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MISCELLANEOUS OF PERSONAL VIEWS OF AN IGNORANT FOOL

[Gukwanshō] chapter 2-6. Appendix: Shūgyokushū, Gwammon.

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My translation of the seventh chapter of the Gukwanshō
and introduction to this text will appear in the
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Ch. 2 (conclusion). Hyōshaku p. 134; Kokushitaikei p. 61.

I think that life is not worth living, when one is entirely ignorant of the country's customs (culture) and of the trend of the changing world (utsuriyuku: note 29) in spite of being born in this country.

Ch. 3 (preface). Hyōshaku p. 139; Kokushitaikei p. 63.

Nobody has written about events after the outbreak of the Hōgen disturbance [1156] and nobody has continued the so-called historical tales [like the Ōkagami and the Eigwa-monogatari]. Though I heard that there may be a few [records and tales of this period: Imakagami?], I could not see them. Everyone likes to record only good things; the country was disturbed throughout since the Hōgen civil war. May it be that for these reasons people failed to record [events after the Hōgen civil war], thinking that they were practically all bad? Thinking that [the historians are thus remiss in the discharge of their duties], I want to state earnestly and zealously the reasons of the decline and the changing development of the world. Though I am convinced after mature consideration that truly everything has a raison d'être (iware as synonym of dōri), nobody thinks like that; the hearts of men are all opposed to this reason (dōri); the world becomes more and more disturbed and there is no peace. I am writing this book in order to set my mind at ease, when I am reflecting on these things.

Ch. 3 Hyōshaku p. 142; Kokushitaikei p. 64. (Emp. Ōjin)

[The Korean expedition of Queen Jingō and her long regency] manifested two principles: (1) irrespective of sex, inborn ability (talent) is to be valued more than anything else; (2) [the Emperor - in this case Ōjin -] must discharge his filial duties by leaving [the management of government affairs] to his mother during her life-time. Such predestined circumstances [providential karma-relations: the events at the end of Emp. Chuai's reign and during the 69 years regency of Queen Jingō] are in perfect harmony in order to make known these [two] principles to mankind of the degenerate age. [Jien attached so much importance to these facts and principles, that the first turning-point in his scheme of the development of dōri appears under Emp. Chūai].

Ch. 3 Hyōshaku p. 150; Kokushitaikei p. 68. (Emp. Kimmei-Sushun)

When we consider and survey this [2nd period of the 7 periods enumerated in the 7th chapter] successive junctures of gradual and periodical deterioration [appear]. The period, in which imperial princes smoothly succeeded their fathers, lasting from the beginning of the age of men ¹⁾ [660 B.C.] till Emp. Seimu, appears to have been the age of correct laws and customs ²⁾ To begin with Empress Jingō and the appearance of Emperor Ōjin the frame of mind of the age of gods ¹⁾ hardly existed in our country. Though [the Emperors of the 2nd period], thinking: "The mind (heart) of man, being only bad, will become worse and worse", probably protected [their subjects] before the introduction of Buddhism, their reign in successive generations was not long; in the case of Emp. Inkyō and Emp. Yuryaku, etc. there was no [regular] succession of imperial grandchildren, and [in the case of Emp. Keitai ³⁾ a successor to the throne] had to be sought among the descendants [of collateral branches].

Afterwards, when Buddhism had crossed [to Japan], the Emperors were practically not fit to rule the country all alone [without the co-operation of Buddhist priests] Generally speaking there were no cases of assassination of Emperors in Japan before Emp. Sushun. Moreover, Japan is predestined not to show such cases afterwards. [The assassination] of Emp. Sushun and Emp. Ankō are the only cases. [Jien omits the assassination of Emp. Buretsu ⁴⁾].

Ch. 3. Hyōshaku p. 153; Kokushitaikei p. 69. (Emp. Suiko)

The principal conclusion of profound reflection on this [assassination of Emp. Sushun by his minister Soga Umako A.D. 592] is: Buddhism will protect the imperial rule ⁵⁾. The truth of the two following principles has been clearly proved: (1) "after Buddhism crossed [to Japan], the imperial rule (ōbō) could not exist without Buddhism (buppō)"; (2) "because there are certainly among the principles of things important (weighty) and unimportant (light) ones, [we] cling to the important [principles] and abandon the unimportant ones". When it is said that someone must have demonstrated this [truth], it is to be positively understood that this [assassination of Emp. Sushun and the resulting management of government affairs by crown-prince Shōtoku and minister Soga Umako] happened, because crown-prince Shōtoku, an incarnation of Kwannon, had to demonstrate [the truth of the above-mentioned principles]. Though after his death people considered crown-prince Shōtoku to have been an excellent incarnation [of Kwannon] and said that he had been a great man, in his life-time he was considered to be an ordinary human being. But notwithstanding his early youth and in spite of his youthful conduct, crown-prince Shōtoku, scarcely 16 years old, could punish and kill [minister] Mononobe Moriya ⁶⁾ [A.D. 587], who had destroyed Buddhism; he obtained authority during the lifetime of the gentle minister ⁷⁾ [Soga Umako]; he managed state affairs in concord with his friend, minister Soga Umako; all this was the essence of the power of crown-prince

