MTRANSLATION

Okina no fumi THE WRITINGS OF AN OLD MAN BY TOMINAGA NAKAMOTO

Translated by KATŌ SHŪICHI

KINA NO FUMI (Writings of an Old Man) is one of the two major works of Tominaga Nakamoto, and is more important than the other, Shutsujō kōgo, in the sense that the former discusses the Three Teachings and covers the whole intellectual world of the author. Thus it is the only source now available to indicate the contents of the lost book, Setsuhei, and to explain what he believed in as the Way of Truth. Shutsujō kōgo is concerned in a very detailed way only with Buddhism; One might say Okina no Fumi is more interesting in methodology, while Shutsujō kōgo is more complete as a history of Buddhist doctrines.

The text used for our translation is one included in NIHON JURIN SŌSHO, kaisetsubu II, Tōyō tosho kankōkai, Tokyo, 1929.

The notes to the text are by no means complete. As the text is a sort of general survey of the history of Shintoist, Buddhist, Confucian doctrines, it is practically impossible to explain everything for the general reader. Although some details are given about certain points, most of the notes are brief, especially when the relevant information can easily be obtained from well known dictionaries or reference works in English.

MAUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION

THESE writings, said to be the work of a certain Old Man, have been made available to me by a friend. Even in this world of decay there still seems to be one wise old man. He emphatically expounds the theory that there is the Way of Truth besides the Ways of the Three Teachings: Buddhism, Confucianism and Shintoism. In the belief that a person who behaved in accordance with what he says would never make mistakes, I have thought of lending this Old Man my support. I asked my friend the name of this Old Man, but my friend did not tell me, saying that he himself did not know. There was nothing I could do about it. The Old Man must have been like those who existed in ancient times, living in seclu-

sion, freely speaking their minds. With the idea that it would be instructive for my own family and might be passed on to other people, I have copied the whole from beginning to end.

> Gembun 3rd year (1738), eleventh month. Tomo no Nakamoto.

©I IN THE present-day world, Buddhism, Confucianism and Shintoism are regarded as the Three Teachings representing the three different countries, India, China and Japan, respectively. Some people think that those Teachings must converge at the end; others criticize each other disputing what is genuine. However, the Way which should be called the Way of all Ways is a different one, and none of the Ways of the Three Teachings is actually in accordance with the Way of Truth. In any event, Buddhism is the Way of India, Confucianism is the Way of China, and since they are of other countries, they are not the Way of Japan. Shintoism is the Way of Japan, but since it is of other times, it cannot be the Way of the present-day world. The Way must be in principle the Way in whatever time in whatever country, but it is essential for the Way of all Ways to be practised. The impracticable Ways cannot be considered as the Way of Truth. And it is impossible to practise the Ways of the Three Teachings in present-day Japan.

CII THE Buddhists are supposed to train themselves and try to convert other people by learning everything from India, but there is no example of anyone in Japan who has ever preached in Sanskrit or mastered that language, let alone tried to do everything just as in India, from household utensils to the construction of buildings. In India, it is polite to expose half the body and press the palms together; it is considered good manners to show knees and thighs. A passage in a sutra says: "ankles and knees openly exposed, only genital organs concealed." Thus things that people here hide as unclean are permitted to be exposed openly.1 The Buddhists should not hesitate to do all such things!

If even my own words are regarded as unclean in another place, it would be permitted, not to put them into practice. If even words that are not mine are regarded as clean in another place, it is necessary to put them into practice."2 Thus Buddha himself did not teach that you should change all the customs of your own country to imitate India. It is thus not in accordance with Buddhism itself that

¹ Ka-shitsu-rogen-on-ba-zō 踝膝露現陰馬蔵 in the | two aspects of Nyorai (Tathāgata). text should be read ka-shitsu-rogen-me-on-zō 踝膝露 現馬陰蔵. This passage refers to one of the thirty- | identified.

² The source of this quotation has not been

Japanese Buddhists are doing what is not fitting in this country by trying to imitate everything Indian. The Old Man hated them and made fun of them in this chapter.

III SINCE meat dishes are regarded as an important food in China, Confucianists should keep cattle and sheep which as a rule have to be made into meals. The menu too has to be set with reference to what is written in the "Inner Rules" of the "Book of Rites." At a wedding they should perform the ceremony of "Calling on the Bride's Parents." At religious ceremonies effigies have to be put up. As regards clothing, the Chinese costume should be used and for the head the Confucianist hat should be worn. It is not Chinese style to wear ordinary formal dress with a smooth hairdo. Confucianists should use Chinese pronunciation for Chinese ideographs. As there are various possible pronunciations, they should learn that of the country of Lu of the Spring and Autumn Period, and as there are many kinds of ideographs they should use only the ancient type, Chu type and tadpole type.⁵

There is the saying: "I follow the barbarians when I go to the barbarians," or another: "It is good manners to follow the popular customs," or again: "King Yu stripped to the waist when he entered the country of naked people." Indeed even the Confucianists did not say that the customs of those countries have to be changed to imitate China. It is then not in accordance with true Confucianism that Japanese

- 3 Shingei 親迎: one of the six rites at wedding, mentioned in the "Book of Rites," in which the bridegroom visits the bride's parents to bring her away with him.
- ⁴ Shin-i 深衣: everyday costume for Chinese gentry. Shōho 章甫: a ritual hat, originally of the Yin Dynasty, used by Confucius, and later popular among Chinese Confucianists.
- 5 Kobun, chūbun, kato no bun 古文榴文科斗の文: kobun, or ancient forms of writing, includes kōkotsubun 甲骨文, written on tortoise-shell or animal bones, the oldest of Chinese characters from the Yin Dynasty; and kimbun 金文, inscriptions on bronze vessels from the Yin and Chou Dynasties. The name chūbun derives from Shi Chū 史榴, (in Chinese Shih Chou), who is supposed to have invented in the late Chou Period a new type of characters, chūbun (also called daiten 大篆) in contrast with shōten 小篆 which was introduced by Ri Shi 李斯 (in Chinese Li Ssu) during the Ch'in

Dynasty. The name kato no sho, literally tadpolelike writings, is obviously due to the tadpole-like shape of the characters written with lacquer on pieces of bamboo during the Chou Dynasty. It is inaccurate, however, to attribute this type of writing, as the Chinese tradition after the Three Kingdoms does, to any particular period of time, because the characters never had tadpole-like shapes when they were inscribed on the stone and not written with lacquer. These archaic typesancient, $cb\bar{u}$ and tadpole types—were already out of use during the Han Period; shoten (also called simply ten 篆, and rei 隷), first introduced during the Han Period, were always used, but only for special purposes in the later periods; the common types of writing in post-Han China and in Japan are kai 楷, gyō 行 and sō 草, which are quite different from the archaic types.

