

APPENDIX A

The *Nihon shoki* on Writing's Introduction and Development

As discussed in Chapter 4, the *Nihon shoki* (720) presents a clear account of the progressive expansion of writing from the early 'Tennô' through to the age of the Fujiwara capital.¹ As an understanding of that narrative is an essential prerequisite for the evaluation of any one entry on writing, and as the *Nihon shoki* remains the primary source for history through the end of the 7th century, I have collected its references to writing, translated them, and added a bare minimum of commentary and annotation. This appendix is intended primarily to support my selective use of this material in the main body of this dissertation, but it also provides a unique perspective on the structure and rhetoric of the *Nihon shoki* itself. Isolating particular references to writing from the constructed narrative of inscriptive development that is outlined here risks depriving them of much of their significance. It is impossible to evaluate the extent to which these entries provide 'reliable' evidence of the early development of archipelagan writing without considering their place in this context, and, of course, in the yet larger context of the *Nihon shoki* as a whole.

Two factors make much of the *Nihon shoki*'s depiction of inscription questionable. One is the ubiquity of written communication at the time the text was compiled (the late 7th and early 8th century), which made it likely that the highly literate compilers would conceive of early communication and administration in written terms. The other factor is the potent cultural and political cachet of writing as a central logistical and ideological element of contemporary advanced societies. Both of these two factors should lead to skepticism about the content of many writing-related entries, but for

¹ The *Nihon shoki* ends with Jitô Tennô's abdication to her grandson Monmu Tennô in the 8th month of 697, the eleventh year of her reign; Fujiwara was the capital city from 694 to 710.

contradictory reasons: to dismiss a given entry as misleading on the basis of the former factor means arguing that the compilers unconsciously included anachronistic details, while relying on the latter means claiming that they consciously and deliberately added significant elements. However, these two explanations are not as starkly opposed as they appear to be at first glance. Authors of 8th century texts seem to have been aware that the archipelago had no writing until the arrival of characters, but there is no reason to assume that that awareness was tied to a clear, specific sense of a purely pre-written period that ended with a single moment of writing's introduction and was promptly followed by a regime of active use of inscriptive technology.

In other words, I suspect that the *Nihon shoki* compilers and other early 8th century intellectuals did not have a clearly defined chronology of writing's development in mind. It is therefore difficult to make a firm distinction between unconscious anachronism and conscious embellishment, as it is very possible that, in any given entry explicitly or implicitly alleging the use of inscription at an early date, the compilers both failed to realize that writing was not used in that way that early, and, simultaneously, consciously intended the entry to show an early and impressive level of cultural achievement. The best examples of the overlap of these two factors are the early fragmentary references that I refer to in section 2 of Chapter Two (#1-#4 below), but there are other, later entries that involve similar problems (see, for example, #8 and #34 below). At any rate, my main concern here is not minute analysis of the mechanism of anachronism but rather its purpose: viewed in their totality, the references to writing in the *Nihon shoki* form a remarkably clear narrative of progressively higher cultural achievements by the Tennô.

I have divided this narrative into four main sections. The first, "Initial Scattered References," consists of the four early anachronistic fragments that have already been mentioned. The second, "Scribes and Scholars Arrive," includes entries from the annals of 'Tennô' who are often thought to have ruled from the 4th through

the early 6th centuries; although many of these episodes are also of dubious historical value, they do correspond in suggestive ways with some of the archaeological evidence discussed in Chapter Three. The third section, “The Nascent State and the Rise of Writing,” includes some of the most problematic depictions of inscription in the *Nihon shoki*; as discussed in Chapter Four, the references to cultural achievement during the Suiko court must be read very critically. Finally, the fourth section, “Writing and the Contemporary State,” provides an important perspective on the period that I see as the central turning point in the history of Japanese inscription: the mid- to late 7th century. Although some entries, such as those describing text-based administration laid out by the ‘edicts’ of the ‘Taika reform,’ are quite dubious, in general this last section is a reliable portrait of the dramatic increase in the employment of writing during the reigns of Tenji, Tenmu, and Jitô.

I) INITIAL SCATTERED REFERENCES (SUJIN TO JINGŪ)

As I have already mentioned several times, the famous story of Wang-in’s arrival during the reign of Ōjin (Homuta) is not the first reference to inscription in the *Nihon shoki*. The following four passages are implicit or explicit depictions of texts and their employment in two earlier annals: those devoted to the reigns of Sujin (Mimaki-iribiko-inie) and Jingū (Okinaga-tarashi-hime). It is no accident that these entries, like those excerpted in the following sections, tend to be concerned with what could be called foreign relations or—to choose a term that is both more loaded and more appropriate—imperial expansion. They signal that the *Nihon shoki* compilers were intensely aware that writing was a potent symbol of cultural advancement and political authority as well as a powerful administrative and organizational tool. It is undeniably true that later portions of the *Nihon shoki* deserve to be taken more seriously as potentially accurate historical sources than do these overblown set pieces of sinified empire-building, but the pattern discernable in these early fragments sets the tone for the

rest of the work's narrative of writing. In addition to serving as model cases of the exaggeration or sinified embellishment (*junshoku* 潤色) that is characteristic of so much of the *Nihon shoki*, the following four passages should also put us on guard as we continue through the text to investigate more recent depictions of inscription.

SUJIN (Mimaki-iribiko-inie): *97 BCE-*30 BCE (Volume 5)²

1) The tennô announces that distant peoples have yet to accept his calendar, and confers seals upon the generals sent to subdue them. (Sujin 10) *88 BCE/7/24 and 9/9.

Tenth year, Autumn, seventh month, 24th day. [The Tennô] proclaimed to the assembled ministers: "The foundation of guiding the people lies in Our improving influence. At present We have already paid ritual homage to the deities of heaven and earth, and therefore calamities have completely abated.³ However, the distant peoples have yet to accept Our calendar.⁴ This is merely a matter of their being as yet unaccustomed to Our virtuous kingly influence. Therefore We shall select emissaries from the assembled ministers, and dispatch them to the four quarters to make known Our principles."

Ninth month, ninth day. [The Tennô] dispatched Ôbiko no mikoto to the northern regions, Take-nuna-kawa-wake to the eastern seacoast, Kibi-tsu-hiko to the western seacoast, and Tanba no chinushi

² As discussed in Chapter Two, the *Nihon shoki* chronology is based on the Chinese cycle of sixty year-signs (the stems and branches). These cyclical dates, which start with the account of Jinmu's embarkation on his eastern journey, can easily be converted to the western calendar, but until at least the 6th century, their historical value is very low (in most cases it would be better to say, nonexistent). I have supplied these traditional reign dates in the headings for each ruler here, but until the 6th century I have attached a asterix to indicate their generally fictional nature. The absence of this asterix for dates from the 6th and 7th centuries should not be taken as a blanket endorsement of their authenticity.

³ A reference to events narrated earlier, in the seventh year of the Sujin annal: the tennô follows dream-instructions to end a series of epidemics by arranging for the proper worship of Ômononushi, the god of Mt. Miwa (NS I:239-41/Aston I:152-54).

⁴ "Calendar" here is 正朔, literally the beginning of the year (正月) and the beginning of the months (朔日). Accepting imperial rule was symbolized by the adoption of the calendar promulgated by the emperor, so that the phrase "accepting the calendar" (受正朔 or 奉正朔) referred more broadly to the act of becoming his subject or vassal. Inserting this phrase in Sujin tennô's proclamation is thus not necessarily a strict reference to calendrical systems themselves, but whether or not it is taken literally, it is clearly an attempt to portray a local version of the text-based imperial supremacy that animates the original Chinese term.

no mikoto to the Tanba area. Thereupon he proclaimed to them: "If there are any people who do not accept Our improving influence, then raise troops and attack them!" After this he conferred seals and ribbons upon all four of them and made them generals.

十年秋七月丙戌朔己酉、詔群卿曰、導民之本、在於教化也。今既禮神祇、災害皆耗。然遠荒人等、猶不受正朔。是未習王化耳。其選群卿遣于四方、令知朕意。

九月丙戌朔甲午、以大彥命遣北陸。武渟川別遣東海。吉備津彥遣西海。丹波道主命遣丹波。因以詔之曰、若不受教者、乃舉兵伐之。既而共授印綬、爲將軍 (NS I:243/Aston I:155-56)

This episode, the famous dispatching of the "generals of the four regions" (*shidô shôgun* 四道將軍), is one of the central events of the Sujin annal: as an instance of the morally exemplary expansion of the tennô's domain, it fits into the *Nihon shoki*'s overall narrative of territorial conquest and political legitimization (similar episodes include the earlier victorious march from Kyushu to Yamato of Jinmu (Kamu-Yamato-iwarebiko), the later conquering journeys to Kyushu and the East of Keikô (Ôtarashi-hiko-oshiro-wake) and his son Yamato-Takeru, and Jingû (Okinaga-tarashi-hime)'s invasion of the Korean peninsula [about which see #3 below]). My purpose here is not to analyze this narrative of justified conquest itself, but rather to draw attention to the cultural and technological trappings of Sujin's legitimization. The sinified grandness of these proclamations involves implicit references to inscription: the calendrical system that the distant peoples have yet to accept, and the seals that the generals receive as symbolic insignia. In the *Nihon shoki*, any attempt to portray the 'Tennô'—whether thoroughly fictional sovereigns like this one, or actual Tennô like Tenmu and Jitô—as culturally distinguished, legitimate rulers over their own empire necessarily involves reliance on notions of cultural attainment that are centered on writing and its organizational, aesthetic, historical, and symbolic uses. These 'first' references to writing appear here because, given the system of values presupposed by this text, Sujin cannot be portrayed as a legitimate ruler without them. As we follow the further traces

of inscription in the *Nihon shoki*, we must remember that the opposite is also the case: the portrayal of subsequent advances in the use of writing is inevitably linked to the compiler's efforts to legitimize and culturally exalt subsequent sovereigns.

2) The first census and taxation. (Sujin 12) *86 BCE/9/16.

Autumn, ninth month, 16th day.⁵ For the first time they counted the population, and also exacted tribute payments and corvée labor.

秋九月庚辰朔己丑、始校人民、更科調役。(NS I:249/Aston I:160)

This brief item records the instantiation of orders given in a flowery proclamation included in the entry immediately before it. The preparation of written census registers, and the levying of various forms of taxation based upon the understanding of the population contained therein, were the foundations of the *ritsuryō* state that arose in the latter half of the 7th century. Locating the origins of these practices in Sujin's reign is of course anachronistic (given its fictional character and absurdly early dating, one can of course say the same of just about any aspect of this annal), but the important point here is how, as with the calendar and seal insignia referred to in #1 above, the written, bureaucratic trappings of power are essential elements in the *Nihon shoki*'s ideal of the Tennō.

JINGŪ (Okinaga-tarashi-hime): *201 CE-*269 CE (Volume 9)

3) The conquest of Silla involves seizing maps and population registers from its king. (Chūai 9) *200 CE/10/3.

The King of Silla saw them from a distance and thought, "an extraordinary troop of soldiers is about to destroy my country." He was so terrified that he lost his senses, but his mind cleared and he said, "I have heard that in the east there is a divine country called Japan, and that it has a saintly ruler called the Tennō. These must be the divine

⁵ The date of this episode is mistaken. The Junior earth/cow (己丑) day of a month whose first day is Senior metal/dragon (庚辰) would be the 10th, but in the retroactively calculated calendar for this year (86 BCE), the first day of the 9th month is Senior wood/dog (甲戌), which makes Junior earth/cow the 16th day.

troops of that country. How could I possibly raise up troops to ward them off?" He immediately showed a white flag and surrendered, tying his own hands behind his back with white cord. Sealing the maps and registers, he yielded himself up before the royal boat. [...] Thus [Jingû] entered into the capital of the country, sealed up its treasures and storehouses, and collected the maps, registers, and documents.⁶

新羅王遙望以爲、非常之兵、將滅己國。讐焉矢志。乃今醒之曰、吾聞、東有神國。謂日本。亦有聖王。謂天皇。必其國之神兵也。豈可舉兵以距乎、即素旆而自服。素組以面縛。封囟籍、降於王船之前 [...] 遂入其國中、封重宝府庫、收囟籍文書 (NS I:339/Aston I:230-31)

In this fiction of the conquering Jingû (which, as noted above, is part of an over-arching narrative of territorial expansion in the first third of the *Nihon shoki*), written artifacts are a crucial symbol of political control. In imagery taken directly from the *Hanshu*, territorial maps, population registers, and archives of documents are synecdoches for the state itself: their transfer from the King of Silla to Queen Consort Jingû thus expresses the transfer to Japan of sovereignty over the state of Silla itself. The point I would like to emphasize here is not the ahistorical or propagandistic character of this account, but more particularly the way in which it relies on inscription as a crucial vehicle for both political authority itself and for the symbolic expression of that authority.⁷

4) The *Sanguozhi* account of an imperial rescript from Wei is quoted. (Jingû 40) 240.⁸

The *Weizhi* says: "In the first year of Zhengshi, [Wei] dispatched Commandant Ti Xi and others with a rescript and a beribboned seal to

⁶ As has been noted by scholars since the Edo period, the wording of these passages, including the references to maps and documents, has been taken from the *Hanshu* description of Qin Ziyang's surrender to Han Gaozu (see NS I:338 n. 7).

⁷ For more on the narrative of Jingû's conquests, see the discussion of the Seven-Branched Sword in section 4 of Chapter Two.

