact that, whatever I may see through my tiny tube¹² will fail to be complete and comprehensive. It may truly be a case of "trying to stop the fire by bringing the kindling."¹³ [I might make things worse.]

A day in the middle month of spring, 6th year of Shōtoku, Year of the Monkey¹⁴ Jakuhon of the Unsekidō wrote this.

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⁸ Dogs and horses are used by others and subservient to man. In the context of this metaphor, mi could be interpreted as "status" (mibun).

⁹ The idea is that summer insects are short-lived. They do not know the winter's ice, and this makes them unfit for understanding worldly events. We owe this insight to Zhuangzi; see Mor. III: 5720-205.

¹⁰ Ka means "shelf, ledge, beam," but the meaning nedoko is also attested; see Mor. VI: 14586 s.v.

¹¹ A compound 禅誦 is not attested. On the other hand, little breath is needed for meditation, so one might consider the translation "meditative recitation."

¹² This is a metaphor for "little learning."

¹³ The proverb appears at several places in the classic corpus. See quotations in Mor. V: 13221-21 (kyūka 救火, with references to Mengzi 6A18: "... is like trying to save a cartload of kindling with one cup of water."). Mor. V: 11917-71 (hōshin 抱薪, with a reference to Huainanzi), and Mor. IX: 32149-51, where the proverb is explained as "to sacrifice yourself, trying to prevent a disaster," and "to make a disaster bigger while trying to prevent it" (reference to Zhanguoce: Wei ce). "Adding fuel to the flames," would be the European equivalent.

¹⁴ Shōtoku 6 corresponds to 1716. In the sixth month of that year the era name was changed to Kyōhō.
Discussing the Doubts regarding An Inquiry into the Shrines of Our Country

(1:2a) First Fascicle

In the Preface of An Inquiry into the Shrines [Dōshun] says: "Our country is the country of the gods. Since Emperor Jinmu15 the Royal Way thereupon expanded. In the Middle Ages, [the Royal Way] gradually dwindled, and the Buddhists, availing themselves of the opportunity, introduced the Law of those western regions, [thus] changing the customs of our eastern land. As the Royal Way had already decayed, the Way of the Gods, too, gradually fell into disuse."

I criticize this as follows: "When one considers this carefully, our country lay waste16 for a long time, from the Age of the Gods until [well into] the Age of Man. Its territory lay isolated in the Eastern Sea; its customs were the same for all.17 The gods of heaven and earth were subtle and effective, and the inhabitants were sincere and obedient. When we come to the reign of Emperor Ōjin,18 Confucianism arrived from Paekche; for the first time in our history, we were informed of the customs of a strange country. Thereupon, we knew the concepts of Benevolence and Righteousness. After three hundred years and some had gone by, (1:2b) under the reign of Emperor Kinmei,19 by way of tribute Paekche sent a Buddha statue, sutra and śāstra. Although at this time it happened that such benighted traditionalists20 as Mononobe no Okoshi (dates unknown) and Nakatomi no Kamako (dates unknown) were suspicious of [the Buddha statue] and rejected it, [the emperor] gave it to Soga no Iname (d. 570), [who] revered it. Eventually, Prince Toyotomimi21 greatly advanced the whole country22 and

15 Jinmu’s traditional dates are 711-660-585 B.C.
16荒洪 is defined as "completely wild and extensive"; see Mor. IX: 30953-77. The same characters in the inverse order are used in Qianziwen to describe the cosmos in its initial phase: "boundless and without order"; see Mor. VI: 17402-61.
17 For 异道 see Mor. VII: 21886-187.
18 Ōjin’s traditional dates are 200-270-310.
19 Kinmei’s dates are 509-539-571.
20 The compound愚執 is not attested. The meaning of the first character is clear; the second we interpret in the sense of 職着 (shūjaku), as "clinging to, obsessed by."
21 Toyotomimi (‘he with the abundantly acute ears”) is one of the names of Shōtoku-taishi.
22 It says "raised the country’s borders,” but the intention will be "all within the borders.” We have translated accordingly.
turned to [the Buddha's] way. Medicines that cure diseases are not the product of one's own village, and something rare and marvellous originates from a strange and distant land. Things may have come into being in a different region, and yet their efficacy will not be lost. A Way may have come from a strange clime, and yet its transformations are immediate. The Way of the Sages knows no partiality, and nothing falls outside [the scope of] its divine transformations. Why does [Dōshun insist on] speaking of the western heaven and the eastern region, and about the differences in laws and customs? If he dislikes teachings from a different region, then he should not [want to] practise the teachings of Benevolence and Righteousness in our country. After all, Confucianism came (1:3a) earlier and [was the first to] change our country. Why does he not think of that himself?

When he says that, 'As the Royal Way had already decayed, the Way of the Gods, too, gradually fell into disuse,' well, I do not think this [to be the case at all]. I have heard that the Way of the Holy Ones is completely good [and that there is no particle of evil in it]. What does he think the Buddha's teaching is? In its first stage, it guides man by means of the Five Precepts and the Ten Good Deeds. The Buddha does not incite [man to do] evil. Within broad outlines, [man should obey] the correct Laws and in this way respect public order. Is it not said in the Shujing that '[the ways of] doing good are different, but they contribute in common to good order'?

Emperor Wen of the Song spoke to He Shangzhi and said: 'Once, I happened to see a treatise written by Yan Yanzhi (382-460) and said: 'Once, I happened to see a treatise written by Yan Yanzhi

23 For the compound kyōfū 嚮風 see Mor. II: 4565-19.
24 利 not in the sense of "advantage," but of "efficacy" (as of medicines) - kiku.
25 The Five Precepts are "Not killing 不殺生, not stealing 不偸盜, no debauchery 不邪婬, no false speech 不妄語, and no consumption of alcohol 不飲酒; the Ten Good Deeds are not killing 不殺生, not stealing 不偸盜, not committing adultery 不邪淫, not lying 不妄語, not speaking harshly 不惡口, not speaking divisively 不兩舌, not speaking idly 不絶語, not being greedy 不貪欲, not being angry 不瞋恚, and not having wrong views 不邪見.
26 Legge translates: "The king speaks to this effect: 'The people's hearts have no unchanging attachment; they cherish only the kind. Acts of goodness are different, but they contribute in common to good order. Acts of evil are different, but they contribute in common to disorder.'" See Waltham, Shu Ching, p. 189.
27 Emperor Wen (r. 424-452) of the Liu Song Dynasty.
28 He Shangzhi was an official of the Song. See Mor. I: 511-291; biography in Song shu 66 (vol. 6, pp. 1732-1739.
29 This is the first time Jakuhon quotes Liu Mi 劉謐 (fl. 1279), Sanjiao pingxin Lun 三教平心論. Throughout
(384-456) and Zong Bing\(^{31}\) (375-443), [in which] they elucidated the Buddha’s teaching. It was extremely convincing and compelling. If we [could] make the whole world\(^{32}\) experience this transforming [influence], then we would be able to fold our arms, to sit down, and to establish the great peace.' [He] Shangzhi said: (1:3b) 'If from a village of one hundred households ten people maintain the Five Precepts, then ten people will be obedient and moderate. If from a town of one thousand houses one hundred people practise the Ten Good Deeds, then one hundred people will live in peace and friendship with each other. If they go around in the realm with these moral teachings, [of the members of the] hundred million or more of registered households, one million will be good people. When one is able to perform a single good deed, one eliminates one single wrong. If a single wrong is eliminated, one punishment is avoided. This is what the words of Your Majesty "We will sit down and establish the great peace" amount to.' Lü Xiaqing\(^{33}\) (1018-70) said: 'Petty men do not fear punishments, they fear hell. When one achieves that the people of the realm do not dare to deceive their own hearts, because [they know that] in things both great and small karmic causation is at work, and makes them reduce their custom[ary inclination to] insult and rivalry, then how could this fail to become a world in which punishments were not inflicted and the highest [degree of order [reigned]]?' [To know] that Buddhism has [what it takes] to assist the king’s rule, (1:4a) you should see what the Ancient Sages have argued. Because of this, ever since the conversion\(^{34}\) of our

\(\text{Jinjakō bengi, Sanjiao pingxin Lun}\) is probably the treatise most often quoted by Jakuhon. Although Liu Mi’s treatise has been referred to as "one of the most widely read and well-known books in Japan", modern studies about this treatise, both in Japanese and in western languages, are disappointingly few. Although in Japanese studies of Buddhist-Confucian polemics Sanjiao pingxin Lun is regularly referred to as a text that defenders of the Buddhist teaching often quoted from, an in-depth study of this treatise does not seem to exist. At the Oriental Congress held in London in 1892, James Legge presented a paper on this treatise, entitled "A Fair and Dispassionate Discussion of the Three Doctrines Accepted in China". In studies of James Legge’s life and works one sometimes also encounters comments on this aspect of Legge’s work; see e.g. Girardot, The Victorian Translation of China, pp. 415-17 and end notes.

\(^{30}\)Yan Yanzhi was famous writer and poet.

\(^{31}\)Zong Bing was a Taoist scholar, an expert on the lute, and in calligraphy and painting.

\(^{32}\)The \textit{locus} of the expression \textit{shuaidu zhi bin} is \textit{Shijing} 205, second couplet. The beaches (\textit{bin}) refer to the ends of the earth, or rather, of the land. The expression means "everyone living on the land, within the confines of the waters that surround it."

\(^{33}\)Lü Xiaqing is a historian from the Sung period who played a prominent role in the compilation of Tang genealogies.

\(^{34}\)The compound \textit{眞化} is not attested in the dictionaries, but in view of the context the meaning "true
country [to Buddhism], the Kings, Princes, and Ministers have from generation to
generation been devoted to [the Buddhist teaching] and reverently served it. [As
a result,] golden pagoda's and plates of jade rise high, [close to each other] like
[the teeth of] a comb. [The king and his ministers] control the State; they
trounce natural calamities; they extinguish human errors; they swell out lies and
deceit. Highly they look up to [Buddhism as] the field of good fortune. How
could the peace of the realm and the docility of the masses not lie in this?

Since olden times foreign lands have not been able to attack our country.
Even though subjects occasionally battled for power, they still served their king
and did no [such thing as] robbing him of his throne. The masses did not transfer
[their loyalty] and lived at ease in their dwellings. This was because they were
subject to the supreme order of the Royal Way. Furthermore, as regards
[Buddhism in its relation] to the Way of the Gods, naturally, among the large
numbers of Shinto shrines that are listed in this volume (i.e. Jinja-kô), there are
few who do not support the Buddha. (1:4b) And [it goes without saying that] the
Buddha [sides] with the Gods! That it (Buddhism) was elevated is because it was
considered to be the basis; that it extended is because it was considered to be
virtuous. By flourishing more and more, it increasingly manifested itself. The
Shinto shrines in the realm have become prosperous. How was that before, when
this Buddhism had not yet come [to our land]? Why is it that you say that because
of Buddhism the Way of the Gods has gradually fallen into disuse?

Furthermore, in Jinja-kô it says: "Because their deviant teachings were strange to
us and thus difficult to establish, they formulated their heterodox theory."

Criticizing this, I say: "When Buddhism came to Han China, Confucius had
already been dead for six hundred years; how could Confucius have referred to Buddhism and consider it [a] heterodox [teaching]? This is a distortion by superficial Confucian currents. Zhu Xi and the like, because of their disease to reject [other teachings], concealed his (= the Buddha’s) virtues, prevented and stopped later [younger] scholars and wanted to let them rely on himself. The younger scholars, in the end, did not contest it. [Zongben of] Yanqing⁴⁰ says: “That young scholars (1:5a) themselves do not have something to compare with, [is because] they are not yet exempted from obeying people's beckoning. Imitating [them], they say this and mistake the bell for a jar.”⁴¹ Master Lie addressed Confucius by calling him Saint. The Saint of the Western direction (= the Buddha) emerges above the Five Emperors and Three Sovereigns.⁴² Lin Xiyi⁴³ said: "Why do they denounce the Buddha?” In the past, in front of the Bagabon [the Buddha], the Gods of the Heavens in the ten directions, received his request and respectfully practised the Buddhist teaching; why would a highly respected Buddhist teaching in this way establish itself by borrowing [= make use of] the Gods?”

Furthermore, he states: "Izanagi and Izanami are Sanskrit words."

Criticizing this, I say: "These words are a foolish explanation[ , which shows that] they were perplexed by those names and failed to distinguish Japanese from Sanskrit. Why would [this foolish explanation] (1:5b) deserve to be discussed? Mountains contain orchids and mugwort.⁴⁴ People confuse the genuine with the false. They see mugwort and mistake it for an orchid. They see something false and act as if it is genuine. Can those people avoid being foolish?

⁴⁰ Dharma master Yi Yüan of the Yanqing temple (延慶一元本禪師); Yi Yüan was the personal name of Zongben.
⁴¹ Reference to Wumen Huikai 無門慧開 (1183-1260), Wumenguan 無門關 ("The Gateless Gate") 7, the anecdote about Zhaozhou telling a student ‘wash your bowl’ (趙州洗鉢). Wumen's comment at the end of the story, on the pretension of the monk to have gained insight, runs as follows: 「無門曰。趙州開口見膽。露出心肝者僧聽事不眞。喚鐘作甕。」; see TZ 48, p. 294a.
⁴² A group of mythological rulers and deities from ancient China who are traditionally dated to the period of 2852 B.C. to 2070 B.C..
⁴³ Lin Xiyi 林希逸 (ca. 1200-73) was a commentator of Daoist classics and a supporter of a syncretism of Daoism, Confucianism and Buddhism.
⁴⁴ 蘭艾: litt. "orchids and mugwort (artemisia indica)," i.e. both precious and worthless things.
Since olden times, the number of Confucians who have perverted their scholarship and curried favour with the world is innumerable.\(^45\) Why should I consider that as a blemish on Confucianism, and as a reproach to Confucius? Furthermore, as Buddhism has widely spread, a great many evade their [religious] responsibilities and depend on [Buddhism for their] livelihood - [they are the] types [who make use] of bewitching forgeries\(^46\) and pretend to abilities [the do not possess],\(^47\) and the fellows with unorthodox understandings and practices. Why[, however,] should you consider those as a blemish on the Buddha? Indulging in frivolous lies\(^48\) is not in the public interest.

Furthermore, he states: "The Goddess of the sun is [the Buddha] Dainichi."
Criticizing this, I say: "Dainichi is the undifferentiated Dharma Body and Wisdom Body. He is omnipresent (1:6a) in the worlds of sentient beings and insentient [objects]. He is considered to be the source of everything, and he is called the foundation of the world. That the name and virtue of the sun are identified with this Buddha appears in the Commentary on [the Sutra on the Realization of Buddhahood by] Biroshana. [There] it says: "the Sanskrit Biroshana is another name for Sun and thus has the meaning of removing darkness and illuminating all around. It is the virtue of perfect radiance that is unlimited. It cannot be likened to the sun of our world. However, because they take [the fact that the sun] resembles him in the small, they add the name 'Great,' and call him Maka-Biroshana." This is the explanation of the Indian [master of esoteric Buddhism] Śubhākarasimba (637-735) and the record of the Chinese dhyāna master Yixing(683-727). Furthermore, when I base myself on the old Indian scriptures, the sun will appear in our world during the kalpa of abiding.\(^49\) The

\(^{45}\)The phrase 曲学阿世 ("warping one’s scholarship and currying favour with the world") occurs in Shi Ji 史記 121: Rulin liezhuan 儒林列伝.

\(^{46}\)The compound 妖贋 is not attested in the dictionaries. It will be short for the compound 妖巫贋僧, which occurs elsewhere in the text.

\(^{47}\)The compound 靑吹 refers to people who cannot play the flute, but hide in th orchestra so that no one notices. See Mor. VII: 18521-47.

\(^{48}\)Translation of futan 浮誕; cf. the relevant lemma in Nihon Kokugo Daijiten.

\(^{49}\)The kalpa of human existence; it is the second of the four kalpas. Characteristics are that sun and moon rise, sexes are differentiated, heroes arise, four castes are formed, and social life evolves.
size of the sun's disk in diameter is fifty-one yojana\textsuperscript{50} and thus two thousand and forty ri.\textsuperscript{51} If it is placed upon Japan, then its size still (1:6b) exceeds it; it encircles the four continents of Mount Sumeru. [Dainichi's] spiritual virtues and spiritual transformations cannot be fathomed. That is why there are different accounts of him. From olden times, Confucians call the history of the Gods in our country an allegory and say it is nonsense. What to make of Dōshun's views?"

Furthermore, he states: "Because [Japan] is Dainichi's original country, it is called the country of the origin of the sun"\textsuperscript{52}

Criticizing this, I say: "Dainichi is the Tathāgata of the Dharma-kāya.\textsuperscript{53} In the Sutras it is said: 'there is no place where he comes from and there is no place that he goes to.' Dainichi is also called the omnipresent one. He takes the Realm of the cosmic law as his capital. His quiescence\textsuperscript{54} and radiance are eternal. Why would he take one small section [of the world,] Japan, as his original country? This is again indulging in frivolous gossip."

(1:7a) Furthermore, he states: "The original ground is the Buddha, and its manifestation is the god."

Criticizing this, I say: "The term 'original ground' comes from China and India. 'Original' is [short for] 'originally existent'; it means that it is not [something that] was created and grew. It stands for 'the first,' 'the ancestor.' 'Ground' is used in the sense of 'being able to bring forth all things.' All phenomena without exception come forth from it. Generally speaking, the world, [throughout] the kalpas of Construction, Abiding, Destruction and Emptiness - kalpa on kalpa ending and beginning - is never spent. With 'Original ground,' then, we mean the non-beginning of its non-beginning; that is why we call it the

\textsuperscript{50}A transliteration of the Sanskrit, an Indian measure of distance. Depending upon the source, either seven or nine miles, the distance appropriate for one day of travel for an emperor.

\textsuperscript{51}A ri 里 is a measure of distance. In Japan, the length was nearly four kilometers.

\textsuperscript{52}We have translated according to the text in the preface of Jinja-kō, assuming that the second character 大 is a mistake.

\textsuperscript{53}Tathāgata is another name for Buddha, and Dharma-kāya is the absolute nature of the Buddha mind.

\textsuperscript{54}Jaku 寂 refers to the nature of absolute reality that transcends all forms of the phenomenal world.
Ultimate Truth of Non-production. This is what is referred to by the phrase 'the original beginning and original ground of all things'.

In a different vocabulary, but [in concepts that] show a likeness [to the Buddhist account], [it is said of] Amasakiri Kunisakiri in our Japanese account of [the origin of] the Gods [that] 'When heaven had been formed and earth had become fixed he was produced in between.' Because it is a divine body of Amenomiyoa, (1:7b) it is called a *suijaku*. Generally speaking, in terms of what they do, Gods show traces to human beings and bestow transformations on the myriad things. If it were not for their original [ground], [the Gods] would not be revered, and if it were not for their traces, they would not be identical [with the dust]. The Buddha has accumulated innumerable [merits of] wealth and wisdom and he has made innumerable Vows; on the deeply laid foundation of his fundamental virtue he has achieved the estimable height of the subtle fruit [of enlightenment]. Such a lofty and subtle state like his is not something that the ordinary run of men can comprehend. Therefore, he makes use of his wealth, wisdom, vows and practices, and manifests himself before humans. This is how the spiritual subtlety of the Gods goes through wonderful changes and carries the living beings who have no one to rely on.

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56 An abbreviation of Amatsumioya Amatsuyuzuruhi Amasakiri Kunitsuyuzurutsuki Kunisakiri Sumeramikoto (天祖天譲日天先霧地譲月地先霧皇尊), the Great Originator mentioned in *Sendai kuji hongi*.
57 This resembles the phrasing in *Nihon shoki*. The only difference is that *Nihon shoki* has "生" instead of "化生". See Aston *Chronicles* vol. 1, p. 2: "Heaven was therefore formed first, and Earth was established subsequently. Thereafter Divine Beings were produced between them."
58 Amenomiyoa is the *kami* that in the *Jindai hongi* 神代本紀 chapter of *Sendai kuji hongi taisei-kyō* is referred to as the Uncreated First God of Heaven 無生始天神; see *Taisei-kyō* vol. 1, p. 24. It is in this sense that Jakuhon compares Amenomiyoa with his previously discussed concept of Original Ground.
59 The various divine bodies 神躬 of Amenomiyoa are discussed in the *Kōsen hongi* 黄泉本紀 section of *Sendai kuji hongi taisei-kyō* 先代旧事本紀大成経; see *Taisei-kyō* vol. 1, p. 96-109. In this chapter, however, there is no reference to Amenomiya as a *suijaku*. *Suijaku* literally means "a handed-down trace." It refers to a Buddha of Bodhisattva who has manifested himself in a temporary form, in this case as a Shinto God, in order to save the sentient beings.
60 Litt. "gods in their quality of things," but "things" means "things to do, work."
61 This is a reference to the concept of *wakō dōjin* 和光同塵 ("Dimming their lustre and becoming identical with the dust"), which is the classic description of the actions of a Bodhisattva.
62 The character 構 indicates "to construct, structure." In view of the adjective "deep" and the fact that something is based on it, we have translated it here as "foundation." For 徳本, cf. Mor. IV: 10243-295, the where the translation" basis of virtue, basic virtue" is suggested.
If the effects of the practice of virtue during one lifespan are restricted to one's own person, one will not be able to work subtle changes in the world. One can see that the customs of the gods of our country, which are recorded in Kujiki, Kojiki, Nihongi etcetera, (1:8a) do not resemble the Confucian theories. Fish and shellfish do not understand what happens on land. How would the furry and feathered creatures know what it is like to play in the stream? In Buddhism, those with a small capacity do not know the complete picture either. How, then, could vulgar scholars of bookish learning, who do not discuss anything apart from forms and bodies, and what they see and hear, know the Great Way? It is only natural that they are sceptical of the invisible support of the origins and traces.

He also said: "The kings, dukes, and high dignitaries of the time, and the lords and governors of the various provinces submitted themselves [to these beliefs] and 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]."

I criticise this as follows: "Anciently, in the time of Emperor Wu, there was a man from Liang called Xun Ji who was frustrated in his ambitions. He wrote a petition to the emperor (1:8b) in which in vile words he railed against the priests and criticized Buddhism. He realized that in effect he would not be able to abolish Buddhism, but under the pretence [of criticising Buddhism] he

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63 We think the function of the character 如 is to introduce a conditional clause on the "if ..., then ..." pattern; compare 若. If one would translate according to the okurigana, it would be "Something like the cultivation of virtue during one life stopping at the person, then, does not enable one to ...", which is a unnecessarily cumbersome sentence.

64 The argument seems to be that, as (according to the Japanese and Confucian accounts) the Japanese gods have not gone through a number of incarnations, they should not be able to work wonders. However, they do, which proves that they are incarnations of Buddha's who have experienced any number of reincarnations?

65 For the meaning of 高壤, see Mor. VIII: 22714-21.

66 Literally: "... know the shape of playing in the stream"

67 Literally, daien means "the full flow of the river, all the way down to the ocean."

68 One of the meanings of 寄 is "support" (Mor. III: 7203 s.v. 3). 冥 means "dark, such as the nether world," hence "invisible." 本迹 should, I think, be interpreted as "the Buddha's and the gods."

69 Intended is Emperor Wudi of the Liang Dynasty, who reigned from 502 till 549.
lampooned his uneducated, obtuse ruler. The emperor was greatly incensed and was about to inflict exemplary punishment on him. Ji secretly fled to Wei, but [there,] in the end, he was burnt for his evil deeds. And now Dōshun, without mincing his words, is directly referring to the kings and high dignitaries! He is much, much worse than that [Xun] Ji!

When I think about this, the World-Honoured One of the Great Awakening, the sun of the Yanzi Mountain, imparts his law to the kings and great ministers. The Law of the Buddha is huge; nothing is outside of it. It is to be honoured [above everything else]; no counterpart exists. The reverence [with which] the kings and ministers of the succeeding reigns served it was profound. We have finished texts [from] all of them [that] transmit [their faith]. [The Buddha's Law] may have met with three or four [attempts to] abolish it, but because of them, it has only risen, it has only flourished [all the more].

Why is it, that the Kings and Lords and high dignitaries of our country, with [feelings of] longing and envy, exerted themselves in particular for [the Buddha's from] a foreign country? Our country is the country of the gods. Gods and Buddha's are another name for substance and trace. [In this sense, they may be different, but] they are identical in their virtue of bringing blessings to [all living] beings. Therefore there were gods who manifested themselves in response to the splendid virtue of a great monk, and there were those who

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70 I.e. execute him and expose his body; see Mor. XII: 43736-149.
71 See Mor. IX: 30929-46. Biography in Bei-shi 北史 83. The incident is not mentioned in Zürcher, Buddhist Conquest.
72 Dajue shizun is a generic description of "a Buddha"; it is not specific for Dainichi.
73 See Mor. IV: 8208-2. Yanzi (J. Enshi) 嶽嵫 is the name of a mountain in Kansu. Anciently, it was supposed to be the place where the sun entered at night. Because of the setting sun, it can also be used as a metaphor of "old age" (Mor. IV: 8354-1). Neither interpretation seems particularly appropriate in the present context.
74 The compound chengshu 成書 is not attested in the dictionaries. For this translation we have interpreted cheng as "complete, finished, perfect."
75 On the basis of the standard glosses given in Fusanbō's Shōkai Kan-Wa daijiten we interpret 欽歎 (qinxin) as shitai-urayamu, hence, as a synonym of 欽羡 (qinxian; cf. Mor. 16104-56), which is explained in Morohashi as hito wo kinbo 鉉慕 shite urayamu.
76 Note the chiastic arrangement: "gods" corresponds with "substance," and Buddha's" with "trace."
77 Wu in li wu 利物 should be understood as "men," "or at least as "living beings." "Anything outside themselves" would be the basic meaning.
oracled in the expectation of the dharma taste of power and riches. Their various trajectories truly were manifold. Dōshun, however, [does not mind to] evaluate the splendid deeds [of the gods and Buddha’s] on his own authority, to pick and choose [what suits him], and to put that into [his book].

The Kings and Lords and high dignitaries of the time, responding to the spiritual influences, awoke to the truth, believed, and subjected themselves. They enshrined sutra and statues, and some initiated dharma meetings, gave registered households [to the shrines], and appointed [Buddhist] priests [in the shrines]. The gods gladly accepted the offerings, and the realm was at peace, its inhabitants at ease. [Similarly to] a mountain man selling charcoal [who] wishes the weather to be cold, Dōshun will joyfully make use of it, if through the Buddha disaster befalls the state.

(1:9b) Again, he said: "The gods existed, but it was as if they had gone. If the gods were gods [in their own right], why did this happen?"

I criticize this as follows: "The reproaches he makes to the gods stem from his own jealousy. The gods have already chosen the side of the Buddha and accepted the monks, and they have done nothing about it. Therefore he maligns the gods and regards the gods as no longer gods. In a proverb of the stupid..."

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78 The compound ifuku 威福 means the authority that emanates from the Buddha and his "wealth" that enables him to bestow blessings on all living beings. The compound hōmi 法味 is a synonym of daigomi 醍醐味, i.e. the best of all tastes. Following Ōyama Kōjun in his Shinbutsu kōshōshi (p. 439), we have read the character 託 as taku-su (to oracle).

79 See Mor. VII: 21866-25, where the compound is explained as "to go their different ways."

80 As the sentence stands, we have to interpret qi huilie 其徽烈 as the advanced object of the verbs, which is resumed in the final yan 焉. In the top margin the character 徵 is written out, with next to it the gloss 古イ (jurai), and underneath the glosses 久サシ (hisashi) and ヨシ (yoshi). Yoshi is a recognized reading of the character; the other two are not.

81 Guzō 供僧 is short for 供奉僧, i.e. a Buddhist priest who is attached to a Shinto Shrine; see Shintō daijiten vol. 1, p. 463.

82 For the translation of kinkyō 歌享, see Mor. VI: 16139-3.

83 This character [and dilemma] stems from Bai Juyi’s poem Maitan-weng 賈炭翁.

84 The character 駕 occurs elsewhere in the text, in the combination 幸駕. It seems to be used in the sense of "jump on it > make the most of it; see underneath, notes for 幸. The compound 喜賀 exists (see Mor. II: 3957-24) and makes sense; the compound does not exist, and would not make sense. I have emended the sentence accordingly.

85 A compound 災會 is not attested, but in view of the overall meaning of the clause ("if there is the fact of disaster happening"), the translation would seem to be all right.
people it says: 'If you have someone who hates monks, he [also] hates their surplices.'

What offence could a surplice have committed? Dōshun regards the Buddha as his foe and hates the monks. He even maligns the kings, dukes, and high dignitaries, the lords and governors of the provinces, and he goes so far as to deny the existence of the gods. What cause could there be for this intensity of poisonous anger? How painful it is [to see]."

Again, he said: "Monks cannot enter Ise."

I criticize this as follows: "Kokan Shiren 虎関師錬 (1278-1346) considered the truth of this in his Genkō shakusho 元亨釋書 and he has [once and for all] determined [that these are] lies of the Shinto priests. Now Dōshun brings those words up again, and he says this anew! If there is something untruthful in Shiren’s theory, why does he not discuss that? But [he does not]; all he does is to indulge in twisting and lying. Why can’t he be objective?"

Again, he says: "Emperor Bidatsu did not believe in the Buddha, and Mononobe no Okoshi and Nakatomi no Kamako did not bow before the Buddha's statue. That was still due to customs that had remained from high antiquity, and were glorious instances of correct behaviour."