⁶ Sources of these sayings not identified.

Confucianists are doing what is alien to this country, trying in everything to imitate Chinese customs.

€ IV IN OLD Japan it was good manners for people to salute each other four times, turning to each other and clapping hands. Food was served on an oak leaf as a dish. At times of mourning songs were sung, people wailed over their loss, and when the mourning was over they went out to the river to perform the purification rites. People who learn Shintoism must practise these things, every one of them, exactly in the manner of ancient times. Since the gold or silver money we use nowadays did not exist originally in the age of Gods, those who learn Shintoism would do well to throw it away and make no use of it. Also, since our present style of dress, called gofuku, has been taken over from the Chinese country of Go,7 it would be proper for them not to wear it. As for words, they should thoroughly memorize the old expressions of the age of Gods and say kazo for father, iroha for mother, sere for you, shiraha for dress, haha for snake and atsushireru8 for sick; they should call everything in a different way and give themselves names of a different kind such as so-and-so-hiko or so-and-so-hime-nomikoto.

Shintoism may forbid us to change the originally left-hand thing to the righthand, the right-hand thing to the left-hand; but does not really ask for a total change of the present manners to the ancient ones. It would not be in accordance with Shintoism itself to imitate the ancient times in everything and behave in a strange extravagant way as Shintoists today are doing. Lord Minister Nonomiya9 is said to have once declared that Shintoism today is not really the Way of Gods, but mere rituals for Gods. Indeed those Ways in the world today are all a trifling business of ritual, either Shintoist, Confucianist or Buddhist. Without this "Writings of an Old Man" and the words of the Lord Minister, I myself might not have grasped this point.

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⁷ Go-koku 吳国: the state of Wu in central China of the Warring States Period. Japanese word gofuku 吳服 literally means clothing from the country

8 The word kazo may not be very old; given in Fin-ken-ki as 柯曽; in Wamyō-shō as 加曽. According to Matsuoka Shizuo (Nihon kogo daijiten, 1929), the word iro indicates an extended family, of which the members are:

> irose men iromo women

elder (brothers or sisters) younger (brothers) iroto iroba mother (of the extended family) Sere here is perhaps 世呂 in Manyō-shū (Vol. XIV), meaning second person masculine probably used in the Kantō region. The words shiraha and haha appear in Kogo-shūi. Atsushireru derives probably from atsushiru which means "to become serious" refering to a disease.

9 Nonomiya saishō Sadamoto kyō 野々宮宰相 定基卿 (1669-1717)

- ©V WHEN I describe matters in this way, you may feel that I am distorting the facts sarcastically. However, in learning those Ways, we are expected to do such things. Let me take an example. It is not easy to learn and imitate even the manners of a country only five or ten ri away; and there are very few people who remember recent events of only five or ten years ago. Needless to say, it would be foolish, almost impossible, to introduce Chinese or Indian customs to Japan and to imitate exactly the manners of the age of Gods in the present-day world. Even if it were possible, the people here would not see any sense in it. None of these three Teachings is the Way of Ways now in Japan. As the impracticable Way is not really the Way, the three Teachings should be considered incompatible with the Way of Truth.
- ©VI WHAT IS the Way which should be followed as the Way of Truth in present-day Japan? We should simply strive in all matters for what is ordinary; should be of upright heart and right conduct in our every-day activities; should speak quietly and behave with restraint; and those who have parents should serve them well.

The Old Man himself comments: See the Rokkōhai-kyō, which preaches emphatically the Five Human Relationships. These are regarded as important by the Confucianists, and mentioned also in the Code on Shintoism. Thus the Way of Truth is indispensable to the three Teachings too.

If you have a master, you must be devoted to him. If you have children, you must teach them well. If you have retainers, you must govern them well. If you have a husband, you must follow him well. If you have a wife, you must lead her well. If you have an elder brother, you must respect him well. If you have a younger brother, you must have compassion for him. As for the aged, you must hold them dear; as for the young, you must care for them. Do not forget

10 六向拝経: abbreviation of Shikarao-roppōrai-kyō P 逻辑越六方礼経, (sīgalovāda-sūtra in Sanskrit; ingalovāda-sūtta in Pali) which explains the virtues for the lay believers. The five human relationships mentioned here are roughly of the same kind as those advanced by Mencius except that the relationship between old and young of Mencius is here replaced by that between master and servant. Gorin 五倫: the five human relationships, regarded widely as the basis of Confucianist ethical codes, mentioned in the Book of Mencius, Book III, T'eng

Wen Kung, Part I. The passage in question is translated by James Legge as follows: "between father and son, there should be affection; between sovereign and ministers, righteousness; between husband and wife, attention to their separate functions; between old and young, a proper order; between friends, fidelity."

11 Jin-ryō 神令: abbreviation of jingi-ryō 神祗令, the code concerning heavenly and earthly gods, which is a part of the Taihō Code 大宝令 (701 A.D.).

your ancestors; do not neglect the intimate atmosphere of your home. In your dealings with people, be perfectly sincere. Forbid yourself vile pleasures and have esteem for superior people. Do not despise the foolish. In general, put yourself in other people's place and do not do anything bad to them. Do not be biting and sharp; do not misinterpret people's intentions or be obstinate; do not be forceful and impatient. If you are angry, be so within reason, and if you are happy, do not lose control of your feelings. Do not be excessive in your pleasures, or abandoned in your grief. Whether you have enough or not, consider your lot as good fortune and be content with it. What you should not take, do not take even if it is just a trifle. If something must be given up, don't begrudge it, even if it means losing high office in your country. Clothing and food, good or bad, let them be according to your status, do not be extravagant, or miserly, do not steal, or deceive others, do not lose self-control by drinking, do not kill a person who means no harm, be prudent about your nourishment. Do not eat what is bad, do not eat much.