Shōtoku. It is obvious that this minister Umako was a model of what a minister, supporting Buddhism, ought to be. The purport of Emp. Sushun's assassination is only this: When Emp. Sushun, who had no virtue whatever, and acceded to the throne only on account of being the son of Emp. Kimmei, intended to kill this minister Umako, the latter, prompted by his strong Buddhist faith, lost euphemism for: had assassinated such an Emperor, before he was killed himself. Moriya 6) may have wished: "May this Emperor Sushun cause in this way the destruction of Buddhism", but this hope could not be realized. To consider Buddhism and the imperial rule as extreme, irreconcilable enemies, and to say: "Buddhism gained the victory", brings on the contrary disgrace on Buddhism. In the case of the violent death of Moriya and others, Buddhism did not kill them, but the imperial rule got rid of bad servants. They were bad, because they destroyed the treasure of Buddhism for the sake of the imperial rule they went to the extreme of sacrificing buppō to ōbō Establishing the principles of things, we must establish this true principle of the relation between ōbō and buppō.

Ch. 3. Hyakushō p. 157; Kokushitaikei p. 71 (Emp. Suiko, Kōgyoku).

It must be understood that it is impossible that nobody is more powerful than the august person of the Emperor or: it is inevitable that someone - regent or shōgun - becomes more powerful than the Emperor in the degenerate age, because the sun-goddess Amaterasu has disposed that the Emperor will not trespass against the supreme purpose of the creation of the universe 8) It is understood that crown-prince Tenchi, in consequence of the assassination of minister Soga Iruka 645, for the first time thought as follows: "This country Japan cannot exist through the exclusive authority of the Emperor alone. If the Emperor does not share his power with someone else, the country will be thrown into confusion and disturbances. The power of Buddhism must be joined with the management of Fujiwara ministers." 9)

Ch. 3. Hyōshaku p. 167; Kokushitaikei p. 76 (Emp. Kwammu).

Continuing The efforts of Dengyō Daishi and Kōbō Daishi Jikaku Daishi (794-864) and Chishō Daishi (814-891) went to China and protected the Emperor by practising the ceremonies of shijō-kwō 10) and of offering prayers for peace and prosperity to the Plough-star-king. Afterwards the country was happy and fortunate, in spite of various irregularities, because Buddhism (Buddhist laws, buppō) and the imperial rule (temporal laws, ōbō) protected and supported each other and because the relations between The Emperor and the families of his ministers were invariably as intimate as those between fishes and water. Now it must be explained in detail how a gradual decline followed and how it came to the present situation of apparent non-existence of imperial rule and Buddhist laws.

In order to enter on the way of Buddha it is necessary to understand well the general condition of Japan, to comprehend the

importance of the profound meaning of Buddhism, to originate the intentions of a bodhisatva and to understand without the slightest mistake the things of this world as they really are. But nobody has this object in view and nobody tries to obtain this knowledge. If mere private individuals conceive arbitrarily this plan [to obtain Buddhist insight], it disappears again. Though this [disappearance of efforts to obtain insight and buddhahood] cannot be helped in the spontaneous course of nature (hōni = skt. dharmatā) [fatalism], methods to cure and destroy all sorts and conditions [of evil] (taiji; skt. pratipakṣa) are taught in the Buddhist doctrine [meliorism].

In world [history] the term ho (Chin. pu $\frac{++}{\text{五}} \beta$) 11) is used, meaning a cycle of 60 years [this does not accord with the Chinese definition of pu]; when this period expires a year returns, [characterized by the same combination of] stems and branches [of the sexagesimal cycle]. Reflecting upon these periods [we describe events] down to the present age in both the public and private sphere [as follows]: recovery follows gradual decline; time after time [people] improve [conditions], which deteriorated after recovery. 12) In order to elucidate the theory of the hundred sovereigns (Part I note 96), etc. to those who do not understand it, I make this comparison: A stock of 100 quires of paper is gradually being used, so that at last one or two quires are left. When the provision is replenished, 90 quires are kept in stock. When this stock too has been exhausted again, a supply of 80 quires is made. Recovery following excessive decay may be compared to this case: when the stock of paper diminished to one quire or even only ten sheets 13), it will be replenished until a provision of 94 or 95 quires is obtained. This happens when an exceptionally fine recovery sets in after the bottom of a deep decline has been reached. To take another vase: After 60 or 70 quires have been used from an original stock of 70 or 80 quires, 40 or 50 quires are added to the remaining 10 or 20 quires, before the whole provision is exhausted. This must be compared to the following situation: A trend towards the restoration of good conditions sets in, before the bottom of a bad decline has been hit and before the worst stage of the unfortunate phase has been reached again. After all, the principle (logic of events) of the culture of the three countries China, India and Japan, [the principle] of the ups and downs of this world 14) is: rise after fall, fall after rise. And thus the span of human life gradually decreases till the final minimum of 10 years; when it comes to the close of a [small] kalpa (skt. antarakalpa, antaḥkalpa), a gradual recovery sets in till the span of human life has been increased to 80000 years 15). The vicissitudes [of history] of the hundred sovereigns during these [cyclical periods] are in accordance with this established way as to their trend of principle (dōri) and their purpose. In order to manifest this [principle] day and night, every month, the moonlight is on the increase after having been on the wane and is on the wane after having been on the increase. When this principle has been thoroughly understood, all things bear wit-