⁸ Given the relative reliability of the *Sanguozhi* account, I have left the asterix off of this date '240,' but I must stress here that this implication of credibility in no way extends to the *Nihon shoki* account of Jingû and her court within which this quotation is embedded.

the country of Wa.”⁹

魏志云、正始元年、遣建忠校尉梯儁等、奉詔書印綬、詣倭國也 (NS I:351/Aston I:245)

Through this and three other quotations from Chinese historical sources, the *Nihon shoki* equates Jingû with the Wa Queen Himiko described in the *Sanguozhi*.¹⁰ A perhaps inadvertent side-effect of this historiographical sleight-of-hand is that Jingû is here depicted as receiving a written communication from the Wei emperor. This diplomatic relationship, shorn in the *Nihon shoki* quotations of the sinocentric condescension apparent in the original text, is treated as a communication between the rulers of two adjacent empires (it is no accident that the ‘conquest’ of Silla takes place

⁹ The original entry in the *Weishu* report on barbarians reads: “In the first year of Zhengshi, the [Daifang commandery] governor Gong zun dispatched Commandant Ti Jun, et al. with a rescript and a beribboned seal to the country of Wa. They had an audience with the Wa Queen, and also brought her the rescript and bestowed upon her gifts of gold, silk, brocade and woolen carpets, swords, mirrors, and dyed goods. The Wa Queen submitted a memorial by means of the envoy, and expressed thanks for these favors and the rescript” 正始元年、太守弓遵遣建中校尉梯儁等、奉詔書印綬、詣倭國。拜假倭王、并齎詔賜金·帛·錦罽·刀·鏡·采物。倭王因使上表答謝恩詔 (SGZ 857). In the translation above, I have supplied ‘Wei’ as the implicit subject because the abbreviation of the *Nihon shoki* quotation removes all trace of the Daifang governor. Other, substantive departures from the *Sanguozhi* text involve the title (?) and name of the Wei envoy: *jianzhong* 建中 and Ti jun 梯儁 appear as *jianzhong* 建忠 and Ti xi 梯携 in the above quotation.

¹⁰ The Jingû annal cites two Chinese sources in four places. In the entries for her 39th (NS I:351/Aston I:245), 40th (ibid.; cited above), and 43rd (NS I:353/Aston I:246) years it quotes from the *Sanguozhi* account of the Wa. In the entry for Jingû’s 66th year (*266; NS I:361/Aston I:253) it quotes from a Jin 晉 Court Diary (*qijuzhu* 起居注; the *Suishu* bibliography lists a Jin court diary for the Taishi era [265-74] in 20 volumes [SuS 964; see also Kôzen and Kawai 1995, 318] and the *Nihonkoku genzaisho mokuroku* cites a 30-volume text called simply “Jin court diary” 晉起居注 [NGM 9]). The *Jinshu* 晉書 refers to Wa diplomatic contact in the Taishi era in the annals of Wudi [JS 55] and the report on Wa [JS 2536]; based on the *Sanguozhi* account of Himiko’s death shortly after 247 and succession by a young woman named Iyo, the quoted Jin Court Diary entry must refer to diplomatic contact between this new queen and the Jin court, but the *Nihon shoki* compilers clearly took it as referring to Himiko, whom they had equated with Jingû (see NS I:360 n. 16 and NS I:617-18 suppl. n. 33).

before this entry). Just as calendars, census records and seal insignias (apparent in this passage as well) were necessary parts of Sujin's putative imperium, textually embodied conquest of peninsular territory (the maps, registers, and documents of Silla) and diplomatic writing, in the form of this rescript from the Wei emperor, are essential parts of the fiction of Jingû's expanded regime.

The early, fragmentary references to writing catalogued up to this point may have initially seemed like minor technicalities, but they turn out to be a veritable catalogue of the political functions of writing. Given the apparent significance of the following episodes from the annals of Jingû's son Ôjin, these initial references may well be inadvertant anachronisms, but perhaps for that very reason they offer important evidence of how—and of how intensely—the *Nihon shoki* compilers emphasized the meaning of inscription.

II) SCRIBES AND SCHOLARS ARRIVE (ÔJIN TO ANKAN)

The following fourteen entries include some that are very similar to those already discussed, but several new elements are also apparent. Among the new aspects of the treatment of writing here are the first assertions of individual cultural achievement for Tennô or their family members (#5, #6, and #12), references to clerks and scribes (#5, #9, #10, and #17), and depiction of hierarchical communication between outlying vassals and the central court of the Tennô (#8, #11, #13-#18). Although the most famous of these entries, the story of the arrival of the Paekche scribe Wang-in (#5) is best not viewed as a record of the arrival of writing, it can be seen as a description of the appropriation of that imported cultural accomplishment by the Tennô clan. The succeeding entries build upon that initial association, describing the expanded use of writing for administrative and diplomatic purposes, especially in relation to the Korean peninsula. This depiction of inscription fits neatly into this portion of the *Nihon shoki*, which follows the earlier narratives of territorial conquest with a series of entries

concerning cultural, political, and technological achievements.

ÔJIN (Homuta): *270-*310 (Volume 10)

5) Paekche sends scholars and the Prince studies with them. (Ôjin 15) *284/8/6.

15th year, Autumn, 8th month, 6th day. The King of Paekche sent Achikki and submitted two good horses. [...] Achikki was also capable of reading the classics. Therefore the Prince, Uji no Waki-iratsuko, took him as a teacher, whereupon the Tennô asked Achikki, "Are there perhaps also scholars surpassing yourself?" Achikki replied, "There is Wang-in. He is superior." The Tennô then sent Arata-wake, ancestor of the Kamitsuke no kimi, and Kamunaki-wake to Paekche, and thereby summoned Wang-in. This Achikki was the first ancestor of the Achiki no fubito.¹¹⁾

16th year, Spring, 2nd month. Wang-in came to court, and the Prince, Uji no Waki-iratsuko, immediately took him as a teacher. He studied various books with Wang-in, and there was not one that he did not learn thoroughly. The man known as Wang-in was the first ancestor of the Fumi no obito and others.

十五年秋八月壬戌朔丁卯、百濟王遣阿直伎、貢良馬二匹。[...] 阿直伎亦能讀經典。即太子菟道稚郎子師焉。於是、天皇問阿直伎曰、如勝汝博士亦有耶。對曰、有王仁者、是秀也。時遣上毛野君祖荒田別・巫別於百濟、仍徵王仁也。其阿直伎者、阿直伎史之始祖也。

十六年春二月、王仁來之。則太子菟道稚郎子師之。習諸典籍於王仁、莫不通達。所謂王仁者、是書首等之始祖也。(NS I:371-73/Aston I:261-63)

6) The Prince tears up a memorial from Koguryo. (Ôjin 28) *297/9.

28th year, Autumn, 9th month. The King of Koguryo sent envoys to pay tribute at court and had them submit a memorial, which said: "The King of Koguryo offers guidance to the country of Japan..." At that time the Prince, Uji no Waki-iratsuko, read this memorial, became enraged at it, and criticized the Koguryo envoys. Because of the rudeness of the memorial's format, he immediately tore it up.

廿八年秋九月、高麗王遣使朝貢、因以上表。其表曰、高麗王教日本國也。時太子菟道稚郎子讀其表、怒之責高麗之使、以表狀

¹¹ The kabane title of *fubito* was used primarily by scribal clans and other clans claiming descent from immigrant scribes, although it was not applied to all scribal clans. He is not associated with the title here, but those claiming descent from Wang-in seem to have had a particular claim on it. All told there are about 70 families with the title, all of them of immigrant descent.

無禮、則破其表 (NS I:377/Aston I:268)

NINTOKU (Ôsazaki): *313-*399 (Volume 11)

7) An envoy is sent to impose written order on Paekche geography. (Nintoku 41) *353/3.

41st year, Spring, 3rd month. [The Tennô] dispatched Ki no Tsuno no sukune to Paekche. For the first time, he divided the boundaries of the provinces and counties, and made a detailed record of the products of the land.

卅一年春三月、遣紀角宿禰於百濟、始分國郡壇場、具錄鄉土所出 (NS I:409/Aston I:293)

8) The Governor of Tôtomi province submits a memorial. (Nintoku 62) *374/5.

62nd year, Summer, 5th month. The governor of Tôtomi province presented a memorial and reported: "There is a great tree that drifted down the Ôi river and lodged in a bend in the watercourse. It is ten yards around; the base is in one piece, but it divides in two at the end."

六十二年夏五月、遠江國司表上言、有大樹、自大井河流之、停于河曲。其大十圍、本壹以末兩 (NS I:413/Aston I:297)

RICHÛ (Izaho-wake): *400-*405 (Volume 12)¹²

9) Scribes are established in the provinces. (Richû 4) *403/8/8.

Fourth year, Autumn, 8th month, 8th day. For the first time, [the Tennô] established local scribes in the various provinces. They recorded sayings and incidents, and submitted reports on the circumstances of all areas.

四年秋八月辛卯朔戊戌、始之於諸國置國史。記言事達四方志 (NS I:427/Aston I:307)

YÛRYAKU (Ôhatsuse no Wakatakeru): *457-*479 (Volume 14)

10) Reference is made to a scribe occupational group. (Yûryaku 2) *458/10.

This month he established households for the support of scribes and an occupational group for the Kawakami royal attendants. This Tennô was mastered by his passions, and often killed people by mistake; the people of the realm deplored this and said that he was a terribly evil Tennô. The only people whom he treated affectionately were Musa no

¹² Richû (Izahowake) shares Volume 12 with his brother and successor, Hanzei (Mitsuha-wake) (r. *406-*410).

suguri Ao of the scribe occupational group and Hinokuma no taminotsukai Hakatoko.

是月、置史戸・河上舍人部。天皇以心為師。誤殺人衆。天下誹謗言、大惡天皇也。唯所愛寵、史部身狹村主青・檜隈民使博徳等 (NS I:465/Aston I:340)

11) **A written rescript is sent to Paekche.** (Yûryaku 7) *463.

[As preparation for an attack on Silla, the Tennô orders his delegates to enlist assistance:] Go by way of Paekche, and hand down a rescript, making them submit skilled individuals.

取道置百濟、并下勅書、令獻巧者 (NS I:475/Aston I:349)

BURETSU (Ohatsuse no Wakasazaki): *499-*506 (Volume 16)

12) **The Tennô is said to be knowledgeable about the law.** (Buretsu pre-enthronement annal [*sokui zenki* 即位前紀]).

When he reached adulthood he was fond of punishment, and had a clear understanding of laws and ordinances.¹³

長好刑理。法令分明。 (NS II:9/Aston I:399)

KEITAI (Ohodo): 507-531 (Volume 17)

13) **Reference is made to Paekche population registers.** (Keitai 3) 509/2.

Third year, 2nd month. [The Tennô] dispatched an envoy to Paekche. [...] He separated out the Paekche peasants resident in the Japanese districts and towns of Mimana who had absconded or been removed from the registers, even to the third or fourth generation, and sent them all to Paekche, adding them to the registers there.

三年二月、遣使于百濟。[...] 括出在任那日本縣邑、百濟百姓、浮逃絶貫、三四世者、並遷百濟附貫也 (NS II:27/Aston II:7)

14) **Paekche sends a memorial.** (Keitai 6) 512/12.

Winter, 12th month. Paekche dispatched an envoy and submitted tribute. In a separate memorial, they asked for four districts of Mimana

¹³ These sentences, and the biographical encomium of which they are the beginning, are an almost exact quotation from the *Hou Han shu* annals of Han Ming-di 明帝 (r. 57-75), differing only in the use of 好 for the original 善. The same passage can be found in the article on Ming-di contained in the 12th volume of the *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚 (YWLJ I:239).

[...]

冬十二月、百濟遣使貢調。別表請任那國 [...] 四縣。(NS II:27/Aston II:7)

15) Paekche submits a scholar. (Keitai 7) 513/6.

Seventh year, Summer, 6th month. Paekche [...] submitted Duan Yang-er, a scholar of the Five Classics.

七年夏六月、百濟 [...] 貢五經博士段楊爾 [...] (NS II:29/Aston II:9)

16) Paekche submits another scholar in turn. (Keitai 10) 516/9.

Separately, they submitted Han Gao Anmao, a scholar of the Five Classics, and asked that he be exchanged with the scholar Duan Yang-er. In accordance with this request, the two were exchanged.

別貢五經博士漢高安茂、請代博士段楊爾。依請代之。(NS II:35/Aston II:14)

17) Japanese envoys employ a clerk to make over a seaport to Paekche. (Keitai 23) 529/3.

Separately, they sent a clerical scribe and went ahead with bestowing [the seaport] upon Puyo.

別遣錄史、果賜扶余 (NS II:39/Aston II:18)

ANKAN (Hirokuni-Oshitake-Kanahi): 534-35 (Volume 18)¹⁴

18) Paekche sends a memorial. (Ankan 1) 534/5.

In the 5th month, Paekche [... sent envoys] who came and submitted the regular tribute. Separately they offered up a memorial.

五月、百濟 [...] 來貢常調。別上表 (NS II:51/Aston II:28)

**III) THE NASCENT STATE AND THE RISE OF WRITING
(KINMEI TO KÔGYOKU)**

Even though many of the entries in the preceding section—especially those

¹⁴ Ankan (Hirokuni-Oshitake-Kanahi) shares Volume 18 with his brother and successor, (Senka) Takeo-Hirokuni-Oshitate (r. 536-39).

emphasizing royal education or scribe-based administration—cannot be taken seriously, in general they are not sharply at odds with what archaeological sources tell us about the progress of writing. That is not the case for the following section, which contains the most important passages for the *Nihon shoki* narrative of inscription's development. The entries from the Kinmei annal continue the dual emphasis that we have already observed: they describe the use of writing for domestic, scribe-based administration, or for foreign, hierarchically organized diplomacy. As I note in Chapter Four, even though the official transmission of Buddhism is noted in the Kinmei annal, there is little reference to Buddhist textuality until the Suiko annal, which represents the major turning point in the treatment of writing, both in this section and in the *Nihon shoki* as a whole. In addition to references to sutras and lectures about them, the Suiko annal describes Shôtoku's great learning, his authorship of the famous Seventeen Article 'Constitution,' and his participation in the compilation of histories. Just as he plays a crucial role in the narrative of Buddhism advanced by the *Nihon shoki* and other early texts, he serves here as the guarantor of the cultural achievement of the Tennô, and thus as the ultimate grounding of the sinified state bureaucracy of the late 7th and early 8th centuries.