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86 Which is a rendering of the Japanese proverb bōzu nikukereba kesa made nikui.
87 Kokan Shiren was a Zen monk (Rinzai) and lived in the Tōfukuji. He was an important writer of poetry and prose in Chinese — one of the earliest representatives of Gozan bungaku, i.e. Chinese literature as written from the 14th till 16th century by the monks of the five major Zen monasteries in Kyoto. Genkō shakusho (30 fasc.) is a history of Japanese Buddhism, from the introduction of Buddhism into Japan till his own days, which he finished in Genkō 2 (1322). It is written in the Annals & Biographies format (kidentai 紀伝体) of the imperial histories.
88 See Genkō shakusho 18:19a-20a. On these pages, Kokan describes how he visited the shrine in Ise and was stopped by a Shinto priest who said to him: "This god does not like Buddhist monks. Do not come near!" Kokan protests, finishing with the words: "I fear that a subordinate priest is bending [the truth] and threatening us." Afterwards he checks and finds a book entitled Jingū zōjiki 神宮雑事記, in which he reads the story of the oracle Amaterasu gave to Gyōgi, when Emperor Šōmu wanted to know whether it was all right to build the Tōdaiji. "This definitely shows that the priest was lying 決巫祝之誣妄," is his conclusion.
89 For kenkyō 牵彊 see Mor. VII: 20025-12. It means "to tell untruths in a plausible way."
90 The compound kyōsa 矯詐 means "to twist and lie," "to lie."
91 The word kō should be taken in the sense of "recognized by all as being in the general interest." Tenka no kōron 天下の公論 is what Razan should formulate, not private opinions that are only in his own interest.
92 See above, translation of Razan’s preface to Honchō jinja-kō, notes 19 and 20.
I criticize this as follows: "Bidatsu did not believe in Buddhism, but he also did not believe in Confucianism. When one praises him for not believing [in Buddhism], one should also abolish Confucianism. In high antiquity Benevolence and Righteousness did not exist. If [in the days of Bidatsu] someone disliked Benevolence and Righteousness, should we call such a person a relic of high antiquity and of its meritorious achievements?

Bidatsu ordered [Mononobe no] Moriya (d. 587) (1:10b) to burn the [temple and the statue of the] Buddha, and then, together with [Moriya], he was suddenly afflicted with boils and eventually passed away. Such men as Okoshi and Kamako did not act the way they did because they knew the teachings of the Buddha. They are like the thief’s dogs barking at Yao. How stupid was their ignorance (of not knowing the teachings of the Buddha)? My proof is that Dōshun praises them because they are of this faction. This means that he is not a dog that barks [merely] because other dogs do, does it not? 

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93 This last detail is apocryphal. In the introduction (zenki) of the Bidatsu-tennō ki it says that "he did not trust in the law of the Buddha and loved literature and history"; see Nihon shoki 20 (Kōhen, p. 101); Aston, Chronicles vol. 2, p. 90. "Loved literature and history" 愛文史 implies at least a modicum of appreciation of continental culture. Jakuhon was not the only monk to have his own version of Nihon shoki. The same slant is found, e.g., in Denchū mondō, where Tenkai is made to say:「敏達の仏を信せざるを以て、仏をそしらべ、須(すべて)儒をも廃すべし。ゆへいかん。日本記に曰く、敏達天皇、性、利にして、仏法を信せず、儒典を挙せぬ。唯(ただ)古(いにしへ)に依(より)て、我が文史を愛し給ふ。二年八月甲寅に詔(みことのり)して宣(のたまは)く、『近世、蕃国(ばんこく)より頗(しきり)に經文を貢(こう)ず。朕(ちん)、是を信せず。ゆへに、仏法ハその教へ、家を捨(すて)、神事にかなハず。儒典の教る所ハ、又、斎元にかなわず。只、神代の文、信して、専ら、先皇の史を用るのミ」(quoted from a hiragana-majiri manuscript, 26-テ-2, in the possession of the Central Library of Kyoto University, 2:22b-23a; my pagination). Needless to say, Nihon shoki does not contain any edict of this nature, neither under the date mentioned, which is not in Nihon shoki, anyhow, nor under any other date. In fact, the source on which both Jakuhon and the author of Denchū mondō based themselves is none other than Sendai kuji hongi taisei; see Boot, "Kinsei ni okeru jubutsu ronsō," in particular p. 96 and footnote 22. See also: Taisei-kyō vol. 2, pp. 254-56.

94 Nihon shoki dates the story to Bidatsu 14/5/1-30. The emperor contracted the disease at the same time as Moriya, but contrary to Moriya, who survived, Bidatsu died on the fifteenth day, eighth month of the fourteenth year of his reign (585). See Nihon shoki 20: (Kōhen, pp. 114-116); Aston, Chronicles vol. 2, pp. 102-104.

95 The common form of this proverb is "Zhi's hounds bark at Yao" 足狗吠堯; see Morohashi X: 37469-5. Zhi was commonly known as Dao Zhi 盗跖 ("Thief Zhi"). Legend does not agree on the time in which he lived. For references see Mor. VIII: 23006-39. Jakuhon is quoting the proverb, but only gives Zhi's sobriquet Dao 盗 and not his name; he also substitutes dog (quān 犬) for "hound" (gu 狗). The meaning of the proverb is "underlings are loyal to their master," or "to take the side of evil and hate the wise." The "thieving hounds" mentioned in Mor. VIII: 23006-11 are a red herring.

96 Okoshi and Kamako did not know Buddhism; they just barked at it, from plain stupidity. Razan, however, praises them for partisan reasons, which proves that he is not just another dog.

97 For the expression koe ni hōyuru see Morohashi II: 3331-13.
Again, he said: "The Grand Historian compiled the 130 chapters of Shiji. India and the Han occupy rather more than half of it."\(^{98}\)

I criticize this as follows: "In Shiji the chapter Dayuan\(^{99}\) reports on barbarians in the western region, but it does not also cover Central India. Apart from this, there are several references to envoys [from] the west, but you cannot possibly call this 'more than half.'"

Again, he said: "Moreover, I discuss [these passages] according to my own insights."

(1:11a) I criticize this as follows: "The function of books\(^{100}\) is that they record\(^{101}\) the past, transmit it to the future, and are used as objective mirrors\(^{102}\) for the whole realm. Yet, he turns down\(^{103}\) out of hand everything he feels\(^{104}\) he does not like in the privacy of his own heart. This is nothing but the inflated self-conceit\(^{105}\) of a private scholar. How could one possibly consider this as the general [opinion] of the realm?"

Again he said: "My hope is that [the result will be that] the people of the world

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\(^{98}\)Before the phrases quoted here, Razan lamented the loss of most of the materials from Japanese antiquity — burnt at the time of the coup d'état against Soga no Iruka. This situation he compares to China, where Sima Qian, when he compiled the Shiji, treated three thousand years of Chinese history, from the Yellow Emperor till "the Heavenly Han 天漢, but over half of the 130 fascicles was occupied "by the Brahma and the Han 梵漢."

\(^{99}\)The chapter Dayuan 大宛 is Shiji 123 (Liezhuan 63), which reports on the dealings of the Han with the peoples in the region of Ferghana, in the Tianshan Range on the northwest side of the Tarim Basin.

\(^{100}\)For this translation of zaiseki 載籍 see Mor. X: 38309-44. The literal translation of the phrase would be: "As for books in their quality of things, they are the means (yuen) through which..."

\(^{101}\)Note that the meaning of kumu 酌 is not "to record objectively everything that happens." As the modern word sanshaku 參酌, and the examples given in Mor. XI: 39768 s.v. ni indicate, "酌 means to take (gather, collect) the feelings of the people and to govern accordingly" (commentary on the locus in the Zuozhuan).

\(^{102}\)The compound kōkan 公鑑 is not attested in the classical Chinese corpus. It exists in later stages of Chinese, but in the sense of "to be read by all," at the beginning of a letter addressed to a group; see Mor. II: 1452-89. We have, therefore, stuck to the literal meaning of the characters.

\(^{103}\)The compound teiseki 詆斥 is not attested in the dictionaries, but in view of the glosses of the individual characters (shikaru, "to scold," and soshiru, "to criticise;" resp. Shirizokeru, "to dismiss," and kobamu, "to refuse") "to turn down." would be a proper translation.

\(^{104}\)This is an attempt to translate the passive, which I interpret as a jihatsu no ukemi.

\(^{105}\)The compound "worn-out broom" is used in the expression "a worn-out broom of a thousand gold pieces" 悪帚千金; see Mor. IV: 9644-29. It means to have an inflated, completely unrealistic notion of the status of one's own person or of the value of one's opinions.
will worship our gods and abolish that Buddha."

I criticize this as follows: "What the Confucians call 'gods' are the traces of the creative transformations and the intrinsic potential of Yin and Yang. They are different from the gods of our country.

In the Zuo zhuan it says: 'Jin received free passage from Yu and attacked Guo. On its way back Jin's army pitched camp in Yu, and eventually it attacked Yu and annihilated it.' Now, [Dōshun is planning the same:] borrowing the name of our gods, he will abolish Buddhism; then he will lead our gods into Confucianism, and eventually he will destroy our gods. (1:11b) As a rule, in our country those who worship the gods, are also able to believe in the Buddha, and once [our countrymen] know that they have to worship the Buddha, they are also able to serve the gods. There are few people who make a distinction in their beliefs between the gods and the Buddha's.

In the particular case of our country, foreign barbarians may very well want to attack us, and they use their heterodox teachings [as a means] to gain entry. That is why, by strict command valid throughout the realm, every single person who is born on this soil must become an adherent of Buddhism. What [does he think] he is doing, when under these circumstances [he claims that] he hopes that the Buddha will be abolished? Is it not the height of impertinence?

In China, formerly, the emperors Taiwu of the [Northern] Wei 魏太武 (r. 423-452), Wuzong of the [Northern] Zhou 周武宗 (r. 560-578), and Wudi of

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106 Two classic definitions, stemming respectively from the brothers Cheng 程 (Cheng Mingdao 明道, 1032-1085, and Cheng Yichuan 伊川, 1033-1107), and from Zhang Zai 張載 (1020-1077); see Zhu Xi's commentary to the first pericope of Zhongyong 16. The compound zaohua 造化 refers to the continuous creative (and destructive, but that aspect is never emphasized), transformative processes in which the whole cosmos is comprised. The gods appear as functions of these processes—as their, if not always observable, at least inferable expression; hence "traces" 隻. The compound liangneng 良能 refers to the intrinsic ("innate" would be the wrong metaphor), potential capabilities, the "can do" of the "Two Qi," i.e. Yin and Yang.

107 Jin 晉, Yu 虞, and Guo 虢 were three of the Warring States. The event is dated to the fifth year of Duke Xi 僖 (655 B.C.); see Shunjū Sa-shi den vol. 1, pp. 277-282. In the discussion at the court of Yu, reported at length, the famous phrase "if the lips perish, the teeth will be cold" 唇亡齒寒 appears.

108 This is a reference to the terauke system, instituted nation-wide as an anti-Christian measure after the Shimabara Rebellion in 1637-38. It obliged every Japanese to register with one or other Buddhist temple, to perform certain rites there, and to apply to this temple for an attestation if he wanted to change his place of residence temporarily or for good.

109 Zhipan, the author of Fozu tongji, on which Jakuhon bases his quotation, mixed up his emperors.
the Tang 唐武帝 (r. 840-846) all had anti-Buddhist ministers [who attempted to] use the emperors' authority in order to destroy Buddhism. In the end, however, the Buddha did not perish, but these lords and ministers alike instantly suffered bad karmatic retribution. Fu Yi\textsuperscript{110} frequently slandered [Buddhism], but [instead] was fired himself. Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824), Ouyang [Xiu] 歐陽修 (1007-1072) and such people wickedly\textsuperscript{111} [wanted to] abolish [Buddhism]. (1:12a) but they did not find [the ear of] their rulers and just agonized in private. [On the other hand,] Emperor Shizong of the [Later] Zhou 周世宗 (r. 954-959) wanted to destroy [Buddhism], but he could not find [anyone prepared to] help him. Dōshun did not meet a lord as immoral as the lord of the Zhou or the three [emperors] Wu. Was this unfortunate [for him]? Or should we consider him fortunate?\textsuperscript{112} The Buddha is [like] the sun and the moon. How could one be able to obscure him by raising one hand? All he did was to expend in vain his heterodox thoughts, and involve himself ever deeper into sin."\textsuperscript{113}

Furthermore, he states: "Would it not then be possible to restore the state to the compliant docility (junchoku) of high antiquity, and to purify the customs of the people both inside and outside [of house and family?]"

Criticizing this, I say: "The 'compliant docility of high antiquity' refers to [the time] when Confucianism and Buddhism had not yet come [to our country]. Well now, a teaching is something that the Holy Ones have established in accord with the times and in response to what is right, as part of the system of

\textsuperscript{110} Fu Yi (555-639) was active as a statesman in the Wude Era (618-626), i.e. in the very first years of the Tang Dynasty. His office was that of taishiling 太史令. He was an astronomer and Yin Yang specialist, annotated Laozi, and was a fervent opponent of Buddhism. His Gaoshipian 高識篇 was a collection of anti-Buddhist writings of earlier dynasties; it is now lost. His biography is in Jiu Tang shu 79, and in Xin Tang shu 107. Zürcher, Buddhist Conquest, mentions Fu Yī's name in the index, but not on the page indicated.

\textsuperscript{111} The character can be read midare and warumono, nusubito.

\textsuperscript{112} From the standpoint of Buddhism, there was nothing unfortunate about the frustration of Razan's designs, so Buddhism cannot be the implied subject. The same applies to the realm. Hence, the subject must be Razan: Razan was fortunate in the sense that he did not ruin his karma even worse than he had done already, but unfortunate in the sense that he could not execute his plan to destroy Buddhism.

\textsuperscript{113} Lit. "to tie (bind) the root of sin." Zaikon 罪根 means "actions that will become the cause of karmatic retribution."
government. Long ago, Emperor Shun appeared as the last of the Five Emperors. The times were gradually (1:12b) becoming shallow and the people, deceitful. Because of this, he spread the Five Teachings\(^{115}\) in order to regulate them. The teaching of the realm began from here. When we reach the era of the Duke of Zhou, the times were more and more in decline, and the people became increasingly deceitful. Thereupon [the Duke of Zhou] widely promulgated laws and thus [tried to] to transform [the people and their customs]. Confucianism\(^{116}\) sprang from this. Thereafter, Confucius set forth [its teachings] and increasingly it prospered. This is referred to [by the phrase] 'the Great Way was discarded and Benevolence and Righteousness arose.'\(^{117}\)

Well now, when a society is docile and the people are good, then there is no object to which one could address any teachings. This is the [same] reason [as] why one does not give medicine before an illness. When a society is in its final stage and men are evil, then one cannot do without teaching. Why does he speak of high antiquity? In Master Yang's words: "[It is like] rebuking someone for wearing a fur coat because a hemp garment is more comfortable, or criticizing someone who is hungry and eats because drinking is easier."\(^{118}\) This is a metaphor for not knowing what is right at a [given] occasion. It is not so that Dōshun (1:13a) does not know these things. It is just that he brings false charges

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\(^{114}\) For 治韩 see Mor. VI: 17256-135, where it is defined as "the method of governing" and "the great root of governing." Sonawaru, furthermore, implies "inherent, intrinsic."

\(^{115}\) This refers to the Five Human Relations (五倫): the relationship between father and son, the ruler and the ruled, husband and wife, elder and younger brother, and between friends, and. the mutual moral duties that come with them.

\(^{116}\) Note that what we call Confucianism is in Chinese called \textit{rujiao} 儒教. Also note that, contrary to what the western terms suggests, \textit{rujiao} was assumed to antedate Confucius, as is evident also from the present passage.

\(^{117}\) Quotation from \textit{Daodejing}; cf. Honkoku, note 65. Legge translates: "When the Great Dao (Way or Method) ceased to be observed, benevolence and righteousness came into vogue. (Then) appeared wisdom and shrewdness, and there ensued great hypocrisy. When harmony no longer prevailed throughout the six kinships, filial sons found their manifestation; when the states and clans fell into disorder, loyal ministers appeared."

\(^{118}\) The original phrase in Han Yu's \textit{Yuan dao} 原道 reads: 「是亦責冬之裘者曰：『曷不為葛之之易也』責飢之食者曰：『曷不為飲之之易也。』」... as if they would suggest to someone wearing fur in winter, "Wouldn't you rather wear linen?" or say to someone eating, "You know, it'd be simpler if you just had a drink." (translation Lucas Klein). It is unclear why Jakuhon's quote starts with 揚子曰. This would make it a saying by Yang Xiong 楊雄 (53 B.C.–18 A.D.), but that would be a mistake because nowhere in Yang's works a phrase can be found that resembles Jakuhon's text. Besides, in Mor. X:34312-4, too, Han Yu is quoted. The text that Jakuhon used for this quotation, \textit{Tanjin wenji}, also refers to Han Yu as the source for this phrase. Therefore, '揚子' must be a writing error.
[because] his mind is set on abolishing Buddhism.

In *Jinja-kō* it says: "It seems to me that it was in Kinmei 13 (corresponds to 552 A.D.) that the Buddhist teaching came to our country. All that happened was that [the kingdom of] Paekche offered as tribute a Buddha statue, Sutras and Treatises. This was eighteen or nineteen years before the manifestation of Hachiman\(^{119}\), and [during this period] Buddhism was in a primitive state and there were as yet no practitioners. Meanwhile, there were people like [Mononobe no] Okoshi and [Nakatomi no] Kamako who rejected it. This god, thus, will not have had the title of a Bodhisattva before the Enryaku Era.\(^{120}\) That he merely said 'I am Emperor Homuta Hachiman Maro'\(^ {121}\) is something that I believe. [However,] that during the reign of Emperor Yūryaku (456-479) Yamato-hime no Mikoto said 'In India, there is a True Man',\(^ {122}\) belongs again to this [earlier] category [of lies].\(^ {123}\) (1:13b) All Buddhists always [are the same:] they attribute [oracles to gods as they like] and give forced interpretations; [next] they talk about them and write them down in their books. One [really] must distinguish between what is true and what is nonsense."

Criticizing this, I say: "Of course [Hachiman's] Bodhisattva name appears in Buddhist scriptures. However, if the divine oracles that are mentioned in the histories of our Gods do not lie about this, then the Great God Hachiman once

\(^{119}\) In the thirty-second year (571) of Kinmei's reign, Ōga no Hiki 大神比義 received the oracle that identified Emperor Ōjin with Hachiman Hiromaro; see *Fusō* ryakki 扶桑略記 3, quoting the origin legend 線起文 of the shrine: 「以菜託宣云：『我是日本人皇第十六代，譽田天皇廣幡八幡也。我名曰護國靈瞼威身神大自在王菩薩。國國所生，垂跡於神明。初顯坐耳。』」. See also Appendix I.

\(^{120}\) At the beginning of this paragraph Razan wrote: 'At the time of Emperor Kinmei, there was an oracle, saying 'I am Emperor Homuta Hirohatayahata 譽田天皇廣幡. I call myself God Protector of the Country, of Spiritual Effectiveness and Authoritative Mien, the Bodhisattva King of Great Independence' 譽國靈驗威身神大自在王菩薩" (*Nihon shisō tōsō shiryō* vol. 1, p. 380, line 4). Razan's source most likely is the passage in *Fusō* ryakki quoted in the preceding note.

\(^{121}\) Emperor Homuta no Sumera Mikoto is the *imin* 諱 (taboo name) of Emperor Ōjin, whose traditional dates are 200-270-310.

\(^{122}\) Razan already referred to the phrase 西天真人 in his *Jubutsu mondō*. The use of this phrase is based on a passage in one of the *Shintō gobusho* ("Five Books of Shinto"), *Zō i se nissho daijyū hōkihongi* 造伊勢二所太神宮宝基本紀, which was composed sometime in the mid Kamakura period (before 1296). In this text, Yamato-hime no Mikoto is said to have received an oracle from the Sun Goddess Amaterasu about a True Man from the West (= Shakamuni). See Ōkuwa Hitoshi, *Razan Teitoku Jubutsu mondō*, p. 96, 98-99.

\(^{123}\) Razan is referring to the three oracles he quoted at the beginning of this paragraph, but which Jakuhon fails to mention.
gave an oracle, [saying] that through countless kalpas he had transformed himself and been born in the three realms of existence.\textsuperscript{124} Why does [Dōshun] need to insist on the primitive state of Buddhism? [For] someone with Dōshun’s heterodox ideas [it is logical] to consider Hachiman merely as [belonging to] the category of ordinary mortals who practise virtue during a single lifetime, and to be suspicious of his extraordinary spirituality\textsuperscript{125} and subtle changes. Thus [Dōshun] does believe and accept the oracle of Hachiman Maro. He is suspicious of things he himself dislikes, and he accepts what agrees with him. (1:14a). Is that not [the very image of] a mouse’s head turning both ways?\textsuperscript{126} As regards [the phrase] ‘At the time of Emperor Yūryaku, Yamato-hime no Mikoto said "In India, there is a True Man,“’ — [Dōshun either] does not consider Yamato-hime no Mikoto as a divine person, in which case there is nothing more to be said, or he considers her as a divine person, in which case he should not be doubting [her words] with his pedestrian stupidity. In the \textit{Yijing} it says: “By their spirit-like ability they knew what was coming.”\textsuperscript{127} Yamato-hime no Mikoto was a divine person. [Hence,] one must not be suspicious of what she said about the True Man from India.

Furthermore, for a long time our country had been in contact with Korea and we had been using kanji. We cannot be sure that perhaps, during several hundreds of years, Buddhist teachings, too, had already been heard of. In an annotation of Liezi’s Holy Man from the West, Lin [Xiyi] says: 'It seems that at that time there was study of the Buddha. In the books,\textsuperscript{128} there are references

\textsuperscript{124} The three worlds or three realms of existence refer to the domain of unenlightened men: the World of Desire, the World of Form, and the Formless World. The oracle is mentioned by Razan just before the quoted passage. It is dated to the reign of Emperor Kanmu, the fifth month of Enryaku 2 (783). It continues: "I cultivate the good techniques and the expedient means, and I help the living beings to cross over. My name is 'King Bodhisattva of Great Independence'”; see \textit{Nihon shisō tōsō shiryō} vol. 1, p. 380, line 5-6.

\textsuperscript{125} The compound 霊奇 is not attested in the dictionaries, but in the Buddhist scriptures the respective characters are used to indicate inconceivable spiritual ability (霊), and being miraculous, extraordinary (奇).

\textsuperscript{126} The meaning of this expression is like "waiting to see which way the cat will jump," "postponing one's decision as long as possible"; see Mor. XII: 44489-88.

\textsuperscript{127} Quotation from \textit{Yijing: Daxici} 10. Legge translates the phrase as "By their spirit-like ability [the Sages] knew (the character of) coming events, and their wisdom had stored up (all experiences) of the past.” (Legge, \textit{The I Ching}, p. 372).

\textsuperscript{128} For the compound 載籍 ("books"), see Mor. X:38309-44.
that] make clear that before Emperor Ming of the Later Han Dynasty (r. 57-75) there was Buddhism in China.' Why would [Dōshun] with his vicious onesidedness be suspicious of [the existence of] Buddhism in our country?"

(1:14b) In *Jinja-kō* it says: "Well now, Ise and Hachiman are the two ancestral temples of our country. Lord and ministers, high and low, everyone without exception reveres and serves them. The Buddhists, seeing that this is the case, said: 'The original ground is the Buddha, and the trace is the gods.' Eventually, they dragged the gods into Buddhism. The lords of that time were deluded and did not realize [what was happening]. The end result was that they let [the Buddhists] have it their way and flaunt [their power]. Sometimes they robbed the shrines of their serfs, [or] they stole their landholdings and incorporated those into their temples. Alas! Why did not the gods punish them!"

Criticizing this, I say: "A gentleman does not look down on others, he chooses his words with care, he dispels doubts, and thus the empire will return to Benevolence. [The idea] that one must honour him as a teacher goes back a long way. He, however, injects his private opinions [into everything] and scolds others as he likes. It is [behaviour of which] any [real] gentleman would be ashamed. Dōshun's anger and envy are extreme. Who could bear listening to him? Above I have already discussed what he says about origin and trace, and also his haughty remark about the lords of the time being led astray. However, very few are the shrines in the empire in which the Buddhist priests do not have a stake, and should we consider all the lords, [of the whole period stretching] from ancient times until the present [Tokugawa] dynasty, as deluded and duped, and all their ministers, as ignoramuses? Why does he express himself so irreverently?

Moreover, he censures the gods for not punishing [the Buddhists for] incorporating shrine serfs into the possessions of the temples. From the fact that

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129 For *ufu no yashiro* see *Kokushi Daijiten* s.v. Intended are shrines that had received allotments of predial farmers from the government. The term was relevant early in the ninth century.

130 師敬 is not attested as a compound. The characters occur occasionally in text from the Han and later, but rarely as a compound. When they do, the meaning seems to be "teacher-like reverence."
the gods did not punish them, he could have known that the gods allowed it. In antiquity, such people as Nakatomi no Katsumi and Mononobe no Moriya measured the will of the gods by their personal envy, and they burnt the Buddha [statue] and set alight the temple. Immediately the Great Hall [of the palace] was struck by heavenly fire. This [shows that] men are stupid and do not know that the gods are pure (1:15b) and have no envy. They do not realize that the gods are luminous and identical with the Buddha’s."

In *jinja-kō* it says: "Considering this matter, [I see that] the Hermit of Six Times One has written a discussion about releasing animals, in which he says [things to the effect] that the Buddhists claim for themselves that they are compassionate and value the release of animals and prohibit killing. In antiquity, Mr. Pao Xi was the first to go hunting, [which he did] in order to replenish the larder. For ten thousand generations he has been praised as a Holy One. If things were as the Buddhists preach, someone like Pao Xi would be a lowly criminal. One cannot but call this an objective statement [on the subject]."

Criticizing this, I say: "Well now, 'Modest and reverent people maintain the distinctive levels of lord and minister, and they revere the work of the Holy Ones. They have no time to appreciate the beauty of the parks and wildlife preserves, or the attractions of the hunt.' Mr. Pao Xi had the virtues of a Holy One. He was the first to write the Eight Trigrams and to [use them to] penetrate the virtue

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131 As is explained in *Kakikudashi*, note 24, based on Jakuhon’s source, i.e. *Taisei-kyō*, the reading of the character 訝 should be hakaru; hence, the translation "measured." What happened according to the historical record was that, in 587, Katsumi and Moriya opposed emperor Yōmei’s wish to "convert to the Three Treasures," arguing that Buddhism was an unknown entity, and that it would be wrong to turn one’s back on the native gods and worship foreign ones. They lost the discussion, withdrew from court, and after some time Katsumi was killed; see *Nihon shoki* 21 (vol. 2, pp. 122-123; Aston, *Chronicles*, vol. 2, pp. 109-110.

132 The burning of the temple took place in Bidatsu 14 (585), and neither under 585 nor under 587 mention is made in *Nihon shoki* that the Great Hall of the palace was struck by lightning. Jakuhon, however, bases himself on the preface of *Taisei-kyō*: *Suiko-tennō*; see also *Honkok*, note 80.

133 Intended is Ouyang Xiu (1007-1072). For the meaning of the name, see Morohashi 2:1453-23.

134 This is one of the names of the ancient Holy One Fu Xi 伏羲, whose traditional dates are 3350-3040 B.C.

135 For the translation of靡, see Mor. XII: 42612 s.v. 7, where靡 is glossed as 壯.

136 「祗莊雍穆之徒、立君臣之節、崇賢聖之業、未皇苑囿之麗、游獵之靡也」 is a quotation from Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53 B.C. - 18 A.D.), *Yu liefu* 羽獵賦; see Wenxuan 8 (the quoted passage is at the very end of the fu). In Mor. VIII: 24665-17 the first two characters are glossed *tsutsushimi-uyamau*: "to be modest and reverent."
of divine luminosity.\textsuperscript{137} 'He created the written (1:16a) document and substituted this for government by knotted strings.'\textsuperscript{138} This is why ten thousand generations have regarded him as a Holy One. How could ten thousand generations have regarded him as a Holy One because of one thing only: the [invention of the] hunt? If someone’s effort goes into his own, personal enjoyment, and he pays no heed to the common mortals; if he forgets the government of the state and hankers after the catching of pheasants and hares, then the benevolent man will not follow him. Someone who really makes hunting his occupation can only be considered a lowly criminal.

Most of his strictures of Buddhism Six Times One learned from Han Yu. As Zhang Tianjue\textsuperscript{139} said: 'When one reads Xiu’s letters, he is loquacious and commiserates with himself for the infirmities of old age; he is anxious\textsuperscript{140} and nothing pleases him.\textsuperscript{141} When one sees that Han Yu was demoted [and appointed in] Chaozhou,\textsuperscript{142} that he did not live the full life that Heaven had ordained for him,\textsuperscript{143} and that he looked at the Taoist immortals [for solace] and prayed to the gods, it presents the same trend.\textsuperscript{144} The lustre of the [New] History of the Tang, which [Xiu] compiled, does not conceal its defects. [Xiu] indulges in suppositions, (1:16b) praises and blames, and when Wu Zhen\textsuperscript{145} corrected his mistakes, [he came up with a list of] over two hundred items. That [Han] Yu let his brush

\textsuperscript{137} 神明 in Japanese means "gods," but actually both shen and ming are qualifications of the kind of qi of which the gods partake.

\textsuperscript{138} The Yijing does not say this. At the beginning of Xicizhuan, xia 2, it is stated that Fu Xi "made the knotted strings and [used the technique to] make nets." At the end of the same section, it says: "In high antiquity [they used] knotted strings for governing. In later generations, the Holy Ones replaced these with written documents." (See Legge, The I Ching, p. 383, p. 385.) To judge by the loci quoted in Mor. VIII: 27398-120, the first one to say explicitly that Fu Xi was the one who replaced the strings by documents was Kong Anguo 孔安國 (dates unknown; he lived under the Former Han Dynasty) in his Preface of the Shujing.