ness to its truth. This is the principle, formulated [in the Ninnōkyō 16)] as follows: "What is prosperous must necessarily decline; what is connected must certainly be separated." Understanding this must be such a profound spiritual awakening, that it causes everyone to enter Buddha's way, [leading to] the gate of [Buddhist] doctrine.

Ch. 3. Hyōshaku p. 181; Kokushitaikei p. 82 (Emp. Uda, Daigo).

It is well known that such a thing [i.e. the vicissitudes of Sugawara Michizane's life] happened, because Sugawara Michizane 17), being undoubtedly a manifestation of Kwannon, intended to protect the imperial rule of the degenerate age in the immediate future [Hyōshaku p. 182]. In the small country of Japan it must certainly be wrong that two nairan 18) ministers [serve] at the same time [After his death Sugawara Michizane] proceeded to the Kitano temple [Kyōto], became its god, worshipped by the Emperor, and proved his [lit.: human] innocence 19). It is clearly understood that especially the [Fujiwara] regents must profoundly honour and trust this god [Michizane: Tenjin]. Though without such guidance of the convenient means (skt. upāya) of religious conversion the superiority and inferiority of karma-retribution and the long or short duration of life of the living beings of the world [lit.: Jambudvīpa] in all [ages], in the beginning and at the close of a world cycle (kalpa), constitute in this way important causes of honouring the gods, taking refuge in the buddha(s) [and of salvation]; though [even without such guidance the living beings] will arrive in the final stage of becoming a buddha, delivered from [worldly evil], they do not make any mistake [in judging] every single [historical event], when they understand [things as I do] and enter such a realm [of historical interpretation].

Ch. 3. Hyōshaku p. 187; Kokushitaikei p. 85 (Emp. Daigo).

There is nobody who knows upon profound reflection that crown-prince Shōtoku first of all, and afterwards Fujiwara Kamatari (614-669), Sugawara Michizane (845-903) and Jie Daishi (chief of the temples of Mount Hiei; 912-985) have been only convenient means or instruments (hōben; skt. upāya) of the bodhisatva Kwannon for blessing the living beings of this country Japan 20). Alas! if the Emperor and all his ministers believed such a thing [Shōtoku, etc. are incarnations of Kwannon] profoundly and if they only thought 21) of righteousness without any bias, intermediate [viz. between the beginning and the close of a kalpa] misfortunes and unexpected calamities would not occur, though the destiny 22) of the beginning and the end of a world-cycle (kalpa) is inexorably determined by fate. Therefore it is said [in Ssū-ma Ch'ien's Shih-chi] that, when the country is well governed, all "baneful, uncanny portents (Chin.yao 女妖) do not defeat virtue".

Ch. 3. Hyōshaku p. 201; Kokushitaikei p. 91 (Emp. Kwazan).

It happened in ancient and modern times that intelligent and ingenious men, thinking only of themselves, started to carry out a surprising and strange plan [like that of entering holy orders]. May we conclude from the fact that the Emperor Kwazan (life: 968-1008; reign: 985-986) considered with profound feelings [the possibility of entering holy orders] and from the fact that both the Emperor and [his monk-counsellor Fujiwara Michikane 23)] in youthful ardour decided rashly to enter Buddha's way, that the natural disposition of men did not change from those times [the most ancient period] until lately 24)? Though [in the middle ancient period] there must have been some cases [of such precipitate decisions to enter holy orders], recent times 25) are extremely bad [i.e. much worse than the chūko]. I think that the close of the most ancient period (cf. Part I note 35, 37) and the period of correct laws (shōbō) 2) is to be found in the Kwampyō era. [The transitional age of] the Engi and Tenryaku eras, being the close [of jōko and shōbō] and the beginning of the middle ancient period, was not only auspicious but high-minded. The natural disposition of men from Emp. Reizei (reign: 968-969) and Emp. Enyū (reign: 970-984) down to Emp. Shirakawa (life: 1053-1129) and Emp. Toba (1103-1156) seems to have been consistently the same [constituting the middle ancient period 24)]. A sharp decline set in since the close [of the times] of Emp. Go-shirakawa. During these last 10 or 20 years 25) [1200-1220] most abominable things happened. Everyone supposed with feelings of pity that Emp. Kwazan had decided too rashly to enter Buddha's way 23). It is obvious that Michikane encouraged and prompted the Emperor to that action. Though I did not hear exactly what has been said during this conversation [of Emp. Kwazan and Michikane], it must naturally and reasonably have been like this, because eloquent Buddhist priests, using Indian and Chinese [scriptural] phrases here [in Japan], utter those words [urging princes to abdicate and to enter holy orders], and because it is called "correct speech", when one assents to everything conform with the essence of reason (dōri), though it is not said in the Indian or Chinese language.