The Old Man himself comments: The Yuga¹² point out that when death occurs while one has not yet exhausted life, there are nine kinds of causes for death: first, a meal exceeds the proper amount, second, one eats at the improper time, third, one has not digested before one eats again, etc. The Confucian Analects¹³ also say that one should not eat, when the cut is not right, or when the time is not appropriate, or in excessive amounts. All this indicates an insight into the Way of Truth.

If you have time, learn the arts which are beneficial for yourself, and be eager to become wise.

The Old Man himself comments: The Confucian Analects¹⁴ say: "When he has time and opportunity, after the performance of these things, he should employ them in polite studies." In the Vinaya¹⁵ also: "In order to know the order and gradation, history should be studied. The young bhikshus are permitted to study also arithmetic." These are also based on the insight into the Way of Truth.

To write with present-day script, to speak present-day language, to eat pre-

15 Ritsu 律: a series of sutras concerned with the forbidden deeds and punishments for Buddhist monks. A volume consists usually of the three parts: prātimoksa on prohibitions and punishments; skandba on regulations of monastery life; parivāra, appendix.

¹² 瑜伽: abbreviation of the *Yuga-shiji-ron* 瑜伽師地論, or *yogācārabbūmi*, which describes in detail the practice of yoga.

¹³ The Analects, Book x, Heang Tang.

¹⁴ The Analects, Book I, Hsüeh Erh. Quoted from James Legge's translation.

sent-day foods, to wear present-day clothes, to use present-day utensils, to live in present-day houses, to follow present-day customs, to respect present-day rules, to mingle with present-day people, not to do the various bad things, but to do what is good,—that is the Way of Truth, that is the Way which is practicable in present-day Japan.

All these things have been often discussed in the books of Confucianism and Buddhism and need not be emphasized over again. But the Old Man brought them up afresh in his own way, discarding the useless things, indicating straightforwardly the Way of Truth. His aim is indeed praiseworthy.

EVII Now this Way of Truth has not come from India; it has not been transmitted from China; it is not something initiated in the age of Gods which we should learn today. It has not come from heaven; has not risen from the earth; it is concerned only with people here. If you behave according to it, other people will be happy, you yourself will feel at ease, and things will always be easy to manage without difficulties. On the other hand, if you do not behave according to it, people will hate you, you yourself will feel ill at ease, and whatever you do, difficulties and obstructions will just increase. Therefore it will not do not to behave according to it. All this comes from what is normal for people; it is not something worked out artificially for temporary application. Thus all human beings who are born in the present world, including even those who are learning the three Teachings, would not manage to live through even one single day without this Way of Truth.

CVIII THUS it appears difficult to abandon the Way of Truth and advance any other Way. Buddha therefore taught the Five Commandments and Three Virtues: 16 he called greed, anger and stupidity the Three Evils; he recommended, as one of the Three Blessings, 17 to cultivate piety for father and mother and to

16 Gokai 五戒: prohibition of killing, stealing, lasciviousness, lying and drinking intoxicating liquor. Jūzen 十善: no violation of the Ten Evils (jūaku 十惠): killing, stealing, lasciviousness, lying, deceiving, talking nonsense, greed, anger, maliciousness.

17 Sanfuku 三福: these are sefuku 世福, or good deeds in the worldly life; kaifuku 戒福, or good deeds in the monastery life; gyōfuku 行福, or good deeds in the religious life (according to the Mahāyāna Doctrines). These three good deeds, or Bles-

sings, are explained as requirements for being reborn in the Western Paradise, in the Kammuryō-ju-kyō (觀無量寿経; no Sanskrit text is known; literally, How-to-see-Amitābha Sutra).

According to the *Kammuryōju-kyō*, the *sefuku* consists not only of "cultivating piety for father and mother and serving with respect the teachers," but also of "being benevolent without killing any creature and practising the Ten Virtues (See note 16)." The quotation in the text is not exactly "one of the Three Blessings," but half of it.

serve teachers with respect. He also taught, as the teachings of all Buddhas, that one must not do evil, but respect and practise everything good and purify one's own mind. Confucius also taught piety, brotherliness, loyalty, tolerance, trust, benevolence and reverence; called knowledge, human-heartedness and courage the Three Virtues, preached to censure anger, to halt desire, to revise faults and to convert oneself to goodness. He said also "The superior man is satisfied and composed; the mean man is always full of distress." The Shintoists also urge one to be clean, simple and upright.

These are all the best words of each Teaching, advocating about the same things which are not at all wrong; these are all in accordance with the Way of Truth. Then even those who learn the Three Teachings could be regarded as the followers of the Way of Truth, but only if they understand those Teachings in this way, not doing anything wrong or strange or extravagant in their living in this world with other people.

- ©IX BUT here is the argument of the Old Man: it is a general rule that, from ancient times, those who preached the Way and established the doctrines had always their ancestors to whom they attributed the authenticity of their Way and doctrines; they tried always to go further beyond theorists who preceded them. And people in later times have always been confused because of their failure to recognize this.
- © X ŚAKYAMUNI regarded the Six Buddhas as his ancestors and, with the memory of Dīpamkara,²² preached the overcoming of life and death. In this way he surpassed the previous non-Buddhist teachers who had regarded the Devas as their ancestors and preached re-birth in the Heavens through them. All the earlier non-Buddhists also surpassed their predecessors: the "neither conception nor non-conception"²³ theory of Udraka-Rāmaputra, ahead of the "conception"
 - ¹⁸ This kind of statement is repeated in many sutras although the specific source of the quotation has not been identified.
 - 19 Santoku 三德: these are chi 知, jin 仁, yū 勇 (knowledge, human-heartedness, or benevolence, courage, respectively), mentioned as the Three Virtues in The Doctrine of the Mean (中庸).
 - ²⁰ Source of quotation not identified.
 - 21 The Analects, Book VII, Shu Erh.
 - ²² Roku-butsu 六仏: Śakyamuni and the Six Buddhas who are supposed to have preceded him are commonly known as the Seven Buddhas (shichibutsu 七仏). Nentō 然燈: abbreviation of nentō-butsu,
- 燃燈化, literally "Buddha brilliant as torch." Sakyamuni is said to have made reverence to this Buddha, *Dīpaṇkara*, who appeared to him during his period of self-training.
- 23 Hi-bi-sō 非非想: obviously an abbreviation of bi-sō-bi-bi-sō 非想非非想, literally "No conception, not no-conception," translated from Naivasañ-jñānasañjñāyatana. Mahāyāna Buddhism often distinguishes the three parts of the world: yokukai 欲界 (the world of desire); sbikikai 色界 (the world of things); mushikikai 無色界 (the world of no things). This last in turn is supposed to consist of the four Empty Places called sbi-kūsho 四空处 or*