\textsuperscript{139} This is the famous Buddhist layman Zhang Shangying 張商英 (1043-1121) ; see Morohashi IV:9812-1162:

\textsuperscript{140} See Mor. V: 11594-27-2, where the compound is glossed as uree-osorueru, "to suffer and be afraid."

\textsuperscript{141} See Mor. III: 7172 s.v. 1-ho, where the character is glossed as yorokobu, ki ni iru, "to accept gladly."

\textsuperscript{142} A district in Guangdong province, on the lower River Han. In Han Yu’s days, it was an unhealthy and dismal place, on the border of the empire.

\textsuperscript{143} This will be a reference to the fact that Han Yu (768-824) only lived 56 or 57 (Chinese count) years.

\textsuperscript{144} A compound 見趣 is not attested, but the parallel phrases 同一意識也 and 同一趨向也 on p. 16b suggests this interpretation: "tendency, trend." See also the quoted passage of Pingxin-lun

\textsuperscript{145} Wu Zhen (dates unknown) lived under the Song Dynasty. He wrote a book about the mistakes in Xin Tang shu; see Mor. II: 3365-251.
wander at will and made a great many mistaken arguments shows the same mentality. Later on, when Xiu visited [the Zen master] Zuyin,\(^{146}\) his anti-Buddhist feelings had already disappeared. That they agreed on the main points shows the same tendency as when [Han] Yu consorted with Dadian\(^ {147}\) and politely sent off Gaoxian.\(^ {148}\)

Dōshun regards his (i.e. Ouyang Xiu's) words as an objective opinion[, but that is only because] he regards as good what agrees with his own [ideas]. Xiu made Yu his teacher, and Dōshun makes Xiu his teacher. Even their itinerary is identical. With Dōshun it happened, when he held the ritual for his deceased parents,\(^ {149}\) that he gave food to the monks and composed poems [with them], [which shows that the attitude] he kept up was not principled.

In *Jinja-kō* it says: "The *Liji* warns against abusing the creatures of nature.\(^ {150}\) The Holy One fished but never used a rope,\(^ {151}\) and he used arrows with strings attached to them [when hunting fowl], and did not shoot at sitting [birds].\(^ {152}\) There is righteousness contained in this [anecdote].\(^ {153}\) (1:17a) How can those

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\(^{146}\) Zuyin was a Chan priest from the Song period; his dates are unknown.

\(^{147}\) See Mor. III: 5831-1727-3. In a letter quoted ibid., Han writes: "When I was in Chaozhou, there was an old monk whose name was Dadian. He was very intelligent, and understood how things worked ("knew principle")."

\(^{148}\) Gaoxian is another monk; cf. Mor. XII: 45313-128-2. He received his purple robes from Emperor Xuanzong (r. 846-859), so he was a junior contemporary of Han Yu. Biography in Song *gaoseng zhuàn* 30.

\(^{149}\) It is unclear whether Jakuhon is referring to the 小祥忌 or the 大祥忌 ritual. The first was held on the first anniversary of someone's death, en the second, on the third anniversary.

\(^{150}\) Reference to *Liji*: *Wang zhi*. See Legge, *Book of Rites* vol. 1, p. 220 ("To hunt without observing the rules [for hunting] was deemed cruelty to the creatures of nature."); see *Raiki* vol. 1, pp. 196-197. *Liji* is here quoting from the *Shujing* 4: *Zhou-shu Wu cheng* 武成, where the phrase *bao tian tianwu* 暴殄天物 occurs in King Wu's criticism of the last king of the Xia, King Zhou 禽. According to Takeuchi's commentary, the phrase is used in reference to killing animals during the hunt and just letting them lie, instead of using them for such appropriate purposes as sacrificial ceremonies in the ancestral temple, as regaling the feudal lords, or as stocking the royal kitchen. The standard Neo-Confucian commentary of the *Shujing* by Cai Chen 蔡沉 (1167-1230) contains no such remark. See *Liji, loc. cit.; Shu jizhuan* 書集傳 4; Waltham ed., *Shu Ching. Book of History*, p. 122.

\(^{151}\) Reference to *Lunyu* 7.27. There are two theories about the way to catch fish with a rope. One theory, of Kong Anguo 孔安國 (Former Han), maintains that a *gang* 網 is a rope hung across the water from which many hooks are dangling; the other (Zhu Xi), that such a rope has a net attached to it that cuts off the stream, thus catching the fish. For the first theory, see Yoshikawa, *Rongo* vol. 1, p. 222. To read the character as *wang* 網 (net) is incorrect.

\(^{152}\) Reference to *Lunyu* 7.27. The idea behind the arrow with a string is that the bird could be retrieved, and would not lie there wounded. The idea behind the whole passage is that Confucius, for he is the Holy One in this case, did not kill animals needlessly, and did not make them suffer unnecessarily.

\(^{153}\) The phrase "There is righteousness contained in this," and the final clause of the quotation "... is the
Buddhists possibly know about righteousness? They see the cow but have not yet seen the sheep. What a gentleman will never practise in person is the place where righteousness dwells.”

Criticizing this, I say: "The Way of Heaven is supremely benevolent. How could it make men kill living [beings] in order to sustain life? In the Book of Documents it says: 'Heaven and Earth are the father and mother of the myriad things.' In their relation with their children, parents love them and worry about them. How could they possibly injure them? How[, then,] could killing be the intention of Heaven and Earth? That is why the Book of Rites warns against abusing the creatures of Heaven. Mr Hong says: 'When Confucius was young...

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154 Reference to Mengzi 1A.7, where the story is told of King Hui of Liang, who could not stand the evident fear of a cow that was being led to slaughter, and had it replaced by a sheep, which he had not seen. Razan’s argument seems to be that one can learn what Righteousness is from the things a gentleman reportedly does not do, i.e. fishing with a rope, shooting sitting birds, or slaughtering cows. Confucians (and gentlemen) do not condemn all kinds of killing, but they make distinctions regarding when, what, how, and for which purpose to kill; making such distinctions is the essence of the concept of "Righteousness".

155 Reference to Shujing: Taishi, shang 泰誓上, where King Wu says: "Heaven and earth is the parent of all creatures; and of all creatures man is the most highly endowed. The sincerely intelligent among man becomes the great sovereign; and the great sovereign is the parent of the people." (Transl. Waltham, Shu Ching, p. 113)

156 Litt. "the matter of killing and injuring."

157 This will be Hong Xingzu 湧興祖 (1090-1155). According to the relevant entry in the Wikipedia Sinica (see Appendix IV), which quotes as its source 鄒衍説巻志, he wrote a preface for a Lunyu jie 解 ("Explanation of the Lunyu) by Cheng Yu 程瑀 (dates unknown). This commentary (and preface) drew the ire of one Wang Min 王珉 (dates unknown), who condemned it as "improper commentary, and of malicious intent." One of the two passages he quoted from Cheng’s commentary was the one about "did not shoot at sitting birds." He also memorialised the emperor, saying that Hong Xingzu was a dangerous man and should be posted to (?) a far-away place, there to direct the wood demons (魑魅). Hong was accordingly banished (without being tattooed) to Guangxi (Pinglexian, Zhaozhou 平樂縣昭州). Wei Anxing 魏安行 (jinshi of 1124), who had been responsible for publishing the commentary, was banished to Qinzhou 欽州, and the printed edition of the commentary was destroyed. (For a copy of the entry in Wikipedia, see Appendix IV.) This did not, however, stop Zhu Xi from quoting approvingly from this commentary in Lunyu jizhu VII.27.
he was poor and obscure. In order to feed [his family] and to [have meat for the] sacrifice, he may have had no alternative [to fishing with a] hook and [hunting with a] stringed arrow.\textsuperscript{158} However, he never did [such things as] catching everything and taking it [with him], or catching [his prey] unawares.\textsuperscript{159}

That [King Hui of Liang] 'exchanged a cow for a sheep [shows that he had] (1:17b) the heart of a gentleman, [who] bears what he has not yet seen, but is unable to bear what he sees.' Of old, Mencius' argument has not been regarded as exhaustive. When one indulges in uninhibited killing [of what one does not see] because one does not see it, then one has really crossed the line.'\textsuperscript{160} Why should one [not] also not tolerate what one has not yet seen? When one takes pity on sitting birds, why not [also] take pity on not-sitting ones? In this way, one [really] understands [this anecdote in the \textit{Analects}] according to the [principle of] righteousness that dwells in it. If one knows that there is righteousness dwelling in this, then one knows that [such acts] are not allowed.

In the \textit{Yijing} it says: 'The intelligent and wise of antiquity were divine warriors and did not kill.'\textsuperscript{161} [This implies that] killing is not allowed. In practice, it comes about because it cannot be helped.\textsuperscript{162} The Buddha has proclaimed his [five] great prohibitions [for the lay folk], and he placed "not killing" first. I think [that he wanted] to suppress it [at the] source. [Like] putting a stop to one's

\textsuperscript{158} Jakuhon here leaves out the phrase "This is what is meant with, e.g., fighting over the catch in a hunt" 如獵較是也. This, in turn, refers to \textit{Mengzi} 5B.4, where it is discussed why Confucius himself joined in such fights.

\textsuperscript{159} Hong's commentary (as quoted by Zhu Xi) continues: "In this one can see the original mind (benxin) of the benevolent man. If he treats animals like this, one can know how he will treat men. If in small things he is like this, one can know [how he will be] in great things."

\textsuperscript{160} Based on Kokan Shiren's \textit{Saihoku-shū} 19; see for details \textit{Honkoku}, note 94. \textit{Saihoku-shū} makes clear that the one who "of old" expressed his disagreement was Kokan Shiren. Jakuhon merely replaces Shiren's "\textit{I say that Mencius' argument is not yet exhaustive}" by "\textit{Of old, Mencius' argument has not been regarded as exhaustive.}" Note, that this discussion is completely different from the way in which Zhu Xi discusses this passage in his commentary on Mencius.

\textsuperscript{161} Quotation from \textit{Yijing: Xici, shang}. Legge, \textit{The I Ching}, p. 372, rather disappointingly omits the "divine warrior" and translates: "[Only our] ancient sages, quick in apprehension and clear in discernment, of far-reaching intelligence, and all-embracing knowledge, and with a majesty, going spirit-like to its objects; — it was only they who could do so." Cf. \textit{Eki-kyō} vol. 3, p. 1507-1508, 1514 (for the interpretation of the divine warrior).

\textsuperscript{162} The literal translation is "... and the matter (shi 事件) comes forth out of the cannot be helped." I have translated it as a general rule, but one could also apply it to the cases in which the Holy Ones did kill: they did not kill to indulge themselves, but because it could not be avoided — like Confucius, who needed meat for the ancestral sacrifice.
greed and giving full reign to one’s compassion, [it is something that] the vulgar find hard to do."

(1:18a)

In Jinja-kō it says: "Popular legend has it, that Emperor Ōjin manifested himself as a gold-coloured falcon. 163 If that really happened, then he [certainly] did not set free living beings! Or why did he turn himself into [a bird of prey,] that strikes and hits?" 164

I criticize this as follows: "Now, 'gods cannot be fathomed.' 165 [This is shown by the fact that] their manifestations are truly many and of various types. The God Kushiyatama 166 changed himself into a cormorant; Amenohitokuma no Mikoto 167 transformed himself into a gold-coloured kite; Saka no kami manifested himself as a white deer; 168 and Yamato Takeru no Mikoto turned into a white bird. These are all examples of the awful manifestations and subtle changes of our gods. [Men of] an ordinary disposition should not discuss them. If

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163 This story is not reported in the dynastic histories, but only in private sources. See Appendix I.

164 The compound 搏撃 in this case describes the way in which birds of prey strike at and catch their victims; see Shiki-shō 史記抄 (1477) as quoted in KDJ s.v.: 「搏撃することは鷲鳥の群鳥を撃が如なぞ」. 物 (mono) may refer either to Ōjin himself, who "becomes a thing (that hits)," or to all living being that by the very fact of Ōjin’s manifestation as a falcon have become his prey: "He made them into things to hit." The first interpretation seems the more likely one. Grammatically speaking, ume ize shite is a subordinate clause: "without doing ume." 

165 Reference to a classical definition in the Yijing: "That Yin and Yang cannot be fathomed is called the divine" 陰陽不測之謂神. See Yijing: Xici shang 5; Eki-kyō vol. 3, p. 1427-1430.

166 Kushiyatama is mentioned in Kojiki 1 (NKBT vol. 1, pp. 123-125; Chamberlain, Kojiki, p. 124) as the grandson of the local (?) harbour god. Acting as Ōkuninushi’s cook, he changed himself into a cormorant, dived to the bottom of the sea in order to get clay to make the plates. He also cut stems of seaweed and of wild rice to make a fire, on which he cooked the fish. The most intriguing part of his performance is the vow he pronounced as he drilled the fire, but that is irrelevant here. He is worshipped in the Himori Jinja (Izumo).

167 Amanokumabito 天熊人 no mikoto (N.B. Jakuhon has reversed the order of the characters kuma and hito. Most likely, he based himself on Taizeri-kyō which does use the order of 天人熊命) assists Amaterasu in the disposal of the food deity Ukemochi, after she has been killed by Tsukiyomi no mikoto. See Nihon shoki 1 (Zenpen, p. 23); Aston, Chronicles vol.1, pp. 32-33. Amanokumabito also appears in this context in Sendai kuji hongi; see Bentley, The Authenticity of Sendai Kuji Hongi, pp. 50-51, 146. (N.B. At the second instance, Bentley reads he name of the deity as Ame no Kuma Ushi.) The deity is not mentioned in Kojiki. See also Appendix II.

168 It is not a personal name, but "the god of the slope," i.e., of the Ashigara-yama in Sagami, where Yamato Takeru sat down to have lunch. In the shape of a white deer the god came to look, and was killed by Yamato Takeru. He thereupon climbed the slope and three times cried Azuma haya, thus giving eastern Japan its name. See Kojiki 2 (NKBT vol. 1, p. 215); Chamberlain, Kojiki, pp. 264-265. The killing of the white deer is also mentioned in Nihon shoki, but the context is different; see Nihon shoki 7 (Zenpen, p. 218; Aston, Chronicles vol. 1, p. 208.)
it [ever] came to "striking and hitting," how could [Ōjin] have done that out of greed, a karma [that only affects] really existing beings?\textsuperscript{169}

In \textit{Jinja-kō} it says: "As regards the expedition of his mother the empress\textsuperscript{170} against the three states of Korea, I am sure that the number of casualties, too, will not have been small. (1:18b) Why did he not set the living beings free at that occasion, and did he set free living beings at this [other] occasion? How could the gods have two minds? As I see it, when [Empress Genshō (680-715-724-748)] threw back the barbarians and pacified the raiders, it was through divine assistance. The request to free living beings was an oracle given by sorceresses and fake monks."\textsuperscript{171}

I criticize this as follows: "When logically speaking it is unavoidable, one may exterminate the three armies and yet it will not be regarded as cruel. When logically speaking no crime [has been committed] and you kill [even] one single soldier, [the act] will not be considered benevolent. Since the Yellow Emperor, in their successive reigns, all holy kings had their wars and carnage, but none of them is considered as un-benevolent. When the mother-empress conquered the three states of Korean, she had given orders not to kill.\textsuperscript{172} At that time, she was definitely considered as having pity with [the Koreans]; [the killing that occurred] was something that was logically unavoidable. As regards Hachiman's

\textsuperscript{169} The compound 実類 is not attested, but its meaning is fairly obvious. It is opposed to the 化類 (karui) at the beginning of this section (translated as "manifestations"). Tongō 貪業 means the "karmic activity of craving." The meaning of the whole is that, if Ōjin, in his incarnation as a falcon, ever caught living beings, he did not do so out of greed, and must have had his good reasons for doing so.

\textsuperscript{170} Reference to the campaign on the Korean peninsula by Empress Jingū 神功皇后, the wife of emperor Chūai (149-192-200) and the mother of Ōjin (200-270-310). Jingū was the regent for her son, and as such reigned from 201 till 269. All these data are, of course, traditional.

\textsuperscript{171} This quotation should be read in the context of the preceding passage in \textit{Jinja-kō} (pp. 380-381), which it explains. In this section, reference is made to an attack by foreigners 異國襲来 on Hyūga and Ōsumi in Yōrō 4/9 (720). As Razan tells the story, a messenger from the court went to pray in Usa for the successful pacification of the raiders, and Hachiman let it be known that the number of the slain would be great; that he pitied them; and that therefore he wanted ceremonies to be held in all the provinces at which living beings were released. The point is that Hachiman did order hōjōe at that occasion. So, why did he fail to do so when his mother occupied Korea? Razan does not mention his source, but it is clear he has based himself on Genkō shakusho 22; see the footnote to the relevant passage in the Honkoku.

\textsuperscript{172} Orders to this effect are found in the \textit{Jingū-kōgō sesshō zenki}, e.g. under Chūai 9/9/10, before the expedition departs, and again on Chūai 9/10/3, when the king of Silla has submitted himself voluntarily to Jingū’s army; see \textit{Nihon shoki} 9 (Zenpen, p. 246, pp. 247-248; Aston, \textit{Chronicles} vol. 1, p. 229, p. 231). However, the order applied only to slaying those who had surrendered; that was forbidden.
oracle of the Yōrō Era (717-723) [in which he ordered the release of living beings] — could he, as a god, not have had pity on those dead and wounded? (1:19a) In the end, no god will have two minds [about such things].

Dōshun [apparently] regards the gods as not-benevolent and [argues that], if [Hachiman] did not order the release of living beings at that occasion, neither should he have done so at this occasion, and that the freeing of living beings was merely a bogus oracle of monks and sorceresses. How can he lie so blatantly\textsuperscript{173} about the god [Hachiman]? Moreover, monks and sorceresses do not have the slightest part in the practice of freeing living beings.\textsuperscript{174} Why does he use\textsuperscript{175} such wicked, vicious language?"

In \textit{Jinja-kō} it says: "In our country, during the Period of the Gods, the god Kotoshironushi\textsuperscript{176} amused himself with fishing and with hunting birds. The two sons of the Heavenly Grandson had been given [respectively] the blessings of the mountains and the blessings of the sea.\textsuperscript{177} When one goes by these [examples], again, how [can one maintain that] our gods were exclusively fond of the release of living beings?"

(1:19b) I criticize this as follows: "Now, take another country, [China, for example] — before the Three Emperors\textsuperscript{178} the transformation by fire (i.e. cooking) did not yet exist, and neither did the eating of grains. In the winter [the ancient kings] lived in holes [in the ground], and in summer, in nests [in the trees]. They ate the meat [of birds and beasts], hairs and all, and drank their blood.\textsuperscript{179} The pristine customs and practices of our country will have been [the

\textsuperscript{173} The literal translation would be: "How can his lying about the god have reached as far as this?"

\textsuperscript{174} Bun 分 is to be interpreted as "part, portion," and koto 事 as "the fact > the practice." The latter seems a debatable position. Miko may not have had any part in the rite, but Buddhist priests must have had.

\textsuperscript{175} This is a rather strange usage of rō-suru. One would like to have a few more examples.

\textsuperscript{176} Reference to a passage in one of the variant traditions of the ama-kudari myth. See \textit{Nihon shoki} 2 (\textit{Zenpen}, p. 69, line 3); Aston, \textit{Chronicles} vol. 1, p. 76.

\textsuperscript{177} I.e., the elder fished, and the younger hunted. For the fates of Hoderi-no-mikoto and Howori-no-mikoto, who respectively received umi no sachi and yama no sachi, see \textit{Nihon shoki} 2 (\textit{Zenpen}, pp. 84–101; Aston, \textit{Chronicles} vol. 1, pp. 92–108, including quite a number of alternative versions). See also \textit{Kojiki} 1 (\textit{NKBT} vol. 1, pp. 134–143; Chamberlain, \textit{Kojiki}, pp. 145–158).

\textsuperscript{178} The Three Emperors are Fu Xi 伏羲, Shenlong 神農, and Huangdi 黃帝, who according to the traditional chronology reigned from 2852 to 2597 B.C.

\textsuperscript{179} As the whole passage is a paraphrase of \textit{Liji: Li yun}, we have translated according to the standard
same]. This must be why, in the Age of the Gods, we had the angling of fish and the hunting of birds. As the son of the god Ōkuninushi, Kotoshironushi necessarily possessed divine virtue. Why should he be considered divine merely because he fished and hunted? If that were all there was to him, we would not consider him a good god; he would be a mere criminal, intent on his own pleasure. How could these gods be un-benevolent?

In Jinja-kō it says: "In Shoku Nihongi [fascicle] 17, under Tenpyō Shōhō 1 (749), eleventh month,\(^{180}\) (1:20a) [it is recorded that] the great god Hachiman gave an oracle and went to the capital. On that occasion, he asked for forty monks. [After a period of] repentance for past transgressions\(^{181}\) [that lasted] seven days, they built a new hall in the Pear Field Palace, south of the [main] palace,\(^{182}\) and made this the dwelling of the god.\(^{183}\) Personally, I think that both Shōmu (701-724-749-756) and Kōken (718-749-758/764-770) were in involved in prurient relations with the Buddhists. That is why such things occurred. How could this not defile the historian’s brush [when he describes it]?”

I criticize this as follows: "When Liu Xiang 劉向 (77-6) wrote his preface of the Zhanguoce 戰國策 ("The Schemes of the Warring States"), he said: 'The method of a historian is to record completely the words and deeds of a given period. He should note both the good and the bad, and never make a selection [of his own].' Of old, he was for this considered as someone who knew the intent of the Chunqiu ("Spring and Autumn Annals"). [When] Ouyang [Xiu] compiled [Xin] Tang Shu ("The New History of the Tang Dynasty"), he rejoiced that Han Yu had swept aside Buddhism and Taoism. Thereupon, he concealed the bad [things Han

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\(^{180}\) In Jinjakō bengi the date is garbled. Translated literally, it would say: "Tenpyō 10 (738), Shōhō 1 (749), eleventh month.” We have translated according to the text in Jinja-kō; see Nihon Shisō tōsō Shiryō vol. 1, p. 381, line 10.

\(^{181}\) The word huiguo 悔過 (J. keka) is a synonym of zange. For its Confucian connotations, cf. Mor. IV: 10659-10.

\(^{182}\) This shrine became known as the Tamukeyama-jinja 手向山.; cf. this lemma in KDJ.

\(^{183}\) The compound shinkya 神居 is not attested in the dictionaries. Compared to the term jingū 神宮, which is used in Jinja-kō, it seems pejorative.
had done]. [On the other hand], as he hated Taizong\textsuperscript{184} for having re-established Buddhism, he concealed his good (l. "long") points. In general, those men of the Tang Dynasty [who] converted to Buddhism, humbly followed it, and reverently trusted in it, (1:20b) he denigrated\textsuperscript{185} in the extreme. Many of the highly regarded dignitaries\textsuperscript{186} and wise ministers [who] consorted with Zen monks or [showed] signs that they had the [right] capacity to be guided [by a Buddhist priest],\textsuperscript{187} he angrily removed them [from the pages of his history]. [This] critic (i.e. Jakuhon), therefore, does not consider him as impartial in this regard.

\textit{Shoku Nihongi} contains what happened at the time; Mamichi and Tsugutada\textsuperscript{188} did not engage in biased [reporting]. In this respect, [their behaviour] was different from the way in which Ouyang Xiu acted, and this is why Dōshun cannot stand it. It is an instance of "the crooked tree hating the true rope."\textsuperscript{189}

In \textit{Jinjakō} it says: "[Minamoto no] Yoritomo (1147-99) placed priests responsible for the offerings at [the Hachiman shrine] at Tsurugaoka,\textsuperscript{190} had them chant the Lotus Sutra, the Great Wisdom Sutra and so on, and had them say prayers. In this, too, he was merely following what remained of the practices [that were part of] our country's traditional customs. It is too trifling to discuss.'

I criticize this as follows: "Lord Yoritomo raised himself out of the insignificant position that had resulted from his earlier conviction.\textsuperscript{191} He carved

\textsuperscript{184} Taizong was the second emperor of the Tang Dynasty, and more than his father the architect of its fortune. He reigned from 626 till 649.

\textsuperscript{185} Bianchi 買斥 (J. henseki) means "to degrade, to lower in rank." As it is difficult to imagine Ouyang Xiu consistently lowering the ranks of those of Buddhist affiliation whom he mentions in his history, we settled for a more general translation.

\textsuperscript{186} For the meaning of the compound 名卿, see Mor. II: 3297-82.

\textsuperscript{187} For this translation of the term 机縁, see Nakamura Hajime, \textit{Bukkyōgo daijiten} p. 213, definition 5 and 6.

\textsuperscript{188} Sugano no Mamichi 菅野真道 (741-811) and Fujiwara no Tsugutada 藤原継縄 (727-796) were the chief compilers of \textit{Shoku Nihongi}.

\textsuperscript{189} This expression is taken from \textit{Suichu-fu} 遂初賦 by Liu Xin 劉歆 (d. 23 B.C.). The complete quotation is: 「曲木悪眞縄兮、亦小人之誠也」; see Mor. V: 14280-247. Jakuhon allows himself a little joke with the names of Mamichi and Tsugutada, from which he purloins the characters 眞 and 縄.

\textsuperscript{190} A reference to events in 1191, when Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝 (1147-1199) had the Tsurugaoka Shrine moved to Kamakura and invited Hachiman to reside at this new location to protect his rule.

\textsuperscript{191} A reference to the aftermath of the Heiji Rebellion 平治の乱 (1160), when Taira no Kiyomori 平清盛
out his own fortune and increased his splendid power. It was truly accomplished through the strength of his faith in the Buddha and the Gods. Was it only in the case of Tsurugaoka, that he followed (1:21a) the practices of our country? The number of Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples that he had built and the tax paying households and treasures that he donated are innumerable. From this, one knows that it was not the case that in his heart Lord Yoritomo disliked Buddhist priests, or that in his actions he merely followed the practices of our country. With his words [Dōshun] wants to make Lord Yoritomo party to his own aversion of Buddhist priest. What proof is there [of what Dōshun says]?

In Jinja-kō it says: "What [kind of a man] was this Kanetomo\(^{192}\) after all? As the chief of the original source of divine affairs\(^{193}\) he should have rejected heterodoxy and avoided the Buddhist monks. As he did not do so, he was a sinner against Amenokoyane."

Criticizing this, I say: "As a rule, [to say] that 'gods avoid monks' are lying words of muddle-headed low-ranking Shinto priests. Men of old have already determined that. If there is a god who goes against the Buddha, he is a heterodox god. Kanetomo was the chief (1:21b) of the original source of divine affairs, and not some sort of charlatan.\(^{194}\) He searched profoundly and explored far. He was someone who knew the principles of gods and Buddha's, and did not deceive [others about them]. Dōshun criticizes him, because [Kanetomo] does not join his side. Amenokoyane never avoided the Buddha. Why, then, [does Dōshun] say that by not avoiding Buddhist monks, Kanetomo sinned against him? The

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\(^{1118-1181}\) exiled Yoritomo to Hirugashima (Izu).

\(^{192}\) Yoshida Kanetomo 吉田兼倶 (1435-1511), the founder of Yoshida Shinto and of its shrine on Kaguragaoka in Kyoto. The Yoshida were a branch of the ancient Urabe 卜部 clan, who were specialists in divination. They claimed descent from Amenokoyane no mikoto, who accompanied Ninigi when he descended to earth. Amenokoyane is also the divine ancestor of the Nakatomi > Fujiwara clan.

\(^{193}\) In the theology of Yoshida Shintō, Sōgen refers to the first ancestor of the Urabe clan, Amenokoyane, under two aspects: sō refers to the aspect of his being the origin, and gen, to the aspect of his interaction with man. See Scheid, Weg der Götter, pp. 305-306, translating Yuiitsu shintō myōbō yōshū; Grappard, Yuiitsu Shintō Myōbō Yōshū, pp. 138-139. Cf. also the Japanese text in Chūsei Shintō, p. 319, 212: 「宗者明一気未分之元神。(中略)源者明和光同塵之神化」. Because of the addition, however, of shinji no ("of divine affairs"), sōgen cannot be simply translated as "original ancestor." "Original source" should do.

\(^{194}\) For 誠妄, see Mor. X: 35542-38: "To maintain and insist that things that do not exist, exist."
biography says: 'Whether women are beautiful or ugly, once they marry, they are envied.' Beautiful women are the nemesis of ugly ones. How could this not be so?" In Jinja-kō it says: "Dengyō-daishi Saichō (767-822), Kōbō-daishi Kūkai (774-835), Jikaku-daishi Ennin (794-864), and Chishō-daishi Enchin 円珍 (814-891) saw that our country was the country of the gods and that the great majority of the people believed in them and revered them. Thereupon, they raised their voices and proclaimed: '[The goddess of] Ise is Dainichi, [the god of] Hie is Śākyamuni. We send the gods [as our messengers], and [through them] we convert Japan.' The emperors and princes and the high dignitaries trusted them and subjected themselves to them without realizing [what trick was being played on them]."

(1.22a) Criticizing this, I say: "These words are not different from what [Dōshun] says in the Preface of Jinja-kō and in the section about Hachiman. However, when the words 'send the gods and convert them' are explained in the Sutra, the Buddha has the [concept of] 'conversion of later generations' through the Three Wheels. He said: 'My body are the relics (shari); my words are the

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195 "The biography" will refer to the biography in Shiji, in which case Jakuhon is quoting directly, though somewhat inaccurately, from that text. In the Buddhist corpus this phrase from the Shiji is quoted in Kaian kokugo 順安國語 (TZ 81) which text consists of original poems (shōko 頌古) by Sōhō Myōchō 宗峰妙超 (1282-1338) and a commentary (hyōshō 評唱) by Hakuin Ekaku 白隠慧鶴 (1685-1768). It was edited (hen 編) by an otherwise unknown Ichidaku 一諾, and printed in Kan'en 3 (1750). Jakuhon may have been quoting Sōhō directly, but for reasons of chronology, Kaian kokugo cannot possibly have been his source. Moreover, if we assume him to be quoting Sōhō, it becomes unclear what the word "commentary" refers to. Shiji seems to be the more likely source.