KINMEI (Amekuni-Oshiharaki-Hironiwa): 540-71 (Volume 19)

Up to this point I have included all of the implicit and explicit references to writing that I have come across, but in this section I do not include all of the references to memorials from Paekche. The Kinmei annal is marked by a tremendous concern with depicting the states of the Peninsula—especially Paekche—as subservient, peripheral entities in a tributary relationship with the court of the Tennô. As can be seen in earlier items like #14 and #18 above, this is part of a consistent attempt to construct relations between 'Japan' and the peninsula as structurally identical to the Chinese ideal of relations between the Emperor/Son of Heaven and peripheral barbarian states. References to the written text of memorials play an important role in the

construction of such a relationship, but as there is no need here to dwell on the details of the eight references to Paekche memorials in this annal, I have focused on more substantive references to inscription.¹⁵ It is important to keep in mind, however, that the following excerpts take place within a framework of 'Japan's' central superiority and Paekche's peripheral subservience that is instantiated, in part, through precisely these repeated references to the submission of memorials.

19) Immigrants are registered in census records. (Kinmei 1) 540/8.

In the 8th month, Koguryo, Paekche, Silla, and Mimana all dispatched envoys who tendered gifts and also submitted tribute.¹⁶ [The Tennō] called together those from neighboring territories who had committed themselves to his virtuous influence: the Hada-hito, Aya-hito and others.¹⁷ He settled them in the provinces and counties, and registered

¹⁵ The eight references to Paekche memorials are as follows: Paekche presents a memorial (NS II:77/Aston II:47); a decree makes reference to ten years of Paekche memorials (NS II:77/Aston II:48); Paekche officials recommend that their King send an additional memorial to Kinmei (NS II:79/Aston II:49); Paekche envoys submit a memorial to Kinmei, the text of which makes reference to an earlier memorial and a letter (NS II:83-87/Aston II:52-54); Paekche sends another memorial (NS II:93/Aston II:59); a message from Kinmei refers to a Paekche memorial (NS II:99/Aston II:64); a Paekche memorial makes reference to the practice of sending memorials (NS II:105-107/Aston II:69); Paekche sends another memorial (NS II:111/Aston II:72).

¹⁶ It has been suggested that the redundancy of the phrase "tendered gifts and also submitted tribute" 獻並脩貢職 is due to a later interpolation (Kojima, Naoki et al. 1996, 361 n. 19), but it can also be seen as a clumsy attempt at rhetorical ornamentation. This particular wording of "submit tribute" (脩貢職), which is also found in the Buretsu annal (6th year/10th month: NS II:17/Aston 406), is very likely taken from the *Sanguozhi* (NS II:65 n. 25).

¹⁷ The wording of this passage, and its juxtaposition with the envoy entry that immediately precedes it, make clear how continuous the *Nihon shoki*'s fictions of 'foreign' relations are with its fictions of domestic rule and cultural advancement. Here, as in the many other references to peninsular states and peninsular immigrants throughout the Keitai and Kinmei annals, one can sense inversions and rationalizations of an almost Freudian intensity. The Hada-hito and Aya-hito are among the most prominent immigrant groups mentioned in the *Nihon shoki* and other early historical sources ('Hada' often appears as 'Hata,' but phonetic usage of the character in a *Man'yōshū* poem [MYS XI:2399] and a description of the name's origin in the *Kogo shūi* [KGS I 137] make it clear that the former is the earlier pronunciation [NS II:552-53, suppl. n. 2]). This 'clan name+hito [people]' pattern is thought to refer to associations of immigrants headed by the noble members of that clan, although these associations seem to have been composed of people with higher status and more

them in the census records.

八月、高麗・百濟・新羅・任那、並遣使獻、並脩貢職。召集秦人・漢人等、諸藩投化者、安置國郡、編貫戶籍 (NS II:65/Aston II:38)

20) **A written edict is formally read in Paekche.** (Kinmei 2) 541/4.

Summer, the 4th month. [A group of officials] went quickly to Paekche and listened together to the text of a proclamation.

夏四月、[...] 往赴百濟、俱聽詔書 (NS II:69/Aston II:42)

21) **Paekche makes a Buddhist image with an inscription.** (Kinmei 6) 545/9.

This month, Paekche made a sixteen-foot Buddha image and composed a dedicatory inscription that read: "I have heard that if one makes a sixteen-foot Buddha, the merit is very great. I have now reverently made one; with the merit gained thereby, I wish that the Tennô will attain virtue of surpassing goodness, and that the *miyake* land held by the Tennô will also receive fortune and benefits. I also wish that all sentient beings under heaven, everywhere, will all receive release and escape from suffering. It is for that reason that I made this."

是月、百濟造丈六仏像。製願文曰、蓋聞、造丈六仏、功德甚大。今敬造。以此功德、願天皇獲勝善之德、天皇所用、彌移居國、俱蒙福祐。又願、普天之下一切衆生、皆蒙解脫。故造之矣。(NS II:93/Aston II:59)

22) **The King of Paekche sends a Shaka image, regalia, and sutras.** (Kinmei 13) 552/10.

Winter, 10th month. King Söngmyöng of Paekche (also known as King Söng) sent Norisach'i-kye of the Western Department, Hüi clan, Talsol rank, and offered up a gilt bronze image of Shaka, several banners and canopies, and several volumes of sutras and treatises. In a separate memorial he praised the merit associated with circulating and worshipping [Buddhism], saying, "Among all the various laws, this one is the most surpassingly excellent [...]"¹⁸

independence than those who made up the occupational groups (*be*). Although both the Hada and the Aya claimed exalted Chinese ancestry (Hada 秦 = Qin; Aya 漢 = Han), it is generally believed that they, and the groups they supervised, were originally immigrants from the Korean peninsula. The Hada-hito submitted textile tribute items (their name is thought to derive from the word for loom), while the Aya-hito produced brocade and figured silk (*aya* 綾), weapons, and leather goods (NS II:553, suppl. n. 3; see also Ueda 1965, 69-72).

¹⁸ The text of the following memorial, which extols the merits of Buddhism, is a pastiche of passages from two sutras. It draws from the *Daihannya haramitta-kyô* 大般若波

冬十月、百濟聖明王<更名聖王>、遣西部姬氏達率怒唎斯致契等、獻釋迦仏金銅像一軀・幡蓋若干・經論若干卷。別表、讚流通禮拜功德云、是法於諸法中、最為殊勝 [...] (NS II:101/Aston II:65-66)

23) It is ordered that experts be posted in turn from Paekche. (Kinmei 14) 553/6.

In the 6th month [the Tennô] dispatched Uchi no omi (the given name is missing) as an envoy to Paekche. Thereby he granted two good horses, two well-built ships, fifty bows, and fifty [quivers of] arrows. In a proclamation he announced, "The requested troops are to be used as the king sees fit." Separately he proclaimed, "Masters of medicine, Yijing divination, and calendrical studies should come up and go down in shifts. Now is certainly the appropriate time for men of the aforementioned sort to come in turn. You are to send them in turn with the returning envoys.¹⁹ Also, send divination books, calendrical texts, and various medicines with him as well."

六月、遣内臣、<闕名>使於百濟。仍賜良馬二匹・同船二隻・弓五十張・箭五十具。勅云、所請軍者、隨王所須。別勅、医博士・易博士・曆博士等、宜依番上下。今上件色人、正當相代年月。宜付還使相代。又卜書・曆本・種々藥物、可付送 (NS II:105/Aston II:68)

24) Soga no Iname sends the scribe Ôshinni to record shipping. (Kinmei 14) 553/7/4.

The Soga Great Minister Iname no sukune accepted an order [from the Tennô] and dispatched Ôshinni to calculate and record the shipping tribute. He then made Ôshinni chief of shipping, and therefore bestowed upon him the title of Fune no fubito. This is the beginning of the present Fune no muraji.

羅蜜多經 (the 600-volume translation of the *Mahaprajnaparamita-sutra* by Xuanzang 玄奘 [600?-664]), but most of it derives from the *Konkômyô saishô-kyô* 金光明最勝王經 (a 10-volume translation of the *Suvarna-prabhasa sutra* by Yijing 義淨 [635-713]). For example, the very beginning, which I have translated here, merely replaces the word "sutra" 經 with "law" 法 in an otherwise identical passage from the "Chapter on the Life-span of the Tathagata" 如来寿量品 of the *Konkômyô saishô-kyô*. Given that this latter translation was not produced until 703, the text of this memorial is obviously not a mid-6th century text, but rather an elaborate embellishment perpetrated by the compilers of the *Nihon shoki*. As the *Nihon shoki* itself was completed in 720, the composition of the text of this memorial must have occurred shortly after the transmission of this sutra translation to Japan.

¹⁹ Aston reads this as a request for relief of already employed experts, but I think it is better interpreted as an order inaugurating the system of experts in shifts. To do otherwise is to posit that an earlier entry describing the arrival of the first set of experts has been omitted.

蘇我大臣稻目宿禰、奉勅遣王辰爾、數錄船賦。即以王辰爾爲船長。因賜姓爲船史。今船連之先也 (NS II:105/Aston II:68-69)

25) Paekche offers a scholar as a hostage, and also sends experts to serve in turn. (Kinmei 15) 554/2.

In the 2nd month, Paekche dispatched General Samkwi (Kansol rank) of the lower department and Mononobe Kaku (Naesol rank) of the upper department to ask for military assistance. They also submitted Tongsöngcha Makko (Töksol rank) in exchange for Tongsöngcha Ön (Naesol rank) of the earlier shift, exchanged classical scholar Wang Ryukwi for Machöngan (Kotök rank), and exchanged the priest Tamhye and nine others for the priest Tosim and seven others. Having received a separate order [from the Tennö], they submitted: Yijing divination master Wang Toyang (Sitök rank); calendrical expert Wang Poson (Kotök rank); medical doctor Wang Yurüngt'a (Naesol rank); pharmacists Panryangp'ung (Sitök rank), and ChöngYit'a (Kotök rank); and musicians Samkün (Sitök rank), Kimach'a (Kyetök rank), Chinno (Kyetök rank), and Chint'a (Taetök rank). In accordance with the request all of them were exchanged.

二月、百濟遣下部杆率將軍三貴・上部奈率物部烏等、乞救兵。仍貢德率東城子莫古、代前番奈率東城子言。五經博士王柳貴、代固德馬丁安。僧曇慧等九人、代僧道深等七人。別奉勅、貢易博士施德王道良・曆博士固德王保孫・医博士奈率王有凌陀・採藥師施德潘量豐・固德丁有陀・樂人施德三斤・季德己麻次・季德進奴・對德進陀。皆依請代之。(NS II:109/Aston II:72)

26) A military agent in Paekche misplaces a letter. (Kinmei 23) 562/7.

Tomi then lodged at his wife's house. He dropped a sealed letter and a bow and arrows on the road.

登弭仍宿妻家。落印書弓箭於路。(NS II:123/Aston II:83)

27) Population registers are revised. (Kinmei 30) 569/1/1 and 569/4.

The 30th year, Spring, the first month, first day. [The Tennö] proclaimed, "It is already a long time since the royal field groups were surveyed and established. There are many people who are omitted from the registers and therefore escape the levies, even though they have reached their teens. We will now send Itsu (Itsu is the nephew of Öshinni) to examine the registers of grown men of the Shirai royal field group. In the 4th month, Itsu inspected the grown men of the Shirai royal field group, settled the registers in accordance with the proclamation, and finally made field households. The Tennö was delighted with Itsu's success in settling the registers, and bestowed upon him the title of Shirai no fubito.

卅年春正月辛卯朔、詔曰、量置田部、其來尚矣。年甫十餘、脫籍免課者衆。宜遣膽津<膽津者、壬辰爾之甥也>檢定白猪田部丁籍。夏四月、膽津檢閱白猪田部丁者、依詔定籍。果爲田戶。天皇嘉膽津定籍之功、賜姓爲白猪史。(NS II:127/Aston II:87)

28) Koguryo sends a memorial. (Kinmei 32) 571/3.

This month, the Koguryo tribute goods and memorial could not be presented. Several fortnights passed as they consulting the omens and awaited an auspicious day.

是月、高麗獻物并表、未得呈奏。經歷數旬、占待良日。(NS II:131/Aston II:88)

This is the same memorial that features in the Bidatsu decoding episode below.

BIDATSU (Nunakura no Futotamashiki): 572-85 (Volume 20)

29) Bidatsu rejects Buddhism but loves literature. (Bidatsu pre-enthronement annal)

The Tennô did not believe in the Buddhist law, but he loved belles-lettres and histories.

天皇不信佛法、而愛文史。(NS II:133/Aston II:90)

One may well see in this encomium an attempt to stress the cultural and intellectual achievement of this Tennô, but as with other biographical encomia (like the one for Buretsu in #12, above) it is most unlikely that it reflects the actual achievements of this ruler. Further grounds for skepticism are provided by the following episode, which clearly contradicts this depiction of a literate sovereign.

30) The scribe Ô Shinni deciphers a Koguryo memorial. (Bidatsu 1) 572/5/15.