of non-exsitence (neither things nor knowledge)" theory of Alāra-Kālāma, the latter ahead of the previous "limitless knowledge" theory, which in turn was in advance of the preceding theories of "emptiness of things" or "Maheśvara Heaven."²⁴ It was in this way that the non-Buddhist teachers distinguished the thirty-two Heavens.

As for Buddhism, the Mañjśuri school compiled the Grand Vehicle sutras, Mahāprajñāpāramitā, and developed the theory of "emptiness, by surpassing the Kaśyapa school who had preached the "Existence of things" with their Small Vehicle sutras, Āgama.²⁵ It was by surpassing the "emptiness" theory that the Samantabhadra school produced such sutras as the Lotus sutra, Sandhimirmocana and others, and advanced the "Not Emptiness but Being-as-such" theory,²⁶ at-

*caturarūpa. According to Gusha-ron (俱舍論,法界上), these four Places are:

- (a) Kūmuhen-sho 空無辺处 or kū-sho 空处, Ākāsan-antāyatana. Kūmuhen-sho means literally "place of limitless emptiness," interpreted as a stage of meditation on the limitless emptiness escaping from the world of things.
- (b) Shikimuben-sho 識無辺处 or shiki-sho 識处, Vijñānānatāyatana. Shikimuben-sho means literally "place of limitless knowledge," suggesting a stage of meditation of the limitless knowledge, escaping from the emptiness.
- (c) Mushoyū-sho 無所 有処, Ākincānyāyatana. This means literally "place of no existence," interpreted as a stage of meditation which should surpass the previous two stages; "no existence" here refers to both things and knowledge.
- (d) Hisō-bi-bisō-sho, 非想非非想処, Naivasañjñā-nasañjñāyatana. At this stage the three previous stages of meditation are discarded (no conception in mind), but it cannot be said that there is no conception (not no-conception).
- 24 Udraka-Rāmaputra 鬱陀羅 (transcribed also as 鬱頭藍子, 烏特迦, etc.) is supposed to be one of the non-Buddhist teachers with whom Śakyamuni discussed philosophical problems before his enlightenment. Conception of non-existence, mushoyūsho 無所有处: See note 23 above. Alāra-Kālāma 阿羅羅 (transcribed also as 阿羅羅迦蘭, 阿蘭, etc.) is supposed to be one of the non-Buddhist teachers with whom Śakyamuni discussed philosophical problems before his enlightenment. Limitless knowledge, shiki-sho 藏处: See note 23 above. Emptiness of things, kū-sho 空处: See note 23 above. Maheśvara Heaven, jizai-ten 自在天: Chinese translation

- of Maheśvara, who is said to have attributed the origin of all things to Heaven. Integrated into the Mahāyāna Buddhism, Maheśvara is regarded as a God who presides over the highest of the eighteen Heavens of the shiki-kai (see note 23). Since the shiki-kai is just below the mushiki-kai, the highest Heaven of the former (i.e. the Maheśvara Heaven) comes immediately below the lowest part of the latter, the place of "emptiness of things."
- 25 Mañjśuri, Monju 文珠: a Boddhisattva closely connected with a group of sutras, Mahāprajñāpāramitā, who appears often in the Mahāyāna iconography as one of the two Boddhisattvas accompanying Śakyamuni. Mahāprajñāpāramitā, Hannya no taijō 般若の大乗: Hannya means wisdom, prajñā; Taijō means Grand Vehicle, but here implies Taijō-kyō, sutras of the Grand Vehicle. Hannya no taijō indicates Daihannya-haramitta-kyō, Mahāprajñāpāramitā, which includes 18 sections totalling about 600 volumes. Emptiness, kū 空: śūnyatā in Sanskrit. Kāśyapa, Kashō 迦葉: one of the ten disciples of Śakyamuni. Existence of things, yū 有: bhāva in Sanskrit, meaning existence or being. Agama, agon 阿含: the whole set of the Small Vehicle sutras.
- 26 Samantabhadra, Fugen 普賢, (or Fugon): a Boddhisattva connected with the Lotus Sutra; in the iconography accompanying Śakyamuni together with Monju. Sandhimirmocana, Hokke shimmitsu 法華深密: abbreviation for the two sutras Myōhō-renge-kyō, or Saddharmapundarīka (known in English as the Lotus Sutra) and Geshimmitsu-kyō 解深密経, or Sandhimirocana. "Not Emptiness but Being-as-such" theory, Fukū jissō 不空実相: Fukū is the negation of kū (see note 23); Tissō (dharmatā*

tributing it to Buddha's teachings during forty odd years after his enlightenment. Then those who compiled the Ganda-vyūha²⁷ sutra claimed that it represented Buddha's teachings during twenty-seven days after his enlightenment, illumiating the world as the sun over the mountains, and thus excelled all other sutras. After that those who compiled the Mahāparinirvāna²⁸ sutra regarded their sutra as above all others, pretending that it recorded Sakyamuni's teachings on the very day of his nirvana: the essence of the milk of Buddhism. The esoteric Buddhism of Vajrasattva based itself on Mahavairocana, assigned the eighth and ninth rank to the Lotus sutra and Ganda-vyūha sutra respectievely, called all Śakyamuni's teachings simply "conventional teaching." This means one step ahead through detachment from all other doctrines. In the sutras preaching "sudden enlightenment"30 there is a statement that all disturbing conceptions disappear of themselves, no idea remains in the mind, that is enlightenment; in the Zen sect there is a saying that all sutras, teachings of forty odd years, are nothing more than toilet paper. This means one step ahead through destroying all other doctrines.