196 The quotation from Shiji only says that, beautiful or ugly, any woman who enters a new household will become the object of envy and jealousy, like any official, bright or dumb, will be doubted when he enters court. Applied to the present case, this should mean that Razan defames Kanetomo because of partisan rivalry, and that he would have defamed him whatever Kanetomo had said. Jakuhon, however, goes one step further, and states that Razan has it in for Kanetomo because Kanetomo is better ("more beautiful") than he. It is, in other words, not just a matter of bureaucratic rivalry, but of personal envy and hatred.

197 In Yuiitsu shintō myōhō yōshū these four Great Priests are mentioned as the ones who formulated ryōbu shintō. See Scheid, Weg der Götter, p. 303; Grappard, transl., "Yuiitsu Shintō Myōhō Yōshū," p. 138; Chūsei Shintō, p. 318-319, 210-211. The words "sending the gods and converting Japan," however, do not occur here.

198 Jakuhon here refers to the preface and the Hachiman section of Razan's Jinja-kō. See above, p. 1:13a-b, and, most clearly, p. 1:14b, where also the deluded nobles and dignitaries are mentioned.

199 Yuike is the transformation-through-teaching that the Buddha left for coming generations, after he entered nirvāṇa. The Three Wheels are the Three Karma's 三業 or the Three Secrets 三密 of body,
ideas [I explain] in the Sutra’s; and my mind are the gods.’ These are things about which [Dōshun] knows nothing. For no reason, he criticizes the four Great Priests — the four Great Priests [who] are the greatest\(^{200}\) avatars of our country. Because of his vulgar envy he rejects them. It is like the rejection of Confucius by Robber Zhi’s minions.\(^{201}\) Moreover, that the emperors and princes and the high dignitaries did not realize this, too, is something he has said several times already. Is it because he is so deeply angered, that he does not notice how repeatedly [he says this]? That his arrogant words all culminate in this [same point]?

\(^{(1.22b)}\) In Jinja-kō it says: "The Buddha is a crafty barbarian, and [Buddhism] is a barbaric law. It will turn the land of the gods into a barbarian country.\(^{202}\) You can compare that to 'descending from a lofty tree and entering into a shady valley.'\(^{203}\) No gentleman would want to have [any part of] it."

Criticizing this, I say: "Formerly, Fu Yi\(^{204}\) referred to the Buddha as a god of the western barbarians. People like Han Yu and Ouyang Xiu all imitated him. That is how we came to have this expression. The country where the Buddha came from is Middle India. The western barbarians, the Hu, clearly are barbarian tribes of Northern India. The [Chinese of the] Han and Sui dynasties did not yet know about Middle India, so they referred to the country of the Buddha with [the word] 'Hu.' Especially the Confucians are unaware of how vast and boundless [the world is]. They think of China in terms of the Four Seas and the Nine Provinces.\(^{205}\) Zhuangzi said: 'The Holy Ones knew [of the things] outside the Six

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\(^{200}\) For kōhyō, see Mor. XII: 45313-832.

\(^{201}\) For Robber Zhi and his minions ("hounds"), see above, note 92.

\(^{202}\) Razan mentions three different barbarian peoples: the Hu, who live to the west of China, the Yi, who lived to the east, and the Di, who lived in the north.

\(^{203}\) Quotation from Mengzi 3A.4. Cf. Lau, Mencius, p. 104: "I have heard of coming out of the dark ravine to settle on a tall tree, but not of forsaking the high tree to settle in the dark ravine."

\(^{204}\) For Fu Yi, see above, note 110.

\(^{205}\) Two traditional terms to refer to China: either as "[All within] the Four Seas," or as the "Nine Provinces." The latter are described in the Erya and the Shujing: Yu gong; see Mor. I: 167-301.
Directions, but they did not discuss them. (1:23a) The Holy Ones discussed things inside the Six Directions, but they did not do so in a critical way. The [Confucians] restrict themselves to the Four Seas and the Six Directions, and nowhere go outside them. This is comparable to a frog looking out from his well.

Formerly, He Chengtian and the monk Huiguan discussed which [of the two,] China or India, was peripheral, and which was [in the] correct position. They measured the shadow cast by the sun, and in the end they concluded that India was the centre of the world, while China was [just] one of the Eastern barbarians. Not to mention our "Land of the Sun! We are barbarians [living to the east] of barbarians! And yet, for no good reason he calls the Buddha a crafty Hu, an Yi, and a Di.

Formerly someone said: 'Which of the two is worse: having heard of the Way, not to practise it, or not having heard of the Way, not to practise it? I think that not to practise it because one has not heard of it is mere stupidity, [but] having heard of it, not to practise it, is wicked. With stupid people one should commiserate, but a wicked man should not (1:23b) be forgiven. Let alone, when

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206 The Six Directions are North, South, East, and West, and zenith and nadir.
208 "Like a frog in his well" is a metaphor characterizing narrowness of outlook. It is found in a developed form in Zhuangzi: Chunshui 春水: "With a frog in his well you cannot talk about the sea." Cf. Mor. I: 258-1/3.
209 畔 means "border, periphery." "Correct" 正 will in this context have the meaning of "central."
209 He Chengtian (370-447) was a mathematician, astronomer, and historian in the service of the Liu Song Dynasty. He made the Yuanjia 元嘉 calendar, which was in use from 445 till 509. He has a biography in Song shu 64 (Liezhuan 24; vol. 6, pp. 1701-1712), most of which is occupied by an long memorandum about the way to treat the barbarians. The points at issue here are not mentioned. The discussion is reported in several sources, i.a. Bianzheng-lun 辯正論, p. 525b, and Kaoseng-zhuang 高僧傳, p. 368a. In the latter source, the discussion forms part of the biography of is the monk Huiyan 慧嚴 Huiyan (363-443), who acts as He's interlocutor. According to Sijiaoyi jijie 四教義集解 by Congyi 從義 (see Honkoku, note 110), the monk Huiguan 慧觀 to whom Jakuhon refers also participated in this discussion. The gist of the discussion is: "He Chengtian of the Eastern Sea was famed for his wide knowledge. He asked Yan which calendar one should use in the country of the Buddha. Yan answered; 'In India on the day of the summer solstice [the sun] is right in the middle and things cast no shadow. It is what one calls the middle of heaven.'"
211 This "someone" is Kokan Shiren; see Honkoku, note 116. He wrote these words in criticism of the Chinese statesman Li Si (d. 210 B.C.).
he is] someone who does not merely not practise it, but on the contrary condemns it! He is a man whom [all] should greatly hate! When we assume that Dōshun did not know, then he is a fool. If he knew, and [yet] said this, then he is a nape. As he is moreover [actively] condemning it, he is a man whom all should greatly hate.

Fan Yuzong wrote *Xiyuzhuan*. In it he said: 'It is] a place where spiritual and holy [persons] descend and gather; a place where wise and virtues [persons] arise.' As a matter of fact, the Buddha arose in Middle India and spread the Middle Way. Is it not a great blessing, that this great law of that Middle India was moved also to this small, peripheral, barbaric country [of ours]? That was why the gods stuck the Water of the Law, increased their authority and fortune, and considered that a blessing. Would [under these circumstances] a gentleman accept the phrase that [the Buddhists] change the country of the gods and turn it into a barbaric [country]? Dōshun's Confucians intend to change the land of the gods, turn it into the country of Lu, and destroy the gods. Does it not look like this?

(1:24a) In *Jinja-kō* it says: "The Shinto [which believes] that Principle is present in the heart has been transmitted from god to god, from emperor to emperor. The Way of the Emperors and the Way of the Gods are one and indivisible."

I criticise this as follows: "He has plagiarized his talk about "the heart" from the Buddhist sutra's. Ways that gods transmitted to gods are the Sōgen and

212 I.e. Fan Ye 畔 (398-445). Yuzong is his style; for the reading of the first character of the name, see Mor. IX: 31805-35. He was a scholar-official active during the Liu Song 刘宋 Dynasty. He wrote the biographies of *Hou Han shu* ("History of the Later Han Dynasty"), but he was executed for participating in a rebellion before he could finish the treatises. His biography appears in *Song shu* 69 and *Nan shi* 33; cf. Mor. IX: 30384-9.

213 The locus in *Sanjiao pingxin lun* refers to *Xiyulun* 論, but this incorrect. The corresponding fascicle in *Hou Han shu*, fasc. 88, is just entitled *Xiyu*, but as it is part of the section *liezhuan*, to refer to it as *Xiyuzhuan* is justifiable.

214 The character 頃, here translated as "descend," is not in the *Hou Han shu*. The sentence is part of a description of India as the Buddha's country.

215 It make more sense to substitute the character 浴 and to translate "bathed in."

216 Lu is the country where Confucius was born and died, and where he was an official for some time. The Lu that the Confucians want to restore is Lu as it was during the few idyllic years when Confucius was in charge as "chief justice and prime minister"; see Yang & Yang, *Selections*, pp. 8-9.

217 This Shinto was devised by Hayashi Razan himself.
the Saigen schools of Amenokoyane no Mikoto and Amenofutotodama no Mikoto. These are quite different from the Confucian theories that [equate the gods with] the innate capacities of the two Qi, or [with] the traces of creative transformation. If [Dōshun] thought that he himself was [the spokesman of] our national Shinto, then he had lost himself. If he made [Shinto] fit his own [ideas], then he had lost this (i.e. Shinto). What he seems to be calling Shinto must be regarded with suspicion."

(1:24b) In Jinja-kō it says: "I think that Sange yōryaku is a secret text, [composed] by Dengyō-daishi [after] he returned to Japan. Dengyō was [posthumously] called Sange-daishi. Did the Great Teacher (daishi) really think that [the Buddhist god] Konpira (S. Kumbhīra) was the [Shinto] god of Miwa? Or were it perhaps (I do not know) his followers who attributed these words to their teacher and considered them to be his? Well now, Dengyō is the Zhiyi or Zhanran of our country, and yet [in his work we find] such groundless lies. Ah! Have the vices of the Buddhists really gone this far? What could even [such critical minds like] Fu Yi and Han Yu have done about [this mess]?"

I criticize this as follows: "Through his extraordinary and exceptional presence Dengyō-daishi was in communication with the realm of the gods. He received some sort of a reaction [from a deity] and [on the basis of that

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218 According to Scheid, Bernhard, Weg der Götter, p. 49, sōgen in the name of Yoshida Shinto is a reference to the first ancestor of the Urabe > Yoshida, Amenokoyane no mikoto. Saigen Shinto is a construction that is based on the Sendai kuji hongi and connected with the Inbe clan, whose ancestor was Amenofutotodama no mikoto. Shintō jiten, s.v. "Saigen Shinto" refers to Taisei-kyō and to Sendai kuji hongi sen 先代舊事本紀箋 (33 fasc.; preface 1733) by Yoda Sadashizu 依田貞鎮 (1681-1764). The other source quoted in this lemma is Mototsugusa 本津草. (3 fasc.; preface 1723; printed 1728) by Hitomi Hidezumi 人見英積 (dates unknown).

219 "... lost himself," "lost this": the meaning seems to be in the first case, that Razan had an inflated opinion of his own position, and in the second, that he had done an injustice to his subject. Both criticism would make sense: Razan did not hold any brief to discuss or propagate any kind of Shinto, and he quite imperiously reinterpreted Shinto theology to make it fit his interpretation of Confucianism. For details, see Boot, Adoption and adoption.

220 According to Nihon kotenseki sōgō mokuroku data base, Sange yōryaku ki 記 was written by Kenshin 顕真, not by Saichō. The text is transmitted in a great number of manuscripts, but no hanbon exist. For a modern edition see Dai-Nippon bukkō zensho: jishi sōsho 4.

221 Both and Zhiyi (J. Chigi; 538-597) and Zhanran (J. Tanmn; 711-782) were famous Chinese Tendai priests.

222 For want of a better translation of sugata.
revelation] he regarded Konpira as the god of Miwa. If such were not the case, why would he have lied about that god and deceived his disciples? If you are not that man, you do not know (1:25a) his situation. Dōshun had just heard that Konpira was an Indian deity, and furthermore he thought that de god of Miwa was Ōanamuchi no Mikoto, so he criticized Sange-daishi because of the vulgar situation [obtaining in our] strange, isolated country. "Takamimusubi no Mikoto had already descended into the great western country, and after this Ōkuninushi no Mikoto, too, will go all the way to that country.' As that is the case, [there is no reason to] think that the god of Miwa would not be there. Konpira and Miwa are [from] separate regions and have different names, but they are the same deity. Brush and tanned leather are different [words] in Qin and Chu, but the things [in themselves] are not different. Moreover, Fu Yi seven times submitted his wolf-like feelings and owl-like words in memorials to the emperor. At that time, there were two eminent monks [called] Falin and
Minggai. They composed a treatise and frustrated him. Li Shizheng composed his *Neidelun* and again confuted [Fu Yi's anti-Buddhist writings]. [The emperor] was unable to accept his heterodox theories [any longer], and in the end he was punished. Han Yu was removed [from court] and sent down to Chaoyang. Later on, he was completely repudiated by Master Qisong.

His thirty pieces of writing were dismissed by such a group [of scholars]. In the world not one word of his was practised. While Buddhism rose higher and higher, those fellows became more and more extreme. Dōshun does nothing but lick the spittle of [Fu] Yi and [Han] Yu. [They are like] the people on the coast, [who] go after the stinking air.

Slandered by the Taoist adept Qin Ying, he died in jail at the age of 69 (Chinese count). For details, see his biography in *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 絭高僧傳 24.

231 Minggai (dates unknown) is the author of *Juedui lun* 決對論, in which he criticized Fu Yi.

232 This will be a reference to *Poxielun*.

233 The *Neidelun* by Li Shizheng is (partially?) contained in *Guang hongming ji* 廣弘明集 14 (T2103). The *Neidelun* is not only referred to in many other Buddhist texts, but also in *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 49 (Section Treatises 志).

234 Qisong (fl. 1050) was a famous monk and a prolific writer. See Mor. III: 5917-35.

235 The character 篇 is strange; one would have expected 編. As a matter of fact, Han Yu's collected work, *Changli-xiansheng ji* 昌黎先生集 counts 40 fascicles.

236 The phrase 「海畔有逐臭之夫」 is referred in Mor. VI: 17503-495, and XI: 38877-36. It is a quotation from a letter by Cao Zhi 曹植 (192-232). The meaning is "All men love the scent of flowers, but on the shore you have men who prefer the stink ("salty smell") of the sea."
(2:1a) *Doubts regarding Treatise on Shrines*, Second Fascicle.

In *Jinja-kō* it says: "When I reached [the entry of] Dōchi\(^{237}\) stealing the divine sword, I was incensed and [decided to] have a go at 'writing [what should be written], and cutting [what should be cut].'\(^{238}\) Accordingly, I wrote: 'A thief [tried to] steal the Grass Cutting Sword, but he did not succeed in getting it.'\(^{239}\) Formerly, when the Holy One (i.e. Confucius) composed the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, he termed Qi Bao\(^{240}\) and Yang Hu\(^{241}\) 'thieves.' Let alone, the other ones! Let alone, that sinister monk Dōchi! I wrote [of him like] this in order to make an example. From this one sees that the divine sword [preserves] its spiritual nature for ever more, and that the Buddhists become ever more sinister."

Criticizing this, I say: "In *Genkō shakusho* it says: 'Dōgyō from Silla had plans with the Grass Cutting Sword.' 'Why did [I, Shiren,] not give him his [monk's] designation?\(^{242}\) Because he was a thief!'\(^{243}\) Well now, a sword is not a

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\(^{237}\) Why Razan calls the theiving monk Dōchi 道智, while *Nihon shiki* and *Genkō shakusho* (and *Jinnō shōtō kiji*) call him Dōgyō 道行, is unclear.

\(^{238}\) In the first sentence of this passage in *Jinja-kō*, which Jakuhon fails to quote, Razan explains that he came accross the story when he was compiling his chronological history of Japan, which at this time he still calls *Honchō kōmoku* 本朝綱目, but which, when it was finally finished by his son Hayashi Gahō 鴎峰 (1618-1680), became known as the *Honchō tsugan* 本朝通鑑. The term 笔削 ("to write what should be written ...") is a hallowed term used in reference to Confucius writing the *Chunqiu*, in which every character was chosen with care, and all apparent mistakes had a moral meaning; cf. Mor. VIII: 25987-56-2.

\(^{239}\) The Kusanagi no Tsurugi ("Grass Cutting Sword") is one of the three Imperial Regalia. It was kept at the Atsuta Jingū (Owari).

\(^{240}\) Qi Bao is mentioned several times in *Chunqiu* under Duke Zhao 20 and 31. "Qi Bao's thief" became proverbial, thanks to Confucius' remark to his disciple Qin Zhang 琴張, that Zong Lu 宗魯 was Qi Bao's thief and the murderer of Meng Zhi 孟犂, and that, therefore, he did not need to go and offer his condolences to Zong's family, now that he had died (*Zuo zhuan* under Duke Zhao 20; see *Shunjū Sa-den* vol. 4, p. 1487-1488; cf. Mor. X: 48560-362). This entry refers back to the entry of the *Chunqiu* at the beginning of the same year (op. cit. p. 1476), where it says: 'A thief killed Zhi, the elder brother of the marquis of Wei 衛侯.' The "thief" is not mentioned by name here, but in later entries (op. cit., pp. 1482-1483, p. 1624) it becomes clear that it was Qi Bao himself who did the killing, and not Zong Lu. As the final entry says: "Qi Bao was Minister of Criminal Affairs 司寇 of Wei and a hereditary officer of the state. Yet he committed unrighteous acts, so [Confucius] wrote him down as a thief."

\(^{241}\) Yang Hu 陽虎 was from Lu 魯, and a contemporary of Confucius; cf. Mor. XI: 41725-96. He is mentioned frequently in *Chunqiu* (Zhao Gong 27, Ding Gong 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and Ai Gong 9), but nowhere is he qualified as a "thief."

\(^{242}\) Shiren is here explaining the differences between his summary of the affair (Genkō shakusho 21:7b, line 4-5) and the text in *Nihon shiki*. One of the two differences is that he leaves out the the characters 沙門 ("monk") that *Nihon shiki* prefixes to the name Dōgyō. Later on, he asks himself the question why he did not 族 Dōgyō. The character is used as a verb, here, so it should be interpreted as "to call someone by his family's or his group's designation."
monk’s tool. The Buddha [tried to] control [its use and told the monks] not to stock them. How could a monk have coveted one? I think that Dōgyō was someone who had merely stolen the garment [of a monk], but that there was no real monk there. (2:1b) And then [the story] that he [actually] stole it! When the Buddha set up his Great Precepts, stealing was in the second place. The Buddha did not allow [the stealing of] one needle, one blade of grass. Someone who broke this [prohibition] was ostracized. If [Dōgyō] had been a monk, he would not have stolen, and since he stole, he [can] not have been a monk. This is why Genkō shakusho does not give him his [monk’s] designation. This is also [the reason] why Confucius in the Spring and Autumn Annals leaves out [Qi Bao’s and Yang Hu’s] names and writes ‘thief.’ When Dōshun discovered Dōgyō, he was overjoyed and made the most of [the story]. What he says of the increasingly sinister [character] of Buddhists, what [nonsense] is this?! When you hear that formerly there were riotous vassals and rapacious officers, do you say that in the present time all vassals and officers are riotous and rapacious? One cannot criticize a Way through [criticizing] its practitioners. Many years ago, a Confucian scholar from the capital, Taijun, had

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243 The story Kokan Shiren tells in Genkō shakusho 21:8a-10a is much more circumstantial than the terse entry in Nihon shoki. He starts out with a complete story of the sword, from Susanowo who kills the dragon until Yamato Takeru who uses it to cut grass, and then, finally, comes to Dōgyō (p. 9b), who made not just one, but three attempts to steal the sword. The first time, he prayed for seven days, then took the sword and left the shrine. Immediately the surroundings were covered with black clouds and the wind (one supposes) took the sword and returned it to the shrine. The second time, he said his prayers for fifty days. This time he got as far as Gamō in Ōmi before the clouds appeared and the sword was taken from him. The third time, he prayed for one hundred days, and reached Kyushu before the same thing happened again. Then follows the sentence quoted here. The entry continues as follows: “As he was a thief, why do I not say that he stole it? Because he was a Buddhist monk! [The verb] 模 ("attempted [to steal]") says that he did not get it." (既是盗、曷為不曰盗。沙門也。模、何不得之謂也。)

244 Meant are the Five Precepts; see above, note 25.

245 The translation is based on the gloss 小る ("to ride") of the character 駕.

246 There was a Confucian scholar Yamamoto Tōun 山本洞雲, whose imina was Taijun 泰順, but Jakuhon 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: Nihon kotenseki sōgō mokuroku lists fifteen titles under Tōun’s name that were published between 1676 and 1686.
allied himself with thieves and was executed as a result. Having discovered this, shall we call all Confucians thieves? How come that his words are so shallow? So partisan?"

(2:2a) In Jinja-kō it says: "Shinzei was born in the capital. In the world the rumour was that, having seen the Empress-Mother Somedono, he became infatuated with her and fell ill. In the end he died and became a nature-spirit. It is also said that Shinzei’s spirit became a Great Tengu, and that he is Tarōbō of Mt. Atago."

Criticizing this, I say: "Shinzei’s career is recorded in the biographies and annals. [The story] that he became a nature-spirit is groundless. Was it not the followers of Sōō of the Mudōji who made up this nonsense, wishing to boost Sōō’s reputation? In the end it was even recorded in Genkō shakusho. Master Shinzei died in the year Jōgan 2 (860), and in Kanpyō 5 (893) the empress-mother of the Fujiwara [clan] fell ill from a sinister disease. That was thirty-four years later! From this one could have determined how frivolous and exaggerated the story was. Dōshun, [instead,] is overjoyed and makes the most of it, and he turns Shinzei into a Great Tengu."

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247 Shinzei 真濟 (800-860) was a scion of the Ki clan. He was monk of the Shingon Sect, ordained by Kūkai (774-835). In the beginning of the Jōwa Era (834-848) he was sent to China, but his ship was wrecked and he barely survived. He later became the first sōjō 僧正 of the sect. He also made name as a poet, and edited the collection of Kūkai’s prose and poems, the Shōryō-shū 性霊集. His main residence was the Jingoji in Takao. There are several stories about him, one of which is about his contest with Eryō 惠亮, and another, about his infatuation with Empress Somedono and his transformation into a ghoul or a tengu. See Wikipedia Japonica s.v. "Shinzei."

248 This is Fujiwara no Akirakeiko / Meishi 明子 (829-900). She was the daughter of Fujiwara no Yoshifusa, married Emperor Montoku, and became the mother of Emperor Seiwa. The story that she was troubled by the spirit of Shinzei, and that it was driven out by Sōō is first told in the latter’s biography, Tendai Nanzan Mudōji Konryū Kashō den 天台南山無動寺建立和尚伝 (completed between 918 and 923; text in GR 69 [Vol. 4, pp. 557-566]), and repeated in several other collections. Konjaku monogatari shū 20 contains a similar story, but without the names Shinzei and Sōō. The spirit who possesses the empress is described as a nameless, dark blue ghoul.

249 Jakuhon uses the word denki 傳紀. This will be a reference to Genkō shakusho, which includes Shinzei’s biography; see Honkoku, note 130.

250 The Tendai priest Sōō kashō 相應和尚 (831-918) was founder of Mudōji on the Hieizan. A number of miraculous cures, among which we find the cure of Empress Meishi, are attributed to him.

251 In Genkō shakusho 3:6a it does in fact say: "Shinzei was confused by lust and became a nature spirit."

252 For the translation of the compound 浮誕, cf. Mor. VI: 17487-194.

253 It is unclear which source Jakuhon is citing. The account in Konryū-kashō den (GR 69; Vol. 4, pp. 561-562), gives Jōgan 7 (865) as the year of the successful exorcism, and tells how Sōō through the help of his
him would not know his wicked disposition?"

In Jinja-ko it says: "In the biography of Yunju Daoying in Chuandenglu it is said of Crown Prince Shōtoku, that "The great Abbot Huisi of the Southern Peak was reborn in Japan and became king." Ganjin, too, said: "I have heard that Lord Huisi of the Southern Peak was reborn in Japan and spread the Law of the Buddha." Was this really the case, or not?" [I, Dōshun] said: 'The theory of rebirth 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 Yuanze are reported in the histories and biographies, and these we cannot gloss over. We have [our own] relevant theory. [It says that] when men are born, it all happens under 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"; (2:3a) 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.'"

Criticizing this, I say: "Though he might prefer not to speak of the theory of rebirth, many [examples] have been [recorded] in the biographies and histories.

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254 Yunju Daoying was a Chinese Zen priest.
255 Jingde chuandeng lu was composed by the monk Yongan Daoyuan, who finished the work in 1004. At the command of the emperor, the text was then polished by the Hanlin scholar Yang Yi. (974-1020).
256 Nanyue Huisi was the second patriarch of the Tiantai (J. Tendai) School.
257 Ganjin was a Chinese priest who travelled to Japan to become the founder of the Japanese Ritsu (vinaya) School. He founded the Tōshōdaiji 輔寺 in Nara (759).
258 Yang Hu 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 蘭澤 (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 琅邪代醉編 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.
259 As said above (Honkoku, note 136), this is a reference to Lunyu 9.17. Legge translates the passage as follows: "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.
[So,] he cannot deny it, but when he then says ("with his mouth" >) in so many words that he cannot deny it, he denies it even more strongly. He compares the fact that newly born spontaneously [begin to] breathe and that [breathing] spontaneously fails when someone dies with the river that keeps flowing and with the blossoms of spring. Basically, this has the [same] meaning as [the Buddhist expression] impermanency from moment to moment. Water rises and rises; day in, day out it spreads. Time slowly edges forward, and and stretches toward dusk.' Truly, [the process] never stops by day or by night. There never is an interruption of even one breath. The previous moment goes, and the next moment takes over. The present life goes, and the future life carries on. Eventually, what you have are the three periods of the past, the present, and the future. (2:3b) Take the flowers at the top of the tree — by the time they fall they have already wilted. It is [certainly] not the case that those [same] flowers return to the roots and appear [again]. If there are no seeds or roots, then [the whole process] stops. When there are seeds or roots, then, affected by Heaven and Earth and the movement of Qi, there will be flowers again in the following spring. When the human body dies, it is not the case that one returns to one's former body. There is a divine consciousness, which, continuing its karma, commits itself to the next body. It is like fire going from log to log. Yan Zhitui of the Northern Qi Dynasty writes in his Family Instructions: 'The bodily form may die,

260 The technical term 念 (S. sana) means an extremely short moment. The idea is that everything exists only during those moments, and hence is fundamentally impermanent. Cf. the definition of this term in Nakamura Hajime, Bukkyōgo daijiten, p. 1080d.

261 The literal translation of 得天地氣運之縁 would be "they obtain the causation of ..." The usual translation of 縁 ("karmatic bond") is less apt in this case: there is no "bond," karmatic or not, between the flowers and Qi or Heaven and Earth. The latter are contributive causes.

262 神識 is a technical Buddhist term; it is glossed as "spiritual soul" 灵魂. The "hun魂 soul" is one of the two souls men was supposed to possess according to the ancient Chinese scheme; supposedly, after death it went up to Heaven. "Consciousness" 識 implies that some knowledge remains from the former life and is carried over into the new one. In the Chinese context, both "divine" 神 and "spiritual" 灵 are terms describing varieties of rarified Qi.

263 役業 litt. means "pulling its karma." Karma is a causal chain that the spirit must continue. It does not disappear when the body dies, but influences future rebirths.

264 Yan Zhitui (531-591) was a Chinese scholar and government official. He was a supporter of Buddhism, which he defended against the criticism of his Confucian-oriented colleagues. He is the author of various works, among which Yanshi jiaxun 顔氏家訓 ("Family Instructions of Master Yan"; 26 fasc.).
but the spirit still endures. When a man has been born and lives in the world, and looks ahead to his next incarnation, it seems as if [the present and the future life] are discontinuous. After he has died, however, [the relation] with his previous incarnation turns out to be nothing more than [the relation between] old age and youth, morning and evening."\(^{266}\)

In *Jinja-kō* it says: "The relative speed of the gathering and dispersing [of Qi] is rather like smoke still casting gloom, while the fire has just died out. (2:4a) Hence we have the sensation of ghosts and spirits, the manifestations of abandoned ghosts and of spiritual [beings],\(^{267}\) possession by the gods,\(^{268}\) and the circulation of the two human souls.\(^{269}\) In the end, [these manifestations all] come forth out of the Great Void. There is no place where they do not reach,\(^{270}\) but what traces will remain? [None.] How, then, could a man, having died, be entrusted again to a [new mother's] womb?"

Criticizing this, I say: "Dōshun is unable to deny that, when a human being has died, he appears again [in one form or another]. However, Dōshun does not know that the spirit\(^{271}\) does not perish, and he [tries to] reason [himself out of his predicament] in manifold ways.\(^{272}\) The words just [quoted] are the inanities\(^{273}\) of

\(^{265}\) *Jingshen* 精神 is a Chinese, not a Buddhist term. The literal meaning would be "refined divineness." Again, both 精 and 神 designate varieties or aspects of Qi, esp. the ruffled, subtle, and hence quick and potent variety. The *locus* of the term is in *Zhuangzi* 15 (*Keyi* 創意). 3; cf. Mor. VIII: 26997-132.