On the 15th day, the Tennô took the Koguryo memorial and gave it to the Great Minister.²⁰ He called together all the scribes and ordered them to read and explain it. At the time, among the various scribes, none of them was capable of reading it even after three days. Now there was Ô Shinni, ancestor of the Fune no fubito, and he was able to perform the service of reading and interpreting it. Therefore, the Tennô and the Great Minister together praised him, saying, "Well done, Shinni! How splendid, Shinni! Were it not for your love of learning, who would have been able to read and explain this? Starting from now

²⁰ The Great Minister in the court of Bidatsu was Soga no Umako (d. 626).

on, you shall wait upon Us in Our chambers.” After this [they] made a proclamation to the various scribes of East and West, saying, “Why have you been unable to perform the art which you practice? As many of you as there are, none can equal Shinni.” Moreover, the memorial submitted by Koguryo was written on crow’s feathers, and as the characters were as black as the feathers, there was no one at all who could recognize them. Shinni steamed the feathers over rice, and then pressed them against silk, thereby transferring all of the characters. Everyone in court was amazed by this feat.

丙辰、天皇、執高麗表疏、授於大臣。召衆諸史、令讀解之。是時、諸史、於三日內、皆不能讀。爰有船史祖王辰爾、能奉讀釋。由是、天皇與大臣俱爲讚美曰、勤乎辰爾。懿哉辰爾。汝若不愛於學、誰能讀解。宜從今始、近侍殿中。既而詔東西諸史曰、汝等所習之業、何故不就。汝等雖衆、不及辰爾。又高麗上表疏、書于烏羽。字隨羽黑、既無識者。辰爾乃蒸羽於飯氣、以帛印羽、悉写其字。朝廷悉異之。(NS II:133-35/Aston II:91)

This appended crow-feather story is rather dubious: it is hard to take seriously an account of a diplomatic document that has been deliberately hidden in this way (are we to imagine the Koguryo envoys waiting respectfully to silently offer up a handful of feathers?). It is especially doubtful because it has the effect of complicating what would otherwise be a straightforward anecdote about Ô Shinni’s superior abilities; I suspect that it may have been placed here to resolve the direct contradiction between this episode and the preceding encomium to Bidatsu’s literary pursuits (#29). Another awkward element of this account is the attribution of what appears to be a royal proclamation to “the Tennô and the Great Minister together”; this may well be the result of incorporating a Fune clan legend about their founding ancestor’s service to the Soga clan into the *Nihon shoki*’s Tennô-centered narrative. Regardless of its possible origins, this episode serves to emphasize the court’s control over the valuable technology of writing and reading; it is suggestive, though, that that control is still represented as mediated through the service of specialist scribes rather than through direct comprehension on the part of royals or nobles themselves. As I mention above, there is little reason to take the preceding biographical note seriously; this episode, on the other hand, can be taken as indicative of the limited literacy of the elite individuals,

whether of the royal family or not, who employed scribes in the late 6th century.

31) **Scribal activities in provinces and ports.** (Bidatsu 3) 574/10/9 and 10/11.

Winter, 10th month, 9th day. [The Tennô] dispatched Great Minister Soga no Umako to the province of Kibi to increase the Shirai *miyake* and the field occupational groups, and gave the name register of the field occupational groups to Shirai no fubito Itsu. On the 11th day, he made a proclamation to Fune no fubito Ô Shinni's brother Ushi, giving him the title Tsu no fubito.

冬十月戊子朔丙申、遣蘇我馬子大臣於吉備國、增益白猪屯倉與田部。即以田部名籍、授于白猪史膽津。戊戌、詔船史王辰爾弟牛、賜姓爲津史。(NS II:137-39/Aston II:93-94)

32) **The king of Paekche sends religious texts along with other temple fixtures.** (Bidatsu 6) 577/11/1.

Winter, 11th month, first day. Via the returning envoy Prince Ôwake, the king of Paekche offered up several volumes of sutras and treatises along with a *vinaya* master, a meditation master, a nun, a magician, an image-maker, and a temple-builder, altogether six people. They were eventually settled in the temple of Prince Ôwake in Naniwa.

冬十一月庚午朔、百濟國王、付還使大別王等、獻經論若干卷、并律師・禪師・比丘尼・呪禁師・造仏工・造寺工、六人。遂安置於難波大別王寺。(NS II:141/Aston II:96)

This is an oddly isolated episode; given the completeness of the assortment of religious specialists, it reads like a description of transmission of the faith, but it does not fit into the general narrative of early Buddhism in the *Nihon shoki*, or of other early texts like the *Gangôji engi* and the *Jôgû shôtoku hôô teisetsu*.²¹ Other than an entry, immediately preceding this one, to the effect that he was sent as an envoy to Paekche in the 5th month of this year (NS II:141/Aston II:95), this Prince Ôwake appears nowhere else, and there are no clues as to the possible location or fate of his temple.

²¹ The *Fusô ryakki* 扶桑略記, a notoriously unreliable late Heian history, quotes a text called the *Yakkô hokke genki* 藥恒法華驗記 to the effect that these "sutras and treatises" consisted of over two hundred volumes, and that the Lotus Sutra was among them (FSRK 33), but this is rather doubtful, as is the *Fusô ryakki*'s own attempt to work this episode into the story of Shôtoku's previous life as a Chinese priest.

SUSHUN (Hatsuse-be): 588-92 (Volume 21)²²

33) Nuns sponsored by Soga no Umako need to study precepts in Paekche.
(Sushun pre-enthronement annal [Yōmei 2]) 587/6/21.

On the 21st day, Zenshin and the other nuns made a request of the Great Minister, saying, "The precepts are the basis of monastic life. We want to go to Paekche to study and receive the precepts and the laws." That month, the tributary mission from Paekche came to court. The Great Minister made of request of the envoy, saying, "Lead these nuns over to your country, and have them study and receive the precepts. When they are finished, send them back." The envoy replied, "When your servant has returned home to his peripheral country, he will first speak of this to the King of the land. If you send them after that, it will not be too late."

甲子、善信阿尼等、請大臣曰、出家之途、以戒爲本。願向百濟、學受戒法。是月、百濟調使來朝。大臣請遣人曰、率此尼等、將渡汝國、令學受戒。了時發遣。遣人答曰、臣等歸蕃、先善國王。而後發遣、亦不遲也。(NS II:163/Aston II:113)

34) Implied use of bureaucratic forms following the death of a Mononobe partisan. (Sushun pre-enthronement annal [Yōmei 2]) 587/7.

The governor of Kawachi province submitted a report on the circumstances of Yorozu's death to the court, which handed down a directive ordering, "Cut his body into eight pieces, and impale them separately in the eight provinces."²³ Just when the governor of Kawachi province was going to cut and impale the body in accordance with this directive, it thundered and rain poured down. There was a white dog that had been kept by Yorozu; it looked up and down, went around the corpse, and howled at its side. Finally it picked up the head in its jaws, and placed it inside an old tomb. Lying down alongside the pillow, it starved itself to death before its master. The governor of Kawachi province was struck with wonder by this dog, and submitted a report to the court, which was moved and found the story unbearably sad. It handed down a directive ordering, "This dog is something one hears

²² Sushun (Hatsuse-be) shares Volume 21 with his half-brother Yōmei (Tachibana no Toyohi) (r. 586-87).

²³ References to 'provinces' and 'provincial governors' are anachronistic here, but even so it is not clear what these eight provinces would be. In early Japanese texts, eight is frequently used as a nice round number (see, for example, the famous eight-fold fence poem in the *Kojiki* [KJK 72/Phillipi 91] and *Nihon shoki* [NS I:123/Aston I:53-54]); perhaps these eight provinces are something like a 'tri-state area,' and correspond to the central Yamato province and the seven provinces in the surrounding area (Setsu, Kawachi, Kii, Ise, Iga, Ōmi, and Yamashiro).

about very rarely. It should be shown to future generations. Have Yorozu's family make a grave and perform a funeral."

河内國司、以萬死狀、牒上朝庭。々々下符稱、斬之八段、散梟八國。河内國司、即依符旨、臨斬梟時、雷鳴大雨。爰有萬養白犬。俯仰、廻吠於屍側。遂嚙舉頭、收置古冢。橫臥枕側、飢死於前。河内國司、尤異其犬、牒上朝庭。々々哀不忍聽。下符稱曰、此犬世所稀聞。可觀於後。須使萬族作墓而葬 (NS II:167/Aston II:116)

This rather striking episode is the conclusion of a miniature epic depicting the valiant resistance and eventual violent death of a warrior named Yorozu, a retainer of the Mononobe clan, in the aftermath of that clan's catastrophic defeat at the hands of Soga no Umako and a group of princes (NS II:163-65/Aston II:113-15). The references to bureaucratic forms of communication not seen in archaeological materials until the middle of the latter half of the 7th century are anachronistic here, as are the office of 'provincial governor' and, indeed, the provinces themselves.²⁴ The "report" (*chō* 牒) is a documentary form used by high-ranking individuals communicating with superiors; a "directive" (*fu* 符) is a form used by superior individuals and offices communicating with inferiors.²⁵ The inclusion of these forms in this legendary context is a sign of how thoroughly they had penetrated the conceptualization of communication between superiors and inferiors by the time of the *Nihon shoki*'s compilation, but it may also be another example of the compilers' desire to backdate important aspects of the *ritsuryō* state to the court of Suiko and Shōtoku. Given that the victory of the Soga over the

²⁴ The *Nihon shoki* itself suggests that the provinces and their governors are established by in the edicts of the so-called Taika reform (*Taika no kaishin* 大化改新) of 645, but it is much more likely that the system was not put in place immediately, but gradually constructed in the years between 645 and the promulgation of the Asuka-Kiyomihara legal code in 689 (see #113 below).

²⁵ These forms are specified in the 21st chapter of the administrative code, "Forms for Official Correspondence" (*kushikiryō* 公式令) (RG 241-42; see also Inoue Mitsusada et al. 1976, 380-81).

Mononobe is depicted as clearing the way for the creation of that régime, this anachronism is an eminently appropriate one.

35) Umako's nuns study in Paekche. (Sushun 1 and 3) 588; 590/3.

Soga no Umako sukune made a request of the Paekche priests, asking them about the rules for receiving the precepts. He entrusted Zenshin-a and the other nuns to Susin (Ünsol rank), envoy from the land of Paekche, and sent them to study. [...] 3rd year, Spring, 3rd month. Zenshin-a and the other student nuns returned from Paekche and took up residence in Sakuraidera.

蘇我馬子宿禰、請百濟僧等、問受戒之法。以善信阿尼等、付百濟國使恩率首信等、發遣學問。[...] 三年春三月、學問尼善信阿等、自百濟還、住櫻井寺。(NS II:169/Aston II:118)

SUIKO (Toyo-mikeshikiya-hime): 593-628 (Volume 22)

36) Suiko's installation involves memorials and an official seal. (Suiko pre-enthronement annal [Sushun 5]) 592/11.

The Queen-Consort refused the office, but all of the officials submitted memorials and encouraged her. After they had done so three times she acceded to their requests, so they offered up to her the royal seal of the Tennô.

皇后辭讓之。百僚上表勸進。至于三乃從之。因以奉天皇之璽印。(NS II:173/Aston II:120)

37) Learning is featured in the Shôtoku hagiography. (Suiko 1) 593/4/10.

Summer, the 4th month, the 10th day. [The Tennô] appointed Royal Prince Umayato no Toyotomimi as Crown Prince, and had him take over administrative affairs, entrusting to him all the myriad duties of rule.²⁶ He was the second son of Tachibana no Toyohi [Yômei] Tennô; his mother the Queen Consort was called Anahobe no Hashihito.²⁷ While

²⁶ I have translated *kôtaishi* 皇太子 as “crown prince” because I believe that accurately reflects the way he is portrayed in the *Nihon shoki*. As Joan Piggott points out, because the designation of a particular prince as the automatic successor to the office of Tennô did not emerge until the end of the 7th century, it is best to avoid referring to the historical personage Shôtoku as “crown prince” (Piggott 1991, 82). But when discussing him as a character in the *Nihon shoki* narrative—and certainly when translating passages from it—avoiding this anachronism would distort the text. The same is true of Naka no ôe, below.

²⁷ Also known as Hashihito no Anahobe (d. 621). She was the daughter of Kinmei

pregnant with him, on the day she went into labor she was making the rounds of the palace, and was inspecting the various bureaus. Just when she had reached the department of horses, and was at the stable door, she suddenly and effortlessly delivered the prince. Even at birth, he was capable of speech, and possessed sagely wisdom. Upon reaching his prime, he could listen to the suits of ten people at once and be able to distinguish among them without error. He had foreknowledge of the future, and he also studied the inner [Buddhist] sutras with Hyecha, a Koguryo priest, and learned the outer [Confucian] classics from the scholar Kakuka.²⁸ In both subjects, he mastered everything.

夏四月庚午朔己卯、立厩戸豐聰耳皇子、爲皇太子。仍錄攝政。以萬機悉委焉。橘豐日天皇第二子也。母皇后曰穴穗部間人皇女。皇后懷妊開胎之日、巡行禁中、監察諸司。至于馬官、乃當厩戸、而不勞忽產之。生而能言、有聖智。及壯、一聞十人訴、以勿失能辨。兼知未然。且習內經於高麗僧慧慈、學外典於博士覺哥。並悉達矣。(NS II:173-75/Aston II:122-23)

38) Arrival of Shôtoku's teacher. (Suiko 3) 595/5/10.

5th month, the 10th day. The Koguryo priest Hyecha immigrated. The Crown Prince immediately took him as a teacher.

五月戊午朔丁卯、高麗僧慧慈歸化。則皇太子師之。(NS II:175/Aston II:123)

39) Silla and Mimana present a memorial. (Suiko 8) 600.

At this point Silla and Mimana, both countries together, dispatched envoys to pay tribute. Therefore they submitted memorials [...]

爰新羅・任那、二國遣使貢調。仍奏表之曰 [...] (NS II:177/Aston II:125)

40) A Paekche priest provides books and instruction in calendrical and magical arts. (Suiko 10) 602/10.