Without knowing this, Bodhiruci (in order to explain the existence of different sutras and doctrines,) said that the same word of Śakyamuni sounded differently to different ears; T'ien T'ai Chih-i³¹ maintained that Śakyamuni changed his teachings five times in his life according to the convenience of circumstances; Fa-ts'ang Hsien-shou³² explained that the people interpreted the same teachings

*or bhūta-tathtaā in Sanskrit) means the truth, being-as-such, emphasized by the Mahāyāna School in contrast with the three principles of the Hināyāna School: no permanence, no ego, nirvana.

27 Kegon 華厳: abbreviation of Daihōkōbutsu-kegonkyō 大方広仏華厳経.

28 Nehan 湟槃: abbreviation of 大般湟槃経, Daibatsunehan-kyō.

29 Vajrasattva, Kongōsatta 金剛薩埵: a god of esoteric Buddhism, called also Shūkongō 執金剛, Vajradhara. Esoteric Buddhism is supposed to have been transmitted from Mahāvairocana to Vajrasattva, who in turn taught, presumably, Nāgārjuna. Mahāvairocana, Dainichi-nyorai 大日如来: Tathāgata of the Great Sun, regarded as the center or ultimate principle of the world in esoteric Buddhism. Conventional teaching, kenkyō 頸教: From the point of view of mikkyō 密教 (esoteric Buddhism) which literally means "secret teachings," implying that those teachings are not really telling the truth, but presenting mere con-

ventional interpretations of the truth for the non-trained lay people.

30 Ton-bu no kyō 頓部の経: the sutras preaching tongo 頓悟, sudden enlightenment, as against zengo 漸悟, gradual enlightenment.

31 Bodhiruci, Bodairushi 菩提留支: a North Indian monk, who came to North China (Wei) at the beginning of the Sixth Century, one of the most important translators of sutras. T'ien T'ai Chih-i, Tendai 夭台: this refers to Chigi, Tendai-daishi 智顗夭台大師; Chih-i, Master T'ien T'ai (538–597); founder of the T'ien T'ai School. Based on the Lotus sutra and theories of Nāgārjuna, this School developed the most elaborated scholastic system of Buddhism in China in the Sixth Century, which became influential also in Japan from the Ninth Century on.

32 Genju 賢首: this is Hōzō, Genju-daishi 法歲 賢首大師; Fa-ts'ang, Master Hsien-shou (643-712); regarded as the real founder of the Hua-yen (Kegon, in Japanese) School. in different ways according to their different dispositions. All these explanations are serious misunderstandings and distortions of the truth.

If the reader is interested in knowing more about this subject, he must see the book called "Shutsujō kōgo."³³

© XI ALSO, Confucius considered as his predecessors Yao and Shun, idealized Kings Wen and Wu and preached the Kingly Way, thus going beyond the customary belief of his time when the Way of the Five Nobles, such as Duke Huan of Ch'i and King Wen of Chin³⁴ was highly esteemed. Mo-ti,³⁵ who also revered Yao and Shun, advocated the Way of the Hsia Dynasty in order to advance beyond Confucius' idealization of Kings Wen and Wu. Thereafter Yang-chu preached the Imperial Way, attributed to the Yellow Emperor,³⁶ to go beyond the Kingly Way of Confucius and Mo-ti. It was also by attempting to surpass each other that Hsü-hsing emphasized Shên-nung, and Chuang-tzu, Lieh-tzu and the Taoist School idealized the very early times of Wu-huai and Ko-t'ien.³७ These are all non-Confucianists.

33 See Introduction.

34 Yao 堯, Shun 舜, (Gyō, Shun in Japanese): mythical rulers of the Hsia Dynasty, considered by Confucianists as the models of virtuous rulers. Wen 文, Wu 武, (Bun, Bu in Japanese): King Wen started and King Wu, his son, finished the revolt against the Shang Dynasty and the establishment of the Chou Dynasty. Ōdō 王道: literally the Kingly Way, which means government by virtue. Mencius compared it with badō 霸道, or government by force. (Mencius, Book II, Kung-sun Ch'ou Part I, Chapter 3.) go-baku 五伯: also called go-ba 五霸, the five nobles who led each the five strong states during the Warring States Period, such as Duke Huan of Ch'i, King Wen of Chin and others. (The choice of the names of the five is not always the same for different authors, but includes always the two names mentioned above.) The Confucianist attitude towards the Five Nobles may be most typically demonstrated in Mencius (Book I, King Huan of Liang, Part I, Chapter I). When Mencius was asked about Duke Huan and King Wen, he replied bluntly: "None of the disciples of Chung-ne (Confucius) has ever talked about the affairs of Huan and Wen." (仲尼之徒無道桓文之 事者). Ch'i Huan 斉桓: Duke Huan of the State of Ch'i, who, with his advisor Kuang Chung, made the country powerful in the first half of the Seventh Century B.C. Chin Wen 香文: King Wen of the State of Chin, by defeating Ch'u, gained hegemony over North China, after Ch'i fell into disorder.

35 Mo-tzu 墨子: called also Mo-ti 墨翟; lived between 470 and 381 B.C.; his words are collected in the book Mo-tzu. Preaching all-embracing love (兼爱), Mo-tzu criticized Confucius in many respects. "Confucius felt a sympathetic understanding for the traditional institutions, rituals, music and literature of the early Chou Dynasty...; Mo-tzu, on the contrary, questioned their validity and usefulness, and tried to replace them with something that was simpler..." (Fung Yu-lang: A Short History of Chinese Philosophy. New York, 1960).

36 Yang-chu 楊朱: lived sometime between Mo-tzu and Mencius (ca. 371-ca. 289); none of his writings are preserved; regarded as the second greatest Taoist after Lao-tzu. In contrast with Mo-tzu, Yan-Chu apparently held a philosophy of absolute egocentrism. Yellow Emperor, Huang-ti 黄帝, (Kō-tei in Japanese): a mythical divine emperor who is said by the Taoists to have taught sericulture and built a temple to heaven.