\(^{266}\) Deng Siyu translates: "... though the body dies, the soul is still preserved. When a man is alive in the world, it seems inappropriate to look for future existence; but after death the // relation to former existence resembles that of old age to youth or morning to night." See Teng Ssu-yü, transl. & ann., *Yen Chih-t'ui, Family Instructions for the Yen Clan (Yen-shih chia-hsün)* (Leiden: Brill, 1968), pp. 147-148.

\(^{267}\) Because 厲霊 as a combination is not attested in the dictionaries, we have translated the two characters separately.

\(^{268}\) 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."

\(^{269}\) The two human souls are the *hun* 魂 (*J. kon*) and *bo* 魄 (*J. hakut*); see Mor. XII: 45787-28.

\(^{270}\) From the text of *Jinja-kō* we can add: "... but by then, they have spread so thin that they have ceased to exist as individual entities." The argument in this quotation is that everything consists of Qi. Similarly to the relation between fire and smoke, something still lingers 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*).

\(^{271}\) The word used is 神. The meaning should be the same as that of 精神 in the preceding section. See above, note 262.

\(^{272}\) This compound 多途 ("many roads") is not attested in the dictionaries, but it occurs frequently in Buddhist texts, and also, though rarely, in the post-Han Chinese corpus, e.g. twice in *Yanshi jiaxun.*
Song Confucians.

Zigong274 asked Confucius, saying: 'Does a man have consciousness after he has died, or does he not have consciousness?' The Master answered: 'If I would say that the dead have consciousness, then I fear that filial sons and obedient grandsons will harm the living in order to serve the dead. If I were to say that the dead do not have consciousness, then I fear that unfilial sons will abandon (2:4b) [the Way of] parents and children, and will not bury [their parents]. Ci, you want to know if the dead have consciousness or not, but at the moment that is not an urgent [concern]. Later on you will know it in the natural course of things, and then it still will not be too late.' This should be proof that Confucius did not think that there would not be [consciousness after death]. Why does Dōshun deny Confucius and believe the Song Confucians? Why has he gone astray himself, and does he mislead others?

In Erjiaolun ("Treatise of the Two Teachings") of Dharma Master Daoan275 it says: 'The principle of karmic retribution is subtle; even an accomplished person is still in the dark about it. Thought cannot fathom it, [which is why] it gives rise to heterodox ideas. Some taught that when someone dies, his spirit is extinguished and it will not again have a next existence. (This is called the heterodox view of annihilation.) Others [taught that] the gathering and dispersing [of Qi] is inexhaustible, and that mind and spirit [continuously exists] without interval. (This is called the heterodox view of perpetuity.) Some said that fortune and misfortune, hardship and pleasure are all caused by Heaven. (This is called the heterodox view of external causation.) Others inferred that all

273 See Mor. VII: 18317-32, where the compound 澆浮 is glossed as 輕薄 ("flippant, frivolous").
274 Zigong 子貢 is the style 字 of Duanmu Ci 端木賜 (520-446), who was one of Confucius’ more prominent disciples.
275 Daoan 道安 (312-385) was active under the Eastern Jin Dynasty (317-420) and involved in the translation of Buddhist scriptures into Chinese. He compiled Zongli zhongjing mulu 綜理衆經目錄, the first comprehensive catalogue of Chinese Buddhist scriptures. His Erjiaolun survives as part of a collection of apologetic and propagandistic Buddhist texts Guang hongming ji 廣弘明集 (30 fasc.; T2103), which was compiled by Daoxuan 道宣 (596-677) in 664. The aim of the treatise is to argue the superiority of Buddhism over the two indigenous Chinese teachings, Confucianism and Taoism. Daoan is mentioned frequently in Zürcher’s The Buddhist Conquest of China, but Erjiaolun only once, and not in a relevant context. N.B. The text must not be confused with Kūkai’s Ben kenmitsu nikyō ron 辨顯密二教論("Treatise Distinguishing between the Exoteric and the Esoteric Teachings").
phenomena exist autonomously and are independent of [external] causes. (This is the heterodox view of the non-existence of causation.)' These are four erroneous cleavings [one finds] among the heterodox teachings of India.\(^{276}\) (2:5a) Types like Dōshun never go beyond these [fallacies]. It is impossible not to abhor\(^{277}\) his words."

In *Jinja-kō* it says: "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], were afraid and in doubt, and in the end concluded that the Three Worlds really exist. They are surely possessed by foxes; that is all there is to it."\(^{278}\)

Criticizing this, I say: "Buddhism's theory of the Three Worlds is unassailable and not open to doubt. 'It is reliable, and there is proof.' Although the Confucians [themselves] say that "the accumulation of goodness will bring a surfeit of joy, and the accumulation of evil will bring a surfeit of misfortune,"\(^{279}\) [still,] Yan Yuan and Ran Boniu\(^{280}\) (2:5b) [died from] illness in their youth while robber Zhi lived to a healthy old age; [Kings] You and Li\(^{281}\) were Sons of Heaven, while Confucius was merely the minister of a feudal lord; [Duke] Jing [r. 547-
490) of Qi had a thousand foursomes of horses, while Bo Yi and Shu Qi died of hunger. 'In all these cases [the retribution of] good and evil was not proven. The web [of doubts] and the misleading [hindrances] arise from this.' Xiaoyuan was unable to chart [fate’s] course; Zixuan (252-312) was not yet able to clarify its source. It is something that wisdom does not illuminate, and that strength does not resist. [However,] the Buddhist teaching of the Three Retributions cleared this stumbling block out of the way a long time ago. How profound [this explanation] is! Therefore, ever since their Emperor Ming (r. 57-75) of the Later Han Dynasty and our Emperor Kinmei (r. 539-571), reign after reign, through many [generations of] Holy Men and Wise Men, of Kings, Dukes, and grandees, all placed their hearts [in the Buddha] and revered and trusted him. They received his teachings and converted to him.

Now, Dōshun madly goes against [common opinion] and pointlessly vilifies [the Buddha] as a wild fox, and he makes the Holy Men and Wise Men of all succeeding reigns out to be fools and dunces. Can it really be like that? The

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282 Reference to Lunyu 16.12; see Honkoku, note 153. Legge translates the passage as follows: "The Duke Jing of Qi had a thousand teams, each of four horses, but on the day of his death, the people did not praise him for a single virtue. Bo Yi and Shu Qi died of hunger at the foot of the Shou Yang mountain, and the people, down to the present time, praise them."

283 Yi the Elder and Qi the Younger were brothers. They retired into the mountains and died of hunger, rather than having part in King Wu’s overthrow of the Shang Dynasty. See the passage in Lunyu quoted in the preceding note. Biography in Shiji 61 (Liezhuan 1).

284 Strictly speaking, 徵 (zheng / kizashi) is not "proof," but "a sign that a thing has certain potentialities and will develop in a certain way." However, in the context of this phrase and the one a few lines back, "proof" seems the better translation, as it is not a matter of prediction, but of ascertaining ex post facto that things have not turned out the way one had been led to expect.

285 The compound 網惑 is not attested in the dictionaries, but Jakuhon most likely refers to the Buddhist concepts of 疑網 and 惑障.

286 Xiaoyuan 蕭遠 was the style of Li Kang 李康 (196-264), a writer and official from the period of the Three Kingdoms. For the identification, see Mor. IX: 32012-25 and Mor. VI: 14459-123.

287 Zixuan 子玄 was the style of Guo Xiang 郭象 (7252-312), a Taoist thinker and editor of Zhuangzi 莊子.

288 The Wenxuan commentary of Li Shun’s Biamminglun (see Honkoku, note 157) explains the phrase as follows: "Li Xiaoyuan wrote his Yunninglun 運命論 ("On fate"), [in which] he said that order and disorder lay with Heaven. Therefore [Liu Shun] says that he discussed [fate’s] origin. Guo Zixuan wrote Zhiming youji lun 致命由己論 ("Giving your life depends on yourself"), [in which] he said that good and bad fortune depend on oneself. That is why [Liu] says that he spoke of [fate’s] current." (Wenxuan 52; vol. 2, p. 1169). Li’s Yunninglun is included in Wenxuan 53 (vol. 2, pp. 1141-1149), but Guo’s Zhiming youji lun does not seem to have survived.

289 The Three Retributions refer to the recompenses in the present life for one’s deeds done in the past; in the next rebirth for deeds done now, and so on into subsequent lives.

290 The effect gets lost in translation, but note the repetition of the character 明 in the names of the two emperors 漢明 and 欽明, and the judiciously chosen pronouns.
people of the empire all (2:6a) have minds [of their own]. Will they not [be able to] see this for what it is?

In Jinja-kō it says: "Well now, if someone who is sacrificing to his ancestors maintains perfect sincerity, then [the ancestral spirits] 'will be all over'; it will be as if one sees them, 'as if they are present.'" 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. This is how it is with things. Therefore, with man, too, it is like this. Methinks, these are [examples of the] patterns [that shape] the Single Qi. Therefore it is said: 'If it is not a spirit of your own [kind], it is flattery to sacrifice to it.'

I criticize this as follows: "According to the previously [cited] theory, 'a man dies and dissolves into the Great Void. He disappears, and no trace is left.' Nevertheless, [Dōshun claims that,] 'if only one maintains utmost sincerity, it will be "as if one sees the [spirits of one's ancestors], as if they are present."' When he treats something that is not present as seeming to be visible and seeming to be present, he is not being sincere, he is distorting [the truth]. Furthermore, I have special reservations in regard to the theory that ancestors and descendants [are linked through] veins of one [identical] Qi. (2:6b) The form is exhausted in the course of one life and has no permanent lord, while the spirit dashes through the Six Realms [of Incarnation] and has no permanent abode. Why should it wait for the sacrifice of a descendant of its Qi-vein in order to come forth? 'With a man who makes soup of goosefoot it is difficult to discuss the great sacrifice of three animals,' and with a man who sticks to one side [of an issue] you cannot

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291 Razan is paraphrasing Zhongyong 16, the classical Confucian statement about the spirits. 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."

292 Quotation from Lunyu 2.24. For the Confucian concepties of gods, ghosts, and spirits, and for such Confucian ontological concepts as Qi and "patterns," see Boot, W.J., "Spirits, Gods, and Heaven," pp. 69-108.

293 For this translation of 神, see above, note 271.

294 Meant is an uncouth individual, who is used to poor food. The Japanese name of the plant is akaza; the Latin one, chenopodium.

295 The translation of the relevant part of the eulogy (see Honkoku, note 161) is: "Well now, with someone who is clothed in wool or wears felt it is difficult to talk about the beauties and mysteries of pure cotton;
discuss the True Way."

In *Jinja-kō* it says: "In the biography of the Crown Prince that is compiled by the Taira, you find [the following story]. The Crown Prince once ordered people to build his grave, and he told them, saying: 'Cut off this part, and trim down that part. I shall not have children who will succeed me.' How could one call it a great offence, not [to have] children who continue [your line]? In the teachings Confucius left, those who do not have an heir are considered unfilial. I, however, consider [myself] as a disciple of the Buddha, not as a disciple of Confucius.' [Recently,] I saw a book of the Christians. (2:7a) Its argument came down to the following: '[To the position that] it is unfilial not to have heirs, [I counter that] I have never heard that Bo Yi and Shu Qi had children. Should we perhaps consider Yi and Qi as unfilial? If it is filial to have heirs, should one then consider someone as filial, because he buys any number of concubines and indulges his sexual desires? In my opinion, both the words of the Crown Prince and the argument of the Christians dwell on one side [of the problem] only, and lack impartiality and fairness. My body, hair, and skin are the remains of my parents. When I do

someone who makes soup from goosefoot and eats cold rice is not suited to a discussion about the exquisite taste of a grand repast." The *tailao* is the grand sacrificial ceremony during which three animals (a cow, a goat, and a pig) are slaughtered. The association with "a grand repast" is that after the sacrifice the celebrants consume the meat offered to the gods.

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296 Razan undoubtedly refers to *Shōtoku-taishi denryaku* 聖德太子傳暦, a.k.a. *Hei-shi Taishi den* 平氏太子伝 or *Hei-shi den* (2 fasc. in 2 vols; chosaku ID 4364). It is the most important of the many spurious biographies of Crown Prince Shōtoku. The text originated sometime in the tenth century; dates mentioned in modern research are Engi 17 (917) and Shōryaku 3 (992). The author is unknown, but according to one tradition, it was compiled by Taira no Motochika 平基親 and Taira no Suesada 季貞; hence the Hei-shi. The text was reproduced profusely, both as a manuscript and as a *hanpon*. Modern editions in *Shōtoku-taishi zenshū* 3, *Zoku gunsho ruijū* 8A, *Dai-Nihon bukkyō zensho: Shōtoku-taishi sōsho*. Our references are to *Shusho hyōchū* 首書評註 *Shōtoku-taishi denryaku*.

297 See *Shusho Taishi den* 4:30a-31a. As a matter of record, Shōtoku did have a son, known as Yamashiro no Ōe no Ō 山背大兄王. After Empress Suiko's death, he was a contender for the imperial succession, but lost to Emperor Jomei (628). He was killed by Soga no Iruka at the end of 643; see *Nihon shoki* 24 (kōhen, pp. 199-202), and Aston, *Chronicles* vol 2, pp. 181-183. As the death of Yamashiro no Ōe is described at length in *Denryaku* (Shōtoku Taishi den 5:16a-17a), the writers were aware of his existence. In view of Shōtoku’s own words, quoted in *Honkoku*, note 163 (遥憶過去、因果相挍、吾未賽了、禍及子孫), which imply some sort of a karmatic guilt from which his descendants will suffer, the correct interpretation of the story should be that Shōtoku-taishi knew that his son would be killed, which implies that 欲 (hori-suru) must be translated as "is about to, I shall," and not "I intend to, I want."

298 There is a discussion to this effect in Matteo Ricci's *Tianzhu shiyi* 天主實義 ("The Truth about the Lord of Heaven"), but Razan's rendering is by no means a quotation, or even a paraphrase; see *Tenshu jitsugi* vol 2, pp. 113-116, or frames 131-133 of the digital edition of the Diet Library.
not exist, my parents do not exist, and neither do my ancestors. When I exist, then I am able to sacrifice to my remote ancestors and keep their memory alive, and I can show the goodness of my father and mother. How could [I suffer them to] rot away like the plants and the trees? To drop dead in the field together with the birds and the beasts? It stands to reason, that not having an heir is considered a lack of filial piety."

(2:7b) I criticize this as follows: "When I regard others as my neighbours, then the others will also regard me as their neighbour. Dōshun claims that both the Crown Prince and the Christians dwell on one side [of the problem] only, and lack impartiality and fairness. In order to gain support, he claims that not having an heir shows a lack of filial piety. But how one-sided is Dōshun in his turn! Now, Holy Ones like Yao and Shun did not own land [big] enough to stand a gimlet on, and the virtue of kings Tang and Wu was not continued by their offspring. Should we regard this as a sin? Should we regard this as unfilial? Did they really rot away like plants and trees, or drop dead together with the birds and beasts? Of all noble things, nothing is nobler than the Way, and of all beautiful things, nothing is more beautiful than Virtue. We, Buddhist monks, purify ourselves and cultivate our minds. We repay our obligations by [following] the Way, and [with us] Virtue succeeds Virtue. Both in China and Japan, ever

299 See Mor. XI: 38836-7. The locus of the expression 追遠 is Lunyu 1.9. For the interpretation of this passage, see Schipper, Confucius. De gesprekken, p. 104.

300 The unstated link in the argument is, that my son can do the same for me and for my / our common ancestors; hence, having a son is not an egoistic act, but an act of altruistic, filial piety.

301 This looks like a proverb, but if it is, it is not attested.

302 The literal translation would be: "Canvassing, he takes not having issue to be unfilial."

303 The phrase "(a piece of land not big enough) to stand a gimlet on" or "(...) to place a gimlet on" (see Mor. XI: 40536-29, 立錐, and 27, 置錐) occurs frequently in the classical Chinese corpus, e.g. in Shiji. In Han Fei Zi: Anwei it is used in connection with Shun, who "did not have a piece of land big enough to stick a gimlet into, but whose virtue, nevertheless, bore fruit 萬." In connection with the preceding sentence, it would have been preferable to translate 湯武之德 as "the virtuous kings Tang and Wu," but as they did have offspring, this does not work. The point seems to be that the offspring of both Cheng Tang (the founder of the Shang-Yin Dynasty) and King Wu was shortlived and/or not very virtuous. Such a case might be made for Cheng Tang (see Shiji 3; vol. 1, pp. 98-99), but hardly for King Wu, who was succeeded by his son King Cheng, who was assisted by no lesser person than Wu's younger brother, the Duke of Zhou, whose name is epinomous with virtue (see Shiji 4; vol. 1, pp. 131-132).

304 Reference to the succession to Buddhist offices. Obviously, with the exception of a few of the later sects such as the Jōdo-shū and the Ji-shū, the succession did not go from father to son, but to the worthiest man (or woman, as the case might be) in the community.
since the "true transformation,"306 [the monks'] reputation of Virtue307 sparkles in the books. The number of eminent monks who possess the Way is quite considerable. How would it compare308 to the [number of] Confucian scholars who are famous for their great deeds?309 (2:8a) How could one call this rotting away like the grass and the trees, or dying in the field together with the birds and beasts?"

In Jinjak-kō it says: "In our country the Crown Prince is extolled for his sage-like intelligence.310 But now he311 is quoted as saying that he was a disciple of the Buddha, not a disciple of Confucius. If we believe these words, then [what do we do with the following?] Our holy Crown Prince had [a woman of] the clan Kashiwade as his consort,312 so he must have [known the Way of] man and woman. Prince Yamashiro no Ōe was the Crown Prince's son, so he must have [known the Way of] father and son. Suiko was his empress, so he must have

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306 The compound 真化 is attested in specialized dictionaries of Buddhism, i.e. Bukkyōgo daijiten 780c, Bukkyō daijiten 866-1, and Soothill, p. 331. The meaning is "conversion," i.e. to Buddhism.
307 In Mor. IV: 10243-213, 徳声 is glossed as "a reputation of benevolence."
308 The construction A (若) B is used to formulate a comparison, and should be translated as "Would B not be better than A?" In the present case, however, it is difficult to assume that Jakuhon wanted the number of Confucian scholars to be greater than that of the Buddhist monks, so we have adapted our translation: "which of the two [would be greater, compared] to ..."
309 In Mor. II: 3297-29, 名行 is glossed as "reputation and practice, great deeds that make one famous."
310 It is always a problem whether 知 should be interpreted as "knowledge," or as "the capability to acquire knowledge = intelligence." Whichever translation one chooses, the word is qualified as 聖, i.e., "like that of a Holy Man" or "as becomes a Holy Man," depending on whether or not one subscribes to the proposition that Shōtoku-taishi was a Holy Man. As a matter of common record, Razan did not.
311 The "he" is Shōtoku-taishi, as quoted by Razan’s interlocutor in this passage of the Jinja-kō; see Nihon shisō tōsō shiryō vol. 1, p. 522, line 1-3.
312 Nihon shoki says that Shōtoku-taishi wedded the eldest daughter of Empress Suiko; see Nihon shoki, kōhen, p. 106, and Aston, The chronicles of Japan, II, p. 95. In Denryaku, however, a long conversation between Shōtoku and his consort 妃 from the Kashiwade clan is reported under Suiko 18/10 (Shusho Denryaku 4:8a-10a). Another long conversation with his consort (no name is mentioned, this time, which implies that she is the same person) is reported under Suiko 26/10 (Shusho Denryaku 4:25a-30a). Under Suiko 26/12 follows the story about the tumulus and the subsequent conversation with his consort, who is, again, nameless (Shusho Denryaku 4:30a-31a; see Honkoku, note 163). Under Suiko 29/2 the death and burial of Shōtoku and his (again unnamed) consort is described (Shusho Denryaku 5:2a-5a). We may assume that all through these pages the word "consort" refers to the wife from the clan Kashiwade. When under Jomei 1/1 Yamashiro no Ōe is mentioned for the first time, he is said to be Shōtoku’s son with the daughter of Soga no Umako (Shusho Denryaku 5:10a), who is elsewhere (KDJ s.v. "Yamashiro no Ōe") identified as Tojiko no iratsume (?) 刀自古郎女. Under Kögyoku 2/11, when Soga no Iruka’s murder of Yamashiro no Ōe is described, "twenty-three children and grandchildren of Shōtoku" are mentioned, and an "alternative version" 一説 is quoted that gives most of their names, but not the names of the mothers (Shusho Denryaku 5:16a-20a). The same applies to the corresponding entries in Nihon shoki.
Criticizing this, I say: "The teachings of the Buddha are many and various. Becoming a monk is, of course, only one of the methods. Shaving the head\(^{313}\) is just a ritual of Hinayana. In Mahayana, we have the mind as our leading [principle], and we do not make a point of external appearance. Moreover (2:8b), after [an aspiring Bodhisattva] has "ascended to [the first] ground,"\(^{314}\) a monk-like appearance is no longer [necessary]. In *Great Treatise*\(^{315}\) it says: 'Among the Buddha's disciples there are seven groups. Of these, the *upāsaka* ("laymen") and *upāsikā* ("laywomen") live at home." Why should there be anything strange [about the fact] that the Crown Prince had a lord, and had a wife, and was a disciple of the Buddha?"

In *Jinja-kō* it says: "The Crown Prince mingled with the followers of the Buddha. Did he did not know our Way? Alas! If only we could have made the Crown Prince love Confucianism like he loved Buddhism,\(^{316}\) the people [of our country] would until this day have had faith in his virtue. What a pity! Truly, one cannot but regret it."

Criticizing this, I say: "At the age of fourteen, the Crown Prince made known the written text\(^{317}\) of [the letter accompanying] the Korean tribute. He added Japanese glosses to [the text], and thus let our people communicate with the Koreans, and the Koreans communicate with us.\(^{318}\) In the same year, he launched Confucianism. He gathered all the nobles, and had widely learned

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\(^{313}\) The compound 荏染 means "to shave the head," i.e., "to become a monk"; see Mor. IX: 32121-4.

\(^{314}\) The compound 登地 refers to the arrival of a Bodhisattva to the first of the "ten grounds" 十地 (S. *bhūmy-ākramaṇa*), or to a person who has arrived to this ground.

\(^{315}\) See Honkoku, note 172.

\(^{316}\) Of course, there is no "we" who could have done that. The problem is the *okurigana*, which specifies the reading *taishi wo shite ... gotoku narashimeba*. Otherwise, 使 could just as well be interpreted as the introduction of a conditional clause: "If he had ...

\(^{317}\) The text says "characters" 字, but the locution "the characters of the tribute" is less than clear.

\(^{318}\) Shōtoku's fourteenth year should correspond to 587, i.e. Yōmei 2. The incident is not mentioned in *Nihon shoki: Yōmei-tennō ki*, nor in *Denryaku* under this or the adjoining years. In *Taisei-kyō*, where the incident is mentioned and which apparently is Jakuhon's source, it is dated 5th month of Yōmei 1 (586); see *Taisei-kyō* 31: *Yōmei-tennō ki* (op. cit. vol. 2, pp. 268-269). However, no Korean embassy is mentioned in this account, which concludes: 「自是、國人得讀漢文。於漢經為倭訓、以漢文為倭文、是此緣也而已」.
scholars\textsuperscript{319} give lectures on the Confucian books. The Great Muraji of the clan Mononobe was greatly incensed, and chided the scholars, (2:9a) 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. The Crown Prince said: 'The times are not yet [right], but [the right time] will surely arrive.'\textsuperscript{320} When I consider the [issue] on the basis of this [story], [I conclude that] the Crown Prince was the founder of Confucianism in our country. However, as it was as yet only skin-deep,\textsuperscript{321} it did contribute little to the happiness of the people. Therefore, he was not too insistent about it. If he had truly loved it as [much as he loved] Buddhism, then you can be sure that Confucianism would have greatly prospered. This is the reason why Dōshun is envious and jealous."

In Jinja-kō it is says: "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 the Mirai-ki ("Record of Things to Come"), [ascribed to] the Crown Prince. As yet, no one in the world has ever seen it.\textsuperscript{322}

\textsuperscript{319} The term 学哿 is not attested in the dictionaires, but occurs in the passage of Taisei-kyō to which Jakuhon is referring here. In view of the meaning of the individual characters, the word should be interpreted as gaku[mon no] yoroshiki [mono], i.e. scholars. Boshi 博士 is, of course, the title of the scholars who taught at the imperial academies in China and Japan. The standard translation is "erudite.' Here, however, rather than a paratactic construction ("erudites & good scholars"), boshi seems to be a qualification of gakka, as is indicated by the second occurrence of the compound on 2:9a, 1st line. We have translated accordingly.

\textsuperscript{320} As mentioned earlier, the source is Taisei-kyō, where the incident is described twice; see Honkoku, note 175. The second time round, the scene is preceded by a description of a Confucian curriculum that the Crown Prince established at the command of the emperor, prior to his attempt to get all the nobles to read Confucian texts. The Confucian curriculum is divided into four parts (束 and 全束; 弘 and 全弘). The first part consists of Xiaojing, Daxue, and Zhongyong (sic!); the second leg of the curriculum comprises Lunyu and Mengzi. The third part consists of the Five Classics Liji, Shijing, Shujing, Chunqiu, and Yijing. The final part adds to these Laozi and the histories. After this follows the description of a Buddhist curriculum, so the Confucian one was apparently regarded as propaedeutical. The final line of this paragraph is: "When the Ōmura Muraji Moriya heard this, he was greatly angered, and extremely vexed and jealous. In our realm, this marked the beginning of the spread of Confucian and Buddhist studies." (Taisei-kyō 31; vol. 2, p. 269) For the full text, see Appendix VI.

\textsuperscript{321} See Mor. IX: 29829-23. The compound is glossed as asahaka.

\textsuperscript{322} Razan is testing his opponent. He knew that the Shōtoku's Mirai-ki was mentioned in Taihei-ki; see Taihei-ki, edn NKBT vol. 34, pp. 193-195. Here is it told how, in Genkō 2 (1332)/8/3, Kusunoki Masashige 楠木正成 (1294-1336) went to the Shitennoji and consulted Nihon-koku mirai-ki, which was kept at this
(2:9b) This, too, may very well be merely a matter of Buddhist exaggeration. Prognostic and apocryphal texts as well as [fortune telling through] Yin, Yang, and the Five Elements were rejected by the Holy Ones. Even if the Crown Prince would have written a Mirai-ki, we need not believe [what it says]. Let alone, if no such a Mirai-ki exists! But even supposing that a Mirai-ki does exist, then, again, [it will be the case that] later generations attributed words to the Crown Prince."

Criticizing this, I say: "The number of stories that are told in the world is unnumerable. The Wish-fulfilling Jewel, in vain one hears its name. The unicorn and the phoenix, who has seen them in reality? Nevertheless, no one in the world denies [these stories], and [no one has], for a long time. Why would [Dōshun] think that a Mirai-ki by the Crown Prince does not exist, [just] because he had never set eyes on it? Records of portenta are occasionally [to be found] in historical works. In the Buddhist corpus they are called prophecies; they are [predictions] that successfully foretold beforehand [what would happen]. As the Crown Prince was divine and holy, why would he not have [made predictions]? In the poems it says that a Holy One knows that what has not yet come to pass.

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323 The "too" refers to the preceding story of the grave and the Crown Prince's pronouncement that he did not mind not leaving a heir, as he was a disciple of the Buddha.

324 See Mor. X: 36144-1/2.

325 See Mor. X: 34046-23-3.

326 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 it exists (option 3), it must have been foisted on Shōtoku.

327 Mani is a transliteration from the Sanskrit; the name is also translated as 如意珠. For the meaning, see Mor. V: 12613:72-2.

328 Literally: "records that are hung," for all to see, apparently because they have been successful; see Mor. IV: 11462:17.

329 Certainly in view of the 禮 that follows, one would expect 詩 to refer to the Shijing, but there is no such line in the Shijing, nor, for that matter, in the whole of the Pre-Han corpus. A likelier source is Nihon shoki. There, under Suiho 1/4/10, it says that from his birth the Crown Prince had the intelligence of a Holy One, and that, moreover, he knew beforehand what was not yet so."  "有聖智(中略)兼知未然"; see Nihon shoki 22, Köhen, p. 136); Aston, Nihongi vol. 2, p. 122.
In the *Book of Rites* (2:10a) it says: 'The Way of utmost Sincerity will enable one to know in advance.' Nevertheless, he says that, even if the Crown Prince composed [a *Mirai-ki*], we should not believe [what it says]. Well then, [compare] Confucius: his words were not put into practice by [Dukes] Ding and Ai; he was shunned by Zixi; he was hated by Huan Tui; he invited the slander of Shusun [Wushu]. None of these [things were due to] imperfections of Confucius. Dōshun does not believe the Crown Prince and therefore, time and again, he goes too far in his criticism. [His distrust of the Crown Prince] is of the same kind as [the ill will against Confucius]."

In *Jinjakō* it says: "I have already discussed the matter of setting free living [beings] in [the section about] Hachiman. Now, I will tell you the rest. The feeling of pity is the beginning of Benevolence. [This is] what gentlemen esteem in not-killing. When [the dead] truly cannot be brought back to life, which man will not have pity? To love one's parents, to be compassionate towards the common people, and (2:10b) to extend [these feelings] to [all] things [in general], this is what is called the Way of Extending Benevolence. Those Buddhists

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330 Quotation from *Liji: Zhongyong* 24. Andrew Plaks translates: "The Way of those who have attained the highest degree of integral wholeness in the world is such that they have the capacity of foreknowledge." *(Ta Hsüeh and Chung Yung, p. 45)*

331 Reference to Duke Ding of Lu (reigned 509-495 B.C.) and his son and successor, Duke Ai of Lu (reigned 494-468 B.C.). The chronicle of their reigns appears in *Zuo Zhuan* 左傳, and they also occur in occasionally in *Liji, Lunyu* etc. as interlocutors of Confucius.