Ch. 5. Hyōshaku p. 380-382; Kokushitaikei p. 164 (Emp. Go-toba).

The loss of [one of the 3 regalia], the precious sword 26), must have been an affliction to the imperial rule (ōbō). Turning the question over in my mind whether there is an established reason (dōri) why this [loss] occurred, I think in view of the apparent manifestation of the meaning of this [loss] in the present time that it occurred, because [the sacred sword] was replaced by [the noble warriors], when the period began in which the noble warriors (samurai) protect the Emperor. A sword, called "tachi" (long sword), is the most important military weapon. This is the military protection of the Emperor. The sovereign rules the country by means of two ways or methods: that of peaceful culture and that of military action. Culture, interpreted [in China] as "the [imperial]"

protection of peaceful culture in successive generations", means for the Emperor and the heir-apparent personally that the crown-prince employs a learned tutor and that the Emperor employs reading-attendants and Confucianist scholars. The military method of government is protected by the divine imperial ancestors, who inspire this protection of the Emperor. Even the sacred sword has become useless, now that even the sun-goddess of the Ise shrine and the great bodhisatva Hachiman have sanctioned that an improbable and fatal situation (jiun 22) apparently has arisen, in which the commander-in-chief of the noble warriors firmly controls the country and the intentions of the sovereign do not harmonize with those of the commander-in-chief of the noble warriors. The Taira samurai family raised Emperor Takakura to the throne. The condition of the world is sad indeed, when the fact is clearly realized that the sacred sword has been lost in this way, after the sword-protection of Emperor Takakura had come to an end 27). Though there must be men who think it unreasonable to discover ingeniously such connections between historical events 28) on account of the fact that on the whole the fate of the upper and lower classes of men, and the destiny (jiun) of the world in past, present and future develop and change 29) spontaneously (hōni; skt. dharmatā) and naturally, there is the firmly established Buddhist principle (dōri) of moral causality (karma) in past, present and future, and the fact that this principle and natural (hōni), historical destiny (jiun 22)), having been created from the very first beginning in strict conformity with each other, are subject to periodical flux and reflux, decay gradually and improve again 30). Persons of profound knowledge, who have clearly and thoroughly understood this truth, are able to know without the slightest mistake even what will happen in future, so that they may have obtained the knowledge of the mind of other people 31) (skt. paracittajñāna), the knowledge of the future 32) (miraichi), etc. All Chinese sages, to begin with Confucius and Lao-tzū, have in this way prophesied correctly. Likewise, even in this present age it happens frequently that the meditations of tolerably wise men on future things have come true. I have heard: "When wise men are employed, the world is well governed; when unwise men, who only pay attention to immediate needs and urgent business without caring for the future, dominate the world, the world will decay and finally perish".

Ch. 6. (conclusion). Hyōshaku p. 475; Kokushitaikei p. 204 (Emp. Juntoku).

The facts of the evolution of the Emperor, ministers and noble warriors of this country Japan have been clearly stated in the course of writing this book. My primary object in writing this book is: may posterity, thinking: "Heaven has coordinated (discovered a correspondence between) those historical events and the principles of every historical period 33); he has determined the value of this wicked world", understand those periods; may posterity carefully and using great moderation govern the world, discriminate between the principles of right and wrong, good and bad,

act in accordance with the principles of the degenerate age and become capable instruments 34) [in the hands] of gods and buddha(s); may during the reign of the future 16 Emperors 35) the Buddhist laws (Buddhism) succeed in protecting the imperial rule (laws), and may, according to the original purpose [of the buddha] to bless living beings without any future limit, [this protection] be the favourable response of the gods and buddha(s) [to our prayers]. [Some of the following lines omitted]. In view of the future state of affairs and the trend of world evolution hereafter, it is needless to say that [the nemesis and future] retribution of the world's government and the natural disposition of mankind in the last 20 years until this [first?] year of the Shōkyū era [1199-1219] will be exposed to injury and evil. [What is said] in detail [about the future], being a prophecy, is not [a statement of] facts, even if it comes true. The future course of events will only be revealed to [him, who shares] the insight 36) of the great bodhisatva Hachiman. Describing again conditions [of their own times], men who understand [the historical principles] must in future supplement the historical records.