37 Hsü-hsing 計行: a man from the country Ch'u, who served Duke Wan of T'ang and preached, referring to Shên-nung, that the ruler and ruled alike should work together in the fields. (*Mencius*,*

Even within the same Way of Confucianism, however, it is said that there were eight different schools, each trying to surpass the previous one by interpreting Confucius in its own way. Kao-tzu expounded that man's nature is neither good nor bad, which went beyond Shi-tzu's³⁸ teaching that it has some good and some bad. Also Mencius' speaking of man's nature as being good added to Kao-tzu's speaking of it as having neither good nor bad. Again Hsün-tzu's³⁹ expounding nature as being bad went beyond Mencius' expounding it as being good. Locheng-tzu who wrote the Canon of Filial Piety advocated filial piety by referring to Ts'eng-tzu's⁴⁰ talks, which means he discarded all the other Ways by reducing them to filial piety alone.

The Sung Confucianists failed to recognize this and regarded all different theories as convergent. Recently Jinsai⁴¹ argued that only Mencius continued the important line from Confucius and all other teachings were wrong; Sorai claimed that the Way of Confucius went straight back to the Way of the Ancient Kings and that Tzu-ssu,⁴² Mencius and others were not in accord with that Way. They were all wrong, misunderstanding the facts. If the reader is interested

*Book III T'eng Wen Kung, Part 1, Chapter 4). Shên-nung 神農 (Shin-nō in Japanese): a mythical divine emperor, supposed teacher of husbandry, medicine and agriculture. Chuang-tzu 註子: the third greatest Taoist philosopher, after Lao-tzu and Yan-chu, lived around 300 B.C. The book Chuang-tzu, compiled in the Third Century A.D., is supposed to contain some of the ideas of his school. Lieh-tzu 列子: a Taoist philosopher who is supposed to have lived just after Confucius. The authenticity of the book Lieh-tzu is not accepted by modern scholars. Wu-hai 無懷 (Mukai in Japanese) and Ko-t'ien 葛天 (Katten in Japanese): both mythical divine rulers before Fu-i 伏儀 (Fugi in Japanese) who ruled before Yao and Shun.

38 Kao-tzu 告子: known by his dialogue with Mencius where he argued that the human nature is neither good nor bad. (*Mencius*, Book VI, Kao-tzu, Part I, Chapters I-4). Shi-tzu 世子: one of the disciples of Confucius who is supposed to have held the view that human nature has some good and some bad. The book called *Shi-tzu*, supposedly compiled by himself, has been lost.

39 Hsün-tzu 尚子: the best known Confucianist, after Confucius and Mencius (ca. 298—ca. 238). His writings are collected in the book *Hsün-tzu*.

40 Lo-cheng-tzu 楽世子: a disciple of Ts'eng-tzu, who was well known for his filial piety (*Li-chi*

礼記). Hsiao-king 孝経 (Kō-kyō in Japanese): literally the Canon of Filial Piety; it has been traditionally attributed to Mencius, Confucius, Ts'eng-tzu, or Lo-cheng-tzu. Ts'eng-tzu 曾子: also called Ts'eng-ts'en 曾参; one of the disciples of Confucius; one of the supposed authors of the Canon of Filial Piety; perhaps a teacher of Tzu-ssu (See below note 42).

41 Itō Jinsai 伊藤仁斎 (1627–1705): one of the most eminent Confucian scholars in Tokugawa Japan. Jinsai wrote commentaries on the basic Confucian texts, such as the *Analects* or *Mencius*. However, he accepted the framework of Sung Confucianism which the Tokugawa Government officially adopted as the basis of education.

42 Ogyū Sorai 获生徂徕 (1666—1728): also called Bu Sorai 物徂徕, or Ken-en 護園; philologist poet, political writer, eventually advisor to the Government, one of the most influential Confucianists in Tokugawa Japan. Sorai founded his school of the Kobunji-gaku, or Study of Ancient Texts, steadfastly refusing to accept the interpretations of Confucianism either by the Sung Confucianists or by the Wang-Yang-ming school. Tzu-ssu子思: the grandson of Confucius, to whom Chung-yung 中庸 (The Doctrine of the Mean) is traditionally attributed.

in knowing more about this subject, he must see the book called Setsuhei.43

Although the Old Man argued like this, probably Confucius idealized Kings Wen and Wu and preached the Kingly Way, because he grieved that through the utilitarian Way of the Five Nobles all things quickly took a wrong direction and probably not because he was trying purposefully and artificially to go one step further than his predecessors. Probably Sakyamuni, also, in treating the Six Buddhas as his ancestors, preached the transcendence of life and death, because the previous non-Buddhist teachers were remote from the Way of Truth, and not because he was trying purposefully and artificially to outdo his predecessors. Were this otherwise we should say that Sakyamuni and Confucius are not worth considering seriously.

€ XII As FOR Shintoism, it was also invented during the medieval age by some people who pretended to trace it back to the age of Gods, and called it the Way of Japan in an attempt to outdo Confucianism and Buddhism. To mention a parallel case, however, in the time of Ābhāsvara in India, or of P^can-ku⁴⁴ in China, there was no such definite Way as Buddhism or Confucianism. These are all fictions deliberately created by people in later times. In the same way Shintoism could not have existed in the age of Gods either.

What appeared first as Shintoist teachings was Dual Shinto,⁴⁵ a mixture in a convenient proportion with elements of Buddhism and Confucianism. The next was called *bonjaku-engi*.⁴⁶ Envious of the advance of Shintoism, Buddhists of the

⁴³ See the Introduction.

⁴⁴ Kōonten 光音天 (Ābhāsvara): In the Āgamasūtra (中阿含経), it is said that, at the beginning of the world, Ābhāsvara came down; then appeared to human beings. P'an-ku 盤古 (Banko in Japanese): In Chinese mythology, P'an-ku is said to have come from Chaos and to have given birth, in dying, to the universe.