332 A Zixi is mentioned once in the *Lunyu* 14.9, where Confucius, using the pejorative pronoun 彼, says of him "That man! That man!" This Zixi is generally identified as Gongzi Shen 公子申 (Mor. II: 1452-259), who was a bastard of a former king of Chu and became prime minister (*lingyin* 令尹) under King Zhao 楚昭王. Zhu Xi explains that Confucius did not like him because (1) he had not been able to rid himself of his reputation of being an usurper, (2) he had prevented Confucius from being appointed in Chu, and (3) he invited Bai Gong 白公 and thus caused disaster. "This tells you what kind of a man he was!" is Zhu Xi's conclusion. Cf. Schipper, *Confucius*, p. 280.

333 Huan Tui was the Minister of War of the state Song; he tried to assassinate Confucius. See *Lunyu* 7.23, and Confucius' biography in *Shiji* 47.

334 Wushu was a member of the Shusun clan, which was one of the three Huan 三桓, the noble families that dominated the government of Lu. The basis of the story is *Lunyu* 19.23-24, where Shushun Wushu's 叔孫武叔 slander of Confucius is countered by Confucius' disciple Zi Gong 子貢.

335 See above, pp. 1:13a-13b, and 1:18a-18b. Cf. above, note 198.

336 This is the first of the "Four Beginnings" 四端, discussed by Mencius; see *Mengzi* 2A6. Legge translates: "The feeling of commiseration is the principle of benevolence. The feeling of shame and dislike is the principle of righteousness. The feeling of modesty and complaisance is the principle of propriety. The feeling of approving and disapproving is the principle of knowledge."

337 For the translation of this compound, see Mor. IV: 9493-174.
abandon their parents, but have pity on insects and fish. Does this not defy [logic]? They throw their body to tigers and wolves and feed their flesh to mosquitos and horseflies. Is this not foolish? When Heaven brought forth the myriad things, it made man the most highly esteemed. Therefore, when the Holy Ones appeared, they regulated Rites and Rituals [regarding] animal sacrifices in the ancestral temples, cooking and cutting [animals] in the kitchens, and broiling and toasting them in the apothecaries. Why should one categorically [insist on] not-killing?"

Criticizing this, I say: "Generally speaking, Heaven and Earth have the same root as we have, and the myriad things are of the same substance as we are. Should we then split off [something] that stems from the same root and shares the same substance, and kill it? All the more so, [if one considers] that, as is explained in the *sutra*, 'Birth after birth, from generation to generation, they become parents, they become children, they become birds and beasts; everyone always passes through those existences. (2:11a) Even though they are birds and beasts, they are [also] parents and children who gave birth and were born.' And we should not feel compassion? We do feel compassion for those parents and children who gave birth and were born. How much more, towards our parents in our present life! And yet, such things as the petty morsels of food [we give them] morning and evening collectively constitute the karma for transmigration, and thus [our parents and we] are sinking together into eternal suffering. That is why we do not consider feeding one single, tangible body as true filial piety. The Buddha taught us to renounce those we love, to leave our home, to cultivate our good qualities, and to rescue our souls. Is this, after all, not [of] greater [impact]? It is [as Fan Kuai] said: 'When grand action [is required], you do not worry about small courtesies. In [the observation of] high

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338 The compound 薬方 means "the way in which medicines should be prepared." In view, however, of the parallel clauses, which all specify the place where an activity is carried out, one wonders whether the intended characters may not have been 薬房. The latter compound means pharmacy. See Mor. IX: 32341-114, 116.

339 The concluding okurigana ト suggests the end of a quotation, but we have not been able to establish its source.

340 For this translation of 区々, see Mor. II: 2691-11/16.

341 For the translation of the compound shixin, see Mor. X: 35974-37.
etiquette you may find yourself infringing on minor rules.'

Taibo threw away his kingship and fled to the Jing barbarians. Confucius praised him for that, and called him most virtuous. Never yet has did he say: 'He left and abandoned his father.' [Like him, we] Buddhists, with our heads held high, tread the true way, and our ambitions go far. (2:11b) We go beyond the mundane world and regard saving all beings as our responsibility. We practise a myriad of ascetic practices and are oblivious of hardships. In the scriptures it is said: 'We, together with all living beings, are all on the Way of Becoming Buddha's.' In extending [our responsibility] to [all] others we are like this. Would we really abandon our fathers and mothers?

Throwing his body to tigers and wolves, and feeding his flesh to mosquitoes and horseflies, is what a Great Being does, [who] for the sake of living creatures forsakes himself. Such things occurred at the causal stage of the enlightenment of Sākyamuni. Sākyamuni is called the Great Enlightened One. His flowing radiance omnipresently illuminates [the sentient beings]; it permeates the cosmos and opens [the possibility of] conversion. He is seen

342 In Shiji these words are attributed to Fan Kuai 樊噲 (d. 189 B.C.), who spoke them when he helped Liu Bang 劉邦 (247-195) escape from Xiang Yu 項羽 (232-202) at the occasion of a banquet that is known in history as the Meeting at Hongmen 濁門. For the translation, cf. Yang & Yang, Selections, p. 220.

343 A reference to Lunyu 8.1. Legge translates this passage as follows: "The Master said, "Tai Bo may be said to have reached the highest point of virtuous action. Thrice he declined the kingdom, and the people in ignorance of his motives could not express their approbation of his conduct." The story itself is told in Shiji 4 ("Basic Annals of the Zhou") as follows: "The Old Duke's eldest son was called Taibo 太伯; the next one was called Yuzhong 虞仲. Then Taijiang 太姜 gave birth to the youngest child, Jili 季歫. Jili married Tairen 太任. Both [Taijiang and Tairen] were wise women. [Tairen] gave birth to Chang 昌, of whom omens [foretold] sagehood. The Old Duke said: 'During my reign there should come someone to raise [our country]. Will that [prediction] refer to Chang?' His elder sons Taibo and Yuzhong knew that the Old Duke wanted to appoint Jili [as his heir], in order to transmit [the throne] to Chang. Thereupon both absconded to the Jing 荊 barbarians. They tattooed their bodies and cut their hair, in order to leave [the throne] to Jili." See Shiji vol. 1, p. 1154.

344 Litt. "bodies high." Shen means "the body" (without the head), and hence "one's own body, oneself, one's own good qualities and talents."

345 For the various meanings of dafang, see Mor. III: 5831-1876. According to Kōjien, tairō was also used in the sense of "the Way of the Buddha" (locus in Kūkai's Shōryō-shū 性霊集, which is another name of Kōya zappitsu shū 高野雑筆集.

346 For 物表 see Mor. VII: 19959: 119.

347 "Great Being" may refer to a bodhisattva, but also to a śrāvaka or a Buddha — in general, to anyone who improves himself to help others.

348 因位 refers to the stage in which a practitioner is still a bodhisattva and has not yet "reaped the Buddha fruit" 得佛果, i.e., become a Buddha.

349 An abbreviation of sanzen dai sen sekai 三千大千世界 ("one billion worlds"), i.e., the worlds that
as the Greatest Saint among Saints. None of [the countless kalpas of] the past and of [the innumerable kalpas of] the future that he does not see through. None of the worlds of the present, [numerous like] sand, that he does not thoroughly understand. For which of his deeds is it, that Dōshun calls the Buddha a fool? All heavy sins one can confess, but it is not possible to confess the sin of slandering the Buddha [and hope to be forgiven]. This offence is truly abundantly discussed in the scriptures, (2:12a) but I will not cite any of that, now.

Animal sacrifices may be [part of] the magnificent rites, 351 but [in the end] these are old rituals that one [performs because one] ought to. 352 Therefore, an ancient sage said: "If a lord preserves that rite, then he can also abolish it." 353 [Thus,] Emperor Wu of the Liang Dynasty (464-549) replaced the sacrificial animals by noodles, and Nomi no Sukune substituted earthen [figurines] for [the living men who] followed their lord into death. 354 These were all ways through which they preserved the rules. 355 For a thousand years they have been praised [for it].

In the Zuo Zhuan it says: 'If only he has luminous virtue, 356 then vegetables like duckweed, white artemisia, water-plants, and sea weed, 357 and [standing] water from hollows and puddles 358 may by him be presented to kings and dukes, constitute the domain of a Buddha.

351 Litt. "opens change." The "change" always is an improvement for mankind. In this case, however, not an improvement in the level of civilization as in bunmei kaika 文明開化 will be intended, but rather a change into the direction of Buddha-hood. We have translated accordingly.
352 Contrary to what one would expect, 禮 is not a technical term denoting one specific variety of ritual; see Mor. VIII: 23005-200.
353 The implication of yamu koto wo ezaru seems to be, that one does it, but no longer sees the reason for, or the point in doing so: "Just so much ancient stuff one has to do."
354 We have not been able to establish the identity of this "old sage."
355 Nomikhitsuuki the ancient sacred object is mentioned in Nihon shoki on Suinin 7/7/7 (he is summoned from Izumo and kicks to death Kuehaya from Taima) and on 32/7/6 (he proposes to emperor to replace living men with clay figurines, haniwa, at the occasion of a burial of a member of the imperial family; his proposal is accepted). See Nihon shoki 6 (Zenpen pp. 181-182, 187-188), and Aston, Chronicles vol. 1, pp. 173-174, 180-181. Suinin's traditional dates are 69 B.C. - 29 B.C. - 70 A.D.
356 It is rather awkward that in the first instance the text says 存禮, and in the second, 存法. One would say that 法 refers to the way in which a Rite is executed, and this way definitely changed, even though the Rite was preserved.
357 Zuo zhuan uses the compound 明信 ("luminous faith / trust / reliability") instead of 明德.
358 I.e. cheap, common vegetables; see Mor. IX: 32435-13.
359 Two types of standing water, inherently inferior to pure, running water; see Mor. VII: 18251-1, Mor. X: 34029-473.
may by him be offered to the gods and spirits.'\textsuperscript{359} One should reverently follow the intentions of the Holy Ones and Sages and words of the Holy Ones and Sages. [In the \textit{Lunyu} it says:] "When speaking about the rules of propriety, should one talk only of jade and silk?"\textsuperscript{360} How, then, could a true ritual\textsuperscript{361} stand or fall with [the use of] sacrificing animals? If this is the case with magnificent rituals, how much more should this apply to [the preparation of] medicines? Why should you [need to] kill for that?"

(2:12b)

In \textit{Jinja-kō} it says: "Even if he could obtain the empire [that way], a benevolent man would not kill [even] one guiltless person.\textsuperscript{362} Nevertheless, [both] killing and not killing are within [the scope of] Benevolence. Master Cheng composed the 'Ode on the Scorpion,' [in which] he says: 'When you kill it, then you injure Benevolence, and when you let it go, then you offend against Righteousness.' How can Benevolence and Righteousness really be two [things]? If you want to understand the principle of killing and not killing, begin by reading this ode."

Criticising this, I say: "[He says that] 'a benevolent person will not kill [even] one guiltless person.' In which case, how about the birds and beasts that [become] sacrificial animals? What guilt do birds and beasts have? And when you release these guiltless ones, in what way do you offend against Righteousness?

\textsuperscript{359} Quotation from \textit{Zuo zhuan}, "Duke Yin 隱公," third year, section 2. Legge translates: "When there are intelligence and sincerity, what is grown by streams in the valleys, by ponds, and in pools, the gatherings of duckweed, white southernwood, and pondweed, in baskets round and square, and cooked in pans and pots with the water from standing pools and road hollows, may be presented to the Spirits, and set before kings and dukes." Also see \textit{Honkoku}, note 196.

\textsuperscript{360} Reference to \textit{Lunyu} 17.11; for details, see \textit{Honkoku} note 197. Legge translates: "The Master said, 'It is according to the rules of propriety,' they say. 'It is according to the rules of propriety,' they say. Are gems and silk all that is meant by propriety? 'It is music,' they say. 'It is music,' they say. Are bells and drums all that is meant by music?' The sense of the passage in the \textit{Lunyu} is that jade and silk, gongs and drums are merely the external expression of rites and music, and that rites and music really should be an internal experience. Jakuhon, however, may be more interested in the fact that "Rites" are equated with "offerings of jade and silk," and that sacrificial animals are not mentioned.

\textsuperscript{361} 礼儀 will here be used instead of 礼儀. "Righteousness" has little to do with sacrificial animals, and so has "the meaning of the Rites."

\textsuperscript{362} This case is taken from \textit{Mengzi} 2A2, where at a given moment Mencius claims that Confucius, Bo Yi, and Yi Yin would have been able to gain the empire if they would have possessed a country of one hundred \textit{li} square to start from. However, "if they would have had to commit one unrighteous deed or kill one innocent man and thus gain the empire, none of the three would have done it." Cfr. Lau, \textit{Mencius, Penguin Classics}, p. 79.
Those who kill them can never be considered benevolent. Why does he decide that Master Cheng’s words are correct? (2:13a) The heterodox and biased words Cheng uttered were quite numerous. He was refuted on this point by Jingzhai and Taoxu. Dōshun treats him like the Taishan, but this is because of the personal, biased adulation [he feels for Cheng]. Others will not regard [his words] as being objective and in the common interest."

In Jinja-kō it says: "In the seventh year of Emperor Bidatsu, the Crown Prince memorialized the throne, saying: 'The eighth, fourteenth, and fifteenth days of the white and black month are known as the six [days of] abstinence. On these days, the Heavenly Kings inspect the government of the realm. I beseech you to prohibit killing throughout the empire [on these days].' By imperial order [his proposal] was accepted. That "Heaven" he mentions — what does it do? I

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363 Although the compound 邪詖 is not attested in the dictionaries or in the standard Chinese corpus, the meaning of the individual characters is clear. (For 詖, see Mor. X: 35384.) In Buddhist texts, the compound appears once, in the phrase 「一以私意、出邪詖之辭」; see Shijian jigulüe xuji 習鑑稽古略續集 (3 fasc.; 1638) by Huanlun 幻輪 (T2038; TZ 49, p. 941b); this text, a collection of monks' biographies from the Yuan and Ming dynasties, was reprinted in Japan in Kanbun 3 (1663). N.B. The book is also known as the Shishi 習氏 jigulüe.

364 The meaning of 見非之 is not quite clear. The character 見 suggests that we have to do with a passive construction, and the reading no tame ni, that Jingqi and Taoxu are the agents, but in that case it is unclear to whom or what exactly the character 之 is referring. The translation "on this point" is an attempt to deal with this problem.

365 The most likely Jingzhai will be the author of Sanjiao pingxin lun, Liu Mi, who signs himself as Jingzhai-xueshi Liu Mi 靜齋學士劉謐. Unfortunately, no biographical details seem to be known of him. The reason to think that Jakuhon is referring to him is that in Sanjiao pingxin lun 2 there are a few pages that contain criticisms aimed at individual Neo-Confucian thinkers such as Ouyang Xiu, the Cheng brothers, Zhang Zai, and Zhu Xi; see TZ 52, pp. 790b-792b.

366 Taoxu must be the famous Zen monk and generalissimo of the Yongle Emperor Yao Guangxiao 姚廣孝 (1335-1418), one of whose pseudonyms was Taoxu-laoren 老人. He wrote a book, Daoyulu 道餘録, which in the printed version consists of thirty-three double pages of criticism of the Cheng brothers and Zhu Xi. Yao’s biography in Shijian jigulüe xuji 3 (TZ 49, pp. 940a-942a) devotes a paragraph to the book (op. cit. p. 941a-b), and so does his biography in Ming shi 145, where it is stated that the book was not approved of by the intellectuals 「頗毀先儒、識者鄙焉」, or even by his own sister. The Naikaku Bunko has a copy of the printed edition of Wanli 47 (1619), which indicates that the book was available in Japan.

367 The Taishan is a mountain in Shandong (China), but in this case it is used metaphorically to indicate someone who is the most excellent. Cf. the combination 泰山北斗 (Mor. VI: 17325-61; Kōjien under the lemma taizan hokuto).

368 The white month is the first half of the lunar month, until the fifteenth, and the black month is the second half, from the sixteenth down; see Mor. VIII: 22678-358-2, and Mor. XII: 48038-65. The nomenclature seems to be Indian in origin. The Crown Prince’s formula thus refers to the 8th, 14th, 15th, (15th + 8 =)23d, 29th, and 30th day of the month; see Mor. II: 1453-238.

369 The incident is not mentioned in Nihon shoki, but it is mentioned in Denryaku, in the following words: 「又奏曰、月八日十四日二十五日二十九日三十日、是為六大。是日梵天帝釋降見國政、故禁殺生。是
thought that it is above and keeps an eye on [things] below; that it observes clearly and is honest and true. This [Heaven, however,] inspects the government of the realm [only] six times [per month], and does not inspect it on the other days? Governing has important and less important [matters], and it has attractive and ugly [sides]. Is "not killing living beings" the only [action one can take that is] both important and attractive?

Well now, (2:13b) when governing, a lord of men has a myriad affairs [to deal with] every day. The hundred officers are in charge of these, and the myriad people watch [them doing this]. When he addressed the Emperors Bidatsu and Suiko, why did the Crown Prince not address them on [the topic of] a government of Benevolence and Righteousness, but on six days of abstinence? I am greatly ashamed on behalf of the Crown Prince, that he spoke about the government of the state in terms of a moratorium on killing on the six [days of] abstinence."

Criticizing this, I say: "Texts explaining the six days of abstinence are truly plentiful. What the Crown Prince says agrees with the explanations in the Sutra of the Four Heavenly Kings and in the Sutra of the Meritorious Works on the Six [Days of] Abstinence. At this time, the Crown Prince was in his sixth year. [These] sutra had not yet crossed [the sea to Japan], and the doctrine of the six [days of] abstinence had not yet been heard in our country. This is one intriguing [aspects of the case]. When I consider the matter of the six [days of] abstinence on the basis of what is expounded in Dazhidulun, it says [there]: (2:14a) 'Within Buddhism as such, there are no [intrinsically] good or bad days. Through following the inauspicious days [observed] in the world, we have opened an opportunity [for the people to relate with Buddhism]; that is why we make them...
observe abstinence.'373 'On these days, evil spirits pursue man. When there is someone who observes abstinence, [cultivates] goodness, and [creates] happiness,374 he avoids disaster and obtains happiness.' In this, [Buddhism] follows the ancient customs of India. Methinks, choosing a six days is comparable to [choosing] the three long months [of fasting].375 Gods [each] have their [own] days,376 and these six days have fallen to evil gods. Therefore one practises abstinence [on these days].

These [six days of abstinence] are prescribed only for laymen. Priests and such are [subject to] abstinence and prohibitions all the time. [Among] the laymen, too, [there are those] who do not restrict [their abstinence to these six days]. Some keep abstinence and follow the prohibitions during one or two [extra] days, or during half a month, depending on how much they can endure. As it is said in the Book of Rites: 'Practising abstinence for three days is regarded as a pure and shining virtue.'377 This is because378 laymen are given to profligacy and

373 As noted in Honkoku, note 209, the wording in Dazhidulun is slightly different. The final clauses of the quotation should be translated as follows: "Because of this relation (innen yue ni) we make them keep the fast and receive the Eight Commandments." Thus, we interpret 教 as the auxiliary of the causative, which rules the two verbs 持 and 受. N.B. The "Eight Commandments" are the Five Commandments, plus three extra ones: not to sleep in a soft bed; not to wear adornments or look at music and dancing; not to eat after noon. The dictionary says that these Eight Commandments are prescribed for laymen, and specifically related to the bi-weekly ceremony of confession and the six days of abstinence, but in Dazhidulun the passage ends with the words: "At this time, it is the rule of abstinence; one does not receive the Eight Commandments."

374 The verbs between brackets are inserted on the basis of the text of Dazhidulun, where it says 修善 and 作福; see Honkoku, note 185. As it is, Jakuhon's sentence is unclear.

375 This is another Buddhist concept. The "three long months" are the first, fifth, and ninth, during which one is supposed to eat vegetarian food and death sentences are not to be carried out; see Mor. I: 12-1274.

376 The concept that "all gods have their days" is explained in Dazhidulun, Xianyangdajiejun 顯揚大戒論 (T2380), and Yueshijingshu 藥師經疏 (T2767), always in the same wording. We quote from Dazhidulun (T25, p. 160b): 「答曰。諸神中摩醯首羅神最第一。諸神皆有日分。摩醯首羅。一月有四日分。八日二十三日二十四日二十九日。餘神一月有二日分。月一日十六日月二日十七日。其十五日三十日屬一切神。摩醯首羅是諸神主。又得日多故數其四日為齋。」 The compound 日分 is attested, but not in the sense it apparently has in the present context; see Mor. V:13733-677.

377 We have translated this paraphrase of the Liji according to the context of the Bengi. The original sense of the Liji is quite different, as is apparent from Legge's translation: "Thus the superior man, in his purification, devotes himself to carrying to its utmost extent his refined and intelligent virtue. Therefore there was the looser ordering of the mind for seven days, to bring it to a state of fixed determination; and the complete ordering of it for three days, to effect the uniformity of all the thoughts." (See Li Chi, Book of Rites vol. 2, p. 240.) In this passage in the Liji the character 齊 is read sai, but it is glossed throughout as totonou (-/2) - "to regulate the mind, to bring order to one's thoughts," as the way to prepare for a sacrifice. This meaning quite different from the Buddhist connotation of "abstinence" or "fast," which would rather go into the direction of abstaining from killing, eating meat, having sex, or drinking alcohol, etc. as a way to improve one's karma or to escape punishment at the hands of the Heavenly Kings; hence the compound 齊戒, which links abstinence to the Five Precepts 五戒.
are unable to [practise abstinence] (2:14b) for longer periods of time.

Dōshun criticizes the six days of abstinence without good reason. Moreover, he criticizes the Crown Prince for not addressing the Emperors Bidatsu and Suiko on the topic of government through Benevolence and Righteousness. Methinks, the Crown Prince did not necessarily consider Benevolence and Righteousness as the way to bring order [to the realm]. Nevertheless, he still was the first to promote Confucianism, and such things as his Constitution in Seventeen Articles all contributed towards [perfecting] the substance of the government of the realm. [The constitution] shows his detailed [grasp of] essentials. He certainly did not leave it at the six days of abstinence.

It is not that Dōshun does not know this. What is so wicked of him is that he knows this and conceals it. But even if the Crown Prince would not have taught Benevolence and Righteousness, and he would have left it at the six days of abstinence, it would not mean that [what he did] was not [part of] governing the realm. This is why Emperor Wen of the Song said that, when all the inhabitants of the country were good, he would be able to govern with arms folded and [sleeves] hanging down. Why must orderly rule necessarily stop at Benevolence and Righteousness? In high antiquity, the terms Benevolence and Righteousness did not exist, (2:15a) but was the world not extremely well governed?

Well now, our country does not have one established teaching, and the [various] teachings [that exist] do not have their established chiefs. This is why we expand the Way of the Holy Ones and Sages as the opportunities present

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378 Suoyi (J. yuen) should mean "this is why ..." but Jakuhon seems to use it consistently in the sense of "this is because ..." This might be due to the influence of colloquial usage.

379 Text under Suiko 12/4/3; see Nihon shoki, kōhen, pp. 142-146; Aston, Chronicles vol. 2, pp. 128-133.

380 For the compound 治体 see Mor. VI: 17256-135.

381 For the translation of the compound 精要 see Mor. VIII: 26997-13.

382 He did. The words 仁 and 義 appear in the Constitution, and moreover in the names of the twelve Cap Ranks 冠位 that Shōtoku instituted. They were named after the Five Constant Virtues and Virtue itself; see Suiko 11/12/5.

383 For the meaning of 垂拱 see Mor. III: 5012-31. Above (1:3a-3b), Jakuhon quoted a conversation between Emperor Wen and his minister He Shangzhi. The phrase about "ruling with arms folded" occurs ibid. in a slightly different form: 「朕則垂拱坐致太平矣」 (1:3a, last line).

In Jinja-kō it says: "The Crown Prince mounted a coal-black horse from Kai and went up to the top of the Fuji. ... I am suspicious about this. Every time the things for which the world praises the Crown Prince are [just too] extravagant and, when you think about it, there are quite a few cases in which [the storytellers] have made a mess of the facts.385 [When they say that386] the Crown Prince drove a chariot [to which] a green dragon [had been harnessed], entered the country of the Sui,387 took the Lotus Sutra from his ancient quarters on the Southern Peak,388 and braving the empty void returned to Japan, I doubt and distrust it even more. How could I [possibly] believe it? (2:15b) In my view [it is as follows:] the biographies of Śākyamuni [tell how] he had himself incarnated389 and was born in the royal palace of [King] Śuddhodana, [and they contain] countless [stories of] all kinds of auspicious signs and divine transformations [that took place] during his nineteen years as Crown Prince Siddhārtha. The man who composed the biography of Crown Prince Shōtoku, too, must have seen, I think, 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."

Criticizing this, I say: "Within Buddhism the śrāvaka are held in lowest esteem.390 [The Buddha’s] ’eye sees through the Three Worlds [of Past, Present,

384 The okurigana indicate the reading shishin ni arazu, but in view of the context, it would be better to interpret 非 as a transitive verb in the sense of "to reject, to condemn" (hi ni suru). We have translated accordingly.
385 The expression jitsu wo tokasu is not attested in the dictionaries, but in view of the literal meaning ("to smelt") and the context, this seems the most appropriate interpretation.
386 Words between brackets are supplied on the basis of the original text; see Honkoku, note 217.
387 Chinese dynasty, which reigned from 581 till 619.
388 Reference to the story that Shōtoku-taishi was the incarnation of Huǐsī (see above, note 256), who lived in the Tiantai monastery on the Southern Peak. In other words, the Prince was retrieving his own copy of the Lotus sutra.
389 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 dictionaires, nor anywhere in the Taishō daizōkyō.
390 The śrāvaka were the earliest followers of the Buddha. In Mahayana Buddhism they were criticized for being interested only in their own salvation.
and Future], and his body manifests the eighteen [unique virtues]. A stone wall is no obstacle [to him], and he is able to fly through the empty void.' How could one compare the Crown Prince's unfathomable, divine functioning with ordinary men? The [reason why] Dōshun does not believe in the Crown Prince is Dōshun's own wicked heart. During a thousand years the [whole] realm had believed in the divinity of the Crown Prince, and no one denied it. (2:16a) How could [we let] a belief of a thousand years in the divinity of the Holy Man be destroyed by the egotism of one man?"

In Jinjakō it says: "That Monobe no Moriya abolished the Buddha, was because our [country] is the land of the gods. That Soga no Umako worshipped the Buddha meant that he despised the deities of Heaven and Earth. Anahobe was an imperial prince. Suiko was an imperial princess. Was it right to place Anahobe [on the throne]? Or was it right to place Suiko [on the throne]? ... [Soga no] Umako killed Emperor Sushun. Why did the Crown Prince side with Umako, and did he not destroy the traitor? Being indecisive, he went along with it. Does he not, therefore, also have his share in Umako's crime?"

Criticizing this, I say: "Moriya abolished the Buddha because our country is the land of the gods. If he disliked it because it was a foreign teaching, (2:16b) the same also applies to Confucianism. Would Dōshun also have agreed with this [conclusion]?

Umako compiled Sendai kuji hongi and he praised the deities of Heaven and Earth as he spoke of them. There are as yet no instances of him despising the deities of Heaven and Earth. [On the other hand,] nowhere one sees any trace of Moriya speaking about the Land of the Gods. [Moriya] just injected his private

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391 We assume that 十八 is short for the 十八不具法, i.e. the "eighteen means of acquiring merit that even Bodhisattva's do not have." See Oda, Bukkyō daijiten, p. 944c.
392 In this translation we interpret the character 倚 according to its reading yori, not katayorite.
393 Anahobe was the son of Emperor Kinmei and Soga no Oane Hime, and Suiko the daughter of Kinmei and Soga no Kitashi Hime. See Nihon shoki 21 and 22, and Aston, Chronicles vol. 2. pp. 107, 112 (Anahobe), and pp. 121-56 (Suiko).
394 This statement is incorrect. For full details, see Bentley, The Authenticity of Sendai kuji hongi.
feelings [into the situation] and [with these] he measured the gods; that all there is to it. By and large, the rights and wrongs of Moriya and Umako are preserved in the historical records. [These tell that] Moriya abolished the Buddha. Because Dōshun loved him for this, he covers up his wrongdoings. [The records also tell that] Umako served the Buddha. Because Dōshun detested him for this, he highlights his wrongdoings. That [Umako] put Suiko [on the throne] was because she was [Sushun's] elder sister. [After all,] although the Great Goddess Amaterasu is a woman, she has her [rightful] place in the ancestral temple.

As for killing Sushun — Sushun hated Umako and had said [that he wanted him to meet the same fate] as the boar whose neck had been cut. The calamity issued from the ruler [himself]. In Mencius it says: 'When a ruler regards his ministers as mud and weeds, his ministers regard him as a robber and an enemy.' [In his commentary on Mencius], Zhu Xi says: 'Mud and weeds are things you just step on; weeds you just cut, and that is it. The [ruler's] disdain and loathing are extreme. Is it not appropriate, therefore, that in return the [ministers] treat him as a robber and an enemy?' Nevertheless, when [the ruler] is not brutal and cruel [like] King Zhou and [the minister] not benevolent [like] King Wu, [the rebel] will not be able to avoid the charge [of regicide].