A P P E N D I X

1. Some passages selected from the Shūgyokushū 拾五集, collection of poems, written by Jien, and published in vol. 10 p. 543-987 of Kokka taikai 國歌大系 (Tokyo 1929).

p. 745 (chapter 4): Confined in a remote mountain-monastery I am meditating on the principles (dōri) of the relative (skt. samvṛti-satya) and the absolute truth (skt. paramārtha-satya), and on nothing else. I must have been thinking of composing poems on these principles.

p. 746: The beginning of a world cycle (kalpa) is [under the sway of] the [divine] king Brahmā; the close of [this] world cycle belongs to [buddha] Śākyamuni 37). The Chinese philosopher is Confucius; our dynasty (country) is the sun-goddess Amaterasu. Though the words and sounds of the three countries [India, China, Japan] are different, may it be that Japanese letters [and culture] of this remote country [Japan] embrace the others? [Japanese culture is a synthesis of Indian and Chinese culture]. The determination of identical principles (dōri) [in India, China and Japan] is in the centre [of human thought: Buddhism, Confucianism and Shintoism express the same truth in different forms]; constant concentration of mind controls a foolish disposition. Being an unworthy descendant of the divine [ancestor of the Fujiwara clan], I received a [divine] command [to compose poetry]; sympathetically I made my environment into a reflection of the heart of all sorts of poems.

p. 759 (ch. 4): It is difficult to imagine what is the original (esoteric) essence [honji: buddha-substratum; corresponding to

paramārtha, buppō, hōō 法王 of the great god Kamo [tutelary god of Kyōto]. I am considering in my mind the principles of the absolute (skt. paramārtha-satya) and the relative (skt. samvṛti-satya) truth. [God Kamo's] exoteric manifestation or phenomenal trace(s) [suijaku: Shintō gods, worldly evidence of the noumenon; corresponding to samvṛti, upāya, ōbō, ninnō 仁王] is wonderfully powerful and hears prayer well. I hope that the spiritual forces [gods and buddhas] may answer my prayers for blessing of the living beings. Japanese odes (waka) [express] the common manners and customs of our country. Ginei (Buddhist poetical prose compositions, which have to be recited) are the products of a classical and refined mind.

Now I have [my reader's] consciousness dyed in the colours of the absolute and the relative truth. I show like a flash the enlightenment of body-, speech-, and mind-activity in a hōraku (operatic mystery-play performed in Buddhist temples). [What I write down] is nothing but idle and incoherent gossip. My rambling talks [however] are the true words of Kwannon, and their meaning is the will of the gods. [Jien lowers his poems to the level of popular, comic hōraku- and kyōgen-plays, but uses this plain language in order to convert his readers easily to Shintō-Buddhism].

p. 758: The so-called uta (Japanese ode) is produced as a phrase of 31 syllables and consists in language of this country. By means of these uta's everything is expressed (manifested) and proverbs (common sayings) of ancient and recent times are made 38).

p. 859 (chapter 5; Jien's poetics): People of this country must not think that the way of the uta [verses in genuine Japanese style: yamato-kotoba] is inferior [to Chinese composition]. [Japanese poems] are nothing but [the expression] of the manners and customs of that country [Japan].

p. 860: It is a common saying of our country that the way of the buddha must be (established by means of) the way (art) of Japanese poetry and that even the political ability of governing the country is [the art of making Japanese uta].

p. 766 (ch. 4): By means of these rough words [uta] I am zealously turning the wheel of the law [skt. dharmacakrapravartana: preaching Buddhism]. Though [my poems] seem to be incoherent talk (kyōgen), they express the way of [Buddhist] truth.

2. Some passages selected from Jien's prayers (gwammon), published in Dainihonshiryō V 2 p. 736-739 (Tokyo 1922).

p. 738: I, Jien, disciple of the buddha (skt. jinaputra, buddhasuta), am respectfully speaking to the great god Kasuga [divine ancestor of the Fujiwara clan]. Tradition says that the disciples (sons) of the buddha are descendants of the great god(s) [Shintō: daimyōjin] 39). There is a text on the subject of leaving the family (becoming monk), reading as follows: "In this impermanent world it is impossible to cut off the love [of parents, wife and children]. Abandoning favours and entering the holy realm (skt. asaṃskṛta) is the true and genuine requital of favours [received

from one's parents?" Though the clergymen of Japan act contrary to the Buddhist precepts of discipline, they keep within the Buddhist law [śīla or vinaya versus dharma]; though they are attached to worldly truth, they devote themselves to learning (study) With regard to the doctrines of my true [Tendai] sect I explain the enlightenment of the unique buddha-vehicle (skt. ekayāna) of the middle path (skt. madhyamā gatiḥ); with regard to the spiritual way (myōdō, 冥道; cf. Part I note 71) of the material manifestations and traces (suijaku) of the way of the gods (Shintō) I explain the supreme buddha-paradise The [Fujiwara] regents of the empire are the sanctions and pledges (yakudaku) of the venerable gods My heart-felt prayer is a logical expression of the trend of the times (jiun no dori; note 22). [This prayer was written in the autumn of 1224, about one year before Jien's death].