Winter, 10th month. The priest Kwanrik of Paekche came to court.

and Oane no kimi, a daughter of Soga no Iname. As Yômei himself was the son of Kinmei and another daughter of Iname's (Kitashihime), this means that, in addition to having only one grandfather, Shôtoku had Soga no Iname as a greatgrandfather on both his father's and his mother's side.

²⁸ The name Kakuka 覺哥 does not appear anywhere else. It literally means "awakening-good fortune," and seems to be the name of a priest; in absence of any clues as to the identity of this individual, I have transliterated the traditional *Nihon shoki* reading for these characters, but I assume that this person is a continental or—more likely—peninsular immigrant, as is the case with Hyecha.

He submitted tribute in the form of calendrical texts and works of astronomy and geography, along with works of sorcery and alchemy. They then selected three or four students, and had them study with Kwanriik.²⁹ Tamafuru, ancestor of the Yago no fubito, practiced calendrics. Ôtomo no suguri Kôsô studied astronomy and sorcery. Yamashiro no omi Hitate studied alchemy. All of them studied and attained proficiency in these arts.

冬十月、百濟僧觀勒來之。仍貢曆本及天文地理書、并遁甲法術之書也。是時選書生三四人、以俾學習於觀勒矣。陽胡史祖玉陳習曆法。大友村主高聡學天文遁甲。山背臣日立學法術。皆學以成業。(NS II:179/Aston II:126)

41) **The Seventeen Article ‘Constitution.’** (Suiko 12) 604/4/3.

Summer, 4th month, 3rd day. The Crown Prince himself created for the first time a code of conduct in seventeen articles.³⁰

夏四月丙寅朔戊辰、皇太子親筆作憲法十七條。(NS II:181-87/Aston II:128-33)

See Appendix B #4.

42) **Shôtoku lectures on sutras.** (Suiko 14) 606/7.

Fall, 7th month. The Tennô summoned the Crown Prince and had him lecture on the *Lion’s Roar Sutra*. After three days he finished explaining it. This year, the Crown Prince also lectured on the *Lotus Sutra* at the Okamoto Palace. The Tennô was greatly delighted by his lecture, and donated one hundred *chô* of rice fields in Harima Province to the Crown Prince. Therefore he incorporated them into the Ikaruga Temple.

秋七月、天皇請皇太子、令講勝鬘經。三日說竟之。是歲、皇太子亦講法華經於岡本宮。天皇大喜之、播磨國水田百町施于皇太子。因以納于斑鳩寺。(NS II:189/Aston II:135)

The use of vocabulary suggestive of a priest giving a sutra reading (“summoned” 請;

²⁹ Although I have not hesitated to supply ‘the Tennô’ as the subject of many of the sentences above and below, in the Suiko annal it is not necessarily clear whether Suiko, Shôtoku, Soga no Umako, or combinations of two or three of them should be taken as the relevant decision-makers, so I have opted for a waffly ‘they.’

³⁰ The complete text of the code of conduct follows this brief entry; in addition to Aston’s rendition, a translation can be found in Deal 1999. On the questionable authenticity of these articles, see Appendix B #4.

“donated” 施), and the apparent concern with providing a narrative of royal sponsorship for Hôryûji are both reasons to believe that this episode was concocted by apologists for that temple; it is very likely that they based it on stories of the Buddhist virtue of Chinese rulers like King Jingling 竟陵 of Qi 齊 or Wu-di 武帝 of Liang 梁 (Tsuda 1950, II:129-34). Tsuda and others have also focused on the differing formats with which these two lectures are recorded (the month but not the place of the *Lion's Roar Sutra* lecture are recorded, while the opposite is true of the *Lotus Sutra* lecture), finding therein reason to believe that this entry reflects reliance on accounts from two different sources. The more important point is the place of these ‘events’ within the *Nihon shoki* account of Shôtoku’s achievements.

43) Letters feature in diplomatic contact with the Sui court. (Suiko 16) 608/6/15 and 8/12.

At this point Imoko no omi addressed the throne, saying, “When your servant was on his way back, the Chinese Emperor gave me a letter. However, on the day I passed through Paekche, the people there searched it out and stole it. Because of this, I am incapable of submitting it.” [...] The head envoy Pei Shiqing took the letter himself, made a double obeisance twice, stated the purport of his embassy, and stood up.

爰妹子臣奏之曰、臣參還之時、唐帝以書授臣。然經過百濟國之日、百濟人探以掠取。是以不得上。[...] 使主裴世清、親持書、兩度再拜、言上使旨而立之 (NS II:191/Aston II:137)

44) Students are sent to China with Ono no Imoko’s second embassy. (Suiko 16) 608/9.

At this time, they sent to China the students Yamato no Aya no atai Fukuin, Nara no Osa Emyô, Takamuku no Ayahito Genri, and Imaki no Ayahito Ôkuni, and the student priests Imaki no Ayahito Nichimon, Minabuchi no Ayahito Shôan, Shiga no Ayahito Eon, and Imaki no Ayahito Kôsai, altogether eight people.

是時遣於唐國学生倭漢直福因・奈羅訳語恵明・高向漢人玄理・新漢人代囿、学問僧新漢人日文・南淵漢人請安・志賀漢人慧隱・新漢人広濟等、并八人也。 (NS II:193/Aston II:139)

45) A Koguryo priest with artistic expertise arrives. (Suiko 18) 610/3.

The King of Koguryo submitted the priests Tamching and Pöpchöng. Tamching knew the five classics, and could make colored pigments, paper, and ink. He also made water-powered mills, which probably originate from this time.

高麗王貢上僧曇徽・法定。曇徽知五經。且能作彩色及紙墨、并造碾磑、始于是時歟 (NS II:195/Aston II:140)

This passage is frequently taken as a record of the first transmission to Japan of paper-making, or even as a record of the first transmission of paper itself, but it is better seen simply as a record of the arrival of a priest with artistic skills; it is especially striking that the *Nihon shoki* compilers remark that this is the first appearance of water-powered mills, but do not take note of the appearance of paper.

46) Shôtoku and Soga no Umako record histories. (Suiko 28) 620.

This year, the Crown Prince and the Great Minister of the Island³¹ planned together and recorded the Tennô Record as well as the Country Record and the Basic Records of the *omi*, the *muraji*, the *tomo no miyatsuko*, the *kuni no miyatsuko*, the one hundred and eighty occupational groups, and the common people.³²

³¹ According to the brief biographical note appended to the account of his death, Soga no Umako was sometimes referred to as Great Minister of the Island (嶋大臣) because he had an artificial island built in the garden pond of his mansion on the bank of the Asuka River (NS II:213/Aston II:154).

³² The term 'basic record' (*hongî* 本記) would appear to be related to the 'basic annals' (本紀) of the Chinese standard histories, but here it is likely to mean no more than a record of the essential facts about these six social groups, which are loosely arranged in descending order of social status, and which can be taken as representative of all of the people of the land. The first two terms are *kabane* titles held by particular clans (*uji* 氏) with close ties to the Yamato court: the *omi* 臣 title is thought to have been held by powerful nobles associated with particular localities, and *muraji* 連 title by clans who traditionally monopolized particular ceremonial, military, or administrative functions. The *tomo no miyatsuko* 伴造 were managers of regional occupational groups, or *be* 部, while *kuni no miyatsuko* 国造 were regional lords affiliated with the Yamato kings. The 180 *be* are the various members of occupational groups dedicated to agriculture, industry, and services and owned by kings, royal family members, and prominent clans; the number 180 itself is likely to mean 'very many' or 'all' rather than designating a particular set. Finally, the term 'common people' (*kômin* 公民 [often

是歳、皇太子嶋大臣共議之、錄天皇記及國記、臣連伴造國造百八十部并公民等本記。(NS II:203/Aston II:148)

This passage has traditionally been taken as proof that Shôtoku was responsible for compiling the first national history. There has been a great deal of argument about the nature of these texts: although it is generally held that the “Tennô Record 天皇記” refers to annal or chronology, the “Country Record 國記” is generally taken to mean either a history of the entire country (i.e., Japan [*Nihon* 日本], or less anachronistically Yamato/Wa) or *Fudoki*-style provincial records. Although there is also disagreement about the nature of the groups included in the “Basic Records” (*hongî* 本記), the importance of this passage is masked if these details are the only elements that are considered: the entire set, from “Tennô” down to “common people,” is best taken as a blanket reference to a comprehensive historical project rather than a list of discrete texts (Tsuda 1950, II:120).

In the *Nihon shoki* account, this project represents Shôtoku’s final achievement: the above entry is immediately followed by an account of his death (on [Suiko 29] 621/2/5) and the spontaneous, heartfelt mourning of the entire populace (NS II:205/Aston II:148). Viewed within the context of the Shôtoku narrative, this reference to a last historical project serves two primary purposes: it adds historiography

read *ômitakara*]) as used here can be taken to specifically refer to groups of people in direct fealty to the Yamato kings (NS II:203 n. 24), but it is better seen as broadly indicating those subjects of the realm who are not included in the foregoing list. It is important to note that the foregoing explanations are based on attempts to interpret these groups in light of the actual historical situation in the early 7th century; as I stress in the commentary appended to this passage above, such an approach does not take into account the meaning of this list in the context of the *Nihon shoki*’s account of Suiko and Shôtoku’s reign. Lists of this sort are commonly used to represent abstractions like ‘everyone’ or ‘all the people of the realm’; in addition to other passages from the *Nihon shoki* and formula from *senmyô* proclamations, examples include the joyous response of “the princes, princesses, *omi*, *muraji*, and the common people” 諸王公主及臣連公民 to a Shôtoku sutra lecture in the *Jôgû Shôtoku Hôô Teisetsu* (JSHT 360).

to the list of cultural/political practices founded by the saintly Shôtoku, and it culminates the attempts to portray him as state-builder and surrogate ruler that recur throughout the Suiko annal. This latter function is admirably summed up by the following quote: “In these terms [the social groups of the *hongî*] especially are contained the ideal of Japan’s nation-building that Prince Shôtoku had struggled to conceive and establish up until now. This can also be said to be symbolic of the grand compilation of his political achievements over nearly thirty years” (Sakamoto Tarô 1979, 162).³³ Although this passage admirably fulfills these narrative and ideological functions, the historicity of these histories is open to question (see Appendix B #9).

47) A Silla memorial is said to be perhaps the first one from that state. (Suiko 29) 621.

This year, Silla sent Imimae (Naemal rank) to pay tribute at court, and he submitted a written memorial stating the purport of his embassy. All of the memorials submitted by Silla probably begin from this time.

是歳、新羅遣奈末伊弥買朝貢。仍以表書奏使旨。凡新羅上表、蓋始起于此時歟。(NS II:205/Aston II:149)

48) Generals submit a memorial from the peninsula. (Suiko 30) 622.

At the time the generals consulted together and submitted a memorial [...]

時將軍等共議以上表之 (NS II:209/Aston II:152)

49) A Priest memorializes the throne. (Suiko 32) 624/4/3.

At this point, the Paekche priest Kwanrük submitted a memorial [...]

於是、百濟觀勒僧、表上以言 [...] (NS II:209/Aston II:153)

50) Written temple records are created. (Suiko 32) 624/9/3.

Autumn, 9th month, 3rd day. They investigated the temples, priests and

³³ この名稱にこそ、聖徳太子がこれまで苦心して構想し樹立した日本の国作りの理想がこめられている。それは三十年近く、太子の政治上の業績の集大成の象徴でもあるといえると思う。

nuns, and made detailed records of the circumstances surrounding the establishment of the temples, and also of the circumstances under which the priests and nuns entered religion and the dates on which they took orders. At the time, there were 46 temples, 816 priests, and 569 nuns, a total of 1385 people.

秋九月甲戌朔丙子、校寺及僧尼、具錄其寺所造之緣、亦僧尼入道之緣、及度之年月日也。當是時、有寺卅六所僧八百十六人、尼五百六十九人、并千三百八十五人。(NS II:211/Aston II:153-54)

JOMEI (Okinaga-tarashi-hi-hironuka): 629-41 (Volume 23)

51) A Sutra lecture at a Buddhist feast. (Jomei 12) 640/5/5.

5th month, 5th day. [The Tennô] held a great Buddhist feast. Therefore he summoned the priest Eon, and had him lecture on the *Muryôjukyô*.

五月丁酉朔辛丑、大設齋。因以、請惠隱僧、令說無量壽經。(NS II:235/Aston II:169-70)

KÔGYOKU (Ame-toyotakara-ikashihi-tarashi-hime): 642-45 (Volume 24)

52) Soga no Emishi has sutras read to seek relief from a drought. (Kôgyoku 1) 642/7/25, 7/28, and 7/29.

On the 25th day, the assembled ministers spoke together, saying, "In accordance with the teachings of the shamans in the villages, we have sacrificed cattle and horses, and worshipped the gods of the various shrines, and we have also frequently changed the locations of the markets, and we have also prayed to the river gods, but there has been no effect at all." The Soga Great Minister replied, "We should have abbreviated readings [*tendoku*] of Mahayana sutras in the temples. We will hold a penitential ceremony according to the teaching of the Buddha, and reverently pray for rain." On the 27th day, he arranged images of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and the Four Deva Kings in the southern courtyard of the Great Temple, and deferentially invited a number of priests to read the Great Cloud sutra and others.³⁴ At the time, the Soga Great Minister held a censer in his hands, burned incense, and expressed his wishes. On the 28th day, there was a little rain. On the 29th day, they were unable to summon rain, and therefore they stopped reading sutras.