The Crown Prince tolerated this [behaviour of Umako], but he cannot possibly on that account [be said to] have left a bad reputation to posterity because of his private feelings. Methinks, Moriya first wanted to put the Imperial

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395 Provisionally we have gone with the reading hakaru, but the translation remains uncertain. Cf. above, notes 7 and 131; Kakikudashi, notes 2, 24, and 76; Honkoku, note 80. One could also take Razan as the subject of this sentence, but in view of the parallel passage above (1:15a; Translation, pp. 22-23) it seems more appropriate to take Moriya as the subject.

396 The point of this remark will be that there was a precedent for a woman to become emperor. After all, Suiko was the first woman to become emperor of Japan. Jingū-kōgō 神功皇后 was called "empress" by virtue of her marriage, but she never ascended to the throne, and Nihon shoki refers to her as kōtaigō 皇太后 ("empress mother") or sesshō 摂政 ("regent").

397 According to Nihon shoki, Sushun wanted to get rid of Umako and when he was presented with a wild boar he proclaimed: "When will someone cut the man I hate like one has cut the neck of this wild boar?" Umako, however, struck first and had Sushun assassinated by Yamato no Aya no Ataikoma. See Honkoku, note 228, and Aston, Chronicles vol. 2, pp. 119-20.

398 Translation according to Lau, Mencius, p. 128.

399 King Zhou was the last king of the Shang-Yin Dynasty. The traditional dates of his reign are 1154-1122 B.C. He was overthrown by King Wu, who was the son of the Sage-King Wen 文 and the first king of the Zhou Dynasty. His traditional dates are 1122-1115 B.C.
Prince Anahobe on the throne and he tried this idea on Emperor Yōmei, but the emperor passed away at a young age. Next, [Moriya] planned to execute all imperial princes and to bring the matter of Anahobe to a successful ending. Then this matter came to light, and Umako together with all the imperial princes laid his plans to cut down Moriya. Umako won, and gained merit from this. This being the case, if the executions would have been extended to [include] Umako, it would have been [like the proverb says:] 'When there are no high-flying birds left for shooting, the good bow is stored away, and after the wily rabbit has been killed, the good hound is cooked.' Moreover, Umako was of an important family. The disturbances in the realm would have had end. When, however, you bore it, you would prevent [further] harm to the realm.

Well now, the Way is the foundation of the Law and the Law is but a branch of the Way. Preserving the Way by bending the Law is at the discretion of the Holy Ones. 'Shun was the sovereign and Gao Yao was the minister in charge of punishments. If Gusou [would have] murdered a man,' Yao [would have had to] arrest him. Shun [would have] come running and pleaded [for his father Gusou]. This is [what is meant by] bending the Law and therewith preserving the Way.

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400 Prince Anahobe (d. 587) was another son of Emperor Kinmei, and a brother of emperors Bidatsu, Yōmei, Sushun, and Suiko. They had a sister, Anahobeshashihito no kōjo 諸穂部間人皇女 (d. 621), who became the consort of Emperor Yōmei and the mother of Shōtoku-taishi. The mother of both Prince and Princess Anahobe was a daughter of Soga no Iname 蘇我稲目 (d. 570), and thus a sister of Soga no Umako.

401 The character 咀 has such readings as kamu ("to bite"), namu ("to lick"), and ajiwau ("to taste"), and is associated with the preparation of medicines. Hence, the interpretation "bite and see how it tastes" > "propose and see how it falls" seems appropriate.

402 The character 夭 is hardly appropriate. Yōmei's dates are 540-585-587, so his reign was very short, but, at the age of forty-seven, it can hardly be said that he died young.

403 See Honkoku, note 231.

404 For this meaning of 士, see Mor. III: 5638 s.v. 9. The reference is to Shujing 1: Shun dian; cf. Waltham, Shu Ching, p. 16.

405 Gusou (lit. "the [morally] blind old man") was the father of Emperor Shun. The relation between Shun and his father is discussed several times in Mengzi. The present, hypothetical case is based on Mengzi 7A.35; for the text, see Honkoku, note 232. Legge translates: "Tao Ying asked, saying, 'Shun being sovereign, and Gao Yao chief minister of justice, if Gu Sou had murdered a man, what would have been done in the case?' Mencius said, 'Gao Yao would simply have apprehended him.' 'But would not Shun have forbidden such a thing?' 'Indeed, how could Shun have forbidden it? Gao Yao had received the law from a proper source.' 'In that case what would Shun have done?' 'Shun would have regarded abandoning the kingdom as throwing away a worn-out sandal. He would privately have taken his father on his back, and retired into concealment, living some where along the sea-coast. There he would have been all his life, cheerful and happy, forgetting the kingdom.'
If dogs and horses have worked well and are tired, then a gentleman may have pity on them.\textsuperscript{406} Besides, Umako was an extremely gifted [man]. He received the order [to compile] the nation’s history and he completed it. This surely is a magnificent event [that only occurs only once] in a thousand years? Dōshun just flippantly criticizes him on the basis of his private feelings. Furthermore, there exists a \textit{Treatise on Anshō murdering Gendō}.\textsuperscript{407} It mentions the Crown Prince, Umako and Anshō as (2:18a) the three traitors of Japan. [Razan] employs these mauling words\textsuperscript{408} because the Crown Prince and Umako served the Buddha. Why such excessive jealousy?"

In \textit{Jinja-kō} it says: "Someone asked again, saying: 'The Crown Prince stated: Shinto is the root and trunk, Confucianism is the branches and leaves, and Buddhism is the flowers and fruit.'\textsuperscript{409} [What do you think of these words?] I answered, saying: 'They are not the words of the Crown Prince. They were afterwards attributed to him by the Urabe and Nakatomi.\textsuperscript{410} The Crown Prince

\textsuperscript{406} This refers back to the conclusion of Jakuhon's first argument in defence of Shōtoku's treatment of Umako: he had gained merit in the overthrow of Moriya, so why punish him for his involvement in the death of Emperor Sushun? It is not nice to put the dog into the pot, once the hunt is over.

\textsuperscript{407} Reference to 安昌弑(Mama)玄同論, a text written probably in 1630 by Nakae Tōju 中江藤樹 (1608-1648); text in NST 29: Nakae Tōju, pp. 8-12. Tōju wrote his treatise in reaction to a text of the identical title, written by the eldest son of Hayashi Razan, Hayashi Yoshikatsu 叔勝 (1613-1629). See for further details W.J. Boot, \textit{The Adoption and Adaptation of Neo-Confucianism in Japan}, fourth chapter. Now, Yoshikatsu’s text has not been transmitted, and Tōju’s text does not make the point that the Crown Prince, Umako, and Anshō are the three traitors of Japan. \textit{Ergo}, Jakuhon has either read Tōju’s treatise and is making things up, or he had access to Yoshikatsu’s original text, which may have contained these words. In either case, however, he should have known that the text he was criticizing was not by Razan, which is what he seems to assume. Razan, however, did not write a treatise with this title, or make this point in any of the commemorative texts he wrote for Yoshikatsu and Gendō.

\textsuperscript{408} The character 鏑 (Mor. VII: 20627) means "a fierce animal, like a small tiger, that eats people," but the compound 鏑言 is not listed. "Mauling" is our attempt to translate the tiger-like quality of Razan’s words.

\textsuperscript{409} See for translations of this passage Grappard, "Yuitsu Shintō Myōhō Yōshū, p. 153, and Scheid, \textit{Weg der Götter}, p. 350. Notwithstanding the differences between the wording in Myōhō yōshū and in \textit{Jinja-kō}, Razan will have based himself on on Myōhō yōshū, in which text this is presented as a quotation, pretending to be secret words spoken by Shōtoku-taiishi to Empress Suiko. Scheid, \textit{op. cit.} p. 243, note 49, identifies Biki-shō 鼻帰書 (1324) and Kujii hongi 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," which book is not listed in his bibliography.

\textsuperscript{410} "Urabe" will be a reference to Yoshida Kanetomo 吉田兼倶 (1435-1511), the writer of \textit{Yuitsu shintō myōhō yōshū}, for the Yoshida descended from the ancient clan Urabe. "Nakatomi" may be a reference to Ichijō Kanera, 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.
did not have a mind [like] Prince Xian’s, [who was] fond of antiquity. If the Crown Prince really loved the gods in the same way as he loved the Buddha, how, then, can he have wasted considerable sums on building so many Buddhist temples? If he served Confucianism in the same way as he served the Buddha, why, then, did he say that he ardently believed in the Three Treasures? (2:18b) Methinks, what he really believed was 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 rituals into sacrifices, and if he had instructed [the pupils] 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 Men have been two [separate things]?

Criticizing this, I say: "When the Crown Prince was seven years old, Emperor Bidatsu, impressed by his inborn talents, asked him about the words of Confucius and the Buddha. It was at that occasion that the Crown Prince spoke these words [comparing the three teachings with a tree]. And there also was the Buddhist text [that said] that the Three Teachings [have sprouted from] one and the same seed. Dōshun is disturbed by this every time. In ancient times

411 Prince Xian is Liu De 刘德, 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.
412 Xiao Yan is Emperor Wu of the Liang Dynasty 梁武帝 (r. 464-549). He was well-known supporter of Buddhism.
413 Notwithstanding the reading はじきもせつ・ごとくなさめば, the auxiliary 今 should be interpreted as a reinforcement of the preceding particle 若, meaning "if, given the case that ..." After all, there is no agency who could make the Crown Prince do this; it is a hypothesis that is being formulated.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 of the Way of Heaven 天道 and the Way of Earth 地道 are not appropriate.
414 Razan is here alluding to a different theme, not picked up by Jakuhon in his reply, that Shinto and Confucianism are basically one, and that Confucianism is not a foreign creed.
415 From the fact that Jakuhon presents Emperor Bidatsu as the one who questioned the Crown Prince, and not Empress Suiko, we may deduce that Jakuhon anachronistically assumed that Razan’s source had been Taisei-kyō fasc. 31, and not Yuiitsu shintō myōhō yōshū. Cf. above, notes 369 and 409; cf. Honkoku, note 233.
416 A search in Taishō zōkyō for the characters 三教一種 does not score any hits. As yet, it is unclear to which Buddhist text Jakuhon is referring.
someone remarked: 'Doubt is harmful to the enterprise.'\textsuperscript{418} How true this is!

Moreover, the reason why the Crown Prince wore a \textit{kesa},\textsuperscript{419} lectured on the meaning of the Sutra’s, built temples, and made statues was (2:19a) that he was sticking to his Vow.\textsuperscript{420} As for his [relation] with Shinto, he was the first to establish teaching [facilities] for the hereditary families of Shinto priests; having received an imperial decree, he made Soga no Umako collect and record the vestiges of the Age of the Gods. Therefore, the Crown Prince was a teacher\textsuperscript{421} of Shinto. Why should you think that he did not like the gods?

Turning Buddhist temples into schools, giving instruction in filial and brotherly piety, and propagating loyalty and sincerity [are things that] he (= Razan) finds praiseworthy. When I consider this on the basis of the doctrinal taxonomy of our [school, Kūkai’s] \textit{[Discussion of the] Ten Mental Stages,}\textsuperscript{422} his mentality is that of the Second Mental Stage.\textsuperscript{423} He does not even compete with the \textit{śrāvaka}'s and the \textit{pratyeka buddha}'s of Hinayāna.\textsuperscript{424} The meritorious achievements of the Crown Prince do not fall within Dōshun’s mental purview.'

In \textit{Jinja-kō} it says: "Consider the following: it is told in the world that Bodhidharma from Southern India came to Japan and met the Crown Prince. Therefore, the starving man was deemed to be Bodhidharma, and the place where he was buried was called 'Dharma's Grave.' I say (2:19b) that he was not

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{418}A literal translation of the relevant passage in \textit{Shiji} 92 would be: "Therefore, knowledge makes for decisive action, while doubt harms the business at hand." For a translation of the complete biography, see Yang & Yang, \textit{Selections}, pp. 266-287; the relevant passage is on p. 282.
\footnote{419}A "square coat" refers to the \textit{kesa}, a kind of scapular worn by Japanese Buddhist monks.
\footnote{420}The literal translation of \textit{gan ni norite kitaru yuen nari} is: "... was because he had come [so far], riding on his vow." For this expression, cf. above, p. 1:7b, where we find, in reference to the Buddha: 「駕彼福智願行」: "He rode on his wealth, wisdom, vows and practices,..." For the translation of \textit{yuen} as "... was because..." instead of "that was why..." cf. above, note 378.
\footnote{421}For the compound 敎倶 see Mor. II: 3820-73. The original \textit{locus} is \textit{Shujing} 3, \textit{Taijia 太甲 shang}. Waltham translates the relevant passage as follows: (The former king) "also sought on every side for men of ability and virtue to instruct and guide his posterity"; see Waltham, \textit{Shu Ching}, p. 78.
\footnote{422}Reference to Kūkai, \textit{Himitsu mandara jūjūshin} (T2425). A \textit{kyōhan} (short for \textit{kyōsō hanjaku 教相判釋}) or "doctrinal taxonomy" is a text in which the teachings of a Buddhist school are described and graded in relation to the sutra and to the doctrines of other schools.
\footnote{423}Described as "a foolish child trying to keep the precepts" (愚童持齋). This Mental Stage includes Confucian and Buddhist ethics.
\footnote{424}These are respectively those who listen to the teaching of the Buddha and attain enlightenment 声聞, and those who obtain emancipation by themselves 眾覺. In Kūkai's scheme, they are put into the fourth and fifth stage respectively.
\end{footnotes}
Bodhidharma. Methinks, this is the work of Buddhists with a taste for the eccentric, and later generations followed this tradition without realizing how wrong it was. I consulted *Nihon shoki* and other [historical texts], and they only speak of the Crown Prince and of a starving man. Never once do they mention Bodhidharma.

Now, this starving man really was an extraordinary person! [Evidently,] he wanted to make the Crown Prince treat him according to the rites and assume a respectful attitude, and to make him demean himself to the level of an [ordinary] officer of the realm. Now, the Crown Prince was not by nature a haughty man. Nevertheless, the mysterious stranger still [found it necessary to] warn and admonish him, but that was all.

The old man of Xiapei made Zhang Liang (d. 168 B.C.) help him put on his shoes, and then gave him a special book. Eventually, he found the Yellow Stone at the foot of the mountain of Gu Castle. In the present case, this starving man of Kataoka made the Crown Prince descend from his horse, give him food and clothes, exchange *waka* with him, and [in the end] he left the purple robe [the Prince had given him] on the outer coffin.

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425 The compound 警戒 (and by 敎戒, in the first line of 2:20a) seems to be used in a general sense: "warning, admonition (to stick to the rules and mind your p's and q's)." It is not used in the specific sense of "a warning against something," because the starving man did not speak, at least according to the account in *Nihon shoki*, on which Razan bases himself. *Denryaku* reports a *waka*, composed by the stranger, which runs as follows: 「怒鹿之 / 富小川之 / 色者社 / 我王之 / 御名者忘目」 - "Ikaruga no / Tomi no ogawa no / taeba koso / wa ga ōkimi no / mi-na wa wasureme." A commentary in the *Denryaku* gives a second, esoteric meaning of this *waka*, and says that the Crown Prince often repeated it. *Denryaku*, however, is not among the Razan's sources, so the *waka* is irrelevant, here.

426 The original locus of story about the shoes is Zhang Liang's biography in *Shiji* 55 (*Shijia* 25; vol. 6, pp. 2034 sqq). After his failed attempt on the life of Qin Shihuangdi, Liang had fled to Xiapei. While taking a walk along an "earthen bridge," he met an old man, who made him retrieve his shoes and help him to put them on. After some more tests, the old man gave him a book that turned out to be the *Taigong bingfa* ("Military Method of Taigong," i.e. the first marquis of Qi under the Zhou Dynasty). At this occasion he foretold that in ten years Liang would establish himself, and that in thirteen years, at the foot of the mountain of the fortress of Gu (Gucheng), he would find a Yellow Stone. This stone was the old man. Hence, this military classic is also known as *Huangshigong sanlue* ("The Three Strategies of Lord Yellow Stone"). The possession of the book enabled Liang to establish himself as the strategist and army commander of Liu Bang.

427 The chain of events began on Suiko 21/12/1 (613). As *Nihonshoki* tells the story, the Prince encountered the starving man on his way to Kataoka. The man did not answer when asked to give an account of himself, so the Prince got of his horse, gave him something to eat and drink, and gave him his own cloak. Then he composed a poem. The following day, it was reported that the man had died, so the Prince had him buried. When the tomb was investigated several days later, it was discovered that the body was no longer there. The Prince retrieved his cloak and wore it as before; see *Nihon shoki* 22 (*Kōhen*, pp. 156-157); Aston, *Chronicles*, vol. 2, pp. 144-145. The disappearance of the body, with only an article of
appeared] only once. In their divinity and otherness they were identical. (2:20a)

Had [the starving man] not met the Crown Prince, then he would not have [been able to] instruct him. Had he not have displayed [signs of] divinity and otherness, then there would not have been anything [worth] showing to posterity.⁴²⁸

Criticizing this, I say: "[Dōshun] proves the fact that the starving man at Kataoka was [not] Bodhidharma by means of a book in which his name is not mentioned, and he does not believe the books that do mention his name.⁴²⁹ He picks and chooses among the books that are transmitted in the world in accordance with his own preferences.⁴³⁰ And to make things fit he uses quite a lot of words. Even though [Dōshun] considers the Crown Prince as a rebel against Japan, he is unable in the end to convince us of that.

And now he also claims that the starving man was an extraordinary person. And [as proof] he has adduces the yellow stone at the foot of the mountain of the fortress of Gu! Why does he not marvel at a stone that goes forth as a man? Bodhidharma was a man, but also an incarnation who passed to and fro (2:20b) through the Gate of Life.⁴³¹ Dōshun marvels at things he should not marvel at,

clothing left behind, is typical of stories about Taoist immortals, and in the account in Nihon shoki the Prince calls the starving man a zhenren, a "true man," which is also a term denoting a Taoist worthy. So, the inspiration of the story seems to be Taoist, rather than Buddhist. Nevertheless, later generations have identified the starving man as Bodhidharma. Hayashi Razan (Bunshū 26, Kataoka gajin ben 辨; vol. 1, p. 294) identifies these later generations as people who "wanted to flaunt their Zen," and refers to Bodhidarma’s biography in Genkō shakusho as the source of the stories. His own opinion, expressed in this essay, is that the man was "just a stranger." As a matter of fact, the very first biography in Genkō shakusho 1 is Bodhidharma’s biography (Shōtoku’s biography is to be found ibid., fasc. 15).

⁴²⁸ As explained above, note 427, in the account Razan uses, the dying man did not speak, so it cannot be said that he left any specific teachings. In Shōtoku-taishi denryaku it is mentioned that the Prince and the starving man exchanged "several tens of words" in a language no one could understand (Shusho Taishi den 4:14b). Denryaku is not a source Razan uses, but in connection with the last sentence, we should notice the public evaluation of the incident, which is reported at the end of the passage in the following words: "The people of the time thought this mightily strange and said, ‘It takes a Holy One to recognize a Holy One. How true this [saying] is.’ They stood ever more in awe of [the Prince]; see Nihon shoki 22 (Kōhen, p. 157); Aston, Chronicles, vol. 2, p. 145.

⁴²⁹ In view of the context, an extra negative is needed in the first half of the sentence. Razan proves that the starving man was not Bodhidharma by means of a book that does not contain his name, i.e. Nihon shoki.

⁴³⁰ The compound 忤容 is not attested in the dictionaries, but on the basis of the meaning of the individual characters, its meaning should be: sakarai-irera (“to go against and to accept”). The alternative would be to regard the character 忤 as a mistake for 歪, which would solve the problem.

⁴³¹ The “Gate of Life” is the name of one of the highest stages of satori, muge. It appears in a Chinese poem by Ikkyū Sōjun 一休宗純 (1394-1481) on "The samādhi of the great master of Mount Kōya": "His living body is Dainichi and he is the grandson of the Buddha, the enlightened king. / He goes in and out by means of his divine magic through the Gate of Life. / Mahākāśyapa was blessed and kept his words, and
and he does not marvel at what he should marvel at. It is all [because his wits] are clouded by his egoism."

In Jinja-kō it says: "Since ancient times we have had in our country a great number of those beings called tengu. They all [fall] within the [category] of demons, the most conspicuous of which are called 'tengu.' Within their kind, the High Priest of Kurama is regarded as the boss. The ones who are mentioned in the world are the High Priest of Kurama, Tarōbō of Mount Atago, Jirōbō of Mount Hira, Saburō of Mount Iizuna, Tarōbō of Mount Fuji, and Myōgibō of from Province Kōzuke. ... They come in an enormous variety. Some become foxes, some become boys. Some become doves and fly, and some become monks or yamabushi and go out among men. Some take on the appearance of

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432 The referent of the word tengu is not at all clear. The word is Chinese. Its locus is Shanhaijing; there it refers to meteors. Its iconography (wings, beak, red colour) is heavily influenced by the Indian garuda. In earlier Japanese sources such as Ōtsuo-monogatari, however, the word is used for a variety of mountain spirits. Later on, the word also came to refer to men who after their death had become tengu, in the process giving rise to the idea that apart from the six realms of transmigration a seventh existed, tengu-dō. The tendu was closely associated with Shugendō and Yamabushi. The Yamabushi have a tengu-kyō, little more than a list of names, which they recited when performing rites in which the tengu were invoked; text in Miyake, Shugendō jiten, pp. 261-262.

433 The term we translate as "demon," reiki, connotes that these beings consist of "spiritual," i.e. very fine qi, and that they are categorized as Yin, so darker, nastier, and altogether not as wholesome as their counterpart, the shen.

434 For the compound 軽著 see Mor. X: 38279-18.

435 Title (sōjō 僧正) translated according to Reischauer, Early Japanese History.

436 Kurama is a mountain and a temple complex north of Kyoto. According to legend, Kurama no Sōjō taught Minamoto no Yoshitsune (1159-1189) the art of sword fighting. The encounter between the two is depicted in the Nō play Kurama Tengu.

437 Atago is a mountain and a shrine west of Kyoto. References to a tengu called Atago Tarōbō can already be found in Taiki 台記, the diary of Fujiwara no Yorinaga (1120-1156).

438 Mount Hira is a mountain north of the Hieizan, overlooking Lake Biwa. In 1239 the Tendai priest Keisei 慶政 (1189-1268) wrote Hira-san kōjin reitaku 比良山古人霊託 ("Oracles of an Elder of Mount Hira"), in which he claimed to have spoken with the Great Tengu of Mount Hira when this tengu possessed a young woman who was in the service of his younger brother Kujō Michiie. Ninezō 門野 (1193-1252).

439 Iizuna 伊都那 is short for Iizuna, which name is usually written 飯綱. Mount Iizuna (Nagano Prefecture) is the home of the deity Iizuna Gongen, who manifests himself as a crow and also as a tengu.

440 Shugendō jiten pp. 261-262 gives the text of the Tengu-kyō. It does not, however, have a Fuji-san Tarōbō, but a Fuji-san Daranibō.

441 We add -bō on the strength of the text in Nihon shisō tōsō shiryou; cf. Honkoku, note 251. De Myōgisan een berg in Kanra-gōri 甘楽郡 in Kōzuke 上野. There is a lengthy description in Yoshida Tōgo, Dai-Nihon chimei jisho: Bandō (Tokyo: Fusanbō, 1907), pp. 3301-3302, but it does not mention tengu in connection with this mountain.
ghosts and spirits, and some have the semblance of a Buddha or a Bodhisattva. Occasionally, they manifest themselves [in these guises].

The theory of [the tengu] states: 'When they see a man blessed with good fortune, they turn it into disaster. When they encounter a world that is well ordered, they turn it into turmoil again. Sometimes they cause fires, and sometimes they instigate fighting. Among the emperors of earlier generations, Sanuki-no-in became a golden kite of over three metres high. Retired Emperor Go-Toba turned into a monk with hair on his head and huge wings. Retired Emperor Go-Daigo became a king with a long nose and claw-like nails. Monks with arrogant hearts or [burning with] rancour and anger in great numbers joined the ranks of the tengu. Dengyō, Kōbō, Jikaku, and Chishō all are examples of this. ... Jie donned a harness and attacked the Miidera. The heart of Kakuban was taken over by a building devil, and he built the Denbōin. Later on, the priest Hōtō of the Tōnomine said in jest: "I (2:21b) am Kakuban." And he furiously frowned his eyes and looked angrily at people. Furthermore, Gyōshin from the province of Yamato, pretending to speak as a tengu, spoke to Keien.

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442 It is unclear where the "theory" came from. Razan is apparently quoting something, but we have not been able to find his source.
443 This is Emperor Sutoku (1119-1123-1141-1164). He was called Sanuki-no-in in his youth, when he had not yet been appointed successor of his father Emperor Toba. When his side lost in the Hōgen Troubles (1156), he was banished to Sanuki. Sutoku appears again in the story Shiramine 白峯 ("The White Peak") in Ugetsu monogatari 雨月物語 ("Tales in Moonlight and Rain") by Ueda Akinari 上田秋成 (1734-1809). In the story Shiramine Akinari tells how the priest Saigyō visits the grave of Emperor Sutoku at Mount Shiramine in Shikoku. During the night, while Saigyō is saying prayers, the ghost of the deceased Emperor shows himself as a demon who has become a Great Tengu. Saigyō asks the ghost about the Hōgen Disturbance (1156), which led to Sutoku’s exile, and a discussion develops in which the ghost, quoting Mencius, bases himself on Confucian ideas while Saigyō objects that, since the Imperial line descends from the Gods, it is the Way of the Gods that one should rely on.
444 Better known as Ennin 円仁 (794-864). He studied in China in from 838 to 847, and later became zasu of the Tendai Sect.
445 Better known as Enchin 円珍 (814-891). He travelled to China in from 853 to 858, and later became zasu of the Tendai Sect.
446 Better known as Ryōgen 良源 (912-985). He restored the Enryakuji to its former glory, and became zasu of the Tendai Sect.
447 That Kakuban (1095-1143) built the Denbōin and was consequently expelled from the Kōya-san is well known, but a "building devil" is never mentioned in this context. For details about the building of the Denbōin, Kakuban's eventual expulsion from the Kōyasen, and the founding of the Shingi School 新義派 of the Shingon Sect, see Van der Veere, Kakuban Shōnin, pp. 118-157.
448 The priest Hōtō is unknown. Tōnomine is the mountain on which the deified Fujiwara no Kamatari is worshipped. Around it, a huge monastery developed, that was closed at the beginning of the Meiji Period.
449 Not attested. 
450 Kokushi daijiten mentions four priests whose name is written with the characters 慶圓, but the one
Bakufu had fallen, and was appointed Tōji the Sou

who is intended here is the practitioner of Shingon ascetism Kyōen-shōnin (1140-1223), who first restored the Byōdō-ji 平等寺 in Miwa, reputedly founded by Shōtoku-taishi, and later on was invited to come to Kyoto and built the Jinkōin 神光寺 (1217). His biography appears in Eikai 戒海, Shingon-den 真言傳 (fasc. 7; Dai-Nihon Bukkyō zenho vol. 68, pp. 162b-164a). Here, it is told how one Gyōshin-ō 奧信房, who is troubled by demons, asks Kyōen to come and give him the special baptism that Kyōen had received from Gyōin 奥仁 ajari. This Gyōshin identifies himself to Kyōen as the "junior assistant high priest of the Nakanoin" 中院少僧都. After he has given him the baptism, Kyōen asks him how he will rid himself of the demons at the hour of his death. In his answer, Gyōshin mentions his more than three hundred followers. He will all instruct them (to pray for him, one assumes), which should be sufficient to get through the ordeal (「我門徒三百餘アリ。々々申シフレテ、其難ヲシリゾクテ」 Mos. XII: 45941).

This is why the Shingon monk Shinzen 眞然 (d. 8917). He was possibly a nephew, and certainly a disciple of Kūkai, and took care of the temples on Kōyasan after Kūkai's death.

The term 神力 exists (Mor. VIII: 24673-541), but we will have to interpret it in the Buddhist sense as 神通力, i.e., the incomprehensible and subtle powers of the Buddha's and Bodhisattva's; see Mor. VIII: 24673-354.

I am rather strange to use 項 as a kind of numeral counter, but in view of the context, this seems the appropriate translation. Jakuhon will not have meant to say "types" or "kinds." To read it as mina or ăyoso and put it at the head of the next sentence does not work, either.

Feilian (J. hiren) has a variety of meanings, none of which fits here. For one, the compound cannot be used as a verb, which the present context does more or less requires. Possible meanings are: a servant of King Zhou (Shang-Yin), the god of the wind, a monster with long hair and wings, the name of a plant, a family name, or a/the god of the year that is otherwise known as "great slaughter" 大殺; see Mor. XII: 44000-364.

Mukan Fumon 無関普門 (1212-1292) was a monk of the Tōfukuji and a pupil of Enni 円爾 (1202-1280). He studied in China from 1251 till 1261. In 1281 he became the abbot of the Tōfukuji. As a result of a successful exorcism in the palace of the retired emperor Kameyama (1249-1259-1274-1305) in 1288, he became the founding abbot of the Nanzenji. In his biography in Genkō shakusho 6:19a-b, the events are described as follows: 「正応之間、文応上皇在龍山之離宮。宮恠獻作嬪妃、遭魅惑。年少冠纓、或亦魘之、師能如之、或白門徳望。召對下宮、宣以宮怪。又曰、師能居之乎。門奏曰、妖不勝徳、世書尚有之、況釋氏乎。釋子之居、何怪之有。上皇壯其言。門乃挈衲子而居。」

See Mor. XII: 45941-2, where the compound is explained as "to kill people through spells."

A reference to Zuiryūsan Nanzenji 瑞龍山南禅寺, the chief temple of the Rinzai Sect, which was founded on the place of Ex-Emperor's Kameyama's palace. Mukan Fumon was its first abbot; see above, note 455.