Ibid. p. 737 [Prayer addressed to numerous deities, especially to the Shinto god Sanno (Hie, Hiyoshi); written in 1223; cf. Part I note 71]. The water of a believing heart is pure; the bottom of prayer is deep. Generally speaking, if the gods and buddhas do not help, we will have to deplore [a process of] gradual deterioration [leading to] foolish weakness. The buddha(s), having obtained enlightenment, subdued evil demon(s) (māra). Among the foolish people of this degenerate age, there must be many evil demons. Our virtuous conduct cannot surpass [the virtue of former times]. The vicissitudes of this changing world seem to be visible evidence [of dōri?; of the gods and buddhas?]. In all things, great and small, there are innen: causes and conditions [including affinities of previous states of existence; hence: karma-relations, providence, fate, destiny]. It is still more obvious that remedies (skt. pratipakṣa) for all passions and evils are to be found in the buddha, his doctrine and community. If our enlightenment is unalterably fixed (skt. niścita) and if we do not act contrary to reason and justice, our prayers will necessarily be answered.

N O T E S .

- 1) Contrasting with the age of gods (jindai; mythological, legendary age) before Emp. Jimmu.
- 2) 正法 shōbō, not only covering this first period of Japanese history [660 B.C. - 191 A.D.], but lasting till the close of the Kwampyō era (897): Part I note 35. Buddhists use to consider the 500 years elapsed since the death of Śākyamuni as the period of correct law(s) (shōbō), the following 1000 years as the period of images (imitations) of correct law(s) (zōbō), the next 1000 or 10000 years as the degenerate age (mappō). Cf. Bohner l.c.p. 143, 169. The translation of shōbō "correct Buddhism" is not comprehensive enough, especially when applied to the times before the introduction of Buddhism in Japan.
- 3) Cf. passage on Emp. Keitai in the 7th chapter. Bohner l.c.p. 240.

- 4) The assassination of Emp. Ankō and Emp. Buretsu took place in the 2nd period. The 3rd period, characterized as the first epoch of Japanese Buddhism, begins definitely with the assassination of Emp. Sushun, who opposed Buddhism. Jien supposes that crown-prince Shōtoku approved this assassination to a certain extent.
- 5) Kwōhō 皇 法 (according to the best MSS.) in stead of ōbō 王 法 appearing in all other similar passages of the Gukanshō. Only one MS. (imperial private library) reads ōbō. According to C. Tanaka, l.c. kwōdō (or kwōhō) is only applicable to the Japanese empire, whereas ōdō (or ōbō) is applicable to all other monarchies. In the Gukanshō however 王 refers frequently to the Japanese Emperor. Cf. Part I notes 14-16. On p. 352 of Hyōshaku it is said that "Buddhism and the imperial rule are like the horns of an ox; they cannot be destroyed". A similar passage occurs in the 2nd chapter of the Heikemonogatari. Some prefer to read gokaku 牛角 (Buddhism and the imperial rule are well-balanced in power) in stead of gyūkaku 牛角 (horns of an ox). Chishō Daishi (814-891) wrote: (quoted in the "Kokonchobunshū, 2nd chapter, new Kokushitaikei vol. 19 p. 29) "The so-called Buddhist law (buppō) protects and maintains temporal laws (ōbō; imp. rule). When Buddhism perishes, the imperial rule will perish". Jien thinks that the imperial rule is less important than Buddhism, so that the assassination of Emp. Sushun (who tried to make away with the supporter of Buddhism Soga Umako) can be justified. According to the Ryōbu-shintō doctrine Jien believes that the Shintō gods (and their descendants, the Japanese Emperors) are the manifestations (samvṛti-satya) of noumenal buddha(s) (paramārtha-satya). Cf. Part I notes 14, 71 and Kokkataikei vol. 10 p. 759 on god Kamo.
- Hyōshaku p. 156: "After the co-operation of crown-prince Shōtoku and his minister(s) the relations between the imperial rule and Buddhism were not bad in any sense. Consequently there was nobody who desired to revolt against the Emperor".
- 6) Under the reign of Emp. Bitatsu (572-585) a pro-Buddhist party, headed by minister Soga Umako, and an anti-Buddhist party, headed by the ministers Mononobe Moriya and Nakatomi Katsumi, were fighting for power. Emp. Yōmei (586-587) became a Buddhist. At his death (587) the two parties, pretending to have a right to present a candidate to the throne, came to open war. The anti-Buddhist party was defeated; Moriya and Katsumi were killed.
- 7) Umako was minister from 572 to 626. From the accession of his aunt Suiko (593) crown-prince Shōtoku (life: 572-621) exercised a real regency together with Umako till Shōtoku's death in 621.