戊寅、群臣相語之曰、隨村々祝部所教、或殺牛馬、祭諸社神。或頻移市。或禱河伯。既無所效。蘇我大臣報曰、可於寺々転讀

³⁴ The identity of this "Great Cloud Sutra" is not entirely clear, but it is probably an abbreviation of the "Great Cloud-Wheel Rain-Requesting Sutra" (*Daiunrin shô-u-kyô* 大雲輪請雨經).

大乘教典。悔過如仏所説、敬而祈雨。庚辰、於大寺南庭嚴仏菩薩像與四天王像、屈請衆僧讀大雲經等。于時、蘇我大臣手執香鑪、燒香發願。辛巳、微雨。壬午、不能祈雨。故停讀經。(NS II:241/Aston II:175)

53) (Fujiwara no) Kamatari and Naka no ôe/Tenji use study as a cover for their plotting. (Kôgyoku 3) 644/1/1.

Later on, they feared that others would be suspicious of their frequent meetings, and so together they took yellow scrolls in hand, and themselves studied Confucianism at Professor Minabuchi's place. Along the road, while they went to and from their studies, they walked side by side and plotted together secretly.

後恐他嫌頻接、而俱手把黃卷、自学周孔之教於南淵先生所。遂於路上、往還之間、並肩潛凶。(NS II:255/Aston II:185)

54) Reading of memorials used as a cover for Soga no Iruka's assassination. (Kôgyoku 4). 645/6/8 and 6/12.

6th month, first day. Naka no ôe [Tenji] secretly spoke with Kurayamada no Maro no omi and said, "On the day that the tribute of the Three Han is presented, I will most certainly have you read the memorial out loud." [...] Kurayamada no Maro no omi came forward and read the memorial out loud. [...] Kurayamada no Maro no omi was afraid that although he was about to finish reading out the memorial, Komaro and the others would not come. He broke into a sweat all over his body, his voice quavered, and his hands shook.

六月丁酉朔甲辰、中大兄密請倉山田麻呂臣曰、三韓進調之日、必將使卿讀唱其表。[...] 倉山田麻呂臣、進而讀唱三韓表文。[...] 倉山田麻呂臣恐唱表文將盡、而子麻呂等不來、流汗浹身、亂聲動手。[...] (NS II:261-63/Aston II:191)

55) Soga no Emishi burns history texts. (Kôgyoku 4 [Taika 1]) 645/6/13.

On the 13th day, as Soga no omi Emishi and the others were on the verge of being killed, they burned all of their Tennô records, records of the country, and treasures. Fune no fubito Esaka immediately snatched up the burning records of the country and submitted them to Naka no ôe.

己酉、蘇我臣蝦夷等臨誅、悉燒天皇記・國記・珍寶。船史惠尺、即疾取所燒國記、而奉獻中大兄。(NS II:265/Aston II:193)

This passage is often paired with #46 above and interpreted as an explanation of the fate of the histories that Shôtoku and Umako compiled, but it can also be seen as an attempt

by the *Nihon shoki* compilers to explain why there are no signs of those earlier texts. Of course, given their close association with scribal groups, it is possible that the Soga held written records of some kind, but this entry does not provide particularly firm grounds to speculate about what they might have been like.

IV) WRITING AND THE CONTEMPORARY STATE (KÔTOKU TO JITÔ)

This final section starts off with a series of Kôtoku annal entries that describe the textual trappings of the ideal bureaucratic state supposedly created by the 'Taika edicts' of 645 and 646. These passages, the historicity of which is quite doubtful, are the second half of the fiction of cultural transformation that began in the Suiko annal, but the nature of the *Nihon shoki*'s depiction of writing changes dramatically thereafter. The annals of Tenji, Tenmu, and Jitô depict a great deal of inscription-related developments, but they are not charged with the same energetic insistence on cultural achievement that was so apparent in earlier portions of the work. Although the details of these various entries still need to be considered carefully, they are consistent with the dramatic increase in written artifacts apparent during this period, and thus can be taken far more seriously as potentially accurate accounts of late 7th century developments than could earlier references to inscription.

Another important aspect of the entries excerpted in the latter part of this last section is the tremendous number of them that refer to Buddhist texts and state-sponsored readings, lectures, copying, and so on. As I argue in Chapter Four, it is very likely that the clan-sponsored Buddhism of the mid-6th through the mid-7th century did not involve as much emphasis on textuality as is often thought. But from the mid-7th century onward, as state (Tennô) control and sponsorship of the temples increased, and as the numbers of literate immigrants and returned students and student-priests grew, the Buddhist establishment became more and more like the familiar text-centered institution of the Nara period. This process, which is very apparent in the entries from the Tenmu

and Jitô annals collected below, provided the background for the canonization of Shôtoku and the attempts to back-date 'Tennô' involvement in temple sponsorship that are so apparent in the entries excerpted above, and in the other texts discussed in Chapter Four.

KÔTOKU (Ame-yorozu-toyohi): 645-54 (Volume 25)

56) Kôtoku favors scholars. (Kôtoku pre-enthronement annal.)

He was gentle and benevolent, and fond of scholars. He did not discriminate between the lofty and the humble, and he frequently handed down magnanimous proclamations.

爲人柔仁好儒。不挾貴賤、頻隆恩勅 (NS II:269/Aston II:195)

57) State scholars are appointed. (Kôtoku pre-enthronement annal.)

[The Tennô] appointed the priest-initiate Min and Takamuku no fubito Genri as state scholars.

以沙門旻法師・高向史玄理爲國博士 (NS II:271/Aston II:197)

58) 'Golden tablets' are given as token of appointment. (Kôtoku pre-enthronement annal [Kôgyoku 4]) 645/6/15.

On the 15th, they gave golden tablets to Great Minister Abe no Kurahashi Maro and Great Minister Soga no Yamada no Ishikawa Maro. (One book says they were given refined gold.)

辛亥、以金策、賜阿倍倉梯麻呂大臣與蘇我山田石川麻呂大臣。<或本云賜練金> (NS II:271/Aston II:197)

59) The Taika era name is declared. (Kôgyoku 4) 645/6/19.

They changed the designation '4th year of Ame-toyotakara-ikashihi-tarashi-hime Tennô' to 'first year of the Taika era.'

改天豐財重日足姬天皇四年、爲大化元年 (II:271/Aston II:198)

60) Eastern governors are ordered to record the population. (Taika 1) 645/8/5.

8th month, 5th day. [The Tennô] appointed governors for the eastern provinces, and made a proclamation to them, saying, "In accordance with the mandate of the gods of heaven, We now for the first time will assume control of the myriad provinces. As for all of the common people attached to the state, and the masses controlled by large and small estates, your responsibility is to make household registers and allot

fields for all of them.”

八月丙申朔庚子、拜東國等國司。仍詔國司等曰、隨天神之所奉寄、方今始將脩萬國。凡國家所有公民、大小所領人衆、汝等之任、皆作戶籍及校田畝。(NS II:273/Aston II:200)

61) There is concern about written reports based on false representations. (Taika 1) 645/8/5.

There may be people seeking a name who were not originally *kuni no miyatsuko*, *tomo no miyatsuko*, or *agata no inaki*, but lie freely in making an appeal, saying “since the time of our ancestors, we had dominion over this *miyake*, we administered that district.” In such cases you governors must not lightly submit reports to court in accordance with falsehoods.

若有求名之人、元非國造・伴造・縣稻置、而輒詐訴言、自我祖時、領此官家、治是郡縣。汝等國司不得隨許便牒於朝。(NS II:275/Aston II:201)

62) Compilation of Yamato population registers. (Taika 1) 645/8/5.

Now those who are dispatched to the six districts of Yamato province shall make household registers and allot fields.

其於倭國六縣被遣使者、宜造戶籍并校田畝 (NS II:275/Aston II:201)

63) A bell and a box for written complaints are set up in court. (Taika 1) 645/8/5:

On this day, [the Tennô] set up a bell and a box in court, and made a proclamation, saying, “There may be people with a concern or a complaint. If they have a *tomo no miyatsuko*, he shall consider it and then announce it to Us; if they have a chief, he shall consider it and then announce it to Us. If that *tomo no miyatsuko* or chief does not appreciate the complaint, then place a report in the box, and punishment will be allotted in accordance with the offense. The person who collects the reports shall announce them in the palace at dawn; We shall write the date on them and exhibit them to the assembled nobility. If the matter is neglected and not dealt with, or if owing to flatterers and factions it is distorted, the person with a complaint should ring the bell. It is for this reason that We have had the bell hung and the box placed in court. May all of the populace under heaven understand Our intentions.”

是日、設鍾匱於朝、而詔曰、若憂訴之人、有伴造者、其伴造、先勸當而奏。有尊長者、其尊長先勸當而奏。若其伴造尊長、不審所訴、收牒納匱、以其罪々之。其收牒者、昧旦執牒、奏於內裏。朕題年月、更示群卿。或懈怠不理、或阿黨有曲、訴者可以

撞鐘。由是、懸鐘置匱於朝。天下之民、感知朕意。(NS II:275/Aston II:201-202)

64) A complete census is ordered. (Taika 1) 645/9/19.

On the 19th, envoys were dispatched to the various provinces to record the total number of the population.

甲申、遣使者於諸國、錄民元數。(NS II:279/Aston II:204)

65) Clerks to county governors are to be literate and numerate. (Taika 2) 646/1/1.

As for those county governors, together select people of *kuni no miyatsuko* class who are pure of character and capable of the current work, and make them head governor and lieutenant governor; select people who are strong, intelligent, and skilled at writing and arithmetic, and make them administrators and clerks.

其郡司、並取國造性識清廉、堪時務者、爲大領・少領、強幹聰敏、工書算者、爲主政・主帳 (NS II:281/Aston II:207)

66) Specifications for post-horses and barrier passes. (Taika 2) 646/1/1.

In all cases, the distribution of stage-horses and post-horses will always be in accordance with the bells and the number of notches on the post pass; at all of the barriers between provinces, bell-tags will be distributed.

凡給駅馬・傳馬、皆依鈴傳符剋數、凡諸國及關、給鈴契 (NS II:281/Aston II:207)

67) The creation of census registers is ordered. (Taika 2) 646/1/1.

The third edict said, for the first time, make household registers, tax ledgers and rules for the distribution of divided fields [...]

其三曰、初造戶籍・計帳・班田收授之法 (NS II:281/Aston II:207)

68) Reference is made to temples missing from the registers. (Taika 2) 646/3/19.

Also, for the temples that have been omitted from the registers, enter their field and mountain lands.

又於脫籍寺、入田與山 (NS II:291/Aston II:216)

69) A possible reference to grave stelae in funerary regulations. (Taika 2) 646/3/22.

In all cases, for the graves of people from princes down to those of Lesser Wisdom rank, small stones shall be used.

凡王以下、小智以上之墓者、宜用小石 (NS II:295/Aston II:219)

This could be a reference to inscribed stelae, but it is more likely to be a prohibition of the immense stone slabs used in burial chambers of late *kofun*.

70) Preparation of drawn or written boundary descriptions is ordered. (Taika 2) 646/8/14.

Examine the boundaries between the provinces, and come and submit them in either written or illustrated form.

宜觀國々壇墼、或書或図、持来奉示。 (NS II:301/Aston II:225)

71) State scholars are ordered to form a bureaucracy. (Taika 5) 649/2.

This month, they summoned the scholar Takamuku no Genri and the priest Min, and had them establish eight bureaus and one hundred departments.

是月、詔博士高向玄理與釋僧旻、置八省百官。 (NS II:307/Aston II:232)

72) Inscribed books testify to the innocence of an executed lord. (Taika 5) 649/3.

This month they dispatched an envoy to collect the Great Minister Yamada's possessions. Among them were fine books that had "the Crown Prince's book" written on them. On some valuable treasures was written "property of the Crown Prince." When the envoy returned and reported on the circumstances of the collection, the Crown Prince knew for the first time that the Great Minister's heart had still been pure.

是月遣使者、收山田大臣資財。々々之中、於好書上、題皇太子書。於重宝上、題皇太子物。使者還申所收之狀。皇太子始知大臣心猶貞淨 (NS II:311/Aston II:234)

73) A mass sutra-reading is sponsored. (Hakuchi 2) 651/12/[30].

Winter, 12th month, last day. [The Tennô] summoned over 2,100 monks and nuns to the Ajiu palace and had them read the complete canon. That evening he had over 2,700 lanterns lit in the court, and ordered that the *antaku* and *dozoku* sutras be read.

冬十二月晦、於味經宮、請二千一百餘僧尼使讀一切經。是夕燃二千七百餘燈於朝庭內、使讀安宅・土側等經。 (NS II:317/Aston II:240)

74) A sutra lecture is sponsored. (Hakuchi 3) 652/4/15.

Summer, 4th month, 15th day. [The Tennô] summoned the priest Eon to the palace, and had him lecture on the *Muryôjukyô*. He made the initiate Eji serve as discussant, and had one thousand initiates as the audience. On the 20th day, the lectures ended.

夏四月戊子朔壬寅、請沙門惠隱於內裏、使講無量壽經。以沙門惠資、爲論議者。以沙門一千、爲作聽衆。丁未、罷講。(NS II:319/Aston II:241-42)

75) Census registration. (Hakuchi 3) 652/4.

This month, household registers were compiled.

是月、造戶籍 (NS II:319/Aston II:242)

76) Envoys to Tang are commended for bringing back books. (Hakuchi 5) 654/7.

This month, [the Tennô] praised the ambassadors of the Western Sea for receiving an interview with the Chinese Son of Heaven and obtaining many books and treasures.

是月、褒美西海使等、奉對唐國天子、多得文書宝物 (NS II:323/Aston II:247)

SAIMEI (Ame-toyotakara-ikashihi-tarashi-hime): 655-61 (Volume 26)

77) A sutra lecture is sponsored. (Saimei 5) 659/7/15.

On the 15th day, [the Tennô] made a proclamation to the assembled ministers, having lectures on the *Urabonkyô* held in the various temples within the capital, and making recompense to preceding generations of forebears.