⁴⁵ Ryōbu-shūgō 両部習合 (or ryōbu-shintō 両部神道): literally Two-Parts-Combined-Shinto, which means generally a fusion of Shintoism and Buddhism, in particular through the Shingon and Tendai schools. Tendencies toward fusion of this kind appeared in the Early Heian Period (Ninth Century), explaining Shinto gods as incarnations of Buddhas (see below note 46). It was, however, in the Late Heian Period that the incarnation theory was elaborated either by the integration of Shinto gods into the Shingon system, often called

ryōbu-shūgō-shintō (in the narrow sense), or by the integration into the Tendai system, called sannō-ichijitsu-shintō 山王一実神道.

⁴⁶ Honjaku-engi 本迹緣起: bonjaku means bonji 本地 or origin and suijaku 垂迹 or temporary incarnations; engi (paticcsamuppāda in Pali) literally means happening caused by something, hence a series of events somehow related to one another. The incarnation theory itself is one of the important parts of the Shingon doctrine, as it is illustrated in the Mandala, where all Bodhisattvas are considered as the incarnations of Vairocana. Tendai doctrine, based on the Lotus sutra, also includes similar arguments about incarnation. It would not be difficult, then, to move from this view to the bonjaku interpretation which became pupular in the Heian Japan, namely, that Shinto gods are temporary incarnations of Buddha in the same status as Bodhisattvas.

time used Shintoism as a facade, actually integrating all elements of Shintoism into Buddhism. Thereafter appeared Unitary Shinto,⁴⁷ which, separate from Confucianism and Buddhism, expounded only a pure Shintoism. All these three have their origins in the medieval age. The Kingly-Shinto⁴⁸ appeared recently, teaching that there is no such particular Way of Gods, but only the Kingly Way which is not different from the Way of Gods. There is also a kind of Shinto which professes Shintoism publicly and yet actually identifies itself with Confucianism. All these teachings are not from the Age of Gods; each of them has been worked out artificially with a certain pretence and with the purpose of getting ahead of other schools.

Stupid people today fail to realize this. Each takes one of these teachings as the Way of Truth, behaves in a wrong way for himself and quarrels with others about right and wrong. They seem to this Old Man pitiful and ridiculous.

- ©XIII THERE are bad tendencies in all Three Teachings. One should fully realize this without equivocation.
- © XIV THE tendency peculiar to Buddhism is magic, which is now called sorcery.⁴⁹ Indian people like it. In preaching a Way, or in teaching people, if a good dose of magic is not mixed, people would not believe and follow. Therefore Sakyamuni himself was good at sorcery. In fact it was for learning this art that he entered the mountains and trained himself for six years. Supernatural phenomena, super-
- * Shinto gods thus interpreted are called gonge 権化, or gongen 権現. According to the late Professor Miyachi (Miyachi Naoichi: Shintō-shi, 3 Vols., Tokyo, 1958), at the early stage, Shinto gods were regarded vaguely as the incarnations of undefined Buddhas; but later, in the second half of the Tenth Century, one definite Shinto god was interpreted as the incarnation of a definite type of Buddha. To quote some wellknown examples:

Suijaku or IncarnationsHonji or the OriginHachimanŚakyamuniHiyoshi TaigūŚakyamuniIse DaijingūAvalokiteśvaraKumano HongūAmitābhaKasuga IchigūAmoghapāśa

47 Tuitsu-sōgen 唯一宗源, or yuitsu-shintō 唯一神道: literally only-one-source of Shinto; a school of Shinto founded in the second half of the Fifteenth Century by Yoshida Kanetomo 吉田兼俱 (1435—1511). For the first time in history he organized

- into a systematic doctrine those deities, rituals, popular beliefs, loosely connected with one another and called Shinto. In doing so, he used Buddhist words and Confucian conceptions, but argued that Shintoism alone is the source of the Truth and much superior both to Buddhism and to Confucianism.
- 48 Ōdō-shintō 王道神道, or Kōdō-shintō 皇道神道: this is the theory, advanced in the first half of the Seventeenth Century by Hayashi Razan 林羅山, (1583–1657), that Japan is a divine country where the emperors are descendants of the gods, and thus there is no reason to distinguish the Way of Emperors (ōdō or Kingly Way) from the Way of gods (Shinto).
- ⁴⁹ Izuna 飯繩: at Izuna Shrine in Mt. Togakushi of Shinano Province, a certain Itō Tadatsuna is said to have got magical power around 1233. Hence the word izuna came to be used for magical power or sorcery.

natural understanding and supernatural power⁵⁰ which are mentioned in the sutras are all sorcery. With his forehead-light Buddha let appear one billion worlds;⁵¹ thereby, he made himself into Kōchōzetsu and was raised up to the Heaven of Brahma.⁵² Also, Vimalakirti⁵³ produced, inside a small dwelling place, 84,000 seats of teaching; a goddess made Śāriputra⁵⁴ into a woman. In doing so they all used sorcery. Then those mysterious strange things were taught; the vicissitude of life and death through *karma*,⁵⁵ the experiences of Buddha and his disciples in their previous lives,⁵⁶ the mysteries of the virtues of Buddha.⁵⁷ All this was the matter of convenience in getting people to believe.⁵⁸ This is

50 Shimpen 神变, jintsū 神通, jinriki 神力: changes beyond human understanding, supernatural understanding, the occult power of gods, respectively.

51 Byakugōkō 白毫光: a light from the forehead of Buddha which is said to illuminate the whole world. Sanzen-sekai 三千世界; or dai-sen-sekai 大千世 界; or sanzen-dai-sen-sekai三千大千世界(tri-sābasramahā-sāhasrāhloka-dhātavah in Sanskrit): Here sanzen means not three thousand, but one billion. According to the ancient Indian cosmogony as it was later adopted by Mahāyāna Buddhism, the world where we live consists of Mt. Meru at the center, the sea around, and the sky over it; this world is called shō-sekai 小世界, or small-world. Now a thousand small-worlds make one shō-sen-sekai 小千 世界 or small-thousand-world; a thousand smallthousand worlds make one chū-sen-sekai 中千世界 or middle-thousand world; a thousand middlethousand-worlds make one dai-sen-sekai 大千世界, or great-thousand-world.