- 8) The Emperor cannot be blamed for the sins and mistakes of the degenerate age. His ministers or shōguns are responsible for that.
- 9) (Crown)-prince Tenchi (life: 626-671; reign: 662-671) prepared the assassination of minister Soga Iruka together with Fujiwara (Nakatomi) Kamatari, who served him as trusted minister during his reign. Named crown-prince at the accession of Kōtoku (646) he took an active part in the Taikwa-reform. Jien justifies in this passage the power of Buddhist priests and Fujiwara regents in the masse-period.
- 10) Jikaku inaugurated this ceremony in 849 in the Enryaku-ji temple. Shijō-kwō means "light of splendid prosperity". Prayers for averting evil and stopping calamities were addressed to buc-chōson, to whom the texts no. 944-980 of the Taishō-issaikyō are devoted. In this ceremony were used the dhāraṇī no. 963-964. Shijō-kwō renders perhaps skt. tejaḥ-prabha.
- 11) In the Hou-Han period the pu and chi 𠄎 (20 pu) method of calendar calculation was developed. A chi is a period of 1520 years: "the concordance of the length of the day, lunation, year, and eclipse-period". (Eberhard). A pu is "a period of 76 years, the shortest period in which the totals of the moons $\frac{940}{7}$ and days $\frac{365\frac{1}{4}}{7}$ days counted to a year; total: 27759 days contained therein will both be whole numbers" (Giles). Cf. W. Eberhard. Astronomy of the later Han period. Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies. Vol. I, no. 2 (July 1936). Jien's views have been influenced by Chinese pre-Buddhist Ch'an-wei (secret oracle books and apocrypha) methods of prophesying. Cf. Bohner l.c.p. 122.
- 12) This often quoted statement, suggesting a wave-motion of historical events, recalls Nietzsche's doctrine of "ewige Wiederkunft". Jien's theory of a recurring series of good and bad times is Buddhist: De la Vallée Poussin. Abhidharmakośa. Troisième chap. p. 186: 91 b-d; Bohner l.c.p. 195-197. Buddhists believe that there are 18 successive periods (small kalpa) of alternating phases of decline (decrease of happiness and years of life) and recovery (increase of happiness and years of life). Jien's views differ from generally accepted Buddhist cosmology in so far as he reduces the extremely long, alternating cycles of prosperity and decay of Buddhism to the geographically restricted scale of only 1880 years (660 B.C.-1220 A.D.) of Japanese history.
- 13) One jō (quire) consists of 20 mai (sheets).
- 14) Literally: the southern country, i.e. the continent south of Mount Sumeru, according to traditional Buddhist geography. See Bohner l.c.p. 195 for discussions of the situation of Japan in this geography.
- 15) Bohner l.c.p. 197: "Das Lebensmass nahm in je hundert Jahren um ein Jahr ab. Wenn es bis auf 10 Jahre gekommen ist, müssen die kleinen drie Nöte sein. Die Menschenart geht nahezu zugrunde; nur wenig über 10000 bleiben übrig. Diese Menschen tun das Gute; daher nimmt das Lebensalter wieder zu, das Glück mehrt sich.