庚寅、詔群臣、於京內諸寺、勸講盂蘭盆經、使報七世父母。(NS II:341/Aston II:263)

78) Paekche envoy requests return of their prince in a memorial. (Saimei 7) 661/4.

Summer, 4th month. Paksin of Paekche dispatched an envoy and submitted a memorial asking to receive their prince Kyuhae.

夏四月、百濟福信、遣使上表、乞迎其王子紇解。(NS II:349/Aston II:271)

TENJI (Ame-mikoto-hirakasu-wake): 662-71 (Volume 27)**79) A golden tablet is given to a Paekche minister. (Tenji 1) 662/5.**

Moreover he entrusted a golden tablet to Poksin, and had his back rubbed, praising him and granting him a title and an income.

又予金策於福信、而撫其背、褒賜爵祿 (NS II:355/Aston II:277)

80) A Tang general sends a memorial in a box. (Tenji 3) 664/5/17.

Summer, the 5th month, the 17th day. Liu Renyuan, occupying general of Paekche, dispatched Guo Wucong (*Zhaosan dafu* rank) and others to submit an encased memorial and tribute items.³⁵

夏五月戊辰朔甲子、百濟鎮將劉仁願、遣朝散大夫郭務悰等、進表函與獻物。 (NS II:361/Aston II:282)

81) Fujiwara no Kamatari's grave stele is quoted. (Tenji 8) 669/10/16.

On the 16th day the Fujiwara Naidaijin passed away. (The *Nihon seiki* says, "The Naidaijin, at the age of fifty, passed away in his private residence. They moved him and placed the temporary tomb south of the mountains. Heaven, why were you so cruel in not leaving this old man here, even reluctantly? Ah, how sorrowful!"³⁶ The stele says, "Passed away at the age of fifty-six.")

辛酉、藤原内大臣薨。<日本世記曰、内大臣、春秋五十、薨于私第。遷殯於山南。天何不淑、不憐遺者。嗚呼哀哉。碑曰、春秋五十有六而薨>(NS II:373/Aston II:292)

82) Census registration. (Tenji 9) 670/2.

In the second month, they made household registers.

³⁵ *Zhaosan dafu* 朝散大夫 is an alternate term for the Tang lower junior fifth rank.

³⁶ The *Nihon seiki* 日本世記 is a no-longer extant work by the Koguryo Priest Tohyōn 道顯, about whom little is known beyond what can be gleaned from the *Nihon shoki*, which describes him divining the downfall of Koguryo when a rat gives birth in a horse's tale (NS II:355/Aston II:277), and the *Tōshi kaden*, which confirms the closeness to Kamatari that is apparent in the entry quoted here (TK 204 and 269). Known only from quotations in the *Nihon shoki* itself, the *Nihon seiki* seems to have been particularly detailed in its treatment of diplomatic relations (see NS II:578 suppl. n. 6). In addition to this passage, it is quoted three times in the Saimei annal (NS II:345/Aston II:266; NS II:349/Aston II:271; NS II:351/Aston II:273); moreover, a quote attributed to Tohyōn himself earlier in the Tenji annal is probably also taken from this work (NS II:355/Aston II:276).

二月、造戶籍 (NS II:375/Aston II:292)

83) A turtle with writing on its shell is found. (Tenji 9) 670/6.

In the sixth month, they caught a turtle in one of the villages. On its back was written the “monkey” character. Its carapace was yellow and its plastron was black, and it was about six inches long.

六月、邑中獲龜。背書申字。上黃下玄。長六寸許。(NS II:375/Aston II:293-94)

The coloration of the turtle’s shell is noted because it is an ominous violation of the cosmic order: the color black (玄) cosmologically corresponds to heaven, while yellow (黃) is associated with earth. (It is also a violation of observable natural patterns: most turtles—indeed, most aquatic animals—are dark on top and light on the bottom, an adaptation that helps them blend in against the blackness of the depths and the brightness of the surface.) In addition to this freakish shell coloring, the character itself foreshadows the disruption of the Jinshin war: ‘*jinshin*,’ the year of the war, is senior water/monkey 壬申.

84) A mysterious reference to a new legal code (the so-called “Ômi ryô”). (Tenji 10) 671/1/6.

On the 6th day, the Great Royal Brother of the Eastern Palace accepted a royal pronouncement (one book says that Prince Ôtomo announced the order) and instituted cap ranks and a system of laws. A great amnesty was declared throughout the land. (The names of the law systems and the cap ranks are written of in detail in the new criminal and penal codes.)

甲辰、東宮太皇弟奉宣、<或本云、大友皇子宣命>施行冠位法度之事。大赦天下。<法度冠位之名、具載於新律令也> (NS II:375/Aston II:295)

85) A Chinese general presents a memorial. (Tenji 10) 671/1/13

On the 13th day, Liu Renyuan, occupying general of Paekche, dispatched Li Shouzhen and others to submit a memorial.

辛亥、百濟鎮將劉仁願、遣李守真等上表。(NS II:377/Aston II:295)

TENMU Part I (Ama no nunahara-oki no mahito): 672 (Volume 28)**86) Tenmu has arcane, text-based knowledge. (Tenmu I pre-enthronement annal).**

From birth he had an outstanding and clever mien; when he reached his prime he was exceptionally manly and preternaturally valiant. He was capable of astronomy and sorcery.

生而有岐嶷之姿。及壯雄拔神武。能天文遁甲。(NS II:383/Aston II:301)

87) A Chinese envoy brings a letter in a box. (Tenmu 1) 672/3/21.

On the 21st, Guo Wucong and others made obeisance twice and presented an encased letter and testimonial items.

壬子、郭務悰等再拜、進書函與信物。(NS II:385/Aston II:303)

TENMU Part II (Ama no nunahara-oki no mahito): 672-686 (Shuchô 1) (Volume 29)**88) Large-scale sutra-copying. (Tenmu 2) 673/3.**

This month, [the Tennô] assembled scribes and began the copying of the complete canon at Kawaradera.

是月、聚書生、始写一切經於川原寺(NS II:411/Aston II:322)

89) Copies of sutras are sought. (Tenmu 4) 675/10/3.

Winter, the 10th month, 3rd day. [The Tennô] dispatched envoys in all directions and sought out [sutras for] the complete canon.

冬十月辛未朔癸酉、遣使於四方、覓一切經(NS II:421/Aston II:330)

90) Sutra lectures are held. (Tenmu 5) 676/11/20

On the 20th day, [the Tennô] dispatched envoys in all directions, and had lectures held on the *Konkomyôkyô* and *Ninnôkyô*.

甲申、遣使於四方國、說金光明經・仁王經。(NS II:427/Aston II:335)

91) The complete canon is recited. (Tenmu 6) 677/8/15:

8th month, 15th day. [The Tennô] held a great Buddhist feast at Asukadera, and had the complete canon recited.

八月辛卯朔乙巳、大設齋飛鳥寺、以讀一切經(NS II:429/Aston II:337)

92) **Bureaucratic promotion reviews.** (Tenmu 7) 678/10/26

On the 26th, [the Tennô] made a proclamation, saying, "Each year all of the civil and military officials of the central and local administrations shall determine the merits and shortcomings of those among their subordinates from secretary on up who have been impartial and diligent, and decide the rank to which they should be promoted. Before the first third of the first month, record these decisions in detail and send them to the Law Bureau.

己酉、詔曰、凡内外文武官、毎年史以上、其属官人等、公平而恪勤者、議其優劣、則定應進階。正月上旬以前、具記送法官 (NS II:433/Aston II:339)

93) **Large-scale sutra lectures.** (Tenmu 9) 680/5/1.

On this day, for the first time there were lectures on the *Konkomyôkyô* at the palace and in the various temples.

是日、始說金光明經于宮及諸寺。 (NS II:441/Aston II:346)

94) **Preparation of legal codes is ordered.** (Tenmu 10) 681/2/25

2nd month, 25th day. The Tennô and the Queen Consort sojourned together at the Supreme Hall, and summoned the royal princes, the other princes, and the various ministers, and made a proclamation, saying: "We now wish to determine penal and administrative codes and reform the laws and standards. Therefore, you shall enact these things together. However, if We were to assign these duties precipitately, there would be oversights in public affairs; this project should be conducted by dividing responsibility among you."

二月甲子朔甲子、天皇々后、共居于大極殿、以喚親王諸王及諸臣、詔之曰、朕今更欲定律令改法式。故俱脩是事。然頓就是務、公事有關。分人應行。 (NS II:445/Aston II:349)

95) **History compilation is ordered.** (Tenmu 10) 681/3/17

On the 17th day, the Tennô presided in the Supreme Hall and made a proclamation to Royal Prince Kawashima, Royal Prince Osakabe, Prince Hirose, Prince Takeda, Prince Kuwata, Prince Mino, Kamitsukeno no kimi Michiji (Lower Great Brocade rank), Imube no muraji Obito (Middle Lesser Brocade rank), Azumi no muraji Inashiki (Lower Lesser Brocade rank), Naniwa no muraji Ôkata, Nakatomi no muraji Ôshima (Upper Great Mountain rank), Heguri no omi Kobito (Lower Great Mountain rank), having them record and determine the imperial annals and the various events of high antiquity. Ôshima and Kobito took brushes and wrote these things down themselves.

丙戌、天皇御于大極殿、以詔川嶋皇子・忍壁皇子・広瀬王・竹

田王・桑田王・三野王・大錦下上毛野君三千・小錦中忌部連首・小錦下阿曇連稻敷・難波連大形・大山上中臣連大嶋・大山下平群臣子首、令記定帝紀及上古諸事。大嶋・子首、親執筆以錄焉。(NS II:445-47/Aston II:350)

96) **Written sumptuary legislation.** (Tenmu 10) 681/4/3.

On the third day, [the Tennô] established 92 articles of prohibitory standards. Based on this he made a proclamation, saying, "From the Royal Princes down to the common people, the gold, silver, pearls, jewels, purple cloth, brocade, embroidery, figured cloth, felt rugs, crowns, belts, and all manner of miscellaneous dyestuffs with which they adorn themselves are to have distinctions of stature." The details of the terms are in the text of the proclamation.

辛丑、立禁式九十二条。因以詔之曰、親王以下至于庶民、諸所服用、金銀珠玉、紫錦繡綾、及氈褥冠帶、并種々色之類、服用各有差。辭具有詔書。(NS II:447/Aston II:350)

97) **Mysterious compilation of what may have been a dictionary.** (Tenmu 11) 682/3/13.

On the 13th day, [the Tennô] made a command to Sakaibe no muraji Iwatsumi and others, and for the first time had them compile the *Niina* in 44 volumes.

丙午、命境部連石積等、更肇倭造新字一部卅四卷。(NS II:451/Aston II:354)

The nature of the *Niina* (also sometimes read *Shinji*), which no longer exists, is unclear. Some scholars argue that this text must have been a dictionary, while others suspect that it could be a Li Si-style attempt to regulate the written form of characters; an old theory even holds that it was a compilation of Sanskrit letter forms! (See Kojima 1986 and HSM 364-66.)

98) **Work on law compilation.** (Tenmu 11) 682/8/1 and 8/5.

8th month, first day. [The Tennô] ordered the Royal Princes down to the various ministers, each of them, to state what should be employed for the laws and procedures. [...] On the 5th day, there was a great rainbow within the hall dedicated to the compilation of laws and codes.

八月壬戌朔、令親王以下及諸臣、各俾申法式応用之事。[...] 丙寅、造法令殿內有大虹。(NS II:455/Aston II:357)

99) **An announcement regarding coinage.** (Tenmu 12) 683/4/15.

Summer, 4th month, 15th day. [The Tennô] made a proclamation, saying, "From now on, you must use copper coins. You are not to use silver coins."

夏四月戊午朔壬申、詔曰、自今以後、必用銅錢。莫用銀錢。(NS II:457-59/Aston II:359-60)

100) **Bureaucrats are dispatched with a boundary-fixing party.** (Tenmu 12) 683/12/13.

On the 13th day of the 12th month, [the Tennô] dispatched Prince Ise (fifth princely rank), Hata no kimi Yakuni (Lower Great Brocade rank), Ô no omi Homuji (Lower Lesser Brocade Rank), and Nakatomi no muraji Ôshima (Lower Lesser Brocade Rank), accompanied by managers, secretaries, and artisans, to make a tour of inspection of the empire and to delineate the borders of the various provinces. However, this year they were unable to do so.

十二月甲寅朔丙寅、遣諸王五位伊勢王・大錦下羽田公八國・小錦下多臣品治・小錦下中臣連大嶋、并判官・録史・工匠者等、巡行天下、而限分諸國之境堺。然是年、不堪限分。(NS II:461/Aston II:361-62)

101) **Reports of absentee bureaucrats are required.** (Tenmu 12) 683/12/17.

On the 17th day, [the Tennô] made a proclamation, saying, "All military and civil officials, and all persons of rank in the Home Provinces, must come to court during the first month of each season. If owing to mortal illness someone is unable to assemble, his department shall produce a detailed report and send it to the Law Bureau.

庚午、詔曰、諸文武官人及畿內有位人等、四孟月、必朝參。若有死病、不得集者、當司具記、申送法官。(NS II:461/Aston II:362)

102) **Sutras and images are required in the provinces.** (Tenmu 14) 685/3/27.

On the 27th day, [the Tennô] pronounced that all of the households of each province were to construct a Buddhist chapel, to place sutras and a Buddhist image within it, and to worship and pay homage to them.

壬申、詔、諸國每家、作仏舎、乃置仏像及經、以禮拜供養。(NS II:469/Aston II:369)

103) **Sutra-reading for Tenmu's health.** (Tenmu 14) 685/9/24.