Monkan (1278-1357), usually known as Monkan Köshin 文観弘親. He was a partisan of Go-Daigo and the Southern Court. In 1331 he was banished to Iō-jima, but returned to the capital when the Kamakura Bakufu had fallen, and was appointed Tōji chōju 東寺長者. Sometime later, he fled to Yoshino and died in
eliminate the Taira and initiated the Troubles of the Genkō Era.\textsuperscript{459} Or, as Soseki\textsuperscript{460} and as Myōkichi,\textsuperscript{461} we made Takaui and Tadayoshi\textsuperscript{462} forget their obligations as brothers, and we made Moronao and Moroyasu\textsuperscript{463} (2:22a) go against the ritual order of lord and minister. All these \{events\} were our doing.' …

In the year Jōwa 5 (1349) a \textit{yamabushi} of [Mount] Haguro in the Province of Dewa, [whose] name was Unkei, was on his way to the Tenryūji. In the western outskirts [of the capital] he met an old \textit{yamabushi}. Together with him, Unkei climbed Mount Atago. When he looked at the gathering there were \{some quite\} extraordinary monks. The \{\textit{yamabushi}\} told him: \{These are the monks\} known as Genbō,\textsuperscript{464} Shinzei,\textsuperscript{465} Kanchō,\textsuperscript{466} Jie,\textsuperscript{467} Raigō,\textsuperscript{468} Jinkai\textsuperscript{469} and the rest. Those who are sitting in the higher part of the hall are the emperor of Awaji and Empress Inoue.\textsuperscript{470} The one wears the dragon robe,\textsuperscript{471} and the other holds the golden scepter.\textsuperscript{472} Emperor Sutoku (1119-1123-1141-1164) has turned into a
golden kite and stretches his huge wings. Minamoto no Tametomo (1139-1170) is attending at his side, holding his bow and arrows flat [across his knees]. Emperors Go-Toba and Go-Daigo, too, are both present, sitting in the same gathering. All talk about order and chaos, about rise and fall in the world.' (2:22b) After some time of this, Unkei wanted to go back. The old yamabushi said to him: 'This is the place where Tarōbō lives.' Unkei felt as if he awoke from a dream. His body felt as in a trance, and he found himself under a muku tree in the ruins of the Great Palace."

Criticizing this I say: "Due to which emotions are Dōshun's slanderous words as extreme as they are? Who of those who hear them will not recognize [their viciousness]? [To explain] about tengu he relies on popular rumours, and says that the High Priest of the Kurama-dera is their ringleader. When I look in one of the variant versions, it says: 'Susanoo no Mikoto's ferociousness filled his breast and belly; it became too much [for him to contain] and turned into vomit, which transformed and became a deity. It was a female deity, and she was strong and intimidating. She had the body of a human being, but the head of a beast. Her nose was long, and her tusks were long. Whatever a good deity had devised, she took what was placed on the left, quickly reversed it, and said she would put it on the right. She calls herself by the name of Amanozako Hime no Mikoto. ([The meaning of her name] is the same as tengu, [which is also read] amanozako).'

Dōshun (2:23a) mostly relies on Taihei-ki and chooses vernacular booklets [meant for] childrens' entertainment. If he [finds something] odd, it is odd indeed. He dislikes oddities, and yet he selects [stories about] the abnormal. It is because

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473 We have inserted the name of the tree on the basis of Razan’s original text. The scientific name of the muku is *aphananthe aspera*. N.B. The whole story of Unkei seeing the Tengu is based on Taihei-ki 27; for the complete text, see Appendix V.

474 The term *一書* suggest the *Nihon shoki*, where variant texts are always introduced this way, but in this case Jakuhon is quoting from Taisei-kyō; cf. the text quoted in Honkoku, note 267.

475 The text in *Taisei-kyō* states that it (i.e. the vomit) became a tengu deity (成天狗神).

476 Note the *furigana* specifying amanozako as the reading of tengu. In modern Japanese the deity has survived in the word amanojaku (also amanozako and amanojako), i.e., someone who always disagrees with his fellow men, "der Geist der stets verneint." Notwithstanding the *ateji* (邪気, 邪鬼, 邪鬼), the word will be related to *saka* as it appears in *sakasama* or *sakarau*. 
his prejudices are like this, that he jumps so easily from one to the other. [Apparently,] he believes and accepts [what is written in] Taihei-ki. If that is the case, he should believe the [story] told there, that the lay priest Yūki fell into hell.477 In general, the [amount of] popular gossip [reported] in Taihei-ki is truly abundant. And Dōshun even improves on this, [when,] beginning with Dengyō (= Saichō) and Kōbō (= Kūkai), he considers the founders of the sects and venerable priests with splendid reputations478 as tengu. These venerable priests appeared at the imperial court and assisted in transforming [the people]. Others left their footprints in foreign lands and transmitted the [Buddhist] Law to our country. Their splendid achievements truly went far; they truly reached high. During several hundreds of years the whole realm has held them in high esteem.479 Their disciples [count] ever so many thousands or tens of thousands. (2:23b) Within our country, even infants at the roadside revere them.

What kind of person was this Dōshun? Although he earned an official salary by doing a clerk’s work, he did not behave according to his [social role].480 He shaved his head and accepted a priestly function. ([He was appointed] Seal of the dharma.481) Because of his jealousy he unreasonably slandered and

477 See Taihei-ki, fasc. 20; edn NKB T vol. 35, pp. 330-334. Yūki Munehiro 結城宗広 (d. Engen 3/12, = 1339) was a military commander of the Kamakura bakufu, who responded to Go-Daigo’s summons. Together with Nitta Yoshisada, he attacked Kamakura and destroyed the Höjō. He died in Go-Daigo’s service. On his deathbed, he ordained that no masses should be said nor money be given to the priests, and that the best thing his son could do for him was to place the heads of slain enemies of the court before his grave. Then he killed himself. For good measure, Taihei-ki adds that, while alive, he had every day two or three people killed (priests and lay folk, men and women; it did not matter) and had their heads placed where he could see them. His explanation was: “When I don’t have dead people’s heads in front of me, I feel depressed” (p. 331). The story continues with a gruesome description of the fate Munehiro suffered in hell. The account is based on a vision seen by a monk, who reports it to Munehiro’s son. The son was wiser than the father, and had the appropriate masses said.

478 The compound 徽声 is not attested in Morohashi, but in view of the meaning of the individual characters (徽 means “beautiful, splendid”), it could be translated as “splendid reputation.”

479 國界 can hardly mean “the borders of the country,” so we have interpreted it as “everybody within the borders of the country.” The translation of 傾奉 is based on the gloss “high of stature, tall” of the character 傾; see Mor. XII: 43370 s.v. 1 & 2, and compounds 1 till 4. If we choose the variant, 傾奉, the translation would become something like “the whole realm (bowed down and >) reverently served them”; see Mor. I: 1038 s.v. 3, 4, 6.

480 The literal translation of 用其道 is ”use that road,” i.e. that of a bakufu employee — at least, that would seem to be the most logical interpretation. Jakuhon’s charge is, then, that Razan is frivolous in his debunking of Buddhism and Buddhist priests.

481 法印 is rank of priesthood. Razan received this appointment on the last day of Kan’ei 6 (31-1-1630), rather to his chagrin, he claims; see Razan Rin-sensei shishū 38 (vol. 2, pp. 1-2), and Boot, W.J., Adoption and adaptation, pp. 255-256.
humiliated manifestations of the Buddha and excellent practitioners.\[482\] Has he become mad, [that] he does not take other people's feelings into consideration?"

In Jinjakō it says: "Recently, there was a priest called Süden.\[483\] He said of himself: 'I learned the ritual of Daigen Myōō.\[484\] The Great Minister Kibi\[485\] secretly initiated others into [this ritual], but among the people of the world hardly anyone knows this.'... I fear that the people of the world\[486\] were confused by this."

Criticizing this, I say: "The ritual of Daigen Myōō was transmitted to Jōgyō of Ogurusu,\[487\] when he went to the Tang. (2:24a) [The ritual's] icon, manual, offerings, and rules are considered to be utterly secret. What [Süden] says about Minister Kibi etc. does not [refer to] the correct ritual. [Erroneous attributions] like this are innumerable. The virtuous men of olden times had the discernment to distinguish [between true and false]. Even in the present world, however, swindlers who spin tales about matters like this are still numerous. None of them

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482 For the translation of 高流 as "excellent practitioner," see Nakamura Hajime, Bukkyōgo daijiten, p. 397.
483 Ishin 以心 Süden (1569-1633) was a priest of the Rinzai sect, and abbot of Nanzenji 南禅寺. In 1610 he founded the Konchiin 金地院; hence, he is also referred to as Konchiin Süden. He was one of the trusted advisors of Tokugawa Ieyasu and later of his son Hidetada. As such, he was in charge of Buddhist affairs, foreign affairs, and the drafting of the laws (hatto) for the warriors, the court nobility, and the various temples and schools of Buddhism. Razan must have known him well, for he held a comparable assignment on Ieyasu's staff. After Süden's death, under Tokugawa Iemitsu, Razan took over from Süden.
484 The full name is Daigensui Myōō 大元帥明王, but in the Shingon Sect the sui is dropped. The Sanskrit name is Āțavaka. His esoteric ritual was brought to Japan by Jōgyō. From 852 till 1871, it was practised in the first month of each year in the Imperial Palace to pray for the protection of the State. In the part of Jinja-kō not quoted by Jakuhon (see Honkoku, note 272), Razan says that he overheard Süden talking about this rite.
485 Kibi no Makibi 吉備真吉備 (695-775) was a career official of the Nara Court. He studied in China from 717 till 735, and on his return, he made a career in the central bureaucracy. He enjoyed the patronage of the Empress Kōken / Shōtoku. In 752 he made his second trip to China as vice-ambassador of the embassy of 752-753. Due to the merit he gained in the suppression of the revolt of Fujiwara no Nakamaro (= Emi no Oshikatsu; 706-764), he was appointed Minister of the Right (766). As Razan says in the part not quoted by Jakuhon, nowhere in the Shoku Nihongi is there any reference to Makibi having introduced the Daigensui Myōō ritual.
486 The text in Nihon shisō tōsō shiryō vol. 1, p. 566 has 世之尊貴: "the prominent and distinguished people in the world." This fits with what Razan said just before: "I heard him talk about this with prominent people."
487 Located in Yamato, c.q. in present-day Fushimi (Kyoto Prefecture). Jōgyō 常曉 (d. 867) was known as the Ogurusu-risshi 律師 ("the Vinaya Teacher from Ogurusu"). He started out as a Shingon monk and was baptised by Kūkai. While in China (838-839), he studied esoteric Buddhism and the ritual of Daigen Myōō, which he brought to Japan (see above, note 484). He founded the Hôrinji 法琳寺 in Uji, where he enshrined a statue of Daigen Myōō.

belongs to the true teaching. Those heresies only exist in persons. Not only within Buddhism, but in all [the other] Ways, too, you have them.

End of the Second Fascicle of Jinjakō bengi.

(2:24b)

Shōtoku 6, Year of the Monkey, an [auspicious] day in the middle month of spring.

Book sellers:
Furukawa Saburōbei, Tera-machi Gojō, Kyoto.
Idem Shinshichi, Jukkendana, Tōri-machi, Edo.

For this meaning of shōjū 正宗, see Bukkyōgo daijiten p. 700.
APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: Hachiman

Wikipedia japonica says the following: "八幡神を応神天皇とした記述は「古事記」や「日本書紀」「続日本紀」にはみられず、八幡神の由来は応神天皇とは無関係であった。「東大寺要録」や「住吉大社神代記」に八幡神を応神天皇とする記述が登場することから、奈良時代から平安時代にかけて応神天皇が八幡神と習合し始めたと推定される。八幡神社の祭神は応神天皇だが、上述の八幡三神を構成する比売神、神功皇后のほか、玉依姫命や応神天皇の父である仲哀天皇とともに祀っている神社も多い。（中略）748年（天平20）9月1日、八幡神は出自に関して「古へ吾れは震旦国（中国）の霊神なりしが、今は日域（日本国）鎮守の大神なり」（『宇佐託宣集』巻二、巻六）と託宣している。しかし、「逸文」『豊前国風土記』に、「昔、新羅国の神、自ら度り到来して、此の河原〔香春〕に住むり」とあるため、朝鮮半島を経由をしたと考えられる。"
APPENDIX II: Amenohitokuma no mikoto

Reference in Taisei-kyō:「食保媛神尸，即化白野干，而化惑國神。是狐化惑人，其事之元也。天照太神詔曰：「地食保媛神者，吾分魂神，非邪妖神。依惡神中，且返怨理，其氣為魅。汝月誦神，宜祭此神。」時月弓尊設供祭之，遂成世間大富饒主。是狐主富，其事元也。是後，大己貴神惡其妖，追國中。狐神怒曰：「吾威德者，豈為天人熊神所殺，而輒死乎。方便假示，汝迫吾者，汝亦所迫。」謂了西飛。果大己貴神，為天孫西飛。是乘威對敵凶，還御和恩吉，夫其法之元也。今在山背國飯成山大神，使天下狐，主富司驗，能拂災害，又伏邪妖。是至人伏邪，同彼還化是，其法之元也。」
APPENDIX III:

『歸元直指集』下：「辨明異端」[0456b15]：「太原王先生名中字克平問空谷禪師曰論語云攻乎異端斯害也已晦菴指佛老為異端此說何如空谷曰異端者雜學也孔子謂習於雜學則害於正道之學直言而已且無蘊奧朱子何以拗直為曲乎孔子存時佛法未至中國孔子惟聞佛之道德故稱西方有大聖人漢明帝時佛法纔至中國孔子已沒六百年矣是故孔子不見佛法也既不見佛法指佛何法為異端乎佛法既為異端孔子何以指佛為聖人乎老子既為異端孔子何以言曰老聃博古知今則吾師也是以博問老子之後傳誦其語以示門弟子焉晦菴非惟曲排佛老亦悖孔子崇尚佛老遂後世指佛老為異端者圖掩其德設此逢蒙之計也後學自無所燭者未免隨人指呼效而言之喚鐘作甕也一朝學到李屏山林希逸而至景濂大章諸公之地自能識破矣夫佛老者道學也指道學為異端者其為智乎不智乎其為善心乎瞞人乎亦學理者猶未識破也今識破之後不可死於一人半人之語乎韓子未知佛法之前所以排佛及見大顛禪師之後深敬佛法晦菴潛心佛學可謂博矣其排佛者心病也苟不排佛則後學多看佛書凡看佛書則見其心病矣晦菴密設墻壍關住後學令後學欲歸於己是以力排佛也要顯自己之功圖掩他人之德是何心乎詩曰采苓采苓首陽之□人之為言苟亦無信舍旃舍旃苟亦無然人之為言胡得焉此之謂也曰師言明矣孔子崇尚佛老諸書具載晦菴排之實悖孔子也吾儕未之思耳余雖未甞排佛然亦因其排故余亦惑之未克篤敬於佛今也反而思之餘害至德甚矣是為大謬痛心疾首悔而追之不可得矣自今而後受佛明教歸依禮敬庶為補過之萬一矣。」
APPENDIX IV:
洪興祖（1090年－1155年），字慶善，號練塘，鎮江丹陽人。
生於宋哲宗元祐五年（1090年），政和年間上舍第，官湖州士曹，改宣教郎。建炎三年（1129年）春，高宗幸揚州，召試秘书省正字，迁太常博士。興祖上疏，“乞收人心，納謀策，安民情，壯國威”，“国家再造，一宜以芸祖为法”。绍兴四年（1134年），迁驾部郎官，为秦桧所忌，起知广德军。
绍兴二十四年（1154年），替程瑀《論語解》撰序，右正言王珉批判此書：「全失解經之体」，「不无怨望之意」。又列舉了程瑀注解「弋不射宿」、「周公谓鲁公曰」二例。指程解「子釣而不纲、弋不射宿」為「不応背后中傷人。是抱怨朝廷官员党同伐異」。又上書云：「興祖天資陰険、趨向不正、傾心附之、結為死党、如不痛懲、恐為亂階。伏望聖断、将興祖編置遠方、以御魑魅。」同年十二月，编管昭州（广西平乐县），魏安行發配钦州，《論語解》书版被毁弃。
高宗紹興二十五年（1155年）八月憂懼卒。著有《韓子年譜》、《楚辭補注》、《楚辭考異》1卷[1]。
[1] 《郡齋讀書志》
雲景未来記事 S2703

又此比天下第一の不思議あり。出羽国羽黒と云所に一人の山伏あり。名をば雲景とぞ申ける。希代の目に逢たりとて、熊野の牛王の裏に告文を書て出したる未来記あり。雲景諸国一見悉て、過にし春の比より思立て都に上り、今熊野に居住して、華洛の名跡を巡礼する程に、貞和五年二十日の事なる天竜寺一見の為に西郊にぞ赴けり。官の庁の辺より年六十許なる山伏一人行連たり。彼雲景に、「御身は何くへ御座ある人ぞ。」と問けば、「是は諸国一見の者にて候が、公家武家の崇敬併せて建立ある大伽藍にて候なれば、一見仕候ばと存じて、天竜寺へ参候也。」とぞ語ける。「天竜寺もさる事なれ共、我等が住む山こそ日本無双の霊地にて候れ。いざ見せ奉らん。」とてさそひ行程に、愛宕山とかや聞ゆる高峯に至ぬ。誠に仏閣奇麗にして、玉を敷き金を鏤めたり。信心肝に銘じ身の毛竪ち貴く思ければ、角てもあらまほしく思処に、此山伏雲景が袖を磬て、是まで参り給たる思出に秘所共を見せ奉らんとて、本堂の後、座主の坊と覚しき所へ行たれば、是又殊勝の霊地なり。爰に至て見れば人多く坐し給へり。或は衣冠正しく金笏を持給へる人もあり。或は貴僧高僧の形にて香染の衣著たる人もあり。雲景恐しながら広庇にくゞまり居たるに、御坐を二帖布たるに、大なる金の鵃翅を刷ひて著座したり。右の傍には長八尺許なる男の、大弓大矢を横へたるが畏てぞ候ける。左の一座には袞竜の御衣に日月星辰を鮮かに織たるを著給へる人。或は金笏を持て並居玉ふ。座敷の体余に怖しく不思議にて、引導の山伏に、「如何なる御座敷候ぞ。」と問へば、山伏答へけは、「上座なる金の鵃こそ崇徳院にて渡せ給へ。其傍なる大男こそ為義入道の八男八郎冠者為朝よ。左の座こそ代々の帝王、淡路の廃帝・井上皇后・後鳥羽院・後醍醐院、次第の登位を逐て悪魔王の棟梁と成給ふ、止事なき賢帝達よ。其坐の次なる僧綱達こそ、玄肪・真済・寛朝・慈慧・頼豪・仁海・尊雲等の高僧達、同大魔王と成て爰に集り、天下を乱候べき評定にて有。」とぞ語りける。雲景恐怖しながら不思議の事えと思つゝ畏居たれば、一座の宿老山伏、「是は何くより来給ふ人ぞ。」と問ければ、引導の山伏しか／에는と申ける。其時此老僧会尺して、「さらば此間京中の事共をば皆見聞給ふらん。何事
か侍る。」と問ければ、雲景、「殊なる事も候はず。此比は只四条河原の桟敷の崩て人多く被打殺候事、昔も今も浩る事候はず、只天狗の態とこそ申候へ。其外には将軍御兄弟、此比執事の故に御中不快と候。是若天下の大儀に成はんずるやらんと貴賤申候。」とぞ答ける。其時此山伏申けるは、「さる事も有らん、桟敷の顛倒は懸じて天狗の態許にも非ず。故をいかにと云に当関白殿は忝も天津児屋根尊の御末、天子輔佐の臣として無止事上艶にて渡らせ給ふ。桟敷と言は、今上皇帝の御連枝にて、三塔の貴主、国家護持の棟梁、円宗頼密の主にて御坐す。将軍と申すは弓矢の長者にて海内衛護の人也。而るに此桟敷と申は、橋の勧進に桑門の捨人が興行する処也。見物の者と云は洛中の地下人、商買の輩共也。其に日本一州を治め給ふ貴人達交り雑居し給へば、正八幡大菩薩・春日大明神・山王権現の忿を含ませ給ふに依て、此地を頂き給ふ堅牢地神驚給ふ間、其勢に応じて皆崩たる也。此僧も其比京に罷出しか共、村雲の僧に可申事有て立寄しに、時刻遷りて不見。」とぞ申ける。雲景、「さて今村雲の僧と申て行徳権勢世に聞へ候は、如何なる人にて候ぞ。京童部は一向天狗にて御坐すと申候は、如何様の事にて候哉らん。」と問ければ、此僧の日、「其はさる事候。彼僧は殊にさかしき人にて候間、天狗の中より撰び出して乱世の媒の為に遣したる也。世中乱れば本の住所へ可帰也。さてこそ所多きに村雲と云所に住するなれ。雲は天狗の乗物なるに依ての故也。加様の事努々人に不可知給。初て此所へ尋来給へば、委細の物語を申也。」とぞ語ける。雲景、不思議の事をも見聞者哉と思て天下の重事、未来の安否を聞ばやと思って、「さて将軍御兄弟執事の間の不和社会に始終通り候べき。」と間へば、「三条殿と執事の不快は一両月を不可過、大なる珍事なるべし。理非の事は是非を難弁。此人々身の難に逢ひ不肖なる時は、哀世を持たん時は政道をも能行はんずる者をと思しか共、富貴充滿の後は古への有増一事も不通。上暗く下諛て諸事に親疎あれば、神明三宝の冥鑑にも背き、天下貴賤の人望にも違て、我非をば知ず、人を謗り合ふ心あり。只師子の虫の師子の肉を食が如し。適仁政と思事もさもあらず、只人の煩ひ歎のみ也。夫仁とは施恵四海、深く憐民云仁。夫政道と云は治国憐人、善悪親疎を不分撫育するを申也。而るに近日の儀、聊も善政を不聞欲心熾盛にして君臣
父子の道をも不弁、只人の財を我有にせんと許の心なれば不矯飾無云事。仏神能知見御座さねば、我が企る処も不成、依果報浅深、聊取世持国者有といへ共、真実の儀に非ず。さすれば一人として治世運長久に不持也。君を軽んじ仏神をだにも恐る処なき末世ならば曾其外の政道何事か可有。然間悪逆の道こそ替え、猜みもどき合ふ輩、何れも無差別亡びん事無疑。喻へば山賊と海賊と寄合て、互に犯科の得失を指合が如し。さすれば近年武家の世を執事頼朝卿より以来、高時のに到るまで已に十一代、蛮夷の賎しき身を以て世の主たる事必本儀にはあらね共、世渋季に及ぶ騒に無力。時与事只一世の道理に非ず。臣殺君子殺父、力を以て可争時到る故に下剋上の一端にあり、高貴清花も君主一人も共に力を不得、下輩下賎の士四海を吞む。依之天下武家と成也。是必誰為にも非ず、時代機根相萌て因果業報の時到る故也。君を遠島へ配し奉り悪を天下に行し義時を、浅猿と云しか共、宿因のある程は子孫無窮に光栄せり。是又涯分の政道を行い、己を責て德を施しかば、国豊に民不苦。さどれども宿報熱く傾く時、天心に背き仏神捨給ふ時を得て、先朝高時を追伐せらる。是必しも後醍醐院の聖徳の到りに非ず、自滅の時到る也。世も上代、仁徳も今の君主に勝り給し後鳥羽院の御時は、上の威も強く下の勢も弱しかども下勝ち上負ぬ。今末世濁乱の時分なれ共、不得下勝不上負事は不依貴賎運の興廃なるべし。是以可心得給。」と語りければ、雲景重て申さく、「先代盡て亡しかば、など先朝久御代をば治御座候はぬ。」と問ければ、「其又有子細事に候。先朝随分賢王の行をせんとし給しか共、真実仁徳撫育の叡慮は総じてなし。継絶興廃神明仏陀を御帰依有様に見へしか共、■慢のみ有て実儀不御座。され共其程の賢王も末代には有まじければ何事にもよき真似をばすべし。是を以て暫なれ共加様の所を以て其御器用に当り、運の傾く高時、消方の灯前の扇と成せ給ひて亡し給ひぬ。其理に答て累代繁栄四海に満せし先代をば亡し給ひ共、誠兇斎の功、聖明の徳御圧なば、高時に劣る足利に世をば奪らせ給ぬ。今持明院殿は中々執権開運武家に順せ給て、偏に幼児の乳母を悪が如く、奴と等しく成て御座程に、依仁道善悪還て如形安全に御座者也。是も御本意には有ね共、理をも欲心をも打捨て御座さば、末代邪悪の時中々御運を開せ給ふべき者也ども王法は平家の末より本朝には尽はてし、
武運ならでは平建てを御了知も無て、仁徳聖化は昔に不及して国を執らん御欲心許を先とし、本に代を復すべしとて、末世の機分戎夷の掌に可堕御悟無りしかば、御鳥羽院の御謀叛徒に成て、公家の威勢其時より塗炭に落し也。されば其宸襟を為休先朝高時を失給しか共、尚公家代をば執せ給はぬ者也。さても三種の神器を本朝の宝として神代より伝る璽、国を理守も此神器也。はは以伝為詮。然に今の王者此明器を伝る事無て位を践御座事、誠に王位共難申。然共させが三箇の重事を執行はせ給へば、天照太神も守らせ給覧と憑敷処もある也。此明器我朝の宝として、神代の始より人皇の今に到るまで取伝御座事。誠に小国もといへ、三国に超過せる吾朝国府の不思議は是也。されば此神器無らん代は月入て後の残夜の如し。末代のしろし王法を神道棄給へば、此重器は平家滅亡の時、安徳天皇西海に渡奉て海底に沈られし時、神璽内侍所をば取返し奉せば共実剣は遂に沈失ぬ。されば王法悪王ながら安徳天王の御時までにて失はてぬ証は是也。其故は後鳥羽院の始て三種の重器無して元暦に践祚有し、其末流皇続継体として、今に御相承位模とは申せ共、今思へば彼元暦よりこそ正しく本朝に武家を被始置、則海内蔑君王奉る事は出来にけれ。されば武運天道に勝し表示には、宝剣は其時までにて失にき。仍武威昌に立て國家を奪也。然共其尽し後百余年は武家雅意に任て天下を司ると云共、王位も文道も相残る故に、関東如形政道をも理め君王をも崇め奉る体にて、諸国に總追捕使をば置たりよりも、諸司要脚の公事正税、仏神の本主、相伝の領には手を不懸目出かりしに、時代純機宿報の感果ある事ならば、後醍醐院武家を亡し給ふに依て、弥王道衰て公家、悉廃れたり。此時を得て三種の神器無して微運の君に隨て空辺鄙外土に交り給ふ。此神明吾朝を棄給ひ、王威無残所尽し証拠也。是元暦の安徳天皇の御時に相同じ。国を受給ふ主に随給はぬは、国を不守験也。されば神道王法共になさき代なれば、上廃れ下驕て是非を弁事なし。然れば師直・師泰が安否、将軍兄弟の通塞も難弁。」とぞ語ける。雲景重て申けるは、「さては早乱悪の世にて下上に逆ひ、師直・師泰我仏にしすまして天下を持つべき敷。」と問へば、「いやさは不可有。如何末世濁乱の義にて、下先勝て上を可犯。さられ共又上を犯咎難違ければ、下又其咎に可伏。其故は、将軍兄弟も可奉敬一人君
主を軽じ給へば、執事其外家人等も又武将を軽じ候。是因果の道理也。さらば地口天心を呑と云変あれば、何にも下刻上の謂にて師直先可勝。自是天下大に乱て父子兄弟怨讎を結び、政道聊も有まじけれど、世上下も無左右難静。」とぞ申ける。雲景、「今加様に世間の事鑒を懸て宣ひつる人は誰。」と尋れば、「彼老僧こそ、世人に人の持あつから愛宕山の太郎坊にて御座。」と答へける。尚も天下の安危国の治乱を問とる処に、俄に猛火燃来て、座中の客七顛八倒する程に、門外へ走出ると思たれば、夢の覚たる心地して、大内の旧迹大庭の椋の木の本に、朦々としてぞ立たりける。四方を見廻したれば、日已に西の山端に残て、京へ出る人多ければ、其に伴ひて我宿坊にたどり来て、心鬱に彼不思議を案ずるに、無疑天狗道に行にけり。是は只非打棄、且は末代の物語、且は当世の用心にもなれかと思しも、我身の刑を不顧、委細に書載、熊野の牛王の裏に告文を書添、貞和五年潤六月三日と書附て、伝奏に付て進奏す。誠に怪異の事共也。
APPENDIX VI: TAISEI-KYŌ 31

秋八月，天皇命上宮皇子、検校儒釋經、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。以通『論語』及『孟子』者為全束矣。貴淺同以敏者、先皆入於束學、便會宗大意。入門者不迷、而應才入弘。遂通『禮記』、『詩經』、『書經』、『春秋』、『易經』、是為弘學、令精宗意。而通『老子』及諸史者、為全弘學。令達天地所有事理、無有疑滞、是為儒學。

通『四恩經』、『五善經』、『三諦經』之三經者、是為前総束乏學。是改惡行善宗、圓備眞俗中教。通『四十二章經』、『尸迦羅越禮經』、『得心經』之三經者、是為前別束之學。是精眞俗中古佛大道宗、已上總別學。是佛法大意。得總束學者、受五戒、入衆得別束學者、受沙彌戒、成釋氏徒。释學之諸徒、不妄學宗教。先學束學經、以自學他學、而入宗學。以其入宗學、名為別弘學。廣入大藏、是總弘學、為之釋學。守屋大連聞之、大怒甚嫉妬。是於吾朝、弘儒釋學、其事元也。（『先代舊事本紀大成經』巻31；帝皇本紀中巻上）