One great-thousand-world, that is, one billion small-worlds, is the territory of one Buddha.

- ⁵² Kōchōzetsu 広長舌, one of the 32 phases of Buddha. Bonten 梵天: this is Brahma, integrated into the hierarchy of Buddhist deities, and supposed to preside over Heaven above the world of greedy desires.
- 53 Yuimakitsu 維摩詰, or Yuima 維摩 (Vimalakirti): a rich man in the city of Vaiśalī, who, according to legend, lived about the same time as Śakyamuni, had discussions with Mañjśurī, thus revealed all the important points of Mahāyāna doctrines.
- 54 Sharihotsu 舍利弗, (Śāriputra): one of the Ten Disciples of Buddha.
- 55 Seishi 生死, ruten 流転, inga 因果: seishi means life and death; ruten or rinne 輪廻, (saṃsāra in Sanskrit) means the vicissitudes which the souls

go through, by birth, by death, by re-birth; inga (betu-phala in Sanskrit) means cause and effect while the word $g\bar{o} \not \mp$, (karma in Sanskrit) literally means action or behaviour. Now inga and $g\bar{o}$ are practically inseparable, because the vicissitudes of souls are governed by a sort of causal chain inga of good or bad deeds (karma) always followed by rewards or punishments.

56 Honji 本事, honjō 本生 two of the twelve divisions of all the sutras. The names of the twelve divisions Jūnibu-kyō, (dvādasānga-buddha-vacana) are as follows:

I	kaikyō	契経	sūtra
2	ōju	応頌	geya
3	kibetsu	記別	vyākarana
4	fūju	諷頌	gāthā
5	jisetsu	自説	ud āna
6	innen	因緣	nid ā na
7	hiyu	譬喻	avad ā na
8	bonji	本事	itivṛttaka
9	bonjō	本生	j ā taka
10	bōkō	方広	vaipulya
11	kìhō, or mizōhō	希法	abdbuta-dbarma
		(未曽有法)	
12	rongi	論議	upadeša

The texts classified under division 8 describe the experiences of Buddha and his disciples in their previous lives, except those of Buddha told in the texts of division 9.

- 57 Mizō 未曾有, or mizōhō 未曾有法: one of the Twelve Divisions of the sutras, which includes the texts concerned with mysterious virtues and merits of Buddha (see note 56, Division II on the table.).
- ⁵⁸ Hōben 方便; conventional teachings of Buddhism to lead the lay people towards wisdom and truth; the corresponding Sanskrit term is *upāya*, meaning "approach."

the Way of guiding the people of India and is not particularly needed in Japan.

The Old Man explained things in this way, but supernatural understanding and sorcery are two different things. Sorcery comes from magical skill and supernatural understanding from training. However the Old Man was right in his arguments.

THE tendency peculiar to Confucianism is rhetoric. Rhetoric is what we now call oratory. In preaching a Way, or in guiding people, if you are not skilled in oratory, no one in China would believe and follow. You many understand this, for example, by the fact that the word rei⁵⁹ which originally meant the ceremonial formalities in coming of age, marriage, mourning and religious festivals, was extended to cover the ethical Way such as the rei of a man as the son or the rei of a man as the subject of his sovereign; extended to signify the way of how to see, hear, speak and behave; extended even to the matter of heaven and earth, saying that the heavenly and the earthly are distinguished by rei. Also the word gaku⁶⁰ means simply an amusement by making a noise with bells and drums, but they say that gaku is not merely the matter of bells and drums, but the harmony of heaven and earth. The meaning of the term sei,⁶¹ meaning nothing but an intelligent man originally, was extended to the highest type of humanity capable of producing supernatural changes.

Now Confucius insisted on benevolence; Ts'eng-tzu on benevolence and righteousness; Tzu-ssu on sincerity. Mencius taught the Four Beginnings⁶² and the goodness of human nature; Hsun-tzu the wickedness of human nature; the Canon of Filial Piety taught filial piety; the Great Learning what man should like and dislike; the Book of Changes about heaven and earth. All this was the matter of convenience in persuading people to follow, by amusing them with oratorical exaggerations of simple plain things. Chinese rhetoric, like Indian magic, is not particularly needed in Japan.

Although the Old Man explained the whole matter as such plain things, how could be ignore the fact that there were some people who completely mastered the

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⁵⁹ Rei 礼 (li in Chinese): formalities of politeness, propriety.

⁶⁰ Gaku 楽 (yüeb in Chinese): music.

⁶¹ Sei 聖 (shêng in Chinese): sage.

⁶² Shitan 四端: according to Mencius (Book II Kung-sun Ch'ow, Chapter 6), these Four Beginnings are: the feeling of commiseration (惻隱

之心) as the beginning of benevolence (仁); the feeling of shame and dislike (蓋悪之心) as the beginning of righteousness (義); the feeling of modesty and complaisance (辞譲之心) as the beginning of propriety (礼); the feeling of approving and disapproving (是非之心) as the beginning of knowledge (智).

Way; how could he not have known that there are secret matters which are not easily communicated. One should not be confused by these words of the Old Man and fail to grasp his main ideas.

© XVI THE tendency peculiar to Shintoism is secrecy, such as divine secrets or secret arts for private transmission, in other words, keeping things in secrecy. Secrecy tends to lead to cheating and stealing. Magic and rhetoric, interesting to see and agreeable to hear, are somehow to be tolerated, but this secrecy is of the lowest sort. Nevertheless in ancient times, when people were honest, Shintoism might have been helpful in teaching and guiding them. In the present world of decadence, where many people are cheating and stealing, it is intolerable that people who teach Shintoism are protecting rather than opposing those vices. Even in such base matters as the Sarugaku (No play) and Ceremonial Tea, people all imitate this habit of secrecy, set up rules for imparting secret instructions, fix prices for such instructions, thus running their business for the sake of profit. This is deplorable indeed. When you ask them why they made such regulations concerning secret instructions, they reply that it is almost impossible to instruct those who are not sensitive enough to their teachings. However reasonable this argument may sound, we should understand that all Ways which are kept in secrecy, are difficult to transmit, and are imparted for a certain price are not the Way of Truth.

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