On the 24th, on account of the infelicity of the Tennô's physical condition, sutras were intoned at Daikandaiji, Kawaradera, and Asukadera for three days.

丁卯、爲天皇体不豫之、三日、誦經於大官大寺・川原寺・飛鳥寺 (NS II:473/Aston II:371)

104) **Sutra lectures in the palace.** (Tenmu 14) 685/10.

This month, there were lectures on the *Kongôhannyakyô* in the palace.

是月、說金剛般若經於宮中。 (NS II:473/Aston II:372)

105) **A palace reception for long-hairs and eggheads.** (Shuchô 1) 686/1/13.

On the 13th day, [the Tennô] summoned various men of talent, professors, yin-yang practioners, and doctors, all together more than twenty people, and granted food and rewards to them.

甲寅、召諸才人・博士・陰陽師・醫師者、并廿餘人、賜食及祿。 (NS II:475/Aston II:374)

106) **Sutra lectures in time of illness.** (Shuchô 1) 686/5/24.

On the 24th, the Tennô's physical condition began to be unsettled. Therefore, lectures on the *Yakushikyô* were held at Kawaradera, and a retreat was held in the palace.

癸亥、天皇始体不安。因以、於川原寺、說藥師經。安居于宮中。 (NS II:477/Aston II:376)

107) **A sutra reading at the palace.** (Shuchô 1) 686/7/8.

On the 8th day, 100 priests were summoned to recite the *Konkomyôkyô* in the palace.

丙午、請一百僧、讀金光明經於宮中。 (NS II:479/Aston II:378)

108) **Another sutra lecture.** (Shuchô 1) 686/7.

This month, the various princes and ministers had an image of Kannon made on behalf of the Tennô, and held lectures on the *Kanzeonkyô* at Daikandaiji.

是月、諸王臣等、爲天皇、造觀世音像。則說觀世音經於大官大寺。 (NS II:481/Aston II:379)

109) **Another sutra reading at the palace.** (Shuchô 1) 686/8/2.

On the second day, one hundred priests and one hundred nuns were allowed to take orders. Therefore, one hundred Bodhisattva images were placed within the palace, and they recited from 200 volumes of the *Kanzeonkyô*.

庚午、度僧尼并一百。因以、坐百菩薩於宮中、讀觀世音經二百卷。(NS II:481/Aston II:379)

JITÔ (Takama no hara-hiro no hime): 686-97 (Volume 30)

110) Prince Ôtsu's literary talent. (Shuchô 1) 686/10/3.

Upon reaching adulthood he clearly had talent and learning, and loved writing literature most of all. The popularity of *shi* and *fu* started from Ôtsu.

及長辨有才学。尤愛文筆。詩賦之興、自大津始也。(NS II:487/Aston II:383)

111) Mention of the university. (Jitô 3) 689/1/2.

On the second day, the university offered up 80 canes.

乙卯、大学寮獻杖八十枚 (NS II:495/Aston II:389)

112) Appointments to a mysterious compilation bureau. (Jitô 3) 689/6/2.

On the second day, [the Tennô] appointed Royal Prince Shiki, Sami no ason Sukunamaro (Fourth Broad Directness rank), Hata no ason Mugohe, Iyobe no muraji Umakai (Fourth Broad Diligence rank), Tsuki no imiki Okina, Ôtomo no sukune Teuchi (Third Great Duty rank), and Kose no ason Tayasu to the Bureau for the Selection of Good Words.

癸未、以皇子施基・直広肆佐味朝臣宿那麻呂・羽田朝臣齊<齊、此云牟吾閉>勤広肆伊余部連馬飼・調忌寸老人、務大參大伴宿禰手拍與巨勢朝臣多益須等、拜撰善言司。(NS II:497-99/Aston II:392)

113) Promulgation of administrative code. (Jitô 3) 689/1/29.

On the 29th day, [the Tennô] distributed copies of the administrative code, in 20 volumes, to the various bureaus.

庚戌、班賜諸司令一部廿二卷。(NS II:499/Aston II:393)

114) A census is ordered. (Jitô 3) 689/Intercalary 8/10.

Intercalary 8th month, 10th day. [The Tennô] made a proclamation to the various provincial governors, saying, "This winter you shall compile household registers. By the 9th month, you should apprehend vagrants. As for your militia, in each province, indicate one person out of four, and make them practice martial arts.

閏八月辛亥朔庚申、詔諸國司曰、今冬戶籍可造。宜限九月、紮捉浮浪。其兵士者、每於一國、四分而点其一、令習武事。(NS II:499/Aston II:394)

115) **Announcement of calendrical systems.** (Jitô 4) 690/11/11.

Having received an order, for the first time the Yuanjia and Yifeng calendars were enacted.

奉勅始行元嘉曆與儀鳳曆。 (NS II:507/Aston II:400)

116) **A reference to Tenmu's Buddhist policy.** (Jitô 5) 691/2/1.

2nd month, 1st day. The Tennô made a proclamation to the nobility, saying, "Lords, during the reign of the Tennô, he made you build Buddha-halls and sutra repositories, and observe six days of abstinence per month."

二月壬寅朔、天皇詔公卿等曰、卿等、於天皇世、作仏殿經藏、行月六齋 (NS II:509/Aston II:402)

117) **A professor is rewarded.** (Jitô 5) 691/4/1.

[The Tennô] bestowed a thousand bundles of great tax rice upon university professor Ue no suguri Kudara, and thereby encouraged his studies.

賜大學博士上村主百濟大稅一千束、以勸其學業也。 (NS II:509/Aston II:402)

118) **Sutra reading is sponsored to stop unseasonal rain.** (Jitô 5) 691/6 (5/18).

In the 6th month, there was rain in the capital and forty provinces and districts. On the 18th [of the previous month], [the Tennô] made a proclamation, saying, "This summer, the rains have gone on past their season. We fear that this will certainly damage the harvest. Each night we worry until morning, lamenting and afraid, and fretting over our transgressions.³⁷ Now, we will make the nobility and all the officials abstain from alcohol and meat, cleanse their hearts, and perform penitence. The clerics of the various temples in the capital and home provinces also will intone sutras for five days. We only hope that this will help." From the 4th month rain fell, lasting until this month.

六月京師及郡國卅、雨水。戊子、詔曰、此夏陰雨過節。懼必傷稼。夕惕迄朝憂懼。思念厥愆。其令公卿百僚人等、禁斷酒肉、攝心悔過。京及畿內諸寺梵衆、亦當五日誦經。庶有補焉。自四

³⁷ It is likely that the two characters meaning "lamenting and afraid," 憂懼, were originally a note attached to the character 惕, as they are superfluous here, and without them this clause has four characters just like the clauses before and after it (NS II:509 n.4).

月雨、至于是月。(NS II:511/Aston II:403)

119) **Prominent clans are ordered to submit ancestral tomb writings.** (Jitô 5) 691/8/13.

8th month, 13th day. [The Tennô] made a proclamation to 18 clans (Ômiwa, Sazakibe, Isonokami, Fujiwara, Ishikawa, Kose, Kashiwade, Kasuga, Kamitsukeno, Ôtomo, Ki, Heguri, Hata, Ahe, Saeki, Uneme, Hodumi, Adumi), having them submit the grave inscriptions of their ancestors.

八月己亥朔辛亥、詔十八氏、<大三輪・雀部・石上・藤原・石川・巨勢・膳部・春日・上毛野・大伴・紀伊・平群・羽田・阿倍・佐伯・采女・穗積・阿曇>上進其祖等墓記。(NS II:511/Aston II:403)

120) **Professors are rewarded.** (Jitô 5) 691/9/4.

9th month, 4th day. [The Tennô] bestowed twenty *ryô* of silver each upon pronunciation professors Xu Shouyan and Sa Hongke of China and calligraphy professor Mal-t'o Sönsin of Paekche.

九月己巳朔壬申、賜音博士大唐續守言・薩弘恪、書博士百濟末土善信、銀人廿兩。(NS II:511/Aston II:404)

121) **More professors are rewarded.** (Jitô 5) 691/12/2.

12th month, 2nd day. [The Tennô] bestowed twenty *ryô* of silver each upon professor of medicine De Zizhen (Third Great Duty rank) and professors of magic Mokso Chöngmu and Sataek Mansu.³⁸

十二月戊戌朔己亥、賜醫博士務大參德自珍・呪禁博士木素丁武・沙宅萬首、銀人廿兩。(NS II:513/Aston II:405)

122) **Still more professors are rewarded.** (Jitô 6) 692/2/11.

[The Tennô] bestowed twenty *ryô* of silver upon yin-yang professor-priests Hôzô and Dôki.

賜陰陽博士沙門法藏・道基銀廿兩。(NS II:513/Aston II:405)

123) **An official submits an admonitory memorial.** (Jitô 6) 692/2/19.

On this day, *chûnagon* Miwa no ason Takechimaro (Second Great Directness rank) submitted a memorial in which he dared to speak

³⁸ Although the professors in this entry lack the explicit notation of immigrant status seen in the immediately preceding entry (#121), I have transcribed their names in the same manner. Following the traditional *kun* readings would yield: Toku Jichin, Mokuso Chômu, and Sataku Manshu.

directly, strongly criticizing the Tennô's desire to make a progression to Ise on the grounds that doing so would interfere with the timing of agricultural labor.

是日、中納言直大貳三輪朝臣高市麻呂、上表敢直言、諫爭天皇、欲幸伊勢、妨於農時。(NS II:513/Aston II:406)

124) Sutra lectures are held because of flooding. (Jitô 6) 692/Intercalary 5/3.

Intercalary 5th month, 3rd day. There was flooding. [The Tennô] dispatched envoys to make the rounds of the districts and provinces, had public grain distributed to those who were unable to get by because of the catastrophe, and permitted wood-cutting and fishing in the mountains, forests, ponds, and marshes. She also made a proclamation ordering lectures on the *Konkomyôkyô* in the capital and the four home provinces.³⁹

閏五月乙未朔丁酉、大水。遣使循行郡國、稟貸災害不能自存者、令得漁採山林池澤。詔令京師及四畿内、講說金光明經。(NS II:517/Aston II:408)

125) A report is submitted by the Bureau of *Kami* Affairs. (Jitô 6) 692/9/14.

On the 14th day, the Bureau of *Kami* Affairs submitted to the throne a report on shrine treasures in four volumes, nine keys, and a wooden seal.

丙午、神祇官奏上神宝書四卷・鑰九箇・木印一箇。(NS II:519/Aston II:410)

126) Even more professors are rewarded. (Jitô 6) 692/12/14.

12th month, 14th day. [The Tennô] bestowed rice fields of four *chô* each on pronunciation professors Xu Shouyan and Sa Hongke.

十二月辛酉朔甲戌、賜音博士續守言・薩弘恪水田、人四町。(NS II:519/Aston II:410)

127) Yet another professor is rewarded. (Jitô 7) 693/3/5.

On the 5th day, [The Tennô] bestowed a sustenance fief of 30 households upon university professor Ue no suguri Kudara (Second Broad Diligence rank), and thereby enriched his scholarly pursuits.

³⁹ The "four home provinces" 四畿内 are Yamato 大和, Yamashiro 山城, Kawachi 河内, and Settsu 摂津; they correspond to roughly to modern Nara prefecture, southern Kyoto prefecture, and Osaka prefecture. In 716, three counties of Kawachi province were split off as the Izumi administrative district (*Izumi gen* 和泉監; SN II:8); they were returned to Kawachi in 740 (SN II:364), but in 757 were split off once again as Izumi province (SN III:184-86), yielding the "five home provinces" of later ages.

甲午、賜大學博士勤広貳上村主百濟、食封卅戸。以優儒道。(NS II:521/Aston II:411)

128) **Sutra lectures throughout the land.** (Jitô 7) 693/10/23.

On the 23rd, for the first time there were lectures on the *Ninnôkyô* in all the provinces; they ended after four days.

己卯、始講仁王經於百國。四日而畢。(NS II:523/Aston II:413)

129) **Military instructors are sent to the provinces.** (Jitô 7) 693/12/21.

12th month, 21st day. [The Tennô] dispatched professors of military science to teach and train people in the various provinces.

十二月丙辰朔丙子、遣陣法博士等、教習諸國。(NS II:523/Aston II:414)

130) **Mint administrators are appointed.** (Jitô 8) 694/3/2.

On the 2nd day, Ôyake no ason Maro (Fourth Broad Directness rank), Utena no imiki Yashima (Second Great Diligence rank), and Kifumi no muraji Honjichi were appointed to the department of the mint.

乙酉、以直広肆大宅朝臣麻呂・勤大貳臺忌寸八嶋・黃書連本實等、拜鑄錢司。(NS II:525/Aston II:414)

131) **Sutras are distributed.** (Jitô 8) 694/5/11.

On the 11th day, [the Tennô] conveyed one hundred copies of the *Konkomyôkyô* to the various provinces. At the end of the first week of the first month of every year, they must have them recited. The contributions for the ceremony shall be paid out of the resources of the provincial government.

癸巳、以金光明經一百部、送置諸國。必取每年、正月上玄讀之。其布施、以當國官物充之。(NS II:525/Aston II:416)

132) **Sutra lectures are held.** (Jitô 10) 696/12/1.

12th month, first day. According to a royal order, in connection with recitation of the *Konkomyôkyô*, on the last day of the 12th month of each year, ten people of virtuous conduct are to be allowed to take orders.

十二月己巳朔、勅旨、緣讀金光明經、每年十二月晦日、度淨行者一十人。(NS II:533/Aston II:421)

133) **Sutras are read.** (Jitô 11) 697/6/6.

On the 6th day, [the Tennô] proclaimed that sutras were to be recited in the various temples of the capital and the home provinces.

辛未、詔讀經於京畿諸寺。(NS II:533/Aston II:422)

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