- Zur Zeit von 84000 [oder 80000] Lebensjahren tritt des goldenen Rades König auf."
- 16) See chapter 5 on this sūtra (Taishō issaikyō no. 245-6) in De Visser's "Ancient Buddhism in Japan".
 - 17) Life: 845-903. "He endeavored to diminish the power of the Fujiwara and to reestablish the imperial authority." (Papinot)
 - 18) Jien refers to the tragic rivalry of Michizane and Fujiwara Tokihira. Nairan no shin is the minister entitled to read beforehand in private the documents to be discussed in the council of state (dajōkwan). In the Heian period from Yoshifusa (died 872) onwards this office was held by the Fujiwara regents.
 - 19) Powerful members of the Fujiwara family accused Michizane of plotting to dethrone Emp. Daigo. Michizane was disgraced (901) and banished to Kyushu.
 - 20) In the preceding passage is explained why these famous statesmen and this priest must be considered to be incarnations (keshin) or human manifestations (kegen) of Kwannon.
 - 21) They are not required to practise righteousness.
 - 22) H. Matsumoto (Meicho kaidai p. 62) thinks that this term jiun is a synonym of hōni (nature; skt. dharmatā) and means: fate or destiny, changing with the onward movement of time. Jien says here that the final destruction of the world is inevitable, but previous calamities can be avoided by virtuous conduct of the Emperor and his officials. See on Jien's pessimistic fatalism Muraoka l.c.p. 65. Jien's ethical karma-doctrine does not reach the logical extreme of rigid determinism. He believes that historical evolution may be influenced by the free will of human beings.
 - 23) Also called "nanuka no kwampaku", because he died in 995 after having held the office of regent for one week only. Jien regrets it very much that Michikane, cherishing immoderate political ambitions, persuaded Emp. Kwazan to abdicate and enter holy orders. On 23.VI.986 Emp. Kwazan left his palace secretly and retired to the palace-monastery Kwazan, where Michikane served as monk. At that time the Emperor was 19 years old and Michikane 26. When his nephew Ichijō ascended the throne in 986, Michikane resumed secular life and was rapidly promoted to high offices. Michikane deceived Emp. Kwazan with pious phrases in order to further his own selfish interests.
 - 24) i.e. did not change in the middle ancient period: chūko, lasting from 901 until the death of Emp. Toba and the accession to the throne of Emp. Go-shirakawa in 1156.
 - 25) Konogoro: i.e. the period 1156-1220 in a wide sense, or the period elapsed from the close of Go-shirakawa's life (1127-1192) until 1220 in a narrow sense.
 - 26) Called "kusanagi no tsurugi" or "ame-no-murakumo no tsurugi". It was lost in the sea, when Nii-no-ama jumped overboard with her young grandson Emp. Antoku in the battle of Dannoura (1185).
 - 27) Jien mentions Emp. Takakura (life: 1161-1181) and not his successor Antoku, who perished together with the sacred sword, because Takakura was the first Emperor raised to the throne by

- noble warriors (Taira), who replaced the sacred sword as protector(s) of the Emperor.
- 28) Like Jien's discovery of the significant coincidence of the loss of the sacred sword and the rise of the samurai class.
 - 29) Utsuriyuku-koto. H. Matsumoto. Meichokaidai p. 62, 66, 69, 70) gives synonyms: ruten (flux, transience, vicissitude, transmigration) and seisei (creation, becoming, generation, formation). Utsuriyuku refers to natural changes of the environment (milieu) of human beings, change brought about without a human interference. Jien uses this term frequently in contrast to tsukurikaeru, referring to change of cultural conditions (products of human agency and power), change of the environment of man effected by man himself. Cf. Part I note 107.
 - 30) Cf. Part I note 26. Jien's metaphysical definition of dōri is applicable to the natural flux of events, to historical destiny and human fate, whereas his moral definition is applicable to the principle of moral causality and retribution. Jien tried to reconcile the idealist-pantheistic and the moralist-theistic types of experience (Dilthey).
 - 31) Cf. L. de la Vallée Poussin. L'Abhidharmakośa. chap. VII p. 7 seq.
 - 32) skt. anāgate jñānam. Abhidharmakośa l.c. chap. II p. 303, chap. VII p. 89.
 - 33) Jien refers principally to the 7 periods mentioned in the 7th chapter (Hyōshaku p. 489).
 - 34) Instruments used in the divine work of blessing living beings. Utsuwamono renders the Buddhist Sanskrit technical term bhājana (vessel, receptacle).
 - 35) The remainder left after the reign of the 84th Emperor: Juntoku. Therefore, the Gukanshō must have been written before 20.IV.1221, date of abdication of Juntoku and accession to the throne of Chūkyō. Cf. Part I note 96.
 - 36) 見 shōken, rendering the Buddhist Sanskrit technical term vyavalok(ate); cf. T. Matsumoto. Prajñāpāramitā-Literatur, S. 44.
 - 37) Cf. L. de la Vallée Poussin. Abhidharmakośa, chap. 3. p. 174: "Vingt antarakalpas au cours desquels le monde se crée [Mahābrahmā apparaissant dès le début]"; p. 193: "Les Bouddhas apparaissent au cours des époques de diminution de la vie, lorsque la durée de la vie va en diminuant de 80000 à 100 ans". Cf. notes 12, 15.
 - 38) The poet Jien, who was singing the natural glories of the seasons, was closely related to the historian Jien, who classified the cycles and periods of history. Jien thought that fūzoku (culture, popular manners and customs, folklore) is the common object of historiography and poetry. He thought that even political rulers ought to be good poets and historians.
 - 39) Another passage of this prayer implies that all (Fujiwara) regents are "jinaputra": spiritual sons or disciples of buddha. Even all living beings are said to be "jinaputra" or "bodhi-sattva", virtual buddha. Oda. Bukkyōdaijiten p. 1556.